



Proceedings of the 17th World Sanskrit Conference, July 9-13, 2018

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, VANCOUVER, CANADA

A Non-Śrauta Ritual in the Oldest Yajurveda Text: *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* IV 2 (Gonāmika Chapter)

Kyoko Amano

Proceedings of the 17th World Sanskrit Conference, Vancouver, Canada, July 9-13, 2018, Section 1: Veda.

Section Conveners: Shrikant Bahulkar and Joanna Jurewicz

General Editor: Adheesh Sathaye

Published by the Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia, on behalf of the International Association for Sanskrit Studies.

DOI: 10.14288/1.0379840.

URI: <http://hdl.handle.net/2429/70986>.

Suggested Citation Format:

MLA:

Amano, Kyoko. "A Non-Śrauta Ritual in the Oldest Yajurveda Text: *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* IV 2 (Gonāmika Chapter)." *Proceedings of the 17th World Sanskrit Conference, Vancouver, Canada, July 9-13, 2018, Section 1: Veda*. Edited by Shrikant Bahulkar and Joanna Jurewicz, 2019. DOI: 10.14288/1.0379840.

APA:

Amano, K. (2019). A non-Śrauta ritual in the oldest Yajurveda text: *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* IV 2 (Gonāmika chapter). In S. Bahulkar and J. Jurewicz, (eds.) *Proceedings of the 17th World Sanskrit Conference, Vancouver, Canada, July 9-13, 2018, Section 1: Veda*. DOI: 10.14288/1.0379840.

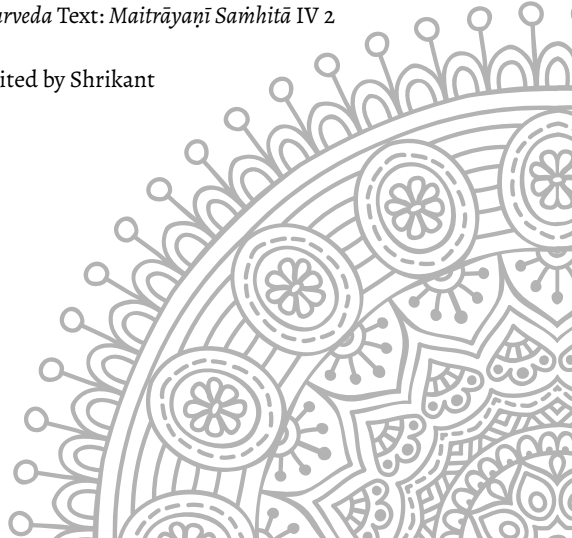
Chicago:

Amano, Kyoko. 2019. "A Non-Śrauta Ritual in the Oldest Yajurveda Text: *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* IV 2 (Gonāmika Chapter)." In *Proceedings of the 17th World Sanskrit Conference, Vancouver, Canada, July 9-13, 2018, Section 1: Veda*, edited by Shrikant Bahulkar and Joanna Jurewicz. DOI: 10.14288/1.0379840.

Copyright © 2019 by the author. Content is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 4.0 International license (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>



वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SANSKRIT STUDIES
अन्ताराष्ट्रीयसंस्कृताध्ययनसमवायः



A Non-Śrauta Ritual in the Oldest *Yajurveda* Text: *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* IV.2 (Gonāmika Chapter)

Kyoko Amano

*Institute for Research in Humanities / Hakubi Center, Kyoto University,
Kyoto, Japan*

Abstract

The *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* [MS] IV.2, Gonāmika chapter, contains descriptions of esoteric rites that don't look like the orthodox Śrauta ritual. They are, on one hand, the rites of serving a cow that are concerned with the *gopitṛyajña* (MS I.6) and the *śūlagava* ritual belonging to the Gṛhya rites, and on the other hand, the worship of Rudra that is again concerned with the *śūlagava* ritual. Underlying them is an ancient popular rite of serving a cow to people of the community at the end of the year. The examination of these descriptions gives a clue to the answer to the question whether the Vedic *Brāhmaṇa* texts were composed in order to describe Śrauta rituals.

The contents of this paper are following:

0. Were the *Brāhmaṇa* texts composed in order to describe Śrauta rituals?
1. Historic layers of language in the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*.
2. Common features in I.9 (Caturhotṛ chapter) and IV.2 (Gonāmika chapter).
3. Contents of IV.2 (Gonāmika chapter).
4. Ritual of serving a cow at *ekāṣṭakā*.
5. Serving a cow described in IV.2 (and I.6) and *Atharvaveda* 8.10.
6. Serving a cow described in IV.2 (and I.6) and the *gopitṛyajña*.
7. Serving a cow described in IV.2 and the *śūlagava* in the *Gṛhyasūtras*.
8. Conclusions.
9. Reconsidering the ritual and texts in the *Yajurveda Samhitā* period.

Keywords: Śrauta ritual, *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, *gonāmika*, *śūlagava*, serving a cow.

o. Were the *Brāhmaṇa* texts composed in order to describe Śrauta rituals?

The Śrauta rituals of the brahmanical tradition are described in the *Śrautasūtras*. We understand that the Śrauta rituals, containing *haviryajña*, *paśu*, and *soma*,¹ are rituals with three sacred fires, performed by several priests who play their own role, and held by a sacrificer who gives a fee to these priests.² How to perform these Śrauta rituals is based on the śruti literature, mainly the *Brāhmaṇa* texts that explain these rituals for the first time. One can say that the *Brāhmaṇa* texts give the basis for description of Śrauta rituals, but does it mean that the *Brāhmaṇa* texts aimed to describe the “Śrauta” rituals?

In the *Yajurveda Samhitā* [YS] texts (*Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* [MS], *Kāṭhaka Samhitā*, *Taittirīya Samhitā*) it seems that a classification of rituals as “Śrauta” or “Gṛhya” (house ritual as opposed to the official Śrauta ritual) was not the interest. We can find no definition of a Śrauta ritual. One can, however, perceive a concept of the rituals described in MS, that the priests in those days were developing. Amano explains “orthodox Śrauta ritual in the YS period” as ritual whose core action is offering oblations with recitation of ṛc hymns by the hotṛ priest and to which also some other priests are invited to play their own role, so that it makes some social meaning in their society in benefit for the ritual holder (sacrificer) (Amano 2016a: 35).

While this applies as orthodox Śrauta ritual, many “non-orthodox” elements are found in the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, as Amano also has suggested (2016a: 36-37 and 61-64). That work pointed out that the thinking developed from the *Brāhmaṇas* to later philosophy (*Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads*) came from these non-

¹ The classification into two (*haviryajña* and *soma*) and three (+ *paśu*) is found since the younger *Brāhmaṇas*: e.g., ŚB 1.5.2.11: *haviryajñé 'tha saumyē 'dhvaré* (~ ŚB 4.3.4.3); ŚB 11.7.2.1: *haviryajñávidho ha vá anyáḥ, paśubandháh savávidho 'nyás*; ŚB 1.7.2.10: *haviryajñás ... paśús*. PB 17.13.18 enumerates *haviryajña*, *paśu*, and *soma*. The *Śrautasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras* use this classification, also adding *pākayajña* (indicating a “Gṛhya” ritual, i.e., the domestic ritual): LātyŚS 5.4.22: *haviryajñasamsthā* (including *paśu* and *pākayajña*) and *somasamsthā*; BaudhŚS 24.4: *pākayajña*, *haviryajña*, and *soma*; GautDhS 1.8.19: *pākayajña*, *haviryajña* (including *paśu*), and *soma*. My special thanks go to Prof. Masato Fujii, Prof. Kiyotaka Yoshimizu, and Dr. Makoto Fushimi for helpful suggestions about the definition of the Śrauta ritual.

² See Hillebrand 1897: 97-166. The *Paribhāṣās* in the *Śrautasūtras* give a general rule and an outline of the rituals (see Chakrabarti 1980). Later *Dharmasūtras*, e.g., *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* I.97 (96) and 314 (309), indicate a “Śrauta” ritual as a ritual with three sacred fires.

orthodox cultures crossing with the orthodox ritual and thinking (Amano 2016a: 63-64).

