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

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Introduction

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

1 The JUB has often been excluded from the Upaniṣads because of its usual but wrong classification into Brāhmaṇas or Āranyakas. Cf. e.g. Gonda 1975 [14], p. 431f. For an outline of the contents and the textual formation and transmission of the JUB, see Fujii 1997 [13]. And for the name “Jaiminiya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa,” see Fujii [13], p. 96, n. 36.
2 For the details of the textual parallelism between the JUB and the ChU, see Fujii [13], pp. 90–92; 93, n. 20.
3 JUB 1,60–2,12～ChU 1,2～BĀU 1,3 (to be dealt with in this paper); JUB 4,2～ChU 3,16～BĀU 3,9,3–5; JUB 4,18,2 (KenaU 1,2)～BĀU 4,4,18; JUB 4,18,5–9 (KenaU 1,5–9)～BĀU 3,4,1–2; JUB 4,19,4–5 (KenaU 2,4–5)～BĀU 4,4,13–14; ChU 5,1–10～BĀU 6,1–3.
tionships among all the versions.4

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

1. Prologue
2. The vital functions and the prāṇa’s superiority
3. Correspondence between the vital functions and the cosmic entities
4. The kingship of the supreme prāṇa
5. The supreme prāṇa is Ayāśya Áṅgirasa
6. The supreme prāṇa is Brhaspati
7. The supreme prāṇa is the sāman
8. The sva, suvarṇa and pratiṣṭhā of the sāman
9. The abhyāroha of the pavamāna-stotras
10. Epilogue

The six versions have the following corresponding portions:

<table>
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<td>JUB1</td>
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<td>JUB2</td>
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4 Strauss (1931 [33], pp. 244–249) studied this passage, but he treated the textual differences among its versions as a matter of stylistic divergences and did not admit any chronological order between them. Bodewitz (1986 [2], p. 347f., nn. 23, 25, 26; 1992 [5], p. 51f.) and Fujii (1989 [12], p. 1001 (24 f.) briefly examined them. All of the JUB versions are left out of Olivelle’s notes on the BĀU and ChU versions in his two recent publications on the early Upaniṣads (translation: 1996 [28]; text and translation: 1998 [29]).

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

6 The mss. of the JUB have the latter numbering with three divisions (adhyāyās, avyāka, khaṇḍa), which Sharma follows in his edition (1967 [32]), while, together
All the versions have the first two portions, which form allegorical stories on the supremacy of the prāṇa over the other vital functions. Those stories are thematically related to the group of stories on the contest for supremacy among the vital functions and the prāṇa’s victory. Here in all the versions including that of the Yajurvedic BĀU, the supreme prāṇa is depicted in Sāmavedic terms as the supreme udgātṛ (the chief chanter priest in Some sacrifices) or udgīthā (the main part of a chant sung by the udgātṛ) that is free from evil. Hereafter I will expound each portion with the text and a translation of the versions.

1. Prologue

The passage starts with the prologue to the battle between two opposing mythical rivals, i.e., between the gods and the Asuras in JUB₁, between the gods and death/evil in JUB₂ and JUB₄, between the gods with the seers and the Asuras in JUB₃, and the gods and the Asuras as two kinds of Prajāpati’s offspring in BĀU and ChU.

1. JUB₁: JUB 1,60,1 (1,18,5,1)
   1. devāsurā aspadhanta. / ‘1. The gods and the Asuras contended.’

1. JUB₂: JUB 2,1,1–2 (2,1,1,1–2) boldface = JUB₄
   1. devānām vai ṣaḍ udgātāra āsan / vāk ca maṇaś ca caṅkuśa ca śrotraṇ ca cāpānas ca prāṇaś ca. / 2. te 'dhriyanta. / tenodgātārā diṅśāmahai yenāpahatya

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

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

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

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**mṛtyum apahatyā pāpmānaṁ svargaṁ lokam iyāmeti.**

1. Verily, the gods had six udgātrṣ, namely, speech, mind, sight, hearing, inhalation, and breath. 2. They resolved, “Let us consecrate ourselves with that one as [our] udgātr which, having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, we can go to the heavenly world.”

1. *JUB*3: JUB 2,3,1–4 (2,2,1,1–4)


1. In the beginning this one who is glowing here (=the sun) was alone this [universe]. He as such, having taken the splendor, the energy, the vitality, the virility from all beings, went upwards. 2. He desired, “I want to become the one and only syllable, namely, ud.” 11 3. He performed glowing penance. Having performed glowing penance, he became the one and only syllable, namely, ud. 4. The gods and the seers desired to attain him. Then he created the creature-slaying Asuras in order that evil might not follow him.

1. *JUB*4: JUB 2,10,1–2 (2,4,1,1–2) **boldface = JUB**2

1. *devāsurās samayatantety ahuḥ.* / *na ha vai tad devāsuras samyetire.* / *prajāpatiś ca ha vai tan mṛtyus ca samyetate.* / 2. *tasya ha prajāpater devāḥ priyāḥ putrā anta āsuḥ.* / *te 'dhriyānta.* / *tenodgātrā dikṣāmahai yenāpahatyā mṛtyum apahatyā pāpmānaṁ svargaṁ lokam iyāmeti.*

1. They say that the gods and the Asuras strove with each other. Truly, it was not that the gods and the Asuras then strove with each other. It was Prajāpati and Death who then strove with each other. 2. The gods were near to this Prajāpati as [his] dear sons. They resolved, “Let us consecrate ourselves with that one as [our] udgātr with which, having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, we can go to the heavenly world.”

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11 Cf. JUB 2,9,8 (2,3,3,8): *ud iti so 'sāv ādityāḥ.* ‘[The syllable] ud, that is yonder sun.’
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1. **BĀŪ**: BĀUK 1,3,1 (ŚBM 14,4,1,1-2)

dvayāḥ prājāpatyā devās cāsurās ca. tātāḥ kāṇīyasā evā devā jyāyasā āsurās. 

tā eṣū lokēv aspardo nta. té ha devā ucv. hāntāsurān yajñā udgithānā-

tyāyāmēti. //1///

‘1. There were two kinds of Prajāpati’s offspring, namely, the gods and the 
Asuras. Of them, the gods were those who belonged to the younger, while the 
Asuras were those who belonged to the elder. They were competing for these 
worlds. So the gods said, “Come, let us go beyond (overcome) the Asuras at 
the sacrifice by means of the udgitha.”

1. **ChŪ**: ChU 1,2,1

devāsurā ha vai yatra sameitre / ubhayē prājāpatyoś tad dha devā udgitham 
ājahrur. anenainān abhibhaviśyāma iti. //1///

‘1. Verily, when the gods and the Asuras, both kinds of Prajāpati’s offspring, 
strove with each other, the gods then brought the udgitha, [saying,] “With this, 
we will vanquish them.”’

2. The vital functions and the prāṇa’s superiority

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

12 As noted by Oertel ([27], p. 236 on JUB 1,60), a similar passage is found in JB 
1,269: manasā suhārasaṁ ca durhārasaṁ ca vijānāti. prānena surabhi cāsurabhī 
ca vijānāti. caksasā darśanīyaṁ cādarśanīyaṁ ca vijānāti. śrotreṇa śravaṇīyaṁ 
cāśravaṇīyaṁ ca vijānāti. vācā svādu cāsvādu ca vijānāti. ‘With mind one discerns 
what is good-hearted and what is not good-hearted. With breath one discerns what 
is fragrant and what is not fragrant. With sight one discerns what is beautiful and 
what is not beautiful. With hearing one discerns what is good to hear and what is 
not good to hear. With [the organ of] speech one discerns what is sweet and what is 
not sweet.’
The first point to notice is that \textit{JUB}2 and \textit{JUB}3 have the same order and names of the functions in spite of the close textual relationships between \textit{JUB}1 and \textit{JUB}3, and between \textit{JUB}2 and \textit{JUB}4. This fact means that these two pairs of versions (\textit{JUB}1 & \textit{JUB}3, \textit{JUB}2 & \textit{JUB}4) are linked here at this portion on the vital functions of \textit{JUB}2 and \textit{JUB}3. The second point is that the last three versions (\textit{JUB}4, \textit{BÅU}, \textit{ChU}) correspond well to each other. Concerning the relationships of \textit{BÅU} and \textit{ChU} with the \textit{JUB} versions, however, we will see that the former versions show direct relationships not only with \textit{JUB}4 but also with \textit{JUB}1 and/or \textit{JUB}3 in the part of the last vital function. Here I will set forth the parts of the last two functions: the apāna/prāṇa/nāsikya prāṇa, and the prāṇa/mukhya prāṇa/āsanya prāṇa.

2.1. \textit{apāna} / \textit{prāṇa} / \textit{nāsikya prāṇa}

The vital function in question here is inhalation, which is called \textit{apāna} in \textit{JUB}1, \textit{JUB}2 and \textit{JUB}3, \textit{prāṇa} in \textit{JUB}4 and \textit{BÅU}, and \textit{nāsikya prāṇa} 'the breath in the nose' in \textit{ChU}. This function is connected with the sense of smell as the present passage clearly says: \textit{enena jighrati} 'one smells with it' \textit{JUB}1, \textit{JUB}3; \textit{apānena pāpaṃ gandham apāniti} 'one inhales evil odor with inhalation' \textit{JUB}2; \textit{jighrati} 'one smells' \textit{BÅU}; \textit{tena ... jighrati} 'one smells with it' \textit{ChU}; but \textit{prānena prāniti}13 'one breathes with breath' \textit{JUB}4. Though the word \textit{prāṇa} is sometimes used for the sense of smell,14 the phrase \textit{prānena prāniti} itself does not explicitly refer to the sense of smell. From the close relationship between \textit{JUB}2 and \textit{JUB}4, it is inferred that this vague expression was made by the same intentional assimilation of the verb with the name of the present function (\textit{apānena}... \textit{apāniti} \textit{JUB}2 / \textit{prānena prāniti} \textit{JUB}4).

