Two Ritual Topics in the Āhnika Section:
The Tūrthas in the Hand and the Praṇāyāma

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1. The Tūrthas in the Hand

The word tūrtha means, among others, places or parts in the right hand which have a special relationship with certain supernatural beings such as gods, ancestors and the like. In Yājñavalkyaśmiṇī 1.19 we read as follows:

kaniṣṭhādevaṁyaṁguṣṭhamūlāṇy agrāṁ karasya ca / prajāpatipitrābrahmavedava-
tūrthāṁ anukramat //

"The roots of the smallest finger, of the index finger and of the thumb and the tip(s of the fingers) of the hand are tūrthas of Prajāpati, fathers, Brahmā, and gods respectively."

This is not an only occurrence of the interesting statement about the relation between parts in the hand and supernatural beings. O. Bōhtlingk’s Sanskrit-Wörterbuch mentions under the headword of tūrtha, besides the Yājñavalkyaśmiṇī, Amarakośa 2.7.50cd-51ab, Abhidhānacintāmaṇī 840, Manusmṛti 2.58, 59, 61, Mbh 13.5058 (13.107.96-97 in the critical edition), MärkP 34.103ff. (31.107-109 in Nag Publishers’ edition), a commentary on Kātyāyanaśāstra 4.1.10 [291,16-18]. J. Gonda in his Vedic Ritual on p.70 refers to VaikṛtaGS 1.5 [7,4-6], Baudhāyanaśāstra 4.7.2, and Āgniśūra 2.6.1 [93,5-8]. As G. Bühnemann in her Pūjā on p.104 says P. V. Kane discusses these tūrthas in his History of Dharmāsāstra, Vol. II on p.316 and p.652f. On p.316 Kane gives, along with Yājñavalkyāśmiṇī and Baudhāyanaśāstra, further Viṣṇuśastras 62.1-4 and Vaiṣṇavaśāstra 3.64-68. We can add here further the following texts: HirGŚ 1.1.3 [2,4-5], 1.2.2 [9,6-9] (almost the same with BodhGŚ 4.7.2), Pārśvanāthaśāstra 410,6-8], Bṛhadāyājñavalkyāśmiṇī 7.75-77ab, PadmaP 3.52. 16cd-19ab, SkandaP 3.2.5.110-111ab, 4.35.178-179ab, Vaiṣṇavaśāstra 2.88.9cd-10ab and 3.233.1. We have thus more than twenty sources of information about the tūrthas in the hand. At first sight, however, they show considerable varieties in the positions of deities on the places in the
hand. ‘As everywhere, there are differences here also.’ [Kane 1974: 316] In the following, I attempt at getting more or less clear pictures of these tīrthas by analyzing these occurrences.

The analysis will be done according to the number of the tīrthas. A passage in the Mahābhārata 13.107.96-97ac mentions three tīrthas: a brāhma tīrtha at the root of the thumb, a deva tīrtha at the base of the little finger, and a tīrtha for the fathers between the thumb and the forefinger.(1) These are three tīrthas of four given by the Yājñavalkyasūrti with exception of the tīrtha for the gods situated at the tips of the fingers.

Like the Yājñavalkyasūrti HirGŚŚ 1.1.3 [2,4-5], Viśuṣmṛī 62.1-4, MārKp 31.107-109, Amarakośa 2.7.50cd-51ab, and Abhidhānaçintāmaṇī 840 (2) name four tīrthas: along with the three tīrthas mentioned above, a daiva tīrtha situated at the tips of the fingers is added. The Manusmṛī 2.59 reads as follows:

＞angusthamulasya tale brhma tirtham pracaṣate / kāyam aṅgulimule ‘gre daivam pitryam tayor adhaḥ / “They call (the part) at the root of the thumb the tīrtha sacred to Brahmān, that at the root of the (little) finger (the tīrtha) sacred to Ka (Prajāpati), (that) at the tips (of the fingers, the tīrtha) sacred to the gods, and that below (between the index and the thumb, the tīrtha) sacred to the manes.” (Bühler)