In this paper I attempt to discuss a quite non-orthodox chapter, MS IV.2 (Gonāmika), and its relationship with rites incorporated in other rituals, especially the *śūlagava*, “serving a spit-roasted cow,” as described in the *Gṛhyasūtras*, i.e. recognized as a domestic ritual. This examination will deepen our understanding about the background of composing the old *Brāhmaṇa* literature.

1. Historic Layers of Language in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*

My recent studies make it clear that every chapter of MS shows its own peculiarities of style and language.³ It possibly means that there are several historic layers of language in MS, in other words each chapter was composed by a different author. Also, the contact status with other schools, *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* and *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, is quite different among chapters; some chapters show an active exchange of ritual opinions with KS (and TS) and some chapters do not. Each chapter was formed in a different period and different situation.⁴

The subjects of all prose chapters and their parallels in KS and TS are the following:

<i>Brāhmaṇa</i> chapters in the MS			KS/TS Parallels	
			KS	TS
I.4	yajamāna	duty of a sacrificer	32	I.6-7
I.5	agnyupasthāna	worship of sacred fires	7	I.5
I.6	ādihāna	establishment of sacred fires	8	
I.7	punarādihāna	re-establishment of sacred fires	9	I.5
I.8	agnihotra	daily offering to sacred fires	6	
I.9	caturhotṛ	caturhotṛ formulas	9	
I.10	cāturmāsya	seasonal rites	36	
I.11	vājapeya	soma drinking for a chariot race	14	

³ Amano 2014-2015: 1-36; 2015: 1161-1167; 2016a: 37-38; 2016b: 484-487; 2016c: 29-56; *forthcoming a* and *b*.

⁴ Therefore, a simple relative chronology of the entire texts (such as MS is older than KS or vice versa) is not possible.

Brāhmaṇa chapters in the MS			KS/TS Parallels	
			KS	TS
II.1-4	kāmyā-iṣṭi	rites for special wish (with cake and gruel)	10-12	II.2-4
II.5	kāmya-paśu	rites for special wish (with sacrificial animal)	13	II.1
III.1-5	agniciti	piling of fire altar	19-22	V.1-7
III.6-10	soma adhvara	preparation for soma ritual	23-26	VI.1-3
IV.1	darśapūrṇamāsa	new and full moon sacrifice	31	
IV.2	gonāmika	rite for naming cows		
IV.3-4	rājasūya	royal coronation		
IV.5-8	soma graha	soma drawing	27-30	VI.4-6

The MS chapter IV.2 that will be examined in this paper has no parallel chapter in KS and TS. My studies (2014-2015, 2015, 2016b, 2016c) attempted to clarify features of each chapter in MS. From these observations, the relationship among the chapters became clear to some extent, and also with the process of composing the text (see Amano 2016c: 51-52 and *forthcoming a*: §6):

- * I.6 and I.8 are the oldest chapters, and III.6-10 took over the tradition from these.
- * The sequence of chapters I.5 - III.1-5 - IV.1, which are closely related with one another, is located at the center of the tradition in composing MS.
- * III.1-5 and IV.1, in particular, show a period of maturity of ritual philosophy.
- * I.9, IV.2 (and I.4) brought a new wave with some features in common with the *Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads*;
- * IV.5-8 has connection with both the traditional group (I.6/I.8 - III.6-10) and the new wave group (I.4, I.9, IV.2).

The tentative model for composing MS is as follows:

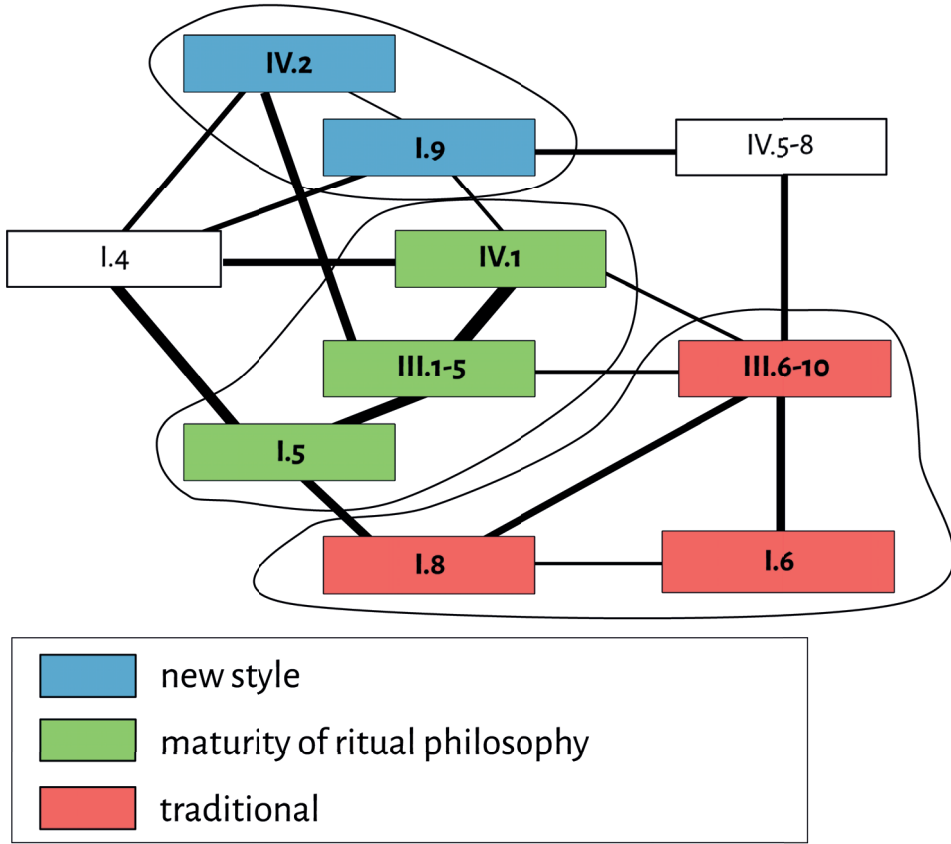


Figure 1. The process of composing MS (Amano 2016c: 52, Table 4).

2. Common features in I.9 (Caturhotṛ chapter) and IV.2 (Gonāmika chapter)

As has been suggested, I.9 (Caturhotṛ chapter) and IV.2 (Gonāmika chapter) are supposed to belong to the same historic layer, or in other words, to have come from the same social-cultural background. The linguistic features in both chapters (indicated in Amano 2010: 5, 8 and Amano 2016a: 49-50, 59-60) are the occurrence of rare vocabulary and rare syntactic phenomena, and new style of using *yá evám véda*. The peculiar ritualistic-cultural features that are common in both chapters are the reference to sattra and philosophical thinking (see Amano 2010: 11, 2016a: 49, 58-59, 61-64).

I.9 is named *caturhotāras* or *cāturhotrika-prapāṭhaka*, “the chapter for caturhotṛ formulas.” This chapter ostensibly teaches the use of these formulas, but it actually indicates the *mahāvratā* ritual in the ambiguous way, concealing its

name.⁵ Amano (2017: 1039-1046) gives a conclusion that I.9 shows the trace of an attempt to embed a non-orthodox ritual, the mahāvratā, into the context of the orthodox Śrauta ritual.

One of the most important features I.9 and IV.2 commonly indicate is that both rituals are prescribed as rituals not only for an *āhitāgni* (qualified sacrificer) but for an *anāhitāgni* (not qualified sacrificer) in *Mānava Śrautasūtra* [MŚS] 9.5.5.1 (~ *Vārāha Śrautasūtra* [VārŚS] *pariśiṣṭa*):⁶

MŚS 9.5.5.1-2: *cāturhotṛkagonāmikam apy anāhitāgner dvādaśarātram tri-rātram ekarātram vā. pākayajñopacārād agnim upacarati.*

The caturhotṛ and gonāmika are held also by one who has not established his sacred fire (i.e., not qualified as sacrificer) for twelve nights, three nights or one night. He deals with the fire in the way of the house ritual.