13 All the editions ([27] [22] [32]) read \textit{prānena [pāpaṃ] prāniti}, following the corresponding words for the preceding functions: \textit{vācā pāpaṃ vadati} (2,10,5), \textit{manasā pāpaṃ dhārayati} (8), \textit{cakṣusā pāpaṃ paśyati} (11), \textit{srotṣaṇa pāpaṃ śrṇoti} (14).

14 For the \textit{prāṇa} to be interpreted as the sense of smell, see Bodewitz 1986 [2], p. 347, n. 23. Cf. JB 1,269 mentioned above (p. 55, n. 12).
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The clause *sa eva sa pāpmā* ‘that itself is that evil’ is repeated in common in *JUB₂*, *JUB₄* and *BAU* for all the vital functions except the last supreme *prāṇa*. *BŪA* and *ChU* use the same verb *vyadh* ‘to pierce’ for the mixing of the first five functions with evil.

2.1 *JUB₁*: JUB 1,60,5 (1,18,5,5)  boldface = *JUB₃*  
5. te 'pānenedoṇagāyaṇ. / tāṁ tathaivākuṟvan. / tasmād bahu kīṁ ca kīṁ cāpāṇena jighrati. / surabhī ca inena jighrati durgandhi ca. /  
‘5. They (the gods) sang the udgītha with inhalation. [The Asuras] treated it in the same way (i.e. rushed at it and mixed it with evil). Therefore, one smells with inhalation many a thing of one kind and another; one smells with it both good odor and bad odor.’

2.1 *JUB₂*: JUB 2,1,14–16 (2,1,14–16)  boldface = *JUB₄*, underline = *BAU*  
14. te 'bruvan. / no novā no 'yam mṛtyuṇ na pāpmānam aṭyavakṣit. / apānenedoṇagātra dīksamahā iti. / 15. te 'pānenedoṇagātrādikṣanta. / sa yad evāpānena pāṇiṇi / tad ātmama āgāyat. / atha ya itare kāṁs tāṁ devebhyaḥ. / 16. tam pāpmānvasrījyata. / sa yad evāpāṇena pāpani gandham apānīti / sa eva sa pāpmā. /  
‘14. They (the gods) said ‘Verily, this one (hearing) also has not carried us beyond death nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with inhalation as [our] udgāṭr.” 15. They consecrated themselves with inhalation as [their] udgāṭr. What one inhales with inhalation, that it (inhalation) procured for itself by singing. And what are the other desires, those [it (inhalation) procured] for the gods [by singing]. 16. Evil was created after it (inhalation). The evil odor which one inhales with inhalation, that itself is that evil.’

2.1 *JUB₃*: JUB 2,3,9 (2,2,1,9)  boldface = *JUB₁*  
9. tam apānenaṃsaṃaitaṇ. / te 'pānāṃ samārohan. / teṣām apānam paryādatta. / tasmāt paryāutto 'pānaḥ. / surabhī ca hy enena jighrati durgandhi ca. /  
‘9. They (the gods and the seers) desired to attain him (the sun) with inhalation. They climbed together upon inhalation. He took inhalation away from them. Therefore, inhalation has been taken away [from them]. For one smells with it both good odor and bad odor.’

2.1 *JUB₄*: JUB 2,10,15–17 (2,4,1,15–17)  boldface = *JUB₂*, underline = *BAU*  
15. te 'bruvan. / no novā no 'yam mṛtyuṇ na pāpmānam aṭyavakṣit. / prāṇenedoṇagātra dīksamahā iti. / 16. te prāṇenedoṇagātrādikṣanta. / tebhya idam
prāṇa āgāyat / yad idam prāṇena prāṇiti / yad idam prāṇena bhuṇjate.\textsuperscript{15} /
17. tam pāpmānvasṛjyata. / sa yad eva prāṇena prāṇiti\textsuperscript{16} / sa eva sa pāpmā. /

‘15. They (the gods) said, “Verily, this one (hearing) also has not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with breath as [our] udgātṛ.” 16. They consecrated themselves with breath as [their] udgātṛ. By singing, breath procured for them this [thing] here, which [thing] here one breathes with breath, which [thing] here one enjoys with breath. 17. Evil was created after it (breath). What one breathes with breath, that itself is that evil.’

2.1 BĀU: BĀUK 1,3,3 (ŚBM 14,4,1,4)  
átha ha prāṇam úcusc. tvām na uḍgāyēti. táthēti. tébhyaḥ prāṇā údadāyad. yāḥ prāṇē bhōgas tām devēbhya āgāyad. yāt kalyāṇam jīghrati tād ātmāne. tē 'vidur. anēna vāi na uḍgātrātyesyaṃtēti. tāṃ abhidrātya pāpmānāvidhyant. sā yās sā pāpmā yād evēdām ápratirāpaṃ jīghrati sā eva sā pāpmā. //3//

‘3. Then [the gods] said to breath, “You, sing the udgīthā for us!” “Yes,” [said breath]. For them breath sang the udgīthā. What is enjoyment in breath, that it (breath) procured for the gods by singing. What pleasant [odor] one smells, that [it (breath) procured] for itself [by singing]. They (the Asuras) came to know, “With this as [their] udgātṛ, they will certainly go beyond (overcome) us.” They rushed at that [udgātṛ] and pierced it with evil. That evil — the improper [odor] which one smells here, that itself is that evil.’

2.1 ChU: ChU 1,2,2  
te ha nāsikyaṃ prāṇam uḍgītham upāsāṃ ca kārire. / tam hāsūrāḥ pāpmānā vīvindhuḥ. / tasmāt tenobhayaṃ jīghrati surabhī ca duryandhi ca. / pāpmānā hy eṣa viddhaḥ. //2//

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

\textsuperscript{15} For bhuṇjate to be taken as 3.sg., see Oertel [27], pp. 237 (on JUB 2,10,4); 258f.; Gotō 1987 [15], p. 76, n. 51.

\textsuperscript{16} See p. 56, n. 13.
2.2. prāṇa / mukhya prāṇa / āsanya prāṇa

The gods finally succeed in defeating the Asuras or death/evil with the last vital function, i.e., prāṇa in JUB1, JUB2 and JUB3, mukhya prāṇa ‘the breath in the mouth’ in JUB4 and ChU, āsanya prāṇa ‘do.’ In this portion, JUB1, JUB3, BĀU and ChU have similar and partly identical sentences of one and the same simile that compares the destruction of the Asuras by this prāṇā to the smash of a clod of earth thrown against a stone. The JUB has almost the same sentences of this simile before the present passage also (1,7,6) (see p. 59, n. 17).

Here JUB4 shows a noteworthy textual inconsistency which can determine the chronological relationship between JUB2 and JUB4. Both versions have in common the following sentences: na hy etena prāṇena pāṇam vadati. na pāṇam dhāyati. na pāṇam pasyati. na pāṇam śrṇot. na pāṇam gandham apāṇiti. ‘For with this breath one speaks no evil thing, thinks no evil thing, sees no evil thing, hears no evil thing, inhales no evil odor.’ In JUB2, the last sentence na pāṇam gandham apāṇiti corresponds well to the sentence apāṇena pāṇam gandham apāṇiti ‘one inhales evil odor with inhalation’ in the preceding place of the apāṇa (JUB 2,1,16 quoted above), but in JUB4 the corresponding sentence in that place is prāṇena prāṇiti ‘one breaths with breath’ (JUB 2,10,17 quoted above). This discrepancy must have resulted from JUB4’s copying the sentences directly from JUB2 despite its changing the fifth function from the apāṇa to the prāṇa.

2.2 JUB1: JUB 1,60,6–8 (1,18,5,6–8)

boldface = JUB3, dotted line ≈ BĀU ≈ ChU, underline = ChU

6. te prāṇenodagayān. / athāsurā ādvrasmas tathā kariṣyāma iti manyānanāh. / 7. 17 sa yathāśmānām rtvā loṣṭo vidhvamsa / evam evāsuras vyadhvamsanta. / sa eso 'śmākhaṇo18 yat prāṇah. / 8. sa yathāśmānām akhaṇām rtvā loṣṭo vidhvamsate / evam eva sa vidhvamsa...

17 ≈ JUB1,7,6 (1,1,7,6): sa yathāśmānām rtvā loṣṭo vidhvamsa / evam eva sa vidhvamsa / ya evam vidhvamsam upavadat. / sa eso 'śmākhaṇo yat prāṇah. / sa yathāśmānām akhaṇām rtvā loṣṭo vidhvamsate / evam eva sa vidhvamsate ya evam vidhvamsam upavadati. / (boldface = JUB1 = JUB3) ‘Just as a clod of earth, having hurled itself against a stone, would smash into pieces, one would smash into pieces if he speaks ill of a person who knows thus. This breath as such is a target stone. Just as a clod of earth, having hurled itself against a target stone, smashes into pieces, one smashes into pieces if he speaks ill of a person who knows thus.’

sate ya evaṁ vidvāṁsam upavadati. /

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

2.2 JUB2: JUB 2,1,17–20 (2,1,17–20) boldface = JUB4

17. te 'bruṇa. / no nāvā no 'yam mṛtyuṁ na pāṃmānam aṭyaṅvākṣit. / prāṇenogārā dīkṣāmāhā iti. / 18. te prāṇenogātcikṣanta. / sa yad eva prāṇena prāṇi / tad ātmana āgāyat. / atha ya itare kāmās tān devebhyaḥ. / 19. tam pāṃmā nāṃsvāryyata. / na hy etena prāṇena pāṇaṁ vadati. / na pāṇaṁ dhyāyati. / na pāṇaṁ paśyati. / na pāṇaṁ śṛṇoti. / na pāṇaṁ gandham āpāṇiti. / 20. tenāpahatya mṛtyum apahatya pāṃmānam svargaṁ lokam āyān. / apahatya haiva mṛtyum apahatya pāṃmānam svargaṁ lokam eti / ya evaṁ veda. /

‘17. They (the gods) said, “Verily, this one (inhalation) also has not carried us beyond death, nor beyond evil. Let us consecrate ourselves with breath as [our] udgāṭr.” 18. They consecrated themselves with breath as [their] udgāṭr. What one breathes with breath, that it (breath) procured for itself by singing. And what the other desires are, those [it (breath) procured] for the gods [by singing].

