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## Changes in Hindu Ritual : With a Focus on the Morning Service

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## Changes in Hindu Ritual: With a Focus on the Morning Service

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### INTRODUCTION

In 1987 and 1988 the present writer witnessed a ritual called the *Mahādevapūjā* in Mithilā, in northern Bihar. This ritual may be described as a morning service performed daily by a brahmin householder, and it is basically composed of two parts. The first half consists, namely, of a rite known as the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* or 'worship [performed] at the juncture [of day and night]', while the latter half consists of the worship of Śiva and other gods.

Mr. L. K. Jha, who kindly allowed us to observe his performance of this ritual, first bathed using the water of the well next to his house, washed the dhoti that he had been wearing, and changed into a clean one. Then, having filled a jug with water from the well, he returned to the veranda of his straw-thatched house, where he sat on a small straw mat and laid out in front of him copper dishes and a ritual utensil resembling a spoon (Fig. 1). The *saṃdhyā-upāsana* now began. To all appearances the ritual actions are extremely simple, consisting primarily of the act of scooping up water with the spoonlike utensil and pouring it into a largish dish. But while performing this he was continuously chanting mantras in a low voice. The majority of these mantras have their origins in Vedic literature that may be traced back almost three thousand years in time, and by means of these mantras he was ritually purifying himself, paying homage to the sun, mentally reciting a mantra called the *Gāyatrī*, and performing acts to gratify or satiate the gods, seers and his own ancestral spirits. After having performed this *saṃdhyā-upāsana*, he moved on to the worship of the gods in the second half of the ritual, and this was done by making offerings of flowers, incense, water and simple items of food to eighteen deities representative of Hinduism.

We were able to observe similar morning services centred on the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* in several places in Mithilā, although in the worship of various gods that constitutes the latter half of the ritual offerings were not made to as many deities as in the above example. In addition, judging from the reports of a number of researchers<sup>1)</sup>, it is to be surmised that this morning service centred on the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* represents a common morning rite performed even today by brahmins throughout India. In other words, the morning rite performed by brahmins in present-day India may, generally speaking, be said to correspond to this *saṃdhyā-upāsana*.

Prior to obtaining this opportunity of observing the actual performance of such religious rites in India, we had been engaged in the study of religious ritual in ancient India on the basis of Vedic literature. The discovery that the *agnihotra*, the morning and evening service prescribed in the Śrautasūtras recording the religious rituals of the Vedic period, differs totally from the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* that may be observed in India today not only came as a great surprise to us, but also aroused within us a desire to inquire into the question of when in the course of textual history this change might have occurred.

In the present paper, with this fact of which we were apprised in contemporary India as our starting point, we shall, accordingly, on the basis of a number of ancient Indian texts, examine the question of just how far back in textual history the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* such as it is performed in India today may be traced, and we shall also consider a number of rites described in Vedic literature, differing as they do from this *saṁdhyā-upāsana*, and the manner in which these Vedic rites underwent changes leading to the development of the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* such as has been transmitted down to the present day.

### THE *SAMDHYĀ-UPĀSANA* AS PERFORMED IN MITHILĀ

We shall first describe the general procedure followed in the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* constituting the first half of the *Mahādevapūjā*, or morning service, that we were able to observe at J village in the district of Madhubani in Bihar<sup>2</sup>). Because the actions themselves are rather simple, we shall focus primarily on the mantras that are recited in accompaniment to the actions. We have already noted that, after having bathed at the well, the performer (in this case L. K. Jha) has seated himself on a straw mat and arranged the ritual utensils.

#### Purification of the Body

The performer pours a little water into the palm of his right hand with the spoon and then sprinkles this water over his head and chest while reciting the following two mantras: “*Om*. Be he pure, impure, or in any state whatsoever, he who thinks of the Lotus-Eyed One (namely, Viṣṇu) is pure both within and without”; “*Om*. May the Lotus-Eyed One purify.” After having meditated for a short time, he drinks a little water with his right hand, pours some water into the palm of his right hand, and then, holding his right hand in front of his knee, recites the following mantras: “*Om*. Cosmic order and truth were born from heat as it blazed up. From that was born night; from that [was born] the foaming ocean”; “From the foaming ocean was born the year. That which rules over all that blinks its eyes creates days and nights”; “The creator has set in their proper place the sun and the moon, the sky and the earth and space, and the sun, *svāhā*.” He then casts the water three times into the bowl placed in front of him and drinks some once. Then,

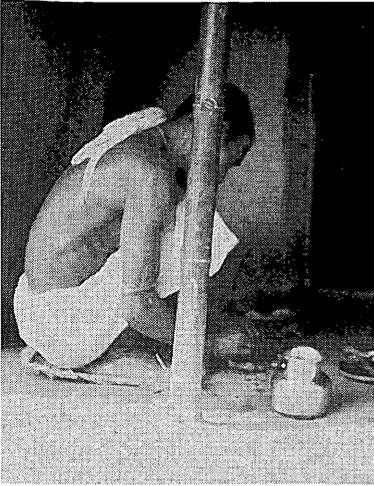


Fig. 1

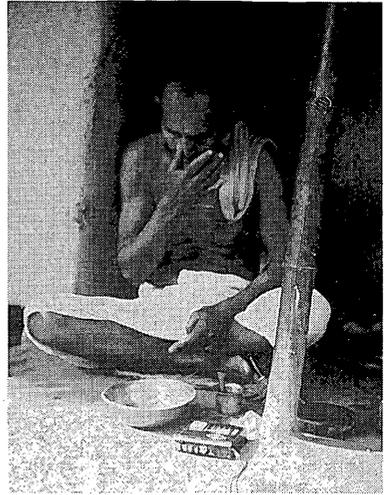
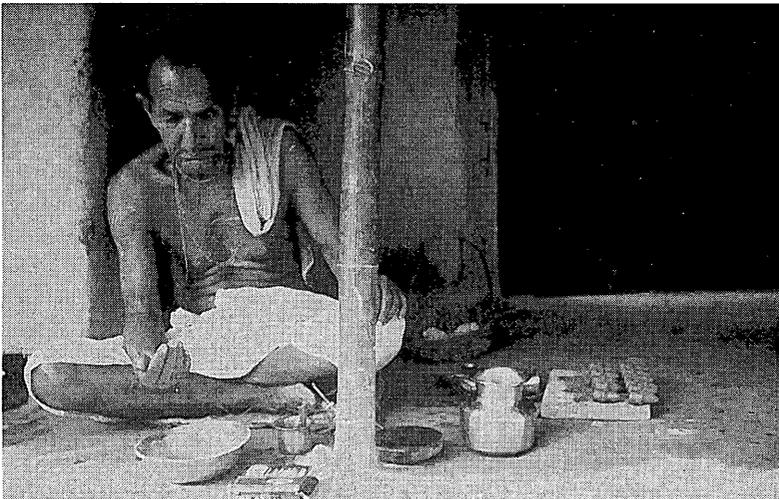


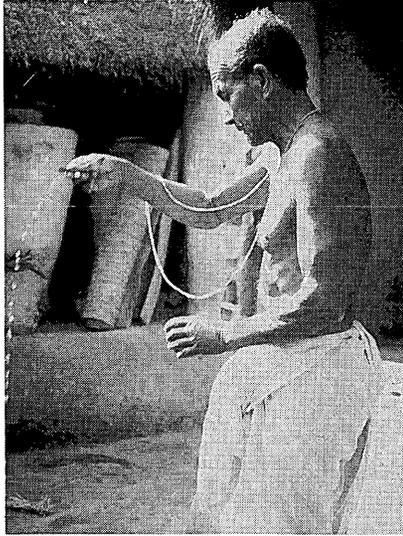
Fig. 2

**Fig. 1** Grinding sandalwood as part of the preparations.

**Fig. 2** The worshiper begins restraining his breath by blocking his right nostril with his right thumb.



**Fig. 3** Having poured water into his right hand and with his right arm resting on his right leg, the worshiper begins reciting the mantra for sipping water.



**Fig. 4** Each time the worshiper recites, while standing, the mantra for offering water to the sun, he causes water to trickle down from the handle of the spoon.



**Fig. 5** When there is no bridge over a river, places where the river may be crossed are limited. Such fords also serve as places for bathing and for washing pots and other things. This scene is that of a ford leading from the district road into a village in Orissa.

reciting the mantra “*Om*. May the water protect me,” he sprinkles water around his head with his right hand. By these actions he has now been ritually purified. The recitation of mantras relating to cosmic creation at this point is probably due to association with the name of the alleged author of these mantras, namely, Aghamarṣaṇa, which means ‘he who pardons sins’.

### **Restraint of Breath (*prāṇāyāma*)**

Next the worshipper clasps his hands before his face, murmurs “*Om*” and the authors, metres, deities and application of each of the seven *vyāhṛti* and the *Gāyatrī*, and performs the restraint of breath. He first blocks his right nostril with the thumb of his right hand for about thirty seconds (Fig. 2) and then also blocks his left nostril with the middle and third fingers of his right hand, again for about thirty seconds. Finally he releases his thumb and keeps only his left nostril blocked for about fifteen seconds. He then murmurs, “*Om*. Water is light, essence, immortality, Brahman. *Bhūr, bhuvah, suvar, om.*”

The above constitutes the restraint of breath, and while he was keeping both nostrils blocked the performer was also reciting “*Om*,” the seven *vyāhṛti* and the mantra “May we obtain that esteemed effulgence of the god Savitr, who would inspire our thoughts” (known as the *Gāyatrī* or *Sāvitrī*) three times in his mind.

### **Sipping Water (*ācamana*)**

Next the performer sips water for purification. He first takes a sip of water from the spoon held in his right hand, then, having transferred the spoon to his left hand, pours some water into the palm of his right hand and, resting his right arm on his right leg (Fig. 3), recites the following mantra: “May the sun, anger and the lords of anger protect me from sins committed in anger. May night nullify the sins that I have committed at night with my mind, with speech, with both hands, with both feet, with my stomach and with my genitals. Whatever evil there is within me, I now offer myself to the sun born of immortality and to light, *svāhā*.” When reciting the concluding “*svāhā*,” he casts away the water in his right hand, sips some fresh water with his right hand, and washes his lips. He then takes some more water in his right hand, discards it, rests his right arm with the palm facing upwards on his right leg, and recites the following mantras: “May water purify the earth. May the purified earth purify me. May [water and] Brahmanaspati purify. May [the earth] purified by Brahman purify me”; “May water purify that which is left remaining, that which is not to be enjoyed, my wicked deeds, and everything of mine, as well as that which has been received from improper persons, *svāhā*.” When reciting the concluding “*svāhā*,” he takes some water in his right hand and casts it into the bowl. He then sips some more water with his right hand and wipes his lips. This constitutes the sipping of water.

### **Washing Oneself (*mārjana*)**

Next the performer ritually washes himself. He pours water into the palm of

his left hand, places his right hand over his left hand, and recites the following three mantras: “*Om*. Waters, you are indeed the ones who invigorate [us]. *Om*. Help us to find nourishment. *Om*. So that we may look upon great joy”; “*Om*. Your kindest essence. *Om*. Share it here with us. *Om*. As mothers willingly do”; “*Om*. For that person let us go straight to you. *Om*. Urge us on to the house of that person. *Om*. For him who gives birth to us. *Om*.” With each “*Om*” he takes a pinch of water, as it were, with the thumb and index finger of his right hand and sprinkles it over his face and head.

He again pours water into the palm of his left hand, places his right hand over his left hand, and recites the following mantra: “Like someone freed from a wooden pillar, like [someone freed] from dirt after sweating and having bathed, like clarified butter that has been purified with a strainer, may water purify me of sin.” With each utterance of the word “like” (*iva*) he takes a pinch of water from his left hand with all the fingers of his right hand, casting it into the bowl in front of him three times, and at the conclusion of the mantra he transfers the water remaining in his left hand to his right hand and sprinkles it over his head.

#### **Removal of Sins (*aghamaṣaṇa*)**

Next the performer practices the removal of sins. At the start of this ritual, when ritually purifying himself, he recited mantras relating to cosmic creation, and he now recites these same mantras a second time. He pours water into his right hand, recites the initial “*Om*,” and then, with the right hand stretched out and held in front of his face, he recites the rest of the mantras; when reciting the concluding “*svāhā*,” he then casts the water into the bowl in front of him. He again pours water into his right hand and, with his right arm resting on his right leg, recites the following mantra: “*Om*. Inside beings, inside a cave you move facing all directions. You are the ritual. You are the exclamation *vaṣaṭ*. Water is light, essence, immortality. *Bhūr, bhuvah, svar, om*.” As he recites the concluding “*Om*,” he drinks the water.

