



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

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, VANCOUVER, CANADA

Smell or Incense in Vedic Ritual

Chisei Ōshima

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

Section Convenors: 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: 10.14288/1.0379849.

URI: <http://hdl.handle.net/2429/71006>.

Suggested Citation Format:

MLA:

Ōshima, Chisei. "Smell or Incense in Vedic Ritual." *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: 10.14288/1.0379849.

APA:

Ōshima, C. (2019). Smell or incense in Vedic ritual. In S. Bahulkar and J. Jurewicz, (eds.) *Proceedings of the 17th World Sanskrit Conference, Vancouver, Canada, July 9-13, 2018, Section 1: Veda*.

DOI: 10.14288/1.0379849.

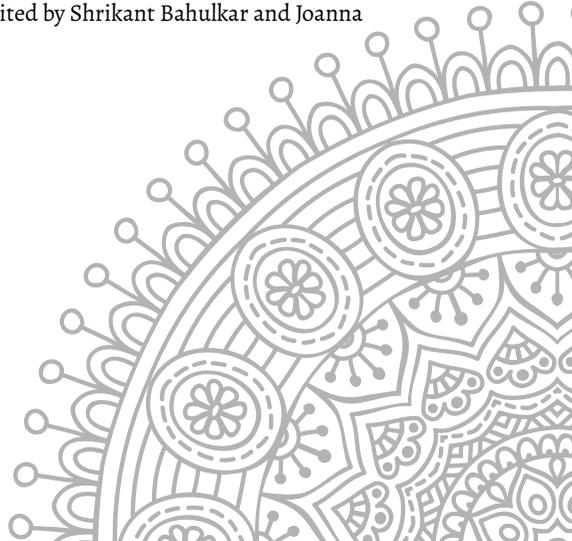
Chicago:

Ōshima, Chisei. 2019. "Smell or Incense in Vedic Ritual." 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: 10.14288/1.0379849.

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



Smell or Incense in Vedic Ritual

Chisei Ōshima

*Center for the Death and Life Studies & Practical Ethics, University of Tokyo,
Tokyo, Japan.*

Abstract

In this article, Vedic *gandha*, the smell, was examined especially focusing on a ritualistic context. It is also known in modern times that *gandha* often means incense, aromatic woodchips to burn used for offering to the gods, or fragrant powder to apply to a priest's body. In spite of the investigation into the *gandha* treated in Vedic Śrauta rituals, we do not find any such kind of *gandha*. Instead we can consider some suggestive cases. Above all, it seems reasonable to suppose that the smell of dairy products is quite significant and proper for a sacrifice. From this viewpoint we may say that it can be the origin or basis of the ritualistic smell in the Vedic Śrauta rituals. Pragmatic *gandha* as an offering item seen in modern history suddenly abundantly appears among Gṛhya rituals in the context of the hospitable reception of a guest. There has been established a set of offerings including the *gandha* in this period, being possibly associated with the development of manufacturing method of the *gandha* probably in the field of magical or medicine rites derived from the Atharvavedic tradition, or even from folk beliefs. As related materials, various substantial *gandhas* enumerated in Purāṇas and used in early Tantrism have been summarized in the latter part.

Keywords: Veda, ritual, *gandha*, smell, perfume, incense.

1. Introduction

In modern rituals of Hinduism or Buddhism and so on, there appears a kneaded stick incense burned, woodchip smoking on a piece of charcoal, or fragrant powder dusted over the clothing of priests or applied to their faces.

For instance, when we see the offerings of the Pāśupata ritual in early Śaivism, something fragrant called *gandha* is included as matter of course. It goes without saying that *gandha* is an important notion in Veda in terms of mythical or symbolical argument, and later period it is seen in the elaborated theory of categorizing olfactory sensation. However, much is not known about its origin. The question now arises: Is it possible to define *gandha* as a product to

offer to the gods in the Śrauta rituals? First of all, we have to inquire into gandha in terms of religious significance and how it should be specified in Veda.

2. Gandha: Origin of smell

2.1. Gandharva: gandha and milk

Let us see the example from AVŚ 8, 10, 27, which refers to gandha, good smell, as an attribute of Virāj, associated with Gandharva from the perspective of folk etymology and compared to sweet milk.

AVŚ VIII 10, 27:¹ *sód akrāmat. sá gandharvāpsarása āgachat. tāṃ gandharvāpsarása úpāhvayanta púnyagandha éhīti. | tásyās citrārathaḥ sauryavarcasó vatsá ásīt puṣkaraparṇám pátram. | tāṃ vásuruciḥ sauryavarcasó 'dhok. tāṃ púnyam evá gandhám adhok. | tāṃ púnyam gandhám gandharvāpsarása úpa jīvanti. púnyagandhir upajīvanīyo bhavati yá evám véda. ||*

She (Virāj) ascended. She came to the Gandharvas and Apsarases. Gandharvas and Apsarases called to her: O one who has good smell, come! Of her Citraratha, son of Sūryavarcas, was young as a calf, the lotus leaf [was] vessel. Her Vasuruci, son of Sūryavarcas, milked. From her he milked good smell. On that good smell the Gandharvas and Apsarases subsist. He who knows thus becomes one who has good smell and to be subsisted on.

These hymns tell a story that Gandharvas and Apsarases use gandha as nourishment. Virāj, a female principle involved in creating the world, who assumes diverse forms to bring their subsistence to the gods and men is here a cow that gives milk smelling good and being auspicious. Next passage is the related *brāhmaṇa*, MS 4, 2, 13:

MS IV 2, 13:36, 13: *átha gandharvāpsarásó 'duhra puṣkaraparṇéna púnyam gandhám. duhé púnyam gandhám yá evám véda.*

Then Gandharvas and Apsarases were milking good smell with the lotus leaf (known as a vessel). He who knows thus milks good smell.

As far from these passages, gandha is supposed to be the smell of milk, symbolized in winning honor and prosperity.

¹ AVP XVI 10, 28.

2.2. Butter

Araṇyānī, “Goddess of wilderness,” is praised in the following ṚV verse:

ṚV X 146, 6²: *āñjanagandhiṃ surabhīm bahvannām ākṛṣīvalām | prāhām mṛgā-
nām mātāram araṇyānīm aśaṃsiṣam ||*

Smelling an ointment, sweet-smelling, rich in food without cultivation; mother of wild animals, goddess of wilderness, I have now praised.