The second important point is that the mantras referred to in I.9 and IV.2 are not found in any other chapters in MS, although I.9 and IV.2 teach to use these mantras in soma and other rituals. This fact indicates that these chapters could have been composed later than other chapters or isolated from other rituals (or teachers of other rituals). The following passages from I.9 and IV.2 that show the same style prescribe to use the mantras in soma ritual respectively:

I.9.5(4b):136.20-137.3: *dāśahotāram vadet purāstād bahiṣpavamānāsya ... cāturhotāram vadet purāstād ājyānām. pāñcahotāram vadet purāstān mādhyamādinasya pāvamānāsya. saptāhotāram vadet purāstād ārbhavasya pāvamānāsya.*

IV.2.4(2):26.6-11: [// ⁺vāsvyai hīmkuru. tāsyaī prāstuhi. tāsyaī mé 'varuddhyai //] *īti purāstād bahiṣpavamānāsya vadet. [// idāyai hīmkuru, ... //] īti purāstād ājyānām vadet. [// jyōtiṣe hīmkuru, ... //] īti purāstān mādhyamādinasya pāvamānāsya vadet. [// āyuse hīmkuru, ... //] īti purāstād ārbhavasya pāvamānāsya ⁺vadet.*

⁵ This ritual was originally from the *vṛātya* culture, that has been argued in many studies, for example Heesterman 1962, Falk 1986, Parpola 2012 and 2015, Mucciarelli 2015: 65-69, Amano 2016a.

⁶ See Amano 2010: 1-17; van Gelder 1961: 5 and 1963: 284, note 1; Kashikar 2003: LIX. See also Heesterman 1993: 135-136.

But the use of these formulas and mantras is found nowhere in the soma ritual in MS.⁷

3. Contents of IV.2 Gonāmika chapter

MS IV.2 (Gonāmika chapter) was studied in detail by Gandhe (1976-77: 19-26). This study provides an overview of the contents in IV.2, namely birth-ritual of cattle, naming the cattle, setting a bull free, marking the cattle, housing the cattle, cattle-raids, maintenance of a breed, disposal of aged cattle. He makes important suggestions about the contents:

The gonāmika, directly or indirectly, speaks of the practices and beliefs prevalent in a society that had taken on to agriculture but still retained cattle-keeping as a major source of livelihood (p. 19).

... The gonāmika (MS. iv.2) was essentially a sort of manual for cattle-keeping. Occasionally it gives a religious garb to ordinary practices ... (p. 25).

What is important is that MS IV.2 doesn't have any parallel chapter in its sister texts, KS and TS. Among the later Śrautasūtras, only MŚS and VārŚS that belong to the Maitrāyaṇī school have corresponding ritual descriptions. It can be supposed that the author(s) of MS IV.2 hold(s) a peculiar, probably not major position in the brahmanical society in those days.

4. Ritual of serving a cow at *ekāṣṭakā*

As Gandhe suggested, MS IV.2 mainly contains practices and beliefs at cattle-keeping. Here I will discuss interesting passages according to a ritual of serving a cow. The ritual context in MS IV.2 is quite difficult to understand. How the described ritual acts and ordinary actions are related with each other and whether they stand in time order are not clear (that can be applied to many chapters of MS). So, I will cite passages here that can possibly be concerned with a ritual of serving a cow.

⁷ MŚS 2.3.6.8 (the chapter for soma sacrifice) indicates the both combined: *daśahotāraṃ yajamāno jāpati purastād bahiṣpavamānasya "vasvyai hiṅkurv" iti ca*. In the same way, ĀpŚS 12.17.13-14.

A. *Serving a cow at ekāṣṭakā*: MS IV.2.3(3): 24.16-25.5; MŚS 9.5.5.12.

devās ca vā āsurās cāspardhanta=. *áditir devésv āsīt, kústāsureṣu. té devā amanyanta*: “*yády abhiṣyāmaḥ, kústāyāḥ śírā āhaniṣyāmā*” *íti*. “*yády abhiṣyāmā*” *ity āsurā amanyanta=*, “*áditīyāḥ śírā āhaniṣyāmā*” *íti. tāṃ devā abhijītyāghnata. yásya vái *jítám, yásya víjítam, tásyaiśá⁸ gṛhé hanyata. eṣá vái kṣút. kṣúdham vā etád dhate. tád, yá evám vidván ekāṣṭakāyāṃ gām haté, saṃvatsarāyaivá kṣúdham hate*.

The gods and asuras fought against each other. Aditi belonged to the gods, Kustā to the asuras. Then the gods thought: “If we win, we will cut Kustā’s head off.” “If we win,” thought the Asuras, “we will cut Aditi’s head off.” The gods won and slayed her. In the house of a man who is defeated [and] whose [belongings] are depredated,⁹ this [cow] is slayed. This is hunger. In this way, he defeats the hunger. When he, knowing this, slays a cow at ekāṣṭakā, he defeats hunger for the year.

This passage explains the serving of a cow at ekāṣṭakā, i.e., at a day around winter solstice. The rite has the meaning to defeat hunger for the coming year. This is probably an old custom at seeing the old year out, for the *Atharvaveda* has a passage concerning to this:

AV 14.1.13.:¹⁰ *sūryāyā vahatúḥ prágāt savitá yám avásṛjat |*
maghásu hanyante gāvaḥ phálgunīṣu vyūhyate ||

The bridal (*vahatú*) of Sūryā, which Savitar sent off (*ava-sṛj*), has gone forth; in the Maghās are slain the kine; in the Phalgunīs is the wedding. (Tr., Whitney 1905).

The maghās are the constellation around the winter solstice,¹¹ so the rite is corresponding to that description in MS IV.2,3, although the contexts are different (one is after a battle, another at a wedding).

⁸ So Schroeder M, Sātavalekar; H Bb *tásyaivá*; (MS [Ed. Schroeder] 25, n. 1).

⁹ I interpreted *yásya* at *jítám* and *víjítam* as the object of *jay*, so “a man who is defeated.” Heesterman (1985: 67) interprets *yásya* as the agent of *jay*, so “a victorious conqueror.”

¹⁰ RV 10.85.13 is parallel to this. In RV *aghásu* stands instead of *maghásu* in AV, and *árjunyos* instead of *phálgunīṣu*. See Sakamoto-Goto 2016: 268-266.

¹¹ See Weber 1860: 341-345.

The next passage is for the “*saptastavirya*” ritual. In this rite, man tries to obtain new cows through calling them with the names for the seven “gods” cows. The addressing words are collected in IV.2.5: 26.13-14:

- (1) *vāsīyasy éhi*
- (2) *śréyasy éhi*
- (3) *bhūīyasy éhi*
- (4) *cittā¹² éhi*
- (5) *dādhr̥sy éhi*
- (6) *īḍā éhi*
- (7) *sūnṛtā éhi*

This calling is used in various situations as IV.2.6-7 explain, for example, at a battle, at a scene in the regular (new and full moon) ritual, or at grazing. And following them, IV.2.7: 29.1-10 explains it as a ritual provided with a formality of orthodox or “Śrauta” ritual, that is recognized in the technical expression of *yājayet* – “[a priest] should make [a sacrificer] hold a ritual”¹³ use of ṛc, sacrificial gift, especially traditional rice gruel for brahmins:

B. “Saptasthavirya” ritual formed as orthodox ritual: MS IV.2.7: 29.1-10 (~ MŚS 9.5.5.23-25)

grāmakāmaṃ yājayet +sārasvata¹⁴ ṛgbhyāṃ. saṃvatsaró vái sárasvānt. saṃvatsarēṇaivásmai grāmaṃ cyāvayati. [vāsīyasy éhi, śréyasy éhi=] ity. etád-etad +evásma¹⁵ atyāhvayati. paśúkāmaṃ yājayet +sārasvata ṛgbhyāṃ. ... sárvasāṃ dugdhé cátuḥśarāvam odanáṃ paced brāhmaṇébhyaḥ paśúkāmas.