#### **Worship of the Sun (*sūrya-upasthāna*)**

Next the performer worships the sun. He first recites a mantra, and as he utters the initial “*Om*,” he looks up at the sky, discards water into the bowl by making it trickle down the handle of the spoon that he is holding in both hands, and then recites the rest of the mantra: “*Om*. We have come up out of darkness, seeing the higher light, to the god among gods, the sun, the highest light.” He now turns both palms outwards, places them behind his ears, spreads them out in front of his face in the shape of the letter V, and recites the next two mantras: “And the rays of light draw upwards the god Jātavedas, so that everyone may see the sun”; “The bright face of the gods rose upwards, the eye of Mitra, of Varuṇa, of Agni. It filled heaven and earth and space. The sun is the *ātman* of that which moves and that which stands still.” He then brings his two hands together in the shape of a bud and worships the sun. Next he recites the following mantra: “*Om*. That eye plac-

ed by the gods and rising brightly in the east: may we see it for one hundred years; may we live for one hundred years; may we hear for one hundred years; may we speak for one hundred years; may we be undecaying for one hundred years, and for more than one hundred years. *Om*." After having recited the mantra, he presses the fingers of his right hand lightly together, touches the middle of his chest, his forehead, the back of his head, his left shoulder and his right shoulder, touches both eyes with the index and middle fingers, claps his hands softly, and finally lightly touches against his lips with his hand. These actions are performed three times, and thus ends the worship of the sun.

### Silent Recitation of the *Gāyatrī* (*gāyatrī-japa*)

While restraining his breath earlier, the worshipper had silently recited the *Gāyatrī-mantra*, and he now recites it a second time. But before doing so, he performs a number of preliminary actions. He first rests his loosely clasped hands on his legs and recites the following three mantras: "*Om*. The goddess who is white in colour, who is called by name, who is clothed in silken raiments, who is adorned with white ointments, flowers and ornaments, who stands within the solar disc, who has attained the world of Brahman, who holds a rosary, who sits on a lotus seat and is pure"; "You are splendour; you are brightness; you are immortality; you are what is called the favourite residence of the gods; you are the unimpaired place of worship"; "You are the *Gāyatrī*. You have one foot, two feet, three feet, four feet, no feet, for you do not fall. Homage to your fourth visible foot beyond the world. May he not attain it."

After having recited these three mantras, he takes the spoon in both hands and recites the mantra to invoke the *Gāyatrī*, here conceived of as a goddess: "*Om*. Come, O you who grant wishes, goddess, you who consist of three syllables, you who speak of Brahman, *Gāyatrī*, the mother of metres. Be by my side when I recite." He then discards the water into the bowl from the handle of the spoon held with both his hands.

After having thus identified the *Gāyatrī* as a goddess, meditated on her, worshipped her and invoked her, he next performs twenty-five different hand gestures (*mudrā*). While making gestures of various forms with his hands, he utters the name of each *mudrā* by reciting the following mantra describing each of them: "*Om*. Joined together, hemispherical, spread out, outstretched, one-faced, two-faced, three-faced, four- and five-faced, face of time, facing downwards, pervasive hand clasp, cart, noose of Yama, bound, joined together and facing upwards, hanging down, fist, fish, turtle, boar, lion's step, large step, hammer, and bud. If I do not know these *mudrās*, the *Gāyatrī* will be useless."

After having recited this mantra and made the corresponding hand gestures, he conceals his right hand under the lower end of the hand towel draped over his left shoulder and prays silently for about seventy seconds, during which time he said that he mentally recited several times a set of mantras consisting of the seven *vyāhṛti*, the *Gāyatrī-mantra* and a mantra called the "head of the *Gāyatrī*."

Following this silent prayer, he quietly recites the following mantra: “*Om*. O you who were born on the northern summit, you who reside on a mountain on the earth, you who have received permission from Brahmā, go, O goddess, as you please,” thereby dismissing the goddess Gāyatrī and bringing this section of the rite to an end.

### *Tarpaṇa*

Next the worshipper holds the spoon with both hands and performs the act of *tarpaṇa*, whereby he provides gratification or satiation for the gods, seers and ancestral spirits by slowly trickling water down from the handle of the spoon into the bowl. During the first libation, to the gods, he recites the following mantra: “*Om*. May the gods to be satiated come. *Om*. Brahmā, be satiated. *Om*. Viṣṇu, be satiated. *Om*. Rudra, be satiated. *Om*. Prajāpati, be satiated”; “*Om*. Gods, Yakṣas, Nāgas, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Asuras, terrible serpents, Suparṇas, trees, Jambhakas, birds, Vidyādharas, Jalādharas, those who move through space, those who live without any support, and those who rejoice in wicked morals: in order to satiate these, water is now given by me.”

All the ritual acts until now have been directed towards the gods, and so the performer has been wearing the sacred thread over his left shoulder and under his right arm. He now puts it around his neck so that it hangs down in front and performs the *tarpaṇa* for the seers, reciting the following mantra twice: “*Om*. Sanaka and others, come. *Om*. Sanaka and Sananda and the third, Sanātana, and Kapila and Āsuri and Voḍhu and Pañcaśikha: by the water that I give may they all always find satiation.”

Next he puts the sacred thread back over his left shoulder and under his right arm and performs *tarpaṇa* for other seers. Since this manner of wearing the sacred thread is that employed when performing rites directed towards the gods, it is evident that these seers are regarded as gods. He first chants, “Marīci and others, come,” and then performs *tarpaṇa* for Marīci with the mantra “*Om*. Marīci, be satiated.” Then, using mantras of the same format as this second mantra and substituting the names of different seers for ‘Marīci’, he performs *tarpaṇa* for the nine seers Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Pracetas, Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu and Nārada, making a total of ten seers.

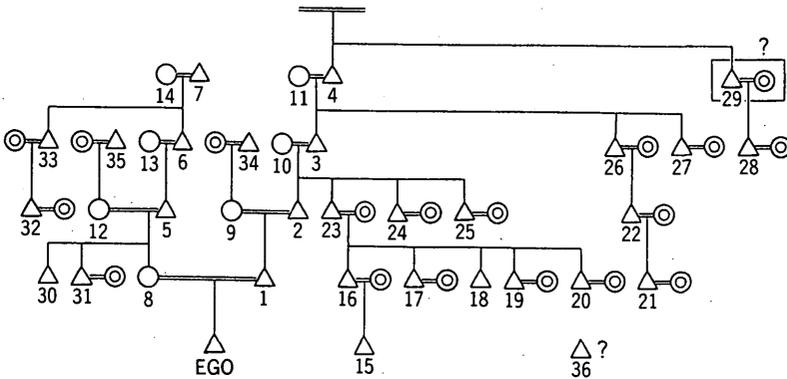
Next he puts the sacred thread over his right shoulder and under his left arm, as when performing ancestral rites, changes his position so that he sits facing south, the direction of the ancestors, and first performs the *tarpaṇa* for ancestors in general. He invokes them with the mantra “*Om*. [Ancestral spirits] who have been tasted by fire, come,” and then recites the following mantra: “*Om*. [Ancestral spirits] who have been tasted by fire, be satiated. This is water. *Svadhā namas* to them.” The interjection ‘*svadhā*’ is peculiar to ancestral rites. Then, adapting the format of this same mantra, he performs *tarpaṇa* for the following ancestral spirits: “those connected with Soma,” “those with offerings,” “those imbibing steam,” “those with good time,” “those seated on the sacrificial grass” and “those imbibing

clarified butter.”

Next the *tarpaṇa* for Yama, king of the dead, is performed by reciting his fourteen epithets. He is first invoked with the mantra “*Om. Yama and others, come,*” and then a succession of mantras following the format “*Om. Homage to Yama*” is recited. As in the case of the *tarpaṇa* for the ancestral spirits, water is cast away with each utterance of “*Om.*” Fourteen names — Yama, Dharma-king, death, causing death, son of Vivasvat, time, destroyer of all beings, fig-coloured, Dadhna, dark blue, standing at the top, wolf-bellied, Citra and Citragupta — are given and, in closing, the following mantra is recited: “May these fourteen Yamas be satiated and bring about well-being.”

Next he invokes his own ancestors with the mantra “My ancestors, come and receive a double handful of water” and then recites the following mantra: “*Om. Today may my father Raghunandanaśarman belonging to the Bhāradvāja gotra be satiated. Here is water containing sesame seeds. Svadhā to him, svadhā to him, svadhā to him.*” With each utterance of the final “*svadhā to him,*” he casts away water from the spoon. Using mantras of the same format and repeating the same action, he performs *tarpaṇa* for a total of thirty-six ancestors, starting with his father and including his paternal grandfather, great grandfather, great grandfather’s father and maternal grandfather, great grandfather and great grandfather’s father (Diagram 1), and in each case he gives the name and *gotra* of the ancestor in question.

Next this long *tarpaṇa* rite is brought to a conclusion. Maintaining a constant trickle of water from the handle of the spoon held in his right hand, the worshipper recites the following two mantras: “May the gods, seers, ancestral spirits and human beings from Brahmā to grass, all the ancestral spirits starting from [my] mother and grandmother, be satiated”; “In order to satiate the ten million families of the past living on the seven continents, water is now given by me.” After having recited these two mantras, he sprinkles water twice on the edge of his hand towel,



**Diagram 1** The ancestors who are invoked and the order in which they are invoked (cf. Einoo 1989: 410).

bends forward, recites the mantra "Om. Those who were born into our family, belonged to [our] *gotra* and died without any sons, drink the water that I give by wringing [my] garment," and wringes out water from the wet part of his hand towel. The *tarpana* is now over.

#### **Water Offered to the Sun (*sūrya-arghya*)**

Next the performer puts the sacred thread over his left shoulder and under his right arm, stands up, goes into the courtyard holding a small copper vessel in his left hand and the spoon in his right hand, and recites the following mantra three times while facing the sun: "Om. Homage to Vivasvat, O Brahman, to the shining one, to him with the splendour of Viṣṇu, to him who stimulates the world, to him who is pure, to Savitr, to him who grants deeds. Here is an offering of water. Om. [Homage] to the lord, homage to the sacred sun." Each time he utters "homage to the sacred sun" he trickles water down from the handle of the spoon (Fig. 4). He then places the copper vessel on the veranda, holds the spoon with both hands, trickles water down from the handle, and places the spoon too on the veranda.

#### **Forgiveness**

The offering of water to the sun has now been concluded, and the performer, reciting two mantras, performs the final act of the *samdhya-upāsana*. First, he chants, "Om. Any sins whatsoever equivalent to the killing of a brahmin disappear with each circumambulation towards the right," clasps his hands together once, makes one circumambulation in a clockwise direction and returns to his original position, where he brings both hands, with fingers extended, up to his ears, bows, and then clasps his hands together. The mantra is recited three times and this series of actions is also performed three times. Next, he forms the *mudrā* called 'Yama's noose' with both hands in front of his face and recites the following mantra while looking at the sun: "I am a sinner. I am a doer of sins. I have a sinful mind and was born of sin. Lotus-Eyed One, please save me. O Hari, who removes all sins." After having recited this mantra, he clasps his hands together in front of his face, and, standing on his left leg, makes worship. The *samdhya-upāsana* constituting the first half of the *Mahādevapūjā* as performed by L. K. Jha is now over.

### **THE AGNIHOTRA IN THE ŚRAUTASŪTRAS**

Among the ritual manuals of Vedic literature, the Śrautasūtras describe a morning and evening rite called '*agnihotra*' or 'oblation to fire'. In this section we shall first present the *agnihotra* as it is described in Chapter 3 of the *Hiranyakeśi-śrautasūtra*. In some cases the text records several interpretations of a certain action, but in our translation we shall follow only the first interpretation given. Numbers refer to the numbers of the *sūtras*, the short sections into which the text is divided. The translation is based on the *Satyāśādhaviracitaṃ Śrautasūtram*

(Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 53), Vol. 1, pp. 337–356.

1. We shall explain the *agnihotra*.
2. For that purpose in the evening and in the morning one takes burning coals from the *gārhapatya* [fire] to the *āhavanīya* [fire] —
3. For the evening *agnihotra* when the sun is just above the trees, for the morning *agnihotra* when day is breaking in the east.
5. Directed by the sacrificer to “take [them] out,” the *adhvaryu* takes them out in the evening while chanting, “By speech [I take] you [out] together with the *hotr*, by breath together with the *udgātr*, by the eyes together with the *adhvaryu*, by the mind together with the *brahman*, by the ears together with the *agnīdh* — I take you out together with these five divine priests. I forsake death. I place [you] together with death. *Bhūr, bhuvah, suvah*. While being taken out, raise me up from the evil that I have committed knowingly or unknowingly. Sins and evil have been committed during the day — liberate me from them all, you who have been taken out.”
6. Chanting, “Sins and evil have been committed during the night — liberate me from them all, you who have been taken out,” he takes them out in the morning.
7. Chanting, “I offer an oblation of immortality, Agni, the god of fire, to the immortal earth in order to win immortality. I thereby win the boundless desire that was first won by Prajāpati. Agni in Agni, *svāhā*,” he places in the evening [the burning coals that he has taken out] on the site [of the *āhavanīya*].
8. Chanting, “The sun in Agni, *svāhā*,” [he does the same] in the morning.
9. He performs the evening *agnihotra* immediately after the sun has set, or after the stars have appeared, or after it has become completely dark. [He performs] the morning *agnihotra* after it has become light, or before sunrise, or after the sun has risen....
11. He sweeps the area by hand and makes ready the three sacred fires. Chanting, “O Agni, O householder, be cleansed,” [he makes ready] the *gārhapatya*; chanting, “O Agni, O bearer, be cleansed,” [he makes ready] the *dakṣiṇāgni*; chanting, “O Agni, O sovereign lord, be cleansed,” [he makes ready] the *āhavanīya*.
14. As at the time of the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices, he spreads grass around the three sacred fires.
16. A cow stands to the south of the ritual site.
17. He calls out to the cow, “O Idā, come; O Aditi, come; O Sarasvatī, come; O cow, come,” and chanting, “You are Pūṣan,” he leads a calf [to the cow].
18. Making [the cow] face either east or north, someone other than a *sūdra* milks [her]....

