

The *Gāyatra-Sāman*: Chanting Innovations in the Sāmavedic Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣad

Masato FUJII

Introduction

1. The *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra*
2. The *gāyatra-sāman* in the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa
3. The *gāyatra-sāman* in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa
 - 3.1 The *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa (1)
 - 3.2 The *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa (2): *dhurs*
 - 3.3 Other forms of the *gāyatra-sāman* in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa
4. The *gāyatra-sāman* in the Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa
5. The *gāyatra-sāman* in the Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa

Conclusion

Abbreviations

References

Introduction

Between the two early Upaniṣads of the Sāmaveda, namely, the Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa of the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda and the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad of the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya Sāmaveda, a fundamental difference exists with regard to their attitudes toward one particular *sāman* (ritual chant or melody) called *gāyatra*. The *gāyatra-sāman*, especially its unexpressed form,¹ is the

¹ The *gāyatra-sāman* is the melody for verses (*ṛc*) in the *gāyatrī* metre including the well-known Sāvitrī verse (SV 2,812; JS 4,3,8 < RV 3,62,10). The Kauthuma Sāmaveda records the *gāyatra-sāman* on this verse in the Devatādhyāya-Brāhmaṇa (3,24), and in the Gāna as an appendix (Calcutta edition [69], V, p. 601). See Caland, *PB* [14], pp. x-xi; Tsuji 1981 (1948) [76], p. 338, n. 38; Howard, *Sāmavedic Chant* [35], p. 514f. When the *gāyatra-sāman* is sung in the ritual lauds (*stotra*) of the Soma sacrifices, it takes an unexpressed (*anirukta*) form in which the second and third lines of verses are replaced by repeated monosyllables, thus: *o vā o vā o vā hum bhā o vā* (in the Jaiminīya traditions). The *gāyatra* in this form is called *aśarīra gāyatra* ‘bodiless *gāyatra*’ (body = verse).

main theme of the JUB,² while it does not have any special significance in the ChU in spite of the close textual parallelism that the two Upaniṣads show with each other.³ As I have discussed elsewhere,⁴ this difference in content between the JUB and the ChU reflects the difference in the importance of the *gāyatra-sāman* within the actual *sāman* traditions of the two Sāmavedic schools to which these Upaniṣads belong. Since the JUB chronologically precedes the ChU, whose first four chapters are modelled upon the JUB,⁵ the next question is why the Jaiminīyas chose this particular *sāman* as the main theme when they composed the first Sāmavedic Upaniṣad.⁶ In order to give an answer to this question about the motivation or necessity to create an Upaniṣad on the *gāyatra*, I will trace the changes of this *sāman* in the history of the Sāmavedic texts. As far as Sāmavedic chants are concerned, their historical change has not received enough attention, and it is even presupposed that the *sāmans* have kept the same forms throughout the history of the Sāmavedic texts. In this paper, the change of the *gāyatra-sāman* will be traced through the following texts: the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa and the Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa of the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya Sāmaveda, the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa and the JUB of the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda.⁷

For the Jaiminīya *gāyatra-sāman* in the unexpressed form, see Staal 1968 [74], pp. 415–420; Kashikar, *Śrautakośa* [40], Vol. II, Part I, pp. 285f., 330, 337, 342, 347, 361, 426; Howard 1983 [36], pp. 315–321; 325; Fujii 1986 [21], pp. 13–16. For the Kauthuma one, see Caland and Henry, *L’Agniṣṭoma* [16], pp.178–180; Kashikar, *Śrautakośa* [40], II, I, pp. 278–283, 328f., 336f., 340f., 345f., 357f., 420f.; Howard 1983 [36], pp. 321–324; *Veda Recitation* [38], pp. 341–346. The Kauthuma Uttara-Gāna records only its expressed forms (Calcutta edition [69], III, pp. 4–40, 105–115).

² See Fujii 1984 [20]. Cf. Deshpande 1980 [18]; Bodewitz 1986 [5]; Howard 1987 [39].

³ JUB 1,10,3 ~ ChU 2,23,4; JUB 1,11–13; 19; 31–36 ~ ChU 2,2–21; JUB 1,18 ~ ChU 1,4; JUB 1,51–52 ~ ChU 2,22,1; JUB 1,53,4–5 ~ ChU 1,6–7; JUB 2,2,9–10 ~ ChU 2,13,1–2; JUB 2,10–11 ~ ChU 1,2; JUB 3,1–2 ~ ChU 4,3; JUB 3,15–19 ~ ChU 4,16–17; JUB 4,2 ~ ChU 3,16. See Fujii 1997 [27], p. 93.

⁴ Fujii 1997 [27], pp. 89–92.

⁵ See Fujii 1997 [27], p. 93. Cf. Lüders 1916 [44]; Renou 1953 [65], p. 139f.

⁶ For the criteria for placing the JUB in the category of Upaniṣads, see n. 100.

⁷ For the chronological relationship between the Sāmavedic Brāhmaṇas, especially between the PB and the JB, see the arguments summarised by Bodewitz, *Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], pp. 19–21. His conclusion is: PB → JB kernel → JB addenda → ṢaḍvB. This order fits the historical changes of the *gāyatra-sāman* treated in this paper.

THE GĀYATRA-SĀMAN

1. The *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra*

On the pressing day in the Soma sacrifices, the pressing service (*savana*), in which the *soma* plant is pressed, and its juice is offered to the gods and drunk by the sacrificer and priests, is performed three times: in the morning, midday, and evening. Each of the three pressing services includes definite numbers of lauds (*stotra*) chanted by the Sāmavedic priests and praises (*śastra*) recited by the Ṛgvedic priests. The Agniṣtoma, the shortest form of the Soma sacrifices, for example, has the following pattern of twelve lauds and praises:⁸

The pattern of lauds and praises of the Agniṣtoma

		Sāmavedic priests		Ṛgvedic priests
no.	laud (<i>stotra</i>)	<i>sāman</i>		praise (<i>śastra</i>)
morning pressing service (<i>prātaḥsavana</i>)				
1	<i>bahiṣpavamāna-stotra</i>	<i>gāyatra</i>		1st <i>ājya-śastra</i>
2	1st <i>ājya-stotra</i>	<i>gāyatra</i>		<i>praūga-śastra</i>
3	2nd <i>ājya-stotra</i>	<i>gāyatra</i>		2nd <i>ājya-śastra</i>
4	3rd <i>ājya-stotra</i>	<i>gāyatra</i>		3rd <i>ājya-śastra</i>
5	4th <i>ājya-stotra</i>	<i>gāyatra</i>		4th <i>ājya-śastra</i>
midday pressing service (<i>mādhyandinasavana</i>)				
6	<i>mādhyandina-pavamāna-stotra</i>	<i>gāyatra</i> <i>āmahīyava</i> <i>raurava</i> <i>yaudhājaya</i> <i>auśana</i>		<i>marutvatīya-śastra</i>
7	1st <i>prṣṭha-stotra</i>	<i>rathantara</i> or <i>bṛhat</i>		1st <i>niṣkevalya-śastra</i>
8	2nd <i>prṣṭha-stotra</i>	<i>vāmadevya</i>		2nd <i>niṣkevalya-śastra</i>
9	3rd <i>prṣṭha-stotra</i>	<i>naudhasa</i> or <i>śyaita</i>		3rd <i>niṣkevalya-śastra</i>
10	4th <i>prṣṭha-stotra</i>	<i>kāleya</i>		4th <i>niṣkevalya-śastra</i>
third pressing service (<i>trītyasavana</i>)				
11	<i>ārbhava-pavamāna-stotra</i>	<i>gāyatra</i> <i>saṃhita</i> <i>sapha (sabha)</i> <i>pauskala</i> <i>śyāvāśva</i> <i>āndhigava</i> <i>kāva</i>		<i>mahāvaiśvadeva-śastra</i>
12	<i>agniṣtoma-</i> or <i>yajñāyajñīya-stotra</i>	<i>yajñāyajñīya</i>		<i>āgnimāruta-śastra</i>

⁸ Cf. Parpola, *LŚS and DŚS* [56], I: 2, pp. 11–14.

The *gāyatra-sāman* is used for all the verses of every laud in the morning pressing service, and for the first three verses of the first lauds in the midday and third pressing services. The verses on which the *gāyatra-sāman* is sung are different according to the difference of the Soma sacrifices. In the morning pressing service of the Agniṣṭoma, for example, the first laud, *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* by name,⁹ consists of the following nine verses borrowed from the Ṛgveda by both recensions of the Sāmaveda with some variants:

RV 9,11,1–3; 64,28–30; 66,10–12 > SV 2,1–9; JS 3,1,3–11

1. *úpāsmāi gāyatā naraḥ pávamānāya é_andave / abhí devām̃ (JS: devam̃) íyakṣate //*
2. *abhí te mádhunā páyó 'atharvāno asísrayuḥ / devam̃ deváya devayú (JS: devayum) //*
3. *sá naḥ pavasva sám gáve sám jánāya sám árvate / sám rājann ośadhībhi_iyaḥ //*
4. *dávidyutat_iyā rucá pariṣṭóbhant_iyā kṛpá / sómāḥ súkrá gávāśiraḥ //*
5. *hinvánó hetṛbhir yatá (SV, JS: hita) á vájaṃ vājy_i àkramīt / sídanto vanúšo yathā //*
6. *ṛdhák soma s_avastáye samjagmāno diváḥ kavīḥ (SV, JS: divā kave) / pávasva sú_riyo drṣé //*
7. *pávamānasya te kave vājin sárgā asṛkṣata / árvanto ná śravasyávaḥ //*
8. *áchā kósam madhuścútam ásgraṃ vāre avyáye / ávāvaśanta dhítáyaḥ (JS: dhítaye) //*
9. *áchā samudráṃ índavó 'astam̃ gávo ná dhenávaḥ / ágmann ṛtásya yónim̃ á //*

In connection with the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra*, the Sāmavedic Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣad explain the *gāyatra-sāman* in detail, but in different ways. The difference of their explanations shows the changes and innovations in the way of chanting the *gāyatra-sāman* which occurred in the history of the Sāmavedic texts.

2. The *gāyatra-sāman* in the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa

Among the Sāmavedic Brāhmaṇas, the PB gives the simplest explanation for the way of chanting the *gāyatra-sāman* in the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* (PB 6,8–7,1). Its explanation can be summarised in the following seven points:

⁹ For the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* including the ritual acts connected with it, see Fujii 1986 [21].

THE *GĀYĀTRA-SĀMAN*

- 1) The *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* is chanted with verses which are directed thitherward (i.e. without repetition) (*parācībhiḥ*): PB 6,8,9; 15; 17; 18 (cf. JB 1,87 [38,27]; 89 [39,23]).¹⁰
- 2) The *him*-sound (*hiṃkāra*) is made once: PB 6,8,15 (cf. JB 1,278 [116,5]).¹¹
- 3) The last verse contains the word *ā* ‘hither’: PB 6,8,17 (cf. JB 1,87 [38,29f.]; 89 [39,24f.]).¹²
- 4) The last verse has syllables of the *rathantara-sāman*: PB 6,8,18 (cf. JB 1,88 [38,33]).¹³
- 5) The *gāyatra-sāman* should be chanted with three ‘turns’ (*tryāvṛt*): PB 7,1,1 (cf. JB 1,100 [43,33] (for the first verse); 1,111 [48,16–20]).¹⁴

¹⁰ PB 6,8,9 *parācībhiḥ stuvanti* “They (the chanter priests) chant the laud (*stotra*) with [verses] which are directed thitherward (i.e. without repetition).” In Sāmavedic texts, both the verses which are not repeated and the lauds which consist of those verses are described as “directed thitherward” (*parācī-*) in the sense of being sung through without returning (see Fujii 1986 [21], p. 14). The other lauds having the repetition of verses are expressed by *āvartin-* (JŚS, LŚS) or *āvṛtti-* (DŚS) (see Parpola, *LŚS and DŚS* [56], I: 2, p. 204). Cf. n. 22.

¹¹ PB 6,8,15 *sakṛddhīṅkṛtābhiḥ parācībhiḥ stuvanti* “They (the chanter priests) chant the laud (*stotra*) with [verses] for which the *him*-sound is made once, and which are directed thitherward (i.e. without repetition).” When chanting a *stotra*, the chanter priests pronounce the sound *him* or *hum* at the commencement of each round (*paryāya*), while in the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* they make the sound only once at its beginning, because there is no repetition in it. Cf. Fujii 1986 [21], p.14. Cf. n. 23.

¹² PB 6,8,17 *āvatīm uttamām gāyet* “He should sing the last [verse] which contains [the word] *ā* ‘hither.’” See the last verse (SV 2,9) borrowed from ṚV 9,66,12 cited above. Cf. n. 24.

¹³ PB 6,8,18 *rathantaravarṇām uttamān gāyed. iyaṃ vai rathantaram. asyām eva pratitiṣṭhati* “He should sing the last [verse] provided with syllables of the *rathantara-sāman*. The *rathantara* is this [earth]. He stands firmly on this very [earth].” ≈ ṢaḍvB 2,1,34–35; JB 1,88. According to LŚS 1,12,10–11 = DŚS 3,4,24–25 and LŚS 7,11,6 = DŚS 21,2,15–19, some of the original syllables of the last verse are replaced with the repetition of the syllable *bha*, which is characteristic of the *rathantara-sāman*. See Caland, *PB* [14], p. 123, n. 1 on PB 6,8,18; Parpola, *LŚS and DŚS* [56], I: 2, p. 166f.; *Śrautakośa* [40], Vol. II, Part I, p. 280, n. *; Bodewitz, *Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], p. 225, n. 7 on JB 1,88. Cf. JŚS (ed. Gaastra [30]) 1,19 [24,7] (see n. 27 below). For the *rathantara-sāman*, see Howard 1983 [36], pp. 325–328. Cf. n. 25.

¹⁴ PB 7,1,1 *īme vai lokā gāyatraṃ. tryāvṛd geyan. trayo hīme lokā. yat tryāvṛd gāyaty ebhir evainaṃ lokaiḥ sammimīte* “The *gāyatra* is [equal to] these worlds (i.e. earth, intermediate region, sky). It should be chanted with three ‘turns’. For these worlds are three. When he chants [the *gāyatra*] with three ‘turns’, he makes him equal to these [three] worlds.” According to LŚS 7,10,21 ≈ DŚS 21,2,1–3, the three *āvṛts* of the first verse

- 6) The *him*-sound (*hiṃkāra*) (i.e. *hum ā* or *him ā* as the Pratihāra) should not be uttered, but should be thought mentally: PB 7,1,4–5 (cf. JB 1,100 [44,6f.]; 101 [44,12f.]; 259 [108,7]; 315 [132,11f.]: all for the first verse).¹⁵
- 7) The *gāyatra* should be sung in the form of an unexpressed one (*anirukta*): PB 7,1,8 (cf. JB 1,100 [43,31]: for the first verse).¹⁶

In Sāmavedic texts, the word *anirukta* means the indistinct way of chanting in which the original syllables of a verse are hidden or replaced with monosyllables like *o*.¹⁷ Caland explains that the present statement in the PB refers to this replacement of each syllable with *o*.¹⁸ It is not certain, however, whether such a complete replacement is meant here or not. It is not certain, either, whether the replacement, even if it is meant here, is applied to all the verses or some particular verses. In fact, the verses of the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* described in the ṢaḍvB, a Brāhmaṇa supplementary to the PB, do not receive such a complete replacement, granted that they are not ordinary but modified ones called *dhurs* (see 4). According to LŚS 7,10,20 = DŚS 21,1,37–38, the whole part after the opening part (*prastāva*) should be chanted mentally and

are the following three sections of the main part (*udgītha*): (1) *pāṣvamānāyendāṣvāṣṣ*, (2) *abhīdevām iyāṣ*, (3) *kṣāṣta*. Cf. Caland, *PB* [14], p. 131f., n. 2 on PB 7,1,1; Howard 1983 [36], p. 325. Cf. n. 26.

