# A Common Passage on the Supreme Prāṇa in the Three Earliest Upaniṣads (JUB 1,60-2,12; BĀU 1,3; ChU 1,2)

## Masato Fujii

## Introduction

The two fundamental questions in the history of the Upaniṣads are how the early Upaniṣads were produced from the background of the Brāhmaṇa ritual literature textually and philosophically, and what are the chronological and intertextual relationships among the early Upaniṣads and their constituent parts. To study the Upaniṣads on these two points, essential research materials are the three earliest Upaniṣads, namely, the Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa (JUB) of the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda, the Brhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad (BĀU) of the Vājasaneyi Yajurveda, and the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (ChU) of the Kauthuma and Rāṇāyanīya Sāmaveda. As to the relationships between these three Upaniṣads, the JUB and the ChU show a strong textual parallelism, but they find only a few parallels in the BĀU. In this paper, I will analyze the unique common passage on the supreme prāṇa ('breath') whose parallel versions are found in the three earliest Upaniṣads (JUB 1,60–2,12; BĀU 1,3; ChU 1,2), and determine the textual and chronological rela-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The JUB has often been excluded from the Upaniṣads because of its usual but wrong classification into Brāhmaṇas or Āraṇyakas. Cf. e.g. Gonda 1975 [14], p. 431f. For an outline of the contents and the textual formation and transmission of the JUB, see Fujii 1997 [13]. And for the name "Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa," see Fujii [13], p. 96, n. 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For the details of the textual parallelism between the JUB and the ChU, see Fujii [13], pp. 90–92; 93, n. 20.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  JUB 1,60–2,12 ~ ChU 1,2 ~ BĀU 1,3 (to be dealt with in this paper); JUB 4,2 ~ ChU 3,16 ~ BĀU 3,9,3–5; JUB 4,18,2 (KenaU 1,2) ~ BĀU 4,4,18; JUB 4,18,5–9 (KenaU 1,5–9) ~ BĀU 3,4,1–2; JUB 4,19,4–5 (KenaU 2,4–5) ~ BĀU 4,4,13–14; ChU 5,1–10 ~ BĀU 6,1–3.

tionships among all the versions.4

\* \* \*

The passage in question appears repeatedly in succession in the middle of the JUB in the form of four different versions (1,60; 2,1–2; 2,3–9; 2,10–12), while it is placed at or near the beginning of the BĀU and the ChU.<sup>5</sup> Of the six versions, the BĀU version consists of the largest number of constituent portions as follows (excl. some minor portions):

- 1. Prologue
- 2. The vital functions and the  $pr\bar{a}na$ 's superiority
- 3. Correspondence between the vital functions and the cosmic entities
- 4. The kingship of the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$
- 5. The supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  is Ayāsya Āṅgirasa
- 6. The supreme prāṇa is Bṛhaspati
- 7. The supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  is the  $s\bar{a}man$
- 8. The sva, suvarna and pratisth $\bar{a}$  of the  $s\bar{a}man$
- 9. The abhyāroha of the pavamāna-stotras
- 10. Epilogue

The six versions have the following corresponding portions:

```
JUB 1,60 (1,18,5):6
JUB_1
        JUB 2,1-2 (2,1,1-2):
JUB_2
                                        2
JUB_3
        JUB 2,3–9 (2,2–3):
                                     1
                                                    5
                                        2
        JUB 2,10–12 (2,4,1–3):
                                     1
                                            3
                                                    5
                                                                        10
JUB_4
                                        2
                                             3
                                                    5
B\bar{A}U
        BĀUK 1,3 (ŚBM 14,4,1):
                                     1
                                                        6
                                                                        10
ChU
        ChU 1,2:
                                                4
                                                                        10
```

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Strauss (1931 [33], pp. 244–249) studied this passage, but he treated the textual differences among its versions as a matter of stylistic divergences and did not admit any chronological order between them. Bodewitz (1986 [2], p. 347f., nn. 23, 25, 26; 1992 [5], p. 51f.) and Fujii (1989 [12], p. 1001 (24) f.) briefly examined them. All of the JUB vesions are left out of Olivelle's notes on the BĀU and ChU versions in his two recent publications on the early Upaniṣads (translation: 1996 [28]; text and translation: 1998 [29]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Mādhyandina version of the BĀU (ŚBM 14,4–9) has this passage at the beginning (ŚBM 14,4,1), while the Kāṇva version has it (BĀUK 1,3) after two small sections on the Aśvamedha (BĀUK 1,1–2), which are at the end of the tenth chapter of the ŚBM (10,6,4–5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The mss. of the JUB have the latter numbering with three divisions (adhyāya, avuvāka, khanda), which Sharma follows in his edition (1967 [32]), while, together

All the versions have the first two portions, which form allegorical stories on the supremacy of the  $pr\bar{a}na$  over the other vital functions. Those stories are thematically related to the group of stories on the contest for supremacy among the vital functions and the  $pr\bar{a}na$ 's victory. Here in all the versions including that of the Yajurvedic BĀU, the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  is depicted in Sāmavedic terms as the supreme  $udg\bar{a}tr$  (the chief chanter priest in Some sacrifices) or  $udg\bar{t}ta$  (the main part of a chant sung by the  $udg\bar{a}tr$ ) that is free from evil. Hereafter I will expound each portion with the text and a translaton of the versions.

# 1. Prologue

The passage starts with the prologue to the battle between two opposing mythical rivals, i.e., between the gods and the Asuras in  $JUB_1$ , between the gods and death/evil in  $JUB_2$  and  $JUB_4$ , between the gods with the seers and the Asuras in  $JUB_3$ , and the gods and the Asuras as two kinds of Prajāpati's offspring in  $B\bar{A}U$  and ChU.

- 1.  $JUB_1$ : JUB 1,60,1 (1,18,5,1) 1.  $dev\bar{a}sur\bar{a}$  aspardhanta. / '1. The gods and the Asuras contended.'
- 1.  $JUB_2$ : JUB 2,1,1-2 (2,1,1,1-2) boldface =  $JUB_4$ 
  - 1. devānām vai ṣaḍ udgātāra āsan / vāk ca manaś ca cakṣuś ca śrotram cāpānaś ca prānaś ca. / 2. te 'dhriyanta. / tenodgātrā dīksāmahai yenāpahatya

with the latter one, Oertel gives the former shorter numbering in his editio princeps (1894 [27]), which omits the anuvāka division and numbers the khaṇḍas in each adhyāya successively. Both editors further divide the khaṇḍas into small paragraphs in their own ways. Limaye & Vadekar use Oertel's text, divisions, and shorter numbering in their collection of the principal Upaniṣads (1958 [22]). I will refer to the JUB with the former numbering and add the latter one in parentheses. As to additional paragraph numbers, I will use only Oertel's in both the former and the latter numberings. Cf. Fujii [13], p. 97, n. 38.

AĀ 2,1,4; ŚāṅkhĀ 9; BĀU 1,5,21; 6,1; ChU 5,1,1-5,2,2; KauṣU 2,14 (ŚāṅkhĀ 4,14);
 3,3 (ŚāṅkhĀ 5,3); PraśU 2. For this group of stories, see Bodewitz [5], pp. 56-58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The text of the JUB versions is based on my forthcoming critical edition. For the BĀU, I will use the accented text in its Kāṇva recension edited by D. Maue (1976 [24]), and consult the Mādhyandina text in the ŚBM. Both recensions do not show any actual difference as far as the present passage is concerned. For the ChU, I will use Limaye & Vadekar [22], and consult ĀnSS 14 [1], Chānd. Br. [21, Pt. 3], Böhtlingk [6], Senart [31] and Morgenroth [25].

## mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānam svargam lokam iyāmeti. /

'1. Verily, the gods had six  $udg\bar{a}t_r$ s, namely, speech, mind, sight, hearing, inhalation, and breath. 2. They resolved, "Let us consecrate ourselves with that one as [our]  $udg\bar{a}t_r$  with which, having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, we can go to the heavenly world."'

# 1. $JUB_3$ : JUB 2,3,1-4 (2,2,1,1-4)

- 1. eṣa evedam agra āsīd ya eṣa tapati. / sa eṣa sarveṣām bhūtānāṃ tejo hara indriyaṃ vīryam ādāyordhva udakrāmat. / 2. so 'kāmayata. / ekam evākṣaraṃ syām ud eva nāmeti. 9 / 3. sa tapo 'tapyata. / sa tapas taptvaikam evākṣaram abhavad ud eva nāma. 10 / 4. taṃ devāś carṣayaś copasamaipsan. / athaiṣo 'surān bhūtahano 'srjata / etasya pāpmano 'nanvāgamāya. /
- '1. In the beginning this one who is glowing here (=the sun) was alone this [universe]. He as such, having taken the splendor, the energy, the vitality, the virility from all beings, went upwards. 2. He desired, "I want to become the one and only syllable, namely, ud." <sup>11</sup> 3. He performed glowing penance. Having performed glowing penance, he became the one and only syllable, namely, ud. 4. The gods and the seers desired to attain him. Then he created the creature-slaying Asuras in order that evil might not follow him.'

# 1. $JUB_4$ : JUB 2,10,1-2 (2,4,1,1-2) boldface = $JUB_2$

- 1. devāsurās samayatantety āhuḥ. / na ha vai tad devāsurās samyetire. / prajāpatis ca ha vai tan mṛtyuś ca samyetāte. / 2. tasya ha prajāpater devāḥ priyāḥ putrā anta āsuḥ. / te 'dhriyanta. / tenodgātrā dīkṣāmahai yenāpahatya mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānam svargam lokam iyāmeti. /
- '1. They say that the gods and the Asuras strove with each other. Truly, it was not that the gods and the Asuras then strove with each other. It was Prajāpati and Death who then strove with each other. 2. The gods were near to this Prajāpati as [his] dear sons. They resolved, "Let us consecrate ourselves with that one as [our]  $udg\bar{a}tr$  with which, having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, we can go to the heavenly world."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22], Sharma [32]: svādu mṛdu devānām vanāmeti. Malayalam mss.: syādudevanāmeti. Grantha mss.: syādudevanāmeti, svādumadudevanāmeti, svādumadudevanāmeti.

Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22], Sharma [32]: abhavad u devānām. Malayalam mss.: abhavadudevanāma. Grantha mss.: abhavadudevanāma, abhavadudevanām, abhavadudevānām.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Cf. JUB 2,9,8 (2,3,3,8): ud iti so 'sāv ādityaḥ. '[The syllable] ud, that is yonder sun.'

# 1. *BĀU*: BĀUK 1,3,1 (ŚBM 14,4,1,1–2)

dvayā ha prājāpatyā devāś cāsurāś ca. tátaḥ kānīyasā evá devā jyāyasā ásurās. tá eṣú lokéṣv aspardhanta. té ha devā ūcur. hántāsurān yajñá udgīthénā-tyáyāméti. //1//

'1. There were two kinds of Prajāpati's offspring, namely, the gods and the Asuras. Of them, the gods were those who belonged to the younger, while the Asuras were those who belonged to the elder. They were competing for these worlds. So the gods said, "Come, let us go beyond (overcome) the Asuras at the sacrifice by means of the  $udg\bar{t}tha$ ."

## 1. ChU: ChU 1,2,1

devāsurā ha vai yatra saṃyetire / ubhaye prājāpatyās tad dha devā udgītham ājahrur. anenainān abhibhaviṣyāma iti. //1//

'1. Verily, when the gods and the Asuras, both kinds of Prajāpati's offspring, strove with each other, the gods then brought the  $udg\bar{\iota}tha$ , [saying,] "With this, we will vanquish them."

# 2. The vital functions and the $pr\bar{a}na$ 's superiority

The passage continues that the gods resort to the following six vital functions one by one for their victory. They fail with the first five functions, because, the passage says, those functions are mixed with evil and for that reason one thinks, speaks, sees, hears, and smells both what is good and what is bad, 12 while they finally succeed with the last sixth one that is free from evil. The order and the names of the vital functions differ among the versions as follows:

<sup>12</sup> As noted by Oertel ([27], p. 236 on JUB 1,60), a similar passage is found in JB 1,269: manasā suhārdasam ca durhārdasam ca vijānāti. prānena surabhi cāsurabhi ca vijānāti. cakṣuṣā darśanīyam cādarśanīyam ca vijānāti. śrotreṇa śravanīyam cāśravaṇīyam ca vijānāti. vācā svādu cāsvādu ca vijānāti. 'With mind one discerns what is good-hearted and what is not good-hearted. With breath one discerns what is fragrant and what is not fragrant. With sight one discerns what is beautiful and what is not beautiful. With hearing one discerns what is good to hear and what is not good to hear. With [the organ of] speech one discerns what is sweet and what is not sweet.'

$JUB_1$	manas	$v\bar{a}c$	caksus	$\acute{s}rotra$	$apar{a}na$	$prar{a}na$
$JUB_2$	$var{a}c$	manas	caksus	$\acute{s}rotra$	$apar{a}na$	$prar{a}na$
$JUB_3$	$var{a}c$	manas	caksus	$\acute{s}rotra$	$apar{a}na$	$prar{a}na$
$JUB_4$	$var{a}c$	manas	cak sus	$\acute{s}rotra$	$prar{a}na$	mukhya prāṇa
$Bar{A}U$	$var{a}c$	$prar{a}na$	caksus	$\acute{s}rotra$	manas	$ar{a}sanya\ prar{a}na$
ChU	$nar{a}sikya$ $prar{a}na$	$v\bar{a}c$	cak sus	$\acute{s}rotra$	manas	$mukhya\ prar{a}na$

The first point to notice is that  $JUB_2$  and  $JUB_3$  have the same order and names of the functions in spite of the close textual relationships between  $JUB_1$  and  $JUB_3$ , and between  $JUB_2$  and  $JUB_4$ . This fact means that these two pairs of versions ( $JUB_1$  &  $JUB_3$ ,  $JUB_2$  &  $JUB_4$ ) are linked here at this portion on the vital functions of  $JUB_2$  and  $JUB_3$ . The second point is that the last three versions ( $JUB_4$ ,  $B\bar{A}U$ , ChU) correspond well to each other. Concerning the relationships of  $B\bar{A}U$  and ChU with the JUB versions, however, we will see that the former versions show direct relationships not only with  $JUB_4$  but also with  $JUB_1$  and/or  $JUB_3$  in the part of the last vital function. Here I will set forth the parts of the last two functions: the  $ap\bar{a}na/pr\bar{a}na/n\bar{a}sikya$   $pr\bar{a}na$ , and the  $pr\bar{a}na/mukhya$   $pr\bar{a}na/\bar{a}sanya$   $pr\bar{a}na$ .