20. He milks into a milking pail and transfers [the milk] into a dish, or else he milks directly into a dish.
22. Chanting, "I sprinkle truth around you, cosmic order," he sprinkles water around [each sacred fire] in the evening; chanting, "I sprinkle cosmic order around you, truth," [he does the same] in the morning.
24. Chanting, "You are the continuity of the sacrifice. I lead you for the continuity of the sacrifice, you for the continuity of the sacrifice," he pours a continuous stream of water from the *gārhapatya* to the *āhavanīya*.
25. Chanting, "You are the fire poker," he takes the fire poker and chanting, "Fear of people has been removed together with him whom we hate. Lean for the sake of that which is good," he therewith removes the burning coals from the *gārhapatya* to the north.
28. Chanting, "The footprints of Iḍā have butter and are continually moving about. O Jātavedas, rejoice in this oblation — that of those seven [kinds of] village cattle of all forms that willingly stay here. May there be prosperity," he places [the dish of milk used in] the *agnihotra* on the burning coals.
29. He should offer milk that has risen up to the edge of the dish.
30. Or, immediately after having placed the dish [on the burning coals], he chants, "You are that which has risen. I shall rise up together with [my] offspring and cattle," and sets fire to a blade of grass and looks [at the milk while illuminating it with the burning grass].
31. Chanting, "So as not to dispel your heat," he pours some water [onto the boiling milk] with the dipping ladle....
35. Chanting, "Excluded is Rakṣas," he takes a piece of burning charcoal and circles the ritual site three times....
36. Chanting, "You are the heat that brings increasing prosperity. Grant vigour here," he takes the dish off the fire on the north side, leaving marks [on the ground].
37. Chanting, "Grant me offspring," he leaves it at the edge of the coals.
38. Chanting, "Fear of people has been pushed back together with him whom we hate; it has been made into that which is good," he pushes the coals back into the *gārhapatya* with the fire poker....
39. Chanting, "On the impulse of the god Savitr̥, with both arms of the twin gods Aśvin, with the hand of Pūṣan, I take you," he takes the dipping ladle and the ladle for offering the *agnihotra*,
40. And chanting, "Burnt is Rakṣas; burnt are the Arāti," he heats [the two ladles] on either the *āhavanīya* or the *gārhapatya*.
41. Chanting, "You who have beautiful wings and are made of beautiful wings: you have a golden stem and have immortality as your leaves, and you are the channel for sacrifices," he rubs the ladle for offering the *agnihotra*.

42. Chanting, "The sacrificer will not be torn apart, and nor will the wife," [the *adhvaryu* touches] both [the sacrificer and his wife].
43. In the evening, facing the sacrificer, he chants, "Om. I shall draw the oblation up to the gods and the sacrificer away from evil."
44. In the morning [he similarly chants] "Om. I draw the oblation up to the gods and the sacrificer away from evil."
46. Chanting, "I draw you up for Agni and for the earth; I draw you up for the wind and for space; I draw you up for the sun and for heaven; I draw you up for the waters and for the grasses," he draws up four scoops [of milk from the dish into the offering ladle]....
51. Chanting, "May I be together with the gods coming in the evening. May the gods coming in the evening bring me well-being. I wish to mingle with the cattle," he touches in the evening the milk that has been drawn up and the dish. Chanting, "May I be together with the gods coming in the morning. May the gods coming in the morning bring me well-being. I wish to mingle with the cattle," [he does the same] in the morning.
52. Chanting, "Grant me cattle," he sets the milk that has been drawn up down on the spot where he drew it up.
54. With one, two or three fuel sticks of *palāśa* wood one span in length placed along the top of the handle of the offering ladle,
55. And chanting, "Pass through wide spaces," he carries them as if to touch the flames of the *gārhapatya*.
56. Facing the east, he recites the Daśahotr [mantra].
57. Chanting, "You for Agni Vaiśvānara," he lowers them a little in between [the *gārhapatya* and *āhavanīya*].
58. Chanting, "You for the wind," he raises them.
59. Chanting, "Grant me life," he sets them down on the grass to the west of the *āhavanīya*.
60. Chanting, "O Agni, this is your fuel stick," he lays the fuel sticks [that he has brought with the ladle] on the *āhavanīya*.
62. Chanting, "You are lightning (*vidyut*); shatter (*vidya*) my evil. I proceed towards cosmic order, towards truth. I have faith," he touches the water,
63. And when [the fuel sticks have caught fire and] turned blackish, he offers [the milk] onto those burning [fuel sticks].
67. [He chants] "Together with the *hotr*, *bhūr bhuvah suvah*. Agni is light, light is Agni, *svāhā*" [at the time of] the evening [oblation] and "Together with the *hotr*, *bhūr bhuvah suvah*. The sun is light, light is the sun, *svāhā*" in the morning.
70. Chanting, "Grant me vitality," he again sets [the offering ladle] down on the grass.
71. Taking what is left [in the offering ladle] and chanting, "You for the

- grass; invigorate the grass," he smears the remaining [milk] on the grass in the north.
72. Chanting, "O Agni, O householder, may nothing torment me. Cosmic order has been placed within me. I wish to obtain offspring and light," he looks at the *gārhapatya*.
73. Avoiding [the place of the first libation] and without reciting any man-  
tra, he makes one more generous libation onto the fuel sticks.
79. In the evening, chanting, "You for vitality," he wipes off what is left [in  
the offering ladle] in a downward fashion.
80. In the morning, chanting, "You for vigour," he wipes off what is left [in  
the offering ladle] in an upward fashion.
84. He leaves more milk [than that used in the two libations] for drinking.
85. After having made the libations, he sees something great (/auspicious).
86. Chanting, "O Rudra, be gracious; O Anārbhava, be gracious; O Dhūr-  
ta, be gracious. Homage to you. O lord of cattle, may you not harm  
me," he moves the offering ladle three times facing north over the  
[*āhavanīya*] fire.
87. Setting the ladle down and taking the remaining milk,
88. He chants, "You for the ancestral spirits. Invigorate the ancestral  
spirits" and smears the remaining [milk] on the ground in the south.
89. Touching the water,
90. He chants, "You are Pūṣan," smears [milk] twice on his finger, con-  
sumes it, sips water, again [smears milk on his finger and] consumes it.
91. Taking the offering ladle and [a bundle of] grass and walking towards  
the north,
92. He chants, "May the semen offered to Agni be procreative for me,  
accompanied by ten valiant ones, accompanied by all retainers, for the  
sake of well-being. That which gains itself, that which gains offspring,  
that which gains cattle, that which gains a fearless state, that which  
gains the world, that which gains rain. May Agni increase my off-  
spring. Bestow food, milk, semen on us. May he maintain increasing  
prosperity, vitality and vigour among us." He twice sips milk with the  
offering ladle, its handle facing east or north, and licks it twice.
94. Chanting, "May the semen offered to the sun be procreative for me," [he  
does the same] in the morning.
95. Filling the offering ladle with water, he chants, "You for the serpents;  
invigorate the serpents," and pours it away.
96. He sips water,
97. Wipes the offering ladle with grass,
98. Fills [it with water], chants, "Invigorate the serpents, the ants," and scat-  
ters the water upwards.
99. Chanting, "Invigorate the hosts of the serpent god," [he does it] a  
second time. Chanting, "You for living beings," [he does it] a third

- time. Chanting, "For the great god (Mahādeva)," [he does it] a fourth time.
100. Filling the offering ladle with water, he chants, "I offer immortality to the earth, *svāhā*," and pours it to the west of the *āhavanīya* or to the west of the *gārhapatya*.
  101. Chanting, "You for the home; gratify the home," he pours part of that water into the palms of the wife.
  103. He warms his hands and places them on the offering ladle; alternatively he warms the offering ladle and places it on his hands. Chanting, "You for the seven seers; invigorate the seven seers," he points to the north with the offering ladle.
  104. He sets the offering ladle down, returns and, using the dipping ladle, offers milk to the *gārhapatya* and *dakṣiṇāgni*, putting fuel sticks on the fires with each libation.
  105. Chanting, "May the lord of prosperity bestow prosperity on me; may he maintain increasing prosperity, vitality and vigour among us" and "To Agni, to the householder, to the lord of wealth, to the lord of cattle, to the lord of prosperity, to desire, to food, *svāhā*," he makes libations twice to the *gārhapatya*.
  106. Chanting, "O lord of food, grant us food," [he makes libations] twice to the *dakṣiṇāgni*.
  109. Chanting, "O Agni, you have satisfied yourself; you have worshipped heaven and earth; bestow vigour on us," he smears the milk in the dish on the grass and throws it onto the *āhavanīya*; alternatively he will not do so.
  110. Chanting, "You for heaven and earth; invigorate heaven and earth," he pours the cleansing water on the *vedi*.
  111. As before, he sprinkles water around [each sacred fire].
  112. Chanting, "May you shine; I wish to shine; you are that which makes me shine,"<sup>3)</sup> he makes [the fires] blaze up.

The above is the description of the *agnihotra* found in the *Hiranyakeśi-śrautasūtra*<sup>4)</sup>. As is shown in Table 1, this rite may be broadly divided into three stages. The first stage consists of preparatory acts, in which the priest transfers burning coals from the *gārhapatya*, or 'householder's fire' which the householder must always keep alive, to the *āhavanīya*, or 'sacrificial fire' used for making offerings, and then milks a cow to obtain the milk to be used as an oblation and warms this milk on coals taken from the *gārhapatya*. In the second stage, the central part of the rite, the priest pours into the offering ladle the milk to be offered, feeds the *āhavanīya* with fuel sticks, and makes two libations. In the third stage, following these libations, the priest devotes his attention to Rudra and various other gods and beings. In the Brāhmaṇas that interpret the meaning of this *agnihotra*, this final part of the rite is called '*vaiśvadeva*', or '[action] relating to all the gods', and this is

**Table 1** Synopsis of the *Agnihotra* as Described in the *Hiranyakeśi-śrautasūtra*

Preparations
1. Coals are transposed from the <i>gārhapatya</i> to the <i>āhavanīya</i> . (2–8)
2. The three sacred fires are made ready and grass is spread around them. (11–14)
3. The cow is milked. (16–20)
4. Water is sprinkled around the three sacred fires, and the <i>gārhapatya</i> and <i>āhavanīya</i> are linked by water. (22–24)
5. The milk is placed on coals taken from the <i>gārhapatya</i> and heated. (25–38)
Libations
6. The <i>adhvaryu</i> takes two kinds of ladles in his hands, heats them and rubs them. (39–41)
7. The heated milk is poured into the offering ladle with the dipping ladle. (42–52)
8. The <i>adhvaryu</i> moves from the <i>gārhapatya</i> to the <i>āhavanīya</i> with fuel sticks and the offering ladle. (54–59)
9. He puts fuel sticks on the fire. (60–62)
10. First libation. (63–70)
11. The remaining milk is smeared on the grass in the north. (71)
12. The <i>adhvaryu</i> looks at the <i>gārhapatya</i> . (72)
13. Second libation. (73)
14. The <i>adhvaryu</i> wipes the offering ladle. (79–85)
Actions following the libations
15. Rudra is propitiated. (86)
16. Ancestral spirits are invigorated. (87–89)
17. Milk is drunk. (90–94)
18. Serpents are invigorated. (95–97)
19. Serpents and ants are invigorated. (98)
20. The hosts of the serpent god are invigorated, and water is sprinkled for living beings and Mahādeva. (99)
21. Water is sprinkled for the earth. (100)
22. The home is satiated. (101)
23. The seven seers are invigorated. (103)
24. Libations are made on the <i>gārhapatya</i> and <i>dakṣiṇāgni</i> . (104–106)
25. Grass besmeared with milk is thrown onto the <i>āhavanīya</i> . (109)
26. Heaven and earth are invigorated. (110)
27. Water is sprinkled around the sacred fires and they are made to blaze up. (111–112)

the term by which it has been known ever since.