It is also found in ṚV X 18, 7 that *āñjana sarpiṣ*, an ointment-butter that women who have good husbands apply to their eyes in a relative’s funeral.³ *Āñjana* with *surabhī* also appears in the following passage about the preparation of the anointment with fat in the Sautrāmanī after Rājasūya. The sacrificer gets a kind of ointment rubbed onto his limbs before the anointment.

ŚB XII 8, 3, 16: *sarvasurabhy ūnmārdanaṃ bhavati. paramó vā eśá gandhó yát
sarvasurabhy ūnmārdanaṃ. gandhēnaivāinam etád abhīṣīñcati.*

A rubbing down (of the Sacrificer) with all perfumes is applied. Verily such a rubbing down with all perfumes is supreme smell. With that smell he (the priest) thus anoints him.

Gandha here belongs to a conceivable kind of ointment provided with “all perfumes.”⁴ It can be *navanīta* (ghee) or *sarpis* (butter) with multifarious perfumes. On the other hand, it should be added that there is a small piece of wood called *kuśā*⁵ used by the Prastotṛ at a stotra in the Soma pressing, which is smeared with gandha:

LātyŚS II 6, 1: *...gandhaiḥ pralīpya sarpiṣā eke...*

[Over the small piece of wood] after he smeared with gandhas, [but] some [do] with sarpis butter...

What this passage makes clear at once is that the gandha is considered to be distinct from sarpis butter.

² = TB II 5, 5, 7; ŚāṅkhGS VI 2, 5.

³ Caland 1896: 123. The same hymn is AVŚ XII 2, 31. On *navanīta* (body cream) and *āñjana* (eye-shadow) in the Dikṣā, although there is no referring to their smell, see Ōshima 2011: 64-66.

⁴ Also, in KātyŚS XIX 4, 14 without specific details.

⁵ Ranade 2006: 160f.

2.3. Various ritualistic gandhas

Let us see the following passages on the fragrance called *gandha* used in the Śrauta ritual. First, on the Kāmyeṣṭi, the Dvaidha-sūtra of BaudhŚS describes sprinkling water with the fragrant *gandha* added therein.

BaudhŚS XXIII 1:148,13: *sa ha smāha baudhāyanaḥ prokṣaṇīṣu ca gandhān āvapeyur gandhavantaś cartvijah pracareyur iti.*

And teacher Baudhāyana used to say [about it]: “The priests should put *gandhas* into the sprinkling water, and endowed with *gandhas* they should perform.”

What the passage here explains is that one who might lose his cattle or human resources should offer a *puroḍāśa* on eight potsherds to “*surabhimant Agni*.” The *prokṣanī* water is mixed with something fragrant. It remains an unsettled question whether the *gandhavant-* indicates that the priests would apply themselves another kind of fragrance anew or they just become fragrant as a result of adding *gandhas* into the sprinkling water. Be that as it may, in both cases they are unidentifiable as fragrant substances, as can be also seen in the first quotation below from the ĀpŚS.

ĀpŚS XIV 12,9⁶: *gandhaiḥ priyavadyena ca talpam ||*

[He who accepts a fee should go] with *gandhas* and beloved speech, towards the bed.

ĀpŚS XXI 20,3⁷: *tataḥ saṃvatsaragāthā. gāva eva surabhayo gāvo gulgulu-gandhayaḥ | gāvo ghr̥tasya mātaraś tā iha santu bhūyasīḥ ||*

Then one-year-old stanza: cows truly with sweet-smelling, cows with the smell of a bdellium or resin, and cows as mothers of clarified butter, they should increase in this world.

In the second passage we see the identifiable *gandha* that is the smell of resin from cows. As to the *gandha* of a bdellium or resin, see 2.6 below.

⁶ This is about the *dakṣiṇā* in the Soma sacrifice.

⁷ In the Gavāmayana, a type of whole year Sattra, female servants (*dāśya*) chant the long stanzas. = VaitS XXXIV 9; KātyŚS XIII 3,21; ĀpŚS XXI 20,3; MānŚS VII 2,7,10.

2.4. Magical smell

Let us now consider the ancient gandha playing a role of the magical smell in the following passages of the AVŚ, hymns to the earth. The smell of the earth is primordial for the ancient people, who found it universally prevalent. Being sweet-smelling (even though it might be metaphorically) was necessary for them in order not to fall into disfavor.

AVŚ XII 1, 23-25⁸: *yás te gandháḥ pṛthivi saṃbabhūva. yám bíbhraty ósadhayo yám ápaḥ | yám gandharvá apsarásaś ca bhejiré téna mā surabhīm kṛṇu. má no dvikṣata kás caná ||23||*

yás te gandháḥ púṣkaram āvivéśa, yám saṃjabhrúḥ sūryāyā vivāhé | ámartyāḥ pṛthivi gandhām ágre téna má surabhīm kṛṇu. má no dvikṣata kás caná ||24||

yás te gandháḥ púruṣeṣu strīśú puṃsú bhágo rúciḥ | yó áśveṣu vīreṣu yó mṛgésūtá hastīṣu | kanyāyām vārcó yád bhūme ténāsmām ápi sám sṛja. má no dvikṣata kás caná ||25||

(23) What smell of you, O earth, came into being. Which the herbs bear, which the waters [bear], which the Gandharvas and Apsarases shared; with that [do thou] make me sweet-smelling, in order that no one ever hates us.

(24) What smell of you entered into the lotus, which they, the immortals, brought together at Sūryā's wedding, O earth, [that] smell in the beginning; with that [do thou] make me sweet-smelling, in order that no one ever hates us.

(25) What smell of you is in human beings, in women, in men [that is] a share, pleasure, what in horses, in heroes, what in wild beasts and in elephants, what splendor in a maiden, O earth, with that [smell] [do thou] unite us also, in order that no one ever hates us.

Smell in the beginning is mythically born from the earth, considered as that of herbs and flowers, based on a fertile soil or earth and water. The importance of the fragrance of the lotus flower has been inherited until today. These hymns are also applied to a *bhauma*, a ground-breaking ceremony.⁹

⁸ AVP XVII 1, 23-25.

⁹ Kauś V 2, 12; 16 (= XXXVIII 12; 16). See Whitney 1905: 661.