# 2.1. apāna / prāṇa / nāsikya prāṇa

The vital function in question here is inhalation, which is called  $ap\bar{a}na$  in  $JUB_1$ ,  $JUB_2$  and  $JUB_3$ ,  $pr\bar{a}na$  in  $JUB_4$  and  $B\bar{A}U$ , and  $n\bar{a}sikya$   $pr\bar{a}na$  'the breath in the nose' in ChU. This function is connected with the sense of smell as the present passage clearly says: enena jighrati 'one smells with it'  $JUB_1$ ,  $JUB_3$ ;  $ap\bar{a}nena$   $p\bar{a}pam$  gandham  $ap\bar{a}niti$  'one inhales evil odor with inhalation'  $JUB_2$ ; jighrati 'one smells'  $B\bar{A}U$ ; tena...jighrati 'one smells with it' ChU; but  $pr\bar{a}nena$   $pr\bar{a}niti^{13}$  'one breathes with breath'  $JUB_4$ . Though the word  $pr\bar{a}na$  is sometimes used for the sense of smell, '14 the phrase  $pr\bar{a}nena$   $pr\bar{a}niti$  itself does not explicitly refer to the sense of smell. From the close relationship between  $JUB_2$  and  $JUB_4$ , it is inferred that this vague expression was made by the same intentional assimilation of the verb with the name of the present function  $(ap\bar{a}nena...ap\bar{a}niti\ JUB_2\ / pr\bar{a}nena\ pr\bar{a}niti\ JUB_4$ ).

All the editions ([27] [22] [32]) read prānena [pāpam] prāniti, following the corresponding words for the preceding functions: vācā pāpam vadati (2,10,5), manasā pāpam dhyāyati (8), cakṣuṣā pāpam paṣyati (11), śrotreṇa pāpam ṣṛṇoti (14).

For the prāṇa to be interpreted as the sense of smell, see Bodewitz 1986 [2], p. 347, n. 23. Cf. JB 1,269 mentioned above (p. 55, n. 12).

## A COMMON PASSAGE IN THE THREE EARLIEST UPANIŞADS

The clause sa eva sa  $p\bar{a}pm\bar{a}$  'that itself is that evil' is repeated in common in  $JUB_2$ ,  $JUB_4$  and  $B\bar{A}U$  for all the vital functions except the last supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$ .  $B\bar{U}A$  and ChU use the same verb vyadh 'to pierce' for the mixing of the first five functions with evil.

- 2.1  $JUB_1$ : JUB 1,60,5 (1,18,5,5) boldface =  $JUB_3$ 
  - 5. te 'pānenodagāyan. / taṃ tathaivākurvan. / tasmād bahu kiṃ ca kiṃ cāpānena jighrati. / surabhi cainena jighrati durgandhi ca. /
  - '5. They (the gods) sang the  $udg\bar{\imath}tha$  with inhalation. [The Asuras] treated it in the same way (i.e. rushed at it and mixed it with evil). Therefore, one smells with inhalation many a thing of one kind and another; one smells with it both good odor and bad odor.'
- 2.1 JUB<sub>2</sub>: JUB 2,1,14–16 (2,1,1,14–16) boldface = JUB<sub>4</sub>, underline = BĀU
  14. te 'bruvan. / no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyuṃ na pāpmānam atyavākṣīt. /
  apānenodgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. / 15. te 'pānenodgātrādīkṣanta. / sa yad
  evāpānenāpāniti / tad ātmana āgāyat. / atha ya itare kāmās tān devebhyaḥ. /
  16. tam pāpmānvasṛjyata. / sa yad evāpānena pāpaṃ gandham apāniti /
  sa eva sa pāpmā. /
  - '14. They (the gods) said, "Verily, this one (hearing) also has not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with inhalation as [our]  $udg\bar{a}tr$ ." 15. They consecrated themselves with inhalation as [their]  $udg\bar{a}tr$ . What one inhales with inhalation, that it (inhalation) procured for itself by singing. And what are the other desires, those [it (inhalation) procured] for the gods [by singing]. 16. Evil was created after it (inhalation). The evil odor which one inhales with inhalation, that itself is that evil.'
- 2.1  $JUB_3$ : JUB 2,3,9 (2,2,1,9) boldface =  $JUB_1$ 
  - 9. tam apānenopasamaipsan. / te 'pānaṃ samārohan. / teṣām apānam paryādatta. / tasmāt paryātto 'pānaḥ. / surabhi ca hy enena jighrati durghandhi ca. /
  - '9. They (the gods and the seers) desired to attain him (the sun) with inhalation. They climbed together upon inhalation. He took inhalation away from them. Therefore, inhalation has been taken away [from them]. For one smells with it both good odor and bad odor.'
- 2.1  $JUB_4$ : JUB 2,10,15–17 (2,4,1,15–17) boldface =  $JUB_2$ , underline =  $B\bar{A}U$  15. te 'bruvan. / no  $nv\bar{a}va$  no 'yam  $m_r tyum$  na  $p\bar{a}pm\bar{a}nam$  atyav $\bar{a}k\bar{s}\bar{\imath}t$ . /  $pr\bar{a}nenodg\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$   $d\bar{\imath}k\bar{s}\bar{a}mah\bar{a}$  iti. / 16. te  $pr\bar{a}nenodg\bar{a}tr\bar{a}d\bar{\imath}k\bar{s}anta$ . / tebhya idam

prāṇa āgāyat / yad idam prāṇena prāṇiti / yad idam prāṇena bhuñjate. 15 / 17. tam pāpmānvasrjyata. / sa yad eva prāṇena prāṇiti 16 / sa eva sa pāpmā. /

'15. They (the gods) said, "Verily, this one (hearing) also has not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with breath as [our]  $udg\bar{a}tr$ ." 16. They consecrated themselves with breath as [their]  $udg\bar{a}tr$ . By singing, breath procured for them this [thing] here, which [thing] here one breathes with breath, which [thing] here one enjoys with breath. 17. Evil was created after it (breath). What one breathes with breath, that itself is that evil.'

# 2.1 $B\bar{A}U$ : $B\bar{A}UK$ 1,3,3 (ŚBM 14,4,1,4) underline = $JUB_2 = JUB_4$

átha ha prāṇám ūcus. tváṃ na údgāyéti. táthéti. tébhyaḥ prāṇá údagāyad. yáḥ prāṇé bhógas táṃ devébhya ấgāyad. yát kalyấṇaṃ jíghrati tád ātmáne. tè 'vidur. anéna vái na udgātrấtyeṣyantíti. tám abhidrútya pāpmánāvidhyant. sá yás sá pāpmấ yád evèdám ápratirūpaṃ jíghrati sá evá sá pāpmấ. //3//

'3. Then [the gods] said to breath, "You, sing the  $udg\bar{\imath}tha$  for us!" "Yes," [said breath]. For them breath sang the  $udg\bar{\imath}tha$ . What is enjoyment in breath, that it (breath) procured for the gods by singing. What pleasant [odor] one smells, that [it (breath) procured] for itself [by singing]. They (the Asuras) came to know, "With this as [their]  $udg\bar{a}tr$ , they will certainly go beyond (overcome) us." They rushed at that  $[udg\bar{a}tr]$  and pierced it with evil. That evil — the improper [odor] which one smells here, that itself is that evil.'

#### 2.1 *ChU*: ChU 1.2.2

te ha nāsikyam prāṇam udgītham upāsām cakrire. / tam hāsurāḥ pāpmanā vividhuḥ. / tasmāt tenobhayam jighrati surabhi ca durgandhi ca. / pāpmanā hy eṣa viddhah. //2//

'2. Then [the gods] worshiped the breath in the nose as the *udgītha*. The Asuras pierced it with evil. Therefore one smells with it both good odor and bad odor. For it is pierced with evil.'

 $<sup>^{15}</sup>$  For *bhuñjate* to be taken as 3.sg., see Oertel [27], pp. 237 (on JUB 2,10,4); 258f.; Gotō 1987 [15], p. 76, n. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See p. 56, n. 13.

# 2.2. prāna / mukhya prāna / āsanya prāna

The gods finally succeed in defeating the Asuras or death/evil with the last vital function, i.e.,  $pr\bar{a}na$  in  $JUB_1$ ,  $JUB_2$  and  $JUB_3$ , mukhya  $pr\bar{a}na$  'the breath in the mouth' in  $JUB_4$  and ChU,  $\bar{a}sanya$   $pr\bar{a}na$  'do.' in  $B\bar{A}U$ . In this portion,  $JUB_1$ ,  $JUB_3$ ,  $B\bar{A}U$  and ChU have similar and partly identical sentences of one and the same simile that compares the destruction of the Asuras by this  $pr\bar{a}na$  to the smash of a clod of earth thrown against a stone. The JUB has almost the same sentences of this simile before the present passage also (1,7,6) (see p. 59, n. 17).

Here  $JUB_4$  shows a noteworthy textual inconsistancy which can determine the chronological relationship between  $JUB_2$  and  $JUB_4$ . Both versions have in common the following sentences: na hy etena pranena papam vadati. na papam dhyāyati. na papam paśyati. na papam śṛṇoti. na papam gandham apāniti. 'For with this breath one speaks no evil thing, thinks no evil thing, sees no evil thing, hears no evil thing, inhales no evil odor.' In  $JUB_2$ , the last sentence na papam gandham apāniti corresponds well to the sentence apanena papam gandham apaniti 'one inhales evil odor with inhalation' in the preceding place of the apana (JUB 2,1,16 quoted above), but in  $JUB_4$  the corresponding sentence in that place is pranena praniti 'one breaths with breath' (JUB 2,10,17 quoted above). This discrepancy must have resulted from  $JUB_4$ 's copying the sentences directly from  $JUB_2$  despite its changing the fifth function from the apana to the prana.

# 2.2 $JUB_1$ : JUB 1,60,6-8 (1,18,5,6-8)

boldface =  $JUB_3$ , dotted line  $\approx B\bar{A}U \approx ChU$ , underline = ChU

6. te prāṇenodagāyan. / athāsurā ādravaṃs tathā kariṣyāma iti manyamānāḥ. / 7. 17 sa yathāśmānam rtvā loṣṭo vidhvaṃseta / evam evāsurā
vyadhvaṃsanta. / sa eṣo 'śmākhaṇo 18 yat prāṇaḥ. / 8. sa yathāśmānam ākhanam rtvā loṣṭo vidhvaṃsate / evam eva sa vidhvam-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> ≈ JUB1,7,6 (1,1,7,6): sa yathāśmānam rtvā loṣṭo vidhvaṃseta / evam eva sa vidhvaṃseta / ya evaṃ vidvāṃsam upavadet. / sa eṣo 'śmākhaṇo yat prāṇaḥ. / sa yathāśmānam ākhaṇam rtvā loṣṭo vidhvaṃsate / evam eva sa vidhvaṃsate ya evaṃ vidvāṃsam upavadati. / (boldface = JUB₁=JUB₃) 'Just as a clod of earth, having hurled itself against a stone, would smash into pieces, one would smash into pieces if he speaks ill of a person who knows thus. This breath as such is a target stone. Just as a clod of earth, having hurled itself against a target stone, smashes into pieces, one smashes into pieces if he speaks ill of a person who knows thus.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Oertel [27]: -khaṇaṃ. Malayalam mss.: -khaṇo. Grantha mss.: -khaṇo, -khaṇoṃ.

## sate ya evam vidvāmsam upavadati. /

'6. They (the gods) sang the *udgītha* with breath. Then the Asuras rushed here to [breath], thinking, "We will treat [it] in the same way." 7. Just as a clod of earth, having hurled itself against a stone, would smash into pieces, the Asuras smashed into pieces. This breath as such is a target stone. 8. Just as a clod of earth, having hurled itself against a target stone, smashes into pieces, one smashes into pieces if he speaks ill of a person who knows thus.'

## 2.2 $JUB_2$ : JUB 2,1,17-20 (2,1,1,17-20) boldface = $JUB_4$

17. te 'bruvan. / no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyuṃ na pāpmānam atyavākṣīt. / prāṇenodgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. / 18. te prāṇenodgātrādīkṣanta. / sa yad eva prāṇena prāṇiti / tad ātmana āgāyat. / atha ya itare kāmās tān devebhyaḥ. / 19. tam pāpmā nānvasṛjyata. / na hy etena prāṇena pāpaṃ vadati. / na pāpaṃ dhyāyati. / na pāpam paśyati. / na pāpaṃ śṛṇoti. / na pāpaṃ gandham apāniti. / 20. tenāpahatya mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānaṃ svargaṃ lokam āyan. / apahatya haiva mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānaṃ svargam lokam eti / ya evam veda. /

'17. They (the gods) said, "Verily, this one (inhalation) also has not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with breath as [our]  $udg\bar{a}tr$ ." 18. They consecrated themselves with breath as [their]  $udg\bar{a}tr$ . What one breathes with breath, that it (breath) procured for itself by singing. And what the other desires are, those [it (breath) procured] for the gods [by singing]. 19. Evil was not created after it (breath). For with this breath one speaks no evil thing, thinks no evil thing, sees no evil thing, hears no evil thing, inhales no evil odor. 20. With it, having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, they went to the heavenly world. Having smitten away death likewise, having smitten away evil, one goes to the heavenly world if he knows thus.'