According to this translation, the Manusmṛī also refers to these four tīrthas. However Bühler’s translation of aṅgulimule by “at the root of the (little) finger” is , as he says in his note thereon, based on commentaries of Kullukabhaṭṭa, Sarvajñaśrīraṇa, and Rāghavānanda, and other commentators, Medhātithi and Nandanacārya literally interpret it as ”at the root of the fingers.” The BaudhDhŚ 1.5.8.12-13 gives also a partly unclear description:

＞angusthamulam brhmaṃ tirtham /12/ aṅgusthagram pitryam aṅgulyagraṃ daivam aṅgulimalam ārṣam /13/ ”The part (of the hand) at the root of the thumb (is called) the Tīrtha sacred to Brahmān. The part above the thumb (is called the Tīrtha) sacred to the manes, the part at the tips of the fingers that sacred to the gods, the part at the root of the fingers that sacred to the Rishis.” (Bühler)

Here Bühler translates aṅgulimālam by ”the part at the root of the fingers.” So the description of the Manusmṛī of aṅgulimule can be interpreted in the same way. We will come back to the problem of the interpretation of aṅgulimāla later again. The BaudhDhŚ poses another problem; the position of the tīrtha for the pitṛs on the tip of the thumb is curious. Commentary on this gives the usual position of it on the palm between the thumb and the forefinger on the basis of VāśDhŚ.(3)
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The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa teaches four tīrthas in two places (4): the only difference is the tīrtha situated at the root of the little finger, which is here dedicated to the human beings (mānuṣa).

Now we come to the cases of five tīrthas. The Pariśiṣṭa of the Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra (5) mentions five tīrthas; in addition to the four tīrthas which are known from the description of the Yājñavalkyasūtra and the like the Pariśiṣṭa of the Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra puts a tīrtha for Agni in the middle of the palm. Almost the same five tīrthas are described by the Brhad yogiyājñavalkyasūtra 7.75-77ab (6); one difference is the name of the tīrtha in the middle of the palm which is called here saumya. The Śeṣa of the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 152a names also the tīrtha in the middle of the palm as saumya. (7)

The Āgniśeṣṭha Gṛhyasūtra and the Bodhāyana Gṛhyasūṭaśūṣṭra offer another set of five tīrthas. (8) They are as follows: the tīrtha of the gods in the middle of the fingers, that of Rṣis at the tips of the fingers, other three tīrthas of Brahma, the pīḷu, and Agni are located as in the Pariśiṣṭa of the Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra. Differences are: the tips of the fingers are dedicated to the Rṣis and the tīrtha of the gods is situated in the middle of the fingers. The Hiranyakeshi Gṛhyasūṭaśūṣṭra (9) gives almost the same description of the five tīrthas as the Bodhāyana Gṛhyasūṭaśūṣṭra, but again with a slightly different reading: regarding the position of the tīrtha of the gods this text says, instead of “in the middle of the fingers,” aṅgulimūle “in the root of the fingers.” I would almost like to correct the reading of aṅgulimūle in the HirGŚS into aṅgulimadhye, but these five parts, namely the tips of the fingers, the root of the fingers, the root of the thumb, the place between the thumb and the forefinger, and the middle part of the palm are given in two places of the Skanda Purāṇa (10). But deities allotted to the tips and to the roots of the fingers are reversed in this Purāṇa: it is the gods who are located at the tips of the fingers and the Rṣis are assigned the roots of the fingers. Furthermore, the place in the middle of the palm is occupied, not by Agni as in other texts, but by Prājapati.