¹⁵ PB 7,1,4–5 *yo vai gāyatrenāpratihṛtenodgāyaty apratiṣṭhāno bhavati. hiṃkāro vai gāyatrasya pratihāraḥ //4// sa manasā dhyeyaḥ. pratihṛtena gāyatrenodgāyati, pratiṣṭhati //5//* “4. If he chants the Udgītha with an unresponded *gāyatra*, he has no firm ground. The *him*-sound is the response (*pratihāra*) of the *gāyatra*. 5. It (*him*-sound) should be thought mentally. He chants the Udgītha with a responded *gāyatra* and stands on firm ground.” The *hiṃkāra* here is not the above-mentioned sound *him* or *hum* at the beginning of the *stotra*, but the Pratihāra part (see n. 30) of the *gāyatra-sāman*, which is, according to the later texts, the syllables *hum ā* (LŚS 7,11,3) or *hiṃ ā* (DŚS 21,2,12). The PB does not specify the verse(s) in which the *hiṃkāra* should not be voiced. LŚS 7,11,4–5 = DŚS 21,2,13–14 mentions two views: according to Gautama, the *hiṃkāra* should be thought mentally in the first verse, but not in the other verses, while according to Dhānañjaya and Śāṇḍilya, mentally in the other verses, but not in the first verse. According to LŚS 1,12,8–9 = DŚS 3,4,23, the first view is accepted as in the following texts: ṢaḍvB 2,1,4; JB 1,100; 259; 315; JŚS 1,11 [13,9–10]. Cf. Caland, *PB* [14], p. 132f., n. 1 on PB 7,1,5.

¹⁶ PB 7,1,8 *aniruktaṅ geyam. etad vai gāyatrasya krūrāṅ yan niruktaṅ. yad aniruktaṅ gāyati krūrāṅ evāsyā parivṛṅakti* “It should be sung in the form of an unexpressed one. That which is expressed of the *gāyatra* is cruel. When he sings [the *gāyatra* in the form of] an unexpressed one, he avoids what is cruel for this [sacrificer].”

¹⁷ See Renou and Silburn 1954 [66], p. 70; Howard 1983 [36], p. 311. Cf. n. 1.

¹⁸ Caland, *PB* [14], p. 133, n. 1 on PB 7,1,8.

replaced with the sound *o*[*m*].¹⁹ But since this prescript is placed between two prescripts that quote the Prastāva and Udgītha parts of the first verse of the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* respectively (LŚS 7,10,19 and 21 = DŚS 21,1,34–36 and 21,2,1–3; see n. 68), it might be applied only to the first verse.²⁰

3. The *gāyatra-sāman* in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa²¹

3.1 The *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa (1)

Compared with the PB, the JB gives much longer explanations for the *gāyatra-sāman* of the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* (JB 1,87–104; 111–115; 259–273; 315–321). The passages can be divided into two groups: [1,87–96; 111–115] and [1,97–104; 259–273; 315–321]. The first group of passages corresponds well with the PB. The explanation of the *bahiṣpavamāna* given there is almost the same as the above-mentioned PB, except that the sixth and seventh points of the PB (i.e., not pronouncing the *him*-sound as the Pratihāra, and the unexpressed form of chanting) are missing, but are mentioned in the second group of passages with regard to the first *dhur* verse (see **3.2**):

- 1) The *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* is chanted with verses which are directed thitherward (i.e. without repetition): JB 1,87 [38,27]; 89 [39,23] (cf. PB 6,8,9; 15; 17; 18).²²

¹⁹ LŚS 7,10,20 = DŚS 21,1,37–38 *śeṣam udgātā. manasā tu svabhaktim, onkāraṃ tathā-svaraṃ vācā gāyet* (DŚS omits *gāyet*) // “The Udgātṛ [should chant] the remaining part [after the Prastāva]. He should chant his own portion mentally, and chant aloud *om*-sound with the same tones [as the original ones].” The word *onkāra-* here is generally understood to represent the sound *o* in the current Kauthuma unexpressed form of the *gāyatra-sāman* (see Caland and Henry, *L’Agniṣtoma* [16], p. 180, n. 134.38), though the commentaries on the LŚS and DŚS do not explain it explicitly.

²⁰ The *Śrautakośa* gives one and the same unexpressed form to the part after the Prastāva in all the verses of the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* ([40], Vol. II, Part I, pp. 278–283). According to Howard (1983 [36], p. 321), the Kauthuma chants in the *Śrautakośa* were edited by a Sāmavedin in Vārāṇasī, whose family comes from Gujarāt (cf. *Śrautakośa* [40], Vol. II, Part I, p. 17). The JB (1,100 [43,31]) prescribes an unexpressed way of singing for the first *dhur* verse (see **3.2**).

²¹ For the text of the JB, I have gratefully consulted the digital edition with detailed critical apparatus prepared by Dr. Ehlers. When I follow his reading which is different from that in Raghu Vira & Lokesh Chandra’s edition [60], I will add the latter’s reading in the footnote.

²² JB 1,87 [38,27] *parācīṣu hi* (Raghu & Lokesh [60]: *parācībhis*) *stuvanti*. “For they chant

- 2) The *him*-sound is made once : JB 1,278 [116,5] (cf. PB 6,8,15).²³
- 3) The last verse contains the word *ā* ‘hither’: JB 1,87 [38,29f.]; 89 [39,24f.] (cf. PB 6,8,17).²⁴
- 4) The last verse has syllables of the *rathantara-sāman*: JB 1,88 [38,33] (cf. PB 6,8,18).²⁵
- 5) The *gāyatra* should be chanted with three ‘turns’ (*tryāvṛt*) and with three ‘raisings’ (*tryudāsa*): JB 1,111 [48,16–20]; cf. JB 1,100 [43,33] (*tryudāsa* for the first verse) (cf. PB 7,1,1).²⁶

It is noteworthy that the JB mentions the replacement with the *rathantara* syllables in the last verse of the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra*. The Śrautasūtra of the same school, however, prescribes this replacement not for the last verse of the first laud, but for the second verse of the final laud (*agniṣṭoma-* or *yajñāyajñīya-stotra*).²⁷ This fact shows that the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* in the JB is different from that in the JŚS.

the *stotra* on [verses] which are directed thitherward (i.e. without repetition).” For the reading *parācīṣu hi*, see Caland, *Auswahl* [13], p. 17; Oertel 1941 [53], p. 40 = *Kl. Schr.* [54], II, p. 1409; Bodewitz, *Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], p. 225, n. 4. JB 1,89 [39,23] *parācīṣu stuvanti*. For instr. or loc. + \sqrt{stu} , see Oertel, *Kasusvar.* I [52], pp. 76–78 = *Kl. Schr.* [54], II, pp. 937–939. Cf. n. 10.

- ²³ JB 1,278 [116,5] (on *pavamānas*) *tena sakṛddhīmṛtena parācā stuvate*. “They chant for themselves with that [laud] (= the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra*) for which the *him*-sound is made once, and which is directed thitherward (i.e. without repetition)” (= JB 1,231 [95,9f.] on the *sandhi-stotra* of the Atirātra). Cf. JŚS 1,11 [13,8] *te sakṛddhīmṛtena parācā bahiṣpavamānena stuvate*. Cf. n. 11.
- ²⁴ JB 1,87 [38,29f.] *yad evāda āvad uttamam akṣaram bhavati tenāsmāl lokān nāvachchidyate*. “Because in that [thitherward chanting] there occurs a final syllable which contains *ā* ‘hither’, therefore he is not separated from this world.” JB 1,89 [39,24f.] *āvad uttamam akṣaram bhavati*. “There occurs a final syllable which contains *ā* ‘hither’” Cf. n. 12.
- ²⁵ JB 1,88 [38,33] *rathantaravarṇām uttamām gāyanti. iyaṃ vai rathantaram. asyām evaitat pratītiṣṭhati*. “They sing the last [verse] provided with syllables of the *rathantara-sāman*. The *rathantara* is this [earth]. He thereby stands firmly on this very [earth].” ≈ PB 6,8,18; ṢaḍvB 2,1,34–35. Cf. n. 13.
- ²⁶ JB 1,111 [48,16–20] *tad ūrdhvam iva geyam ... tryāvṛd geyam ... tryudāsam geyam ...* “It should be sung upward, as it were ... It should be sung with three ‘turns’ ... It should be sung with three ‘raisings’ ...” For the whole passage, see n. 79 below. For *tryāvṛt* and *tryudāsa*, cf. JUB 3,39,2 (see 5). For *tryāvṛt*, cf. JUB 3,11,5–12,1. For *udāsa*, cf. PB 5,7,4 (*dvyudāsa*); ṢaḍvB 2,1,28; 2,2,13; 25 (*udāsam*, gerund). Cf. Bodewitz, *Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], p. 231, n. 26. Cf. n. 14.
- ²⁷ JŚS 1,19 [24,7] *dvitīyām rathantaravarṇām karoti* “He makes the the second [verse] provided with syllables of the *rathantara-sāman*.” The JB prescribes the use of the

3.2 The *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* in the Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa (2): *dhurs*

The second group of passages on the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* in the JB is exclusively concerned with the *dhurs*, particular forms of the *gāyatra-sāman* adopted in the first six verses of the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* and in some verses of the next *ājya-stotras*.²⁸ The PB is silent on the *dhurs* altogether. To the six *dhur* verses of the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra*, the JB gives the following special names: 1. *retasyā*, 2. *gāyatrī*, 3. *triṣṭubh*, 4. *jagatī*, 5. *anuṣṭubh*, 6. *pañkti*. In spite of their metrical names (except the first, *retasyā*), the *dhurs* are not mere metrical modifications such as the transformation of the original *gāyatrī* metre into other metres. The JB refers to this fact at the end of a mythical explanation of the six *dhurs*: *tasmād etā gāyatrīs satīś chandobhir ākhyāyante* “Therefore they (the *dhurs*), being *gāyatrīs*, are called by [the names of] the metres” (1,321 [134,33]).

The JB explains the six *dhurs* of the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* in three places (1,97–104; 259–273; 315–321). These places give more or less the same descriptions for them, except that the third place additionally quotes their actual forms in full or in part. Here I will collect information on the six *dhurs* in the JB, and try to reconstruct each of them²⁹ in the chanting form with five

rathantara syllables in both the first and final lauds: 1,88 (*bahiṣpavamāna*; see n. 25 above); 1,173 [72,29f.] (*yajñayajñīya*) *rathantarasyeva stobhān stobhet* “He should utter musical interjections like those of the *rathantara-sāman*.” For the chanting form with the *rathantara* syllable *bha* applied to the second verse of the final laud, see Staal 1968 [74], p. 428; *Agnī* [75], I, p. 653. Cf. n. 13 above.

²⁸ Cf. LŚS 7,12,1–2 = DŚS 21,3,13–14 (see n. 68). For the *dhurs*, see Caland, *Auswahl* [13], p. 105, n. 12; Howard 1983 [36], p. 322f.; 1986 [37]; Fujii 1986 [21], p. 16; Bodewitz, *Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], p. 231, n. 19. The word *dhūr-* probably means the curved part of a yoke which is placed on the shoulders of each of two draught animals. See Rau, *Alttertums-kunde* [64], p. 24. Cf. ŚB 1,1,2,9. It is not clear why the special forms in question are designated by this word. This designation may be related with the idea that the starting of the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* with the opening verses can be compared with the yoking of draught animals to a carriage for start (cf. *yukti* ‘yoking’ at the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* JUB 3,5,4; see Fujii 1989 [23], p. 996). For the meaning of *dhur*, cf. Howard [37], p. 94: “burden” added to the Udgātṛ; Bodewitz, *ibid.*: “belonging to the fore-part; the fore-runners or first ones.”

²⁹ Howard (1986 [37]) reconstructs the Jaiminiya *dhurs* differently by applying the descriptions of the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyaniya *dhurs* given in the LŚS to the Jaiminiya unexpressed form of the *gāyatra*. I am, however, arguing here that the *dhurs* were totally replaced by the unexpressed form of the *gāyatra* in the history of the Jaiminiya Sāmaveda.

sections.³⁰

<The 1st *dhur* (*retasyā*)> JB 1,100–101; 259; 315–316

JB 1,100–101

- *saṃtatam iva gāyati* 100 [43,30] “He sings without interruption.”³¹
- *parokṣam iva gāyati*³² ... *narcam upaspr̥śet* 100 [43,31] “He sings in a secret way. ... He should not touch the verse (i.e. he should not pronounce the verse manifestly)” (cf. PB 7,1,8).³³
- *tryudāsām gāyati* 100 [43,33] “He sings with three ‘raisings’”
- *na him̐kuryāt. yad dhim̐kuryād vajreṇa him̐kāreṇa reto vicchindyāt* 100 [44,6f.] “He should not utter the *him*-sound (i.e. *hum bhā*³⁴ as the Pratihāra). If he should utter the *him*-sound, he would cut the semen with the *him*-sound which is an axe” (≈ JB 1,259 [108,7]; 315 [132,11f.]; ṢaḍvB 2,1,4–5; 2,2,6–7).
- *tad āhur ... him̐kuryād eveti. abhāyi dāyivam̐ o yā him̐ kṣate bhūr iti*³⁵ 101 [44,9f.] “As to this, they say, ‘... He should utter the *him*-sound thus: *abhāyi dāyivam̐ o yā him̐ kṣate bhūh̐*.”

³⁰ For the performance of choral chanting, each verse of a laud (*stotriyā*) consists of five sections (*bhakti*): the Prastāva sung by the Prastotṛ, the Udgītha by the Udgātṛ, the Pratihāra by the Pratihartṛ, the Upadrava by the Udgātṛ, and the Nidhana by the three. See e.g. Caland and Henry, *L’Agniṣṭoma* [16], II, p. 461; Staal 1968 [74], p. 412; Howard, *Sāmavedic Chant* [35], p. 17f.

