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THE MANTRAS OF KAUSĪKA-SŪTRA 10-52

As is well known scholars have more than once been of the opinion that many *mantras* used in the Vedic ritual *sūtras* do not fit in well with the contexts in which they are prescribed.¹ However, a close study of formulas and contexts shows that the so-called inapplicability of the former has sometimes been exaggerated. One of those who undertook to investigate the functions of the *mantras* and their relations with the *sūtras* of the domestic books in which they occur was the Indian scholar V. M. Apte.² While rightly criticizing some of his predecessors Apte was, on the other hand, too much inclined to consider definite pre-*gr̥hya* texts to have been the sources of almost all the formulas used by the *sūtrakāras*. There is of course no denying that the compilers of the domestic manuals have drawn upon the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, the Taittirīya texts etc. but we should guard against the hasty conclusion that these basic works have always been their direct sources in those cases in which these manuals have a *mantra* in common with one – or more than one – of the pre-*gr̥hya* texts. It would appear to me³ that it is in many cases impossible exactly to trace the immediate source of a particular *mantra*. Many formulas occurring in the domestic books cannot be found in the older literature. Others may have been borrowed indirectly from the basic literature known to us. Some of the *mantras* create the impression of having belonged to a more or less floating mass of formulaic material. Being probably for the greater part handed down orally, these *mantras* may have constituted the material out of which authorities belonging to different schools selected some of the formulas they needed.

Since, however, Apte focussed attention mainly on Āśvalāyana's domestic manual, the study of the problems relative to the origin and function of the formulas as prescribed in the other manuals, their relations to their sources and their significance for questions regarding the nature of the latter and the structure and genesis of the works in which they occur is

— notwithstanding the contributions of some other scholars⁴ — not yet sufficiently advanced. It seems therefore worth-while to examine the problems under discussion in a limited and fairly homogenous portion of a *sūtra* text. In the following pages attention will be drawn to the formulas contained in Kauśika-Sūtra 10-52, that is, that part of this work — a manual sui generis⁵ — which constitutes a collection of mainly magical rites and has been translated by Caland under the title *Alt-indisches Zauberritual*.⁶ (Sections 44 and 45 excepted).

The formulas prescribed in these sections can be divided into two classes, viz. those found in the Śaunakīya Saṃhitā of the Atharvavedins, and those which do not occur in that collection. As to the former group it may be recalled that while Kauśika 10-52 is a fairly homogenous collection of ritual prescripts which virtually constitutes a whole in itself, the first great division of the Saṃhitā (AVŚ. I-VII),⁷ probably the original nucleus of the whole collection, consists mostly of genuine charms and imprecations, "wearing on the whole a general aspect decidedly different from that of the books VIII-XVIII". Generally speaking the non-hieratic texts of the first division and the prescripts of the *sūtra-kāra* belong harmoniously together; that is to say, many rites mentioned in the *sūtra* work presuppose texts occurring in AVŚ. I-VII and furnish so to say their mise en scène;⁸ a considerable number of these texts are applicable to the rites of Kauśika 10-52. Space forbids a detailed study of all these *mantras* and their ritual uses; moreover, most of them cannot contribute much to the problems under consideration. Attention will be mainly directed to those *sūktas* of AVŚ. I-VII which have not been utilized individually by Kauśika in the section 10-43 and 46-52, and to two other groups, viz. the *sūktas* belonging to the books VIII-XIX that have been adopted and, finally, those *mantras* which do not occur in the Śaunakīya Saṃhitā.⁹

As to the first group, whereas all 'hymns' contained in AVŚ. I are utilized in Kauśika 10-52, and only a few of II-V are ignored, the number of ones left out increases in VI and especially in VII, the book that creates the impression of being an addendum. What strikes also us is that a good many of the absent *sūktas* are prescribed in a not too limited number of the other sections:¹⁰ viz. the one containing the charms to obtain special wishes such as strength, success, a village, absence of danger, glory (*kāmya* rites, 59: AVŚ. 2, 5; 6; 4, 39; 6, 5; 6; 40; 58; 82; 86-88;

7, 2; 7; 16; 20; 24-26; 51; 79; 80; 82; 85-87; 91-93; 103); the one on the domestic rite called *godāna* (the tonsure of a youth 53, 1-54, 14: AVŚ. 2, 13; 15-17; 28; 6, 41; 68; 7, 30; 53¹¹); the one dealing with the *upanayana* or reception and initiation of the Veda student (55, 1-57, 30: AVŚ. 3, 8; 6, 48; 7, 53; 97, 2; 105); some *sūktas* are used in the *sava* sacrifices (3, 29; 4, 11; 14; 34; 35; 6, 30; 31; 114; 115; 117; 122; 123 (6, 114-124); 7, 22; 104); some in other chapters or nowhere.

The use in section 59 of the group of hymns mentioned first is understandable: they consist, generally speaking, of praises, prayers and invocations addressed to definite gods and are as such very well suited to their particular ritual purposes (for instance, in 2, 5 Indra is praised and implored for strength; in 2, 6 Agni is requested to make a person increase); in some of them divine assistance is invoked (6, 88) or related (6, 87; 7, 7) and here a magical element may make its appearance; in 7, 87 homage is paid to Rudra. Section 59 constitutes a special collection of rites (acts and formulas) that require a particular sacrificial worship of the gods; some of these rites can be performed alternatively instead of a magical rite to be executed according to the prescriptions of Kauś. 10-52; for instance AVŚ. 1, 30 can be used in the magical rite for long life mentioned in Kauś. 52, 18 as well as the special ceremony recommended in 59, 1; one can try to acquire a village with the rites of 11, 7 ff. (AVŚ. 1, 1), 22, 7 (AVŚ. 5, 1 and 2) and 59, 6 (AVŚ. 6, 5; 6; 7, 91). It should be observed that all *mantras* quoted in Kauś. 59 belong to AVŚ. I-VII.