# 2.2 $JUB_3$ : JUB 2,3,10–13 (2,2,1,10–13)

boldface =  $JUB_1$ , dotted line  $\approx B\bar{A}U \approx ChU$ , underline = ChU

10. tam prāṇenopasamaipsan. / tam prāṇenopasamāpnuvan. / 11. athā-surā bhūtahana ādravan mohayiṣyāma iti manyamānāḥ. / 12. sa yathā-śmānam rtvā loṣṭo vidhvaṃseta / evam evāsurā vyadhvaṃsanta. / sa eṣo 'śmākhaṇo yat prāṇaḥ. / 13. sa yathāśmānam ākhaṇam rtvā loṣṭo vidhvaṃsate / evam eva sa vidhvaṃsate ya evaṃ vidvāṃsam upavadati. /

'10. They (the gods and the seers) desired to attain him (the sun) with breath. They attained him with breath. 11. Then the creature-slaying Asuras rushed here to [them], thinking, "We will confound [them]." 12. Just as a clod of

## A COMMON PASSAGE IN THE THREE EARLIEST UPANISADS

earth, having hurled itself against a stone, would smash into pieces, the Asuras smashed into pieces. This breath as such is a target stone. 13. Just as a clod of earth, having hurled itself against a target stone, smashes into pieces, one smashes into pieces if he speaks ill of a person who knows thus.'

## 2.2 $JUB_4$ : JUB 2,10,18–22 (2,4,1,18–22) boldface = $JUB_2$

18. te 'bruvan. / no nvāva no 'yam mṛtyuṃ na pāpmānam atyavākṣīt. / anena mukhyena prāṇenodgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. / 19. te 'nena mukhyena prāṇenodgātrādīkṣanta. / 20. so 'bravīn mṛtyuḥ. / eṣa vā eṣāṃ¹¹ sa udgātā yena tyam²¹ atyeṣyantīti. / 21. na hy etena prāṇena pāpaṃ vadati. / na pāpaṃ dhyāyati. / na pāpaṃ paśyati. / na pāpaṃ śṛṇoti. / na pāpaṃ gandham apāniti. / 22. tenāpahatya mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānaṃ svargaṃ lokam āyan. / apahatya haiva mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānaṃ svargaṃ lokam eti / ya evaṃ veda. /

'18. They (the gods) said, "Verily, this one (inhalation) also has not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with this breath here in the mouth as [our]  $udg\bar{a}t_r$ ." 19. They consecrated themselves with this breath here in the mouth as [their]  $udg\bar{a}t_r$ . 20. Then, Death said, "Verily, this is that  $udg\bar{a}t_r$  of them with which they will go beyond (overcome) this one (= me)." 21. For with this breath one speaks no evil thing, thinks no evil thing, sees no evil thing, hears no evil thing, inhales no evil odor. 22. With it, having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, they went to the heavenly world. Having smitten away death likewise, having smitten away evil, one goes to the heavenly world if he knows thus.'

# 2.2 $B\bar{A}U$ : $B\bar{A}UK$ 1,3,7 (ŚBM 14,4,1,8)

dotted line  $\approx JUB_1 = JUB_3 \approx ChU$ , underline  $= JUB_1 = JUB_3$ 

átha hemám āsanyàm prānám ūcus. tvám na údgāyéti. táthéti. tébhya eṣá prāṇá údagāyat. tè 'vidur. anéna vái na udgātrātyeṣyantīti. tám abhidrútya pāpmánāvivyatsant. sá yáthāśmānam rtvā loṣṭó vidhvámsetaivám haivá vidhvámsamānā víṣvañco víneśus. táto devā ábhavan párāsurā. bhávaty ātmánā párāsya dviṣán bhrātrvyo bhavati yá evám véda. //7//

'7. Then [the gods] said to this breath here in the mouth, "You, sing the  $udg\bar{\imath}tha$  for us!" "Yes," [said the breath]. For them the breath as such sang the  $udg\bar{\imath}tha$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22], Sharma [32]: esa esām.

Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22], Sharma [32]: yena mrtyum. Malayalam mss.: yenatyam. Grantha mss.: yenatyam, enatyam, enatyam, enamatyam. For tyá- in the meaning of 1st person, see Wackernagel-Debrunner [35, Bd. III], p. 547f.

They (the Asuras) came to know, "With this one as [their]  $udg\bar{a}t_r$  they will certainly go beyond (overcome) us." They rushed at that  $[udg\bar{a}t_r]$  and tried to pierce it with evil. But, just as a clod of earth, having hurled itself against a stone, would smash into pieces, they perished, smashing into pieces in different directions. Thence, the gods prospered, while the Asuras came to ruin. One prospers by oneself, while his hostile enemy comes to ruin, if he knows thus.'

- 2.2 ChU: ChU 1,2,7-9 dotted line ≈ JUB₁ = JUB₃ ≈ BĀU, underline = JUB₁=JUB₃ atha ha ya evāyaṃ mukhyaḥ prāṇas tam udgītham upāsāṃ cakrire. / taṃ hāsurā rtvā vidadhvaṃsur. yathāśmānam ākhaṇam rtvā vidhvaṃsetaivam. //7// yathāśmānam ākhaṇam rtvā vidhvaṃsata evaṃ hai va sa vidhvaṃsate ya evaṃvidi pāpaṃ kāmayate yaś cainam abhidāsati. / sa eṣo 'śmākhaṇaḥ. //8// naivaitena surabhi na durgandhi vijānāti. / apahatapāpmā hy eṣaḥ. / ... //9//
  - '7. Then [the gods] worshiped this very breath here in the mouth as the  $udg\bar{\imath}tha$ . The Asuras, having hurled themselves against that [breath], smashed into pieces. Just as [a clod of earth], having hurled itself against a target stone, would smash into pieces, so [they did]. 8. Just as [a clod of earth], having hurled itself against a target stone, smashes into pieces, one smashes into pieces if he wishes evil against and does harm to a person who know thus. This [breath] as such is a target stone. 9. One does not discern with it either good odor or bad odor. For it has evil smitten away. ...'

# 3. Correspondence between the vital functions and the cosmic entities

This portion is included in three versions,  $JUB_2$ ,  $JUB_4$  and  $B\bar{A}U$ , in which thereafter each vital function become its corresponding cosmic entity as follows:

This kind of correspondence between the microcosmic and the macro-

cosmic elements is first seen in the Puruṣa-Sūkta ( $^{\circ}_{N}V$  10,90). And the same correspondence as in  $JUB_4$  and  $B\bar{A}U$  appears in ŚB 10,3,3,6–8 (esp. 7), which deals with the supreme breath and wind into which the other four vital functions and their corresponding four cosmic entities enter respectively. The same motif of the entering of the cosmic entities and the vital functions into wind and breath occurs in JUB 3,1–2 (3,1,1–2), which follows the present passage with a short passage in between, and in its parallel, ChU 4,3 ( $samvarga-vidy\bar{a}$ ). The latter two parallel passages, however, do not specifically refer to the correspondence between the macrocosmic and the microcosmic elements, and even differ in the names of the cosmic entities from the present passage. It should be noted that here in  $JUB_4$  and  $B\bar{A}U$  the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  in the mouth is out of this correspondence like the concept of the  $\bar{a}tman$  as the supreme being over or behind the vital functions. In this portion,  $JUB_4$  and  $B\bar{A}U$  are full of identical expressions.

3.  $JUB_2$ : JUB 2,2,1-6 (2,1,2,1-6) boldface =  $JUB_4$ , underline =  $B\bar{A}U$ , dotted line  $\approx B\bar{A}U \approx ChU$ 

1. sā yā sā vāg āsīt / so 'gnir abhavat. / 2. atha yat tan mana āsīt / sa candramā abhavat. / 3. atha yat tac cakṣur āsīt / sa ādityo 'bhavat. /

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> RV 10,90,13–14:

candrámā mánaso jātás cákṣoḥ sū́ryo ajāyata /
múkhād índras caāagnís ca prāṇād vāyúr ajāyata /13/
nābhyā āsīd antárikṣaṃ sīrṣṇó dyáuḥ sám avartata /
padbhyām bhūmir disáḥ śrótrāt táthā lokām akalpayan /14/

<sup>&#</sup>x27;13. The moon was born from [the Puruṣa's] mind; the sun was born from [his] sight. From [his] mouth Indra and Agni, from [his] breath the wind was born. 14. From [his] navel the intermediate region was; from [his] head the sky arose, from [his] two feet the earth, from [his] hearing the quarters. Thus [the gods] set the world in order.' For this kind of correspondence, cf. AĀ 2,1,7; ŚāṅkhĀ 10; JUB 4,24,4ff.; BĀU 3,1,3-6; ChU 3,18; AU 1,1,4 in addition to the places discussed here.

JUB 3,1-2: vāyu ← āditya / candramas / nakṣatrāni / agni / ahar, rātri / diśaḥ / parjanya / āpaḥ, oṣadhayaḥ, vanaspatayaḥ; prāṇa ← vāc / manas / cakṣus / śrotra. ChU 4,3: vāyu ← agni / sūrya / candra / āpaḥ; prāṇa ← vāc / cakṣus / śrotra / manas. For ChU 4,1-3, see Lüders 1916 [23]; Hauschild 1968 [18]; esp. Gotō 1996 [17]. Cf. also ŚB 10,5,2,14f.; KauṣU 2,12-13 (ŚāṅkhĀ 4,12-13) (parimara). For the two versions of parimara, AB 8,28 and KauṣU 2,12-13, see Bodewitz 1986 [3].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> For this  $\bar{a}tman$  over/behind the vital functions, cf. BĀU 2,4,14 = 4,5,15; 3,4,1–2; 3,7,23; 3,8,11; ChU 8,12,4–5; AU 1,1,3–1,2,5 (see p. 66, n. 28); 3,2. For the  $br\'{a}hman$  over/behind the vital functions, cf. JUB 4,18,5–9 (KenaU 1,5–9). Also from the unaffected aspect of this  $pr\ddot{a}na$  that is not disturbed by evil, Bodewitz characterizes it as "a precursor of the concept of Brahman/Ātman" ([5], p. 54).

- 4. atha yat tac chrotram āsīt / tā imā diśo 'bhavan. tā 24 u eva viśve devāḥ. / 5. atha yas so 'pāna āsīt / sa bṛhaspatir abhavat. / yad asyai vāco bṛhatyai patiḥ / tasmād bṛhaspatiḥ. 25 / 6. atha yas sa prāṇa āsīt / sa prajāpatir abhavat. / sa eṣa putrī prajāvān udgītho yat prāṇaḥ. / tasya svara eva prajāḥ. / prajāvān bhavati / ya evaṃ veda. /
- '1. What the speech was, that became fire. 2. And what the mind was, that became the moon. 3. And what the sight was, that became the sun. 4. And what the hearing was, that became these quarters here; and the All-gods ( $viśve\ dev\bar{a}h$ ) are no other than these [quarters]. 5. And what the inhalation was, that became Bṛhaspati. Because he is the lord of this lofty speech (high voice) here, therefore he is Bṛhaspati. 6. And what the breath was, that became Prajāpati. The breath as such is the  $udg\bar{\imath}tha$  rich in sons and rich in offspring. The offspring are its tone. One becomes rich in offspring if he knows thus.'
- 3. JUB4: JUB 2,11,1-6 (2,4,2,1-6) boldface = JUB2, underline = BĀU

  1. sa yathā hatvā pramṛdyātīyāt / evam evaitam mṛtyum atyāyan. / 2. sa vācam
  prathamām atyavahat. / tām pareṇa mṛtyum nyadadhāt. / so 'gnir abhavat. /
  3. atha mano 'tyavahat. / tat pareṇa mṛtyum nyadadhāt. / sa candramā
  abhavat. / 4. atha cakṣur atyavahat. / tat pareṇa mṛtyum nyadadhāt. / sa
  ādityo 'bhavat. / 5. atha śrotram atyavahat. / tat pareṇa mṛtyum nyadadhāt. /
  tā imā diśo 'bhavan. / tā 26 u eva viśve devāḥ. / 6. atha prāṇam
  atyavahat. / tam pareṇa mṛtyum nyadadhāt. / sa vāyur abhavat. /
  - '1. Just as one would go beyond (overcomes) [an enemy], having smitten and having crushed [him], they (the gods) went beyond (overcame) this death. 2. He (the breath in the mouth) carried speech beyond [death] as the first one. He deposited that [speech] beyond death. It became fire. 3. Then he carried mind beyond [death]. He deposited that [mind] beyond death. It became the moon. 4. Then he carried sight beyond [death]. He deposited that [sight] beyond death. It became the sun. 5. Then he carried hearing beyond [death]. He deposited that [hearing] beyond death. It became these quarters here; and the All-gods are no other than these [quarters]. 6. Then he carried breath beyond [death]. He deposited that [breath] beyond death. It became wind.'

Note the disagreement of the pronoun  $t\bar{a}h$  with masculine plural viśve devāh here and JUB 2,11,5 below. Cf. p. 74, n. 51; p. 76, n. 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> As will bee seen below (p. 73), the BĀU and ChU versions identify the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  in the mouth, not the  $ap\bar{a}na$ , with Brhaspati (BĀUK 1,3,20 [ŚBM 14,4,1,22], ChU 1,12,11).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See p. 64, n. 24.