¹² *cítte* (voc. sg. f.). *e > ā* before an accented vowel (except *á*) is a special sandhi in MS.

¹³ About the prescriptions with *yājayet*, see Amano 2014 and *forthcoming c*.

¹⁴ Muusses 36 (in Mittwede 160) corrected so; Schroeder and Sātavalekar: *sārasvata*. Likewise 29,4 below.

¹⁵ Mittwede 160 with Muusses 36 corrected so; Schroeder and Sātavalekar: *evāsya*.

[The priest] should make [a sacrificer] hold it (saptasthavirya ritual) with two ṛc verses for Sarasvant¹⁶ if he wishes a village. Sarasvant is a year; with a year he (the priest) moves a village to him (the sacrificer). [He says:] “Richer one, come on! Better one, come on!” In this way or that way, he calls more [cows] to him. [The priest] should make [a sacrificer] hold it (saptasthavirya ritual) with two ṛc verses for Sarasvant if he wishes cattle. ... He should cook four dishes of gruel in milk gained from all milk cows for the (invited) brahmins if he wishes cattle.

The four dishes of gruel referred to in the last sentence is prescribed also in the chapters of *agnyādhāna* (establishment of sacred fires):¹⁷

I.6.11(2): 103.13-14.: *tēsāṃ cātuḥśarāvam odanāṃ paktvā brāhmaṇēbhyo jīvātaṇḍulam ivōpaharet* (see Amano 2009: 251-252).

I.6.12(1): 104.9-10.: *yāsyā rātryāḥ prātār agnīm ādhāsyāmānaḥ syāt, tām rātrīm cātuḥśarāvam odanāṃ paktvā brāhmaṇēbhyo jīvātaṇḍulam ivōpaharet* (Amano op. cit. 254).

Agnyādhāna had been systematized as orthodox ritual when they were composed into the text. IV.2,7 seems to have taken the ritual act from these.

The next passage that follows above is about sacrificial gift, too.

C. Sacrificial gift: MS IV.2.8: 29.12-14 (~ MŚS 9.5.5.26-27).

*yām adānīyāya dādāti, tām asya paśāvo 'nvāpakrāmanti. yādi mānyeta= “adānīyāyādām” ity, etād evā yājur vaden [nā me tād *ūpādambhiṣyad¹⁸ *ṛṣir brahmā yād dadā] iti. ...*

When he gives sacrificial gift to one who is not appropriate for a gift, his cattle runs away after this [gift]. If he thinks: “I have given something to one who is not appropriate for a gift,” he should say the following yajus: “A (right) ṛṣi, a (right) brahmin would not make that pointless for me what I gave.” ...

¹⁶ It is probably related with offering for Sarasvant described in I.4.15(2). The two ṛcs that are used there are MS IV.10.1:142.11f. (= RV 7.96.5) and 13f. (= AV 7.40.1). I.4.15 belongs to the newest layer in MS; (see Amano 2014-15: 23 n. 5, 30).

¹⁷ Cf. also I.10.1(3): 140.14-15: *marūdbhyo gṛhamedhēbhyāḥ sārvasām dugdhē sāyām odanā.* (Amano op. cit.: 354).

¹⁸ I corrected so; Schroeder according to M *ūpadambhiṣar dhṛṣir*; H Bb (B) *ūpadambhiṣa dhṛṣvir* (MS [Ed. Schroeder] 29 n. 7; Mittwede 1986: 161). *Ūpādambhiṣyat* is conditional.

Following that, blessings for the new-born are explained. It is not obvious whether passages C and D concern the same ritual context, but I interpreted so because of the continuity in the order.

D. Blessings for the new-born: MS IV.2.8: 29.16-30.11 (~ MŚS 9.5.6.1-5).

[// vīrāvātīr bhūyāsta ... //] iti pūmāmsaṃ jātām abhīmantrayeta. [// bhūyasīr bhūyāsta ... //] iti strīyaṃ jātām. [// annādā bhūyāsta ... //] iti balihṛto 'bhīmantrayeta. [// bhūyāmsō bhūyāsta ... //] iti sabhāsadaḥ. ...

[// pūṇyā pūṇyam +asūt ... //] iti pūmāmsaṃ jātām abhīmantrayeta=. ūrjāvāsmāi sahā jāyate, gācchati paśūnām samvidam. [// pūṇyā pūṇyām +asūt, ... //] iti strīyaṃ jātām. rāyās-pōṣeṇaivāsmāi sahā jāyate, ...

yé prācīnam ekāṣṭakāyā jāyante, pūrvasya té sasyāsytamā. yé pratīcīnam āparasya, té sasyāsyā prathamās. tān ubhāyān sahābhīmantrayeta.

He should recite a charm to a newborn boy, "You [mothers] may be those who bear brave men" ... He should recite a charm to a newborn girl, "You [mothers] may be those who increase in number," ... He should recite a charm to those who bring tribute to him, "You may be those who obtain food," ... He should recite a charm to those who sit at the meeting [i.e., his people], "You may increase in number," ...

He should recite a charm to a newborn male [calf], "A good [mother] has born a good [calf]," ... It is born together with refreshment for him [the sacrificer], it is admitted among the cattle. He should recite a charm to a newborn female [calf], "A good [mother] has born a good [calf]," ... It is born together with increasing property for him ...

Those [barley sprouts] that come out before ekāṣṭakā are the last of early sowing. Those [barley sprouts] that come out after [ekāṣṭakā] are the first of later sowing. He should recite a charm to both of them together.

The ritual scene is the meeting where people who bring tribute to the man of political weight and also his own people sit together, and the newborn are blessed. *Pūmāmsaṃ jātām* and *strīyaṃ jātām* are referred to twice, the latter indicates calf, that is understood from the statements "it is born together with refreshment for him, it is admitted among the cattle." MŚS 9,5,6,4-5 prescribe the use of these mantras for the calves for *ekāṣṭakāyām*. It can be recognized also from the statement about barley sprouts in MS that come out before and after *ekāṣṭakā*. It is understandable that such a meeting (*sabhā*) of people with bless-

ing the newborn in the year was held at the end of the year, where a cow could be served to the people as described in A (IV.2,3).

The problem of a gift to an inappropriate person in passage C is probably concerning this situation where various people meet in the meeting.

And one more argument for continuity of passages B,C and D is eventually the continuity of I.6.11(2) four dishes of gruel for brahmins at agnyādhāna (see above B) and I.6.11(3) gambling with a cow at the sabhā and eating it. It is important to note that agnyādhāna is fulfilled, in an ideal case, at around change of the year that corresponds to ekāṣṭakā.¹⁹ The passage about gambling with a cow at the sabhā is as follows:

I.6.11(3): 103.19-104.8 (Agnyādhāna):

trīr vā idāṃ virāḍ vyākramata, gārhapatyam āhavanīyam sāvhyam. ...
**madhyādhivevane²⁰ rājanyāsya juhuyād vāruṇā ṛcā. ... śatām asmā akṣān*
prāyachet. tān vicinuyāt. ... gām asya tād āhaḥ sabhāyāṃ dīvyeyus. tāsyaḥ
pārūṃṣi nā himsyus. tāṃ sabhāsādbhyā upaharet. tāyā yād grhṇīyāt, tād
brāhmaṇēbhyo dēyam.

Virāj parted this [world] into three with her stride, [namely] *gārhapatya*, *āhavanīya*, and *sāvhyā* [belonging to the meeting house] [fire]. ... He [the priest] should make a offering into the fire that is placed in the middle of the place for dice game [in the meeting house] for a kingship with the ṛc verse for Varuṇa. ... He [the priest] should give him [the sacrificer] hundred dice nuts. He should winnow [some] from them. ... They [the people at the meeting] should gamble with his [the sacrificer's] cow throughout the day in the meeting house. They should not break its joints. He should serve it to the people who are sitting at the meeting. That [part] he gets should be given to the brahmins. (Amano 2009: 252-3; Krick 1982: 442-443; Sakamoto-Goto 2016: 282, n. 5).