³¹ Probably this refers to the fact that the Udgātṛ sings the *retasyā* without the interruption caused by the Pratihāra (*hum bhā*) in the other verses. Cf. PB 13,3,7 (*yaṇva-sāman*) LŚS 6,1,14 = DŚS 16,1,16 (*santani-sāman*).

³² Thus Ehlers. Raghu & Lokesh [60]: *parokṣam eva prathame gāyati*.

³³ Cf. JB 1,139 (on *vāmadevya*) *tat parokṣam iva geyam. narcam upaspr̥śet*. For the expression *narcam upaspr̥śet*, see Bodewitz 1977 [4], p. 154; *Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], pp. 215, n. 23; 251, n. 18.

³⁴ The JB does not record the actual form of the *him̐kāra* as the Pratihāra. I tentatively supply *hum bhā* according to the *gāyatra* quoted in the JUB (see 5). Cf. Bhavatrāta on JŚS 1,11 [13,9]: *gāyatre him̐kāro hum bhā ity evaṃrūpaḥ* (prelim. ed. Parpola; ed. Shastri [73]: 42,7f. *gāyatraṃ bhuṃ vāg ity evaṃ rūpaṃ*). Cf. also *huṃ bhā oi bhūr* JB 2,10 [158,1].

³⁵ Thus Bodewitz, *Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], 26 (*iti* dropped); 231, n. 32; Ehlers. Raghu & Lokesh [60]: *him̐kuryād eva ... [sic] bhūh̐ iti*. As Bodewitz ([6], p. 231, n. 32) remarks, *abhāyi dāyivam̐ ...* is the chanting form of *abhi devam̐ iyakṣate* JS 3,1,3c. But hereafter the utterance of the sound *him* without *ā* or *bhā* (*na him̐kāraṃ visṛjati* 1,101 [44,10]) is rejected for the reason that one would cut the semen even with it (1,101 [44,11f.]). For the technical meaning of *vi-sṛj* ‘utter [the sound *him*] with the sound *ā*’, see Parpola, *LŚS and DŚS* [56], I: 2, p. 166, n. 1 on LŚS 1,12,10 = DŚS 3,4,24.

THE GĀYĀTRA-SĀMAN

- *hīmkārasyaiva kāle hīmkāraṃ manasā dhyāyet* 101 [44,12f.] “At the very moment of the *hīm*-sound he should think the *hīm*-sound mentally” (cf. PB 7,1,5; see n. 15).
- *bhūr iti nidhanaṃ karoti* 101 [44,13] “He makes *bhūḥ* the Nidhana” (cf. ṢaḍvB 2,2,14).

JB 1,259

- *yad ṛcam asāmnīm gāyed asthy eva jāyeta na māṃsam. yat sāmānṛcam gāyen māṃsam eva jāyeta nāsthī. ṛcam sāmānbhīiptām gāyati* [108,3–5] “If he should sing the verse without the *sāman*, only bones would be born, not flesh. If he should sing the *sāman* without the verse, only flesh would be born, not bones. He sings the verse smeared with the *sāman*” (≈ ṢaḍvB 2,1,1).³⁶
- *tām adhīyan gāyet* [108,8] “He should sing this [*retasyā*], keeping it in mind.”³⁷

The 1st *dhur* reconstructed³⁸ (original verse: JS 3,1,3 < R̥V 9,11,1; see p. 4)

trio:	<i>o hum</i>
Prastāva:	upāsmāi gāyatā naraḥ ³⁹
Udgītha:	pavamānāyendave <i>abhāyi dāyivam o yā</i>
Pratihāra:	(<i>hum bhā</i>) [mentally]
Upadrava:	<i>kṣate</i>
Nidhana:	<i>bhūḥ</i>

³⁶ This passage shows that the JB denies the singing of the *retasyā* in both forms: the verse without the *sāman* (*ṛcam asāmnīm*) and the *sāman* without the verse (*sāmānṛcam*). In contrast to the negative use in the JB, the same expression ‘the *sāman* without the verse’ (*anṛcam sāmā*) is used positively in the JUB (1,15,3) for the *gāyatra* in which the verse is completely concealed (see 5; cf. n. 1).

³⁷ For *adhī*, see Gotō 1990 [32], p. 1002.

³⁸ For the reconstructed *dhur* verses, I will write in italic the parts whose actual forms are given in the text(s), in roman those whose forms are not given, and in boldface those explicitly prescribed to be pronounced manifestly.

³⁹ In the present chanting in both the Jaiminīya and Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya Sāmavedas, the Prastāva of the *gāyatra-sāman* always ends with *-om* (e.g. *narom*). See Staal 1968 [74], pp. 416ff.; *Śrautakośa* [40], II, I, pp. 278ff. Cf. LŚS 7,10,19 = DŚS 21,1,34–36 (see nn. 68, 69).

<The 2nd *dhur* (*gāyatrī*)> JB 1,102 [44,20–22]; 260 [108,11–14]; 317 [132,34–133,1]

JB 1,102

- *tasyai dve akṣare vyatiṣajati*⁴⁰ [44,20] “He joins crosswise (i.e. interchanges) two syllables of this [*gāyatrī*].” (= JB 1,260 [108,11]; 317 [132,34])
- *sad iti nidhanaṃ karoti* [44,22] “He makes *sat* the Nidhana.”

JB 1,260

- *tām adhīyan gāyet* [108,13] “He should sing this [*gāyatrī*], keeping it in mind.”

JB 1,317

- *tasyai dve akṣare vyatiṣajati. oṣrvāṇo aśiśrādeṣyurvaṃ*⁴¹ *devāya dā*⁴² *iti vyatiṣajati* [132,34–133,1] “He joins crosswise (i.e. interchanges) two syllables of this [*gāyatrī*]. He joins crosswise (i.e. interchanges) thus: *oṣrvāṇo aśiśrādeṣyurvaṃ devāya dā*⁴² (from ... *aśiśrayuḥ / devaṃ* ...).”

The 2nd *dhur* reconstructed (original verse: JS 3,1,4 < R̥V 9,11,2)

Prastāva: abhi te madhunā payo
 Udgītha: oṣrvāṇo aśiśrādeṣyurvaṃ devāya dā
 Pratihāra: hum bhā
 Upadrava: vayum
 Nidhana: sat

<The 3rd *dhur* (*triṣṭubh*)> JB 1,102 [44,23–25]; 260 [108,15–17]; 317 [133,2–3]

JB 1,102

- *tasyai dve akṣare dyotayati* [44,23] “He makes shine (i.e. makes manifest)⁴³ two syllables of this [*triṣṭubh*].” (= JB 1,260 [108,15]; 317 [133,2])
- *jyotir iti nidhanaṃ karoti* [44,24] “He makes *jyotis* the Nidhana.”

JB 1,260

- *tām adhīyan gāyet* [108,16] “He should sing this [*triṣṭubh*], keeping it in mind.”

JB 1,317

- *tasyai dve akṣare dyotayati. ṣodhā ity ete dyotayati* [133,2f.] “He makes shine (i.e. makes manifest) two syllables of this [*triṣṭubh*]. He makes shine (i.e. makes manifest) these two syllables: *ṣodhā*.”

⁴⁰ For *vy-ati-ṣaṅj*, see Gotō, *I. Präs.* [31], p. 320f., n. 775.

⁴¹ Raghu & Lokesh [60]: *aśiśrā deṣyurva*.

⁴² It is difficult to discern whether the rules of Sandhi are applied before *iti* in the quotation of *sāmans*. I shall tentatively treat as follows: Sandhi takes place when a word or words of a *sāman* are quoted as a text (e.g. *sad iti*), while it is avoided when the actual pronunciation of a *sāman* is concerned (e.g. *o iti*).

⁴³ For the meaning of *dyotayati* here, see Bodewitz, *Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], p. 232, n. 46.

THE GĀYATRA-SĀMAN

The 3rd *dhur* reconstructed (original verse: JS 3,1,5 < RṚ 9,11,3)

Prastāva:	sa naḥ pavasva śaṃ gave
Udgītha:	śaṃ janāya śaṃ arvate śaṃ rājann oṣodhā
Pratihāra:	hum bhā
Upadrava:	bhyaḥ
Nidhana:	ījotiḥ

<The 4th *dhur* (*jagati*)> JB 1,102 [44,26–29]; 260 [108,18–21]; 317 [133,4–5]

JB 1,102

- *tasyai catvāry akṣarāṇi dyotayati* [44,26] “He makes shine (i.e. makes manifest) four syllables of this [*jagati*].” (= JB 1,260 [108,18]; 317 [133,4])
- *īleti nidhanaṃ karoti* [44,28] “He makes *īlā* the Nidhana.”

JB 1,260

- *tām adhīyan gāyet* [108,20] “He should sing this [*jagati*], keeping it in mind.”

JB 1,317

- *tasyai catvāry akṣarāṇi dyotayati. somāś śukrā iti śukravatī pade dyotayati* [133,4f.] “He makes shine (i.e. makes manifest) four syllables of this [*jagati*]. He makes shine (i.e. makes manifest) two words which have [connections with] *śukra* ‘white’: *somāś śukrā*.”

The 4th *dhur* reconstructed (original verse: JS 3,1,6 < RṚ 9,64,28)

Prastāva:	davidyutatyā rucā
Udgītha:	pariṣṭobhantya kṛpā somāś śukrā gavā
Pratihāra:	hum bhā
Upadrava:	śiraḥ
Nidhana:	īlā

<The 5th *dhur* (*anuṣṭubh*)> JB 1,102 [44,30–37]; 260–261 [108,22–35]; 317 [133,6–8]

JB 1,102

- *tām arvācīm abhinudan gāyati* [44,30] “He sings this [*anuṣṭubh*], pushing it as directed hitherward.” (= JB 1,260 [108,22]; 317 [133,6])
- *tasyai niruktaṃ cāniruktaṃ ca pade gāyati* [44,32f.] “He sings two lines of this [*anuṣṭubh*] both in the expressed form and in the unexpressed form.” (= JB 1,260 [108,24f.])
- *vāg iti nidhanaṃ karoti* [44,37] “He makes *vāc* the Nidhana.”

JB 1,261

- *tām balavad upadīmatīm nighātaṃ gāyet* [108,31] “He should sing this [*anuṣṭubh*] forcefully, accompanied with trampling, and making a beat.”

- *tām adhāyan gāyet* [108,34] “He should sing it (*anuṣṭubh*), keeping it in mind.”
 JB 1,317
 - *oṣ vājaṃ vājy akrāmāṣ iti niruktaṃ padaṃ gāyati. nuṣa iti nīrāha* [133,6f.]
 “He sings one line in the expressed form thus: *oṣ vājaṃ vājy akrāmāṣ*. He utters manifestly: *nuṣa*.”

The 5th *dhur* reconstructed (original verse: JS 3,1,7 < Rṅ 9,64,29)

Prastāva:	hinvāno hetṛbhir hita
Udgītha:	<i>oṣ vājaṃ vājy akrāmāṣ</i> sīdanto vanuṣa
Pratihāra:	<i>hum bhā</i>
Upadrava:	yathā
Nidhana:	<i>vāk</i>

<The 6th *dhur* (*pañkti*)> JB 1,102 [45,1–2]; 261 [108,36–109,3]; 317–318 [133,9–10; 17–20]

JB 1,102

- *tasyai ṣaḍ akṣarāṇi dyotayati* [45,1] “He makes shine (i.e. makes manifest) six syllables of this [*pañkti*].”

JB 1,261

- *tāṃ gāyatram*⁴⁴ *eva prasṛtāṃ gāyati* [108,36] “He sings this [*pañkti*] stretched out into the *gāyatra*.”⁴⁵ (≈ JB 1,318 [133,20] *eṣā gāyatram eva prasṛtā geyā*)

JB 1,317–318

- *tasyai ṣaḍ akṣarāṇi dyotayati. pavasvā sūryā iti sūryavatī pade dyotayati* 317 [133,9f.] “He makes shine (i.e. makes manifest) six syllables⁴⁶ of this [*pañkti*]. He makes shine (i.e. makes manifest) two words which have [connections with] the sun: *pavasvā sūryā*.”
 - *tāṃ haitām eke*⁴⁷ *pañktiṃ vigāyanti, nāvīkṛtā garbhā jāyanta iti vadantaḥ, sām̐jagmāno dāyivā kovā pavasvā sūryā iti* 318 [133,17–19] “Arguing that the embryos are not born if it has not been differentiated, some people sing apart this *pañkti* (for *vi-gā* ‘to sing apart’, see below), thus: *sām̐jagmāno dāyivā kovā pavasvā sūryā*.”

⁴⁴ Raghu & Lokesh [60] reads *gāyatrim* here [108,36], but *gāyatram* 1,318 [133,20].

⁴⁵ See Bodewitz, *Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], p. 294, n. 12. Cf. *prasṛtacchandasa-ṢaḍvB* 3,7,7; Sāyaṇa’s comm.: *prasṛtāni vistīrṇāni gāyatryādīni chandāṃsi*. For *pra-sṛ*, see Narten 1969 [47]= *Kl. Schr.* [48], pp. 125–143.

⁴⁶ The two words *pavasva sūryo* (*pavasvā sūryā* in the chant) have metrically six syllables here (*pāvasva sūr̥yo*).

⁴⁷ Raghu & Lokesh [60]: *ete*.

THE GĀYĀTRA-SĀMAN

The 6th *dhur* reconstructed (original verse: JS 3,1,8 < RV 9,64,30)

Prastāva:	ṛdhak soma svastaye
Udgītha:	<i>sāṃjagmāno dāyivā kovā pavasvā sūryā</i>
Pratihāra:	<i>hum bhā</i>
Upadrava:	dr̥śe
Nidhana:	? ⁴⁸

Of the six *dhurs*, the first one has a name that is not related with metres, but with procreation. The designation *retasyā*⁴⁹ ‘[verse] connected with semen’ implies a generative effect which the first verse is supposed to produce. As mentioned above, two features of the *gāyatra-sāman* described in the PB, i.e., not pronouncing the *him*-sound as the Pratihāra and the unexpressed form of chanting, are attributed exclusively to the first *dhur* in the JB. This fact suggests that the first *dhur* inherits, to some extent, the former form of the *gāyatra-sāman* in the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra*. Because of its significant position, the first verse may have been provided with some special features already before the *dhurs* were established. As an amplification of special features of the opening verse(s), the *dhurs* were invented so as to diversify the form of the *gāyatra-sāman*. It must be noted that the diversification by means of the *dhurs* is explained in the JB (and also ṢaḍvB) always in terms of procreation.⁵⁰ Behind the generative designation of the first verse and the explanations of the *dhurs* in terms of procreation, we can see a ritual symbolism which combines the act of chanting the opening verses diversely (*vi-gā*, see below) with the embryological differentiation of semen into bodily elements (*vi-kr̥*) to form the body of offspring or the sacrificer himself.⁵¹

⁴⁸ The JB does not mention the Nidhana of the *pañkti*. This fact suggests that the *pañkti* does not have a special Nidhana, but has the common one: possibly *o vā*.