Furthermore, according to the last refrain, the gandha provides him with amicable relations. Conversely, bad gandha could lead him to a bad situation, like being cursed as shown in the following:

MS II 5, 2:49, 12: *vāyúr vā etáśyāśtīlám gandhám janátā anuvīharati yám abhiśáñsanti.*

Vāyu verily distributes [back] ugly smell of this [sacrificer] among those who accuse [the sacrificer].

This is interesting in that it shows that we could symbolically wear bad smell when we were accused or cursed.

2.5. *Talisman or amulet*

AVŚ IV 37, 2:¹⁰ *tváyā vayám apsaráso gandharvāñs cātayāmahe | ájaśrñgy ája rákṣaḥ sárvān gandhēna nāśaya ||*

By you we cause to hide the Apsarases, the Gandharvas; O goat-horned one, drive the Rakṣas, make all disappear by [your] smell.

This is the part of the hymns praising some exorcising herb (*ośadhi*-). It is known that the great ancestors slew evils with it.¹¹ It is specified by only late commentators.¹²

2.6. *Bdellium or resin*

The following passage from the ŚB explains *paridhi* (enclosing-stick) and a bdellium or resin with its gandha.¹³

ŚB III 5, 2, 15-17¹⁴: *śávrāṃ haivāśya pítudāru. tād yát páitudāravāḥ paridháyobhávanti śávrīreṇaivāinam etát sámardhayati. kṛtsnám karoti ||15||*

¹⁰ AVP XIII 37, 2.

¹¹ The similar one called *ośadhi* is also found in the hymn of AVŚ VIII 6, 10, guarding a pregnant woman from various obstacles. Some commentators consider it as ‘an amulet of white and yellow mustard’ according to Whitney (1905 vol. 2: 493f.)

¹² See Winternitz 1909: 117 and 1981: 124. It is also used for a remedial rite, according to Kauś. See Whitney 1905 vol. 1: 211.

¹³ TS VI 2, 8, 2-4; AB I 28, 28 without referring to its smell, PB XXIV 13, 5 in different context.

¹⁴ ŚBK IV 5, 2, 10.

māṃsām haivāśya gūlgulu. tād yād gūlgulu bhāvati māṃsēnaivāinam etāt sāmardhayati. kṛtsnām karoti ||16||

gandhó haivāśya sugandhitējanam tād yāt sugandhitējanam bhāvati gandhēnaivāinam etāt sāmardhayati. kṛtsnām karoti ||17||

(15) The pine,¹⁵ namely, is the bodily frame¹⁶ of this [fire]. So, when these enclosing-sticks of a pine-wood are, thereby he supplies the [fire] with a bodily frame.¹⁷ He makes it whole.

(16) And the bdellium,¹⁸ namely, is the flesh of this [fire]. So, when the bdellium is, thereby he supplies the [fire] with flesh. He makes it whole.

(17) And the good-smelling reed, namely, is the smell of this [fire]. So, when the good-smelling reed is, thereby he supplies the [fire] with [good] smell. He makes it whole.

Bdellium is generally known as to be fragrant. The *sugandhitejana* in no. 17 is arranged with a pine-wood.¹⁹ The good account for the pine-tree as an aromatic tree can be found in the explanation of the *yūpa* in the *Aśvamedha*:

ŚB XIII 4, 4, 7: *átha yād āpomáyaṃ téja āsīt yó gandháhḥ sá sārdhám samavadrútya cakṣuṣṭá údabhinat. sá eṣa vānaspátir abhavat pítudārus. tásmāt sá surabhír. gandhād dhí samábhavat. tásmād u jvalanás. téjaso hí samábhavat...*

7. Then what was splendor consisting of water, what was smell, it flowed together from the sight [of Prajāpati] and burst forth. And this became that tree, the pine-tree (*pítudāru*). Therefore, it is sweet-smelling, since it originated from the smell. And therefore, it is inflammable, since it originated from the splendor...

¹⁵ *pítudāru*- is supposed to be a Himalayan cedar, or probably spruce or pine, given the close affinities on *pítu*° with Greek and Latin. EWA vol. II: 137.

¹⁶ *Kāṇva*: *ásthi*, a bone, similar as TS VI 2, 8, 5, PB XXIV 13, 5.

¹⁷ *Kāṇva*: *ásthnā*.

¹⁸ *Kāṇva*: *gúggulu*.

¹⁹ The interesting and detailed myth on the employed utensils including the *sugandhitejana* appears in the *brāhmaṇas* enumerated in n. 13.

Furthermore, according to the PB,²⁰ they use a bdellium mixed with an ointment in the Sattra lasting 49 days. Prajāpati, being parched up, anointed his eyes and his limbs (*ā cāñktābhi cāñkta*, XXIV 13,2) to moisten himself.²¹ Based on this myth they use the same ointment in the Sattra:

PB XXIV 13, 4:²² *gauggulavena prātassavane saugandhikena mādhyandine savane pautudāraveṇa ṛtīyasavane.*

With [ointment] mixed with bdellium at the morning-service; with [ointment] mixed with the (extract) from the good-smelling reed at the midday service; with [ointment] mixed with (resin) of the pine-tree at the afternoon-service.

They do not refer to the effect of the smell directly, since their chief concern of this applying is to make themselves moisturized and bright (*śubha-*). The purpose of this quotation is to show that these ointments are basically made from butter according to the LāṭyŚS.²³

2.7. Stench

2.7.1. Visceral smell

Gandha is not only fragrant but also stands for a visceral smell of a sacrificial animal. In the following passages from the ṚV, because the smell of its raw meat and guts seemed to be avoided in the animal sacrifice, they ordered the slaughtering to deal with it.

ṚV I 162, 10-12, 15:²⁴ *yád ūvadhyam udárasypāvāti yá āmása kravišo gandhó ásti | sukṛtá tác chamitáraḥ²⁵ kṛṇvantūtá médham ṣṛtapákam pacantu ||10||*

²⁰ Cf. PB XXIV 13, 4. Also McHugh (2012: 235f.) deals with this account.

²¹ Though its purpose was modified, it was clearly adopted from the *navanīta* and eye-shadow of the Dīkṣā.

²² See Caland 1931: 616 with his comments on XXIV 14,5.

²³ See n. 21.

²⁴ =MS III 16, 1: 182, 12-; KS[Aśv.] V 6, 4: 177, 12-; TS IV 6, 8*k, l*; IV 6, 9*a, d*; VS XXV 33-35, 38. No explanation is found.

²⁵ MS III 16, 1: 182, 13: *tāñ śamitáraḥ*.