Since the *godāna* (tonsure) is a regular domestic rite it is not surprising that the compiler of Kauś. 10-52 should have omitted AVŚ. 6, 68 (three stanzas "to accompany the act of shaving") which was of course used by the author who composed the section 53, 1-54, 14, in which this rite is dealt with. At first sight the other *sūktas* mentioned in this connexion (2, 13 etc.) have nothing to do with the tonsure,¹² but on closer consideration they may — together with the acts which they are to accompany — be regarded as counteracting the evil effects of the contact with the razor and the loss of hair, which could impair the youth's vital force. The unction in Kauś. 54, 6 accompanied by AVŚ. 7, 30 is to transfer fortifying and sanctifying power (cf. Kauś. 7, 27). The curious rite at the end of the ceremony — the parents of the boy pass him three times to and fro between them and make him eat balls of ghee — is con-

secrated by AVŚ. 2, 28 which is to avert his early death. Before this act the boy is fed to the accompaniment of the stanzas AVŚ. 2, 15-17 (Kauś. 54, 11 f.) which are, successively, to allay the apprehensions of those concerned, to implore protection and to secure vital power (*ojas*), strength, and long life (*āyus*). As to AVŚ. 2, 13, it may at the very beginning of the *godāna* rite have been prescribed because of its initial words "Giving length of life, O Agni, choosing old age ..., do thou defend this one as a father his sons" and the various other references to old age, long life, a hundred years, well-being and the firmness of a stone. It is not even beyond possibility that the wording of the *sūkta* has contributed to the atharvanic extension of the ceremony. That the absence of the above *sūktas* in Kauś. 10-43; 46-52 is due to the fact that they were used in the atharvanic version of the *godāna* rite seems a legitimate hypothesis.

The use of AVŚ. 3, 8 without the other formulas prescribed in the event that those who engage in the *upanayana* ceremony wish to expedite matters (Kauś. 55, 17) becomes somewhat clearer if we remember that normally (Kauś. 55, 16) this text is prescribed together with other *sūktas* 1, 9; 30; etc. which, while imploring the assistance of many gods, figure in various ceremonies which aim to contribute to a person's success, advancement, safety, health, or the prolongation of his life. The same wishes are, explicitly or implicitly, also expressed in the formulas prescribed, for instance, in the *upanayana* section of Hiranyakeśin's *Gṛhyasūtra* (1, 1 ff.). Moreover, st. 6 of AVŚ. 3, 8 reminds us that "With your mind you (the pupil) shall follow my (the teacher's) mind" etc. of HGS. 1, 5, 11; the reference to royalty in 3, 8, 1 to HGS. 1, 4, 8; the beginning of 3, 8, 4 "may you be just here ..." to HGS. 1, 5, 1 etc. If, therefore, the conclusion is not entirely illegitimate that at the moment of the compilation of Kauś. 10-52 AVŚ. 3, 8 was considered to be utilizable on the occasion of an initiation ceremony its absence in the magical sections becomes understandable. A similar conclusion seems warranted in the case of AVŚ. 6, 48, which was to be recited when the pupil accepted the staff (Kauś. 56, 2 ff.) — it is also recommended at Kauś. 59, 27 when the same object is given to a sacrificer who is consecrated or a *brahmacārin* — ; being addressed as an eagle etc., the staff is implored to carry the pupil to welfare.¹³ In AVŚ. 7, 53, which is to be pronounced by the teacher to the pupil (Kauś. 55, 17), special

stress is laid on the necessity to prevent inhalation and expiration from leaving the body (cf. HGS. 1, 4, 4) and on Agni's cooperation in securing duration of life (cf. HGS. 1, 2, 11; 18; 3, 5; 4, 11). It may be noticed that the youth is the pupil of Bṛhaspati (HGS. 1, 5, 10), the god invoked in stanza 1. In view of HGS. 1, 4, 8; 11 etc. the occurrence of AVŚ. 7, 97, 2 invoking Indra among the *upanayana* formulas (Kauś. 55, 20) is no great surprise; the complete *sūkta*, which in Kauś. 6, 3 accompanies the offering of the so-called *saṃsthitahomas*, is rightly described as a sacrificial text and is as such not applicable to the magical rites described in Kauś. 10-52. AVŚ. 7, 105 (one stanza) is perfectly appropriate to the occasions mentioned in Kauś. 55, 16 and 56, 16.

For comment on the texts used in connexion with the so-called *sava* rites – atharvanic sacrificial rites involving the preparation of porridge and regarded as equivalent to soma sacrifices – I refer to a former publication.¹⁴ Many of these hymns (3, 29; 4, 11; 14; 4, 34; 35; 6, 31 and in all probability 7, 22; 104) are no doubt adapted to that particular purpose and not suitable for the occasions referred to in Kauś. 10-52. As to 6, 30, st. 1, unconnected in meaning with 2 and 3, may be regarded as belonging to a sacrifice of the *sava* variety, but 2 and 3 are rightly used at Kauś. 31, 1 in a rite for the benefit of a person whose hair does not grow normally. The whole section AVŚ. 6, 114-124, which, dealing with relief from guilt and 'sin', disabilities in sacrificing, release from evil or demerit and the success of offerings, is distinct from what precedes and follows; it is not only used in the introduction to the *savayajñas* (60, 7) but also at 46, 31 ff. in rites for expiating the evil arising from the death of a guru, from eating certain foods etc.; Kauś. 67, 19 prescribes 114, 115 and 117 with the offering of a full oblation.¹⁵

The *sūktas* 4, 9; 4, 10 and 7, 32, in which no gods are invoked, as well as the magical text 5, 30 are together with other 'hymns' – taken from AVŚ. I-VII and other books of the Saṃhitā – prescribed in the ceremony for securing length of life in Kauś. 58, 3-12. It seems difficult to escape the conviction that the compiler, whilst inserting this passage – between two components of the ceremonies to be performed at the birth of a child¹⁶ – was aware of the absence of these hymns in Kauś. 10-52; in 10, 19; 52, 18 ff. other texts are used.