⁴⁹ The word *retasyā* occurs only in the JB and ṢaḍvB as the name of the first *dhur* verse of the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra*. Later in the Sāmavedic Śrautasūtras etc., it is used generally for the first verse of this *stotra* even when the *dhurs* are not used.

⁵⁰ E.g. JB 1,99 [43,26–28] *prajāpatiṛ yat prajā asṛjata tā dhūrbhir evāsṛjata. reta eva retasyayāsiñcat. prāṇaṃ gāyatryā samairayac cakṣus triṣṭubhā śrotraṃ jagatyā vācam anuṣṭubhā. ātmānam eva pañktyā pratyupādadhāt.* “When Prajāpati created creatures, he created them with the very *dhurs*. He poured out semen with the *retasyā*. He generated breath with the *gāyatryā*, sight with the *triṣṭubh*, hearing with the *jagatyā*, and speech with the *anuṣṭubh*. With the *pañkti*, he added the trunk.” Cf. JB 1,100–102; 259–261; 318; ṢaḍvB 2,1–3.

⁵¹ Cf. JB 1,318 [133,17–19] *tāṃ haitām eke* (see n. 47) *pañkṭiṃ vigāyanti, nāvikṛtā garbhā jāyanta iti vadantaḥ ...* “Some people sing apart this *pañkti*, arguing that the embryos are

3.3 Other forms of the *gāyatra-sāman* in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa

The JB uses the verb *vi-gā* ‘to sing apart’ to denote the singing of the *dhurs* in the separate ways mentioned above: [*dhuro*] *vigāyati*, *retasyām* etc. *vigāyati* (e.g. JB 103).⁵² The first passage on the *dhurs* in the JB (1,97–104), however, after explaining the six *dhurs*, discusses whether the *dhurs* should be sung apart or not,⁵³ and proposes an alternative to the singing apart of the *dhurs*. The alternative is to sing the *dhurs* in a secret form (*parokṣena rūpeṇa gāyati*) in the following way: *gāyatrīyām prastutāyām gāyatram eva gāyan pṛthivīm manasā gacchet. prāṇyāpānyāt*.⁵⁴ *sad iti nidhanaṃ karoti. parokṣeṇaivainām*⁵⁵ *tad rūpeṇa gāyati*. “After the Prastāva of the *gāyatrī* (the second *dhur*) has been chanted, while singing the very *gāyatra*, he should go mentally to the earth.⁵⁶ He should breathe out and in. He should make *sat* the Nidhana. Thereby he sings it (*gāyatrī*) in a secret form” (JB 1,104 [45,19f.]).⁵⁷ Similar expressions follow for the *triṣṭubh*, the *jagatī*, the *anuṣṭubh*, and the *pañkti*.⁵⁸ This alternative represents a simplification of the *dhurs* in the form of singing

not born if it has not been differentiated ...” For a similar symbolism in the *ājya-śāstra*, cf. AB 2,38–41 (*ātmasaṃskṛti*). See Fujii 2011 [28], p. 112f.

⁵² For *vi-gā*, cf. Bodewitz, *Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], p. 233, n. 56.

⁵³ JB 1,103 [45,5f.] *tad āhus, samadam iva vā etac chandobhyaḥ kurvanti yad gāyatre sati prātassavane sarvāṇi chandāṃsi gāyante* (Raghu & Lokesh [60]: *chandāṃsy abhi-gāyante*). *yodhukāḥ prajā bhavantīti. sa yaḥ kāmayeta śāntāḥ prajā edherann iti na dhuro vigāyet. apaśīrṣāṇaṃ tu yajñāṃ yajamānasya kuryād ... vy eva gāyet*. “As to this they say, ‘When all the metres are sung in the morning pressing service, which belongs to the *gāyatrī*, they create a strife for the metres. Creatures (offspring) become quarrelsome.’ If he should wish, ‘May creatures (offspring) thrive in peace,’ he should not sing apart the *dhurs*. [But if he should not sing apart the *dhurs*,] he would make the sacrifice headless for the sacrificer. ... He should indeed sing apart [the *dhurs*].”

⁵⁴ Thus Bodewitz (*Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], 26; 234, n. 63), Ehlers. Raghu & Lokesh [60]: *prāṇyāpānyānyāt*.

⁵⁵ Raghu & Lokesh [60]: *-n*.

⁵⁶ Oertel “go with his mind to (= fix his mind on?) the earth” (*Syntax of Cases* [50], p. 261). Cf. Oertel, *Roots* [51], p.94f. = *Kl. Schr.* [54], I, p. 383f.

⁵⁷ Before this alternative to the second *dhur* (*gāyatrī*), the JB states briefly about the first *dhur* (*retasyā*): *ubhayena tvāva retasyā gāyate* “The *retasyā* is sung in both ways (i.e. sung apart and sung in a secret form)” (1,103 [45,16f.]). Probably this statement is concerned with the secret way of chanting the first *dhur* described in JB 1,100 [43,31] (see 3.2, p. 10).

⁵⁸ JB 1,104 [45,21–28] *triṣṭubhi prastutāyām* (Raghu & Lokesh [60]: *stutāyām*) *gāyatram eva gāyann antarīkṣaṃ manasā gacchet. didṛkṣetaivākṣibhyām. jyotir iti nidhanaṃ karoti. parokṣeṇaivainām* ([60]: *-n*) *tad rūpeṇa gāyati. jagatyām prastutāyām gāyatram*

the same *gāyatra* after the Pratihāra, except the Nidhana, which is changed for each *dhurs* in the same way as the above-mentioned *dhurs*.

In the third passage on the *dhurs* (JB 1,315–321), the word *saṃ-gā* ‘to sing together’ is introduced as an opposite of *vi-gā* in another discussion as to whether the *dhurs* should be sung apart or not. By the word *saṃ-gā* the JB actually refers to the way of singing the *dhurs* with one and the same Nidhana: *o vā*. This way of ‘singing together’ of the *dhurs* is put forward as a kind of compensatory act for some incompleteness or defects caused by the singing apart of the *dhurs*,⁵⁹ to be performed especially in the *ājya-stotras*.⁶⁰ The words *vi-gā* and *saṃ-gā* occur in these meanings only in the JB and ṢaḍvB

eva gāyan diśaḥ paśūn manasā gacchet. śuśrūṣetaiva karṇābhyām. iḷeti nidhanaṃ karoti. parokṣeṇaivaināṃ ([60]: -n) *tad rūpeṇa gāyati. anuṣṭubhi prastutāyāṃ gāyatram eva gāyan divaṃ manasā gacchet. vācā gāyan vāg iti nidhanaṃ karoti. parokṣeṇaivaināṃ* ([60]: -n) *tad rūpeṇa karoti. paṃktyāṃ prastutāyāṃ gāyatram eva gāyann ṛtūn manasā gacchet. parokṣeṇaivaināṃ* ([60]: -n) *tad rūpeṇa gāyati.* “After the Prastāva of the *triṣṭubh* has been chanted, while singing the very *gāyatra*, he should go mentally to the intermediate region. He should try to see with his eyes. He makes *jyotis* the Nidhana. Thereby he sings it (*triṣṭubh*) in a secret form. After the Prastāva of the *jagatī* has been chanted, while singing the very *gāyatra*, he should go mentally to the directions and cattle. He should try to listen with his ears. He makes *iḷā* the Nidhana. Thereby he sings it (*jagatī*) in a secret form. After the Prastāva of the *anuṣṭubh* has been chanted, while singing the very *gāyatra*, he should go mentally to the sky. Singing with his voice, He makes *vāc* the Nidhana. Thereby he sings it (*anuṣṭubh*) in a secret form. After the Prastāva of the *pañkti* has been chanted, while singing the very *gāyatra*, he should go mentally to the seasons. Thereby he sings it (*pañkti*) in a secret form.” Cf. ṢaḍvB 2,1,6; 10; 15; 21; 26; 30.

⁵⁹ JB 1,318 [133,19] *yata* (Raghu & Lokesh [60]: om.) *etāṃ vigāyanti tata idam garbhā muhyanti.* “When they sing apart this [*pañkti*], the embryos thereby become confused here.” The text is understandable without *na* which Bodewitz adds (*Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], pp. 35; 310, n. 24).

⁶⁰ JB 1,318 [133,20–24] *tad āhus, sa vā adya* (Raghu & Lokesh [60]: *cādyā* for *vā adya*) *dhuro vigāyed ya enās saṃgātum vidyād iti. tad dhaika āhur, bahiṣpavamāne vāva vayaṃ vigāyantas saṃgāyāmaḥ. yad o vā* (Raghu & Lokesh [60]: *yado ovā*) *iti vānnidhanāḥ kurmas, tenaiva nas saṃgītā bhavantīti. tenājyeṣv ādriyante na pavamānayoḥ. atha haika āhur, ājyeṣv eva vayaṃ vigāyantas saṃgāyāma iti.* “As to this, they say: ‘If he knows how to sing them together, he may now sing apart the *dhurs*.’ As to this, moreover, some say: ‘In the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra*, while singing apart [the *dhurs*], we sing them together. When we make them with the word *vāc* as the Nidhana in the form of *o vā*, they thereby become sung together by us.’ Therefore they heed (i.e. perform) [the *dhurs*] in the *ājya-stotras*, but not in the [other] two *pavamāna-stotras*. And some say, ‘In the same *ājya-stotras*, while singing apart [the *dhurs*], we sing [them] together.’” Cf. ṢaḍvB 2,3,10–12 (see 4).

in their passages on the *dhurs*.⁶¹ In Vedic ritual terminology they can be compared with *vyūḍha* and *samūḍha*—terms for two types of the Daśarātra, metrically shifted and unshifted—in that they form a terminological pair using the preverbs *vi* and *sam*.⁶² And, at the same time, they seem to be implicitly related with *vi-kṛ* and *saṃ-s-kṛ*, generative terms expressing two aspects of procreation: differentiation (of semen into bodily elements) and unification (of bodily elements into a complete body).⁶³

At the end of the third passage on the *dhurs*, after the explanation of the singing together (*sam-gā*), the JB alludes to the simplest way of singing the *dhurs* in the form of *o vā o vā*. It is said that this form consists of two *dhurs*, which represent mind (*manas*) and speech (*vāc*), and that by means of the two *dhurs* all *dhurs* become obtained.⁶⁴ Undoubtedly, this final form of the *dhurs* in the JB is very near to the *gāyatra-sāman* in the JUB (see 5).⁶⁵

⁶¹ *vi-gā*: JB 1,103; 107; (173); 262; 264–266; 318; 320; ṢaḍvB 2,3,11; 12. *saṃ-gā*: JB 1,318; 319; ṢaḍvB 2,3,11; 12; (ŚB 13,4,3,3; 13,4,4,2–4). () in different meanings.

⁶² For *vyūḍha* and *samūḍha*, see Murakawa 2000 [46].

⁶³ Though *saṃ-gā* is vague about whether it carries a generative implication here, the relationship between *vi-gā* and *vi-kṛ* is clearly seen (see n. 51). For *vi-kṛ* and *saṃ-s-kṛ* used side by side as generative terms, cf. AB 2,23–41: *reto vikaroti : prāṇam / manaḥ / ... / ātmānaṃ saṃskurute* (see Fujii 2011 [28], p. 113). For *saṃ-s-kṛ* and its intransitive equivalent *sam-bhū*, see Gotō 1996 [33], p. 78, n. 28.

⁶⁴ JB 1,320–321 [134,15–23] *tasmād o vā o vā ity eva gāyet. atho dve vāva* (Raghu & Lokesh [60]: *atho dva eva) dhurau manas caiva vāk ca. manaso hi vāk prajāyate. sā manonetrā vāg bhavati. tan mano vācam abhipravahati. vāg u punar mana evābhipravahati. sa yo manasaś ca vācaś ca svarō jāyate, //320// sa indraḥ. indras sarve devāḥ. sa haiva devalokaṃ gamayati ya evaṃ vidvān udgāyati. atha hānye gandharvalokaṃ vaiiva* (Raghu & Lokesh [60]: *vā) piṛlokaṃ vā gamayanti. atho hāsyaītābhyām eva dhūrbhyām sarvā dhura upāptā bhavanti*. “Therefore one should sing only *o vā o vā*. There are also two *dhurs*, mind and speech. For speech is born from mind. So speech has mind as its guide. So mind brings speech toward [its object]. And speech in turn brings mind toward [its object]. The tone which is born from mind and speech is Indra. Indra is all the gods. One who knowing thus sings the Udgītha makes [the sacrificer] go to the world of the gods. And the others make him go to the world of the Gandharvas or the world of the ancestors. And moreover, by means of these two *dhurs* all *dhurs* become obtained by him (the sacrificer).”

⁶⁵ Cf. JUB 1,9 (1,2,2) [1] *tad āhur yad o vā o vā iti gāyate / kvātrary bhavati / kva sāmēti / [2] om iti vai sāma / vāg ity ṛk / om iti manaḥ / vāg iti vāk / om iti prāṇaḥ / vāg ity eva vāk / om itīndraḥ / vāg iti sarve devāḥ / tad etad indram eva sarve devā anuyanti /* “As to this they say, ‘When it is sung thus: *o vā o vā*, what becomes of the verse? What becomes of the *sāman*?’ Verily *om* is the *sāman*. *Vāc* is the verse. *Om* is mind. *Vāc* is speech. *Om* is breath. *Vāc* is just speech. *Om* is Indra. *Vāc* is all the gods. Thus all

4. The *gāyatra-sāman* in the Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa

The ṢaḍvB, which is the second Brāhmaṇa of the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya Sāmaveda as a supplement to the PB, describes the six *dhurs* in a similar way to the JB, sometimes using the same words and phrases, but more concisely. Almost every sentence in the part on *dhurs* of the ṢaḍvB (2,1–3) has a corresponding sentence or sentences in the JB. The ṢaḍvB, however, combines each form of the *dhurs* with a mystical form similar to the above-mentioned secret form (*parokṣena rūpeṇa*) that the JB proposes as an alternative to each *dhur* (ṢaḍvB 2,1,6; 10; 15; 21; 26; 30 ~ JB 1,104 [45,19–28], see n. 58). Unlike the JB, the ṢaḍvB does not quote the actual forms of the *dhurs*. They are supplied by the LŚS and DŚS. It is one of the distinctive features of the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya Sāmaveda that it retains the *dhurs* still in the Śrautasūtras.⁶⁶ I will collect here passages on each *dhur* in the ṢaḍvB with references to the corresponding places of the JB, and add related passages of the LŚS and DŚS in footnotes. On the basis of them, I will reconstruct the *dhurs* of the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya Sāmaveda.⁶⁷

<The 1st *dhur* (*retasyā*)>⁶⁸ ṢaḍvB 2,1,1–6; 2,2,4–8; 14; 20

the gods go after no other than Indra.”