*yát te gátrād agnínā pacyámānād abhí śúlāṃ níhatasyāvadhávati |
mā tád bhūmyām á śriṣan mā tṛṇeṣu devébhyas tád usádbhyo rātām astu ||11||*

*yé vājīnam paripásyanti pakvāṃ yá īm āhúḥ surabhír nír haréti |
yé cārvato māṃsabhikṣām upāsata utó téṣām abhígūrtir na invatu ||12||*

...

*mā tvāgnír dhvanayīd²⁶ dhūmagandhír mókhā bhrājanty abhí vikta jághriḥ |
iṣṭām vītām abhígūrtaṃ váṣaṭkṛtaṃ táṃ devásah prāti gṛbhṇanty áśvam ||15||*

(10) What the content in the stomach of the belly perspires, what the smell of the uncooked raw flesh is, to it slaughterers should skillfully do a good job,²⁷ and they should cook the sacrificial horse well-done.

(11) What flows down from your limbs being cooked by the fire, struck on a spit; it should not stay down on the ground, it should not [stay down] in the grass; it should be given to the eager gods.

(12) [Those] who observe the triumphant cooked, they say of him: “good-smelling, take out!” And [those] who sit near, expecting the meat-alms of the runner (steed), and their approval should drive us.

...

(15) Smoke-smelling fire should not smoke (aor. inj.) you. The white-hot pot (*ukhā*) boiling should not boil over.²⁸ Consecrated, pursued [the wandering for a year], approved, and called out with *vaṣaṭ*-call, the gods accept the horse.

Being uncooked and viscera smell seem to be improper for the gods. The hymns 11 & 12 show the scene of ritualistic broiling. Its blood or meat fluids were not to be scattered as much as possible and the observers or the gods enjoyed its smell of broiling. The hymn 15 describes the horse, the fire and the utensil. Agni is now called *dhūmagandhi* and the horse is addressed as not to be smoked. There is a suggestion here that the smell of smoke is not preferable. Related to these

²⁶ MS III 16, 1: 183, 10: *dhanayīd*; TS IV 6, 9d: *dhvanayīd*; KS[Aśv.] V 6, 4: 178, 3: *dhvanayed*.

²⁷ For *sukṛtā*, see Witzel, Gotō, Dōyama, Ježić 2007, p. 728.

²⁸ Hoffmann 1967: 57: “*umkippen*,” (“to tip over”), but I followed Witzel, Gotō et al 2007, p. 728: “*daraufschnellen*” (“to burst on it”).

passages, the following also refers to the smell of the sacrificial horse, which supposed to be auspicious.

ĀpŚS XX 21,8: *ye 'śvasya hutasya gandham ājighranti sarve te puṇyalokā bhavāntīti vijñāyate ||*

Those who inhale the smell of the horse offered, all of them belong to the auspicious worlds, as is known.

Gandha here, judging from the situation, indicates the smell of the smoke from the broiled meat.

2.7.2. Soma

In terms of smell, Soma is also referred to in the mantras and *brāhmaṇas*. In the mantra listed in TS I 2,6,1 and VS XX 27, Soma is praised before pressing as *gandhās te kāmam*²⁹ *avatu*: “your *gandha* should drive a desire.” The smell of Soma must be considered acrid, pungent, or stimulating. The following passages are relevant to this point.

KS XXVII 3:142, 3-6: *somo vai vṛtras. sa hato 'pūyat. te devā vāyum abruvann imam no vivāhīti. so 'bravīd vāryam vṛṇai maddevatyāny eva pātrāṇy ucyāntā iti. tam vyavāt. tasmād gandham apāhan. eṣa paśau pramīte. tasmāt tasmān nāpigṛhyaṁ. somasya hi sa rājño gandho.*

Vṛtra is verily Soma. Killed, he turned putrid. the gods said to Vāyu: “Blow away this from us!” He said: “I shall choose the valuable, vessels having myself as their own deity shall be meant.” He blew it away. Therefore, he repelled the smell. It [is] in dead cattle. Therefore, it should not be closed from it, since it is the smell of the king Soma.

ŚB IV 1, 3, 8: *tāsya devāḥ yāvanmātrām iva gāndhasyāpajaghnuḥ. tam paśūsv adadhuh. sa eṣa paśuḥ kuṇapagandhās. tasmāt kuṇapagandhān nāpigṛhṇīta. sōmasya haiṣā rājño gandhāḥ ||*

The gods repelled just the utmost of that smell [of Vṛtra's]. They laid it into cattle. This is that smell of the corpse in the cattle. Therefore, one should not close [his nose] from those smells of the corpses. It is the smell of the king Soma.

²⁹ VS: *somām*.

These passages above are a part of the myth of a cup for Indra and Vāyu (*aindravāyava graha*) in the Soma sacrifice. According to the ŚB, Indra, who fought against Vṛtra was anxious whether he could really kill it or not. Then the gods asked Vāyu to check whether it died or not. He finally found the dead body of Vṛtra, divided into each cup by the gods. The gandha of the Soma originated from Vṛtra has been transferred into dead cattle. It should not be turned away from even if it is from carrion, since it is the smell of the Soma. This gandha might be worldly repellent but is ritualistically or religiously significant.

3. *Dhūpa*

Let us now extend the observation into *dhūpa*. Its name is generally known as an incense offered in the Hindu ritual. A denominative verb or participle from *dhūpa* appears in the *Brāhmaṇas*, which means fumigation or smoldering.³⁰ However, we hardly find a reference to the smell of the smoke produced there in the YV, as seen in the fumigating of the *ukhā* pot in Agnicayana and smoking *ulmuka* or fire-brant in Agnihotra or Cāturmāsya, for example,³¹ even though it is adequately conceivable incensing. We can find a barely notable usage example as follows:

ĀpŚS XV 15,1:³² *avakābhir dhūpatṛṇair iti pracchādayati māṃsasya rūpam.*

With *Avakās* (aquatic plants, *Blyxa octandra*) and fragrant grass and so on he covers [Mahāvīra], [making] the shape of flesh.

It seems that *dhūpatṛṇa* is supposed to be a herb, whose origin is unknown. Or it is possible to presume that any herb could be applied no matter what plant it may be.