AVŚ. 3, 28 is appropriately used in rites to avert the evil consequences of animals that give birth to twins (Kauś. 109, 5; 110, 4; 111, 5), a subject which is not dealt with in Kauś. 10-52. AVŚ. 6, 78 ("for matrimonial happiness") is at Kauś. 78, 10 and 14 very suitably prescribed in the marriage ceremonies; so are 7, 36 and 37 at Kauś. 79, 2 and 7. The corrupt AVŚ. 7, 21 does not seem to be unsuitably used in Kauś. 86, 16 (funeral rites). AVŚ. 7, 62 and 63 are well adapted for the ritual acts dealt with in Kauś. 69, viz. the preparation of the domestic fire (69, 7; 22). AVŚ. 7, 71 is a sacrificial stanza, accompanying in Kauś. 2, 10 the carrying of fire "as a stronghold" about during the oblation; likewise in the full and new moon sacrifices, 7, 72 appropriately accompanies an oblation to Indra who is invoked (Kauś. 2, 40);¹⁷ 7, 79 and 80 addressed to Amāvāsyā (New Moon) and Paurṇamāsī (Full Moon), fit in well with the same ritual context (Kauś. 5, 6 and 5); 7, 98 obviously belongs to Kauś. 6, 7 in the same ritual; the allied 7, 99 to Kauś. 2, 20.

As to the *sūktas* that are not expressly quoted by Kauśika,¹⁸ certain of them are traditionally regarded as included in some *gaṇa*, i.e. a group of formulas used for the same purpose. For 5, 4 see Bloomfield's notes on Kauś. 26, 1; 28, 13; for 5, 5 that on Kauś. 28, 14 (two similar texts applicable in healing rites), for 6, 95 the introductory note in Whitney-Lanman; for 4, 36 Bloomfield's note on 8, 25; for 7, 91-93 Whitney-Lanman on 7, 91. AVŚ. 6, 47 imploring blessings at the three daily libations creates the impression of being added to the collection and inserted before 6, 48 — used in the *upanayana* ceremony and *kāmya* rites — which serves a similar purpose: it is (with 6, 48) prescribed at Vaitāna-Sūtra 21, 7. It is difficult to say whether or not the 'mystic' hymn AVŚ. 7, 5, following some *sūktas* of a similar 'mystic' character, dealing with the origin and significance of the sacrificial rite and used at VaitS. 13, 13 belonged to the collection AVŚ. I-VII before the fixation of the Kauśika-Sūtra. The same observation may apply to the two sacrificial stanzas handed down as 7, 27 and 28; compare also 7, 58 and 94. Why is AVŚ. 7, 40 not employed together with 7, 39 in the rite for prosperity at Kauś. 24, 9, the relationship of both texts being obvious? Why has 7, 46, addressed to the goddess Sinīvalī, been included in a group of hymns prescribed in the remedial rite Kauś. 32, 3, whereas similar texts invoking her colleagues Kuhū, Rāka and the spouses of the gods (7, 47-49) are ignored? And why has AVŚ. 7, 59,¹⁹ directed against cursers, remained with-

out ritual use? Generally speaking, there is a great chance that the use of those hymns that form part of *gaṇas* mentioned in the Atharvaveda-Parīśiṣṭa (Gaṇamālā, AVPar. 32, 7) or still later sources was not known to, or at least not approved of by the compiler of the Sūtra. From the considerable number of citations from the Śaunakīya recension marked by an asterisk in Bloomfield's Index D it may be concluded that later authorities and the tradition of which they were the exponents added many *sūktas* to those mentioned by Kauśika.

It may be observed that a good many of the above *sūktas* and individual *mantras* are not found in the Paippalāda recension and cannot therefore be regarded as belonging to the ancient and common atharvanic tradition, viz. 3, 28; 29; 31; 4, 35; 36; 6, 41; 48; 88; 123; 124; 7, 16; 23; 24; 27; 30; 37; 49; 68; 72; 75; 85; 86; 91; 92; 93; 99. Some *sūktas* are incompletely represented in the other (and older) recension, viz. 2, 13; 3, 8; (4, 9;) (4, 10;) 4, 14; 6, 40; 58; 122; 7, 26; 32; 36; 53; 80; 82, or occur there as different units, the component stanzas being found at different places: 2, 28; 7, 17; 53; 79; 82. AVŚ. 2, 15 is found there in a fuller form, 2, 17 in similar wordings.