- 3. BĀU: BĀUK 1,3,11-16 (ŚBM 14,4,1,12-17) underline = JUB4 số vố eṣố devátaitốsāṃ devátānāṃ pāpmắnam mṛtyúm apahátyắthainā mṛtyúm átyavahat. //11// số với vắcam evá prathamấm átyavahat. số yadấ mṛtyúm atyámucyata số 'gnír abhavat. số 'yám agníḥ páreṇa mṛtyúm átikrānto dīpyate. //12// átha prāṇám átyavahat. sá yadấ mṛtyúm atyámucyata số vāyúr abhavat. số 'yám vāyúḥ páreṇa mṛtyúm átikrāntaḥ pavate. //13// átha cákṣur átyavahat. tád yadấ mṛtyúm atyámucyata số adityð 'bhavat. số 'sấv ādityáḥ páreṇa mṛtyúm átikrāntas tapati. //14// átha śrótram átyavahat. tád yadấ mṛtyúm atyámucyata tấ díśo 'bhavaṃs. tấ imā díśaḥ páreṇa mṛtyúm átikrāntāḥ. //15// átha manó 'tyavahat. tád yadấ mṛtyúm atyámucyata số candrámā abhavat. số 'sáu candráh páreṇa mṛtyúm átikrānto bhāty. evám ha vấ enam eṣấ devatấ mṛtyúm átivahati yố evám véda. //16//
  - '11. This deity (the breath in the mouth) as such, having smitten away the evil that is death from these deities, carried them beyond death. 12. Verily it was speech that he carried beyond [death] as the first one. When it was released from death, it became fire. This fire as such, having gone beyond death, is blazing here. 13. Then he carried breath beyond [death]. When it was released from death, it became wind. This wind as such, having gone beyond death, is purifying itself (i.e. blowing) here. 14. Then he carried sight beyond [death]. When it was released from death, it became the sun. Yonder sun as such, having gone beyond death, is glowing there. 15. Then he carried hearing beyond [death]. When it was released from death, it became the quarters. These quarters here as such have gone beyond death. 16. Then he carried mind beyond [death]. When it was released from death, it became the moon. Yonder moon as such, having gone beyond death, is shining there. In the same way, this deity (the breath in the mouth) carries one beyond death if he knows thus.'

## 4. The kingship of the supreme $pr\bar{a}na$

The supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  in the mouth is described as a king ruling the other vital functions in  $JUB_3$ ,  $JUB_4$  and  $B\bar{A}U$ . Its kingship is told with expressions related with ruling like  $va\acute{s}in$ - 'having ruling-power' in  $JUB_3$ ,  $pari\dot{s}ad$ -'meeting',  $sabh\bar{a}$ - 'assembly', samsad- 'gathering' in  $JUB_4$ , abhi-sam- $vi\acute{s}$  'to sit together around [the ruler]', pari-ni- $vi\acute{s}$  'to sit down around [the ruler]' (see p. 68, n. 38) in  $B\bar{A}U$ , and with metaphorical expressions related with eating in  $JUB_4$  and  $B\bar{A}U$ , where the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  is characterized as the sole eater of food and the other functions are said to have only a share in the food eaten by

him.<sup>27</sup>  $JUB_4$  and  $B\bar{A}U$  have the following difference: the former states that the cosmic entities became again the corresponding vital functions when they took their shares in the food of the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$ , which the latter does not state.<sup>28</sup> The ChU version also states the relationship of this  $pr\bar{a}na$  to eating with a similar expression to  $B\bar{A}U$  but without any reference to its kingship. The idea of the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  as the eater underlies the enigmatic verses in the above-mentioned JUB 3,1–2 (3,1,1–2) and ChU 4,3 (see p. 63).<sup>29</sup> The  $B\bar{A}U$  version borrows sentences, as the latter half of this portion, from ŚB 10,3,5, which deals with the mystical significance of the yajus and does not have thematic relationships with the present passage.

## 4. JUB<sub>3</sub>: JUB 2,4,1-3 (2,2,2,1-3)

1. sa eṣa vaśī dīptāgra udgītho yat prāṇaḥ. / eṣa hīdaṃ sarvaṃ vaśe 'kuruta.<sup>30</sup> / eṣa hīdaṃ sarvaṃ vaśe kurute. / 2. vaśī bhavati vaśe svān kurute ya evaṃ veda. / asya hy asāv agre dīpyate.<sup>31</sup> / amuṣya vā ayam.<sup>32</sup> / 3. taṃ haitam udgīthaṃ śāṭyāyanir ācaṣṭe / vaśī dīptāgra iti. / dīptāgrā ha vā asya kīrtir bhavati ya evaṃ veda. /

mahātmanaś caturo deva ekaḥ kas so jagāra bhuvanasya gopās taṃ kāpeya na vijānanty eke 'bhipratārin bahudhā niviṣṭam iti / ātmā devānām uta martyānāṃ hiraṇyadanto rapaso 'nasūnur mahāntam asya mahimānam āhur anadyamāno yad adantam attīti / 'One god has swallowed the four that have the large ātman — who is he? — the guardian of the world. O Kāpeya, Some do not discern him, O Abhipratārin, who has been settled manifoldly. The ātman of the gods and mortals, the rapasa (?) (rabhasa- 'violent' or babhasa- 'devourer'?) with golden teeth, the son of breath, his greatness is great, they say, when he eats one who is eating, without being eaten.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> For the expressions of 'eater' and 'food' as an analogue of the relationship between a ruler and people under him, see Rau 1957 [30], p. 34f.

A similar story is seen in AU 1,1,3–1,2,5, where the  $\bar{a}tman$  takes over the role of the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  in our passage: The  $\bar{a}tman$  produced the bodily organs, the vital functions, and the cosmic entities. The cosmic entities asked the  $\bar{a}tman$  to make for them a dwelling ( $\bar{a}yatana$ -) in which they can eat food. The  $\bar{a}tman$  brought a man and told them to enter the respective dwelling. Then the fire became speech and entered the mouth; the wind became breath and entered the nostrils; the sun became sight and entered the eyes; ...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> JUB 3,2,2; 4 (3,1,2,2; 4):

For the corresponding ChU 4,3,6–7, see Gotō [17], pp. 106–108.

Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22], Sharma [32] omit this sentence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22]: dīpyate3.

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$  Oertel [27]:  $v\bar{a}$  saḥ, Limaye&Vadekar [22]:  $v\bar{a}$  saḥ, Sharma [32]:  $v\bar{a}$  ataḥ. Malayalam mss.:  $v\bar{a}$  ayaḥ. Grantha mss.:  $v\bar{a}$  ayam,  $v\bar{a}$  ataḥ.

## A COMMON PASSAGE IN THE THREE EARLIEST UPANIŞADS

'1. This breath as such is the ruling-power holding and blazing-pointed udgītha. For this [breath] brought the whole of this [universe] under his ruling power. For this [breath] brings the whole of this [universe] under his ruling power. 2. One becomes a ruling-power holder and brings his people under his ruling power if he knows thus. For that one is blazing at the point of this one here. This one here is, verily, [blazing at the point] of that one. 3. This udgītha as such Śāṭyāyani calls "the ruling-power holding and blazing-pointed one." Verily, one's fame becomes blazing-pointed if he knows thus.'

# 4. JUB<sub>4</sub>: JUB 2,11,7; 10–14 (2,4,2,7; 10–14)

- 7. athātmane kevalam evānnādyam āgāyata. / (8–9. on Ayāsya Āṅgirasa, see p. 72) / 10. taṃ devā abruvan. / kevalaṃ vā ātmane 'nnādyam āgāsīḥ. / anu na etasminn annādya ābhaja. / etad asāma yat tvam asīti. 33 / 11. taṃ vai mā 34 praviśateti. / sa vā ākāśān kuruṣveti. / sa imān prāṇān ākāśān akuruta. / 12. taṃ vāg eva bhūtvāgniḥ prāviśat. / mano bhūtvā candramāḥ. / cakṣur bhūtvādityaḥ. / śrotram bhūtvā diśaḥ. / prāṇo bhūtvā vāyuḥ. / 13. eṣā vai daivī pariṣat. / daivī sabhā. / daivī saṃsat. / 14. gacchati ha vā etāṃ daivīm pariṣadaṃ daivīṃ sabhāṃ daivīṃ saṃsadaṃ ya evaṃ veda. /
- '7. Then, by singing he (the breath in the mouth) procured provisions for himself as his exclusive possession.<sup>35</sup> (8–9. on Ayāsya Āṅgirasa, see p. 72) 10. The gods said to him, "Verily, by singing you have procured provisions for yourself as your exclusive possession. Give us a share in those provisions. What you are [now], that is un- $s\bar{a}man^{36}$ " 11. [He said,] "Verily, enter such me." [The gods said,] "So, make spaces." He made these  $pr\bar{a}nas$  here as spaces. 12. Fire,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Thus the Mss.: etad asāma ya[t] tvam asīti. Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22], Sharma [32]: etad asyānāmayatvam astīti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22] omit  $m\bar{a}$ .

<sup>35</sup> kevalam here is not an adverb ('only' Oertel [27, p. 154]) but an adjective having the meaning 'exclusively one's own'. Cf. RV 10,145,2cd: sapátnīm me párā dhama pátim me kévalam kuru 'Blow away my rival woman. Make my husband mine alone'; ŚB 1,6,4,15: átha yáthaivá purấ / kévalīr óṣadhīr aśnánti kévalīr apáḥ píbanti tấḥ kévalam evá páyo duhrá evám tád. 'But just as, before [new moon], those [cows] eat plants as theirs alone, drink water as theirs alone, and yield milk as nothing but theirs alone, so is that [milk which they offer before new moon].'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> For asāman-, cf. ChU 2,1-2: yat khalu sādhu tat sāmety ācakṣate. / yad asādhu tad asāmeti. //1// tad utāpy āhuḥ. / sāmnainam upāgād iti. sādhunainam upāgād ity eva tad āhuḥ. / asāmnainam upāgād ity. asādhunainam upāgād ity eva tad āhuḥ. //2// 'As is known, when something is good, they call it "sāman". When something is not good, they call it "un-sāman". And in this regard, they also say, "Someone has approached him with sāman." By this they [intend to] say, "Someone has approached

having become speech, entered him. The moon, having become mind, [entered him]. The sun, having become sight, [entered him]. The quaters, having become hearing, [entered him]. Wind, having become breath, [entered him]. 13. Verily, this is the divine meeting (pariṣad-), the divine assembly  $(sabh\bar{a}-)$ , the divine gathering (samsad-).<sup>37</sup> 14. One goes to this divine meeting, divine assembly, divine gathering if he knows thus.'

4. BĀU: BĀUK 1,3,17-18 (ŚBM 14,4,1,18-20) boldface = ŚB 10,3,5,8-9 áthātmáne 'nnádyam ágāyad. yád dhí kím cấnnam adyáte 'nénaivá tád adyáta. ihá prátitiṣṭhati. //17// té devá abruvann. etávad vá idám sárvam yád ánnam. tád ātmána ágāsīr. ánu no 'smínn ánna ábhajasvéti. té vái mābhisámviśatéti. táthéti. tám samantám pariṇyàviśanta. tásmād yád anénánnam átti ténaitás tṛpyanty. evám ha vá enam svá abhisámviśanti. bhártā svánām śréṣṭhaḥ puraetá bhavaty annádó 'dhipatir yá evám véda. yá u haivaṃvídam svéṣu pratipratír búbhūṣati ná haiválaṃ bhāryèbhyo bhavaty. átha yá evàitám ánu bhávati yó vaitám ánu bhāryàn búbhūrṣati sá haiválaṃ bhāryèbhyo bhavati. //18//

'17. Then, by singing he (the breath in the mouth) procured provisions for himself. For whatever food is eaten, it is eaten by no other than this [breath] here. He bases himself firmly here [in this mouth]. 18. Then the gods said, "Verily, the whole of this [world] is as much as food. You procured it for yourself by singing. Give us a share in this food of you." [He said to them,] "So, sit together around me." They said,] "Yes." They sat down around him

him with good [will]." They say, "Someone has approached him with un- $s\bar{a}man$ ." By this they [intend to] say, "Someone has approached him with ill [will]." Cf. also AB 3,23,2f. ( $\approx$  GB 2,3,20): 2.  $s\bar{a}man$  bhavati ya evam veda. 3. yo vai bhavati yah śreṣṭhatām aśnute sa sāman bhavaty. asāmanya iti hi nindanti. '2. One comes to be in [the situation of]  $s\bar{a}man$  if he knows thus. 3. Verily, when one prospers, when one attains eminence, he comes to be in [the situation of]  $s\bar{a}man$ . For [people] reproach [a man, saying] "[a man] of un- $s\bar{a}man$ ."

 $<sup>^{37}</sup>$  For the words paris'ad-, sabh'a- and sams'ad-, see Rau 1957 [30], pp. 75–83.

The verbs abhi-saṃ-viś and pari-ṇi-viś are used to express the obedient attitude of subjects or followers toward a king or a leader. For abhi-saṃ-viś, cf. AVŚ 3,3,4d (AVP 2,74,4d): imáṃ (AVP: garbhaṃ) sajātā abhisáṃviśadhvam 'Sit together around this [king] (AVP: the womb), ye clansmen'; TS 4,4,11,2 etc.: indram iva devấ abhi sáṃ viśantu 'Let [the seasonal bricks] sit together around [the two cool seasons] as the gods [sit together around] Indra.' For pari-ṇi-viś, cf. ŚBM 4,3,4,11: agnír vái paśūnām īṣṭe. tá enam abhitaḥ pariṇiviśante. 'Agni rules over cattle. They sit down around him on every side'; ŚBM 14,1,1,7: táṃ devấ ánabhidhṛṣṇuvantaḥ samantáṃ pariṇyàviśanta 'The gods, not daring to attack him (Viṣṇu), sat down around him

on all sides.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, when one eats food through this [breath] here, these [deities] are satisfied with that [food]. Verily in this way, if one knows thus, his people sit together around him, and he becomes the supporter, the chief, the leader, the food-eater, the ruler of his people. If anyone among the people wishes to become a rival of the one who knows thus, he does not at all become enough competent for his dependents. On the other hand, if anyone follows him, or if anyone, following him, wishes to support his dependents, he becomes enough competent for his dependents.'