Although some of the mantras used in the evening *agnihotra* are replaced by others in the morning *agnihotra*, in both cases more than fifty mantras of varying length are used, and so this *agnihotra* may at first sight appear to be a rather complex ritual. But in actual fact it is the simplest rite recorded in the Śrautasūtras.

All the rituals described in the Śrautasūtras are performed for a particular 'sacrificer' (*yajamāna*) or patron by a number of specialist priests, and this *agnihotra* also adopts the form of a rite performed for the sacrificer by a priest

called the *adhvaryu*. But among the mantras recited by this priest twenty-eight concern the first person singular and four the first person plural, and in fact approximately two thirds of the mantras are concerned with 'me' or 'us'. In addition, the majority of these mantras give expression to wishes. The various aspirations of the sacrificer — such as the attainment of immortality, the elimination of sins and evil, the defeat of enemies, and the acquisition of offspring, cattle, food and wealth — are, namely, expressed through the mouth of the priest and, furthermore, in the first person. This is somewhat strange.

In other Śrautasūtra rituals there are also instances in which the priest recites mantras in the first person. But the greater part of these mantras indicate concrete actions performed by the priest, and so the use of the first person is quite natural. In the *agnihotra* translated above, the mantras used in *sūtras* 22, 24 and 39 are such examples. Furthermore, in most *śrauta* rites there is a section on the sacrificer's duties (*yājamāna*) in which mantras expressing the sacrificer's own desires are given.

The fact that, among the mantras recited in the first person by the *adhvaryu* in this *agnihotra*, a large proportion are mantras giving expression to desires would appear to be a distinctive feature of this *agnihotra*. If we further take into consideration the fact that it is in itself a simple rite and use is made of a large number of mantras in the first person expressing desires, it is to be surmised that this *agnihotra* may originally have been a rite performed by an individual without calling upon the services of a priest.

We believe that this *agnihotra* has a threefold purpose. The focal point of the rite is the offering of heated milk onto the sacred fire to the accompaniment of the mantra "Agni is light, light is Agni" in the evening and the mantra "The sun is light, light is the sun" in the morning. The timing of these offerings, moreover, coincides more or less with sunset and sunrise. Fire on earth in the form of Agni and fire in the heavens in the form of the sun are linked by way of the concept 'light'. The offering of milk is heated, thereby absorbing the energy of fire/sun. The first purpose of this rite may, in other words, be considered to be the vitalization of the sun, whereby the sun, which loses its light and sets in the evening to pass through the realm of darkness, is vitalized by offering heated milk to the sacred fire/sun and is again similarly vitalized when it rises with increasing brightness in the morning<sup>5</sup>).

The series of ritual actions relating to the sacred fires, whereby the priest takes live coals from the *gārhapatya* and places them on the *āhavanīya*, makes ready the three sacred fires, links the *gārhapatya* and *āhavanīya*, and places fuel sticks on the *āhavanīya* immediately before making the libations and grass smeared with milk after the libations, is common to all *śrauta* rites centred on oblations to the sacred fire. In the case of this *agnihotra*, however, after the conclusion of all the ritual actions the priest recites the mantra "May you shine; I wish to shine; you are that which makes me shine" and causes the sacred fire to blaze up once more (*sūtra* 112), and this action is peculiar to the *agnihotra*. The fact that the *gārhapatya* had to be maintained at all times means that when it was not used during the day or at night its coals were kept alive. In the evening these coals were set ablaze once again in

preparation for the use of the fire at night, and the same was done in the morning. The ritualization of these everyday actions of maintaining and looking after the fire may be regarded as the second purpose of the *agnihotra*<sup>6)</sup>.

What may be regarded as the third purpose is to be seen in the significance of the actions taken towards various beings after the libations. Following the first libation, the priest smears the remaining milk on the grass spread out on the north side of the *āhavanīya* and recites the mantra "You for the grass; invigorate the grass." After the second libation, he similarly invigorates, gratifies or appeases a variety of deities and other beings — Rudra (*sūtra* 86), ancestral spirits (87–89), serpents (95–97), serpents and ants (98), the hosts of the serpent god, various beings and Mahādeva (99), earth (100), home (101), seven seers (103), and heaven and earth (110) — using mantras of similar or slightly different format and offerings consisting of either the remaining milk or water. In other words, the worship of various deities related to the daily life of man at the two junctures of day and night (that is, evening and morning) would appear to be the third purpose of the *agnihotra*.

It is to be noted that the remaining milk is here used as an offering to the grass, Rudra and the ancestral spirits, the first three entities to whom offerings are made. This milk is primarily used for oblatory purposes, but, as is evident from *sūtras* 90–94, the priest also drinks a small amount while reciting a number of mantras. This action calls to mind the fact that in all *śrauta* rituals the priests and sacrificer partake of a portion of the offerings after the conclusion of the oblations. But in the present case, even though the evidence may not warrant such an interpretation, we wish to interpret this action in a somewhat different manner. We consider this action of drinking the remaining milk to be, namely, related in some way to the partaking of a meal, although it does not constitute the meal itself.

Furthermore, the series of actions mentioned when discussing the third purpose of the *agnihotra* is referred to in the explanatory literature as 'vaiśvadeva' or '[action] relating to all the gods'. The actions performed during the *agnihotra* after the conclusion of the libations are, in other words, called *vaiśvadeva*, and we wish to suggest that they were connected in some way with meals. The second of the two morning rituals recorded in the *Gṛhyasūtras* to be discussed in the following section is also generally known as 'vaiśvadeva' and, as will be shown below, is clearly connected with meals. In closing this section, we wish to point out that, through their common appellation 'vaiśvadeva' and their links with meals, there exists a close relationship between the *vaiśvadeva* section of the *agnihotra* and the *vaiśvadeva* constituting one of the morning rituals recorded in the *Gṛhyasūtras*.

## THE MORNING AND EVENING OFFERING AND THE *VAIŚVADEVA* IN THE *GRHYASŪTRAS*

Among the *sūtra* literature recording Vedic ritual, and following on from the *Śrautasūtras* that preserve the *agnihotra* described in the previous section, there is a

**Table 2** Gr̥hyasūtras Describing the Morning and Evening Offering

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<i>Baudhāyana-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 2.6.17–22 (after the ceremony at the completion of the study of the Vedas).
<i>Bhāradvāja-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 1.18 [19.2–4] (as part of the marriage rites).
<i>Bhāradvāja-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 3.3 [70.15–18] (after the ceremony for setting up the sacred fire for domestic rites).
<i>Āpastamba-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 3.7.19–22 (as part of the marriage rites).
<i>Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 1.7.20–21 (as part of the marriage rites).
<i>Vaikhānasa-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 3.6 [40.1–3] (as part of the marriage rites).
<i>Āgniveśya-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 1.6 [39.9–18] (as part of the marriage rites).
<i>Kāthaka-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 53.1 (after the <i>sūlagava</i> ).
<i>Mānava-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 2.3.1–2 (after instructions for the <i>sthālpāka</i> ).
<i>Vārāha-gr̥hyasūtra</i> (not mentioned).
<i>Pāraskara-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 1.9.1–4 (as part of the marriage rites).
<i>Āśvalāyana-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 1.9.1–4 (as part of the marriage rites).
<i>Śāṅkhāyana-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 1.3.8–7 (in the opening general instructions).
<i>Gobhila-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 1.1.23–28 (in the opening general instructions).
<i>Drāhyāyana-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 1.5.6–17 (as part of the marriage rites).
<i>Jaiminīya-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 1.23 [24: 3–4] (as part of the marriage rites).
<i>Kausika-sūtra</i> , 73.1–3 (after the <i>agnihotra</i> ).

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(Cf. Bodewitz 1976: 201 and Takahashi 1991: (80)–(81).)

body of literature known as the Gr̥hyasūtras. The main subjects dealt with in these Gr̥hyasūtras are the rites performed at the various stages of the span of a person's life, from birth to death, and a number of seasonal rites. The various ritual actions that a householder performs as the occasion demands after having married and established his own home are also dealt with, and the morning and evening offering and the *vaiśvadeva* to be considered in this section are counted among the these rites to be performed by the householder.

We shall first present the rite of the morning and evening offering, which is extremely simple when compared with the *agnihotra*. The description of this rite as it appears in the *Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyasūtra*, 1.7.20–21, belonging to the same school as that of the text we used when discussing the *agnihotra*, is given below; our translation is similarly based on the *Satyāśādhaviracitaṃ Śrautasūtram* (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series), Vol. 8, pp. 584–585.

20. Always in the evening and in the morning one uses rice or barley and performs these two offerings with one's hands while chanting, "To Agni, *svāhā*; to Prajāpati, *svāhā*."
21. Some people say that in the morning one first performs the offering to the sun.

The rites for the morning and evening offering as recorded in the Gr̥hyasūtras listed in Table 2 are much the same as this. The view of "some people" given in *sūtra* 21, according to which in the morning the offering to the sun is performed first, means that in the morning one uses the mantra "To the sun, *svāhā*; to

Prajāpati, *svāhā*,” in which case the mantra given in *sūtra* 20 is used only in the evening.

This rite for the morning and evening offering preserved in the Gṛhyasūtras may be considered to represent the result of having selected only the two main libations of the *agnihotra* as described in the Śrautasūtras and having further simplified the mantras. The main libations of the *agnihotra* were described in *sūtras* 67 and 73 of Chapter 3 of the *Hiranyakeśi-śrautasūtra* quoted in the foregoing section. The mantras for the first libation, given in *sūtra* 67, were, for use in the evening and morning respectively, “Together with the *hotr*, *bhūr bhuvah suvah*. Agni is light, light is Agni, *svāhā*” and “Together with the *hotr*, *bhūr bhuvah suvah*. The sun is light, light is the sun, *svāhā*.” In other words, in the evening the first libation is centred on the mantra of Agni, the god of fire and corresponding to the actual fire, and in the morning on the mantra of the sun. In *sūtra* 73 it is stated that the libation is to be performed without reciting any mantras, but there are some texts according to which at this point one is to mentally recite a mantra dedicated to Prajāpati, the lord of living beings<sup>7</sup>). It is thus evident that the main libations of the *agnihotra* were made to Agni and Prajāpati in the evening and to the sun and Prajāpati in the morning. Similarly in the morning and evening offering described in the Gṛhyasūtras, the householder, using his hands, places on the sacred fire used for domestic rites offerings of rice or barley for the two gods of the evening and of the morning to whom the main libations constituting the essence of the *agnihotra* had been directed.

In addition to the morning and evening offering described above, the Gṛhyasūtras also mention the following *vaiśvadeva* rite as one of the duties of the householder to be performed daily in the morning and in the evening. As is shown in Table 3, this rite appears in all the extant Gṛhyasūtras, including the *Hiranyakeśi-grhyasūtra* (1.2.40–44). But in this latter case it is included among the duties of a student of the Vedas, and the instructions for its performance as one of the duties of a householder are to be found not in the *Hiranyakeśi-grhyasūtra* but in the *Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra*, 2.1.32–61, in terms similar to those of the *Āpastambadharmasūtra*, 2.2.3.1–4.9. We shall first give a translation of the *vaiśvadeva* rite as given in this *Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra*, 2.1.32–62. The text we have used is again the *Satyāśādhaviracitaṃ Śrautasūtraṃ* (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 53), Vol. 10, pp. 135–139.

32. In the case of the *vaiśvadeva*, people of the upper three *varṇas* who have purified themselves are to prepare the food.
33. Talking, coughing and sneezing in the direction of the food are to be avoided.
34. If one brushes against one’s hair, limbs or clothing, one should touch some water.
35. If people of the upper three *varṇas* are supervising, *sūdras* may prepare [the food].

Table 3 Gr̥hyasūtras Describing the *Vaiśvadeva* Rite

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*Baudhāyana-gr̥hyasūtra*, 2.8 (after the *sūlagava*).

*Bhāradvāja-gr̥hyasūtra*, 3.12–14 [78.13–83.4] (near the end of the text).

*Āpastamba-gr̥hyasūtra*, 3.7.26 (as part of the marriage rites, immediately after the morning and evening offering, but only alluded to).

[*Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*, 2.2.3.1–4.9 (among the duties of the householder)]

*Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyasūtra*, 1.2.40–44 (one of the duties of students of the Vedas).

[*Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra*, 2.1.32–61 (among the duties of the householder)]

*Vaikhānasa-gr̥hyasūtra*, 3.7 [40.9–41.15] (as part of the marriage rites, after the morning and evening offering).

*Āgñiveśya-gr̥hyasūtra*, 1.7.2 [41.14–42.6] (as part of the marriage rites, close to the morning and evening offering).

*Āgñiveśya-gr̥hyasūtra*, 2.6.4–5 (among daily duties; at the same level as works supplementary to the Gr̥hyasūtras).

*Kāthaka-gr̥hyasūtra*, 54.1–20 (52: *sūlagava*; 53: morning and evening offering, new-moon and full-moon sacrifice, first harvest ceremony).