Proceeding now briefly to discuss the relations between the Kauśika-Sūtra and the longer hymns handed down in AVŚ. VIII etc. we must be aware that modern distinctions between ritualistic, cosmogonic, theosophic, esoteric 'hymns' or between magical texts on the one hand and philosophical *sūktas* on the other were from the point of view of the ancient Atharvavedins not relevant.²⁰ In India, aspirations towards higher knowledge have often been associated with practical ends. Like mythical truth, esoteric knowledge was regarded as leading also to the acquisition of benefits in this world and the beyond. Philosophical speculations could therefore easily be interpreted as a 'theoretical basis' of ritual practices and be used as consecratory texts. So the occurrence of such *sūktas* as the famous Hymn to the Earth (AVŚ. 12, 1) at Kauś. 38, 12-16 in a ceremony for imparting firmness to buildings should not surprise us more than that of texts which in our eyes are 'magical', for instance AVŚ. 8, 5 and 6, which differ from most texts of AVŚ. I-VII mainly in length and hence in fullness of detail or description, a certain circumstantiality and sometimes also a broadness of outlook: AVŚ. 8, 5, on an amulet, is (with 3, 5; 10, 3; 6) at Kauś. 19, 22 used to accompany the binding on of such an object in order to avert

or nullify witchcraft and rivalry and (with 10, 1 and seven hymns from AVŚ. I-VII) at 39, 7 in a *śānti* rite to counteract magical practices. See also AVŚ. 8, 6: Kauś. 35, 20 (to guard a pregnant woman from evil powers and influences); AVŚ. 8, 7: Kauś. 26, 33; 40 (for a person's restoration to health); AVŚ. 8, 8: Kauś. 16, 9-20 (in a so-called army rite to conquer enemies); AVŚ. 9, 8: Kauś. 32, 18 f. (exorcism ending with a respectful salutation of the sun);²¹ whatever identifications, speculations and mythological passages occur in AVŚ. 10, 5 it is suited for the purpose mentioned in Kauś. 49, 3-14 (the preparation and use of 'water-thunderbolts'); a similar opinion can be expressed on AVŚ. 9, 2 imploring the assistance of the "rival-slaying bull Desire" against enemies: Kauś. 49, 1 f.; compare also AVŚ. 11, 9 and 10: Kauś. 16, 21-24.

Although a modern reader might be under the impression that the 'magical application' of part of these texts is secondary — one might compare the use of ṛgvedic texts etc. in a *vidhāna* work²² — there is no denying that the frequently repeated urgent requests for room, prosperity, fortune etc. makes the poem AVŚ. 12, 1 in which the Earth is praised, i.e. strengthened, adapted for 'magical' rites (Kauś. 38, 12-16). If we consider the figure called Vena in AVŚ. 2, 1 (AVP. 2, 6) to be the mythical prototype of the inspired sage who succeeded in penetrating the great mystery and in knowing all beings²³ its use in the prognosticative rite Kauś. 37, 3 becomes understandable.

The next group of formulas to be discussed consists of the *mantras* and prose formulas collected by Bloomfield in his Index C. As to the short prose texts which are put in the mouth of those who perform the rites,²⁴ they may be regarded as having belonged to the ritual practice and oral tradition of the Atharvavedins to whom we owe the Kauśika-Sūtra. Some of these constitute 'ritual dialogues' of the *brahmodya* type,²⁵ e.g. Kauś. 50, 15 and 16.²⁶ Generally speaking, these formulas are appropriately used.

As to the metrical *mantras* quoted in full, both the editor and the translator of the Sūtra seem to have been unaware of the fact that some of these are found in the Paippalāda recension.²⁷ This is not to say that the compiler must have borrowed them from that text; they may have belonged to a more or less undifferentiated mass of atharvanic tradition. Attention may be drawn first to those *mantras* which do not seem to occur in non-atharvanic works. The three stanzas of Kauś. 47, 16, which accom-

pany the taking of the staff by the one who wishes to perform a witchcraft rite, are found at AVP. 19, 42, 4-6 where they constitute a somewhat independent portion; interestingly enough both texts have in common in st. 2, AVP. 5 the corrupt reading *rakṣataḥ* instead of *rakṣasaḥ*. The last 'stanza' (in prose), which in AVP. is repeated from 15, 3, 4, is also AVŚ. 19, 44, 4,²⁸ this Śaunakīya hymn (which is Paipp. 15, 3) being used, according to the commentary, with an ointment amulet. The *pāda* 2c is identical with ṚV. 9, 32, 5a which I do not regard as the 'source' of the Kauśika text. Kauś. 46, 55 is practically identical with AVP. 20, 8, 4 (in c *varmaṇā* instead of *brahmaṇā*) and also found in Nakṣatrakalpa (AVPar. 1), 36, 7. Kauś. 20, 5 enjoining the Aśvins, being assisted by Bṛhaspati, to put the ploughshare in readiness belongs no doubt to the atharvanic tradition, because it reminds us of AVŚ. 10, 6, 6 ff. "The amulet, ploughshare ... that Bṛhaspati bound on ..."; AVP. 16, 43, 1 and 2; the Aśvins are mentioned in AVŚ. st. 12; AVP. st. 5. The four stanzas of Kauś. 42, 17 are, with slight differences, as st. 1-4 in AVP. 19, 51; for 1a compare AVŚ. 6, 55, 3a etc.;²⁹ for 4d, AVŚ. 6, 78, 3ab, etc.; ĀpMB. 1, 8, 10d. Kauś. 40, 14 — left unmentioned in Bloomfield's Index C — consists of the *pratīka* of AVŚ. 4, 4, 1 which is to be pronounced to recover a man's virility — the subject of Kauś. 40, 14 ff. — and is identical with AVP. 4, 5, 1a as well as AVP. 4, 5, 2 (in Kauś. *pādas* b-e); *pāda* c corresponds with AVŚ. 5, 25, 8c (with the masculine form which is to be expected, the hymn being to promote conception). One might compare also AVŚ. 5, 25, 8d *prajāyayi tvā nayāmasi* and ŚGS. 1, 19, 5, st. 11 (6, 6) *p. t. havāmahe* (conception rite).