## 4. ChU: ChU 1,2,9

- ... / tena yad aśnāti yat pibati tenetarān prāṇān avati. / etam u evāntato 'vittvotkrāmati vyādadāty evāntata iti. //9//
- '9. ... When one eats and drinks through him (the breath in the mouth), one thereby helps the other vital functions. And at the end, not having found this very [breath in the mouth], one dies. [It is said:] "At the end one opens [his mouth] wide."

# 5. The supreme $pr\bar{a}na$ is Ayāsya Āngirasa

In  $JUB_4$ ,  $B\bar{A}U$  and ChU, the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  in the mouth is identified with the sage Ayāsya Āṅgirasa. This identification is explained by a kind of folk etymology based on the sound similarity between  $\bar{a}sy\dot{a}$ - 'mouth' and Ayāsya.<sup>39</sup> In contrast to the brief statement in these three versions,  $JUB_3$  has a much longer passage on the sage Ayāsya Āṅgirasa, where he appears as the  $udg\bar{a}tr$  of Śaryāta Mānava and at the end he is identified with the  $pr\bar{a}na$  on the basis of the same folk etymology. His second name Āṅgirasa is also explained in  $JUB_4$ ,  $B\bar{A}U$  and ChU, but not in  $JUB_3$ .

5.  $JUB_3$ : JUB 2,7,1-2,8,9 (2,3,1,1-2,3,2,9)

2,7,1. śaryāto vai mānavah prācyām sthalyām ayajata. 40 / tasmin ha bhūtāny udgīthe 'pitvam aiṣire. 41 / 2. tam devā bṛhaspatinodgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti purastād

on all sides.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Cf. Tsuji, Etymologia upanishadica [34, pp. 19–38], p. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> = JB 3,159: śaryāto vai mānavaḥ prācyām sthalyām ayajata. Cf. JB 3,128: atha ha cyavano bhārgavaḥ punar yuvā bhūtvāgacchac charyātam mānavam. tam prācyām sthalyām ayājayat. 'Then Cyavana Bhārgava, after becoming young again, went to Śaryāta Mānava. He [as a priest] caused him (Śaryāta) to perform a sacrifice on the eastern height.' Both passages are concerned with Cyavana legends.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Thus mss. A false perfect form for isine, probably caused by analogy with aic-

āgacchan. / ayam ta udgāyatv iti. / bambenājadviṣeṇa pitaro dakṣiṇataḥ. / ayam ta udgāyatv iti. / uśanasā kāvyenāsurāḥ paścāt. / ayam ta udgāyatv iti. / ayāsyenāmgirasena manuṣyā uttarataḥ. / ayam ta udgāyatv iti. / 3. sa hekṣām cakre. / hantainān prcchāni. / kiyato vā eka īśe kiyata ekaḥ kiyata eka iti. / 4. sa hovāca bṛhaspatim. / yan me tvam udgāyeḥ / kim tatas syād iti. / 5. sa hovāca. / deveṣv eva śrīs syāt. / deveṣv īśā. / svargam u tvām lokam gamayeyam iti. / 6. atha hovāca bambam ājadviṣam. / yan me tvam udgāyeḥ / kim tatas syād iti. / 7. sa hovāca. / pitṛṣv eva śrīs syāt. / pitṛṣv īśā. / svargam u tvām lokam gamayeyam iti. / 8. atha hovācośanasam kāvyam. / yan me tvam udgāyeḥ / kim tatas syād iti. / 9. sa hovāca. / asureṣv eva śrīs syāt. / asureṣv īśā. / svargam u tvām lokam gamayeyam iti. / 10. atha hovācāyāsyam āmgirasam. / yan me tvam udgāyeḥ / kim tatas syād iti. / 11. sa hovāca. / devān eva devaloke dadhyām. / manuṣyān manuṣyaloke. / pitṛn pitṛloke. / nudeyāsmāl lokād asurān. / svargam u tvām lokam gamayeyam iti. /

'1. Verily, Śaryāta Mānaya performed a sacrifice for himself on the eastern height. Living beings desired to have a share with him in the udqītha.<sup>42</sup> 2. The gods came to him from the east, [saving,] "Let us consecrate ourselves with Brhaspati as [our]  $udq\bar{a}tr$ . Let this one sing the  $udq\bar{v}tha$  for you." With Bamba Aiadvisa the Pitrs [came to him] from the south, [saving,] "Let this one sing the udaītha for you." With Uśanas Kāyya the Asuras [came to him] from the west, [saving,] "Let this one sing the udqtha for you." With Ayasya Āngirasa men [came to him] from the north, [saving,] "Let this one sing the udqītha for vou." 3. He (Śarvāta Mānava) considered, "Come now, I will ask them. How much, verily, does one have in his power? How much does another [have in his power]? How much does the other [have in his power]?" 4. He said to Brhaspati, "If you should sing the udgītha for me, what would arise from it?" 5. He (Brhaspati) said, "There would arise glory among the gods. [There would arise dominion among the gods. And I would cause you to go to the heavenly world." 6. Then he said to Bamba Ajadvişa, "If you should sing the udgītha for me, what would arise from it?" 7. He (Bamba Ājadvisa) said, "There would arise glory among the Pitrs. [There would arise] dominion among the

chata/aicchanta: e.g. JB 2,25: apitvam aichanta; JB 2,257: apitvam aichata. Cf. Gotō 1993 [16], p. 126, n. 48 (on anv-aiṣur). Oertel([27])'s emendation eṣire (followed by Limaye&Vadekar [22]) should be canceled. Sharma [32]: udgīthe 'pi samaisire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> For loc.+ loc.+apitvám iş, cf. ŚBM 4,1,2,6: sấ heyáṃ devéṣu sutyấyām apitvám īṣe 'This [Aditi] as such desired to have a share with the gods in the Soma pressing.'

## A COMMON PASSAGE IN THE THREE EARLIEST UPANISADS

Pitṛs. And I would cause you to go to the heavenly world." 8. Then he said to Uśanas Kāvya, "If you should sing the *udgītha* for me, what would arise from it?" 9. He (Uśanas Kāvya) said, "There would arise glory among the Asuras. [There would arise] dominion among the Asuras. And I would cause you to go to the heavenly world." 10. Then he said to Ayāsya Āṅgirasa, "If you should sing the *udgītha* for me, what would arise from it?" 11. He (Ayāsya Āṅgirasa) said, "I would place the gods in the world of the gods. [I would place] men in the world of men. [I would place] the Pitṛs in the world of the Pitṛs. I would push the Asuras away from this world. And I would cause you to go to the heavenly world."

2,8,1. sa hovāca. / tvam me bhaqava udqāya ya etasya sarvasyeśasa iti.<sup>43</sup> / 2. tasya hāyāsya evojjagau. / tasmād udgātā vṛta uttarato niveśanam lipseta. / etad dhy anāruddham niveśanam<sup>44</sup> yad uttaratah. / 3. uttarata āqato 'yāsya āmqirasaś śaryātasya mānavasyojjagau. / sa prānena devān devaloke 'dadhāt. / apānena manusyān manusyaloke. / vyānena pitrīn pitrloke. / hiṃkāreṇa vajreṇāsmāl lokād asurān anudata. / 4. tān hovāca. dūram gacchateti. / sa dūro ha nāma lokah. / tam ha jaqmuh. / ta ete 'surā asamheyam 45 parābhūtāh. / chandobhir $\acute{s}ary\bar{a}tam$  $m\bar{a}navam$ 5. eva $v\bar{a}c\bar{a}$ svarqamgamayām cakāra. / 6. te hocur asurā. eta tam vedāma / yo no 'yam ittham adhatteti. /  $ta^{46}$   $\bar{a}gacchan$ . / tam  $ety\bar{a}pa\acute{s}yan$ . / 7. te 'bruvan. / ayam  $v\bar{a}$   $\bar{a}sya$ iti. / yad abruvann ayam vā āsya iti / tasmād ayamāsyah. / ayamāsyo ha vai

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Oertel [27]: sarvasya yaśo ['sī]ti; Limaye&Vadekar [22]: sarvasya yaśo (asi i)ti; Sharma [32]: sarvasya yaśasa iti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Oertel [27]: etad dha nāruddham niveśanam; Limaye&Vadekar [22]: etad dhānāruddhaniveśanam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Malayalam mss.: asahyeyam. Grantha mss.: asahyeyam, asamhyeyam. Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22]: asambhāvyam. Sharma [32]: asamhye (khye?)yam. For samhā [sam-jihīte] 'to rise up' ('sich erheben' Hoffmann [19, Bd. 2], p. 377), cf. ŚB 1,2,4,11: púnar na sámhāsyante '[The Asuras] will not rise up again.' Cf. JB 1,152: asamheyam ha vai sa parābhavati ya evam vidvāmsam hinasti 'If one injures a person who know thus, he is destroyed completely so that he can not rise up [again]'; 1,206 & 211: asamheyam ha vai dviṣantam bhrātṛvyam gamayati ya evam veda 'If one knows thus, he leads his hostile enemy [to a complete destruction] so that he cannot rise up [again]'; PB 9,1,22: asamhāyyam bhrātṛvyam gamayati ya evam veda 'If one knows thus, he leads his enemy [to a complete destruction] so that he cannot rise up [again]. Cf. also AVŚ 5,18,12d & 5,19,11d: asambhavyám párābhavan; AB 3,39,2: tān asambhāvyam parābhāvayat. Cf. Caland [8], p. 52, n. 2; Bodewitz [4], p. 257, n. 25; Wackernagel-Debrunner [35, Bd. II,2], pp. 794; 800.

 $<sup>^{46}</sup>$ Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22], Sharma [32]: tata.

nāmaiṣaḥ. / tam ayāsya iti parokṣam ācakṣate. / 8. sa prāṇo vā ayāsyaḥ. / prāṇo ha vā enān sa nunude. / 9. sa ya evaṃ vidvān udgāyati / prāṇenaiva devān devaloke dadhāti. / apānena manuṣyān manuṣyaloke. / vyānena pitṝn pitṛloke. / hiṃkāreṇaiva vajreṇāsmāl lokād dviṣantam bhrātṛvyaṃ nudate. /

'1. He (Śaryāta Mānava) said [to Ayāsya Aṅgirasa], "You, sing the udqītha for me, as you would have this all in your power." 2. It was Ayāsya who sang the udqītha of him. Therefore, when one has been chosen as the udqātr, he should desire to take his resting place in the north. For this resting place in the north is unimpeded. 3. Having come from the north, Ayāsya Āṅgirasa sang the *udgītha* of Saryāta Mānava. With the *prāṇa* he placed the gods in the world of the gods. With the  $ap\bar{a}na$  [he placed] men in the world of men. With the  $vy\bar{q}na$  [he placed] the Pitrs in the world of the Pitrs. With the  $himk\bar{q}ra$ as a throwing club he pushed the Asuras away from this world. to them, "Go far  $(d\bar{u}ram)$ ." That is a world named "far  $(d\bar{u}ra)$ ." They went to it. These Asuras as such were destroyed completely so that they could not rise up [again]. 5. With voice that is no other than meters, he caused Śaryāta Mānava to go to the heavenly world. 6. Then, the Asuras said, "Come. Let us know this one who placed us thus." They came. Having come, they saw him. 7. They said, "Verily, this one is in the mouth." Because they said, "Verily, this one (ayam) is in the mouth  $(\bar{a}sye)$ ," therefore [he is called] Ayamāsya. Verily, he is Ayamāsya by name. They call him Ayāsya mysteriously. 8. Ayāsya is that  $pr\bar{a}na$ . Verily, as the  $pr\bar{a}na$  he pushed them away. 9. If one, knowing thus, sings the  $udq\bar{\iota}tha$ , he places the gods in the world of the gods with the same  $pr\bar{a}na$ , men in the world of men with the  $ap\bar{a}na$ , the Pitrs in the world of the Pitrs with the  $vy\bar{a}na$ , pushes his hostile enemy away from this world with nothing but the *himkāra* as a throwing club.'

## 5. JUB<sub>4</sub>: JUB 2,11,8–9 (2,4,2,8–9)

8. sa eṣa evāyāsyaḥ. / āsye 'dhyeti. 47 / tasmād ayāsyaḥ. / yad v evāsye ramate / tasmād u evāyāsyaḥ. / 9. sa eṣa evāṃgirasaḥ. / ato hīmāny aṃgāni rasaṃ labhante. / tasmād āṃgirasaḥ. / yad v evaiṣām aṃgānāṃ rasaḥ / tasmād u evāṃgirasah. /

'It is this [breath] as such who is Ayāsya. He teaches orally in the mouth ( $\bar{a}sye$ ). Therefore [he is called] Ayāsya. And as he rests in the mouth, therefore also [he is called] Ayāsya. It is this [breath] as such who is Āṅgirasa. For these

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Malayalam mss.:  $\bar{a}$ syeddhyeti. Grantha mss.:  $\bar{a}$ syeddhyeti,  $\bar{a}$ syedhyeti,  $\bar{a}$ sedhyati. Oertel [27], Limaye & Vadekar [22]:  $\bar{a}$ sye dh $\bar{a}$ yate; Sharma [32]: [yad]  $\bar{a}$   $[s\bar{a}]$  sedhati.

## A COMMON PASSAGE IN THE THREE EARLIEST UPANISADS

limbs take sap from this [mouth]. Therefore [he is called] Āṅgirasa. And as [he is] the sap of these limbs, therefore also [he is called] Āṅgirasa.'