*Mānava-gr̥hyasūtra*, 2.12.1–20 (2.11: rites for building a house; 2.13: *ṣaṣṭhikalpa* ceremony).

*Vārāha-gr̥hyasūtra*, 17 (at the end of the text).

*Pāraskara-gr̥hyasūtra*, 2.9.2–10 (after the duties of the *snātaka*).

*Āśvalāyana-gr̥hyasūtra*, 1.2.1–11 (in the opening general introduction).

*Śāṅkhāyana-gr̥hyasūtra*, 2.14.1–18 (between the ceremony for commencing the study of the Vedas and the ceremony at the completion of the study of the Vedas).

*Gobhila-gr̥hyasūtra*, 1.4.1–30 (in the opening general introduction).

*Drāhyāyana-gr̥hyasūtra*, 1.5.18–37 (after the morning and evening offering).

*Jaiminiya-gr̥hyasūtra*, 1.23 [24.4–15] (after the morning and evening offering).

*Kauśika-sūtra*, 73.13–74.12 (close to the morning and evening offering).

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(Cf. Bodewitz 1976: 201 and Takahashi 1991: (81)–(82).)

36. [As a method of purification] there is for them (namely, the *sūdras*) only the method of sipping water.
37. [When *sūdras* prepare the food] they should in addition shave their hair, beard and bodily hair and cut their nails everyday.
38. [Furthermore, *sūdra* cooks] should bathe in water with their clothes on.
39. Alternatively, they may shave their hair and cut their nails on the eighth day [of every half month] or on the days of the new moon and the full moon.
40. Food that has been prepared out of sight should be put over a fire and sprinkled with water. According to some, this is a method of purification.
41. When the food is ready, one should announce to the master while standing, “It has been prepared.”
42. “It has been well prepared” is the reply.
43. For those who perform domestic rites, offering to the sacred fire a

portion of that which is to be eaten and giving it as *bali* are linked to heaven and to prosperity [in this world].

44. When performing these [for the first time], one should spend twelve days in continence, sleep on the ground, and avoid alkali, salt, honey and meat.
45. One should pass the last night fasting.
46. The purification of each of the places where the *bali* oblation is performed is done by wiping the area by hand, sprinkling water, placing the offerings, and then besprinkling the area with water.
47. At the outset one recites six mantras over the fire for domestic rites or over the fire for cooking, and with each mantra one performs these oblations by hand. ["To Agni, *svāhā*. To all the gods, *svāhā*. To the firm earth, *svāhā*. To the firm ground, *svāhā*. To the stable ground, *svāhā*. To Agni Sviṣṭakṛt, *svāhā*."] ]
48. When, as in this case, a number of *bali* oblations are performed together at one place, after [these oblations have been performed] at each place, the area should be besprinkled with water.
49. When broth is used [for the *bali* oblation], one should perform [the *bali* oblation] by mixing [the rice and the broth].
50. Reciting the seventh and eighth mantras on the west side of the fire, [one should perform the *bali* oblation] facing north. ["To *dharma*, *svāhā*. To *adharmā*, *svāhā*."] ]
51. Reciting the ninth mantra, [one performs it] near the water container. ["To water, *svāhā*."] ]
52. Reciting the tenth and eleventh mantras in the centre of the room, [one performs it] facing west. ["To grass and trees, *svāhā*. To Rakṣas and the hosts of the gods, *svāhā*."] ]
53. Reciting the following four mantras, [one performs it] in the north-eastern part of the room. ["To those belonging to the house, *svāhā*. To the residences, *svāhā*. To the masters of the residences, *svāhā*. To all beings, *svāhā*."] ]
54. Reciting the mantra for Kāma, [one performs it] by the bed. ["To Kāma, *svāhā*."] ]
55. Reciting the mantra for space, [one performs it] on the threshold. ["To space, *svāhā*."] ]
56. Reciting the following mantra, [one performs it] by the door. ["That which stirs in the world and that which moves, whose name is Bhāga: to that name, *svāhā*."] ]
57. Next, reciting the following mantras, [one performs it] at the seat of Brahman. ["To the earth, *svāhā*. To space, *svāhā*. To heaven, *svāhā*. To the sun, *svāhā*. To the moon, *svāhā*. To the stars, *svāhā*. To Indra, *svāhā*. To Bṛhaspati, *svāhā*. To Prajāpati, *svāhā*. To Brahman, *svāhā*."] ]

58. Reciting the mantra for the ancestral spirits, and with the sacred thread over the right shoulder and under the left arm and with the palms of the hands turned down, one should give [the offering] to the south [of the seat of Brahman]. ["*Svadhā*, to the ancestral spirits. To the gods, *svāhā*."]
59. As when facing the gods (namely, with the sacred thread over the left shoulder and under the right arm and with the palms of the hands turned up) the *bali* oblation for Rudra [is performed] to the north [of the seat of Brahman]. ["Homage to Rudra, to the lord of cattle, *svāhā*."]
60. [In the case] of these two [*bali* oblations to the ancestral spirits and to Rudra] water is sprinkled separately around [the place of the oblations] since the method differs.
61. Only at night, reciting the last mantra, [one should perform the *bali* oblation] in the air. ["For those beings, retainers of Vituda, who wander about during the day and during the night in search of *bali*, I, desirous of prosperity, perform the *bali* oblation. May the lord of prosperity bestow prosperity on me, *svāhā*."]
62. For him who single-mindedly performs in accordance with the instructions these [oblations to the the sacred fire and these *bali* oblations] there is always heaven and prosperity [in this world].

The above passage from the *Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra* may be divided into two parts. *Sūtras* 32–45 correspond to what might be called the introduction, describing as they do the preparation of the food used as offerings in the *vaiśvadeva*, the method of purification for a *sūdra* cook, and the preliminary actions when performing the *vaiśvadeva* for the first time. Then, in *sūtras* 46–62, the actual procedure for performing this rite is described.

In the case of the *agnihotra*, a series of acts of worship directed towards various entities was performed after the main libations, and we noted earlier that these acts of worship were referred to collectively as '*vaiśvadeva*' and that they may be interpreted as the act of giving portions of food to these various beings. The above rite recorded in the *Gr̥hyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras* is also called *vaiśvadeva*, and so the two rites are identical in regard to their appellation. Whereas the connection between the *vaiśvadeva* of the *agnihotra* and meals existed on the level of interpretation, in the case of the *vaiśvadeva* as recorded in the *Gr̥hyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras* it is clearly stated in all the texts that it represents the act of making an offering of a portion of the meal. As regards the deities and other beings worshipped in the course of the rite, Table 4 lists the places where the *vaiśvadeva* of the *agnihotra* is performed and the entities to whom it is directed, while Table 5 provides a similar list for the *vaiśvadeva* of the *Gr̥hyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras*. On the basis of these two tables it becomes evident that the oblation to the seven seers performed as the seventh act of worship in the *vaiśvadeva* of the *agnihotra* is absent in the *vaiśvadeva* of the *Gr̥hyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras*. The serpents and ants

**Table 4** Places of Worship and Recipients of the *Vaiśvadeva* in the *Agnihotra*

1. Grass to the north of the <i>āhavanīya</i>	Grass
2. Over the <i>āhavanīya</i> and facing north	Rudra
3. South side of the <i>āhavanīya</i>	Ancestral spirits
4. North side of the <i>āhavanīya</i>	Serpents, serpents and ants, hosts of the serpent god, living beings, Mahādeva
5. To the west of the <i>āhavanīya</i> or <i>gārhapatya</i>	Earth
6. Palms of the sacrificer's wife	Home
7. Facing north	Seven seers
8. <i>Vedi</i>	Heaven and earth

**Table 5** Places of Worship and Recipients of the *Vaiśvadeva* Rite

1. Sacred fire	Agni, all gods, firm earth, firm ground, stable ground, Agni Sviṣṭakṛt (5)
2. West side of the sacred fire	<i>Dharma</i> and <i>adharmā</i>
3. Near the water container	Water
4. Centre of the room	Grass and trees, Rakṣas and hosts of the gods (1)
5. Northeast corner of the room	People belonging to the house, residences, masters of the residences, all beings (4) (6)
6. Bed	Kāma
7. Threshold	Space
8. Door	Bhāga
9. Seat of Brahman	Earth, space, heaven, sun, moon, stars, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Prajapāti, Brahman (5) (8)
10. To the south of the seat of Brahman	Ancestral spirits, gods (3)
11. To the north of the seat of Brahman	Rudra (2)
12. In the air	Various beings (4)

(Figures in parentheses indicate the numbers of the corresponding items in Table 4.)

among the recipients of the fourth oblation in the former are also missing in the latter. The places of worship have also moved in the latter from the sacred fires of the *agnihotra* to inside the home of the householder. All the entities of the former other than the seven seers and the serpents and ants, however, appear in the *vaiśvadeva* of the *Gṛhyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras*. On the basis of these two tables we accordingly wish to suggest that although there are considerable differences between these two forms of the *vaiśvadeva*, the *vaiśvadeva* of the *agnihotra* has, in an expanded and modified form, been carried over in the *vaiśvadeva* of the *Gṛhyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras*<sup>8)</sup>.

Let us now summarize the relationship between the *agnihotra* as a whole and the two morning and evening offerings of the *Gṛhyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras*. We earlier postulated three motives behind the performance of the *agnihotra*. The first was, namely, its significance as a rite for vitalizing the sun, the second was the

ritualization of the maintenance of the fire, and the third was the worship of various deities and other beings in the morning and evening. The first of these has been carried over in the *Gr̥hyasūtras* by the morning and evening offering. Although the texts do not stipulate when the morning and evening offering is to be performed, it may be assumed to have been performed probably at sunrise and sunset. The second purpose of the *agnihotra*, namely, the ritualization of the maintenance of the fire, has not become established in the *Gr̥hyasūtras* as one of the acts of the householder, while its third purpose has been carried over in the *vaiśvadeva* of the *Gr̥hyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras* performed after the preparation of the meal. The morning and evening offering does still preserve some connections with solar rites, but as is emphasized by Bodewitz<sup>9</sup>, the *vaiśvadeva* of the *Gr̥hyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras* has lost all links with solar rites and has moved to the time of the morning meal, which would have taken place after sunrise and perhaps even late in the morning. Thus the *agnihotra* of the *Śrautasūtras* may be considered to have been partially modified at the level of the *Gr̥hyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras* and carried over separately in the morning and evening offering and in the *vaiśvadeva* rite.

From the very outset these two rites consisting of the morning and evening offering and the *vaiśvadeva*, which came to be ritualized in the *Gr̥hyasūtras* and subsequent texts, do not, however, appear to have been regarded as constituting a single set of rites. In addition, the position of these two rites in the *Gr̥hyasūtras* would appear to be of a secondary and interpolative nature. We shall now discuss these two points.

In Tables 2 and 3 we have listed the relevant passages in the *Gr̥hyasūtras* describing the morning and evening offering and the *vaiśvadeva* respectively. The first point to be noticed on perusing these two tables is the fact that there is no mention of the morning and evening offering in the *Vārāha-gr̥hyasūtra* and that in the *Bhāradvāja-*, *Mānava-*, *Pāraskara-*, *Āśvalāyana-*, *Śāṅkhāyana-* and *Gobhila-gr̥hyasūtras* the passages describing these two rites occur in completely different sections of these works. In the other texts these two rites are explained in succession or in close proximity to one another, but the above two facts would suggest that originally these two rites were not regarded as constituting a single set of rites.

At the present stage it is not possible to state with any certitude what the original object of the rites described in the *Gr̥hyasūtras* was. But as was mentioned earlier, they were centred on the rites to be performed at various stages in the course of a person's life, from birth to death, and on a number of seasonal rites to be performed by the householder. As regards the question of whether or not the two rites with which we are here concerned were included in the *gr̥hya* rites proper, a number of facts would appear to suggest an answer in the negative. Firstly there is the fact, already noted, that the *Vārāha-gr̥hyasūtra* does not give any instructions relating to the performance of the morning and evening offering. Next, in regard to the *vaiśvadeva*, H. Oldenberg has voiced doubts about its position in the *Śāṅkhāyana-gr̥hyasūtra*<sup>10</sup>, while P. Rolland asserts that the relevant section in the *Vārāha-gr̥hyasūtra* represents an addition made at a later date<sup>11</sup>.

In addition, the following facts may also be adduced as circumstantial evidence. The majority of Gṛhyasūtras deal with the morning and evening offering as part of the marriage rites and explain it at the start of the section describing how the bride and groom take the first step in a new phase of their lives after the conclusion of the rite of plighting their troth. But in the case of the *Kāthaka-gr̥hyasūtra* it is dealt with in Chapter 53, towards the end of the work, and, furthermore, quite out of context, coming as it does between the *gr̥hya* animal sacrifice known as *sūlagava* and a number of seasonal rites dealt with in Chapter 55 *infra*. In addition, the *Sāṅkhāyana-* and *Gobhila-gr̥hyasūtras* deal with the morning and evening offering in their introductory sections, and there is a strong possibility that these introductory sections were added at a later point in time once the Gṛhyasūtras had been systematized.