VāsDhŚ 3.26 and 3.64-68 give six tīrthas. (11) According to the interpretation of Bühler of VāsDhŚ 3.65 aṅgulīyam rṣīṇām “That sacred to the Rishis in the middle of the fingers,” these six tīrthas are as follows: the brāhma tīrtha at the root of the thumb, the daiva tīrtha at the root of the little finger, the tīrtha for the Rṣis in the middle of the fingers, the tīrtha for the human beings at the tips of the fingers, the āṇīṇya tīrtha in the middle of the palm, and the pīṭrīya tīrtha between the thumb and the forefinger. As regards the position
of these ātriṣas, the five ātriṣas are situated in the same parts of the hand as in the description of the ĀgniGS and BodhgŚS with the addition of the daiva ātriṣa at the root of the little finger. Six ātriṣas are also mentioned by VaikhGS 1.5 [7,4-6] as follows:

*dakṣiṇapāṇer madhyamatālam āgniyaṃ tṝrtham kaniṣṭhāṅgulimūlam daivam sarvāṅgulimūlam ārṣam praḍeśiyaṅgūṣṭhāyor madhyam paśyakam aṅgūṣṭhasya mūlam brāhmaṇam* “Of the right hand, the middle part of the palm is the part sacred to Āgni; the root of the little finger is that sacred to the Gods; the roots and (or) the tips of all the fingers are those sacred to the Rṣis; the part between the index and thumb is that sacred to the Fathers; the root of the thumb is that sacred to Brahman.” (Caland)

It is here worthy of note that a ātriṣa at the root of the little finger and a ātriṣa at the roots of all the fingers are mentioned at the same time. PadmaP 3.52.16cd-19ab, which teaches also the six ātriṣas, refers to these two ātriṣas: one at the root of the little finger and the other at the roots of the fingers.(12)

From this fact that there is a ātriṣa at the roots of the fingers beside a ātriṣa at the root of the little finger we can suppose with some certainty that the description of Manusmrṭi 2.59c kāyaṃ aṅgulimūle can be interpreted as ‘the ātriṣa for Prājapati at the roots of the fingers,’ as some commentators suggest.

This is the analysis of the various descriptions of the ātriṣas on the right hand of the brahmin. This shows a great variety. But there are two ātriṣas which appear invariably in the texts dealt above: they are the ātriṣa of Brahman at the root of the thumb and the ātriṣa of the fathers between the thumb and the forefinger. In most cases the description of the ātriṣas is included in the prescription of ācāmara or sipping water. And in this context it is very often taught that one should sip out of the ātriṣa dedicated to Brahman.(13) GobhGS 1.2.17 says nātriṣhena “(One should not sip water) with a part of the hand which is not the ātriṣa”. The word atīrtha seems to permit the interpretation of the ātriṣa of Brahman as the ātriṣa par excellence. The brahma ātriṣa has been the only ātriṣa and has been used at the time of sipping of water and other ātriṣas which are differently mentioned in different texts are introduced later.

As for the ātriṣa for the fathers there are two places which suggest the use of it. ĀśvGS 4.7.13 reads as follows:

*itäraṇyaṅgūṣṭhāntaraṇopavittvād daksiṇena vā savyopaghritena* “With (the part) of the other (i.e. left) hand between the thumb (and the fore-finger), because he wears the sacrificial cord over his left shoulder, or with the right hand which he seizes with the left.” (Oldenberg)
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Oldenberg notes thereon as follows: “The part of the hand above the thumb is called the ‘Tīrtha belonging to the Manes’.” And we have it in JaimGS 2.2 [27,12-13] and 2.3 [29,8] as follows:

\[ \text{teṣu pīṇḍan niḍadhāty anunāmāpahastena} \]

“On these places (where he has poured out the water, for each of the three ancestors a little more to the south) he lays down little balls of boiled rice, ... with that part of the hand which is sacred to the Manes.” (Caland)

A commentary given on p.63 of the text of the Jaimini Grhya\-sutra apa-hastena pitṛtīrthena and Caland’s note thereon: “The part between thumb and fore-finger.” clearly point to the tīrtha for the fathers.