19. Evil was not created after it (breath). For with this breath one speaks no evil thing, thinks no evil thing, sees no evil thing, hears no evil thing, inhales no evil odor. 20. With it, having smitten away death, having smitten away evil, they went to the heavenly world. Having smitten away death likewise, having smitten away evil, one goes to the heavenly world if he knows thus.’

2.2 JUB3: JUB 2,3,10–13 (2,2,1,10–13) boldface = JUB1, dotted line = BAU ≈ ChU, underline = ChU

10. tam prāṇenopasamaipsan. / tam prāṇenopasamānuvān. / 11. athā- surā bhūtaḥana ādruvaḥ mohayisyāma iti manyamānaḥ. / 12. sa yathā- śmānam rtvā loṣṭo vidhvamseta / evam evāṣurā vyadhvamsanta. / sa eṣo śmaṅkhaṇo yāt prāṇah. / 13. sa yathāśmānam ākhanam rtvā loṣṭo vidhvamsate / evam eva sa vidhvamsate ya evam vidvāṁsam upavadati. /

‘10. They (the gods and the seers) desired to attain him (the sun) with breath. They attained him with breath. 11. Then the creature-slaying Asuras rushed here to [them], thinking, “We will confound [them].” 12. Just as a clod of
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earth, having hurled it against a stone, would smash into pieces, the Asuras smashed into pieces. This breath as such is a target stone. 13. Just as a clod of earth, having hurled itself against a target stone, smashes into pieces, one smashes into pieces if he speaks ill of a person who knows thus.'

2.2 JUB₄: JUB 2,10,18–22 (2,4,1,18–22) boldface = JUB₂

18. te 'bruvan. / no noīva no 'yam mṛtyum na pāpmānam atyavākṣit. / anena mukhyena prāṇenodgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti. / 19. te 'nena mukhyena prāṇenodgātrādīkṣanta. / 20. so 'bravin mṛtyuh. /esa vā esāṃ19 sa udgātā yena tyam20 atyesyantīti. / 21. na hy etena prāṇena pāpaṃ vadati. / na pāpaṃ dhyāyati. / na pāpaṃ paśyati. / na pāpaṃ śṛṇoti. / na pāpaṃ gandham apāṇīti. / 22. tenāpahatya mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānām svargaṃ lokam āyān. / apahatya haiva mṛtyum apahatya pāpmānām svargaṃ lokam eti / ya evam veda. /

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

2.2 BAU: BAUK 1,3,7 (ŚBM 14,4,1,8)

dotted line ∼ JUB₁ = JUB₂ ∼ ChU, underline = JUB₁ = JUB₃

átha hemám āsanyaṃ prāṇām ūcuss. tvām na udgāyēti. tāthēti. tēbhya esā prāṇā udgāyat. tē 'vidur. anēna vāi na udgātrātyesvantītī. tām abhidrītya pāpmānāvīvyatsantat. sā yathāśāmanām rtvā loṣṭō vidhānśetavām haiva vidhāvāṃśāmānā visvaṁca vīnēsuss. tāto devā abhavan pārāsura. bhāvati ātmāna pārāśya dvisān bhṛtrīvyo bhavati yā evam veda. //7//

‘7. Then [the gods] said to this breath here in the mouth, “You, sing the udgīthā for us!” “Yes,” [said the breath]. For them the breath as such sang the udgīthā.

---

19 Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22], Sharma [32]: esa esāṃ.

20 Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22], Sharma [32]: yena mṛtyum. Malayalam mss.: yenatym. Grantha mss.: yenamatym, enatym, enamatym. For tyā- in the meaning of 1st person, see Wackernagel-Debrunner [35, Bd. III], p. 547f.
They (the Asuras) came to know, "With this one as [their] udgātr they will certainly go beyond (overcome) us." They rushed at that [udgātr] and tried to pierce it with evil. But, just as a clod of earth, having hurled itself against a stone, would smash into pieces, they perished, smashing into pieces in different directions. Thence, the gods prospered, while the Asuras came to ruin. One prospers by oneself, while his hostile enemy comes to ruin, if he knows thus.'

2.2 ChU: ChU 1,2,7–9 dotted line ≈ JUB₁ = JUB₃ ≈ BĀU, underline = JUB₁=JUB₃ atha ha ya evāyaṃ mukhyāḥ prāṇas tam udgītham upāsāṃ cakrire. | tamḥ hāsurāḥ rtvā vidadhvaṁsūr. yathāśmānam ākhaṇām rtvā vidhvaṁsetaitavam. //7// yathāśmānam ākhaṇām rtvā vidhvaṁsata evāṃ hai va sa vidhvaṁsate ya evaṃvidi pāpaṃ kāmayate yaś cainam abhidāsati. | sa eṣo 'śmākhaṇāḥ. //8// naivaitena surabhi na dūrṇandhi vijānāti. | apahatapāpāṃ hy eṣāḥ. | ...

'7. Then [the gods] worshipped this very breath here in the mouth as the udgītha. The Asuras, having hurled themselves against that [breath], smashed into pieces. Just as [a clod of earth], having hurled itself against a target stone, would smash into pieces, so [they did]. 8. Just as [a clod of earth], having hurled itself against a target stone, smashes into pieces, one smashes into pieces if he wishes evil against and does harm to a person who know thus. This [breath] as such is a target stone. 9. One does not discern with it either good odor or bad odor. For it has evil smitten away. ...'  

3. Correspondence between the vital functions and the cosmic entities

This portion is included in three versions, JUB₂, JUB₄ and BĀU, in which thereafter each vital function become its corresponding cosmic entity as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JUB₂</th>
<th>vāc → agni</th>
<th>manas → candrāmas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cakṣus → āditya</td>
<td>śrotṛa → diśaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>apāna → bhṛhaspati</td>
<td>prāṇa → prajāpati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUB₁, BĀU</td>
<td>vāc → agni</td>
<td>manas → candrāmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cakṣus → āditya</td>
<td>śrotṛa → diśaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prāṇa → vāyu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This kind of correspondence between the microcosmic and the macro-
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cosmic elements is first seen in the Puruṣa-Sūkta (RV 10.90).²¹ And the
same correspondence as in JUB₄ and BĀU appears in ŚB 10.3.3.6–8 (esp. 7),
which deals with the supreme breath and wind into which the other four vi-
tal functions and their corresponding four cosmic entities enter respectively.
The same motif of the entering of the cosmic entities and the vital func-
tions into wind and breath occurs in JUB 3.1–2 (3,1,1–2), which follows the
present passage with a short passage in between, and in its parallel, ChU 
4.3 (samvarga-vidyā). The latter two parallel passages, however, do not
specifically refer to the correspondence between the macrocosmic and the
microcosmic elements, and even differ in the names of the cosmic entities
from the present passage.²² It should be noted that here in JUB₄ and BĀU
the supreme prāṇa in the mouth is out of this correspondence like the con-
cept of the ātman as the supreme being over or behind the vital functions.²³
In this portion, JUB₄ and BĀU are full of identical expressions.

3. JUB₂: JUB 2.2.1–6 (2,1,2.1–6)

boldface = JUB₄, underline = BĀU, dotted line ≈ BĀU ≈ ChU

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

²¹ RV 10.90,13–14:
candrāmā mānasā jātās ca āśīro ajāyata /
mukhād indrā cāgnaś ca prāṇād vāyū ajāyata /13/
nābhīya āśī dīrikṣāṃ sūrṇā dvāyuḥ sām avartata /
padbhāyām bhūmīr dīsah śrōtrā tāthā lokān akalpaya /14/

²² JUB 3.1–2: vāyu ← aditya / candramas / nakṣatṛāni / agni / ahar, rātri / diśah /
parjanya / āpah, oṣadhaṇaḥ, vanaspataṇah; prāṇa ← vāc / manas / caksuṣa / śrōtra.
ChU 4.3: vāyu ← agni / sūrya / candra / āpah; prāṇa ← vāc / caksuṣa / śrōtra / 
manas. For ChU 4.1–3, see Lüders 1916 [23]; Hauschild 1968 [18]; esp. Gotō 1996 [17].
Cf. also ŚB 10.5,2.14f.; KauṣU 2.12–13 (ŚānkḥĀ 4.12–13) (parimāra). For the
two versions of parimāra, AB 8,28 and KauṣU 2,12–13, see Bodewitz 1986 [3].

²³ For this ātman over/behind the vital functions, cf. BĀU 2.4,14 = 4.5,15; 3.4,1–2;
3.7,23; 3.8,11; ChU 8.12,4–5; AU 1.1,3–1.2.5 (see p. 66, n. 28); 3.2. For the brāhmaṇ
over/behind the vital functions, cf. JUB 4.18,5–9 (KenU 1.5–9). Also from the
unaffected aspect of this prāṇa that is not disturbed by evil, Bodewitz characterizes
it as “a precursor of the concept of Brahman/Ātman” ([5], p. 54).
4. atha yat tac chrotam āsīt / tā imā diśo 'bhavan. tā²⁴ u eva viśve devāh. / 5. atha yas so 'pāna āsīt / sa brhaspatir abhavat. / yad asyai vāco brhatyaī pariḥ / tasmād brhaspatiḥ.²⁵ / 6. atha yas sa prāṇa āsīt / sa prajāpatir abhavat. / sa ēsa putrī prajāvāṇ udgītho yat prāṇaḥ. / tasya svara eva prajāḥ. / prajāvāṇ bhavatī / ya evaṃ veda. /

1. What the speech was, that became fire. 2. And what the mind was, that became the moon. 3. And what the sight was, that became the sun. 4. And what the hearing was, that became these quarters here; and the All-gods (viśve devāḥ) are no other than these [quarters]. 5. And what the inhalation was, that became Brhaspati. Because he is the lord of this lofty speech (high voice) here, therefore he is Brhaspati.²⁶ 6. And what the breath was, that became Prajāpati. The breath as such is the udgīth rich in sons and rich in offspring. The offspring are its tone. One becomes rich in offspring if he knows thus.