4. *Upaniṣad* and *Smṛti*

Let us see the last examples from the Vedic texts. Since the Upaniṣadic era, we find *gandhamālya* – *gandhas* or odors and garlands. The latter especially shows the notable usage of *gandha* as an offering item to honor the gods:

ChU VIII 2, 6: *atha yadi gandhamālyalokakāmo bhavati, saṃkalpād evāsya gandhamālye samuttiṣṭhataḥ.*

³⁰ Also cf. *dhūpana*: fumigation, incensing ŚS+.

³¹ Smoking *ulmuka*: MS I 10, 20:160, 1; KS XXXVI 14:80, 21, etc.

³² ~BhārŚS XI 15,25; HirŚS XXIV 6,12.

Then if he desires the world of gandhas and garlands, from his intention alone gandhas and garlands rise up.

[Piṇḍapitṛyajña:]

ManuSmṛ III 209: *upaveśya tu tān viprān āsaneṣv ajugupsitān / gandhamālyaiḥ surabhibhir arcayed daivapūrvakam //*

Now Having made the blameless Brāhmins take the seats, with sweet-smelling gandhas and garlands he should honor the gods first [them next].

Accordingly, the custom of offering gandha as an oblation has been established by that editorial time of *Manusmṛti*.

5. A set including gandha as an offering

Here we get nearer to the modern gandha. Having examined the gandha in the Vedic literature, one can then go on to consider it in the post Vedic era. Let us pose here to look briefly at the *arghya* reception, Saṃskāras, and so on.³³

5.1. *Arghya and saṃskāra*

Gandha as a substance of incense is not found in the *arghya*. Instead, *dadhi*, *madhu*, *ghṛta*, *ap*, *darbha* grass, and grains, etc. are found, and *siddhārthaka* or *sarṣapa*, mustard is later.³⁴ However, as an enumerated substance to offer, it is found in the Saṃskāras: Birth, Studying the Veda, Funeral, etc. For example in BhārGS III 11, 7: *gandha-puṣpa-dhūpa-dīpānna-phalodaka*, VaikhGS V 6: *dhūpa-dīpādi*,³⁵ ĀgniGS I 2, 2, 13: *gandha-puṣpa-dhūpa-dīpa*, II 3, 3, 9: *gandhapuṣpādi*, II 4, 6, 3: *gandha-puṣpa-dhūpa-dīpādi*, II 4, 6, 11: *gandha-puṣpākṣata-dhūpa*, II 4, 10, 13: *gandha puṣpa dhūpa dīpa*, III 10, 4, 4: *gandhamālya*, III 13, 4: *gandhamālya-dhūpa-dīpa*, III 11, 3: *dhūpadīpavarja pūjā*; ViṣṇuSmṛ XC 3: *gandha-puṣpa-dhūma-dīpa-naivedya*. It is noticeable that the ĀgniGS, what can be called a medieval text, enumerates a large number of sets. It is possible to think that collecting a set of oblations including gandha gradually became fixed in an editorial era of this text.

³³ Afterwards, thoroughly helpful was EINO CARD: <http://card.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/> by Dr. Singo Einoo.

³⁴ YājñSmṛ 290; BodhGṛŚeṣaSū II 13, 22; 16, 26; IV 2, 22 on Viṣṇupratiṣṭhā, Rudrapratiṣṭhā, and Dhūrtabali; also *Gṛhyasaṃgrahaparīśiṣṭa* II 63.

³⁵ For reference, III 14, 5: *tilasarṣapair dhūpayitvā*.

5.2. Astrology, etc.

In the field of astrology etc. represented by the AVPari, we also find a similar set including *gandha*, as follows. AVPari: I 31, 5 [Nakṣatrakalpaḥ]: *dhūpa-gandha*, IV 1, 15 [Purohitakrmāṇi]: *gandhamālya*, IV 3, 1-2 [Purohitakarmāṇi]: *gandhamālya*, *dhūpa*, IX 1, 3 [Tiladhenuvidhi] *dhūpa-puṣpa*, XV 1, 9-12 [Pāśupatavratam]: *gandhodaka*, *gandha-puṣpa-dhūpa-dīpodanapāyasa-yāvaka-lājādi*, *gandhahārin*, XIX 3, 1 [Brahmayāgaḥ]: *rocanā-candana*,³⁶ *puṣpa*, *dhūpa*, XX 6, 8 [Skandayāgaḥ]: *gandha*, *puṣpa*, *dhūpa*, VXX 9, 1 [Gārgyāṇi]: *gandhamālya*, XXXVI 8, 3 [Ucchṣmakalpaḥ]: *sarṣapa*, LII 15, 2 [Grahasaṃgarahāḥ]³⁷: *dhūpana*.

6. Pūjā, etc. in Purāṇa texts

I will now enumerate further lists from the various rituals such as pūjā shown in the Purāṇa texts.

BrahmaPur	CCXIX 52: <i>kuśa</i> , <i>gandha</i> , <i>yava</i> , <i>puṣpa</i> . (Śrāddha)
PadmaPur	VII 22,115: <i>dūrvāpallava</i> , ³⁸ <i>akhaṇḍataṇḍula</i> . (mantra, Ekādaśīvrata)
AgniPur	XXXIV 20-21: <i>yava</i> , <i>gandha</i> , <i>phala</i> , <i>akṣata</i> , <i>kuśa</i> , <i>siddhārtha</i> , ³⁹ <i>puṣpa</i> , <i>tila</i> . (Pavitrāropaṇa)
	LVII 21: <i>yava</i> , <i>siddhārthaka</i> , <i>gandha</i> , <i>kuśāgra</i> , <i>akṣata</i> , <i>tila</i> , <i>phala</i> , <i>puṣpa</i> . (Pratiṣṭhā)
	LXXIV 63: <i>dūrvā</i> , <i>puṣpās</i> , <i>akṣatāni</i> . ⁴⁰ (Śivapūjā)
BhavPur	I 163,37-38: <i>āp</i> , <i>kṣīra</i> , <i>kuśāgra</i> , <i>ghṛta</i> , <i>dadhi</i> , <i>madhu</i> , <i>raktakaravīra</i> , ⁴¹ <i>raktacandana</i> . ⁴² (Sūryapūjā)
	II 3,4,2: <i>gandhaka</i> , <i>candana</i> , ⁴³ <i>dūrvā</i> , <i>akṣata</i> . (Taḍāgādi; Tāḍana)

³⁶ *rocanā*: bile of cattle, also known as *gorocanā*.

³⁷ On the opposition between the sun and the moon.