From this we can conclude rather safely that the two tīrthas of Brahman and the fathers which are always mentioned in the descriptions of the tīrthas are the starting point of the notion of the tīrthas. When other tīrthas were allotted to other deities there occurred a number of varieties of cases as shown above in the analysis of various descriptions of the tīrthas. But in the course of time the notion of the tīrthas was standardized in a sense and the figure of the tīrthas given e.g. by the Yājñaval\-kyasmṛti came to be the most popular one. The HirGŚS gives two examples, one in 1.2.2 which corresponds to the tīrthas given by the AgnGS and BodhGŚS and the other in 1.1.3 which is the standardized one. HirGŚS 1.1 is a rather systematical description of the āhnika or the daily duties from the moment of the getting up in the morning to the time of going to bed in the night and many topics dealt with in HirGŚS 1.1 are again treated in HirGŚS 1.2 where most of the topics have corresponding descriptions in the BodhGŚS and BaudhDhŚ. So the HirGŚS 1.1 seems to be a result of the later systematization of diverse materials concerning the daily duties given in various places in the tradition of the Baudhāyana school.(14) Therefore it is natural that the HirGŚS 1.1 teaches the standardized popular version of the tīrthas. This set of the four tīrthas became so popular that this was accepted by the lexicographers like Amarasimha and Hemacandra and has been handed down even to the tradition of the contemporary Maharashtra as the illustration 6 given at the end of Bühnemann’s Pujā shows where the numbers of the tīrthas exactly correspond to the sequence of the description of these four tīrthas in the Yājñaval\-kyasmṛti.
2. The Prānāyāma.

A definition of the prānāyāma is given in Yājñavalkya-smṛti 1.23 as follows:

\[
gāyatrīṁ śirasā sārdhaṁ japed vyāhṛtipūrvam / pratiprānasamuyktam trir ayaṁ prānasamuyamah // “One should three times mutter the gāyatrī together with the śiras preceded by the vyāhṛti, each being preceded by the pranava. That is the restraint of the breath.”
\]

Here the gāyatrī is a famous mantra of RV 3.62.10, known also as sāvitrī. It reads as follows:

\[
tāt savitūr vāreṇyam bhārgo devāśya dhīmahi / dhīyo yō nāh pracodayāt // “We want to put in ourselves the desirable lustre of the god Savitṛ, who would impel our poetical thoughts.”
\]

The śiras or the head is again a mantra given in TA 10.27 [744,2];(15)

\[
āpo jyotī ráśo 'mṛtaṁ brahma bhūr bhūvah sūvah “Water, light, essence, immortality, brahma; bhūr bhūvah sūvah.”
\]

The vyāhṛti is perhaps a mantra consisting of three words bhūr bhūvah sūvah and the pranava is the syllable om.

We have the same definition of the prānāyāma in Bṛhadyogiyāñavalkya-smṛti 8.3 and the following two verses there seem to illustrate the concrete procedure of restraining of the breath. Bṛhadyogiyāñavalkya-smṛti 8.4-5 read as follows:

\[
bhūr bhūvah svar mahar janas tapah satyaṁ tathaiva ca / pratyokkārasamā-yuktam tat savitur vareṇiyam /4/ om āpo jyotī tīty etac chiraḥ pascāt prayojayet /5/ “bhūr bhūvah svar mahar janas tapah and satyam; each of them is preceded by om; then comes tat savitur vareṇiyam; one should afterwards employ the śiras beginning with om āpo jyotī.”
\]

By the way, the first seven words: bhūr bhūvah svar mahar janas tapah satyam are called seven vyāhṛtis.[Weber 1865: 108](16) This illustration of the use of mantras in the prānāyāma shows the following concrete sequence of the words:

\[
ōm bhūr ōm bhūvah ōm svar ōm mahar ōm janas ōm tapah ōm satyam // ōm tat savitur vareṇiyam bhārgo devāśya dhīmahi / dhīyo yō nāh pracodayāt // ōm āpo jyotī rasō 'mṛtaṁ brahma bhūr bhūvah sūvah ōm //
\]
The use of the last *om* can be inferred from the definition given in SkandaP 4.35.115 which suggests the use of ten *om* syllables. (17) And this is the practice which is today still performed in Maharashtra as G. Bühnemann informs us in her Püjā. [Bühnemann 1988: 109] Thus according to this practice the *prāṇāyāma* is performed by repeating this set of mantras three times internally. This method of *prāṇāyāma* using the seven *vyāhṛtis* together with other formulas is further prescribed by several texts such as Karmapradīpa 2.1.6-8; VaikhDhŚ 2.10 [128,6-8]; ĀśvGPŚ 1.2 [141,25-26]; VādḥSm 129 and Bṛhadyogiyājñāvalkyāsmṛti 8.8.(18)