Keywords that connect the two ritual scenes are slaying a cow, people sitting at the meeting (*sabhāsād-*), four dishes of gruel for brahmins (*cātuḥśarāva-*

¹⁹ I.6.3(1) tells the origin of *agnyādhāna* with the burning bush at *vasantāśīśirā*, “period of time around the change of the cold season to the spring” – i.e., around the change of the year, I.6.9(1), (2) and (6) prescribe to establish fires at a period of time with the constellation *phalgunīs* that is the beginning of a year.

²⁰ See Amano 2009: 252, n. 664.

odaná-). The time for the ritual is possibly the ekāṣṭakā. From these, an event of community at the year-end emerges.

The next passage tells the origin of Rudra's names.

E. Worship of Rudra / Śiva: MS IV.2.12: 35.8-16²¹

prajāpatiḥ vai trīṇ mahimnò sṛjatāgnīm vāyūm sūryam. té catvárah pitāputrāḥ sattrām āsata. té svédaṁ samāvaukṣams. tād +abhavat.²² tād vá asyaitán náma= “ābhūd”²³ iti. “sārvam abhūd” iti. +té²⁴ vá asyaité námanī krūrē ásānte. tásmād eté ná grahītavyè; krūrē hy èté ásānte.

prajāpatiḥ vai svām duhitāram abhyākāmayatośasam. ... tám āyatayābhiparyāvartata. tásmād vá ×abibhet.²⁵ sò 'bravīt: “paśūnām tvā pátim karomy, átha me másthā”²⁶ iti. tād vá asyaitán náma “paśúpátir” iti. tám abhyāyatyāvīdhyat. sò 'rodīt. tād vá asyaitán náma “rudrá” iti. té vá asyaité námanī śivé śānté. tásmād eté káman grahītavyè; śivé hy èté śānté.

Prajāpati created the three expanses, [namely] Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya. The four, the father and sons, sat at a sattra sitting. They dripped down sweat. It came into existence (*abhavat*) [as Rudra]. This is the well-known name of him, [namely] “*abhūt*.” It [is said also as] *sārvam abhūt*. These (Bhava and Śarva) are the “well-known two names of him that are terrifying, not calmed. Therefore, one should not take these two [names], for these are terrifying, not calmed.

Prajāpati desired his own daughter, Uṣas ... Then he [Rudra] went round by him [Prajāpati], taking aim at him with a set [arrow]. So he (P) feared him (R), and he (P) said: “I make you the lord of cattle (*paśūnām ... pátim*). So don't shoot me.” This is the well-known name of him, [namely] Paśu-

²¹ Falk 1986: 48-49; Jamison 1991: 292, note 278 and 290-291.

²² So corrected; Schroeder and Sātavalekar *ābhavat* (MS [Ed. Schroeder] 35 note 3; Mittwede 1986: 163).

²³ Sātavalekar *nāmābhūd*; Schroeder *nāmābhūd*.

²⁴ Schroeder and Sātavalekar *tād*; see the sentence of the same construction under 35,15: *té vá asyaité námanī*

²⁵ So Sātavalekar; Schroeder *abibhet* (Mittwede 1986: 16).

²⁶ Schroeder and Sātavalekar *mā sthā* (Mittwede 1986: 163 with reference to Hoffmann 1967: 59-60, *et alibi*). It is to be read as *asthās*, the injunctive of the root aorist of *as-*.

pati. [But] he (R) set [arrow], taking aim at him (P), and pierced him. So he (P) cried out (*arodīti*). This is the well-known name of him, [namely] Rudra. These [Rudra and Paśupati] are the well-known two names that are auspicious, calmed. From this origin one should call these two as one likes, for these are auspicious, calmed.

It is prescribed not to call Rudra as *sarva* and *abhūt* that imply Śarva and Bhava,²⁷ but as *paśupati* and *rudra*.²⁸ But it is not indicated in what situation these names are called.²⁹ As discussed below, some *Gr̥hyasūtras* connect the rite of serving a cow with the worship of Rudra with these different names. It is quite sure that MS IV.2.12 connect the worship of Rudra with the cattle keeping as seen also in many places in MS.³⁰

One more argument for connection of Rudra worship with the rite at the end of the year is the myth about Prajāpati's incest that is told in this context.³¹ This myth comes from *Atharvaveda* (AV) 4.4. Parpola (1983: 52) argues that these AV verses are closely connected with the mahāvratā rite that is also a fest at the end of the year, that is an important vrātya ritual.³² The mahāvratā is the hidden subject in MS I.9, the sister chapter of IV.2, which is argued by Amano (2017). The community fest of serving a cow and the esoteric mahāvratā fest were probably not unrelated with each other, but different forms of the year-end rite.³³

²⁷ See Falk 1986: 48.

²⁸ This passage corresponds to a mantra found in MS II.9,5: 124,8f. (Agniciti mantra chapter): *nāmo bhavāya ca śarvāya ca, nāmo rudrāya ca paśupātaye ca*. It can be based on AV.4,28, a praise of Bhava and Śarva. It is to be noted that the name Śarva is mentioned only in MS II.9, the so-called "Hinduistic" mantra collection (see Amano 2016a: 36). Acharya (2013) argues for the govratā and anaḍudvratā mentioned in the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* as the origins for the Pāśupata vrata, which could have been related to Rudra worship in AV and MS.

²⁹ Probably at the rite for breed (setting a bull free), analysed from the order of description.

³⁰ Rudra as Paśupati: I.6.4(3), I.10.20(2); Rudra concerning with cattle: I.4.13(6), I.6.6(1), I.6.7(4), I.6.11(2), I.8.4(8), I.8.5(3), I.8.6(1), I.10.20(4), II.1.6(1), II.1.10(7), II.3.7(3).

³¹ It occurs in several texts, so in MS III.6.5, ŚB I.7.4, AB III.33, JB III.262; see Jamison 1991: 289-293. See also Amano 2016a: 51.

³² See Amano 2016a: 51, with n. 49, indicating Gonda 1975: 424-428, Parpola 2015: 138-140, 192, 242, 250.

³³ See Sakamoto-Goto 2016: 272, with n. 17.

5. Serving a cow described in IV.2 (and I.6) and AV.8.10

From the descriptions in IV.2 and I.6, a ritual of community at the year-end is revealed, where people gathered at the meeting (*sabhāsād-*) and ate a cow. *Atharvaveda* 8.10 could have described the same ritual, and probably had an influence on MS I.6 and IV.2, for AV 8.10 shows many common descriptions with them (see Sakamoto-Goto 2016: 283-271):

- AV 8.10.2: *sód akrāmat. sá gārhapatyē ny àkrāmat. ...*
 3: *sód akrāmat. sáhavanītye ny àkrāmat. ...*
 5: *sód akrāmat. sá sabhāyāṃ ny àkrāmat.*

She [Virāj-] ascended (*ut-kram*); she descended (*ni-kram*) in the householder's fire (*gārhapatya*); ... She ascended; she descended in the fire of offering (*āhavanīya*); ... She ascended; she descended in the assembly (*sabhā*); ... (tr. Whitney).

~ See above, MS I.6.11(3).