In regard to the *vaiśvadeva* too the following facts may be pointed to as circumstantial evidence suggesting that it did not form part of the *gr̥hya* rites proper. As was noted earlier, the *Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyasūtra*, 1.2.40–44, describes the duties of the student of Vedic studies, but here the offering is made to the sacred fire, and there is no mention of offerings made in other parts of the house as described in many other Gṛhyasūtras. It is only in the *Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra* that there appear instructions similar to those found in the other Gṛhyasūtras. Furthermore, as is stated in the *Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra*, 2.1.43–45, a person performing this *vaiśvadeva* for the first time must also perform certain preliminary rites. Similar instructions also appear in the *Baudhāyana-gr̥hyasūtra*, 2.9.25, *Bhāradvāja-gr̥hyasūtra*, 3.12 [79.1–3], and *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*, 2.2.3.12–14, and this would appear to suggest that this *vaiśvadeva* was not obligatory for all householders, but was rather a rite to be performed on the initiative of the individual householder.

In view of the above facts it is to be inferred that the two rites consisting of the morning and evening offering and the *vaiśvadeva* do not constitute a single set; that they are of a secondary nature, being extrinsic to the corpus of original *gr̥hya* rites; and that, in the case of the *vaiśvadeva*, it did not even constitute a duty automatically imposed upon the householder.

But it is also a fact that almost all the extant Gṛhyasūtras record these two rites, regardless of their provenance, as rites representing a modified form of the *agnihotra* of the Śrautasūtras. The *vaiśvadeva* in particular comes to play an important role within the systematization of the so-called “five great sacrifices” (*pañca-mahā-yajña*) dealt with in the Gṛhyasūtras and subsequent literature. A comparative examination of the *vaiśvadeva* itself and a consideration thereof will, however, be deferred to another occasion.

## THE *SAMDHYĀ-UPĀSANA* IN WORKS SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE *GRHYASŪTRAS*

In the above we have examined the morning and evening rites recorded in the Śrautasūtras on the one hand and in the Gr̥hyasūtras and Dharmasūtras on the other, and it is evident that these rites are basically different from the morning and evening service performed today in Mithilā. In this section we shall consider the *samdhyā-upāsana* such as it is described essentially for the first time as a householder's duty in works supplementary to the Gr̥hyasūtras. This *samdhyā-upāsana* represents the prototype of the rite that we were able to observe in Mithilā. Since in the case of the Śrautasūtras and Gr̥hya-/Dharmasūtras we have focussed on works of the Hiranyakeśin school, we shall in regard to the supplementary literature too present the *samdhyā-upāsana* rite on the basis of a work of this school, namely, the *Hiranyakeśi-grhyaśeṣasūtra*. The *samdhyā-upāsana* is described in three passages in this text, namely, 1.1.10-11, 1.2.3, and 1.2.7. Whereas in the first two passages the description of ritual actions is interrupted by various comments, the third passage (1.2.7) gives the most faithful description of the rite itself. We shall accordingly consider the *samdhyā-upāsana* rite as recorded in works supplementary to the Gr̥hyasūtras by first translating this section. The text is found on pp. 11-12 of the *Satyāśādhaviracitahiranyakeśigrhyaśeṣasutram*, which starts, with new pagination, after p. 654 in the same Vol. 8 (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 53) used in the case of the morning and evening offering.

1. Then one washes both hands, takes a water jar and a clod of earth, goes to a ford (Fig. 5), and washes both feet three times and one's body three times.
2. Some people say that one should not go without washing both feet to a cemetery, water, a house of the gods, a cow pen, or where a brahmin is.
3. Then one enters the water, chanting, "I take refuge in the golden-horned Varuṇa. Having been solicited, give me the ford. That which I have [received] from wicked people and eaten, that which I have accepted from evil people, the evil that I have performed in thought, in speech or in action — would that Indra, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati and Savitr̥ purify them for me again and again."
4. Then one clasps one's hands together and strikes the water, chanting, "May the waters and the grasses be good friends for us."
5. One casts water in the direction of someone whom one hates, chanting, "May it become unfriendly for him who hates us and him whom we hate."
6. Then, touching the water, one stirs it three times in a clockwise direction, chanting, "Would that the fierce part, the undefiled part and the unsettled part of the water go away."
7. One immerses oneself in the water and comes up;

8. While in the water one does not relieve oneself, nor does one wash one's clothes or sip water.
9. If the water should be blemished, one attends on it with this mantra: "Homage to Agni in the water; homage to Indra; homage to Varuṇa; homage to Varuṇa's consort; homage to the waters."
10. One comes out of the water, sips water, and sips water again, chanting, "May the water purify the earth; may the earth, having been purified, purify me; may [water and] Brahmanaspati purify; may [the earth], purified by Brahman, purify me"; "May water purify that which has remained, that which is not to be enjoyed, as well as my evil deeds, my everything, and that which has been received from wicked people, *svāhā*."
11. One makes a strainer for purification with two blades of grass and washes oneself with water, reciting the three mantras beginning "You waters are indeed invigorating," the four mantras beginning "That which is golden, clean and purifying," and the mantra with the formula beginning "While being purified, the person in the sun."
12. One washes oneself, enters the water, performs the restraint of breath three times while reciting the Aghamarṣaṇa [hymn],
13. Comes out of the water, beats one's clothes [in order to clean them], rinses them and dries them in the wind, puts on untorn clothes,
14. Sits on the grass, and with some blades of grass in one's hand and facing east one should repeat the *Sāvitrī* one thousand times,
15. Or one hundred times, or as many times as one wishes, but at least ten times.
16. Then one worships the sun, reciting the mantras "Passing through the space of truth," "We from beyond darkness," "And that Jātavedas," "The resplendent face of the gods," "That eye by the gods," and "He who rose up from the great ocean."

The above constitutes the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* rite recorded in the *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhyaśeṣasūtra*, 1.2.7. In order to facilitate the comparison of this *saṃdhyā-upāsana* with the rite presently performed in Mithilā, we have composed Table 6, and on the basis of this it is possible to point out a number of differences and also a number of similarities between the two rites.

Firstly, the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* of the supplementary literature begins with ablutions performed in the river, whereas Mr. L. K. Jha bathed using the water of his well and, after having changed his clothes, went to sit on the veranda of his house. In other words, today bathing itself is not incorporated in the rite. But after having seated himself he performed the act of "purification of the body" while reciting a number of mantras, and this action may be considered to correspond to a ritual ablution.

Secondly, it is in the restraint of breath (*prāṇāyāma*) that the differences are

**Table 6** Comparison of Two Examples of the *Samdhya-upāsana*

<i>Hiranyakeśi-grhyaśeṣasūtra</i>	
1. Bathing (1–9)	TA 10.1 [702.23–26]; [702.15–16]; [703.12]; [703.7–8]
2. Sipping water (10)	TA 10.23 [740.23–741.1]
3. Washing oneself (11)	RV 10.9.1–3; TS 5.6. 1a-d; TB 1.4.8
4. Restraint of breath (12)	RV 10.190
5. Donning clothes (13)	
6. Recitation of the <i>Sāvitrī</i> (14–15)	RV 3.62.10
7. Worship of the sun (16)	TS 3.4.11f; RV 1.50.10; RV 1.50.1; RV 7.65.16; TA 4.42 [353.21–23]
Mithilā	
1. Purification of the body	Two mantras of unknown source; RV 10.190; mantra of unknown source
2. Restraint of breath	RV 3.62.10
3. Sipping water	TA 10.25 [742.15–19]; TA 10.23 [740.23–741.1]
4. Washing oneself	RV 10.9.1–3; AV 6.115.3
5. Removal of sins	RV 10.190; ŚāṅkhS 9.16 [356.10–11]
6. Worship of the sun	RV 1.50.10; RV 1.50.1; RV 1.115.1; RV 7.65.16
7. Recitation of the <i>Gāyatrī</i>	Main mantra: RV 3.62.10
8. Tarpana	

## Abbreviations

TA: *Taittirīya-āranyaka*; RV: *Ṛgveda-saṃhitā*; TS: *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*; TB: *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*; AV: *Atharvaveda-saṃhitā*; ŚāṅkhS: *Śāṅkha-saṃhitā*

(Underlines indicate mantras common to both rites.)

especially pronounced. Its position within the two rites differs, and the mantras employed are also completely different. As will be noted when we discuss the evolution of the *saṃdhya-upāsana* rite in the following section, it would appear to have been in the rites for the suspension of the study of the Vedas that restraining the breath was first ritualized. The study of the Vedas, which began annually at the start of the rainy season, would be suspended in autumn, and the restraint of breath was included in the series of ritual acts performed on this occasion. It was performed using the hymn of Aghamarṣaṇa from the *Ṛgveda*, 10.190. The *Hiranyakeśi-grhyasūtra*, 2.8.6 (651.2–3), for example, has the statement “performing the restraint of breath three times with the Aghamarṣaṇa [hymn].” The restraint of breath employing this Aghamarṣaṇa hymn then came to be performed also in ablutionary rites. For example, the *Āgniveśya-grhyasūtra*, 2.6.2 (95.15), and *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra*, 2.5.12, both use the same expression to prescribe it as follows: “Entering the water and performing the restraint of breath three times with the Aghamarṣaṇa [hymn]....” The *Hiranyakeśi-grhyaśeṣasūtra*, 1.1.10 (4.27–28), on the other hand, has a *śloka* defining the restraint of breath as being performed

while reciting the mantra from the *Rgveda* (3.62.10) known as the *Gāyatrī* or *Sāvitrī*: "With the *vyāhṛti*, *praṇava* and 'Head' one should restrain one's breath and murmur the *Gāyatrī* three times. This is called 'restraint of breath.'" Similar definitions of the restraint of breath appear repeatedly in a considerable number of works postdating the *Gr̥hyasūtras*, such as, for example, the *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra*, 4.1.28, *Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa*, 42.1.9, and *Karmaṇīya*, 2.1.8.

This fact would indicate that in the late Vedic period the practice of restraining the breath had already undergone certain changes. The restraint of breath as incorporated into ritual for the first time in the rites for the suspension of the study of the Vedas employed the *Aghamarṣaṇa* hymn, and this came to be used in ablutions too. But once we reach the stage of works supplementary to the *Gr̥hyasūtras*, the restraint of breath had come to be generally accompanied by the recitation of the *Gāyatrī-mantra*. Thus, whereas in the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* rite described in the *Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyaśeṣasūtra*, 1.2.7, and quoted at the start of this section the older pattern of the restraint of breath employing the *Aghamarṣaṇa* hymn is prescribed, in the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* performed today, as is only to be expected, the second, newer form of the restraint of breath using the *Gāyatrī* is practised.

The restraint of breath in the supplementary literature is performed after the act of "washing oneself" and employs the *Aghamarṣaṇa* hymn. In present-day Mithilā too, following the act of "washing oneself," there is performed an action using the same *Aghamarṣaṇa* hymn, even though it is not accompanied by any restraint of the breath. Thus, if one wishes to give greater emphasis to points in common, it may be said that there exists a close correspondence between the actions constituting the two forms of the *saṃdhyā-upāsana*.

The *Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyaśeṣasūtra* continues on after 1.2.7 with instructions for an ablution using clay and the daily *pūjās* for Mahāpuruṣa and Mahādeva, and there is no mention of rites for gratifying or satiating the gods, seers and ancestral spirits such as are found in the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* performed in Mithilā. Hence, although they do basically exhibit a certain correlation, a further difference between the rite as described in the supplementary literature and the present-day rite may be seen in whether or not this act of *tarpaṇa* for the "satiating" of various entities is performed. We shall discuss this *tarpaṇa* in the following section when considering the evolution of the *saṃdhyā-upāsana*.

## THE EVOLUTION OF THE *SAMDHYĀ-UPĀSANA*, OR THE RITUALIZATION OF VARIOUS MORNING ACTIONS

In the previous section we described, primarily on the basis of the *Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyaśeṣasūtra*, the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* as performed by the householder. Already at the stage of the *Gr̥hyasūtras*, however, this *saṃdhyā-upāsana* is prescribed in approximately half the extant *Gr̥hyasūtras* as obligatory for students of the Vedas. In Table 7 we have listed the *Gr̥hyasūtras* in question. Among these, the

**Table 7** Gr̥hyasūtras Describing the *Samdhyā-upāsana* for Students of the Vedas

<i>Kāthaka-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 1.25–28.
<i>Mānava-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 1.2.1–5.
<i>Vārāha-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 5.30.
<i>Śāṅkhāyana-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 2.9.1–3.
<i>Āśvalāyana-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 3.7.3–6.
<i>Kauṣṭhiki-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 2.6.3–4.
<i>Jaiminīya-gr̥hyasūtra</i> , 1.13.