# 5. $B\bar{A}U$ : BĀUK 1,3,8; 19 (ŚBM 14,4,1,9; 21)

- té hocuḥ. kvà nú sò 'bhūd yó na itthám ásaktéty. ayám āsyè 'ntár íti. sò 'yắsya āṅgirasó. 'ṅgānām hí rásaḥ. //8//
- '8. They (the gods) said, "What has become of  $^{48}$  him (the  $pr\bar{a}na$ ) who has thus attached himself to us?" "[He is] this one here  $(ay\acute{a}m)$  within the mouth  $(\bar{a}sy\grave{e})$ ." He is Ayāsya Āṅgirasa. For [he is] the sap of the limbs.'
- sò 'yāsya āṅgirasó. 'ṅgānām hí rásaḥ. prāṇó vấ áṅgānām rásaḥ. prāṇó hí vấ áṅgānām rásas. tásmād yásmāt kásmāc cấṅgāt prāṇá utkrāmati tád evá tác chuṣyaty. eṣá hí vấ áṅgānām rásaḥ. //19//
- '19. He (the  $pr\bar{a}na$ ) is Ayāsya Āngirasa. For [he is] the sap of the limbs. Verily, the sap of the limbs is the  $pr\bar{a}na$ . For, verily, the sap of the limbs is the  $pr\bar{a}na$ . Therefore, from whichever limb the  $pr\bar{a}na$  departs, it is that [limb] which withers then. For, verily, he is the sap of the limbs.'

# 5. ChU: ChU 1,2,10; 12

- tam hāngirā udgītham upāsām cakre. / etam u evāngirasam manyante. 'ngānām yad rasah. //10// tena. <sup>49</sup> tam ha ... //11// tena. tam hāyāsya udgītham upāsām cakre. etam u evāyāsyam manyante. asyād yad ayate //12// tena. <sup>49</sup> tam ha ... //13//
- '10. Angiras worshiped him (the breath in the mouth) as the  $udg\bar{\imath}tha$ . And they consider this very [breath] to be Āṅgirasa. Because he is the sap of the limbs, 11. therefore. ... 12. therefore. Ayāsya worshiped him (the breath in the mouth) as the  $udg\bar{\imath}tha$ . And they consider this very [breath] to be Ayāsya. Because he goes from the mouth ( $\bar{a}sy\bar{a}d...ayate$ ), 13. therefore. ...'

# 6. The supreme $pr\bar{a}na$ is Brhaspati

In  $B\bar{A}U$  and ChU, the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  in the mouth is also identified with Brhaspati. As mentioned above (p. 64, n. 25),  $JUB_2$  also states the identification with Brhaspati in similar sentences, yet it is not the  $pr\bar{a}na$  but the  $ap\bar{a}na$  that is identified.

 $<sup>^{48}</sup>$  For the phrase  $kva\dots bh\bar{u},$  see Hoffmann [19, Bd. 1], p. 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Probably the sentence ends here, because enclitics like *ha* occupy the second position in a sentence (Wackernagel's law). Böhtlingk ([6]), Senart ([31]) and Morgenroth ([25]) move *tena* to the end of the preceding sentences in their editions.

- 6. BĀU: BĀUK 1,3,20 (ŚBM 14,4,1,22) dotted line ≈ ChU~ JUB<sub>2</sub>
  eṣá u evá bṛhaspátir. vấg vái bṛhatī. tásyā eṣá pátis. tásmād u bṛhaspátiḥ.
  //20//
  - '20. And it is he (the breath in the mouth) who is Brhaspati. Verily the  $b_r^{\dagger}hat\bar{\imath}$  ('lofty speech, high voice') is speech. He is the lord of it (speech). And therefore [he is] Brhaspati.'
- 6. ChU: ChU 1,2,11 dotted line  $\approx B\bar{A}U \sim JUB_2$  tena. tam ha brhaspatir udg $\bar{\iota}$ tham up $\bar{a}$ s $\bar{a}$ m cakre. / etam u eva brhaspatim manyante. / v $\bar{a}$ g ghi brhat $\bar{\iota}$ . tasy $\bar{a}$  eṣa patih. //11//
  - '11. Therefore. Brhaspati worshiped him (the breath in the mouth) as the  $udg\bar{\imath}tha$ . And they consider this very [breath] to be Brhaspati. For the  $b_{\bar{\imath}}hat\bar{\imath}$  ('lofty speech, high voice') is speech. He is the lord of it (speech).'

# 7. The supreme $pr\bar{a}na$ is the $s\bar{a}man$

This and the next portions are included only in the  $B\bar{A}U$  version, but corresponding sentences are found in the JUB outside the present passage. In  $B\bar{A}U$ , the passage continues and tells the identification of the  $pr\bar{a}na$  in the mouth with the  $s\bar{a}man$  by giving the following two folk-etymological explanations for the word  $s\bar{a}man$ :

- 7. BĀU: BĀUK 1,3,22 (ŚBM 14,4,1,24) underline = JUB 1,53,5
  eṣá<sup>51</sup> u evá sắma. vắg vái sắmaiṣá <u>sắ cắmaś cé</u>ti. <u>tát sắmnas sāmatváṃ</u>. yád
  v evá samáḥ plúṣiṇā samó maśákena samó nāgéna samá ebhís tribhír lokáiḥ
  samò 'néna sárveṇa tásmād v evá sắmāśnute sắmnas sắyujyam salokátāṃ yá
  evám etát sắma véda. //22//
  - '22. And the  $s\bar{a}man$  is nothing but this [breath in the mouth]. Verily, the  $s\bar{a}man$  is speech. It (the  $s\bar{a}man$ ) is [referred to as] "She ( $s\hat{a}$ -) and he ( $\hat{a}ma$ -)." That is why the  $s\bar{a}man$  is [called]  $s\bar{a}man$ . And because it is equal ( $sam\hat{a}$ -) to a flea, equal to a mosquito, equal to an elephant, equal to these three worlds, equal to the whole of this [universe], for that very reason it is the  $s\bar{a}man$ . One attains the state of being yoked together and living in the same world (open space)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> For these folk etymologies, cf. Tsuji [34], p. 35f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Here the pronoun *eṣa* keeps its original gender without taking the neuter form in agreement with the neuter noun *sāman*, probably because the same expresseion is repeated in succession in BĀU 1,3,20–25 and the stess is laid on the *prāṇa* itself not on the things identified with it. Cf. p. 76, n. 55; also p. 64, n. 24.

with the  $s\bar{a}man$ , if he knows it as the  $s\bar{a}man$  thus.'

The JUB has the first explanation, partly with the same sentences, in two places (1,53,5;1,56,2) near the present passage, in the context of the marriage between the  $s\bar{a}man$  and rc:

JUB 1,53,4-5 (1,17,1,4-5)

boldface = JUB 1,56,2, dotted line = AB 3,23,1, underline =  $B\bar{A}U$ 

- 4. seyam rg asmin sāman mithunam aicchata. / tām aprcchat. / kā tvam asīti. / sāham asmīty abravīt. / atha vā aham amo 'smīti. / 5. tad yat sā cāmaś ca / tat sāmābhavat. / tat sāmnas sāmatvam. /
- '4. This rc here as such desired intercourse with this  $s\bar{a}man$  here. He (the  $s\bar{a}man$ ) asked her (the rc), "Who are you?" She said, "I am she ( $s\bar{a}$ -)." "Then, verily, I am he (ama-)" [said he]. 5. What was she ( $s\bar{a}$ -) and he (ama-), that became the  $s\bar{a}man$ . That is why the  $s\bar{a}man$  is [called]  $s\bar{a}man$ ."

These sentences (JUB 1,53,5; 1,56,2) themselves are probably borrowed from AB 3,23,1, which also contains the same expression. As similar expression also occurs near: amo 'ham asmi  $s\bar{a}$  tvam  $s\bar{a}$  tvam asy amo 'ham. I am he (ama-). You are she  $(s\bar{a}-)$ . You are she  $(s\bar{a}-)$ . I am he (ama-)' (JUB 1,54,6 and 1,57,4). Together with the preceding passage, JUB 1,50–52 (1,16,1–3), on the marriage between the firmament and the earth, JUB 1,53–55 (1,17,1–3) and 1,56–57 (1,18,1–2), which include the quoted sentences, form a series of stories with the same marriage motif. Those marriage stories as a whole are based on a verse in the marriage hymn of the AV: AVŚ 14,2,71 ( $\approx$  AVP 18,14,1): amo 'hám asmi sấ tvam sấmāhám asmy fk tvam dyáur aham prthivi tvam / tav tav

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> AB 3,23,1: rk ca  $v\bar{a}$  idam agre  $s\bar{a}ma$  c $\bar{a}st\bar{a}m$ , saiva  $n\bar{a}ma$  rg  $\bar{a}s\bar{i}d$  amo  $n\bar{a}ma$   $s\bar{a}ma$ .  $s\bar{a}$   $v\bar{a}$  rk  $s\bar{a}mop\bar{a}vadan$  mithunam sambhav $\bar{a}va$  praj $\bar{a}ty\bar{a}$  iti. ... yad vai tad  $s\bar{a}$   $c\bar{a}mas$  ca samabhavat $\bar{a}m$  tat  $s\bar{a}m\bar{a}bhavat$ . tat  $s\bar{a}mnah$   $s\bar{a}matvam$ . (dotted line = JUB1,53,5; 1,56,2, underline =  $B\bar{A}U$ ) 'In the beginning the rc and the  $s\bar{a}man$  are alone this [universe]. The rc was called nothing but she  $(s\bar{a}$ -). The  $s\bar{a}man$  was called he (ama-). Verily, the rc as such spoke to the  $s\bar{a}man$ , "Let us two unite as a couple for generation." ... Verily when she  $(s\bar{a}$ -) and he (ama-) became united [as a couple] thus, then it became the  $s\bar{a}man$ . That is why the  $s\bar{a}man$  is [called]  $s\bar{a}man$ .' Cf. V $\bar{a}$ dhS, AO 6 [9], p. 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> This verse has many variants (KS 35,18; KapS 47,16; TB 3,7,1,9= $\bar{\text{Ap}}$ SS 9,2,3; AB 8,27,4; BAU 6,4,19), and is used in the marriage ceremony according to the

same etymology (1,6,1-6; 1,7,1-4) after the present passage.<sup>54</sup>

As to the second etymology in  $B\bar{A}U$ , similar explanations are found in the JUB and the ChU in the context of the five parts and the seven parts of the  $s\bar{a}man$ . JUB 1,12,5: sa esa sarvair lokais samah. / tad yad esa sarvair lokais samah /  $tasm\bar{a}d$  esa sarvair lokais samah /  $tasm\bar{a}d$  esa sarvair lokais Because this is equal (sama-) to all the worlds, therefore the  $s\bar{a}man$  is nothing but this [sun]'; ChU 2,9,1:  $sarvad\bar{a}$  samas. tena  $s\bar{a}ma$ . /  $m\bar{a}m$  prati  $m\bar{a}m$  prati<math>ti. sarvena samas. tena  $s\bar{a}ma$ . // '[The sun] is always equal (sama-). Therefore [it is] the  $s\bar{a}man$ . [They say,] "[It faces] toward me," "[It faces] toward me." [The sun] is equal (sama) to all. Therefore [it is] the  $s\bar{a}man$ .

# 8. The sva, suvarṇa and $pratisth\bar{a}$ of the $s\bar{a}man$

 $B\bar{A}\,U$  continues the identification of the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$ , finally, with the  $udg\bar{\imath}tha$  (1,3,23), and in conclusion it cites an emphatic utterance made by Brahmadatta Caikitāneya (1,3,24).<sup>56</sup> After that,  $B\bar{A}\,U$  changes the topic from the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  to the  $s\bar{a}man$  itself and explains the property ( $sv\acute{a}$ -), the gold ( $suv\acute{a}na$ -), and the base ( $pratisth\acute{a}$ -) of the  $s\bar{a}man$ , as follows:

8.  $B\bar{A}U$ :  $B\bar{A}UK$  1,3,25–27 (ŚBM 14,4,1,27–29) tásya haitásya sắmno yás svám véda bhávati hāsya svám. tásya vái svára evá

Gṛhyasūtras. Cf. Weber 1862 [36], p. 216f.; Wackernagel-Debrunner 1975 [35, Bd. III], p. 532f.

E.g. ChU 1,6,1:  $iyam\ evark$ . /  $agnih\ s\bar{a}ma$ . /  $tad\ etad\ etasy\bar{a}m\ rcy\ adhy\bar{u}dham\ s\bar{a}ma$ . /  $tasm\bar{a}d\ rcy\ adhy\bar{u}dham\ s\bar{a}ma\ g\bar{v}yate$ . /  $iyam\ eva\ s\bar{a}$ . /  $agnir\ amah$ . /  $tat\ s\bar{a}ma$ . // 'The rc is this [earth]. The  $s\bar{a}man$  is fire. This  $s\bar{a}man$  as such [which is represented by fire] is loaded on this rc [which is represented by the earth]. Therefore the  $s\bar{a}man$  is sung, being loaded on the rc.  $S\bar{a}$  ('she') is this [earth]. Ama ('he') is fire. Therefore, [it is called]  $s\bar{a}man$ .'

 $<sup>^{55}\,</sup>$  Here again the pronoun esa keeps its original gender. Cf. p. 74, n. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> BĀUK 1,3,24 (ŚB14,4,1,26): tád dhấpi brahmadattáś caikitāneyó rắjānaṃ bhakṣá-yann uvācāyáṃ tyásya rắjā mūrdhấnaṃ vípātayatād yád itò 'yásya āngirasò 'nyénodágāyad íti. vācấ ca hy èvá sá prānéna codágāyad íti. // 'With reference to it, Brahmadatta Caikitāneya also said, when drinking the King (Soma) [in the Soma sacrifice], "The King (Soma) shall shatter apart the head of this one (=me), if Ayāsya Āngirasa sang the udgītha by other means than this here (i.e. the breath in the mouth)." [And he added,] "For he sang only with voice and breath." For vi-pat, see Witzel 1987 [37]. In the JUB, Brahmadatta Caikitāneya appears as a teacher in two passages (JUB 1,38; 1,59), where he is also called Dālbhya. For this personage, see Koskikallio 1999 [20], pp. 320–323.