3. JUB₂: JUB 2,11,1–6 (2,4,2,1–6) boldface = JUB₂, underline = BĀU


1. Just as one would go beyond (overcomes) [an enemy], having smitten and having crushed [him], they (the gods) went beyond (overcame) this death. 2. He (the breath in the mouth) carried speech beyond [death] as the first one. He deposited that [speech] beyond death. It became fire. 3. Then he carried mind beyond [death]. He deposited that [mind] beyond death. It became the moon. 4. Then he carried sight beyond [death]. He deposited that [sight] beyond death. It became the sun. 5. Then he carried hearing beyond [death]. He deposited that [hearing] beyond death. It became these quarters here; and the All-gods are no other than these [quarters]. 6. Then he carried breath beyond [death]. He deposited that [breath] beyond death. It became wind.’

²⁴ Note the disagreement of the pronoun tāḥ with masculine plural viśve devāh here and JUB 2,11,5 below. Cf. p. 74, n. 51; p. 76, n. 55.
²⁵ As will be seen below (p. 73), the BĀU and ChU versions identify the supreme prāṇa in the mouth, not the apāṇa, with Brhaspati (BĀUK 1,3,20 [SBM 14,4,1,22], ChU 1,12,11).
²⁶ See p. 64, n. 24.
A COMMON PASSAGE IN THE THREE Earliest Upaniṣads

3. BĀU: BĀUK 1.3.11-16 (ŚBM 14.4.1.12-17) underline = JUB₄


sō 'yām vāyūḥ pāreṇa mṛtyūṁ ātykrāntaḥ pavate. //13// ātha cākṣur ātyavahat. tād yadā mṛtyūṁ ātyāmucyata sā ādityo 'bhavat. sō 'śāv ādityāḥ pāreṇa mṛtyūṁ ātykrāntas tapati. //14// ātha śrōtram ātyavahat. tād yadā mṛtyūṁ ātyāmucyata tā dīśo 'bhavānīs. tā imā dīśaḥ pāreṇa mṛtyūṁ ātykrāntaḥ. //15// ātha manō 'tyavahat. tād yadā mṛtyūṁ ātyāmucyata sā candrāmā 'abhavat. sō 'sāv candrāḥ pāreṇa mṛtyūṁ ātykrānto bhāty. evāṁ ha vā enam esā devatā mṛtyūṁ ātivahatī yā evām vēda. //16//

11. This deity (the breath in the mouth) as such, having smitten away the evil that is death from these deities, carried them beyond death. 12. Verily it was speech that he carried beyond [death] as the first one. When it was released from death, it became fire. This fire as such, having gone beyond death, is blazing here. 13. Then he carried breath beyond [death]. When it was released from death, it became wind. This wind as such, having gone beyond death, is purifying itself (i.e. blowing) here. 14. Then he carried sight beyond [death]. When it was released from death, it became the sun. Yonder sun as such, having gone beyond death, is glowing there. 15. Then he carried hearing beyond [death]. When it was released from death, it became the quarters. These quarters here as such have gone beyond death. 16. Then he carried mind beyond [death]. When it was released from death, it became the moon. Yonder moon as such, having gone beyond death, is shining there. In the same way, this deity (the breath in the mouth) carries one beyond death if he knows thus.'

4. The kingship of the supreme prāṇa

The supreme prāṇa in the mouth is described as a king ruling the other vital functions in JUB₃, JUB₄ and BĀU. Its kingship is told with expressions related with ruling like vaśin- ‘having ruling-power’ in JUB₃, pariṣad- ‘meeting’, sabhā- ‘assembly’, saṁsap- ‘gathering’ in JUB₄, abhi-saṁ-vaśi ‘to sit together around [the ruler]’, pari- ni-vasi ‘to sit down around [the ruler]’ (see p. 68, n. 38) in BĀU, and with metaphorical expressions related with eating in JUB₄ and BĀU, where the supreme prāṇa is characterized as the sole eater of food and the other functions are said to have only a share in the food eaten by
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him. 27 JUB4 and BĀU have the following difference: the former states that the cosmic entities became again the corresponding vital functions when they took their shares in the food of the supreme prāna, which the latter does not state. 28 The ChU version also states the relationship of this prāna to eating with a similar expression to BĀU but without any reference to its kingship. The idea of the supreme prāna as the eater underlies the enigmatic verses in the above-mentioned JUB 3,1–2 (3,1,1–2) and ChU 4,3 (see p. 63). 29 The BĀU version borrows sentences, as the latter half of this portion, from ŚB 10,3,5, which deals with the mystical significance of the yajus and does not have thematic relationships with the present passage.

4. JUB3: JUB 2,4,1–3 (2,2,1–3)

1. sa eṣa vaśī dīptāgra udgītho yat prāṇaḥ. / eṣa hīḍaṃ sarvaṃ vaśe ’kuruta. 30 / eṣa hīḍaṃ sarvaṃ vaśe kurute. / 2. vaśī bhavati vaśe svān kurute ya evaṃ veda. / asya hy asaw agre dīpyate. 31 / amuṣya vā ayam. 32 / 3. tam haitam udgīthāṃ sātyāyanir ācaṣṭe / vaśī dīptāgra iti. / dīptāgrā ha vā asya kīrtīr bhavati ya evaṃ veda. /

27 For the expressions of ‘eater’ and ‘food’ as an analogue of the relationship between a ruler and people under him, see Rau 1957 [30], p. 34f.

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

29 JUB 3,2,2; 4 (3,1,2,2; 4):

mahātmanāś caturo deva ekaḥ kas so jagāra bhuvanasya gopāś tam kāpeya na vijānanti eke ’bhīpratārin bahudā nivīśtam iti / ātmā devānām uta mārtīṣānām hiraṇḍanāno rapaśo ‘nasūrur mahāntum asya mahīṃnānam āhur anudayamāno yad adantam attīti / ’One god has swallowed the four that have the large ātman — who is he? — the guardian of the world. O Kāpeya, Some do not discern him, O Abhiprāṭārin, who has been settled manifoldly. The ātman of the gods and mortals, the rapāsa (?) (rabhasa- ‘violent’ or bahhāsa- ‘devourer?’) with golden teeth, the son of breath, his greatness is great, they say, when he eats one who is eating, without being eaten.’ For the corresponding ChU 4,3,6–7, see Gotô [17], pp. 106–108.

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

31 Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22]: dīpyate3.

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1. This breath as such is the ruling-power holding and blazing-pointed udgītha. For this [breath] brought the whole of this [universe] under his ruling power. For this [breath] brings the whole of this [universe] under his ruling power.

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

4. JUŚ: JUŚ 2,11,7; 10–14 (2,4,2,7; 10–14)

7. athātmane kevalam evāṇnādyam āgāyata. / (8–9. on Ayāśyā Āṅgirasa, see p. 72) / 10. taṃ devā abruvan. / kevalaṃ vā atmane 'nādyam āgāsiḥ. / anu na etasmin annādyā ābhaja. / etad asāma yat tvam asiti. 33 / 11. taṃ vai mā 34 praviśaṭeti. / sa vā ākāśān kuruṣveti. / sa imān prāṇān ākāśān akuruṭa. / 12. taṃ vāg eva bhūtvāniḥ praviṣāṭ. / mano bhūtvā candramāḥ. / caksur bhūtvādityaḥ. / śrottram bhūtvā dīśaḥ. / prāṇo bhūtvā vāyuḥ. / 13. eṣā vai dāvī pariṣadāḥ. / dāvī samśat. / 14. gacchati ha vā etāṃ dāvīṁ pariṣadaṁ dāvīṁ sabhāṃ dāvīṁ saṁsadaṁ ya evaṁ veda. / ‘7. Then, by singing he (the breath in the mouth) procured provisions for himself as his exclusive possession. 35 (8–9. on Ayāśyā Āṅgirasa, see p. 72)

10. The gods said to him, “Verily, by singing you have procured provisions for yourself as your exclusive possession. Give us a share in those provisions. What you are [now], that is un-sāman36” 11. [He said,] “Verily, enter such me.” [The gods said,] “So, make spaces.” He made these prāṇas here as spaces. 12. Fire,

33 Thus the Mss.: etad asāma yat tvam asiti. Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22], Sharma [32]: etad asyānāmayat vam asiti.

34 Oertel [27], Limaye&Vadekar [22] omit mā.

35 kevalam here is not an adverb (‘only’ Oertel [27, p. 154]) but an adjective having the meaning ‘exclusively one’s own’. Cf. RV 10,145,2cd: sapātīṁ me pārā dhama pātīṁ me kēvalaṁ kuru ‘Blow away my rival woman. Make my husband mine alone’; SB 1,6,4,15: ātha yādhaivā purā / kevalār ēśadhir āśnānti kēvalār apāḥ pābanti tāḥ kēvalam evā pāyo duhrā evāṁ tād. ‘But just as, before [new moon], those [cows] eat plants as theirs alone, drink water as theirs alone, and yield milk as nothing but theirs alone, so is that [milk which they offer before new moon].’