³⁸ A young shoot (*pallava*) of *Panicum dactylon*, bermuda grass.

³⁹ White mustard seed.

⁴⁰ Brown rice.

⁴¹ *Nerium odorum*: rosebay.

⁴² *Caesalpinia sappan*: logwood (yellow flower).

⁴³ The direction for use of *candana* is described in an explanation of the place sprinkled by sandal: *sthaṇḍilam candanenoukṣitam*.

- II 3,8,1: **gandhaka**, *candana*, *dūrvā*, *akṣata*. (Aśvatthapraṭiṣṭhā)
- II 2,20,270: *pañcaratna*, **gandha**, *śaṅkhodaka*. (Taḍāgādi; Tāḍana)
- IV 13,81-84: *candana*, *aguru*, *karpūra*, *dadhi*, *dūrvā*, *akṣata*, *samudraja ratna*, *vajra*, *vaidūrya*,⁴⁴ *mauktika*,⁴⁵ *puṣpa*, *phala*. (Bhadracatuṣṭayavrata)
- IV 17,2-3: *virūḍha*,⁴⁶ *godhūma*, *saptadhānya*,⁴⁷ *tila*, *taṇḍula*, *piṇḍa*. (Meghapālīṭṭiyāvrata)
- IV 96,8-9: *phala*, *puṣpa*, *yava*, *kṣīra*, *dadhi*, *dūrvāṅkura*,⁴⁸ *jala* in *kumbha*. (Naktopavāsavidhāna)
- IV 115,10: *tila*, *aruṇacandana*,⁴⁹ *phala*, *akṣata*. (Ādityadinanakta)
- BvPur III 13,17: *gaṅgodaka*, *dūrvā*, *akṣata*, *puṣpa*, *candana*. (Gaṇeśapūjā)
- IV 26,66: *śaṅkhatoya*,⁵⁰ *puṣpa*, *dūrvā*, *candana*. (mantra, Ekādaśīvrata)
- SkandhaPur I 2,41,99: *pāṇīya*, *akṣata*, *darbha*, **gandha**, *puṣpa*, *sarpiṣ*, *kṣīra*, *dadhi*, *madhu*. (Śivapūjā)
- IV 9,87-88: *karavīra*, *raktacandana*, *dūrvāṅkura*, *akṣata*. (Sūryārghyadāna)
- V 1,60,42-43: *toya*, *candana*, *akṣata*, *puṣpaka*. (Adhimāsavrata)
- V 3,218,50: *pañcaratna*, *phala*, *puṣpa*, *akṣata*. (Jāmadagnyatīrthamāhātmya)
- MatsyaPur CCLXVII 2: *dadhi*, *akṣata*, *kuśāgra*, *kṣīra*, *dūrvā*, *madhu*, *yava*, *siddhārthaka*, *phala*. (Devasnapana)
- SauraPur XLII 16-17: *candana*, *vrīhi*, *yava*, *puṣpa*, *kuśāgra*, *siddhārtha*, *akṣata*, *ājya*, *bhasita*.⁵¹ (Śivapūjā)

⁴⁴ Cat's-eye.

⁴⁵ Pearl.

⁴⁶ A young shoot?

⁴⁷ Seven grains.

⁴⁸ A shoot.

⁴⁹ Reddish sandal?

⁵⁰ *śaṅkha*-: a shell.

⁵¹ Ash.

VdhPur	III 99: <i>śankha, bilva,</i> ⁵² <i>padma usīra, darbha, mūla, dūrvā kṣīra, akṣata, siddhārthaka, taṇḍula, tīrthodaka.</i> (Pratiṣṭhā)
ŚivaPur	VI 6,40: <i>raktacūrṇa,</i> ⁵³ <i>suvarṇodaka, sraja, kuṅkuma, kuśa, puṣpa.</i> (Saṃnyāsāhnikakarma)
GaṇeśaPur	I 49,27: <i>pravāla,</i> ⁵⁴ <i>muktāphala, putraratna, tāmbūla,</i> ⁵⁵ <i>jāmbūnada,</i> ⁵⁶ <i>aṣṭagandha, puṣpa, akṣata.</i> (mantra, Pārthivapūjā)
KālikāPur	LIII 1-4: <i>gandha,</i> <i>puṣpa, jala.</i> (Mahāmāyākalpa) LXIII 16-17: <i>sitasarṣapa,</i> ⁵⁷ <i>mudga,</i> ⁵⁸ <i>tila, kṣīra, yava, raktacandana, puṣpa, dūrvā, rocanā.</i> ⁵⁹ (Kāmākhyāpūjā) LXIII 76-77: <i>dūrvā, siddhasarṣapa, raktapuṣpa, candana.</i> (Tripurāpūjā) LXVIII 41-42: <i>kuśa, puṣpa, akṣata, siddhārtha, candana, toya,</i> <i>gandha.</i> (Kāmākhyāpūjā)
BdhPur	II 27,12-17: <i>śankha, śuklataṇḍula, dūrvā, gaṅgājala, puṣpa.</i> (Śivapūjā)
NsPur	LXVII 13: <i>śankhe toya, sitapuṣpākṣata.</i> (Agastyārghyadāna)
NāradaPur	I 113,75-76: <i>raktacandana, kuśa, dūrvā, puṣpa, akṣata, śamīpattra,</i> ⁶⁰ <i>dadhi.</i> (Saṃkaṣṭacaturthīvrata)

The *gandha* is enumerated in one third of these examples. They are also interesting in that they show that *candana*, sandalwood, became fairly common among them.

⁵² *Aegle marmelos*: wood-apple tree.

⁵³ Vermilion.

⁵⁴ A young shoot.

⁵⁵ *Piperaceae betel*.

⁵⁶ [Gold dust] from Jambū river.

⁵⁷ White mustard seed.

⁵⁸ *Phaseolus mungo*: black gram.

⁵⁹ Yellow pigment. Cf. *gorocanā*: bile of cattle.