⁶⁶ In contrast, the JŚS has no mention of the *dhurs*. Cf. Bhavatrāta on JŚS 1,11 [13,9f.]: *tena dhurām agānam uktam bhavati* “By this [*sūtra*] it is said that the *dhurs* are not sung” (ed. Shastri [73]: 42,10). For the contents of the JŚS including the unpublished parts, see Parpola 1967 [55].

⁶⁷ The Śrautakośa records alterations in the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* when the *dhurs* are used in the Kauthuma tradition ([40], Vol. II, Part I, p. 280f., n. †), but the alterations cover only a part of the descriptions in the LŚS. Howard collects the Udgīthas of the *dhurs* from the LŚS (1986 [37], pp. 90–92).

⁶⁸ <The *dhurs*>

LŚS 7,12,1–2 = DŚS 21,3,13–14 *gītvikāro gāyatrasya dhuraḥ //1// stotrīyānurūpayor jyoṣṭomasyājyeṣu ca nānyatra //2//* “1. The *dhurs* are modifications of the chanting of the *gāyatra*. 2. [The *dhurs* are applied] to the *stotrīya* (the 1st three verses of the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra*) and the *anurūpa* (the 2nd three verses of the same *stotra*) and to the *ājya-stotras* of the Jyotiṣṭoma, not elsewhere.”

LŚS 7,13,7 = DŚS 21,4,8 *sad iti retasyāyā nidhanaṁ sam iti gāyatrīyāḥ svar iti triṣṭubha idēti jagatyā vāg ity anuṣṭubhaḥ //* “The Nidhana of the *retasyā* is *sat*. That of the *gāyatrī* is *sam*. That of the *triṣṭubh* is *sva*. That of the *jagatī* is *idā*. That of the *anuṣṭubh* is *vāc*.”

<The 1st *dhur* (*retasyā*)>

NB * shows that the *sūtras* apply to the first verse even when the *dhurs* are not used.

ṢaḍvB 2,1,1 (≈ JB 1,259 [108,2–6])

yad ṛcam asāmnīm agāsyad asthy amāmsam ajanīṣyata. yat sāmānṛcam māmsam anasthikam ajanīṣyata. rcam sāmānā pracchannām gāyati. “If he (Prajāpati) had sung the verse without the *sāman*, bones would have been born without flesh. If [he had sung] the *sāman* without the verse, flesh would have been born without bones. He (the Udgātṛ) sings the verse covered with the *sāman*.”

ṢaḍvB 2,1,2 (cf. JB 1,100 [43,33–44,6]: *tryudāsa*)

trir udgrhṇāti. “He raises three times.” (→ LŚS 7,12,3 = DŚS 21,3,15)

ṢaḍvB 2,1,4–5; 2,2,6–7 (≈ JB 1,100 [44,6f.]; 259 [108,7]: 315 [132,11f.])

na himkuryāt. yad dhimkuryād vajreṇa himkāreṇa retaḥ siktaṃ vicchindiyāt. “He should not utter the *him*-sound. (i.e. *him ā* or *hum ā* as the Pratihāra). If he should utter the *him*-sound, he would cut the emitted semen with the *him*-sound as an axe.” (cf. PB 7,1,4–5; LŚS 1,12,8–9; 7,11,3–5 = DŚS 3,4,23; 21,2,12–14; cf. n. 15)

ṢaḍvB 2,1,6 (cf. JB 1,103 [45,16f.]: *parokṣena rūpena*) *sarvam etayā dhyāyan gāyet.* “He should sing, thinking the whole [world] with this [first *dhur*].”

*LŚS 1,12,8–9 = DŚS 3,4,23 *ahinkṛtā prathamā retasyā //8// hinkṛtāḥ parāḥ //9//* “8. The first [verse named] *retasyā* does not have the utterance of the *himkāra* (i.e. *hum ā* or *him ā* as the Pratihāra). 9. The other [verses] have the utterance of the *himkāra*.”

*LŚS 7,10,19–21 = DŚS 21,1,34–21,2,3 *upāsmāi gāyatā naroṣm iti dhānañjaya upāsmāi gāyatā naroṣm iti śāṇḍilya upāsmāi gāyatā narāṣ ity eke //19// śeṣam udgātā manasā tu svabhaktim oṅkāraṃ tathāsvaram vācā gāyet* (DŚS omits *gāyet*) //20// *pāṣvamānāyendāṣvāṣṣ ity ekāvṛd abhidevān iyāṣ ity aparā kṣāṣta ity aparā //21//* “19. Dhānañjaya [says that the Prastāva should be chanted thus]: *upāsmāi gāyatā naroṣm*. Śāṇḍilya [says thus]: *upāsmāi gāyatā naroṣm*. Some [say thus]: *upāsmāi gāyatā narāṣ*. 20. The Udgātṛ [should chant] the remaining part [after the Prastāva]. He should chant his own portion mentally, and chant aloud *om*-sound with the same tones [as the original ones] (cf. PB 7,1,8; see n. 19). 21. *pāṣvamānāyendāṣvāṣṣ* is one ‘turn’, *abhidevāṃ iyāṣ* is another [‘turn’], and *kṣāṣta* is another [‘turn’] (cf. PB 7,1,1; see n. 14).”

*LŚS 7,11,3–5 = DŚS 21,2,12–14 *ūrdhvaṃ retasyāyā dvyaḥṣaraṃ śiṣṭvā himkāraṃ brūyād dhuṃṣ āṣṣ ity //3// taṃ retasyāyāṃ pratihartā manasā dhyāyen na parāsv ity gautamaḥ //4// parāsv eveti dhānañjayaśāṇḍilyau //5//* “3. After [the Udgātha of] the *retasyā*, leaving [the last] two syllables, he (the Pratihartṛ) should utter the *himkāra* in the form of *huṃṣ āṣṣ*. 4. The Pratihartṛ should think it (the *himkāra*) mentally at the *retasyā*, not at the other verses, so [says] Gautama. 5. [He should do it] in the other verses, so [say] Dhānañjaya and Śāṇḍilya.” (cf. PB 7,1,4–5; ṢaḍvB 2,1,4–5; ; see n. 15) LŚS 7,12,3 = DŚS 21,3,15 *retasyāyāṣ trir udgrhṇātīti brāhmaṇaṃ bhavati pāṣṣṣ vāṣṣṣ mānāyendāṣ vāṣṣṣi //* “There is a Brāhmaṇa text on the *retasyā*: ‘He raises three times’ (ṢaḍvB 2,1,2); thus: *pāṣṣṣ vāṣṣṣ mānāyendāṣ vāṣṣṣi*.”

THE GĀYĀTRA-SĀMAN

ṢaḍvB 2,2,14 (cf. JB 1,101 [44,13–16]: *bhūḥ*) *sad iti prathamāyā dhuro nidhanam*. “The Nidhana of the first *dhur* is *sat*.” (cf. LŚS 7,13,7 = DŚS 21,4,8)
 ṢaḍvB 2,2,20 *yā prathamā tām āyacchann iva gāyet*. “He should sing the first [*dhur*], holding it, as it were.”

The 1st *dhur* reconstructed (original verse: SV 2,1 < ṚV 9,11,1; see p. 4)

trio: *hum*
 Prastāva: upāsmāi gāyatā naraḥ⁶⁹
 Udgītha: *pā3vamānāyendā3vā33* (or: *pā332va332mānāyendā3vā332i*)
abhudevāṇṇ iyā3 [chanted with *o*]
 Pratihāra: (*hum3 ā33*) [mentally]
 Upadrava: *kṣā3ta* [chanted with *o*]
 Nidhana: *sat*

<The 2nd *dhur* (*gāyatrī*)>⁷⁰ ṢaḍvB 2,1,7–10; 2,2,9; 15; 21

ṢaḍvB 2,1,8–9; 2,2,9 (≈ JB 1,102 [44,20–22]; 260 [108,11–13]; 317 [132,34–133,1])
tasyā dve akṣare saśayanī vyatiśajati madhyamasya ca padasyottamam uttamasya ca prathamam. ... “Of this [second *dhur*], he joins crosswise (i.e. interchanges) two contiguous syllables, i.e., the last [syllable] of the middle line and the first syllable of the last [line]. ...” (→ LŚS 7,12,4 ≈ DŚS 21,3,16–19)
 ṢaḍvB 2,1,10 (≈ JB 1,104 [45,19f.]) *prthivīm etayā dhyāyan gāyet*. “He should sing, thinking the earth with this [second *dhur*].”
 ṢaḍvB 2,2,15 (cf. JB 1,102 [44,22]: *sat*) *sam iti dvitīyāyāḥ*. “[The Nidhana] of the second [*dhur*] is *sam*.” (cf. LŚS 7,13,7 = DŚS 21,4,8)
 ṢaḍvB 2,2,21 *yā dvitīyā tām ghoṣiṇām iva gāyet*. “He should sing the second [*dhur*] with sonorous sound, as it were.”

⁶⁹ See LŚS 7,10,19 = DŚS 21,1,34–36 (see n. 68). Cf. n. 39.

⁷⁰ <The 2nd *dhur* (*gāyatrī*)>

LŚS 7,12,4 = DŚS 21,3,16–19 *gāyatrī uttarā tasyā dve akṣare samāyanī* (DŚS: *saśayanī* = ṢaḍvB) *vyatiśajati brāhmaṇam bhavati madhyamasya ca padasyottamam uttamasya ca prathamam ātharvāṇo aśīsrāde332 yurvan devāya dā33333 //* “The next [*dhur*] is the *gāyatrī*. There is a Brāhmaṇa text: ‘Of this [second *dhur*], he joins crosswise (i.e. interchanges) two contiguous syllables, i.e., the last [syllable] of the middle line and the first syllable of the last [line]’ (ṢaḍvB 2,1,8); thus: *ātharvāṇo aśīsrāde332 yurvan devāya dā33333*.”

The 2nd *dhur* reconstructed (original verse: SV 2,2 < R̥V 9,11,2)

Prastāva: abhi te madhunā payo
 Udgītha: ātharvāṇo aśiśrāde332 yurvan devāya dā33333
 Pratihāra: hum ā
 Upadrava: vayu
 Nidhana: sam

<The 3rd *dhur* (*triṣṭubh*)>⁷¹ ṢaḍvB 2,1,11–15; 2,2,10; 16; 22

ṢaḍvB 2,1,12 *tām balavad ivoraseva gāyati*. “He sings this [third *dhur*] with force, as it were, with the chest, as it were.” (→ LŚS 7,12,5 = DŚS 21,3,20–21)

ṢaḍvB 2,1,13–14; 2,2,10 (≈ JB 1,102 [44,23f.]; 260 [108,15f.]; 317 [133,2f.]

tasyā dve uttamārdhe kṣare dyotayati. ... “He makes shine (i.e. makes manifest) two syllables in the last half-line of this [third *dhur*]. ...” (→ LŚS 7,12,6 ≈ DŚS 21,3,22)

ṢaḍvB 2,1,15 (≈ JB 1,104 [45,21f.]) *antarikṣam etayā dhyāyan gāyet*. “He should sing, thinking the intermediate region with this [third *dhur*].”

ṢaḍvB 2,2,16 (cf. JB 1,102 [44,24f.]: *jyotis*) *svaṛ iti tṛtīyāyāh*. “[The Nidhana] of the third [*dhur*] is *svaṛ*.” (cf. LŚS 7,13,7 = DŚS 21,4,8)

ṢaḍvB 2,2,22 *yā tṛtīyā tām udyacchann iva gāyet*. “He should sing the third [*dhur*], holding it up, as it were.”

The 3rd *dhur* reconstructed (original verse: SV 2,3 < R̥V 9,11,3)

Prastāva: sa naḥ pavaṣva śaṃ gave
 Udgītha: śām332 jā332nā332ya śam arvā3tā3i śam rā33jā33n o33233ṣā3dhā33333 (or: -ṣā3dhā33333)
 Pratihāra: hum ā

⁷¹ <The 3rd *dhur* (*triṣṭubh*)>

LŚS 7,12,5–8 = DŚS 21,3,20–24 *triṣṭubh uttarā tām balavad ivoraseva gāyantīti brāhmaṇaṃ bhavati*. *śām332 jā332nā332ya śam arvā3tā3i śam rā33jā33n o33233ṣā3dhā33333 //5// uttamārdhe dve akṣare* (DŚS *tasyā dve uttamārdhe kṣare* = ṢaḍvB) *dyotayatīti brāhmaṇaṃ bhavati //6// ye ūrdhvaṃ hīnkārāt te nirbrūyād iti gautamaḥ //7// ṣādhā iti dhānañjayyaḥ //8//* “5. The next [*dhur*] is the *triṣṭubh*. There is a Brāhmaṇa text: ‘He sings this [third *dhur*] with force, as it were, with the chest, as it were’ (ṢaḍvB 2,1,12); thus: *śām332 jā332nā332ya śam arvā3tā3i śam rā33jā33n o33233ṣā3dhā33333*. 6. There is a Brāhmaṇa text: ‘He makes shine (i.e. makes manifest) two syllables in the last half-line [of this (third *dhur*)]’ (ṢaḍvB 2,1,13). 7. He should utter manifestly the two [syllables] which come after the *him*-sound (i.e. *bhyaḥ*), so [says] Gautama. 8. [The two syllables] *ṣādhā*, so [says] Dhānañjaya.” Metrically *bhyaḥ* has two syllables here (*óṣadhībhiyah*).

THE GĀYATRA-SĀMAN

Upadrava: **bhyaḥ** (or bhyaḥ)
Nidhana: *sva*r

<The 4th *dhur* (*jagatī*)>⁷² ṢaḍvB 2,1,16–21; 2,2,11; 17; 23

ṢaḍvB 2,1,17 *tasyās catvāri catvāry akṣarāṇi nīkrīdayann iva gāyaty ā dvādaśabhyo kṣarebhyaḥ*. “He sings, resting, as it were, after every four syllables of this [fourth *dhur*] up to twelve syllables.” (→ LŚS 7,12,9 = DŚS 21,3,25–27)

ṢaḍvB 2,1,19–20; 2,2,11 (≈ JB 1,102 [44,26–28]; 260 [108,18–20]; 317 [133,4f.])
tasyās catvāry uttamārdhe kṣarāṇi dyotayati. ... “He makes shine (i.e. makes manifest) four syllables in the last half-line of this [fourth *dhur*]. ...” (→ LŚS 7,12,10 ≈ DŚS 21,3,28)

ṢaḍvB 2,1,21 (cf. JB 1,104 [45,23f.]) *divam etayā dhyāyan gāyet*. “He should sing, thinking the sky with this [fourth *dhur*].”

ṢaḍvB 2,2,17 (cf. JB 1,102 [44,28f.]) *ideti caturthyāḥ* “[The Nidhana] of the fourth [*dhur*] is *idā*.” (cf. LŚS 7,13,7 = DŚS 21,4,8)

ṢaḍvB 2,2,23 *yā caturthī tāṃ nīkrīdayann iva gāyet*. “He should sing the fourth [*dhur*], resting, as it were.”