- AV 8.10.9: *tām devamanuṣyā abruvann, "iyām evā tād veda yād ubháya upajīvema=, imām úpa havayāmahā" iti.*

10: *tām úpāhvayanta:*

11: *"úrjā éhi svádha +éhi³⁴ súnṛta éhi= írāvaty éhi=" iti.*

Of her gods and men said: "She verily knoweth that upon which we of both classes may subsist; let us call to her." They called to her: "O refreshment, come! O *svadhā*, come! O pleasantness, come! O thou rich in cheer (*írā*), come! (tr. Whitney)

~ See above, MS IV.2.5; (the 6th and 7th callings are (6) *idā éhi*, (7) *súnṛtā éhi*); MS IV.2.7 (B *saptasthavirya* ritual) *etád-etad +evásmā atyāhvayati.*

- AV 8.10.19: *sód akrāmat. sá pitṛṇ āgacchat...prá pitṛyāṇaṃ pánthāṃ jānāti, yá evāṃ véda.*
 20: *sód akrāmat. sá devān āgacchat. ... prá devayāṇaṃ pánthāṃ jānāti, yá evāṃ véda.*

She ascended; she came to the Fathers; ... he understandeth the road that goes to the Fathers who knoweth thus. She ascended; she came to the

³⁴ So corrected; ed. *ehi*.

gods; ... he understandeth the road that goes to the gods who knoweth thus. (Tr. Whitney).

≈ MS IV.2.1(4): 22.16.18-19 *prá devayānaṃ pánthāṃ jānāti, yá evāṃ véda. ... prá pitryānaṃ pánthāṃ jānāti, yá evāṃ véda.*

AV 8.10.22: *sód akrāmat. sāsuraṇ āgachat. ... ayaspātrāṃ pātram. / tām dvimūrdhā-rtvyò 'dhok. tām māyām evādhok. ...*

23: *sód akrāmat. sá pitṛṇ āgachat. ... rajatapātrāṃ pātram. / tām ánakto mārtyavó 'dhok. tām svadhām evādhok. ...*

She ascended; she came to the Asuras; ... the metal (*áyas-*) vessel [was] vessel; her Dvimūrdhan son of Ritu milked; from her he milked illusion; ...

She ascended; she came to the Fathers; ... the silver-vessel [was] vessel; her Antaka son of Mṛityu milked; from her he milked *svadhā*; ... (tr. Whitney).

(AV.8.10.22-29 ≈ MS IV.2.1(2): 21.11-19 and IV.2.13: 36.8-16);

≈ MS IV.2.1(2): 21.14-15 and 16-17: *átha pitáro 'duhra rajaténa pātreṇa svadhām. ... áthāsura aduhrāyaspātréna srávatā sūrām;*

MS IV.2.13: 36,10-11 and 15-16: *átha pitáro 'duhra rajaténa pātreṇórjaṃ ca svadhām ca. ... áthāsura aduhrāyaspātréna +srávatābhūtiṃ³⁵ ca párabhūtiṃ ca.*

The word *pitryāna-* is AV's vocabulary (totally in 11 places attested in AVŚ and AVP). Except AV, this word appears only in R̥V 10.2.7 and here in MS, not at all in the other *Yajurveda Samhitās*. It can be supposed that AV influenced MS IV.2.

To summarize, key elements of the ritual in AV.8.10 and MS I.6 / IV.2 are listed:

AV 8.10.2,3,5	Virāj strided to gārhapatya, āhavanīya, and sabhya fire	MS I.6.11(3)
AV 8.10.9-11	Calling cows with special calls	MS IV.2.5,7
AV 8.10.19-20	Path for the gods and path for the ancestors	MS IV.2.1
AV 8.10.22-29	"Milking" with different vessels by different races	MS IV.2.1,13

As Sakamoto-Goto (2016) suggested, AV 8,10 could have shown a primitive form of the year-end rite including the ancestor rite.

³⁵ Mittwede 164 corrected; MS (Ed Schroeder) *srávatā bhūtiṃ*; MS (Ed Sātavalekar) *śrávatā bhūtiṃ*.

6. Serving a cow described in IV.2 (and I.6) and *Gopitṛyajña*

The rite described in AV 8.10, MS I.6 and IV.2 was taken over by gopitṛyajña, a form of pitṛyajña described only in *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* II.8-11 and *Vādhūla Śrautasūtra*, Upavasathagavi chapter.³⁶

BaudhŚS II.8 (45.6-7): *athāgnyādheyasyopavasatha ity upakalpayate gām māmsalām ahataṃ vāsaś catura udakumbhāṃs trīn audumbarāñ chūlān ...*

II.9 (48.4-6): *tad akṣān paryupaviṣanti catvāraḥ pitāputrāḥ. ... dvādaśākṣān pitā prachinatti. ...*

II.9 (48.11-49.2): *athaiḥhyo barhir ādāya gām upakaroti ... tām atraiva pratīcīnaśirasīm dakṣiṇāpadīm samjñāpayanti. ... tūṣṇīm vapām utkhidyā hṛdayam uddharati. prajñātāni cāvadānāni. prajñātau ca matasnū. tāny eteṣv eva śūleṣūpanikṣyaitasminn evāgnau śrapayanti.*

On the day preceding the day on which fires are to be set up, the sacrificer procures a fat cow, a new garment, four pitches of water, three spikes of udumbara wood, ... Four persons – father (sacrificer) and sons – sit around the dice ... The father draws up twelve dice ... Having taken up darbha-blades from them (the players), (the Adhvaryu) consecrates the cow ... She is immolated there only with her head towards the west and feet towards the south ... Having extracted out the omentum, he cuts out the heart, the organs and the two kidneys knowingly. Having stuck them on those three spikes, they cook them on this very fire. (Tr. Kashikar 2003: 83-85).

We see common acts of BaudhŚS II.8-9 with MS I.6. MS I.6 doesn't say that the rite is an ancestor ritual. But it is possible that a year-end rite of community had also a meaning of an ancestor ritual, or it was developed to such a ritual.

It reminds us of another type of ancestor ritual, namely aṣṭakā, a ritual at the eighth day of the dark half-month in Taiṣa, Māgha, Phalgunī, among those the aṣṭakā in Māgha, that corresponds to the winter solstice, is the most important.³⁷ The aṣṭakā is connected with śrāddha that is the house ritual version of an

³⁶ See Ikari 1999: 1-30.

³⁷ See Caland 1893: 166-192.

ancestor ritual, and contains serving a cow.³⁸ So it is also one of various developed forms of the year-end rite of community.

7. Serving a cow described in IV.2 and śūlagava in the *Gṛhyasūtras*

On the other hand, the year-end rite of serving a cow was taken over in śūlagava (“serving a spit-roasted cow”) as described in the *Gṛhyasūtras* (*Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* II.7.4-28, *Bhāradvāja GS* II.8-9, *Āśvalāyana GS* IV.9.1-40, *Pāraskara GS* III.8.1-17, *Āpastambha GS* 7.19.13-14, *Mānava GS* II.5.1-5, *Kāṭhaka GS* 52.1-13).³⁹

BaudhGS II.7.8-13: *tām atraiva pratīcīnaśirasīm dakṣiṇāpadīm samjñapayanti. ... tūṣṇīm vapām utsvīdya hṛdayam uddharati. prajñātāni cāvādānāni. tāny eṣv eva śūleṣūpanīkṣya tasminn evāgnau śrapayanti.*

This is rightly corresponding to BaudhŚS II.9, gopitṛyajña. The gopitṛyajña described as a Śrauta ritual and the śūlagava described as a Gṛhya ritual seem to be closely related with each other.⁴⁰

And what is important is that Rudra's names are uttered at the śūlagava:

BaudhGS II.7.18: *atraitāny avadānānīḍāsūne pracchaudanaṃ māsaṃ yūṣam ity ājyena samudāyutya mekṣaṇenopaghātaṃ pūrvārdhe juhōti “bhavāya devāya svāhā śarvāya devāya svāhā īśānāya devāya svāhā paśupataye devāya svāhā rudrāya devāya svāhā ugrāya devāya svāhā mīmāya devāya svāhā mahate devāya svāhā” iti.*⁴¹

Worship for Rudra concerned with rituals for cows is implied in MS IV.2, as seen in E above. The śūlagava and MS IV.2 have the same background in this point.

A problem is the time for the ritual. Some of the *Gṛhyasūtras* prescribe the harvest as the time for śūlagava:

³⁸ See Caland 1893: 23; Sakamoto-Goto 2016: 273-272 n. 14.