⁶⁰ *Mimosa pudica*: a humble plant, see *spṛk-*

7. Dhūpa and gandha in Tantrism

7.1. Dhūpa

It may be worth mentioning in passing, that, turning to a new era, we can find materials for a burning incense, dhūpa, and an offering perfume, gandha. Since I am not quite competent to discuss this subject as a whole, I will arrange the materials with the help of *Tāntrikābhīdhānaśāstra* (=TAK).⁶¹

For *dhūpadravya*, incense substances, *kṛṣṇāgaru* (dark aloe wood), *karpūra* (camphor) mixed with *agaru* (aloe wood), and *guggulu mahiṣākṣa* (gum of a buffalo) are classified as the best. *Uśīra* (vetiver) and *candana* are middling. The worst are *śrīvāsa* (resin), *śarja* (*Vateria indica* bdellium),⁶² *lākṣā* (shellac), *ghṛta* and *madhu*. They are to be burnt on the *dhūpapātra* with a charcoal.⁶³ I would like to emphasize that Vedic traditional substances such as clarified butter and honey are underestimated here.

In this era, they use a pleasant fragrance for a good deed such as an arbitration or bringing up. On the other hand, inverted smelling or impure substances (not specified) for *abhicāra*, a curse.

7.2. Gandha in upacāra

Upacāra (or called *pañcopacāra*, including *arghya*) is a series of services offered to a deity. For the offerings of the pūjā there in these services, *gandha* (or *vilepana*, an unguent), *puṣpa* (flower), *dhūpa* (incense), *dīpa* (light), and *naivedya* (*havis*)⁶⁴ are listed.⁶⁵ As to *gandha*, See the following Table 1 and 2,⁶⁶ specific materials for the perfumes, *gandha*.

⁶¹ On this subject, see also Einoo and Takashima 2005, Hara 2010: 72 (*gandha* as an incense), McHugh 2012.

⁶² *Vateria indica* is an Indian copal tree: contains copal varnish.

⁶³ TAK III: 108. The source for this recipe is *ĪśgP II kp 5.86c-90b*.

⁶⁴ *niveda-*: Offering or an oblation offered. Food cooked for the gods like dairy products or grains is called *naivedya*.

⁶⁵ TAK I: 237. The sources are PKār IV 374; *ĪśgP II kp 5.7ab*.

⁶⁶ TAK II: 178.

Table 1. Eight forms of *gandha* listed in *Sanatkumāra Saṃhitā*, *Śivarātra VIII 75-76b*.

Name	Identification
<i>uśīra</i>	<i>Andropogon muricatus</i> : vetiver. Oil from roots (benzoic acid)
<i>kuṅkuma</i>	Saffron
<i>māmsī</i>	<i>Nardostachys jatamansi</i> : spikenard (honeysuckle), oil from a stalk or roots
<i>malayaja</i>	Sandal wood [grown in Mt. Malaya (MBh +)]
<i>murā</i>	A kind of aromatic tree
<i>hrībera</i>	A kind of <i>Andropogon</i> (beard grass)
<i>kūṣṭha</i>	Probably <i>Saussurea lappa</i> : (AV +), oil from roots
<i>agaru</i>	(<i>aguru</i> -) <i>Amyris Agallocha</i> : citrus tree

Table 2: Nine forms of *gandha* in *Vīratāntra*.

Name	Identification
<i>candana</i>	Sandal
<i>kuṅkuma</i>	Saffron
<i>loha</i>	Agallochum, like an eaglewood
<i>khadgá</i>	Rhinoceros (MS +), or a rhinoceros-horn?
<i>jātī</i>	Jasmine or nutmeg tree or nut (Suśr), also in Pāli.
<i>vānara</i>	Monkey (Mn +); a kind of aromatic tree; <i>Carpopogon pruriens</i> : legume (L.)
<i>takkola</i>	(<i>kakkola</i> -) Loanword; an aroma extracted from a kind of aromatic plant or fruit (Suśr).
<i>kaṭuka</i>	Adj. - "sharp" (RV X 85,34); <i>Picrorhiza Kurroa</i> : perennial in highlands
<i>patra</i>	(<i>pattra</i> -) <i>Laurus Cassia</i> : cinnamon

Two types of *śaivagandha* and *śāktagandha* are listed in *Vātulantra* quoted in *ĪśgP II kp 5.72-74j*. These are crushed and mixed with cold water. One *śaivagandha* is made of five: *candana*, *agaru*, *karpūra* (camphor), *kuṅkuma*, and cold water. The other *śaivagandha* is made of eight: *candana*, *kuṅkuma*, *kuṣṭha*, *dala* (a

petal or leaf, ep. +)⁶⁷, *śīta* (cold one), *agaru*, *karpūra*, *hirivera* (*hrībera*), or another eight: *candana*, *agaru*, *karpūra*, *kāśmīra* (saffron), *uśīra*, *rocana*, *kuṣṭha*, and cold water. *Śāktagandhas* are made of eight: *candana*, *agaru*, *karpūra*, *māṃsī*, *kuṅkuma*, *rocana*, *sprk* (*sprkkā*, *Trigonella Corniculata*: fenugreek or *Mimosa pudica*: a humble plant), and *vānara*. An *aṣṭagandha* is also listed:⁶⁸ *candana*, *kuṅkuma*, *agaru*, *karpūra*, *kuṣṭha*, *māṃsī*, *kacca*,⁶⁹ and *uśīra*.

8. Conclusions: From Applying to Offering

So far, most notably in the first half, we have seen how the *gandha* has changed in the meaning of the ritualistic equipment throughout Vedic Śrauta rituals. In the oldest hymns it is referred to a mythological odor, noticeably expressed with a metaphor for milk (→2.1) and the smell of an ointment made from butter applied (→2.2; 2.6) and a certain kind of perfume added (→2.3). The last two examples are used in the actual rituals. It is also preferable that the smell produced by broiling the meat of the sacrificial animal (→2.7.1) and even that of carrion, for it originated from Soma (→2.7.2). At the same time, it is also observed that it has the conventional function of a talisman, remedy or the social evaluation of a person according to the AV (→2.4; 2.5).

Therefore, *gandha* essentially has two streams of recognition. First, it is the preferable fragrance in a ritual, derived predominantly from dairy products. Its purpose must be to be favorable to the gods. Secondly, it is a mythical smell, sometimes odious, which has a magical or medical power. It is entirely fair to say that this stream could have a connection with folk beliefs or a folk therapy.

What was a basic smell in the ritual? It is likely that they had a great affection for dairy products and the origin of *gandha* is chiefly attributed to milk or a cow so far as it is related to Śrauta rituals, considered from what has been examined.

On the other hand, *gandha* itself, produced as an incense, had not been offered to the gods in the Śrauta rituals, even though there was the custom of priests acting provided with fragrance in the rituals, as mentioned above. Although it has been concisely investigated, such an offering substance is hardly

⁶⁷ EWA III, p. 262. TAK considers it as “cinnamon leaf,” probably according to lexicographers.