The use of the seven *vyāhṛtis* seems to be admitted also by the commentator of the Yājñavalkyāsmṛti, Vījñānesvara, in his Mitākṣara. Vījñānesvara comments on the wording *vyāhṛtipūrvikāṃ* in Yājñavalkyāsmṛti 1.23 as follows:

\[\text{uktavyāhṛtipūrvikāṃ pratīvyāhṛti praṇāvem saṃyuuktam om bhūḥ om bhuvah om svar iti} \]

*Preceded by the *vyāhṛtis* which have been explained, each *vyāhṛti* being connected by the syllable *om*, namely thus: *om bhūḥ om bhuvah om svah.***

This example of the *vyāhṛtis* preceded by *om* seems to allow only the use of the three words of *bhūḥ*, *bhuvah* and *svah*, but in the commentary on Yājñavalkyāsmṛti 1.15 Vījñānesvara comments on the word *mahāvyāhṛtipūrvakām* in the text as follows: *mahāvyāhṛtayaś ca bhūrādisatyāntah satpa / "mahāvyāhṛtis are seven in number beginning with *bhūḥ* and ending with *satya*,” and this is the place to which he refers in commenting *uktavyāhṛti* “the *vyāhṛtis* which have been explained”; thus, for Vījñānesvara *vyāhṛti* and *mahāvyāhṛti* are the same and seven in number, but not three.

However, in the earlier tradition of the vedic rituals, the *vyāhṛti* has been ‘*bhūr bhuvah svah*’. [Krick 1982: 393-396]. The *prāṇāyāma* prescribed in VaikhGS 2.4 [23,13] is accompanied with this *vyāhṛti*:

\[om bhūr bhuvah svahā sat savitur āpo jyotī rasa iti prāṇāyāmā “His restraining the breath is preceded by “*om bhūr bhuvah svahā sat savitur vareṇya*, etc., followed by the mantras: “Water, light, essence, amṛta, brahman, bhūr bhuvah suvar *om*”. (Caland)

Manusmṛti 6.70 mentions the *prāṇāyāma* as follows:

*prāṇāyāmā brahmaṇasya trayo ’pi vidhivat kṛtāh / vyāhṛtipraṇāvavair yuktā viṇēyam paramam tapah // “Three suppressions of the breath even, performed according to the rule, and accompanied with the (recitation of the) Vyāhṛtis and of the syllable Om, one must know to be the highest (form of) austerity for every Brāhmaṇa.” (Bühler)
Though this verse is not a definition of the prāṇāyāma, but rather a glorification of it as the best religious austerity, we know from it that at least the vyāhṛti and the syllable om are used. As for the origin of the three vyāhṛtis, Manusmṛti 2.76 says as follows:

\[ \text{akāraṃ cāpy ukāraṃ ca makāraṃ ca prajāpatih / vedatrayān niraduhad bhūr bhuvah svar iti ca} \quad \text{“Prajāpati (the lord of creatures) milked out (as it were) from the three Vedas the sounds A, U, and M, and (the Vyāhṛtis) Bhūḥ, Bhuvah, Svaḥ.”} \quad \text{(Bühler)} \]