The six stanzas of Kauś. 46, 54 which are to nullify the evil portended by certain birds run largely parallel with AVP. 20, 46, 7-9 (which is to drive away evil, to put an end to discord etc.), and ṚVKhila 2, 2 (which is something in the same tenor). Kauś. 46, 54, lab: cf. AVP. 7ab; cd = 7cd; 10cd; ṚVKh. 2, 2, 5cd (where *śakuntaka* instead of *kapiñjala*); Kauś. 2: AVP. 8; ṚVKh. 1; Kauś. 3 (but for *śunam* instead of *bhadram* = 2): AVP. 9; Kauś. 4: ṚVKh. 2, 2, 2; Kauś. 6: AVP. 20, 46, 10; ṚVKh. 5 (see above). Stanza 5 is identical with ṚV. 2, 43, 3 — the final stanza of the hymn — addressed to an ominous bird — before which the above *khila* is inserted — ; it is used in ĀśvGS. 3, 57 and ŚGS. 4, 5, 8 in connexion with cries of birds during the ceremony opening the annual courses of Veda study. Kauś. 43, 13, 1 = AVP. 7, 6, 10, invoking Vāṣṭospati, the

genius of the homestead, is largely identical with RV. 7, 54, 1, TS. 3, 4, 10, 1 etc. It obviously was a very popular text used in connexion with the domestic ritual for house-building (ĀśvGS. 2, 9, 9; PGS. 3, 4, 7; GGS. 4, 7, 33 as well as this Kauś. place); or with an offering to this deity (ŚāṅkhGS. 2, 14, 5; ṚgVidh. 2, 26, 4; ŚāṅkhŚS. 2, 16, 1, of one who is going on a journey); for another use: ĀpŚS. 6, 28, 8. Whether or not the Ṛgveda is the ultimate source of this prayer, the chances are that the slightly different form of its atharvanic variant (cf. AVŚ. 13, 1, 2d), which (unconnected with RV. 7, 54, 2 and 3) is the final stanza of a supplication for blessings on a house, has been due to its being in wide circulation before becoming part of AVP. 7, 6. Kauś. 43, 13, 2 (= AVP. 20, 22, 2) is practically identical with RV. 7, 55, 1 and gives rise to similar observations. Since this ṛgvedic stanza may have originally belonged, as stanza 4, to RV. 7, 54³⁰ the hypothesis is not wholly rejectable that both stanzas of Kauś. 43, 13 were already linked together when the compiler inserted them in the Sūtra, the less so as the combination occurs also in MS. 1, 5, 13: 82, 13 and 11; MŚS. 1, 6, 3, 1; PGS. 3, 4, 7 etc. Kauś. 33, 8 = AVP. 1, 65, 4; ab = RV. 10, 97, 14ab (addressing medicinal herbs); VājS. 12, 88 etc. Kauś; 33, 9 = AVP. 1, 65, 3, a-c being practically identical with RV. 10, 97, 20a-c etc.; the combination of both stanzas — the ritual use of which is understandable — was obviously traditional.

I have not found in AVP. the stanza of Kauś. 40, 13 the first half of which is in several other texts prescribed in the same ritual, viz. in ŚāṅkhŚS. 2, 17, 8 (cf. also ĀpŚS. 6, 28, 12; 5, 10, 12 etc.) when the fire is to redescend out of the householder (sacrificer); the second half does not occur elsewhere, but c = Kauś. 70, 2c.

It seems worth-while to cast a glance at the many occurrences of single stanzas. With the exception of the numerous stanzas of the 'mystic' hymns AVŚ. 5, 1 and 2 a large majority of the *mantras* taken from one of the *sūktas* of AVŚ. I-VII are prescribed to accompany acts that form part of a complete ritual in which the use of the complete *sūkta* is required. These single stanzas are almost always³¹ properly and suitably used, the wordings of the stanzas being adapted to their ritual context. Thus after describing the rite which is to be performed with AVŚ. 2, 29 Kauś. 27, 13 adds a particular act that requires the accompaniment of 2, 29, 6cd. While performing the rite mentioned in Kauś. 40, 1 ff. the

river which is to be directed into a certain course should be praised (i.e. strengthened and made tractable) by means of AVŚ. 3, 13, the last stanza of which is to consecrate the practical application (Kauś. 40, 3-6).³² Sometimes the Sūtra simply states "One should do as said in the *mantra*" (e.g. 43, 9). The stanzas of a *sūkta* may also be prescribed serially (Kauś. 26, 41-27, 4). In some cases a single stanza is added to a group of *mantras* taken from another *sūkta*, e.g. AVŚ. 1, 12, 3 in Kauś. 27, 34; 6, 57, 3 in the additional statement Kauś. 41, 14; perhaps also in Kauś. 10, 24 AVŚ. 6, 125, which, while forming part of a text connected with a war-chariot, may as a stray single stanza – VaitS. 6, 8 quoting st. 1 and 3 in connexion with the chariot omits it – have been applicable to ritual washing.³³ Or a single stanza is added to a portion of another hymn (AVŚ. 3, 31, 10 in Kauś. 24, 31; in VaitS. 13, 10 also used singly). A few stanzas are employed singly as well as separately. The final stanza (4) of AVŚ. 1, 31 is at Kauś. 50, 11 (the last *sūtra* of a ritual) used as a prayer for good fortune in the night; since it differs in contents from 1-3, it may have circulated singly. At Kauś. 51, 15 AVŚ. 6, 16, 4, wanting in AVP. 19, 5, seems to be a similar case. See also the final stanza of AVŚ. 7, 53, 7 (occurring separately in AVP. 5, 6, 9 (Kauś. 24, 32)); AVŚ. 7, 60, 7 (Kauś. 23, 6); 7, 73, 11 (24, 17). The use of the final stanza of AVŚ. VI, viz. 142, 3 ("for increase of barley"), at Kauś. 19, 27 (final *sūtra* of a ritual with amulets) is possibly secondary. It is difficult to say whether AVŚ. 6, 2, 2 suitably used at Kauś. 29, 27 in a remedial rite against possession by evil spirits has circulated singly.