The 4th *dhur* reconstructed (original verse: SV 2,4 < RV 9,64,28)

Prastāva: davidyutatyā rucā
Udgītha: *pā3riṣṭobhā233ntā33yā kṛpā332 so3māḥ śukrā332*
gā3vā33333 (or: ***so3māḥ śukrā332 gā3vā33333***)
Pratihāra: *hum ā*
Upadrava: **śīraḥ** (or: śīraḥ)
Nidhana: *idā*

⁷² <The 4th *dhur* (*jagatī*)>

LŚS 7,12,9–12 = DŚS 21,3,25–30 *jagaty uttarā tasyās catvāri catvāry akṣarāṇi nīkrīdayann* (DŚS: *nīkrīdann*) *iva gāyaty ā dvādaśabhyo kṣarebhya iti brāhmaṇaṃ bhavati pā3riṣṭobhā233ntā33yā kṛpā332 so3māḥ śukrā332 gā3vā33333 //9// uttamārdhe catvāry akṣarāṇi* (DŚS: *tasyās catvāry uttamārdhe kṣarāṇi* = ṢaḍvB) *dyotayatīti brāhmaṇaṃ bhavati //10// dve purastād dhīnkārāt tathopariṣṭād iti gautamaḥ //11// somāḥ śukrā iti dhānañjayaḥ //12//* “9. The next [*dhur*] is the *jagatī*. There is a Brāhmaṇa text: ‘He sings, resting, as it were, after every four syllables of this [fourth *dhur*] up to twelve syllables’ (ṢaḍvB 2,1,17); thus: *pā3riṣṭobhā233ntā33yā kṛpā332 so3māḥ śukrā332 gā3vā33333*. 10. There is a Brāhmaṇa text: ‘He makes shine (i.e. makes manifest) four syllables in the last half-line [of this (fourth *dhur*)]’ (ṢaḍvB 2,1,19). 11. Two syllables before the *him*-sound as well as [two syllables] after it, so [says] Gautama. 12. [The four syllables] *somāḥ śukrā*, so [says] Dhānañjaya.”

<The 5th *dhur* (*anuṣṭubh*)>⁷³ ṢaḍvB 2,1,22–26; 2,2,12; 18; 24

ṢaḍvB 2,1,22 (cf. JB 1,102 [44,30–32]; 260 [108,22–24]; 317 [133,6] *arvācīm abhinudan*; 1,261 [108,31] *balavad upabdimatīm nighātaṃ tām ninardann iva gāyati*. ‘He sings this [fifth *dhur*], trilling it, as it were.’ (→ LŚS 7,12,13)

ṢaḍvB 2,1,24–25; 2,2,24 (≈ JB 1,102 [44,32–36]; 260 [108,24–29]; 317 [133,6–8]) *niruktām cāniruktām ca gāyati*. ... ‘He sings [the fifth *dhur*] in the expressed form and in the unexpressed form. ...’ (→ LŚS 7,12,14–7,13,3 = DŚS 21,4,3–5)

ṢaḍvB 2,1,26 (cf. JB 1,103 [45,25f.]) *sarvam etayā dhyāyan gāyet*. ‘He should sing, thinking the whole [world] with this [fifth *dhur*].’

ṢaḍvB 2,2,12 *caturdhā vyāvṛjya gāyec ... uccāvacām iva gāyed ... samkṣṇutyeva gāyet*. ‘He should sing [the fifth *dhur*], having divided it fourfold. He should sing it high and low, as it were. He should sing it, having sharpened it, as it were.’⁷⁴

ṢaḍvB 2,2,18 (cf. JB 1,102 [44,37]) *vāg iti pañcamyāḥ*. ‘[The Nidhana] of the fifth [*dhur*] is *vāc*.’ (cf. LŚS 7,13,7 = DŚS 21,4,8)

The 5th *dhur* reconstructed (original verse: SV 2,5 < RV 9,64,29)

Prastāva: hinvāno hetṛbhir hita
 Udgītha: **ā3 vājaṃ vājy akramī33333t sīdanto**
vām33333nuṣā33333
 Pratihāra: *hum ā*
 Upadrava: *yathā*
 Nidhana: *vāk*

⁷³ <The 5th *dhur* (*anuṣṭubh*)>

LŚS 7,12,13–7,13,3 = DŚS 21,4,1–5 *anuṣṭubh uttarā tām ninardann iva gāyatīti brāhmaṇaṃ bhavaty ā3 vājaṃ vājy akramī33333t sīdanto vām33333nuṣā33333 //13// niruktām cāniruktām ca gāyatīti brāhmaṇaṃ bhavati //14// samastabrāhmaṇaṃ dhurām manya iti gautamas ... //1// etasyā eveti dhānañjayaśāṇḍilyau //2// tasyā dvitīyaṃ padaṃ nirbrūyāt tṛtīye cākṣare pañcamaśaṣṭhe //3//* ‘13. The next [*dhur*] is the *anuṣṭubh*. There is a Brāhmaṇa text: ‘He sings this [fifth *dhur*], trilling it, as it were’ (ṢaḍvB 2,1,22); thus: *ā3 vājaṃ vājy akramī33333t sīdanto vām33333nuṣā33333*. 14. There is a Brāhmaṇa text: ‘He sings [the fifth *dhur*] in the expressed form and in the unexpressed form’ (ṢaḍvB 2,1,24). 1. ‘I think [the text above] to be an overall Brāhmaṇa text for [all] the *dhurs*,’ so [says] Gautama. ... 2. Only for this [fifth *dhur*], so [say] Dhānañjaya and Śāṇḍilya. 3. He should utter manifestly the [whole] second line and the fifth and sixth syllables in the third line of this [fifth *dhur*].’

⁷⁴ Cf. Bodewitz, *Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], p. 232f., n. 52.

THE GĀYĀTRA-SĀMAN

<The 6th *dhur* (*pañkti*)>⁷⁵ ṢaḍvB 2,1,27–30; 2,2,13; 25

ṢaḍvB 2,1,28–29; 2,2,13; 2,2,25 (cf. JB 1,102 [45,1f.]; 317 [133,9f.]: *ṣaḍ akṣarāṇi dyotayati tasyā dve-dve akṣare udāsaṃ gāyaty ā ṣaḍbhyo kṣarebhyaḥ*. ... “He sings, raising every two syllables of this [sixth *dhur*] up to six syllables. ...” (→ LŚS 7,13,5–6 = DŚS 21,4,6–7)

ṢaḍvB 2,1,30 (cf. JB 1,104 [45,25f.]) *diśa etayā dhyāyan gāyet*. ‘He should sing, thinking the directions with this [sixth *dhur*].’

The 6th *dhur* reconstructed (original verse: SV2,6 < ṚV 9,64,30)

Prastāva:	ṛdhak soma svastaye
Udgītha:	<i>saṃjā31gmāno3 dā3ivā3 kā3vā3</i> (or: <i>kavā3</i>) pavasva sūryo
Pratihāra:	<i>hum ā</i>
Upadrava:	<i>dṛśe</i>
Nidhana:	<i>ā ?</i>

After the explanation of the *dhurs* in the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra*, the ṢaḍvB introduces the pair of words *vi-gā* ‘to sing apart’ and *saṃ-gā* ‘to sing together’ in the same way as the JB (see 3.3). Here again, the latter word is concerned with the *ājya-stotras* as follows: *yasya vai dhuro vigītās tasya saṃgītāḥ. yasya vā etā bahiṣpavamāne vigīyāntar ājyeṣu saṃgāyanti tasya vai dhuro vigītās tasya saṃgītāḥ*. “When the *dhurs* are sung apart for [the sacrificer], they are sung together for him. When for [the sacrificer], after singing apart these [*dhurs*] in the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra*, they sing them together in the *ājya-stotras* inside [the *sadas* hut], the *dhurs* are sung apart for him as well as sung together for him” (ṢaḍvB 2,3,11–12). The ṢaḍvB, however, does not give any explanation for the word *saṃ-gā*. It would be impossible to know what *saṃ-gā* means here without the help of the related passage in the JB (1,318 [133,20–24]; see n. 60).⁷⁶

⁷⁵ <The 6th *dhur* (*pañkti*)>

LŚS 7,13,4–6 = DŚS 21,4,6–7 *pañktir uttarā //4// tasyā dve-dve akṣare udāsaṃ gāyaty ā ṣaḍbhyo kṣarebhya iti brāhmaṇaṃ bhavati saṃjā31gmāno3 dā3ivā3 //5// kā3vā3 iti dhānañjayyaḥ kavā3 iti śāṇḍilyaḥ //6//* “4. The next *dhur* is the *pañkti*. 5. There is a Brāhmaṇa text: ‘He sings, raising every two syllables of this [sixth *dhur*] up to six syllables’ (ṢaḍvB 2,1,28); thus: *saṃjā31gmāno3 dā3ivā3*. 6. [Hereafter] *kā3vā3*, so [says] Dhānañjayya. *kavā3*, so [says] Śāṇḍilya.”

⁷⁶ A commentary ascribed to Sāyaṇa defines *saṃ-gā* as the chanting the *dhurs* with one and the same ordinary Nidhana: ... *vīgīya pṛthak sad ityādinidhanair gītvā ... saṃgāyanti. tā dhura ekenaiṃ nidhanena prakṛtena samānaṃ gāyed ity arthaḥ*. (on ṢaḍvB 2,3,12).

The ṢaḍvB shows that the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīyas secondarily adopted the *dhurs* in their supplementary Brāhmaṇa probably under the influence of the *dhurs* which had been established by the Jaiminīyas in the second group of passages on the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* in the JB. The Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīyas retain the *dhurs* still in their Śrautasūtras,⁷⁷ whereas the Jaiminīyas again innovated a new way of chanting the *gāyatra-sāman* at the time when they composed the first Sāmavedic Upaniṣad, i.e., the JUB.

5. The *gāyatra-sāman* in the Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa

The JUB propounds, as a further innovation of the *gāyatra-sāman*, its totally unexpressed form composed of repeated monosyllables: *o vā o vā o vā hum bhā o vā*. Being the first Sāmavedic Upaniṣad, it deals with this particular *sāman* as its main theme in many places.⁷⁸ Among them, JUB 3,38–42 is of special importance, where the first verse of the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* is quoted both in the expressed form with the full text and in the unexpressed form with repeated *o vā*. As an adaptation from a shorter passage on the *gāyatra-sāman* in the first group of passages on the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* in the JB (1,111), this passage ingeniously changes the story to adapt it for the final chanting innovation of the *gāyatra-sāman*. The original passage in the JB consists of two parts: a mythical story about the rescue of creatures from the Rakṣases by Prajāpati by means of the *gāyatra-sāman*, and an explanation of its chanting with three ‘turns’ (*tryāvṛt*) and three ‘raisings’ (*tryudāsa*).⁷⁹ Using the same frames with two main characters changed from Prajāpati and

The LŚS and DŚS do not use the word *saṃ-gā*, but prescribe the same thing for the *ājya-stotras*: *na tūrdhvaṃ bahiṣpavamānāt syuḥ* “But [the Nidhanas (*sat* etc.) of the *dhurs*] should not [applied] after the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* (i.e. in the *ājya-stotras*)” (LŚS 7,13,9 = DŚS 21,4,10). Kashikar gives the full forms of the *dhurs* in the *ājya-stotras* (*Śrautakośa* [40], Vol. II, Part I, pp. 328 [*ājya* 1, verse 1]; 340 [*ājya* 3, verse 1]; 345 [*ājya* 4, verse 1]).

⁷⁷ The Gāyatra-Vidhāna-Sūtra, a later text on the *gāyatra-sāman* of the Kauthuma Sāmaveda, does not prescribe the *dhurs*.

⁷⁸ This unexpressed form of the *gāyatra-sāman* is dealt with: JUB 1,1–7; 1,15–17; 3,11–14; 3,29–31; 3,38–42; 4,11–17, and recorded in its full form: 1,2,3; 1,3,1; (2,2,7); (3,6,4); 3,39,1; 4,8,9; 4,14,2, in fragmentary forms: 1,4,6 (*hum bhā o vā*); 1,9,1 = 1,17,1 (*o vā o vā*); 3,10,10 (*om, vāc, hum, bhā*); 3,13,4 (*hum bhā o vā*); 4,8,6 (*om vā, hum bhā, om vāc*). For details, see Fujii 1984 [20], and Howard 1987 [39].

⁷⁹ JB 1,111 [48,12–20] *prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata. tā aprāṇā asṛjata. tābhya ete-naiva sāmṇā prāṇam adadhāt. prāṇo vai gāyatram. sarvam āyur eti ya evaṃ veda. tāḥ prāṇam vividānā rakṣāṃsy anvasacanta. tā etad eva sāma gāyann atrāyata. yad gāyann atrāyata tad gāyatrasya gāyatratvam. trāyata enaṃ sarvasmāt*

THE GĀYATRA-SĀMAN

creatures to Brahman and Prajāpati, the JUB enlarges the first part to cover the two forms of the *gāyatra-sāman*, expressed and unexpressed, and thereafter proposes new definitions of the terms *tryāvṛt* and *tryudāsa* to make them fit for the new chanting form. According to the new definitions, the syllable *o* of the thrice repeated *o vā* is the *udāsa*, and *ā* (actually *vā*) is the *āvṛt*.⁸⁰

JUB 3,38 (3,7,1)⁸¹ underline = JB, boldface = *gāyatra-sāman*

[1] *prajāpatim brahmāsṛjata / tam aprapaśyam⁸² amukham asṛjata / [2] tam aprapaśyam amukhaṃ śayānam brahmāviśat / puruṣaṃ⁸³ tat / prāṇo vai brahma / prāṇo vāvainaṃ tad āviśat / [3] sa udatiṣṭhat prajānāṃ janayitā / taṃ rakṣāmsy anvasacanta / [4] tam etad eva sāma gāyann atrāyata / yad gāyann atrāyata / tad gāyatrasya gāyatrātvam / [5] trāyata enaṃ sarvasmāt pāpmano⁸⁴ ya evaṃ veda / [6] tam **upāsmāi gāyatā nara** ity ṛcā śravaṇīyenopāgāyat⁸⁵ / [7] yad upāsmāi gāyatā nara iti / tena gāyatram abhavat / tasmād eṣaiva prati-pat kāryā / [8] **pavamānāyendāvā abhi devam iyā hum bhā kṣātā** iti*

pāpmano ya evaṃ veda. tad ūrdhvam iva geyam. ūrdhvo vai svargo lokāḥ. svar-gasyaiva lokasya samaṣṭyai. tryāvṛd geyam. trayo vā ime lokāḥ. eṣāṃ lokānām āptyai. tryudāsaṃ geyam. trayo vai prāṇāpānavyānāḥ. teṣāṃ samṭatyai. sam asmai prāṇāpānavyānās tāyante ya evaṃ veda. tryāvṛd geyam. trayo vā ime lokāḥ. eṣāṃ lokānāṃ samṭatyai. sam asmā ime lokās tāyante ya evaṃ veda. “Prajāpati produced creatures. He produced them without breath. By means of this very [*gāyatra*]-*sāman* he put breath for them. Verily the *gāyatra* is breath. One who knows thus goes through a complete lifetime. The Rakṣases fastened on them who had obtained breath. Singing this very *sāman*, [Prajāpati] rescued them. Because singing (*gāyan*) [Prajāpati] rescued (*atrāyata*), therefore the *gāyatra* is called *gāyatra*. One who knows thus rescues him from all evil. It should be sung upward, as it were—the heavenly world is upward—for the sake of the attainment of the heavenly world. It should be sung with three ‘turns’—these worlds are three—for the sake of the obtainment of these worlds. It should be sung with three ‘raisings’—the *prāṇa*, *apāna*, and *vyāna* are three—for the sake of the continuity of them. For him who knows thus, the *prāṇa*, *apāna*, and *vyāna* form a continuity. It should be sung with three ‘turns’—these worlds are three—for the sake of the continuity of these worlds. For him who knows thus, these worlds form a continuity.”