Thus, the Manusmṛti considers the vyāhṛti as ‘bhūr bhuvah svah’ and the vyāhṛti which is to be used in the prāṇāyāma is certainly ‘bhūr bhuvah svah’. In this way, the vedic concept of the vyāhṛti as consisting of bhūr bhuvah svah was still living at the time of the Manusmṛti. But around this time, there is a statement in Karmapradīpa 2.1.6ab and Viṣṇusmṛti 55.15ab that these three words bhūḥ, bhuvah and svah are called mahāvyāhṛtis. The fact that these three words bhūḥ, bhuvah and svah are called either as vyāhṛtis or mahāvyāhṛtis can be explained as follows; in earlier vedic ritual traditions the vyāhṛtis are only ‘bhūr bhuvah svah’, but when the seven vyāhṛtis came to be used at least from the time of TA 10.27 a new word mahāvyāhṛti was introduced to distinguish the earlier vyāhṛtis, which are now the mahāvyāhṛtis or ‘the great vyāhṛtis’ from the new seven vyāhṛtis. In this stage of the period, however, the use of the seven vyāhṛtis was indicated by pointing out the number seven or in any way as known from the passages cited in note 18; in this stage the words vyāhṛti and mahāvyāhṛti could denote one and the same formula of ‘bhūr bhuvah svah’ unless any indicators of the seven vyāhṛtis are not given.

And I suppose that the Yājñavalkyasmrī belonged to this period, the vyāhṛti and the mahāvyāhṛti used in this text being the formula ‘bhūr bhuvah svah’. But later these two words vyāhṛti and mahāvyāhṛti perhaps became to mean even the seven vyāhṛtis, or at least for the commentator of the Yājñavalkyasmrī, Vijnānesvara, vyāhṛti and mahāvyāhṛti were the seven vyāhṛtis.

Whatever the word vyāhṛti might have meant, the prāṇāyāma using this set of mantras, namely the syllable om, the vyāhṛtis, the gāyatrī and its ‘head’, is defined in another way by a number of texts which themselves are very similar to one another. The definition in VāsDhŚ 25.13 runs as follows:

\[ \text{savyāhṛtīm sapraṇāvāṃ gāyatrīṃ śirasā saha / trir pāthād āyataprāṇāḥ prāṇāyāmahaḥ sa ucyate // “Together with the vyāhṛti, the syllable om and ‘head’ one} \]
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should mutter the gāyatrī three times while restraining the breath; this is called the restraint of the breath.”(20)

On ground of the largest number of the texts teaching these two kinds of definitions the prāṇāyāma performed to the accompaniment of these formulas can be regarded as the most popular one, but it has not been the only method of the prāṇāyāma. In several Gṛhyaśūtras belonging to the Taittirīya school another method of the prāṇāyāma is prescribed at the time of utsarga or ending the term of the annual study of the vedas; for example, BaudhGS 3.9.3 prescribes as follows:

    antarjalaṅgato aghamarṣanena trīṇ prāṇāyāmān dhārayitvā “Standing in the water he holds the three prāṇāyāmas with the aghamarṣaṇa hymn (= RV 10. 190)”(21)

The same prāṇāyāma repeated three times reciting the aghamarṣaṇa hymn appears also on other occasions in some texts of the Taittirīya school.(22) This school further enjoins the prāṇāyāma with the aghamarṣaṇa hymn which is repeated 16 times.(23)

In the Karmapradīpa there is a verse which seems to describe a kind of prāṇāyāma in which neither the gāyatrī mantra nor the aghamarṣaṇa hymn is used. Karmapradīpa 2.8.22 reads as follows:

    āvṛtya prāṇam āgamyān pitṛn dhīyaṇo yathārthaḥ / japams tenaiva cāvṛtya tataḥ prāṇam pramocayet // “Having turned away (from the piṇḍas offered to the Manes), having restrained his breath, he meditates upon the Manes properly while murmuring, then he turns back in the same way and after that he should release his breath.”

This verse refers to GobhGS 4.3.12;(24)

    apaparyāvṛtya purochchvisād abhiparyāwartamāno japed amūmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam āvṛṣaśyāsiteti //12/ “He should turn away, (should hold his breath,) and turning back before he emits his breath, he should murmur, ‘The Fathers have enjoyed themselves; they have shown their manly vigour each for his part’ (MB. II,3.7)” (Oldenberg)

From GobhGS 4.3.12 the mantra which is to be murmured in the prescription in Karmapradīpa 2.8.22 is Mantrabrāhmaṇa 2.3.7 and this very mantra is murmured while restraining the breath.