36 For asāman-, cf. ChU 2,1–2: yat khalu sādhu tat sāmety ācakṣate. / yad asādhu tad asāmeti. / 1// tad utpā āhuh. / sāmānāṃya upagad iti. / sādhuḥ sāmānāṃya upagad ity eva tad āhuh. / 2// asādhuḥ sāmānāṃya upagad ity eva tad āhuh. / ‘As is known, when something is good, they call it “sāman”. When something is not good, they call it “un-sāman”. And in this regard, they also say, “Someone has approached him with sāman.” By this they [intend to] say, “Someone has approached
having become speech, entered him. The moon, having become mind, entered him. The wind, having become breath, entered him. 13. Verily, this is the divine meeting (pariṣad-), the divine assembly (sabha-), the divine gathering (saṁsād-).37 14. One goes to this divine meeting, divine assembly, divine gathering if he knows thus.

4. BĀU: BĀUK 1,3,17–18 (SBM 14,4,1,18–20) boldface = SB 10,3,5,8–9

āthātmāne 'nnādyam āgāyad. yād dhī kīṁ câñnam adyāte 'nēnasvā tād adyāta. ihā prātītisṭhati. //17// tē devā abruwann. etāvad vā idāṁ sārvāṁ yād ānām. tād ātārna āgaśir. ānu no 'smīn ānna ābhajasvēti. tē vāi mābhisāṃviṣatēti. tāthēti. tām samantaṁ pariṇāväśanta. tāsamād yād anēnānma ātti tēnaśaś trpyanty. evāṁ ha vā evaṁ svā abbhisāṃviśantī. bhārta svānāṁ śreṣṭhāḥ puraeṭā bhavatī annādā 'dhipatir yā evāṁ vēda. yā u haiṃvīdaṁ svēśu pratipratir būbhūṣati nā haiṃāḥ bāhūṣηbhyo bhavatī. dhā yā evaśām ānu bhavatī yō vaśām ānu bhāryān būbhūṣati sā haiṃāḥ bāhūṣηbhyo bhavatī. //18//

‘17. Then, by singing he (the breath in the mouth) procured provisions for himself. For whatever food is eaten, it is eaten by no other than this [breath] here. He bases himself firmly here [in this mouth]. 18. Then the gods said, “Verily, the whole of this [world] is as much as food. You procured it for yourself by singing. Give us a share in this food of you.” [He said to them.] “So, sit together around me.”38 They said, “Yes.” They sat down around him with good [will].” They say, “Someone has approached him with un-sāman.” By this they [intend to] say, “Someone has approached him with ill [will].”” Cf. also AB 3,3,2,4f. (≈ GB 2,3,20): 2. sāmaṁ bhavati ya evam veda. 3. yō vai bhavati yaḥ śreṣṭhatāṁ aśnute sa sāmaṁ bhavatī. asāmanya iti hi nindanti. ‘2. One comes to be in [the situation of] sāmaṁ if he knows thus. 3. Verily, when one prospers, when one attains eminence, he comes to be in [the situation of] sāmaṁ. For [people] reproach a man, saying “[a man] of un-sāmaṁ.”’

37 For the words pariṣad-, sabha- and saṁsād-, see Rau 1957 [30], pp. 75–83.

38 The verbs abhi-saṁ-viṣ and pari-ṇi-viṣ are used to express the obedient attitude of subjects or followers toward a king or a leader. For abhi-saṁ-viṣ, cf. AVŚ 3,3,4d (AVP 2,74,4d): imāṁ (AVP: garbhaṁ) sajātā abhisāṃviśadhvaṁ ‘Sit together around this [king]’ (AVP: the womb), ye clansmen’; TS 4,4,11,2 etc.: īdram iva deva abhi sām viśanta ‘Let [the seasonal bricks] sit together around [the two cool seasons] as the gods [sit together around] Indra.’ For pari-ṇi-viṣ, cf. SBM 4,3,4,11: aṅgir vāi paśūnāṁ iṣṭe. tā evaṁ abhītaḥ pārśvivaśante. ‘Agni rules over cattle. They sit down around him on every side’; SBM 14,1,1,7: tāṁ devā ānabhidhiṣṣṇuvantaḥ samantaṁ pariṇāviśanta ‘The gods, not daring to attack him (Viṣṇu), sat down around him
Therefore, when one eats food through this [breath] here, these [deities] are satisfied with that [food]. Verily in this way, if one knows thus, his people sit together around him, and he becomes the supporter, the chief, the leader, the food-eater, the ruler of his people. If anyone among the people wishes to become a rival of the one who knows thus, he does not at all become enough competent for his dependents. On the other hand, if anyone follows him, or if anyone, following him, wishes to support his dependents, he becomes enough competent for his dependents.

4. ChU: ChU 1,2,9

... / tena yad aśnāti yat pibati tenetarāṃ prāṇān avati. / etam u evāntato 'vittvotkramati vyādāty evāntata iti. //9/

‘9. ... When one eats and drinks through him (the breath in the mouth), one thereby helps the other vital functions. And at the end, not having found this very [breath in the mouth], one dies. [It is said:] “At the end one opens [his mouth] wide.”’

5. The supreme prāṇa is Ayāśya Āṅgirasa

In JUB4, BĀU and ChU, the supreme prāṇa in the mouth is identified with the sage Ayāśya Āṅgirasa. This identification is explained by a kind of folk etymology based on the sound similarity between āsya- ‘mouth’ and Ayāśya.39 In contrast to the brief statement in these three versions, JUB3 has a much longer passage on the sage Ayāśya Āṅgirasa, where he appears as the udgātṛ of Śaryāta Mānava and at the end he is identified with the prāṇa on the basis of the same folk etymology. His second name Āṅgirasa is also explained in JUB4, BĀU and ChU, but not in JUB3.

5. JUB3: JUB 2,7,1–2,8,9 (2,3,1–2,3,2,9)

2,7.1. śaryāto vai mānavah prācyām sthalyāṁ ayajata.40 / tasmin ha bhūtāny udgithe 'pitvam aiśire.41 / 2. taṃ devā bṛhaspatinodgātrā dīkṣāmahā iti purastād

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38 On all sides.

39 Cf. Tsuji, Etymologia upanishadica [34, pp. 19–38], p. 22.

40 = JB 3,159: śaryāto vai mānavah prācyām sthalyāṁ ayajata. Cf. JB 3,128: atha ha cyavana bhārgavaḥ punar yuvā bhātvagacchac charyatam mānavaṃ. taṃ prācyāṃ sthalyāṁ ayajayat. ‘Then Cyavana Bhārgava, after becoming young again, went to Śaryāta Mānava. He [as a priest] caused him (Śaryāta) to perform a sacrifice on the eastern height.’ Both passages are concerned with Cyavana legends.

41 Thus mss. A false perfect form for āśire, probably caused by analogy with aic-
'1. Verily, Śaryāta Mānava performed a sacrifice for himself on the eastern height. Living beings desired to have a share with him in the udgitha. 2. The gods came to him from the east, [saying,] “Let us consecrate ourselves with Brhaspati as [our] udgātṛ. Let this one sing the udgitha for you.” With Bamba Ājadvīṣa the Pītrṣ [came to him] from the south, [saying,] “Let this one sing the udgitha for you.” With Usanas Kavya the Asuras [came to him] from the west, [saying,] “Let this one sing the udgitha for you.” With Ayāsya Āngirasa men [came to him] from the north, [saying,] “Let this one sing the udgitha for you.” 3. He (Śaryāta Mānava) considered, “Come now, I will ask them. How much, verily, does one have in his power? How much does another [have in his power]? How much does the other [have in his power]?” 4. He said to Brhaspati, “If you should sing the udgitha for me, what would arise from it?” 5. He (Brhaspati) said, “There would arise glory among the gods. [There would arise] dominion among the gods. And I would cause you to go to the heavenly world.” 6. Then he said to Bamba Ājadvīṣa, “If you should sing the udgitha for me, what would arise from it?” 7. He (Bamba Ājadvīṣa) said, “There would arise glory among the Pītrṣ. [There would arise] dominion among the

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42 For loc.+ loc.+ apitvām īś, cf. ŚBM 4,1,2,6: sā heyām devēśu sutyāyām apitvām īśe ‘This [Aditi] as such desired to have a share with the gods in the Soma pressing.'
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Pitṛs. And I would cause you to go to the heavenly world.” 8. Then he said to Uśanas Kāvya, “If you should sing the udgītha for me, what would arise from it?” 9. He (Uśanas Kāvya) said, “There would arise glory among the Asuras. [There would arise] dominion among the Asuras. And I would cause you to go to the heavenly world.” 10. Then he said to Ayāsya Āṅgirasa, “If you should sing the udgītha for me, what would arise from it?” 11. He (Ayāsya Āṅgirasa) said, “I would place the gods in the world of the gods. [I would place] men in the world of men. [I would place] the Pitṛs in the world of the Pitṛs. I would push the Asuras away from this world. And I would cause you to go to the heavenly world.”