#### A COMMON PASSAGE IN THE THREE EARLIEST UPANISADS

svám. tásmād ártvijyam karişyán vācí sváram iccheta. táyā vācá svárasam-pannayártvijyam kuryāt. tásmād yajñé sváravantam dídṛkṣanta 57 evátho yásya svám bhávati. bhávati hāsya svám yá evám etát sámnas svám véda. //25// tásya haitásya sámno yás suvárṇam véda bhávati hāsya suvárṇam. tásya vái svára evá suvárṇam. bhávati hāsya suvárṇam yá evám etát sámnas suvárṇam véda. //26// tásya haitásya sámno yáh pratiṣṭhám véda práti ha tiṣṭhati. tásya vái vấg evá pratiṣṭhá. vācí hí khálv eṣá etát prāṇáḥ prátiṣṭhito gīyáté. 'nna íty u háika āhuḥ. //27//

'25. If one knows the property  $(sv\acute{a}-)$  of this  $s\bar{a}man$  as such, he comes to possess property. Verily, its (the  $s\bar{a}man$ 's) property is nothing but tone  $(sv\acute{a}ra-)$ . Therefore, when one is about to perform the priestly office, he should seek tone in voice. He should perform the priestly office with such voice as endowed with tone. Therefore, they are eager to see [a priest] rich in tone in the sacrifice. And also [they are eager to see] one who comes to possess property. One comes to possess property, if he knows thus this property of the  $s\bar{a}man$ . 26. If one knows the gold (suvarṇ a-) of this  $s\bar{a}man$  as such, he comes to possess gold. Verily, its (the  $s\bar{a}man$ 's) gold is nothing but tone  $(sv\acute{a}ra-)$ . One comes to possess gold, if he knows thus this gold of the  $s\bar{a}man$ . 27. If one knows the base  $(pratish\acute{a}-)$  of this  $s\bar{a}man$  as such, he bases himself firmly. Verily, its (the  $s\bar{a}man$ 's) base is nothing but voice. For, as is known, having based itself on voice, this breath is sung then. But some say, "[having based itself] on food."

These explanations are not included in the other versions. But two of the three are found outside the present passage in the JUB, which has the following sentences in Satyādhivāka Caitrarathi's teachings on the  $s\bar{a}man$ 's  $\acute{s}r\bar{\imath}$ ,  $pratisth\bar{a}$ , suvarna, apaciti, and  $\acute{s}ruti$  (1,39):

JUB 1,39,3-4 (1,12,5,3-4)

yo vai sāmnah pratiṣṭhāṃ vidvān sāmnārtvijyaṃ karoti / prati eva tiṣṭhati. / vāg vāva sāmnah pratiṣṭheti. / yo vai sāmnas suvarṇaṃ vidvān sāmnārtvijyaṃ karoti / adhy asya gṛhe suvarṇaṃ gamyate. / prāṇo vāva sāmnas suvarṇam iti. /

'[He said,] "Verily, if one, knowing the base of the  $s\bar{a}man$ , performs the priestly office with the  $s\bar{a}man$ , he bases himself firmly. The base of the  $s\bar{a}man$  is nothing but voice." "Verily, if one, knowing the gold of the  $s\bar{a}man$ , performs the priestly office with the  $s\bar{a}man$ , gold is found in his house. The gold of the  $s\bar{a}man$  is nothing but breath."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> For this accent, see Maue [24], p. 66, n. 32.

As noted by Oertel ([27], p. 233 on JUB 1,39,3; 4), a similar description of these three items is preserved in a later Sāmavedic text, the Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmana. $^{58}$ 

# 9. The abhyāroha of the pavamāna-stotras

The BĀU version includes the unique portion which is not found inside nor outside the present passage in the other two Upaniṣads. This portion deals with the sacrificer's act of muttering a formula when the pavamānastotras are started in the Soma sacrifice. The pavamāna-stotras are the first lauds at the three Soma-pressing services, sung by the three chanter priests for the Soma juice that is thought to be purifying itself then.

# 9. BĀU: BĀUK 1,3,28 (ŚBM 14,4,1,30–32)

áthátah pávamānānām evàbhyārohás. sá vái khálu prastotá sắma prástauti. sá yátra prastuyắt tád etắni japed, ásato mā sád gamaya, támaso mā jyótir gamaya, mṛtyór māmṛ́taṃ gamayéti. sá yád ấhấsato mā sád gamayéti. mṛtyúr vấ ásat. sád amṛ́taṃ. mṛtyór māmṛ́taṃ gamayāmṛ́taṃ mā kurv íty evàitád āha. támaso mā jyótir gamayéti. mṛtyúr vái támo. jyótir amṛ́taṃ. mṛtyór māmṛ́taṃ gamayāmṛ́taṃ mā kurv íty evàitád āha. mṛtyór māmṛ́taṃ gamayéti. nấtra tiróhitam ivāsty.

'Now here the ascent to the pavamāna lauds. Verily, as is known, so the prastotr priest starts to chant (i.e. sings the prastāva part of the chant). As soon as he starts to chant, [the sacrificer] should mutter these: "Lead me from non-existence to existence. Lead me from darkness to light. Lead me from death to immortality." When he says, "Lead me from non-existence to existence" — Verily, non-existence is death. Existence is immortality. — "Lead me from

<sup>58</sup> SVidhB 1,1,11-12: 11. yo ha vai sāmnaḥ svaṃ yaḥ suvarnaṃ veda svaṃ ca ha vai sāmnaḥ suvarnaṃ ca bhavati. svaro vāva sāmnaḥ svaṃ. tad eva suvarnam. 12. yo ha vai sāmnaḥ pratiṣṭhāṃ veda prati ha tiṣṭhaty asmiṃś ca loke 'muṣmiṃś ca. vāg vāva sāmnaḥ pratiṣṭhā. yad v etad vāg ity ṛg eva sarci sāma pratiṣṭhitam. '11. Verily, if one [knows] the property of the sāman, if one knows the gold [of the sāman], he comes to possess the property and the gold of the sāman. The property of the sāman is nothing but tone. The gold is nothing but that (the property). 12. Verily, if one knows the base of the sāman, he bases himself firmly both in this world and in that world. The base of the sāman is nothing but voice. What is [referred to] as voice, that is the rc. The sāman bases itself on the rc.' For the supposed original relationship of the SVidhB, now belonging to the Kauthuma tradition, with the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda, see Caland 1907 [7], p. 35.

#### A COMMON PASSAGE IN THE THREE EARLIEST UPANISADS

death to immortality. Make me immortal," so indeed he says then in effect. When he says, "Lead me from darkness to light" — Verily, darkness is death. Light is immortality. — "Lead me from death to immortality. Make me immortal," so indeed he says then in effect. In [the words,] "Lead me from death to immortality," there is nothing hidden (i.e. unclear).'

First we should note that a similar expression to the first sentence occurs in ŚB 12,2,3,10, which begins with:  $\acute{a}tha~v\acute{a}~\acute{a}t\acute{o}~\acute{h}n\bar{a}m~abhy\bar{a}roh\acute{a}h$  'Verily now here the ascent to the days [of the Gavāmayana sacrifice].' After this sentence it is told that by means of each series of days in the first half of the yearly Gavāmayana, they (the sacrificers) ascend to its corresponding series of days in the latter half one by one in this way:  $pr\bar{a}yan\acute{t}yen\bar{a}tir\bar{a}tr\acute{e}nodayan\acute{t}yam~atir\bar{a}tr\acute{a}m~abhy\acute{a}rohanti$  'By means of the opening Atirātra, they ascend to the ending Atirātra.'<sup>59</sup> As there the word  $abhy\bar{a}roha$  means the sacrificers' ascent to the days of the Gavāmayana, here also the word seems to mean the sacrificer's ascent to the  $pavam\bar{a}na-stotras$ .

The sacrificer's muttering of this formula itself is not stated in the Brāhmaṇas nor in the Śrautasūtras including the KātŚS with the single exception of the ŚānkhŚS, which orders the sacrificer to mutter this very formula just before the *pavamāna-stotras* and other formulas after them (6,8,9-11).<sup>61</sup> In contrast to the *abhyāroha* muttering, the latter muttering is prescribed in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> For the ritual calendar of the Gavāmayana, see Murakawa 2000 [26], pp. 112–114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> We can compare this with the passage in the JB which states that one ascends (*abhyārohati*) the lauds one by one in the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice (1,303–306). Cf. Bodewitz [4], p. 307, n. 25 (with a table).

 $<sup>^{61}</sup>$  ŚānkhŚS 6,8,9–13: 9. asato mā sad gamaya tamaso mā jyotir gamayāntān mānantam gamaya mṛtyor māmṛtaṃ gamayeti yajamānah pavamānān upasarisyan. 10. śyeno 'si patvā gāyatracchandā anu tvārabhe svasti mā sampārayāsya yajñasyodrcam iti stute bahispavamāne. 11. suparno 'si patvā tristupchandā iti mādhyandine. 12. sakhāsi patvā jagacchandā ity ārbhave. 13. samāna udarkah. '9. The sacrificer, when he is about to approach the pavamāna lauds, [mutters the formula]: "Lead me from non-existence to existence. Lead me from darkness to light. Lead me from the end to the endless. Lead me from death to immortality." 10. When the bahispavamāna laud has been chanted, [the sacrificer mutters the formula:] "Thou art a flying falcon, whose metre is the  $q\bar{a}yatr\bar{\iota}$ . I hold on to thee from behind. Convey me over in safety to the end of the sacrifice." 11. When the  $m\bar{a}dhyandinapavam\bar{a}na$ laud [has been chanted], "Thou art a flying eagle, whose metre is the tristubh." 12. When the arbhavapavamāna laud [has been chanted], "Thou art a flying vulture (?) (sakhan-: sághan-TS), whose metre is the jagatī." 13. The ending words [of the formulas] are the same.'

the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrautasūtras in the name of  $anv\bar{a}roha$ . As Caland remarks,  $^{63}$  the ŚaṅkhŚS seems to have only embodied the present statement found in the BĀU in its ritual procedure, but it suggests the possibility that the  $abhy\bar{a}roha$  muttering was newly created in the BĀU as a counterpart of the already established  $anv\bar{a}roha$  muttering.

# 10. Epilogue

After the  $abhy\bar{a}roha$  of the  $pavam\bar{a}na$ -stotras,  $B\bar{A}U$  briefly refers to the other stotras,  $^{64}$  and concludes the present passage with sentences corresponding to the much longer ending of  $JUB_4$ . The problem is the pronouns  $t\bar{a}d\dots et\bar{a}d$  at the beginning of  $B\bar{A}U$ 's ending. They do not refer to the preceding subject nor to the main subject of the whole passage, but to the  $s\bar{a}man$ , which  $B\bar{A}U$  deals with just before the  $abhy\bar{a}roha$  portion.  $JUB_4$ , on the contrary, does not mention the  $s\bar{a}man$  in its ending, which continues the preceding topic of the  $pr\bar{a}na$ s and the cosmic entities (called here  $devat\bar{a}h$  'deities'). Probably, as a result of the change of the topic from the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  to the  $s\bar{a}man$  in  $B\bar{A}U$ , there the  $s\bar{a}man$  has become the final object which one must know. ChU has the ending which makes the present passage a continuation of the passage on the identification of the syllable om with the  $udg\bar{v}tha$  from the opening section of the ChU.

10.  $JUB_4$ : JUB 2,12,8–9 (2,4,3,8–9) dotted line  $\approx B\bar{A}U$ 

E.g. TS 3,2,1,1-2: yó vái pávamānām anvārohān vidvān yájaté 'nu pávamānān ā rohati ná pávamānebhyó 'va chidyate. śyenò 'si gāyatráchandā ... 'Verily, if one, knowing the anvārohas of the pavamāna lauds, performs the sacrifice as the sacrificer, he ascends after on the pavamāna lauds, and is not cut from the pavamāna lauds. [He says,] "Thou art a falcon, whose metre is the gāyatrī..." 'Cf. ŚB 12,3,4,3-5. The time when the sacrificer mutters the anvāroha formulas is different among the Śrautasūtras. See Fujii 1986 [11], p. 17.

 $<sup>^{63}</sup>$  Caland [10], p. 153 on ŚāṅkhŚS 6,8,9: "Very probably the source of this prescript is ŚB. XIV.4.1.30."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> BĀUK 1,3,28 (ŚBM 14,4,33): átha yấn tarāṇi stotrấṇi téṣv ātmáne 'nnấdyam ágāyet. tásmād u téṣu váraṃ vṛṇīta yáṃ kấmaṃ kāmáyeta tám. sá eṣá evaṃvíd udgātàtmáne vā yájamānāya vā yáṃ kấmaṃ kāmáyate tám ágāyati. 'Then at the other lauds he should procure provisions for himself by singing. And therefore, at those [lauds] he should choose as a boon whatever desire he would desire. The udgātṛ as such who knows thus procures either for himself or for the sacrificer whatever desire he desires by singing.'