⁶⁸ TAK I: 152. The source is ĪśgP III, 194.

⁶⁹ It is possible to presume *kaccu* as a close synonym for *vānara*, on which I would like to thank Dr. Shrikant Bahulkar for valuable suggestions. Or one may assume *kaccha* or *kacchu*, meant as a certain plant by lexicographers.

observed. It was in the hospitable reception to a guest described in the *Gṛhyasūtras* that a set of offerings including the *gandha* suddenly appeared (→5; nearly 4). When and why they began offering an incense is still unknown to us even if we explore the history of the Vedic Śrauta texts to find a trigger. Did they gradually become aware of the smell to be appropriate for the sacrifice and invented an incense, or adopt the whole from outside?

Besides, *dhūpa*, known as a burning incense in the present day but mentioned in no earlier than the days of the *Śrautasūtras*, is a problem as well as *gandha*. (→5.1; 5.2; 7). If we trace the origin of *dhūpa* in the *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, it drives us to investigations of the examples of *dhūma*: smoke, *dhvan*¹: to smoke, or the denominative verb *dhūpay*^o: to smoke or fumigate therein. Then first of all, we can easily reach back to the fumigation of the *ukhā* pot in the *Pravargya*, nevertheless, its smoke seems to remain to be just practical and its smell is not apparently given religious significance. Likewise, the mantra in VS XXXVII 9 mentions horse-dung as the fuel, but it does not refer to its smoke or smell. There are few references to the smell of smoke in Śrauta rituals. Therefore, we do not find an intimate association between Vedic smoke or fumigation and the modern burning incense. Even though we consider the smoke from broiling *vapā*, reticular fat, the most important oblation in the *Paśubandha*, we hardly find a reference to the smell of the smoke. Nevertheless, when it is said that those who sniff the smell of the sacrificial horse cooked in the *Aśvamedha* share a better world (→2.7.1), that smell is no other than the smoke from the broiled meat (or steam from a boiled meat). Thus, smell and smoke are not distinguishable from time to time. We have also considered *Agni* being called “*dhūmagandhi*” (→2.7.1), which is a case in point. In spite of that, they do not give any specific significance to the smoke. As a whole, the historical background of the *gandha* established in a hospitable reception to a guest remains unknown in the Śrauta contexts.

In the early Tantric ritual, *gandha* is generally offered to the gods. One of the contributing factors for the establishment of the manner to offer a fragrant *gandha* to the gods following the hospitable reception could be the gods visualized by objects or images. We see various products manufactured (→7). To examine their development, we have to consider preceding *Gṛhya* rituals, medical texts and the possibility that they could be borrowed from folk beliefs. It is too involved a subject to be treated here in detail. If we illustrate these assumptions by a diagram, we get the following figure.

Abbreviations

ĀpŚS	Āpastamba Śrautasūtra
Aśv.	Aśvamedho nāma pañcamo granthaḥ (in KS)
AV	Atharvaveda
AVP	Atharvaveda Saṃhitā (Paippalāda)
AVPari	Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa
AVŚ	Atharvaveda Saṃhitā (Śaunaka)
BaudhŚS	Baudhyāyana Śrautasūtra
BdhPur	Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa
BvPur	Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa
BhavPur	Bhaviṣya Purāṇa
ep.	epic
ĪśgP	Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati
KātyŚS	Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra
KauśS	Kauśika Sūtra
kp	kriyāpāda
KS	Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā
L.	lexicographers
LātyŚS	Lātyāyana Śrautasūtra
MānŚS	Mānava Śrautasūtra
MBh	Mahābhārata
Mn	Manusmṛti
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
NsPur	Narasimha Purāṇa
PKār	Pūrvakāmikāgama
PB	Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
ṚV	Ṛgveda Saṃhitā
TB	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya Saṃhitā
Suśr	Suśruta Saṃhitā
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Mādhyandina)
VaitS	Vaitāna Sūtra
VdhPur	Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa
VS	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā

Bibliography

- Brunner, Hélène, Gerhard Oberhammer, and André Padoux, eds. 2003, 2004, 2010. *Tāntrikābhīdhānakośa: A Dictionary of Technical Terms from Hindu Tantric Literature*, I – III. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Caland, Willem. 1896. *Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche mit Benutzung handschriftlicher Quellen dargestellt*. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Deel I, N^o. 6. Amsterdam: J. Muller.
- . 1931. *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, The Brahmana of Twenty Five Chapters*, Calcutta: Asiatic Society. Second Edition, Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1982.
- Einoo, Shingo, and Jun Takashima, eds. 2005. *From Material to Deity: Indian Rituals of Consecration*, Delhi: Manohar Publishers.
- Goodall, Dominic, ed. 2015. *The Nīśvāsattvasaṃhitā: The Earliest Surviving Śaiva Tantra Vol. 1, A Critical Edition & Annotated Translation of the Mūlasūtra, Uttarasūtra & Nayasūtra*, Pondichery: French Institute of Pondichery.
- Hara, Minoru. 2010. “A Note on Sanskrit Gandha.” *Studia Orientalia* 108: 65-86.
- Hoffmann, Karl, 1967. *Der Injunktiv im Veda*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.
- McHugh, James. 2012. *Sandalwood and Carrion: Smell in Indian Religion and Culture*, Now York: Oxford University Press.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1986-2001. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindiarischen*, 3 vols. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag. [=EWA].
- Ōshima, Chisei. 2010-2011. “Dikṣā in the Agniṣṭoma: Some Symbolic Aspects of the Sacrificer’s Role.” *Journal of Indological Studies* (Kyoto) 22/23: 61-86.
- Ranade, H. G. 2006. *Illustrated Dictionary of Vedic Rituals*. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts.
- Whitney, William Dwight. 1905. *Atharva-Veda-Saṃhitā*. 2 vols., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Winternitz, Moriz. 1909. *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*. Vol. 1. Leipzig: C. F. Amelangs.
- . 1981. *A History of Indian Literature*. Vol. 1. Trans. from original German by V. Srinivasa Sarma. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Witzel, Michael, Toshifumi Gotō, et al. 2007. *Rig-veda Das heilige Wissen Erster und zweiter Liederkreis*. Frankfurt am Main : Verlag der Weltreligionen.