2, 8, 1. sa hovāca. / tvam me bhagava udgāya ya etasya sarvasyeśasa iti. 43 / 2. tasya häyāsyā evajagau. / tasmād udgūtā vṛta uttarato niveśanām lipṣeta. / etad dhy anāruddhaṁ niveśanāṁ 44 yad uttarataḥ. / 3. uttaraśa āgato 'yāsya āṅgirasaś śaryātasya māṇavasyajagau. / sa prāṇena devān devaloke 'dadhat. / apānena manuṣyān manuṣyaloke. / vyānena pitṛn pitṛloke. / hīṃkāreṇa vaśreṇā- smāl lokād asurān anudata. / 4. tān hovāca. dūrām gacchateti. / sa dūro ha nāma lokaḥ. / taṁ ha jagmaḥ. / ta ete 'surā asaṁheyaṁ 45 parābhūtāḥ. / 5. chandohir eva vācā śaryātam māṇavam svargaṁ lokāṁ gamayāṁ ca kārā. / 6. te hucr asurā. eta taṁ vedāna / yo no 'yaṁ itham adhāteti. / ta46 āgacchan. / tam etyāpājan. / 7. te 'bruwan. / ayaṁ vā āśya iti. / yad abravann ayaṁ vā āśya iti / tasmād ayāmasyaḥ. / ayāmasyo ha vai
nāmaiṣah. / tam ayāṣya iti parokṣam ācākṣate. / 8. sa prāṇo vā ayāṣyah. / prāṇo ha vā enān sa nunude. / 9. sa ya evaṁ vidvāṅ udgāyati / prāṇenaiva devān devaloke dadhāti. / apānena manuṣyān manuṣyaloke. / vyānena pitṛ Pitṛloke. / hiṃkāreṇaiva vaiṣṇavāṃ lokād duṣṭāṃ bhrātṛvayāṃ nudate. /

1. He (Śaryāta Mānava) said [to Ayāṣya Āṅgirasa], “You, sing the udgitha for me, as you would have this all in your power.” 2. It was Ayāṣya who sang the udgītha of him. Therefore, when one has been chosen as the udgātṛ, he should desire to take his resting place in the north. For this resting place in the north is unimpeded. 3. Having come from the north, Ayāṣya Āṅgirasa sang the udgītha of Śaryāta Mānava. With the prāṇa he placed the gods in the world of the gods. With the apāṇa [he placed] men in the world of men. With the vyāna [he placed] the Pitṛs in the world of the Pitṛs. With the hiṃkāra as a throwing club he pushed the Asuras away from this world. 4. He said to them, “Go far (dūram).” That is a world named “far (dūra).” They went to it. These Asuras as such were destroyed completely so that they could not rise up [again]. 5. With voice that is no other than meters, he caused Śaryāta Mānava to go to the heavenly world. 6. Then, the Asuras said, “Come. Let us know this one who placed us thus.” They came. Having come, they saw him. 7. They said, “Verily, this one is in the mouth.” Because they said, “Verily, this one (ayam) is in the mouth (āsyē),” therefore [he is called] Ayamāṣya. Verily, he is Ayamāṣya by name. They call him Ayāṣya mysteriously. 8. Ayāṣya is that prāṇa. Verily, as the prāṇa he pushed them away. 9. If one, knowing thus, sings the udgītha, he places the gods in the world of the gods with the same prāṇa, men in the world of men with the apāṇa, the Pitṛs in the world of the Pitṛs with the vyāna, pushes his hostile enemy away from this world with nothing but the hiṃkāra as a throwing club.’

5. JUB4: JUB 2,11,8–9 (2,4,2,8–9)

‘It is this [breath] as such who is Ayāṣya. He teaches orally in the mouth (āsyē). Therefore [he is called] Ayāṣya. And as he rests in the mouth, therefore also [he is called] Ayāṣya. It is this [breath] as such who is Āṅgirasa. For these

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

5. BĀU: BĀUK 1,3,8; 19 (ŚBM 14,4,1,9; 21)

té hocuh. kvā nū sā 'bhūd yó na itthām āsaktety. ayām āsyē 'ntār īti. sō 'yāsyā āṅgirasā. 'ṅāṅāṁ hī rāsah. //8//

'8. They (the gods) said, "What has become of him (the prāṇa) who has thus attached himself to us?" "[He is] this one here (ayām) within the mouth (āsyē)." He is Ayāsyā Āṅgirasa. For [he is] the sap of the limbs.'

sō 'yāsyā āṅgirasā. 'ṅāṅāṁ hī rāsah. prāṇo vā āṅganaṁ rāsah. prāṇo hī vā āṅganaṁ rāsas. tāsmād yāsmāt kāsmāt cāṅgāt prāṇa utkṛāmati tād evā tāc chuṣyaty. esā hī vā āṅganaṁ rāsah. //19//

'19. He (the prāṇa) is Ayāsyā Āṅgirasa. For [he is] the sap of the limbs. Verily, the sap of the limbs is the prāṇa. For, verily, the sap of the limbs is the prāṇa. Therefore, from whichever limb the prāṇa departs, it is that [limb] which withers then. For, verily, he is the sap of the limbs.'

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

tañ hāṅgirā udgītham upāśaṁ cakre. / etam u evāṅgirasam manyante. 'ṅāṅāṁ yad rasaḥ. //10// tena.49 taṁ ha ... //11// tena. taṁ hāyasya udgītham upāśaṁ cakre. etam u evāyasyaṁ manyante. asyād yad ayate //12// tena.49 taṁ ha ... //13//

'10. Āṅgiras worshiped him (the breath in the mouth) as the udgītha. And they consider this very [breath] to be Āṅgirasa. Because he is the sap of the limbs, 11. therefore. ... 12. therefore. Ayāsyā worshiped him (the breath in the mouth) as the udgītha. And they consider this very [breath] to be Ayāsyā. Because he goes from the mouth (āsyād... ayate), 13. therefore. ...'

6. The supreme prāṇa is Brhaspati

In BĀU and ChU, the supreme prāṇa in the mouth is also identified with Brhaspati. As mentioned above (p. 64, n. 25), JUB₂ also states the identification with Brhaspati in similar sentences, yet it is not the prāṇa but the apāna that is identified.

48 For the phrase kva... bhū, see Hoffmann [19, Bd. 1], p. 99.
49 Probably the sentence ends here, because enclitics like ha occupy the second position in a sentence (Wackernagel's law). Böhtlingk ([6]), Senart ([31]) and Morgenroth ([25]) move tena to the end of the preceding sentences in their editions.
6. **BĀU**: BĀUK 1,3,20 (ŚBM 14,4,1,22) dotted line ≈ ChU ~ JUB2
eśā u evā brhaspātir. vāg vāi brhati. tāsyā esā pātis. tásmād u brhaspātih.
/\20//

'20. And it is he (the breath in the mouth) who is Brhaspati. Verily the brhati ('lofty speech, high voice') is speech. He is the lord of it (speech). And therefore [he is] Brhaspati.'

6. **ChU**: ChU 1,2,11 dotted line ≈ BĀU ~ JUB2
tena. tam ha brhaspatir udgītham upāsāṁ cakre. / etam u eva brhaspatim manyante. / vāg ghi brhati. tasyā esā patih. /\11//$

'11. Therefore. Brhaspati worshiped him (the breath in the mouth) as the udgītha. And they consider this very [breath] to be Brhaspati. For the brhati ('lofty speech, high voice') is speech. He is the lord of it (speech).'

7. **The supreme prāṇa is the sāman**

This and the next portions are included only in the BĀU version, but corresponding sentences are found in the JUB outside the present passage. In BĀU, the passage continues and tells the identification of the prāṇa in the mouth with the sāman by giving the following two folk-etymological explanations for the word sāman.\(^{50}\)

7. **BĀU**: BĀUK 1,3,22 (ŚBM 14,4,1,24) underline = JUB 1,53,5
eśā\(^{51}\) u evā sāma. vāg vāi sāmaṁsā sā cāmaṁ cēti. tāt sāmāṁsā sāmatvām. yād v evā sāmaṁ plūśīnā samō maśākena samō nāgēna samā ebhīs tribhir lokāth samō 'nēna sārveva tāsmād v evā sāmaṁsute sāmāṁsā sāyujyam salokātām yā evām etāt sāma vēda. /\22//

'22. And the sāman is nothing but this [breath in the mouth]. Verily, the sāman is speech. It (the sāman) is [referred to as] "She (sā-) and he (āma-)." That is why the sāman is [called] sāman. And because it is equal (samā-) to a flea, equal to a mosquito, equal to an elephant, equal to these three worlds, equal to the whole of this [universe], for that very reason it is the sāman. One attains the state of being yoked together and living in the same world (open space)

\(^{50}\) For these folk etymologies, cf. Tsuji [34], p. 35f.

\(^{51}\) Here the pronoun esā keeps its original gender without taking the neuter form in agreement with the neuter noun sāman, probably because the same expression is repeated in succession in BĀU 1,3,20–25 and the stess is laid on the prāṇa itself not on the things identified with it. Cf. p. 76, n. 55; also p. 64, n. 24.
with the sāman, if he knows it as the sāman thus.'

The JUB has the first explanation, partly with the same sentences, in two places (1,53,5; 1,56,2) near the present passage, in the context of the marriage between the sāman and rc:

JUB 1,53,4–5 (1,17,1,4–5)

boldface = JUB 1,56,2, dotted line = AB 3,23,1, underline = BĀU

4. seyaṁ ṛg asmin sāman mithunam aicchata. / tām aprṛcchat. / kā tvam asīti. / sāham asmīty abravīt. / atha vā aham amo 'smīti. / 5. tad yat sā cāmaṣ ca / tat sāmabhavat. / tat sāmnas sāmatvam.

'4. This rc here as such desired intercourse with this sāman here. He (the sāman) asked her (the rc), “Who are you?” She said, “I am she (sā-).” “Then, verily, I am he (ama-)” [said he]. 5. What was she (sā-) and he (ama-), that became the sāman. That is why the sāman is [called] sāman.’

These sentences (JUB 1,53,5; 1,56,2) themselves are probably borrowed from AB 3,23,1, which also contains the same expression. A similar expression also occurs near: amo ḍham asmi sā tvāṁ sā tvāṁ asy amo ḍham. ‘I am he (ama-). You are she (sā-). You are she (sā-). I am he (ama-)’ (JUB 1,54,6 and 1,57,4). Together with the preceding passage, JUB 1,50–52 (1,16,1–3), on the marriage between the firmament and the earth, JUB 1,53–55 (1,17,1–3) and 1,56–57 (1,18,1–2), which include the quoted sentences, form a series of stories with the same marriage motif. Those marriage stories as a whole are based on a verse in the marriage hymn of the AV: AVŚ 14,2,71 (≈ AVP 18,14,1): ámo ḍham asmi sā tvāṁ sāmabhām asmy ḍk tvāṁ dyāur ahāṁ prthivī tvāṁ / táv ihā sāṁ bhavāva praẏām á janayāvahai // ‘I am he (āma-). You are she (sā-). I am the sāman. Your are the rc. You are the firmament. You are the earth. Let us two unite. Let us generate progeny.’