⁸⁰ For *tryāvṛt* and *tryudāsa*, see nn. 14; 26.

⁸¹ The text of the JUB is based on my forthcoming critical edition. For the mss. of the JUB, see Fujii 1997 [27], p. 97f., n. 44.

⁸² Thus mss. Oertel [49], Limaye & Vadekar [42], Sharma [72]: *apaśyam*.

⁸³ Thus mss. Oertel [49], Limaye & Vadekar [42], Sharma [72]: *puruṣyaṃ*.

⁸⁴ Thus mss. Oertel [49], Limaye & Vadekar [42], Sharma [72]: *pāpmano mucyate*.

⁸⁵ Mss.: *ṛcāśravaṇīyenopāgāyat*. Oertel [49], Limaye & Vadekar [42]: *ṛcāśravaṇīyenopā-gāyan*. Sharma [72]: *ṛcā āśravaṇīyenopāgāyan*.

*ṣoḍaśākṣarāṇy abhyagāyata*⁸⁶ / *ṣoḍaśakalaṃ vai brahma / kalāśa evainaṃ tad brahmāviśat* / [9] *tad etac caturvīṃśatyakṣaraṃ gāyatram / aṣṭākṣaraḥ prastāvaḥ / ṣoḍaśākṣaraṃ gītam / tac caturvīṃśatis sampadyante / caturvīṃśaty-ardhamāśas saṃvatsaraḥ / saṃvatsaras sāma* / [10] *tam*⁸⁷ *ṛcaś śarīreṇa mṛtyur anvait / tad yac charīravat / tan mṛtyor āptam / atha yad aśarīram / tad amṛtam / tasyāśarīreṇa sāmṇā śarīrāṇy adhūnot* /

“1. Brahman (n.) produced Prajāpati. It created him without seeing and mouth. 2. Brahman entered him who was lying without seeing and mouth. It [entered Prajāpati who was] Puruṣa (the primeval man). Verily Brahman is breath. Being breath, it entered him. 3. He stood up, being a generator of creatures. The Rakṣases fastened on him. 4. Singing this very *sāman*, [Brahman] rescued him. Because singing (*gaayan*) [Brahman] rescued (*atrāyata*), therefore the *gāyatra* is called *gāyatra*. 5. One who knows thus rescues him from all evil. 6. To him, [Brahman] sang, with what is worth hearing (?), with the verse: *upāsmāi gāyatā naraḥ* ‘Sing, ye men, for this one.’ 7. Since [Brahman sang thus] ‘Sing (*gāyata*), ye men, for this one,’ hence it became the *gāyatra*. Therefore this very one is to be made the introductory verse. 8. To [him], [Brahman] sang sixteen syllables thus: *pavamānāyendāvā abhi devam iyā hum bhā kṣātā* ‘for the [Soma] drop who is purifying himself, who desires to offer worship to the god(s).’ Verily the Brahman is sixteenfold. Part by part Brahman thus entered him. 9. That same is the *gāyatra* with twenty-four syllables. The Prastāva has eight syllables. The chant has sixteen syllables. Thus twenty-four are accomplished. The year has twenty-four half-months. The *sāman* is the year. 10. Because of the body of the verse, death went after him. That which has a body is obtained by death. And that which is bodiless is immortal. By means of the bodiless *sāman*, [Brahman] shook off his bodily parts.”⁸⁸

JUB 3,39 (3,7,2)

[1] *o vā o vā o vā hum bhā o vā*⁸⁹ *iti / ṣoḍaśākṣarāṇy abhyagāyata / ṣoḍaśakalo vai puruṣaḥ / kalāśa evāśya tac charīrāṇy adhūnot* / [2] *sa eṣo*

⁸⁶ Thus mss. Oertel [49], Limaye & Vadekar [42], Sharma [72]: *abhyagāyanta*.

⁸⁷ Thus mss. Oertel [49], Limaye & Vadekar [42], Sharma [72]: *tā*.

⁸⁸ Cf. JUB 1,15,5 *devā vai svargaṃ lokam āyan. ta etāny ṛkpadāni śarīrāṇi dhūnvanta āyan*. “Verily the gods went to the heavenly world. They went [there], shaking off their bodily parts, that is, the feet (lines) of verses.” For the expression *śarīraṃ/śarīrāṇi dhū*, see Fujii 2011 [28], p. 103f, n. 3.

⁸⁹ Thus mss. Oertel [49], Limaye & Vadekar [42]: *ovā3c ovā3c ovā3c hum bhā ovā*. Sharma [72]: *ovā3c ovā3c hum bhā ovā3c ovā*.

THE GĀYATRA-SĀMAN

'pahatapāpmā dhūtaśarīrah / ⁹⁰ tad etat tryāvṛt tryudāsam gāyati⁹⁰ / o ity udāsaḥ / ā ity āvṛt⁹¹ / vāg iti tad brahma / tad idam⁹² antarikṣam / so 'yaṃ vāyuh pavate / hum iti candramāḥ / bhā ity ādityaḥ /

"1. [Brahman] sang to [him (Puruṣa)] sixteen syllables thus: *o vā o vā o vā hum bhā o vā*. Verily Puruṣa is sixteenfold. Part by part [Brahman] shook off his bodily parts. 2. Thus he had evil smitten away, his bodily parts shaken off. One sings that same [*sāman*] with three 'turns' and with three 'raisings'. *O* is the 'raising'. *Ā* is the 'turn'. *Vāc* is that Brahman. That is this intermediate region. That is purifying itself as this wind. *Hum* is the moon. *Bhā* is the sun."

The present passage ends with a genealogical list of teachers (*vaṃśa*) through which this particular *gāyatra-sāman* was transmitted (JUB 3,40,2–42,1). At the end of the list it is proclaimed that this very *gāyatra-sāman* is immortal and the other chants are only optional (3,42,2).⁹³

In many places of the JUB, the sound *o* of the repeated *o vā* is regarded as the sacred syllable *om*, and *vā* as the divine entity *vāc*. This identification of *o* with *om* and *vā* with *vāc* is not an ex post facto explanation for the already established way of chanting in the form of repeated *o vā*. More likely, the *gāyatra-sāman* in this final form was invented as a result of, or in parallel with, the development of philosophical speculations on *om* and *vāc*.⁹⁴ The JUB expands various speculations on *om* and *vāc*, including theories about the attainment of the heavenly world by means of *om* and *vāc*.⁹⁵ Since the *gāyatra-sāman* in this unexpressed form is not recorded in the JS nor in the JŚS, the JUB has been treated as the unique authority for it.⁹⁶ The unexpressed

⁹⁰ Oertel [49], Limaye & Vadekar [42]: *tad ekkriyāvṛtiyudāsamgāyaty*. Mss., Sharma [72]: *tad etat triyāvṛt triyudāsam gāyati*. Caland correctly emends Oertel's reading (1914 [12], p. 75; *PB* [14], p. 131f. on *PB* 7,1,1). Cf. Bodewitz, *Jyotiṣṭoma* [6], p. 238, n. 6.

⁹¹ Thus mss. Oertel [49], Limaye & Vadekar [42], Sharma [72]: *ā ity āvṛdyāt*.

⁹² Thus mss., Limaye & Vadekar [42], Sharma [72]. Oertel [49]: *id*.

⁹³ JUB 3,42,2 *tad etad amṛtaṃ gāyatram. atha yāni anyāni gītāni kāmīyāny eva tāni*.

⁹⁴ For the sacred syllable *om*, see Parpola 1981 [57]; Hock 1991 [34]. For the speculations on *om* in relation to *akṣara*, see Buitenen 1955 [8] (= [10], pp. 29–42) and 1959 [9] (= [10], pp. 157–179).

⁹⁵ See Fujii 1987 [22]; 1990 [24]; 1995 [25].

⁹⁶ Bhavatrāta in his commentary on the Kalpa section of the JŚS refers to the JUB as the primary source of the *āśarīra gāyatra*, thus: *tasmāt stotragatānāṃ gāyatrāṇām āmnāyābhāvāt upaniṣadi prapañcena vihitasyāśarīrasya gāyatrasya grahaṇaṃ yuktataraṃ bhavati* "Therefore, since the *gāyatra* applied to the lauds is not [recorded] in the traditional collections (i.e. the Jaiminīya-Gānas), it is more appropriate to take the *āśarīra*

gāyatra-sāman has been handed down to the present Jaiminīyas, and is used in their Soma sacrifices in the same form as the JUB introduced as the final innovation of the *gāyatra-sāman*.⁹⁷

Conclusion

As I have discussed so far, the *gāyatra-sāman*, one of the most basic chants in the Sāmaveda, underwent a change of its form several times in the history of the Sāmavedic texts. From the descriptions of this *sāman* in the PB, the JB, the ṢaḍvB with the LŚS and DŚS, and the JUB, we can trace the following history: originally the *gāyatra-sāman* of both the Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya and Jaiminīya Sāmavedas had a relatively simple form as described in the PB and in the first group of passages on the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* in the JB. The *dhurs*, which are the modified forms of the *gāyatra-sāman* adopted in the first six verses of the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* and in some verses of the next *ājya-stotras*, are first described in the second group of passages on the *bahiṣpavamāna-stotra* in the JB. The Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīyas later adopted the *dhurs* in the ṢaḍvB probably from the JB, and have kept them in their entirety in the LŚS and DŚS. The Jaiminīyas, in contrast, again innovated the unexpressed (*anirukta*) form of the *gāyatra-sāman* with repeated *o vā* in the JUB. It is this final form that is used as the ritual form of the *gāyatra-sāman* in the present Jaiminīya traditions.

The JUB was produced in the movement among the Vedic schools of composing Āraṇyaka and (proto-)Upaniṣad texts, which deal with special rituals or ritual acts mostly with secret characters like the Mahāvratā treated in the R̥gvedic Āraṇyakas and the Pravargya in the Yajurvedic Āraṇyakas. As the first Sāmavedic Upaniṣad, the JUB had the original intention of introducing the new *gāyatra-sāman* and of explaining its significance. This original intention led it to various philosophical speculations, about the essence of sounds and syllables, for example, but at the same time imposed some restrictions on its development of speculations. Because of those restrictions, the JUB presents miscellaneous philosophical speculations sporadically, for the most part in connection with Sāmavedic chants and rituals. And consequently, in spite of its considerable contributions to the beginning of Upaniṣad philosophy, it has not only yielded fame as the first ‘full-fledged’ Sāmavedic Upaniṣad to the ChU,

gāyatra which is prescribed in detail in the Upaniṣad (i.e. the JUB)” (ed. Shastri [58]: 145,29–30).

⁹⁷ For the present Jaiminīya *gāyatra-sāman*, see n. 1.

which was relatively free from Sāmavedic chanting traditions,⁹⁸ but also failed to be acknowledged as an Upaniṣad proper except for the Kena-Upaniṣad portion (JUB 4,18–21) in the Vedānta traditions, even though the whole JUB has been handed down and respected as the Upaniṣad within the Jaiminīya traditions in South India (especially in the Nampūtiri Jaiminīya tradition in Kerala).^{99 100}

⁹⁸ For the difference in the treatment of the *sāman* between the JUB and the ChU, see Fujii 1997 [27], p. 91f.

⁹⁹ For the JUB and KenaU in the Jaiminīya and Vedānta traditions, see Fujii 1996 [26]; 1997 [27], pp. 95–97. For the relationship of the JUB with the *aupaniṣada-vrata* of the Nampūtiri Jaiminīyas, see Fujii in press [29].

¹⁰⁰ When we speak of the JUB as the first Sāmavedic Upaniṣad, we confront the question of by what criteria we place a text in the category of Upaniṣads. The primary criterion should not be the prevalent classification of Upaniṣads basically according to the Vedānta traditions, nor the evaluation by modern scholars on the basis of contents, but the position of the text in the history of the canonical formation within the Vedic school (*śākhā*) to which the text belongs, and in the history of the canonical transmission within the *śākhā* tradition from Vedic times up to the present. Both in the formation and in the transmission of the Sāmavedic texts, the JUB and ChU occupy the same position in the canonical parallelism between the two schools: JB and PB, JB addenda and ṢaḍvB, JUB and ChU. In fact, the ChU has been handed down in the Kauthuma tradition sometimes under the name of the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa (e.g. in *Chāndogya Brāhmaṇam* published in Kumbakonam [41]; for the name Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa, see Fujii 1997 [27], p. 96, n. 36). On the other hand, as to the position in the the Vedic literature as a whole, the JUB and ChU can be compared with other schools' texts of similar character, consisting of several layers including Upaniṣad portions, and differently entitled, Āraṇyaka or Upaniṣad, probably according to the educational stages (*vedavrata*) where the texts should be learned in the respective *śākhā* traditions (Aitareya-Āraṇyaka including Aitareya-Upaniṣad, Śāṅkhāyana/Kauṣītaki-Āraṇyaka including Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad, Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad, Kaṭha-Śikṣā-Upaniṣad, etc). Cf. e.g. Witzel 1977 [77].