## A COMMON PASSAGE IN THE THREE EARLIEST UPANISADS

6. yāvadāvaśā (?) 65 u hāsyeme prāṇā asmiml loke / etāvadāvāśā (?) 65 u hāsyaitā devatā amuṣmiml loke bhavanti. / 7. tasmād u haivaṃ vidvān naivāgṛhatāyai bibhīyān nālokatāyai. / etā me devatā asmin loke gṛhān kariṣyanti. / etā amuṣmin loke 66 lokaṃ pradāsyantīti. / 8. tasmād u haivaṃ vidvān naivāgṛhatāyai bibhīyān nālokatāyai. / etā me devatā asmin loke gṛhebhyo gṛhān kariṣyanti / svebhya āyatanebhya iti haiva vidyāt. / etā amuṣmin loke lokam pradāsyantīti. / 9.tasmād u haivaṃ vidvān naivāgṛhatāyai bibhīyān nālokatāyai. / etā ma etad ubhayaṃ saṃnaṃsyantīti haiva vidyāt. / tathā haiva bhavati. /

'6. And as many abodes (? or: spaces?) as these  $pr\bar{a}na$ s have in this world for him, so many abodes (? or: spaces?) these deities come to have in yonder world for him. 7. And therefore, if one knows thus, he should not be in fear of the state of having no house [in this world] nor in the state of having no world (open space) [in yonder world, thinking], "These deities will make houses for me in this world. These [deities] give [me] a world (open space) in yonder world." 8. And therefore, if one knows thus, he should not be in fear of the state of having no house [in this world] nor in the state of having no world (open space) [in yonder world]. "These deities will make houses for me in this world from [their] houses, from [their] own abode ( $\bar{a}yatana$ -)," so indeed he should know, "These [deities] give [me] a world (open space) in yonder world." 9. And therefore, one who knows thus should not be in fear of the state of having no house [in this world] nor the state of having no world (open space) [in yonder world]. "These [deities] will prepare both of them for me," so indeed he should know. Just so it becomes.'

10.  $B\bar{A}U$ :  $B\bar{A}UK$  1,3,28 (ŚBM 14,4,1,33) dotted line  $\approx JUB_4$  tád dhaitál lokajíd evá. ná haivàlokyátāyā āśàsti yá evám etát sáma véda. //28// 'This as such is nothing but the one that acquires a world (open space) [in yonder world]. If one knows this  $s\bar{a}man$  thus, there is no expectation of the state of having no world (open space) [in yonder world].'

## 10. ChU: ChU 1,2,13-14

Thus the mss. and Sharma [32]. Oertel [27], Limaye & Vedekar [22] read: yāvadāvāsā, etāvadāvāsā. From the context, we expect yāvadāyatanā, etāvadāyatanā (cf. JUB 2,12,8); or yāvadākāśā, etāvadākāśā (cf. JUB 2,11,11). Or possibly yāvadavakāśā, etāvadavakāśā (cf. JUB 1,7,2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> After loke, all the editions ([27] [22] [32]) and some Grantha mss. have: bhavati.  $tasm\bar{a}d\ u$ .

tena. tam ha bako dālbhyo vidām cakāra. / sa ha naimiṣīyānām udgātā babhūva. / sa ha smaibhyaḥ kāmān āgāyati. //13// āgātā ha vai kāmānām bhavati ya etad evam vidvān akṣaram udgītham upāste. / ity adhyātmam. //14//

'13. Therefore. Baka Dālbhya<sup>67</sup> came to know it. Then he became the  $udg\bar{a}tr$  priest of the dwellers in the Naimiṣa forest. He used to procure desires for them by singing. 14. Verily, one becomes the one who procures desires by singing, if he knowing thus worships this syllable [om] as the  $udg\bar{\imath}tha$ . So much as to the body.'

\* \* \*

## Conclusion

After analyzing the passage in question in detail, we can now determine the textual and chronological relationships among its six versions as follows:

- There are close textual relationships between  $JUB_1$  (1,60) and  $JUB_3$  (2, 3-9), and between  $JUB_2$  (2,1-2) and  $JUB_4$  (2,10-12) (cf. portions 1-3). Of each pair of versions, the latter version is based on the former one. Belonging to different pairs respectively,  $JUB_2$  and  $JUB_3$  have the same order and names of the vital functions (cf. 2);  $JUB_3$  and  $JUB_4$  have portions in common on the kingship of the supreme  $pr\bar{a}na$  and on the sage Ayāsya Āṅgirasa (4; 5). These facts show that the four versions were produced in the same order of the present text as a textual development within the JUB, i.e., first  $JUB_1$ , second  $JUB_2$ , third  $JUB_3$  on the basis of mainly  $JUB_1$  and partly  $JUB_2$ , finally  $JUB_4$  on the basis of mainly  $JUB_2$ and partly  $JUB_3$ . This development implies the possibility that the JUB itself or safely speaking its first half (book 1 and 2) ended with  $JUB_1$ , the last passage of the first book, at one time before its enlargement with the other versions. The textual unity of the first book is also shown by the occurrence of the same ending in the first and the final chapters  $(1.7.6 \approx$ 1,60,7-8, see p. 59, n. 17).
- The largest BĀU version (BĀUK 1,3; ŚBM 14,4,1) is closely parallel to the final version of the JUB. If we suppose that the BĀU version precedes the JUB versions, it is difficult to explain the textual development within the JUB through the four phases mentioned above. Yet it might be possible that the final development of the JUB versions was caused by the BĀU

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> For Baka Dālbhya in Vedic and post-Vedic texts, see Koskikallio [20].

version. But from the fact that except the  $abhy\bar{a}roha$  portion (9), the portions included only in the  $B\bar{A}U$  version are found outside, all before, the present passage in the JUB (7; 8), we may infer that the author of the  $B\bar{A}U$  version had a knowledge of the JUB or at least of its first two books. Because of the  $S\bar{a}$ mavedic contents of this passage, we cannot deny the possibility that the  $B\bar{A}U$  borrowed the most enlarged version of the passage from some  $S\bar{a}$ mavedic source other than the JUB. Even in that case, it was the  $V\bar{a}$ jasaneyins who made the present text which contains sentences borrowed from the  $S\bar{B}$  (cf. 4; 9).

• The ChU version (ChU 1,2), though very short, has a close relationship with the largest BĀU version. Both versions have common expressions (cf. 1; 2.1; 4) and a portion (6) which are not found in the JUB versions as they are. But at the same time, the ChU version shows a direct relationship in wording with the JUB versions (cf. 2.2). It is highly probable that the ChU version was made as the latest one when all the other versions had already come into existence. The ChU incorporates the present passage in an abbreviated form into its opening passage on the identification of the syllable om with the udgītha.

## Abbreviations

${ m A}ar{ m A}$	Aitareya-Āraṇyaka	KapS	Kapiṣṭhalakaṭha-Saṃhitā
AB	Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa	${ m K\bar{a}t\acute{S}S}$	Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra
$ar{ ext{A}} ext{pSS}$	Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra	Kau $U$	Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad
$\mathrm{AU}$	Aitareya-Upaniṣad	KenaU	Kena-Upaniṣad
AVP	Atharvaveda	KS	Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā
	(Paippalāda recension)	PB	Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa
AVŚ	Atharvaveda	$Pra ext{\'s}U$	Praśna-Upaniṣad
	(Śaunaka recension)	$ m _{ m e}V$	Rgveda
${ m Bar{A}U}$	Brhadāraņyaka-Upanişad	ŚāṅkhĀ	Śāṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka
BĀUK	Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad	ŚāṅkhŚS	Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra
	(Kāṇva recension)	ŚB	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
$\mathrm{ChU}$	Chāndogya-Upaniṣad	ŚBM	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
GB	Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa		(Mādhyandina recension)
$_{ m JB}$	Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa	SVidhB	Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa
JUB	Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa	TS	Taittirīya-Saṃhitā

### References

- [1] Āgāśe, Kāśīnātha Śāstrī, ed. *Chāndogyopaniṣat. Ānandagirikṛtaṭīkāsaṃvalitaśāṃkara-bhāṣyasametā*. [Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, 14]. Poona, <sup>2</sup>1902; 1983.
- [2] Bodewitz, H. W. "Prāṇa, Apāna and Other Prāṇa-s in Vedic Literature". The Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. 50, pp. 326-348, 1986.
- [3] Bodewitz, Hendrik. W. "The Cosmic, Cyclical Dying (parimara). Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 8,28 and Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad 2,11–12". In Sanskrit and World Culture, [Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 18], pp. 438–443. Berlin (DDR), 1986.
- [4] Bodewitz, H. W. The Jyotistoma Ritual. Jaiminīya Brāhmaņa I, 66-364. [Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina, 34]. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990.
- [5] Bodewitz, H. W. "King Prāṇa". In Ritual, State, and History in South Asia: Essays in Honour of J. C. Heesterman, ed. A.W. van den Hoek et al., [Memoirs of the Kern Institute, no. 5], pp. 50-64. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992.
- [6] Böhtlingk, Otto. Khândogjopanishad. Leipzig: Verlag von H. Haessel, 1889.
- [7] Caland, W. Die Jaiminīya-Saṃhitā mit einer Einleitung über die Sāmavedaliteratur. [Indische Forschungen, 2. Heft]. Breslau, 1907.
- [8] Caland, W. Das Jaiminīya-Brāhmana in Auswahl: Text, Übersetzung, Indices. [Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Deel I, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XIX, No. 4]. Amsterdam, 1919.
- [9] Caland, W. "Eine Vierte Mitteilung über das Vādhūlasūtra". Acta Orientalia, Vol. 6,
   pp. 97-241, 1928 = Caland, Kleine Schriften, pp. 397-541, 1990.
- [10] Caland, W. Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra. Edited with introduction by Lokesh Chandra. Nagpur, 1953; rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980.
- [11] Fujii, Masato. "The Bahispavamāna Ritual of the Jaiminīyas". Machikaneyama Ronso (Philosophy), Vol. 20, pp. 3–25, 1986.
- [12] Fujii, Masato. "Three Notes on the Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa 3,1-5". Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies, Vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 1002-994 (23-31), 1989.
- [13] Fujii, Masato. "On the Formation and Transmission of the Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa". In *Inside the Texts, Beyond the Texts: New Approaches to the Study of the Vedas*, ed. Michael Witzel, [Harvard Oriental Series, Opera Minora, 2], pp. 89–102. Cambridge, 1997.
- [14] Gonda, Jan. Vedic Literature (Samhitās and Brāhmaņas). [A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, Fasc. 1]. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975.
- [15] Gotō, Toshifumi. Die "I. Präsensklasse" im Vedischen. Untersuchung der vollstufigen thematischen Wurzelpräsentia. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987.

## A COMMON PASSAGE IN THE THREE EARLIEST UPANIŞADS

- [16] Gotō, Toshifumi. "Materialien zu einer Liste altindischer Verbalformen: 8. ard/rd, 9. īṣ, 10. ukṣ, 11. eṣ/iṣ, 12. eṣ<sup>i</sup>/iṣ<sup>i</sup>, 13. ok/oc/uc, 14. kan, 15. vakṣ/ukṣ". Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology, Vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 119–141, 1993.
- [17] Gotō, Toshifumi. "Zur Geschichte vom König Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa (Chāndogya-Upaniṣad IV 1-3)". Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Vol. 20 (Festschrift Paul Thieme), pp. 89-115, 1996.
- [18] Hauschild, Richard. "Die Samvarga-vidyā (Chānd. Up. 4, 1-3). Ergänzende sachliche und grammatische Bemerkungen". In Mélanges d'indianisme. A la mémoire de Louis Renou, [Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Série in-8°, Fasc. 28], pp. 337-365. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1968.
- [19] Hoffmann, Karl. Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik. 3 Bde. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1975, 1976, 1992.
- [20] Koskikallio, Petteri. "Baka Dālbhya: A Complex Character in Vedic Ritual Texts, Epic and Purānas". Studia Orientalia, Vol. 85, pp. 301–388, 1999.
- [21] Lakṣmīkānta Śarman, ed. Chāndogya Brāhmanam. 3 parts. Kumbakonam, Pt. 1: 1982, Pt. 2: 1981, Pt. 3: 1980.
- [22] Limaye, V. P. and R. D. Vadekar. Eighteen Principal Upanişads. Vol. I. Gandhi Memorial Edition. Poona: Vaidika Samśodhana Mandala, 1958.
- [23] Lüders, Heinrich. "Zu den Upaniṣads. I. Die Saṃvargavidyā". BSB, 1916, pp. 278–309
   H. Lüders, Philologica Indica, pp. 361–390, 1940.
- [24] Maue, Dieter. Bṛhadāranyakopaniṣad I: Versuch einer kritischen Ausgabe nach akzentuierten Handschriften der Kānva-Rezension mit einer Einleitung und Anmerkungen. Inaugural-Dissertation (Gießen). Gießen, 1976.
- [25] Morgenroth, Wolfgang. Chāndogya-Upanisad. Versuch einer kritischen Ausgabe mit einer Übersetzung und einer Übersicht über ihre Lehren. Inaugural-Dissertation (Jena). Jena, 1958.
- [26] Murakawa, Akiko. "The Gavāmayana Portion(s) of the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa: A Preliminary Study". *Journal of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies*, Vol. 12, pp. 110–134, 2000.
- [27] Oertel, Hanns. "The Jaiminīya or Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa: Text, Translation, and Notes". Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 16, pp. 79–260, 1894.
- [28] Olivelle, Patrick. Upanisads. [World's Classics]. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- [29] Olivelle, Patrick. The Early Upanisads: Annotated Text and Translation. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- [30] Rau, Wilhelm. Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1957.

- [31] Senart, Emile. Chāndogya-Upaniṣad. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1930.
- [32] Sharma, B. R. Jaiminīyārṣeya-Jaiminīyopaniṣad-Brāhmaṇas. Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1967.
- [33] Strauss, Otto. "Udgīthavidyā". Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, pp. 243–310, 1931 = O. Strauss, Kleine Schriften, pp. 311–378, 1983.
- [34] 辻 直四郎 (Tsuji, Naoshiro). 『ヴェーダ学論集』. 東京:岩波書店 (Vēda-gaku Ronshū. Tokyo: Iwanami-shoten), 1977.
- [35] Wackernagel, J. und A. Debrunner. *Altindische Grammatik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Bd. I: 1957<sup>2</sup>, Bd. II,1: 1957<sup>2</sup>, Bd. II,2: 1954, Bd. III: 1929/30.
- [36] Weber, Albrecht. "Vedische Hochzeitssprüche". Indische Studien, Vol. V, pp. 177–266, Berlin, 1862; rpt. Hildesheim, 1973.
- [37] Witzel, Michael. "The Case of the Shattered Head". Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Vol. 13/14 (Festschrift Wilhelm Rau), pp. 363–415, 1987.