The ChU has a passage based on the

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52 AB 3,23,1: ṛk ca vā idam agra sāma cāṣṭāṁ, saiva nāma ṛg āśid amo nāma sāma. sā vā ṛk sāmopāvadān mithunam sāmabhavāva praṇyāya iti. ... yad vai tad sā cāmaṣ ca samabhavatōṁ tad sāmabhavat. tat sāmnah sāmatvam, (dotted line = JUB1,53,5; 1,56,2, underline = BĀU) ‘In the beginning the rc and the sāman are alone this [universe]. The rc was called nothing but she (sā-). The sāman was called he (ama-). Verily, the rc as such spoke to the sāman, “Let us two unite as a couple for generation.” ... Verily when she (sā-) and he (ama-) became united [as a couple] thus, then it became the sāman. That is why the sāman is [called] sāman.’ Cf. VadhS, AO 6 [9], p. 145.

53 This verse has many variants (KS 35,18; KapS 47,16; TB 3,7,1,9 = ĀpŚS 9,2,3; AB 8,27,4; BĀU 6,4,19), and is used in the marriage ceremony according to the
same etymology (1,6–1–6; 1,7,1–4) after the present passage.54

As to the second etymology in BÀU, similar explanations are found in the JUB and the ChU in the context of the five parts and the seven parts of the sāman. JUB 1,12,5: sa eṣa sarvair lokais samaḥ. / tad yad eṣa sarvair lokais samaḥ / tasmād eṣa eva sāma. / ‘This [sun] as such is equal to all the worlds.

Because this is equal (sama-) to all the worlds, therefore the sāman is nothing but this [sun]; ChU 2,9,1: sarvadā samas. tena sāma. / māṃ prati māṃ pratiti. sarveṣa samas. tena sāma. // ‘The sun’ is always equal (sama-). Therefore [it is] the sāman. [They say], “[It faces] toward me,” “[It faces] toward me.” [The sun] is equal (sama) to all. Therefore [it is] the sāman.’

8. The sva, suvarṇa and pratiṣṭhā of the sāman

BÀU continues the identification of the supreme praṇa, finally, with the udgīthā (1,3,23), and in conclusion it cites an emphatic utterance made by Brahmadatta Caikitāneya (1,3,24).56 After that, BÀU changes the topic from the supreme praṇa to the sāman itself and explains the property (svā-), the gold (suva-), and the base (pratiṣṭhā-) of the sāman, as follows:

8. BÀU: BÀUK 1,3,25–27 (SBM 14,4,1,27–29)
tāsya hatāsya sāmmo yāsvaṁ véda bhāvati hāsya svāṁ. tāsya vái svāra evā


54 E.g. ChU 1,6,1: iyam evark. / agniḥ sāma. / tad etad etasyām rcy adhyūdhah ṣāma. / tasmād rcy adhyūdhah ṣāma gīyate. / iyam eva sā. / agnir amah. / tat sāma. // ‘The rc is this [earth]. The sāman is fire. This sāman as such [which is represented by fire] is loaded on this rc [which is represented by the earth]. Therefore the sāman is sung, being loaded on the rc. Sā (‘she’) is this [earth]. Ama (‘he’) is fire. Therefore, [it is called] sāman.’

55 Here again the pronoun eṣa keeps its original gender. Cf. p. 74, n. 51.

56 BÀUK 1,3,24 (SB14,4,1,26): tād dhāpi brahmaddattō caikitāneyō rājānam bhaksā- yann uvācāyāṁ tyāsya rājā mārdhaṇam vipātyatād yād ito yāsyā āṅgirasō nyēnodāgāyad iti. vācā ca hy evā sā prāṇēna codāgāyad iti. // ‘With reference to it, Brahmadatta Caikitāneya also said, when drinking the King (Soma) [in the Soma sacrifice], “The King (Soma) shall shatter apart the head of this one (=me), if Ayāsya Āṅgirasa sang the udgīthā by other means than this here (i.e. the breath in the mouth).”’ [And he added], “For he sang only with voice and breath.”’ For vi-pat, see Witzel 1987 [37]. In the JUB, Brahmadatta Caikitāneya appears as a teacher in two passages (JUB 1,38; 1,59), where he is also called Dālbhya. For this personage, see Koskikallio 1999 [20], pp. 320–323.
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svām. tāsmād ārtviṣyāṃ kariṣyān vācī svāram iccheta. tāyā vācā svārasaṃ-
pannayārtviṣyāṃ kuryāt. tāsmād yaṃya svāram evātā yāsya svām bhāvati. bhāvati hāsya svām yā evām etāt sāmnas svām vēda. //25//
tāsyā hātāsya sāmno yāsvuvaṇaṃ vēda bhāvati hāsya suvaṇaṃ. tāsyā vāi svāra eva suvaṇaṃ. bhāvati hāsya suvaṇaṃ yā evām etāt sāmnas suvaṇaṃ vēda. //26// tāsyā hātāsya sāmno yāh pratiśṭhāṃ vēda prāti ha tiṣṭhāti. tāsyā vāi vāg eva pratiśṭhā. vācī hī khālv ēṣā etāt prāṇāḥ pratiśṭhito giyātē. ’nna īty u hāika āhuḥ. //27//

‘25. If one knows the property (svā-) of this sāman as such, he comes to pos-
sess property. Verily, its (the sāman’s) property is nothing but tone (svāra-).
Therefore, when one is about to perform the priestly office, he should seek tone
in voice. He should perform the priestly office with such voice as endowed with
tone. Therefore, they are eager to see [a priest] rich in tone in the sacrifice. And
also [they are eager to see] one who comes to possess property. One comes to possess
property, if he knows thus this property of the sāman. 26. If one knows
the gold (swarna-) of this sāman as such, he comes to possess gold. Verily, its
(the sāman’s) gold is nothing but tone (swāra-). One comes to possess gold, if
he knows thus this gold of the sāman. 27. If one knows the base (pratiśṭhā-)
of this sāman as such, he bases himself firmly. Verily, its (the sāman’s) base is
nothing but voice. For, as is known, having based itself on voice, this breath is
sung then. But some say, “[having based itself] on food.”

These explanations are not included in the other versions. But two of the
three are found outside the present passage in the JUB, which has the fol-
lowing sentences in Satyādhivāka Caitrarathi’s teachings on the sāman’s śrī,
pratiśṭhā, swarnaṣa, apaciti, and śruti (1,39):

JUB 1,39,3–4 (1,12,5,3–4)
yo vai sāmnah pratiśṭhāṃ vidvān sāmnārtviṣyāṃ karoti / prati eva tiṣṭhāti. /
vāg vāva sāmnah pratiśṭhāti. / yo vai sāmnas swarṇaṃ vidvān sāmnārtviṣyāṃ
karoti / adhy asya grhe swarṇaṃ gamyate. / prāṇo vāva sāmnas swarṇaṁ
iti. /

‘[He said.] “Verily, if one, knowing the base of the sāman, performs the priestly
office with the sāman, he bases himself firmly. The base of the sāman is nothing
but voice.” “Verily, if one, knowing the gold of the sāman, performs the priestly
office with the sāman, gold is found in his house. The gold of the sāman is
nothing but breath.”

57 For this accent, see Maue [24], p. 66, n. 32.
As noted by Oertel ([27], p. 233 on JUB 1,39,3; 4), a similar description of these three items is preserved in a later Sāmavedic text, the Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa.58

9. The abhyāroha of the pavamāna-stotras

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

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


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

58 SVidhB 1,1,11–12: 11. yo ha vai sāmnaḥ svām yāḥ svarsvam veda svām ca ha vai sāmnaḥ svarsvam ca bhavati. svaro váva sāmnaḥ svām. tad eva svarsvam. 12. yo ha vai sāmnaḥ pratiṣṭhām veda prati ha tiṣṭhaty asmiṁ ca loke 'muṣmimśa ca. vāg váva sāmnaḥ pratiṣṭhā. yad v etad vāg īty rgy eva saci sām pratiṣṭhitam. ‘11. Verily, if one [knows] the property of the sāman, if one knows the gold [of the sāman], he comes to possess the property and the gold of the sāman. The property of the sāman is nothing but tone. The gold is nothing but that (the property). 12. Verily, if one knows the base of the sāman, he bases himself firmly both in this world and in that world. The base of the sāman is nothing but voice. What is [referred to] as voice, that is the rc. The sāman bases itself on the rc.’ For the supposed original relationship of the SVidhB, now belonging to the Kauthuma tradition, with the Jaiminiya Sāmaveda, see Caland 1907 [7], p. 35.
death to immortality. Make me immortal,” so indeed he says then in effect. When he says, “Lead me from darkness to light” — Verily, darkness is death. Light is immortality. — “Lead me from death to immortality. Make me immortal,” so indeed he says then in effect. In [the words,] “Lead me from death to immortality,” there is nothing hidden (i.e. unclear).’

First we should note that a similar expression to the first sentence occurs in ŚB 12,2,3,10, which begins with: átha vá átó ’hnām abhyārohāḥ ‘Verily now here the ascent to the days [of the Gāvāmāyanaya sacrifice].’ After this sentence it is told that by means of each series of days in the first half of the yearly Gāvāmāyanaya, they (the sacrificers) ascend to its corresponding series of days in the latter half one by one in this way: prāyañīyañitāṅtirāśrodayañīyam atirātām abhyārohanti ‘By means of the opening Atirātra, they ascend to the ending Atirātra.’ As there the word abhyāroha means the sacrificers’ ascent to the days of the Gāvāmāyanaya, here also the word seems to mean the sacrificer’s ascent to the pavamāna-stotras.