**Table 8** The *Samdhyā-upāsana* of the *Jaiminīya-gr̥hyasūtra*

1. Washing oneself [13.15–16]	<u>RV 10.9.1–3</u> ; 9.58.1–4. Vāmadevya*
2. Meditation [13.16–18]	No mantra
3. Restraint of breath [13.18]	No mantra
4. Recitation of the <i>Sāvitrī</i> [13.19]	<u>RV 3.62.10</u>
5. Worship of Agni [13.19–20]	<u>RV 5.24.1</u>
Worship of Varuna [13.20–21]	<u>RV 7.12.3</u>
6. Worship of the sun [13.21–14.1]	<u>RV 1.50.10</u>
Worship of Mitra [14.1]	<u>RV 8.101.5</u>

(Underlines indicate mantras the usage of which has parallels in Table 6.)

\* Cf. Caland 1922: 22.

*Samdhyā-upāsana* of the *Āśvalāyana-gr̥hyasūtra*, 3.7.3–6, has the simplest format, involving merely the recitation of the *Sāvitrī-mantra*, while the most complex form of the *Samdhyā-upāsana* as one of the duties of students of the Vedas is to be found in the *Jaiminīya-gr̥hyasūtra*, 1.13, and its content is shown in Table 8. When this Table 8 is compared with Table 6, which gives the content of the *Samdhyā-upāsana* as one of the duties of the householder, it is found that there are correspondences in regard to the act of washing oneself, the restraint of breath, the recitation of the *Sāvitrī*, and the worship of Agni (god of fire) and the sun. In the rites found in the *Jaiminīya-gr̥hyasūtra* the act of washing oneself, with the accompanying mantras, constitutes one of the elements of the rite, but in the other Gr̥hyasūtras describing the *Samdhyā-upāsana* as one of the duties of students of the Vedas there is no mention of this act of washing oneself.

Thus, although exhibiting a number of variations, ranging from the simple recitation of the *Sāvitrī-mantra* to a form approaching that of the *Samdhyā-upāsana* as one of the duties of the householder, this *Samdhyā-upāsana* constituting one of the duties of students of the Vedas and found at the stage of the Gr̥hyasūtras must, as is only natural, be regarded as the prototype forming the nucleus of the *Samdhyā-upāsana* as one of the duties of the householder.

But we believe that there are two essential differences between these two series of ritual actions. In the first place there is the difference in ritual agent. At the

stage of the Gṛhyasūtras it was only students of the Vedas who performed this *saṁdhyā-upāsana*, while the morning and evening offering and *vaiśvadeva*, completely different from the *saṁdhyā-upāsana*, were prescribed as duties of the householder, and this represents a totally different state of affairs from that at the stage of works supplementary to the Gṛhyasūtras. This is the first difference.

The second difference that we wish to point out is the increase in the number of ritual acts found in the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* as one of the duties of the householder at the stage of the supplementary literature. We have already presented in Table 8 the content of the most complex *saṁdhyā-upāsana* at the Gṛhyasūtra stage as preserved in the *Jaiminīya-gṛhyasūtra*. The first action mentioned in this table, namely, that of washing oneself while reciting a number of mantras including *Rgveda*, 10.9.1–3, is found at the Gṛhyasūtra stage only in this text, and if we accordingly disregard it as an exception, it would appear possible to contend that this act of washing oneself was not included in the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* of students of the Vedas as prescribed in the Gṛhyasūtras. This means that the three acts of bathing, sipping water and washing oneself were added to the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* as constituting one of the duties of the householder at the stage of the supplementary literature, and that in the rite as it is performed today the act of *tarpaṇa* for gratifying the gods, seers and ancestral spirits, which exhibits considerable complexity, has been further appended. It is thus evident that, when compared with the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* consisting simply of the recitation of the *Sāvitrī-mantra*, the present-day rite represents a considerably expanded form.

We have already noted that the rather simple form of the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* as prescribed in some of the Gṛhyasūtras as one of the duties of students of the Vedas represents the prototypal nucleus of the rite described in the supplementary literature as one of the duties of the householder. When the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* came to be laid down in the supplementary literature as one of the duties of the householder, an increase in the number of actions constituting the rite also occurred together with this change of agent. In the remainder of this section we shall, therefore, consider in greater detail these additional actions.

When we were discussing on the basis of the *Hiranyakeśi-gṛhyaśeṣasūtra*, 1.2.7, the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* at the stage of the supplementary literature, we mentioned that in addition to section 1.2.7 this same text similarly gives instructions for the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* as one of the duties of the householder also at 1.1.10–11 and 1.2.3. *Paṭala* 1 of *praśna* 1, containing the first of these two passages (1.1.10–11), consists of eighteen verses and presents in a systematic fashion instructions for the daily duties of the householder. It opens with the statement “We shall now explain good conduct (*ācāra*),” and this is followed by a *śloka* extolling this *ācāra*: “Through good conduct one obtains *dharma*; through good conduct one obtains wealth; through good conduct one obtains happiness; through good conduct one obtains liberation.” Then, starting with meditation upon waking up in the morning, it describes in detail good conduct during the course of the day, ending with rules concerning the direction one’s head should face when retiring at night, and it

**Table 9** The Content of the *Hiranyakeśi-grhyaśeṣasūtra*, 1.1

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1. 1.1.1 [1.4–8]: Rising in the morning and meditation.
  2. 1.1.1–2 [1.8–30]: Instructions for relieving oneself.
  3. 1.1.3 [2.1–15]: Instructions for sipping water.
  4. 1.1.4–5 [2.16–3.2] Instructions for brushing one's teeth.
  5. 1.1.5–6 [3.2–17]: Instructions for bathing.
  6. 1.1.7 [3.18–19]: Instructions about clothing.
  7. 1.1.7 [3.19–20]: Instructions for keeping silence.
  8. 1.1.7–8 [3.20–4.1]: Instructions about the sacred thread.
  9. 1.1.8 [4.1–8]: Instructions for bathing.
  10. 1.1.8–9 [4.8–23]: Instructions about the *ūrdhvapuṇḍra*, *tripuṇḍra*, *tilakacandana*, etc.
  11. 1.1.10–11 [4.24–5.22]: Instructions for the *saṃdhyā-upāsana*.
  12. 1.1.11 [5.23–24]: Morning and evening offering and *brahmayajña*.
  13. 1.1.11–12 [5.24–6.8]: *Tarpaṇa*.
  14. 1.1.13–14 [6.9–7.2]: *Pūjā* for the gods.
  15. 1.1.15 [7.3–5]: Salutations to elders.
  16. 1.1.15 [7.5–9]: Study of the Vedas.
  17. 1.1.16–18 [7.10–8.11]: Instructions about meals.
  18. 1.1.18 [8.12–17]: Conduct during the day, conduct in the evening, and instructions for going to bed.
- 

concludes these instructions relating to daily behavioural norms with the statement that “knowing thus, one should perform one’s daily actions. Arising again the [following] morning, one should do as has been described without omitting anything. Those who practise the chapter on action in this manner will obtain the perfection of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*.” The content of this complete set of behavioural norms for a full day is shown in Table 9.

The point to which we wish to draw attention in relation to the content of this table is the ritualization of the various actions performed in the morning, and we wish to consider the elaboration of actions making up the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* as constituting one of the duties of the householder in terms of this ritualization of morning actions.

In regard to the content of the *Hiranyakeśi-grhyaśeṣasūtra*, 1.1, as given in Table 9, let us consider the initial instructions for relieving oneself, sipping water, brushing one’s teeth and bathing. It is stipulated that all these actions are to be performed while reciting a certain mantra or in accordance with a particular method. This laying down of rules concerning actions that people would have performed as a matter of course when getting up in the morning occurs essentially for the first time in works supplementary to the *Gṛhyasūtras*. The reason that we say “essentially” is that similar rules are to be found already in the *Vaikhānasa-grhyasūtra*, 1.2–5, and *Āgniveśya-grhyasūtra*, 2.6.1–8. But in view of the very fact that they thus prescribe ritualized morning actions, these two passages, although found in *Gṛhyasūtras*,

**Table 10** The Contents of Some Works Supplementary to the Gṛhyasūtras

<i>Pāraskara-grhyasūtra-pariśiṣṭa</i>
Instructions for relieving oneself. [409.25–410–1]
Instructions for sipping water. [410.1–20]
Instructions for bathing. [410.22–411.9]
Include the Aghamarṣaṇa hymn and restraint of breath.
Instructions for worshipping the sun. [415.3–7]
Include recitation of the <i>Gāyatrī</i> .
Instructions for <i>tarpaṇa</i> . [417.33–418.15]
<i>Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa</i>
Instructions for the <i>saṃdhyā-upāsana</i> . (41)
Sipping water, washing oneself, restraint of breath, worship of the sun, recitation of the <i>Sāvitrī</i> .
Instructions for bathing. (42)
Restraint of breath, Aghamarṣaṇa hymn, clothes, silence.
<i>Tarpaṇa</i> rite. (43)
<i>Karmapradīpa</i>
Instructions for the <i>saṃdhyā-upāsana</i> . (2.1)
Sipping water, washing oneself, restraint of breath, Aghamarṣaṇa hymn, worship of the sun.
Instructions for <i>tarpaṇa</i> . (2.2)
<i>Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra</i>
Instructions for the <i>saṃdhyā-upāsana</i> . (2.7)
(= <i>Hiranyakeśi-grhyasūtra</i> , 1.2.3)
Instructions for the <i>saṃdhyā-upāsana</i> . (2.8)
(= <i>Hiranyakeśi-grhyasūtra</i> , 1.2.7)
Instructions for <i>tarpaṇa</i> . (2.9–10)
— — —
Instructions for sipping water. (1.8.9–21)
Instructions for relieving oneself. (1.10.10–14)
<i>Viṣṇusmṛti</i>
Instructions for relieving oneself. (60)
Instructions for brushing one's teeth. (61)
Instructions for sipping water. (62.1–6)
Instructions for washing oneself. (62.7–9)
Instructions for bathing. (64.1–23)
Instructions for <i>tarpaṇa</i> . (64.24–34)

may conversely be regarded as belonging to the same stage as the supplementary literature, and that is what we shall do here. On the basis of this conclusion we shall rephrase our earlier statement by saying that the ritualization of various morning actions occurs for the first time in works supplementary to the Gṛhyasūtras.

Further examples of texts belonging to the same stage as this supplementary literature include works supplementary to the Gṛhyasūtras such as the *Pāraskara-gr̥hyasūtra-pariśiṣṭa*, *Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa* and *Karmapradīpa* and other works such as the *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* and *Viṣṇusmṛti*. The general content of these texts is shown in Table 10, and on the basis of this table it may be seen that they generally include various ritualized morning actions and the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* and *tarpaṇa* rites as part of these actions, and that they belong to approximately the same stage of development as the *Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyaśeṣasūtra*, 1.1.

It is extremely difficult to determine the dates of particular texts in India. It is impossible, at least for the present writer, to establish even a comparative chronology of the texts listed above. But in order to lend clarity to our discussion, it would appear to be of some importance to determine approximately, on the basis of the content of the rules laid down in each of these texts, the stage to which they belong. In view of the fact that they prescribe various ritualized morning actions and the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* and *tarpaṇa* rites as forming part of these actions, we shall accordingly regard them as belonging to the stage of the supplementary literature and deal collectively with the relevant sections of these texts.

In the Gṛhyasūtras the *saṃdhyā-upāsana*, centred on the recitation of the *Gāyatrī* in the morning and evening while facing the sun, was prescribed as one of the duties of students of the Vedas. When we reach the stage of works supplementary to the Gṛhyasūtras, however, first the ritual agent changed from the student of the Vedas to the householder. This was the first fundamental change. At the same time the actions of bathing, sipping water and washing oneself were added to the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* rite, and the rite itself was expanded. In addition, the action of *tarpaṇa* for gratifying the gods, seers and ancestral spirits also came to be prescribed. But on the other hand, there are also instances of these same actions of bathing, sipping water and *tarpaṇa* that were added to the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* being mentioned separately, but in ritualized form and together with the rules for relieving oneself and so forth, as part of the various actions performed in the morning.

If we now bring all these different accounts together, it may be supposed that the various morning actions proceeded roughly along the following lines. Namely, upon getting up, one first relieved oneself. Then one went to a bathing site, sipped water, brushed one's teeth, entered the water and bathed, washed one's clothes, changed into clean clothes, performed the restraint of breath, recited the *Gāyatrī*, performed the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* in the narrow sense of the term as centred on the worship of the sun, and lastly performed *tarpaṇa* for the gratification of the gods, seers and ancestral spirits. After having completed this series of actions, one returned to one's house and performed the morning offering and *vaiśvadeva* as prescribed in the Gṛhyasūtras or a *pūjā* for the gods. Then one would have taken the morning meal and engaged in activities such as the study of the Vedas. This last-mentioned series of actions, from the morning offering and *vaiśvadeva* to the study of the Vedas, came to be systematized as the *pañca-mahā-yajña* or 'five great sacrifices' in and subsequent to the supplementary literature and Dharmasūtras, but since this is

a subject that deviates somewhat from the context of the ritualization of various morning actions at present under discussion, we shall not consider it here.