³⁹ See Iwasaki 1964: 820-814, Takahashi 1987: 997-995 and 1989: 980-977; Sakamoto-Goto 2016: 272 n. 14.

⁴⁰ The chapter of the animal sacrifice, BaudhŚS IV.6, describes killing a sacrificial animal in a different way from gopitṛyajña and śūlagava. BaudhŚS IV.6: *tad etaṃ paśuṃ pratīcīnaśirasam udīcīnapādaṃ nighnanti* – “The animal is immolated with its head towards the west and feet towards the north” (Kashikar 2003: 209).

⁴¹ Similar mantras in ĀśvGS IV.9.17, PārGS III.8.6, BhārGS II.8-9; ĀpGS 7.19.8: *atra rudrān jāpet.*

BaudhGS: *mārgaśīrṣyāṃ paurṇamāsyām*, MGS: *śaradi*.

But ĀśvGS and KGS add the spring that is the season beginning after the winter solstice, so corresponding to MS IV.2:

ĀśvGS IV.9.2 and KGS 52.3: *saradi vasante vā*.

8. Conclusion

To summarize, key elements according to the ritual for serving a cow are listed:

	Killing a cow	Gift (gruel) for brahmins	Meeting of community people (or relatives)	End of the year (and beginning)	Worship for Rudra
MS IV.2 Gonāmika	○ A	○ B (C)	○ C D	○ A D	○ E
MS I.6 Agnyādihāna	○	○	○	△	
AV 8.10	△		○		
ŚS Gopitryajña	○	○	△	△	
GS Aṣṭakā and Śrāddha	△		△	○	
GS Śūlagava	○			△	○

○ *The chapter indicates the element.*

△ *The element is optional or just implied.*

9. Reconsidering the ritual and texts in the Yajurveda Saṃhitā period

In the *Yajurveda Saṃhitā* period, the rituals were not classified into “Śrauta” ritual or “Gṛhya” ritual. There was a community rite of serving a cow at the end of the year, originally a popular rite, that was taken over in the *Śrautasūtras* as gopitryajña that was held before the agnyādheya, and on the other hand, in the domestic ritual, as śūlagava, connected with the worship for Rudra.

MS IV.2 integrated this popular ritual into the framework of the orthodox ritual, that consists of participation of the priests and sacrificial gift. Such an integration of non-orthodox ritual into the orthodox framework is seen com-

monly in MS I.9 and IV.2, where linguistic peculiarity can be recognized. From this point, a common social-cultural background can be supposed for both chapters. As Amano has suggested (2016a), the non-orthodox (possibly vrātya) culture could have influenced on the situation. The close relationship with AV⁴² and the worship for Rudra described in IV.2 can indicate this fact.⁴³

It is very important that MS IV.2 has no parallel passage in other Brāhmaṇa literature. The classification of rituals was rounded out in a later period, and the framework of the rituals was unified among the Vedic schools just with trivial differences at each ritual action. Why was the gonāmika not admitted into the “Śrauta” ritual in all other Vedic schools? Possible answers are that other schools avoided to admit it as an orthodox ritual, or the Maitrāyaṇīyas made a secret of their knowledge (because of a special technique of cattle keeping). It is still an unsolved problem.

Acknowledgments

This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP16KO2167.

Bibliography

Primary Sources & Abbreviations

AB *Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa: Mit Auszügen aus dem Commentare von Sāyaṇācārya und anderen Beilagen.* Edited by Theodor Aufrecht. Bonn: Adolph Marcus 1879. Reprinted, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1975.

ĀpGS *The Āpastambīya Gṛhyasūtra : with Extracts from the Commentaries of Haradatta and Sudarśanārya & an Index of Words.* Edited by M. Winternitz. New Delhi: Meharchand Lachhmandas Publications, 2016.

ĀpŚS *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra (text with English Translation and notes), Vols. 1 and 2.* Edited by Ganesh U. Thite. Delhi: New Bharatiya Book Corporation, 2004 / 2013.

⁴² About the connection between the *Atharvaveda* and the vrātyas, see Parpola 1983: 47-48; Amano 2016a: 61, n. 80.

⁴³ See Amano 2016a: 50, with n. 46.

- AV *Atharvaveda (Śaunaka) with the Padapāṭha and Sāyaṇācārya's Commentary.* Edited by Vishva Bandhu et al. Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, 1960-64.
- ĀśvGS *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtram with Sanskrit Commentary of Nārāyaṇa, English Translation, Introduction and Index.* Edited by Narendra Nath Sharma, with a foreword by Satya Vrat Shastri. Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1997.
- BaudhGS *The Bodhāyana Gr̥hyasūtra.* Edited by R. Shama Sastri. New Delhi: Meharchand Lachhmandas Publications, 1982.
- BaudhŚS *The Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra.* Edited by C. G. Kashikar. Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Motilal Banarsidass, 2003.
- BhārGS *Bhāradvājagr̥hyasūtram. The Domestic Ritual According to the School of Bhāradvāja,* critically edited Sanskrit text with an introduction and list of words by Henriette J. W. Salomons. New Delhi: Meharchand Lachhmandas Publications, 1981.
- GautDhS *Gautama Dharmasūtra, in Dharmasūtras. The Law Codes of Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Vasiṣṭa. Annotated Text and Translation.* Edited by Olivelle, Patrick. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2000.
- GS *Gr̥hyasūtra(s).*
- JB *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda.* Edited by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra. Sarasvati Vihāra Series, 31. Varanasi: Arya Bharati, 1954. Reprinted, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986.
- KGS *The Kāṭhakaagr̥hyasūtra with Extracts from Three Commentaries, an Appendix and Indexes.* Edited by Willem Caland. Lahore: Lalji Das Manager Hindi Press, 1925.
- KS *Kāṭhaka Samhitā.*
- LātyŚS *Śrautasūtra of Lātyāyana: with the Commentary of Agniswāmī, with a New Appendix Containing Corrections and Emendations to the Text.* Edited by C. G. Kashikar. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1982.
- MGS *Mānavagr̥hyasūtra of the Maitrāyaṇīya Śākhā, with the Commentary of Aṣṭāvakra,* edited with an introduction, indexes, etc. by Ramakrishna Harshaji Sastri. New Delhi: Meharchand Lachhmandas Publications, 1982.
- MS *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā.* Edited by Leopold von Schroeder, 4 Vols. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1881, 1883, 1885, 1886. Reprint, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1970.

- Yajurvedīya Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*. Edited by S. D. Sātavalekar. 4th ed. Paradi: Svādhyāya-Manḍala, 1983.
- MŚS *The Mānava Śrauta Sūtra belonging to the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, ed by Jeanette van Gelder, with New Appendix Containing Corrections and Emendations to the Text by Dr. C. G. Kashikar. Śatapiṭaka Series, 17. New Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1961, 1963.
- PārGS *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra. Sanskrit Text, Complete English Translation with Introduction*. Edited by V. Narain, transl. by Hermann Oldenberg. Delhi: Chaukhambha Sanskrit Pratishthan, 2005.
- PB *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (Tāṇḍīya Mahābrāhmaṇa), with the Bhāṣya of Sāyaṇācārya*. Edited by Cinnasvāmī Śāstrī and Paṭṭābhīrāma Śāstrī. Haridas Sanskrit Granthamala 105: 1 & 2. Varanasi: Benares Kashi Sanskrit Series, 1935-1936.
- RV *Rgveda Samhitā. Die Hymnen des Rigveda*. Edited by Theodor Aufrecht, 2 Vols. 2nd ed. Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1877.
- ŚB *The Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa in the Mādhyandina-Çākhā with Extracts from the Commentaries of Sāyaṇa, Harisvāmin and Dvivedaganga*, ed. by Albrecht Weber. The White Yajurveda, pt. 2. Berlin: Dümmler, 1855. Reprint: Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, 96. Varanasi: Chowkhamba, 1964.
- ŚS *Śrautasūtra(s)*.
- TS *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*.
- VārŚS *Vārāha Śrautasūtra. Belonging to the Maitrāyaṇī Recension of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*. Edited by C. G. Kashikar. Pune: Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, 1988.