Now, in contradistinction to the use of the above stanzas, which is on the whole appropriate, the treatment of the 'mystic' hymn 5, 1 is quite different. Not only is it frequently and variously used "in situations that have nothing to do with the meaning of the hymn, and cast no light upon its difficulties",³⁴ the numerous stanzas that are employed singly are in the Sūtra left unconnected with the hymn as a whole and create, moreover, the impression of being used secondarily – or, in a *vidhāna*-like manner, alternatively – , one of the words of the texts serving in most cases as a hook to hang the ritual employment on. Thus the words "let the settlements (*viśaḥ*) send garments for us" seem to have made st. 3 suitable for the ritual acquisition of new clothes. For a similar application of AVŚ. 5, 2, 3 see Kauś. 21, 21.

The use of several places taken from the hieratic or 'philosophical' texts in AVŚ. VIII etc. is not essentially different. The final stanza (25) of 9, 2, addressed to Desire (Kāma) accompanies at Kauś. 24, 29 the act of lying down, "apparently merely on account of the occurrence of the verb *saṃ-viś-*".³⁵ Compare also AVŚ. 12, 1, 62 (like the final stanza 63 wanting in AVP.) at Kauś. 50, 10; 13, 1, 1a "Rise up, O bearer of vegetative power, that (art) within the water" (the Sun is addressed) at Kauś. 49, 18 (to be pronounced when a boat sinks). See also 13, 1, 56 (and 57) at Kauś. 49, 26. There does not seem to exist a special relation between AVŚ. 13, 1, 33 and the ritual acts referred to in Kauś. 12, 4 (at the end of a section).

The occurrence of some hieratic *sūktas* of AVŚ. VIII etc. is due to the fact that they form a more or less appropriate part of a group of texts (*gaṇa*) prescribed for definite rites. Thus at Kauś. 12, 15 (where mention is made of honey) and 13, 6 (where this food is not mentioned) the honey text AVŚ. 9, 1 joins 3, 16 and 6, 69. AVŚ. 9, 9 (mystic), 13, 2 (to the sun), 16, 3 and 17, 1 (to Indra and the sun) belong with 1, 5; 6 and 5, 6 to the so-called *salīla* hymns which are in Kauś. 18, 25 to promote well-being. Whereas the use of AVŚ. 13, 1, 28 ("Agni, kindled ...") at Kauś. 49, 19 is understandable, the *sūktas* 13, 3 and 16, 6 have no doubt been added on account of the inherent elements of imprecation and conquest. It is worth noticing that in later atharvanic works not a few places taken from these hymns are added to those prescribed by Kauśika: for instance, the Gaṇamālā (AVPar. 32, 8) recommends not only 6, 45 and 46 (Kauś. 46, 9) but also 9, 2, 2; 3; 16, 5, 1-3 and several other texts to a man who wishes to counteract the effects of dreams. In view of this tendency to 'progressive extension' of the *mantra* material it seems problematic whether the use of those hymns that are not explicitly mentioned in Kauśika's text (e.g. 9, 9; 13, 2) had the compiler's approval.

There is no doubt, first that the present form of the Kauśika-Sūtra is not essentially different from its original in shape and structure and, in the second place, that its author was acquainted with and drew upon a Śaunakīya-Saṃhitā that as to its structure and arrangement³⁶ was in the main identical with the text known to us. These conclusions may be drawn from the arrangement of the topics in the several chapters and sections, which is almost entirely in accordance with the order in

which the *sūktas* prescribed occur in the *Samhitā*. From the following survey it will appear that the subdivisions of the *kaṇḍikās* as well as the sections distinguished, by means of titles, in Caland's translation are not always congruous with the grouping of the material meant by the author. *Adhyāya* II (*kaṇḍikās* 10-17) consists of the following sections corresponding with the *kaṇḍikās* enumerated hereafter: 10 (on the production of intelligence); 11, 1-12, 4 (success in teaching etc.); 12, 5-9 (concord), 12, 10-13, 12 (vitality); 14, 1-16, 26 (military affairs); 16, 27-17, 34 (princes); *adhyāya* III (18-24) consists of 18, 1-18, 18 (Nirṛti magic); 18, 19-22 (Citrā magic); 18, 23-19, 27 (various rites for welfare, happiness, prosperity, admitting of a subdivision); 19, 28-31 (*aṣṭakā* magic); 20, 1-21, 7 (agriculture); 21, 8-11 (cattle); 21, 12-22, 16 (various rites for success, welfare etc. with AVŚ. 5, 1-3³⁷); 23, 1-16 and 23, 17-24, 46 (various rites; a subdivision would be possible, but the curious fact remains that some heterogenous rites are arranged in accordance with the order in which the *sūktas* occur in the *Samhitā*); *adhyāya* IV (25-36) of 25, 1-32, 27 (diseases); 32, 28-35, 11 (magic in connexion with women); 35, 12-20 (embryos etc.); 35, 21-36, 14 (love); 36, 15-40 (rivalry); *adhyāya* V (37-46) of 37, 1-12 (prognostication); 38, 1-30 (meteorological magic, success in contests etc.); 39, 1-40, 18 (a counter-charm and, possibly meant as separate sections, rites for directing water into a certain course, as well as rites in connexion with impotence); 41, 1-7 (for abundant rain); 41, 8-42, 18 (profits and winnings); 42, 19-43, 2 (counter-charms); 43, 3-15 (a house-building ceremony); 43, 16-20 and 46, 1-55 (various purification rites, counter-magic, etc.) — interrupted by 44 and 45 beginning with AVŚ. 4, 2 (after 3, 21) and ending with verses that come after the first hymn used in Kauś. 46 — ; *adhyāya* VI (47-49) of 47, 12-22 (the consecration of the one who wishes to practise witchcraft); 47, 23-49, 14 (witchcraft ceremonies); 49, 15-27 (addenda to the preceding section); *adhyāya* VII (50-52) of 50, 1-52, 17 (various rites for safety, preservation from danger, safeguarding against vermin, fire etc.); 52, 18-21 (an addendum: how to reach old age).³⁸ It may be recalled that in quoting groups of 'hymns' the *sūtrakāra* enumerates them in the order in which they occur in the *Samhitā*.