The sacrificer’s muttering of this formula itself is not stated in the Brāhmaṇas nor in the Śrutastūras including the Kāṭāśtras with the single exception of the Śāṅkhāśtras, which orders the sacrificer to mutter this very formula just before the pavamāna-stotras and other formulas after them (6,8,9–11). In contrast to the abhyāroha muttering, the latter muttering is prescribed in

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59 For the ritual calendar of the Gāvāmāyanaya, see Murakawa 2000 [26], pp. 112–114.
60 We can compare this with the passage in the JB which states that one ascends (abhyārohati) the lauds one by one in the Jyotisāma sacrifice (1,303–306). Cf. Bode-witz [4], p. 307, n. 25 (with a table).
61 Śāṅkhāśtras 6,8,9–13. 9. asato mā sad gamaya tamaso mā jyotir gamayāntān mānantaṁ gamaya mṛtyor māmāntaṁ gamayetār yaṣajmanāḥ pavamānāṁ upasārisyaṁ. 10. śyena ‘si patvā gāyatracchandā anu tvārābhe svasti mā samparāyasya yaṁyasyodrçam iti stute bahispavamāne. 11. suparśo ‘si patvā triṣṭuṣphandā iti mādhyandine. 12. sakhāsi patvā jagaṭchandā ity ārhave. 13. samāna udārakā. ‘9. The sacrificer, when he is about to approach the pavamāna lauds, [utters the formula]: “Lead me from non-existence to existence. Lead me from darkness to light. Lead me from the end to the endless. Lead me from death to immortality.” 10. When the bahispavamāna laud has been chanted, [the sacrificer mutters the formula:] “Thou art a flying falcon, whose metre is the gāyatṛī. I hold on to thee from behind. Convey me over in safety to the end of the sacrifice.” 11. When the mādhyandinapavamāna laud [has been chanted], “Thou art a flying eagle, whose metre is the triṣṭubh.” 12. When the ārhavepavamāna laud [has been chanted], “Thou art a flying vulture (?) (sakhā : sāghan- TS), whose metre is the jagati.” 13. The ending words [of the formulas] are the same.’

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the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrautasūtras in the name of anvāroha.\textsuperscript{62} As Caland remarks,\textsuperscript{63} the Śāṅkh ŚŚ seems to have only embodied the present statement found in the BĀU in its ritual procedure, but it suggests the possibility that the abhyāroha muttering was newly created in the BĀU as a counterpart of the already established anvāroha muttering.

10. Epilogue

After the abhyāroha of the pavamāṇa-stotras, BĀU briefly refers to the other stotras,\textsuperscript{64} and concludes the present passage with sentences corresponding to the much longer ending of JUB\textsubscript{4}. The problem is the pronouns tād...etād at the beginning of BĀU’s ending. They do not refer to the preceding subject nor to the main subject of the whole passage, but to the sāman, which BĀU deals with just before the abhyāroha portion. JUB\textsubscript{4}, on the contrary, does not mention the sāman in its ending, which continues the preceding topic of the prāṇas and the cosmic entities (called here devatāḥ ‘deities’). Probably, as a result of the change of the topic from the supreme prāṇa to the sāman in BĀU, there the sāman has become the final object which one must know. ChU has the ending which makes the present passage a continuation of the passage on the identification of the syllable om with the udgīthā from the opening section of the ChU.

10. JUB\textsubscript{4}: JUB 2,12,8–9 (2,4,3,8–9) dotted line $\approx$ BĀU

\textsuperscript{62} E.g. TS 3,2,1,1–2: yó vá pávamānānām anvārohān vidvān yājate ’nu pávamānān á rohati ná pávamānebhyó ’va chidyate. ȳgenò ’si gāyatrachandā ... ‘Verily, if one, knowing the anvārohas of the pavamāna lauds, performs the sacrifice as the sacrificer, he ascends after on the pavamāna lauds, and is not cut from the pavamāna lauds. [He says,] “Thou art a falcon, whose metre is the gāyatrī...’’ Cf. SB 12,3,4,3–5. The time when the sacrificer mutters the anvāroha formulas is different among the Śrautasūtras. See Fujii 1986 [11], p. 17.

\textsuperscript{63} Caland [10], p. 153 on Śāṅkh ŚŚ 6,8,9: “Very probably the source of this prescript is SB. XIV.4.1.30.”

\textsuperscript{64} BĀUK 1,3,28 (SBM 14,4,33): átha yánītarāṇī stotrāṇī téṣv ātmāne ’nnādyam āgāyet. tāsmād u téṣa vārami yugita yāṁ kāmaṁ kāmāyetatāṁ. sí esa evanvād udgaṭātmāne vā yājamānāya vā yāṁ kāmaṁ kāmāyate tām āgāyati. “Then at the other lauds he should procure provisions for himself by singing. And therefore, at those [lauds] he should choose as a boon whatever desire he would desire. The udgāтр as such who knows thus procures either for himself or for the sacrificer whatever desire he desires by singing.’
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6. yāvadāvaśā (?)
   u hāsyemē prāṇā asminīr loke / etāvadāvaśā (?)
   u hāsyaitā devatā amuśminīr loke bhavanti. / 7. tasmād u haivaṃ vidvān nāvāgraḥatāyai
   bibhiyān nālokatāyai. / etā me devatā asmin loke gṛhān kariśyanti. / etā amuśmin loke
   lokam pradāsyantiiti. / 8. tasmād u haivaṃ vidvān nāvāgraḥatāyai bibhiyān nālokatāyai.
   / etā me devatā asmin loke gṛhebhya gṛhān kariśyanti / svebhya āyatanebhya iti haiva vidyāt. / etā amuśmin loke lokam
   pradāsyantiiti. / 9. tasmād u haivaṃ vidvān nāvāgraḥatāyai bibhiyān nālokata-
   tāyai. / etā ma etad ubhayam saṁnaṃsyantīti haiva vidyāt. / tathā haiva bhavati. /

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

10. BĀU: BĀUK 1,3,28 (ŚBM 14,4,1,33) dotted line = JUB₄
tād dhaśtāl lokajīd evā. nā haivaślokyātāyā āśāṣti yā evām etāt sāma vēdā. //28/ //

   ‘This as such is nothing but the one that acquires a world (open space) [in yonder world]. If one knows this sāman thus, there is no expectation of the state of having no world (open space) [in yonder world].’

10. ChU: ChU 1,2,13–14

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

66 After loke, all the editions ([27] [22] [32]) and some Grantha mss. have: bhavati. tasmād u.
Conclusion

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

- There are close textual relationships between \( JUB_1 \) (1,60) and \( JUB_3 \) (2,3–9), and between \( JUB_2 \) (2,1–2) and \( JUB_4 \) (2,10–12) (cf. portions 1–3). Of each pair of versions, the latter version is based on the former one. Belonging to different pairs respectively, \( JUB_2 \) and \( JUB_3 \) have the same order and names of the vital functions (cf. 2); \( JUB_3 \) and \( JUB_4 \) have portions in common on the kingship of the supreme \( prāṇa \) and on the sage Ayāśya Āṅgirasa (4; 5). These facts show that the four versions were produced in the same order of the present text as a textual development within the JUB, i.e., first \( JUB_1 \), second \( JUB_2 \), third \( JUB_3 \) on the basis of mainly \( JUB_1 \) and partly \( JUB_2 \), finally \( JUB_4 \) on the basis of mainly \( JUB_2 \) and partly \( JUB_3 \). This development implies the possibility that the JUB itself or safely speaking its first half (book 1 and 2) ended with \( JUB_1 \), the last passage of the first book, at one time before its enlargement with the other versions. The textual unity of the first book is also shown by the occurrence of the same ending in the first and the final chapters (1,7,6 ≈ 1,60,7–8, see p. 59, n. 17).

- The largest BĀU version (BĀUK 1,3; ŠBM 14,4,1) is closely parallel to the final version of the JUB. If we suppose that the BĀU version precedes the JUB versions, it is difficult to explain the textual development within the JUB through the four phases mentioned above. Yet it might be possible that the final development of the JUB versions was caused by the BĀU.

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67 For Baka Dālbhya in Vedic and post-Vedic texts, see Koski-Kallio [20].
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version. But from the fact that except the abhyāroha portion (9), the portions included only in the BĀU version are found outside, all before, the present passage in the JUB (7; 8), we may infer that the author of the BĀU version had a knowledge of the JUB or at least of its first two books. Because of the Sāmavedic contents of this passage, we cannot deny the possibility that the BĀU borrowed the most enlarged version of the passage from some Sāmavedic source other than the JUB. Even in that case, it was the Vājasaneyins who made the present text which contains sentences borrowed from the ŚB (cf. 4; 9).

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

Abbreviations

| AĀ  | Aitareya-Āranyaka  | KapS | Kapiṣṭhalakaṭha-Saṃhitā |
| AB  | Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa | KāṭŚŚ | Kātyāyana-Śrautasyatra |
| ApŚŚ | Āpastamba-Śrāutasūtra | KauśU | Kauśitaki-Upaniṣad |
| AU  | Aitareya-Upaniṣad | KenaU | Kena-Upaniṣad |
| AVP | Atharvaveda | KŚ | Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā |
|     | (Paippalāda recension) | PB | Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa |
| AVŚ | Atharvaveda | PraśU | Praśna-Upaniṣad |
|     | (Śaunaka recension) | RV | Ṛgveda |
| BĀU | Brhadāranyaka-Upaniṣad | ŚāukhĀ | Śāṅkhāyana-Āranyaka |
| BĀUK | Brhadāranyaka-Upaniṣad | ŚāukhŚŚ | Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra |
|     | (Kāyā recension) | ŚB | Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa |
| ChU | Chāndogya-Upaniṣad | ŚBM | Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa |
|     | Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa | (Mādhyandina recension) | SVidhb | Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmaṇa |
| JB  | Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa | TS | Taิตṭiriya-Saṃhitā |
| JUB | Jaiminiya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa |
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