Secondary Sources

- Acharya, Diwakar. 2013. "How to Behave like a Bull? New Insight into the Origin and Religious Practices of the Pāśupatas." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 56: 101-131.
- Amano, Kyoko. 2009. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā I-II. Übersetzung der Prosapartien mit Kommentar zur Lexik und Syntax der älteren vedischen Prosa*. Münchner Forschungen zur historischen Sprachwissenschaft, 9. Bremen: Hempen Verlag.
- Amano, Kyoko. 2010. "Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā IV.2,1 (Gonāmika syou boutou) no kenkyū [Study of Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā IV.2,1 (the Beginning Part of the Gonāmika Chapter)]." *Machikaneyama Ronso* 44 (*Tetsugakuhen*): 1-17.
- Amano, Kyoko. 2013. "Keśin Dārbhya in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā: Description of the *Brahmaudanika* Fire in MS I.6,5(1d): 94,4-8." *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 61: 1073-1077.
- Amano, Kyoko. 2014. "Sacrifice for the Benefit of the Priest: The Use of the Causative *yājaya*^{ti} in the Black Yajurveda-Saṁhitā Prose." *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 62: 1065-1071.
- Amano, Kyoko. 2014-2015. "Zur Klärung der Sprachschichten in der Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā." *Journal of Indological Studies* 26/27: 1-36.
- Amano, Kyoko. 2015. "Style and Language of the *Agniciti* Chapter in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (III.1-5)." *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 63: 1161-1167.
- Amano, Kyoko. 2016a. "Ritual Contexts of *Sattra* Myths in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā." In *Vrātya Culture in Vedic Sources: Select Papers from the Panel on "Vrātya culture in Vedic Sources" at the 16th World Sanskrit Conference (28 June - 2 July 2015) Bangkok*, edited by Tiziana Pontillo, Moreno Dore, and Hans Heinrich Hock. New Delhi: DK Publishers, 35-72.
- Amano, Kyoko. 2016b. "Indication of Divergent Ritual Opinions in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā." In *Vedic Śākhās: Past, Present, Future. Proceedings of the Fifth International Vedic Workshop, Bucharest 2011*, edited by Jan E. M. Houben, Julieta Rotaru, and Michael Witzel. Cambridge: Department of South Asian Studies, Harvard University, 461-490.
- Amano, Kyoko. 2016c. "Saishiki wo urazukeru chishiki wo megutte. Ko-veda bunken ni okeru *yā evāṁ vidvān* / *vēda* no shiyohou to tetsugakushisou no hatten." *Machikaneyama Ronso* 50 (*Tetsugakuhen*): 29-56.

- Amano, Kyoko. 2017. "A Ritual Explanation Concealing its Name: Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā 1.9 (Caturhotṛ Chapter)." *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 65: 1039-1046.
- Amano, Kyoko. *forthcoming a*. "What is 'knowledge' justifying a ritual action? Uses of *yá evám véda / yá evám vidván* in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā." In *Proceedings of the International Symposium Titled "To the Sources of the Indo-Iranian Liturgies," Liège, 2016*.
- Amano, Kyoko. *forthcoming b*. "The Development of the Uses of *ha / ha vái / ha sma vái* with or without the Narrative Perfect and Language Layers in the Old Yajurveda-Saṁhitā Texts." In *Proceedings for the Workshop Titled "Diversity in the Vedic Lexicon and its Role in Reconstructing the Most Ancient Indo-Aryan Language Layers," Held at the 33rd South Asian Languages Analysis Roundtable (SALA-33), Poznan, 2017*.
- Amano, Kyoko. *forthcoming c*. "Nīrvapet and Yājāyet in the Kāmyā-Iṣṭi Chapter of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā: Tradition and Practice in the Old Vedic Ritual Literature." In *Proceedings of the Sixth International Vedic Workshop, Calicut, 2014*.
- Caland, Dr. W. 1893. *Altindischer Ahnenkult. Das Çrāddha nach den verschiedenen Schulen mit Benutzung handschriftlicher Quellen dargestellt*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Chakrabarthy, Samiran Chandra. 1980. *The Paribhāṣās in the Śrautasūtras*. Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar.
- Falk, Harry. 1986. *Bruderschaft und Würfelspiel: Untersuchung zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des vedischen Opfers*. Freiburg: Hedwig Falk.
- Gandhe, Vasudha. 1976-1977. "Gonāmika (Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā IV. 2): An Ancient Text on Cattle-Keeping." *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* 36 (1/4): 19-26.
- Gonda, Jan. 1975. *Vedic Literature (Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas)*. A History of Indian Literature, 1. Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden.
- Heesterman, J. C. 1962. "Vrātya and Sacrifice." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 6: 1-37.
- Heesterman, J. C. 1985. *The Inner Conflict of Tradition*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Heesterman, J. C. 1993. *The Broken World of Sacrifice*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Hillebrandt, Alfred. 1897. *Rituallitteratur. Vedische Opfer und Zauber*. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.
- Ikari, Yasuke. 1999. "Place of *Gopitṛyajña* Rite of the Vādhūla School." *ZINBUN* 34 (2): 1-30.
- Iwasaki, Shinye. 1964. "Rudra to Śūlagava sai. Gṛhyasūtra no kamigami 1." *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 12-2: 820-815.
- Jamison, W. Stephanie. 1991. *The Ravenous Hyenas and the Wounded Sun. Myth and Ritual in Ancient India*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Kashikar, C. G., ed. 2003. *The Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*. Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Motilal Banarsidass.
- Krick, Hertha. 1982. *Das Ritual der Feuergründung (Agnyādheya)*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Mittwede, Martin. 1986. *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā. Sammlung und Auswertung der in der Sekundärliteratur bereits geäußerten Vorschläge*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Mucciarelli, Elena. 2015. "Lost Speech: The Poetry of Sattrins." In *The Volatile World of Sovereignty: The Vrātya Problem and Kingship in South Asia*, edited by Tiziana Pontillo, et al. New Delhi: D. K. Printworld, 65-98.
- Parpola, Asko. 1983. "The Pre-Vedic Indian Background of the Śrauta Rituals." In *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*. Vol. 2, edited by Fritz Staal. Berkeley, CA: Asia Humanities Press, 41-75.
- Parpola, Asko. 2012. "The Dāsas of the Ṛgveda as Proto-Sakas of the Yaz I-related Cultures, with a Revised model for the Protohistory of Indo-Iranian Speakers." In *Archaeology and Language: Indo-European Studies Presented to James P. Mallory*, ed. by Martin E. Huld, Karlene Jones-Bley, Dean Miller. Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man, 221-264.
- Parpola, Asko. 2015. *The Roots of Hinduism: The Early Aryans and the Indus Civilization*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sakamoto-Goto, Junko. 2016. "On the Prototype of the New Moon Sacrifice (and the Ancestral Worship) – Mainly Based on Ṛgveda X.85 and Atharvaveda VIII.10." *Indogaku Shukyo gakkai Ronsyu* 43: 286-259.
- Takahashi, Akira. 1987. "Śūlagava (1): gurihiya saishiki kenkyu VI." *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 35-2: 997-995.

- Takahashi, Akira. 1989. "Śūlagava (2). gurihiya saishiki kenkyu VII." *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 37-2: 980-977.
- van Gelder, Jeanette, ed. 1961/1963. *The Mānava Śrauta Sūtra Belonging to the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*. Śatapīṭaka Series, 17. New Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications.
- Whitney, William Dwight, and Charles Rockwell Lanman. 1905. *Atharva-Veda Saṃhitā: Translated with a Critical and Exegetical Commentary by William Dwight Whitney. Revised and Brought Nearer to Completion and Edited by Charles Rockwell Lanman*. 2 Vols. Harvard Oriental Series, 7-8. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.