Yet differences between *Sūtra* and *Samhitā* are not absent. As already observed by Bloomfield,³⁹ the former recognizes the composite character

of some Atharvan hymns (e.g. by employing its parts independently in their proper value). Occasionally the Sūtra gives some information on the length of definite *sūktas*: e.g. Kauś. 27, 22 quotes the words "they are slain" (AVŚ. 2, 32, 5) as "occurring at the end of AVŚ. 2, 32", which in the Śaunakīya recension has six stanzas, but in the Paippalāda five, the normal number of stanzas in AVŚ. II. The question arises whether — and if so, to what extent — such smaller groups of stanzas or single stanzas circulated also separately. In view of the existence of many short *sūktas* consisting of a portion of a longer hymn (e.g. AVŚ. 7, 49 = RV. 5, 46, 7 and 8) the answer may be in the affirmative. It does not however necessarily follow that the poet of AV. 12, 1 composed that hymn by putting together the groups of stanzas used at Kauś. 13, 12; 24, 27; 31; 37; 39 etc. and other pre-existing material.⁴⁰

In addition to some general observations already made in the preceding pages, the following conclusions may be tentatively drawn: AVŚ. VII, which gives the impression of being a supplement,⁴¹ may have been added to the Saṃhitā when the rites included in Kauśika's survey had in the main become fixed. This book (VII) seems to have been secondarily amplified. Whereas the compiler of Kauś. 10-52 incorporated elements that we would regard as domestic rather than magical, he did not include a number of rites with the pertinent *mantras* although the latter occur in AVŚ. I-VII. Obviously AVŚ. I-VII was also to serve as a depository of texts for texts other than those used in Kauś. 10-52. Whether or not the *kāmya* rites of section 59 etc. were fixed by the same compiler, the distribution of the *mantras* over the portions of the Sūtra seems to permit of the conclusion that at the time of the compilation of Kauś. 10-52, other atharvanic rites such as those of Kauś. 59 were already more or less fixed and that in giving Kauś. 10-52 its present form the compiler or compilers took full account of 59 etc. and vice versa. Properly speaking, there are no good grounds for believing sections 10-52 to have existed as a separate treatise. It is not always clear why the author has ignored a particular hymn — did he not find it in his *saṃhitā* or did he reject it? There is on the other hand no doubt whatever that he draw also upon a non-Śaunakīya atharvanic tradition, perhaps not always directly on the Paippalāda-Saṃhitā. It is furthermore a fact that — as appears from Dārila's commentary on the Sūtra and from the *Parīśiṣṭas* — in course of time the number of *mantras* used or con-

sidered utilizable – whether taken from the Śaunakīya-Saṃhitā or adopted in ritual practice (*kalpaja*)⁴² – increased. This process had a long history: as already noticed by my predecessors⁴³ Kauśika seems to have regarded the supplementary collection of hymns in AVŚ. XIX – a regrouping of Paippalāda material – as something between a body of *mantras* hailing from a different school and a separate group of additional *mantras* belonging to his own tradition.

N o t e s

¹ Cf. M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, I, Leipzig² 1909, p. 236; E. W. Fay, *The Rig-Veda mantras in the Gr̥hya Sūtras*, Thesis, J. Hopkins Univ., Roanoke 1899, p. 14; W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam Acad. 1900, p. VIII; L. Renou, in *Journal asiatique* 236, p. 132.

² V. M. Apte, *Non-ṛgvedic mantras rubricated in the Āśvalāyana-Gr̥hya-sūtra*, *New Indian Antiquary* 3 (1940-1941), p. 49; 101; 144; 171; 211; 235.

³ For a longer discussion I refer to my forthcoming fascicle *The ritual sūtras* ch. III, 3, in *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, Wiesbaden 197 .

⁴ See e.g. P. K. Narayana Pillai, *Non-ṛgvedic mantras in the marriage ceremonies*, Trivandrum 1958; for other references see Gonda, *loc.cit.*

⁵ Which in its present form probably is a composite whole made up of parts of different origin. According to the *Baudhāyana-Gr̥hya-Paribhāṣā-sūtra*, however, all sacrificial ceremonies that are not performed with the three śrauta fires are domestic rites; these include also rites for purification, appeasement, welfare or malevolent purposes.

⁶ Amsterdam Academy 1900.

⁷ See W. D. Whitney, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā* revised and edited by Ch. R. Lanman, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. CXL ff.; J. Gonda, *Vedic Literature*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 273 ff.

⁸ M. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-Veda and the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, Strassburg 1899, p. 57.

⁹ It may be recalled that there are atharvanic 'hymns' that are completely ignored by the *Kauśika-Sūtra*; see below and Whitney-Lanman, p. 1011 f.