Abbreviations

E(ditions) and T(ranslations) utilised for the present study

AB	Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa	KenaU	Kena-Upaniṣad
ChU	Chāndogya-Upaniṣad	LŚS	Lāṭyāyana-Śrautasūtra
DŚS	Drāhyāyana-Śrautasūtra		E [2], T [56] [63]
	E [67] [62] [70], T [56]	PB	Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa
JB	Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa		= Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brāhmaṇa
	E&T [13], E [60], T [6]		E [1] [17] [43], T [14]
JS	Jaiminīya-Saṃhitā or	RV	Ṛgveda E [3]
	Sāmaveda (Jaiminīya recension)	ṢaḍvB	Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa
	E [59]		E [19] [71], T [7]
JŚS	Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra	ŚB	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
	E&T [30], E [58]	SV	Sāmaveda (Kauthuma recension)
JUB	Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa		E [68] [69] [61]
	E&T [49], E [42] [72]		

References

- [1] Ānandachandra Vedāntavāgīśa, ed. *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa with the Commentary of Sāyana Ācārya*. 2 vols. [Bibliotheca Indica, 62]. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870, 1874; rpt. Delhi: Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratishthan, 1989.
- [2] Ānandachandra Vedāntavāgīśa, ed. *Śrautasūtra of Lāṭyāyana with the Commentary of Agnisvāmī*. [Bibliotheca Indica, 63]. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1872; rpt. New Delhi: Mushiram Manoharlal, 1982.
- [3] Aufrecht, Theodor. *Die Hymnen des Ṛgveda*. 2. Auflage. 2 Teile. Bonn, 1877; rpt. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955; 1968.
- [4] Bodewitz, H. W. “Notes on the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*”. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1977 (2), pp. 150–157, 1977.
- [5] Bodewitz, H. W. “Reaching Immortality According to the First Anuvāka of the *Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa*”. In *Dr. B. R. Sharma Felicitation Volume*, pp. 32–42 (English Section). Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1986.
- [6] Bodewitz, H. W. *The Jyotiṣṭoma Ritual. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I, 66–364*. [Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina, 34]. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990.
- [7] Bollée, W. B. *Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa: Introduction, Translation, Extracts from the Commentary and Notes*. Proefschrift (Utrecht). Utrecht, 1956.
- [8] van Buitenen, J. A. B. “Notes on *Akṣara*”. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. 17, pp. 204–215, 1955–56 = van Buitenen [10], pp. 29–42.

THE GĀYATRA-SĀMAN

- [9] van Buitenen, J. A. B. “Aksara”. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 79.3, pp. 176–187, 1959 = van Buitenen [10], pp. 157–179.
- [10] van Buitenen, J. A. B. *Studies in Indian Literature and Philosophy: Collected Articles of J. A. B. van Buitenen*. Ed. Ludo Rocher. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988.
- [11] Caland, W. *Altindische Zauberei: Darstellung der altindischen „Wunschopfer“*. [Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel X, No. 1]. Amsterdam, 1908.
- [12] Caland, W. “Emendationen zum Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa”. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. 28, pp. 61–77, 1914 = Caland, *Kleine Schriften* [15], pp. 215–231.
- [13] Caland, W. *Das Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 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.
- [14] Caland, W. *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa: The Brāhmaṇa of Twenty Five Chapters*. [Bibliotheca Indica, 255]. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1931.
- [15] Caland, Willem. *Kleine Schriften*. Hrsg. von Michael Witzel. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990.
- [16] Caland, W. et V. Henry. *L’Agniṣṭoma: Description complète de la forme normale du sacrifice de Soma dans le culte védique*. 2 vols. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906–1907.
- [17] Cinnaswāmī Śāstrī, A. and Paṭṭābhīrāma Śāstrī, eds. *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa belonging to the Sāma Veda with the Commentary of Sāyaṇācārya*. 2 parts. [Kashi Sanskrit Series, 105]. Varanasi: Chaukhambha Sanskrit Sansthan, 1987².
- [18] Deshpande, Indu C. “Concept of the Gāyatra-sāman in the Jaiminīya-Āraṇyaka”. In *CASS Studies, Number 5*, [Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class E, No. 7], pp. 49–60. Pune: University of Poona, 1980.
- [19] Eelsingh, Herman Frederik. *Ṣaḍviṃśabrāhmaṇam vijñāpanabhāṣyasahitam: Het Ṣaḍviṃśabrāhmaṇa van de Sāmaveda uitgegeven met een inleiding, de op naam van Sāyaṇa staande commentaar en aantekeningen*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1908.
- [20] Fujii, Masato. “On the unexpressed gāyatra-sāman in the Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa”. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 1123–1121 (1–3), 1984.
- [21] Fujii, Masato. “The Bahiṣpavamāna Ritual of the Jaiminīyas”. *Machikaneyama Ronso* (Philosophy), Vol. 20, pp. 3–25, 1986.
- [22] Fujii, Masato. “The Gāyatra and Ascension to Heaven (Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa 1,1–7; 3,11–14)”. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 35,

- No. 2, pp. 1002–1005 (16–19), 1987.
- [23] 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.
- [24] Fujii, Masato. “Nidōsetsu no seiritsu —kōkivēda no saiseisetsu—. (in Japanese)”. *The Journal of the Nippon Buddhist Research Association*, Vol. 55, pp. 43–56, 1990.
- [25] Fujii, Masato. “Kodai-indo-shūkyōkaei no shisōsei —tetsugaku-seisei no ichidanmen— (in Japanese). In *Jinbungaku no anatomī*, pp. 99–114. Tokyo: Iwanami, 1995.
- [26] Fujii, Masato. “Kena-Upaniṣad (=Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa 4,10 [4,18–21]). (in Japanese)”. In *Indian Thoughts and Buddhist Culture: Essays in Honour of Professor Junkichi Imanishi on His Sixtieth Birthday*, pp. 842–821 (107–128). Tokyo: Shunjū-sha, 1996.
- [27] 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.
- [28] Fujii, Masato. “The Recovery of the Body after Death: A prehistory of the *devayāna* and *pitryāna*”. In *Purvāparaprajñābhīnandanam – East and West, Past and Present: Indological and Other Essays in Honour of Klaus Karttunen*, ed. Bertil Tikkanen & Albion M. Butters, [Studia Orientalia, 110], pp. 103–120. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2011.
- [29] Fujii, Masato. “The Jaiminīya Sāmaveda Traditions and Manuscripts in South India”. In *Aspects of Manuscripts Culture in South India*, ed. Saraju Rath. Leiden: E. J. Brill, in press.
- [30] Gaastra, Dieuke. *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het vedische ritueel. Jaiminīya-śrautasūtra*. Proefschrift (Utrecht). Leiden, 1906.
- [31] Gotō, Toshifumi. *Die „I. Präsenksklasse“ im Vedischen. Untersuchung der vollstufigen thematischen Wurzelpräsentia*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987; 1996².
- [32] Gotō, Toshifumi. “Materialien zu einer Liste altindischer Verbalformen: 1. *amⁱ*, 2. *ay/i*, 3. *as/s*”. *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology*, Vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 987–1012, 1990.
- [33] Gotō, Toshifumi. “Zur Lehre Śāṅḍilyas —Zwischen Brāhmaṇa und Upaniṣad—”. In *Langue, style et structure dans le monde indien. Centenaire de Louis Renou. Actes du Colloque international (Paris, 25–27 janvier 1996)*, édités par Nalini Balbir et Georges-Jean Pinault, [Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, 334], pp. 71–89. Paris, 1996.

THE GĀYATRA-SĀMAN

- [34] Hock, Hans Henrich. “On the Origin and Early Development of the Sacred Sanskrit Syllable *Om*”. In *Perspectives on Indo-European Language, Culture and Religion. Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé*, Vol. 1, [Journal of Indo-European Studies, Monograph Number Seven], pp. 89–110. MacLean, Virginia: Institute for the Study of Man, 1991.
- [35] Howard, Wayne. *Sāmavedic Chant*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977.
- [36] Howard, Wayne. “The Music of Nambudiri Unexpressed Chant (*aniruktagāna*)”. In *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*, ed. F. Staal, Vol. II, pp. 311–342. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983.
- [37] Howard, Wayne. “The *Dhurs* of the *Gāyatra-Sāman*”. In *Dr. B. R. Sharma Felicitation Volume*, pp. 87–96 (English Section). Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1986.
- [38] Howard, Wayne. *Veda Recitation in Vārāṇasī*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986.
- [39] Howard, Wayne. “The Body of the Bodiless *Gāyatra*”. *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. 30, pp. 161–173, 1987.
- [40] Kashikar, C. G., ed. *Śrautakośa*. Sanskrit Section. Poona: Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, 1958 (Vol. I), 1970 (Vol. II, Part I), 1994 (Vol. II, Part II).
- [41] Lakṣmīkānta Śarman, ed. *Chāndogya Brāhmaṇam*. 3 parts. Kumbakonam, Pt. 1: 1982, Pt. 2: 1981, Pt. 3: 1980.
- [42] Limaye, V. P. and R. D. Vadekar, eds. *Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads*. Vol. I. Gandhi Memorial Edition. Poona: Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, 1958.
- [43] Lokesh Chandra. *Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa with the Commentary of Sāyaṇa: Facsimile Reproduction of a Devanāgarī Manuscript*. [Śata-Piṭaka Series, 270]. New Delhi, 1981.
- [44] Lüders, Heinrich. “Zu den Upaniṣads. I. Die Saṁvargavidyā”. *BSB*, pp. 278–309, 1916 = H. Lüders, *Philologica Indica* [45], pp. 361–390.
- [45] Lüders, Heinrich. *Philologica Indica. Ausgewählte kleine Schriften*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1940.
- [46] Murakawa, Akiko. “The vyūḍha/avyūḍha/samūḍha Daśarātra”. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 2, pp. 1152–1150 (1–3), 2000.
- [47] Narten, Johanna. “Ai. *ṣṛ* in synchronischer und diachronischer Sicht”. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Vol. 26, pp. 77–103, 1969 = Narten, *Kl. Schr.* I [48], 125–143.
- [48] Narten, Johanna. *Kleine Schriften*. Bd. 1. Hrsg. von Marcos Albino und Matthias Fritz. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1995.
- [49] Oertel, Hanns. “The Jaiminiya or Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa: Text, Translation, and Notes”. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 16, pp. 79–260,

- 1894.
- [50] Oertel, Hanns. *The Syntax of Cases in the Narrative and Descriptive Prose of the Brāhmaṇas*. [Indogermanische Bibliothek, 1. Reihe: Grammatiken Achtzehnter Band]. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1926.
- [51] Oertel, Hanns. "Roots and Verb-forms from the Unpublished Parts of the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa". *Journal of Vedic Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 129–168 (1–40), 1934; Vol. II, pp. 121–195 (41–115), 1935 = Raghu Vira, *Vedic Studies*, pp. 423–537, 1981 = Oertel, *Kleine Schriften* [54], I, pp. 290–404.
- [52] Oertel, Hanns. *Zu den Kasusvariationen in der vedischen Prosa*. [Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abteilung, Jahrgang 1937, Heft 8]. München, 1937 = Oertel, *Kleine Schriften* [54], II, pp. 863–1012.
- [53] Oertel, Hanns. *Die Dativi finales abstrakter Nomina und andere Beispiele nominaler Satzfügung in der vedischen Prosa*. [Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abteilung, Jahrgang 1941, Band II, Heft 9]. München, 1941 = H. Oertel, *Kleine Schriften* [54], II, pp. 1371–1500.
- [54] Oertel, Hanns. *Kleine Schriften*. 2 Bde. Hrsg. von Thomas Oberlies. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994.
- [55] Parpola, Asko. "On the Jaiminīyaśrautasūtra and Its Annexes". *Orientalia Suecana*, Vol. 16, pp. 181–214, 1967.
- [56] Parpola, Asko. *The Śrautasūtras of Lāṭyāyana and Drāhyāyana and their commentaries: An English translation and study*. Vol. I: 1 & 2. [Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 42.2 & 43.2]. Helsinki, 1968–1969.
- [57] Parpola, Asko. "On the Primary Meaning and Etymology of the Sacred Syllable *ŌM*". *Studia Orientalia*, Vol. 50, pp. 195–213, 1981.
- [58] Premnidhi Shastri, ed. *Jaiminīya-Śrauta-Sūtra-Vṛtti of Bhavatrāta*. [Śata-Piṭaka Series, Vol. 40]. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1966.
- [59] Raghu Vira. *Sāmaveda of the Jaiminīyas: Text and Mantra Index*. [Sarasvati Vihara Series, 3]. Lahore: The International Academy of Indian Culture, 1938.
- [60] Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, eds. *Jaiminīya-Brahmana of the Sāmaveda*. [Sarasvati-Vihara Series, 31]. Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1954; rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986.
- [61] Ramanath Dikshit, A. M., ed. *Ūhagānam and Ūhyagānam with Uttarārchika and Padapāṭha of Kauthuma Śākhā*. [Vedic Research Series, 3]. Varanasi: Banaras Hindu University, 1967.
- [62] Ramanatha Dikshitar, M., ed. *Drāhyayana Srautha Sutra with Dhanvi Bhashyam*. Madras: Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer Foundation, 1982.
- [63] Ranade, H. G. *Lāṭyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*. [Kalāmūlāsāstra Series, 27–29]. New

THE GĀYATRA-SĀMAN

- Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1998.
- [64] Rau, Wilhelm. *Zur vedischen Altertumskunde*. [Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1983, Nr. 1]. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1983.
- [65] Renou, Louis. “Le passage des Brāhmaṇa aux Upaniṣad”. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 73, pp. 138–144, 1953.
- [66] Renou, Louis, and Liliane Silburn. “*Nirukta* and *Ānirukta* in Vedic”. In *Sarūpa-Bhārati: The Homage of Indology: Dr. Lakshman Sarup Memorial Volume*, [Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, 6], pp. 68–79. Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, 1954.
- [67] Reuter, J. N., ed. *The Śrauta-sūtra of Drāhyāyaṇa, with the Commentary of Dhanvin*. Part I. London: Luzac & Co., 1904.
- [68] Sātavalekara, Dāmodara, ed. *Sāmavedasaṃhitā*. Pārādī: Svādhyāya-maṇḍala, n.d.
- [69] Satyavrata Sāmaśramī Bhaṭṭācāryya, ed. *Sāma Veda Saṃhitā with the commentary of Sāyaṇa Ācārya*. 5 vols. [Bibliotheca Indica, 71]. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1874–1878.
- [70] Sharma, B. R., ed. *Drāhyāyaṇa Śrauta Sūtram (With the Commentary of Dhanvin)*. Allahabad: Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1983.
- [71] Sharma, Bellikoth Ramachandra, ed. *Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*. [Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Series, No. 9]. Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1967.
- [72] Sharma, Bellikoth Ramachandra, ed. *Jaiminīyārṣeya-Jaiminīyopaniṣad-Brāhmaṇas*. [Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Series, Nos. 5–6]. Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1967.
- [73] Shastri, Premnidhi, ed. *Jaiminīya-Śrauta-Sūtra-Vṛtti of Bhavatrāta*. [Śata-Piṭaka Series, 40]. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1966.
- [74] Staal, J. F. “The Twelve Ritual Chants of the Nambudiri Agniṣṭoma”. In *Pratidānam: Indian, Iranian and Indo-European Studies presented to F. B. J. Kuiper on his sixtieth birthday*, pp. 409–429. The Hague, 1968.
- [75] Staal, Frits. *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*. 2 vols. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983.
- [76] Tsuji, Naoshiro. “Genzon Sāmaveda bunken no gaikan (Saṃhitā hen) (in Japanese)”. In *Tsuji Naoshiro Chosaku-shū*, Vol. I, pp. 317–344. Kyoto, 1981 (originally published in 1948).
- [77] Witzel, Michael. “An Unknown Upaniṣad of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda: The Kaṭha-Śikṣā-Upaniṣad”. *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre*, Vol. 1 (Humanities), pp. 139–153, 1977.