We have already noted on more than one occasion that the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* rite forming the nucleus of the various ritualized morning actions has its origins in the duties of students of the Vedas as laid down in the *Gr̥hyasūtras*. We shall now consider to which stage the other actions of sipping water, bathing, washing oneself and *tarpaṇa*, in their capacity as ritual actions, may be traced back.

Here again, as in the case of the *saṁdhyā-upāsana*, it is the ritual actions relating to students of the Vedas that come into question. In the *Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyasūtra*, 2.8.5–19, for example, there is a description of the rites performed when suspending the study of the Vedas. The first of the actions constituting these rites to be prescribed is the restraint of breath accompanied by the recitation of the mantra corresponding to the *R̥gveda*, 10.190, and to this we have already alluded in the previous section. This is followed by instructions for bathing that prescribe the same set of mantras as is employed when washing oneself in the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* described in the *Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyaśeṣasūtra*, 1.2.7, namely, *R̥gveda*, 10.9.1–3, *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*, 5.6.1a-d, and *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*, 1.4.8. Then, in the *Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyasūtra*, 2.8.7–15, we find a rather detailed description of a *tarpaṇa* for the gods, seers, past teachers of this school, and ancestral spirits of each of the students. In particular, in regard to this *tarpaṇa* in the rites for the suspension of the study of the Vedas, H. Oldenberg has noted that it provided the model for the *tarpaṇa* that later took root as a morning rite from the time of the supplementary literature onwards<sup>12</sup>). In this manner these three actions consisting of the restraint of breath, bathing or washing oneself, and *tarpaṇa* are prescribed as ritual actions accompanied by mantras for the first time in these rites for suspending the study of the Vedas.

There is one further rite that ought to be taken into account, and that is the *samāvartana* or ceremony performed at the completion of the study of the Vedas. In this case too the *Hiranyakeśi-gr̥hyasūtra*, 1.6.20–21, for example, gives instructions for brushing one's teeth to the accompaniment of a mantra and then for an ablutionary rite with the same set of mantras as used on the occasion of the rites for suspending the study of the Vedas. There are, in addition, a number of other ritual acts performed during the *samāvartana*, but it is to be noted that a student who has undergone this ceremony and completed his study of the Vedas is called a '*snātaka*' or 'one who has bathed', thus indicating that bathing occupies a central position in this rite.

Instructions for relieving oneself cannot be found in any of the earlier literature, including the *Gr̥hyasūtras*. As regards the act of sipping water, this action in itself was already incorporated into rituals belonging to the stage of the *Śrautasūtras*, but no mantras were yet used. Hence this act of sipping water may also be considered to have been ritualized for the first time in the supplementary literature.

It is possible to extract six elements constituting the expanded form of the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* as performed by the householder. These are, namely, the acts

of sipping water, bathing or washing oneself, restraining one's breath, reciting the *Sāvitrī-mantra*, worshipping the sun, and performing *tarpaṇa*. Among these, the act of sipping water was ritualized for the first time in the supplementary literature, but the other five elements may all be traced back to various actions imposed upon students of the Vedas.

The rites dealt with in the *Gṛhyasūtras* would have been the rites to be performed at various stages in a person's life, from birth to death, and a number of seasonal rites, and they did not therefore provide the norms for actions to be performed daily by the householder. Works supplementary to the *Gṛhyasūtras* accordingly attempted to provide anew daily behavioural norms for the householder, in particular the brahmin householder, in order to complement the content of the *Gṛhyasūtras*. It is our conjecture at the present stage that, in doing so, the supplementary literature, basing itself on a number of ritual actions that were already imposed in the *Gṛhyasūtras* on students of the Vedas in various situations, created a new set of behavioural norms for the course of a householder's day.

### CONCLUSION: THE TRANSFORMATION OF MORNING AND EVENING RITES, OR DE-VEDIZATION AND HINDUIZATION

Taking as our starting point the *saṃdhyā-upāsana* forming part of the *Mahādevapūjā*, a morning service that we were able to observe in contemporary India, we have gone back to Vedic literature and traced the development of a number of morning and evening rites of worship. The *Śrautasūtras*, the first group of texts to record the rituals of the Vedic period, prescribe as the morning and evening service a rite known as the *agnihotra*. This *agnihotra*, which is dealt with in great detail in the *Śrautasūtras*, is however already made the subject of interpretative exposition at the stage of the *Black Yajurveda-saṃhitā*, and it may be considered to have become established at the start of the first millennium B.C.

We have suggested that there were three motives behind the performance of this *agnihotra*. The first was that of a rite for the vitalization of the sun, which was realized by means of the central ritual act of the *agnihotra*, that is to say, by pouring milk heated over the sacred fire/sun onto the sun/sacred fire. The second motive was the ritualization of the daily act of maintaining and looking after the sacred fire, and the third was the worship of various beings at the two junctures of day and night, namely, in the morning and in the evening.

The group of texts following on from the *Śrautasūtras* is known as the *Gṛhyasūtras*, and these *Gṛhyasūtras* give instructions for two rites to be performed as the morning and evening service, namely, the morning and evening offering and the *vaiśvadeva*. Of these two rites, the first — the morning and evening offering — took over the functions of the main offering that effected the first purpose of the *agnihotra* of the *Śrautasūtras*, while the second — the *vaiśvadeva* — corresponded to the third purpose of the *agnihotra*.

There are differences between the Śrautasūtras and Gṛhyasūtras not only in regard to the rituals that these two groups of texts describe, but also in regard to the qualifications of those who could perform them. Only those who, after marriage, had set up with the appropriate rites the three sacred fires used for ritual purposes (*gārhapatya*, *dakṣiṇāgni* and *āhavanīya*) were qualified to perform the various rituals prescribed in the Śrautasūtras. But in spite of such differences regarding the qualifications of the worshiper and differences in details of the rites themselves, the *agnihotra* of the Śrautasūtras may be considered to have been basically carried over by two rites of the Gṛhyasūtras, namely, the morning and evening offering and the *vaiśvadeva*.

It was, however, necessary for us to hold some reservations about the position occupied by these two rites within the Gṛhyasūtras, for although regarded as carrying over from the *agnihotra* of the Śrautasūtras, they were not dealt with as a single set of rites, and they would appear to have been incorporated, probably at a rather early date, into the Gṛhyasūtras as secondary rites.

But be that as it may, it is possible to consider the *agnihotra* preserved in the Śrautasūtras and the two rites recorded in the Gṛhyasūtras within some sort of continuum, and it is evident that they are substantially different from the morning and evening service that may be observed in present-day India. They may be said to form an integral part of the ritual world of the Vedas.

By way of contrast, the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* constituting the morning and evening duty of the householder as preserved in works supplementary to the Gṛhyasūtras presents a totally different aspect. This *saṁdhyā-upāsana*, consisting of the various acts of sipping water, bathing or washing oneself, restraining one's breath, reciting the *Sāvitrī*, worshipping the sun, and gratifying the gods, seers and ancestral spirits, did not evolve until the stage of these supplementary works. With the exception of sipping water, all these actions making up the *saṁdhyā-upāsana* were, moreover, modelled on the daily duties of students of the Vedas or on various ritual actions imposed upon students of the Vedas, such as the rite for suspending

**Table 11** The Morning Service according to the *Padma-purāna*, 1.49.1-74

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1. Question concerning correct living norms. (1.49.1)
  2. One rises in the morning and calls the gods to mind. (1.49.2-9)
  3. Relieving oneself. (1.49.10)
  4. Brushing one's teeth. (1.49.11ab)
  5. Calling the *Gāyatrī* to mind. (1.49.11cd-12)
  6. Bathing. (1.49.13-20)
  7. *Tarṇa*. (1.49.21-63)
  8. *Pūjā* for the gods. (1.49.64-65)
  9. *Vaiśvadeva*. (1.49.66ab)
  10. Looking after the fire, rituals, and receiving brahmins. (1.49.66cd-68cd)
  11. Reasons for performing the morning service. (1.49.68cd-74ab)
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**Table 12** Hinduistic Rites Described in Works Supplementary to the Gṛhyasūtras

	<i>Baudhāyana- grhyaśeṣasūtra</i>	<i>Hiraṇyakeśi- grhyaśeṣasūtra</i>
Rite for installing image of Viṣṇu	2.13	1.7.11 [107.5–109.19]
Daily worship of Viṣṇu	2.14	1.2. 9 [13.9–30]
Rite for bathing Viṣṇu	2.15	
Rite for installing image of Rudra	2.16	1.7.12 [109.20–112.8]
Daily worship of Rudra	2.17	1.2.10 [14.1–21]
Bathing and worship of Rudra	2.18	1.2.12 [16.9–17.13]
General rules for <i>pūjā</i>	2.22	1.7.16 [115.15–116.3]
Worship of Durgā	3.3	1.6. 9 [80.25–81.10]
Worship of Śrī	3.5	1.6.11 [81.26–82.11]
Worship of Sarasvatī	3.6	1.6.12 [82.12–83.2]
Worship of Viṣṇu	3.7	1.6.13 [83.3–27]
Worship of the sun	3.8	1.6.14 [83.28–84.8]
Worship of Jyeṣṭhā	3.9	1.6.15 [84.9–85.6]
Worship of Vināyaka	3.10	1.6.16 [85.7–86.5]

the study of the Vedas and the rite performed at the completion of the study of the Vedas. The *saṃdhyā-upāsana* that evolved in this fashion has, moreover, been transmitted down to the present age.

Works such as the *Padma-purāṇa* are probably positioned somewhere in between the period when the works supplementary to the Gṛhyasūtras were compiled and the present day. In regard to the morning service, this *Padma-purāṇa*, 1.49.1–74, preserves instructions the content of which is given in Table 11, and they show a close correspondence with the content of the *Hiraṇyakeśi-grhyaśeṣasūtra*, 1.1, given in Table 9. The Purāṇas constitute a body of works representing an encyclopaedia of Hinduism, as it were, and the works supplementary to the Gṛhyasūtras, recording as they do rites similar to those preserved in these Purāṇas, constitute the first group of works to move away from the world of Vedic ritual and start to record the world of Hindu ritual.

The *Hiraṇyakeśi-grhyaśeṣasūtra*, the text that we used when presenting the *saṃdhyā-upāsana*, shows correspondences with a similar text, the *Baudhāyana-grhyaśeṣasūtra*, in regard to a large number of topics. By way of example, Table 12 gives part of the instructions for the worship of Hindu gods to be found in parallel in these two supplementary works<sup>(3)</sup>. The gods here made the object of worship are Viṣṇu and Rudra/Śiva, the two principal gods of Hinduism, as well as various other deities such as Durgā and Vināyaka. The method of worship too, consisting as it does of installing the image of the deity, invoking him or her, and making offerings of water, perfume, flowers, incense, lamps and food, adopts the format known as *pūjā*, which constitutes the core of Hindu ritual. At the stage of works supplementary to the Gṛhyasūtras ritual was therefore moving away from the world of the Vedas and towards the world of Hinduism. In the course of this

process of de-Vedization and Hinduization the *samdhya-upāsana* as a morning and evening service evolved, and ever since then it has been transmitted within the Hindu world of India down to the present day.

### NOTES

- 1) Basing himself on traditional Vedic schools, Vidyārṇava (1918) describes this rite as it is performed in Bengal and northern India. Srinivasan (1973: 176–178) reports on examples of its performance by brahmins in Mahārāṣṭra, while Dubois (1906: 251–269) gives examples from southern India in the first half of the nineteenth century. In addition, Goudriaan (1970: 167–168) mentions the case of monks at a temple of the Vaikhānasa school in southern India. Cf. Einoo 1989: 382–383.
- 2) We have already presented an account of this *Mahādevapūjā* (Einoo 1989), in which we have translated the mantras used in the course of the rite and also given in the footnotes the Sanskrit text of the mantras, sources, and explanations of various ritual terms. In the following account we shall focus on the mantras; in regard to their sources and ritual terms, reference should be made to Einoo 1989.
- 3) On this mantra, cf. Narten 1987: 159–160.
- 4) Dumont (1939) describes the *agnihotra* in detail on the basis of eight Śrautasūtras. Bodewitz (1973) translates the chapter on the *agnihotra* in the Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa, while Bodewitz (1976) presents an exposition of the *agnihotra* on the basis of ten Brāhmaṇas.
- 5) Cf. Bodewitz 1976: 2–3.
- 6) Cf. Oldenberg 1970: 437–438.
- 7) Cf. Caland 1921: 190 and Bodewitz 1976: 98.
- 8) Bodewitz (1976: 196) recognizes only a superficial relationship between the two *vaiśvadevas*.
- 9) Cf. Bodewitz 1976: 197.
- 10) See Oldenberg 1967: 84.
- 11) See Rolland 1971: 18.
- 12) See Oldenberg 1967: 120–121.
- 13) See Gonda 1977: 586–587.

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