¹⁰ Other more or less occasional uses as well as the occurrences in the preliminary sections 1-9 are ignored here.

¹¹ AVŚ. 7, 53, 7 is used at Kauś. 24, 32.

¹² Cf. A. Weber, *Indische Studien* XIII, p. 171; Whitney-Lanman, p. 56.

¹³ For particulars and the staff in general see my article in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda* 14, p. 262 (= *Selected Studies*, IV, p. 160).

- ¹⁴J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965.
- ¹⁵Gonda, *Savayajñas*, p. 77; 110; 118; 397 f.
- ¹⁶For an *āyusya* rite in the *jātakarma* see P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, II, Poona 1941, p. 233.
- ¹⁷For AVŚ. 7, 75 see Whitney-Lanman, *op.cit.*, p. 440 and Caland, *Zauber-ritual*, p. 49.
- ¹⁸The table in Whitney-Lanman, *op.cit.*, p. 1012 is not in all respects reliable; see Lanman's introductory notes on AVŚ. 5, 16 etc.
- ¹⁹See also Whitney-Lanman, *op.cit.*, p. 428.
- ²⁰Cf. J. Gonda, *Vedic Literature*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 291 f.
- ²¹For the sun as a healer see H. von Stietenron, *Indische Sonnenpriester*, Wiesbaden 1966, p. 257 etc.
- ²²Gonda, *op.cit.*, p. 37 f.
- ²³*Ibidem*, p. 291 f.
- ²⁴E.g. Kauś. 37, 7; 47, 21; 22; 39; 54; 48, 18. The formula in Kauś. 13, 12 consists of three parts, the second of which is a very frequent *pāda*, viz. *yo smān dveṣṭi yaṃ ca vyaṃ dvīṣmaḥ* (Vājs. 2, 15 etc.) (AVŚ. 2, 11, 3 etc. without *ca*, but AVP. 1, 57, 3 etc. with *ca*!). Such formulas may be more or less metrical, e.g. Kauś. 20, 6 (with a grammatical irregularity); 22, 2-4. For 39, 9 see Caland, *op.cit.*, p. 134, n. 7.
- ²⁵Gonda, *op.cit.*, p. 447 sub voce.
- ²⁶Cf. AVŚ. 6, 128, 3 f.; AVP. 19, 24, 17 f.
- ²⁷Compare also Kauś. 127, 5; AVP. 20, 47, 4 etc.
- ²⁸See Whitney-Lanman, *op.cit.*, p. 897; 966.
- ²⁹See Whitney-Lanman, *op.cit.*, p. 322.
- ³⁰See Gonda, *Vedic Literature*, p. 13.
- ³¹Very seldom (Kauś. 47, 13) the relation between *mantra* and context is not clear at first sight.
- ³²For other instances see e.g. Kauś. 34, 16; 47, 49; 50; 52; 48, 5; 6; 50, 8.
- ³³But see Whitney-Lanman, *op.cit.*, p. 374.
- ³⁴Whitney-Lanman, *op.cit.*, p. 220.
- ³⁵Whitney-Lanman, *op.cit.*, p. 525.
- ³⁶As regards the wording and the number and arrangement of the stanzas in the hymns, the Sūtra and the Saṃhitā are mostly in agreement. For the argument based on the *pratīkena* quotations see M. Bloomfield, *The Kauśika Sūtra of Atharva Veda*, New Haven 1890 (1972), p. XLI.
- ³⁷Caland's superscription placed above 21, 15-20 incorrectly suggests identity of subject with 23, 9-11.
- ³⁸The section mentioned last is one of the comparatively few passages that may be regarded as exceptions to the ordinary arrangement. Most of these are easily explicable. In 12, 15 AVŚ. 3, 16 etc. come after AVŚ. 5, 3 because 12, 15-17 deal with some analogous special cases

(but if 12, 5-13, 12 constitute one section there is no anomaly; cf. also 19, 1 after 18, 25); the brief statement 41, 14 is an addendum to 41, 1-7 (rain) as well as 41, 8-13 (winnings etc.); in 43, 3 the ritual act requiring the use of AVŚ. 7, 41 before 3, 12 is a necessary introduction. The hymns AVŚ. 7, 100 and 101 in 46, 11 f. form integral parts of the rite to be executed with 6, 45 and 46; since there is more affinity between 46, 22 and 23 AVŚ. 7, 106 is in 46, 24 made to follow (as an addendum) 8, 3, 26 (only one stanza!) in 46, 23; 27, 34 is an addition which like the above 'addenda' may have been inserted by the compiler himself. Kauś. 46, 6 could have preceded 46, 4 f. Occasionally a foreign subject interrupts the regular enumeration of rites of the same type or class because it requires the same acts and *mantras* (see e.g. 11, 7-10).

³⁹Bloomfield, *Kauśika Sūtra*, p. XLI, referring to AVŚ. 4, 38.

⁴⁰For reasons of space the occurrences of single stanzas cannot be discussed. In cases such as the final stanza (26) of AVŚ. 8, 3 (= RV. 7, 15, 10; TB. 2, 4, 1, 6; the final stanza of MS. 4, 11, 5) being quoted alone at Kauś. 46, 23 the probabilities seem to be in favour of the supposition that it is a summarizing quotation in the *Samhitā*.

⁴¹See Whitney-Lanman, *op.cit.*, p. CLI f.; 1013; Gonda, *Vedic Literature*, p. 274 f.

⁴²See e.g. Dārila and Kauś. 2, 1 on AVŚ. 19, 33, 3.

⁴³See Whitney-Lanman, *op.cit.*, p. 897; Bloomfield, *Kauśika Sūtra*, p. 40.