There seems to be another case in which the breath is restrained while the seven vyāhṛtis are murmured. In the yamayajñā there is a prescription in BodhGŚS 1.21.15 and HirGŚS 1.6.5 [78,19]:

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In the *yamayajña* which is prescribed in HirPMS 6 [52,14-15] we find the following prescription: *ātmya prānān saptavyāḥrtibhiḥ sapta padāni prāṇco gacchanti*. Here the verb to denote the action of restraining is *ā-tam*.

These examples clearly show that the *prāṇāyāma* has been performed also with other mantras than the *gāyatrī* or the *aghamarṣaṇa* hymn. Then there arises a question whether the restraining of the breath was performed without using any mantras when there were no indications of any mantras in the prescription of the *prāṇāyāma*. GautDhS 1.49 gives an example:

*prāṇāyāmās trayāḥ pāncadaśamātrāḥ /49/ “He shall thrice restrain his breath for (the space of) fifteen moments;” (Bühler)

In his note hereon Bühler gives a definition of the *mātrā* according to Haradatta(25) and refers to Manusmrī 2.75:

*prākkulān paryupasīnavah pavitraś caiva pāvitaḥ / prāṇāyāmaś tribhūḥ pūtās tata orṣkāram arhati // “Seated on (blades of Kuśa grass) with their points to the east, purified by Pavitras (blades of Kuśa grass), and sanctified by three suppressions of the breath (Prāṇāyāma), he is worthy (to pronounce) the syllable Om.” (Bühler)

According to Manusmrī 2.75 a *brahmacārin* is qualified to pronounce the syllable *om* only after having three times performed *prāṇāyāmas*. In this *prāṇāyāma*, therefore, the *brahmacārin* never recites the *vyāḥrtis* or the *gāyatrī* or the *aghamarṣaṇa* hymn each of which is to be preceded by the very syllable *om*. For this reason the *prāṇāyāma* prescribed in GautDhS 1.49 and Manusmrī 2.57 is to be performed without using any mantras, and, therefore, GautDhS 1.49 specifies only how many times and how long the breath should be restrained. From this we can safely say that the restraining of the breath can also be done without using any mantras. In his note on Manusmrī 2.75, Bühler refers to VāsdHŚ 25.13 and Viṣṇusmrī 55.9 as for the method of the *prāṇāyāma*, but this reference might have been caused by the great popularity of the way of *prāṇāyāma* prescribed by these two texts as discussed above together with note 18.

When we once again list the texts which prescribe the *prāṇāyāma* to be performed to the accompaniment of the syllable *om*, the *vyāḥrtis*, the *gāyatrī* and its ‘head’ they are as follows: AVPS, VaikhGS, VaikhDhŚ, Karmapradīpa, HirGŚŚ, ĀsvGPŚ, BaudhDhŚ, VāsDhŚ, Viṣṇusmrī, Manusmrī, Yājñavalkyasmṛti, VādhSm, Śāṅkhasmrī, Atrisainhītā, Laghu-
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atrīsaṁhitā, Vṛddhāreyasmṛti, Brhadvyogiyāṇavalkyasmṛti, VDhUP, SkandaP. Even if this list is not exhaustive, we can read from here that they are either ritual texts which belong to the group of supplementary texts to the Grhyasūtras and the Smṛti texts both of which belong to the post-vedic period in which various elements which constitute Hindu ritualism were for the first time documented.(26) We can, therefore, say that it is only from the post-vedic period onward that the prāṇāyāma was performed to the accompaniment of this set of formulas.

In the Vaikhānas tradition this method of prāṇāyāma is prescribed in VaikhGS 2.4 [23,13] in the description of the upanayana. There are further several mentions of the prāṇāyāma in the VaikhGS.(27) as the VaikhGS belongs to the level of the supplementary texts to the Grhyasūtras [Eino 1992: 62-63] we can perhaps suppose that in these places the prāṇāyāma was accompanied by this set of mantras. And as Caland has shown that the VaikhŚS was composed later than the VaikhGS [Caland 1941: XXII-XXIV], so the prāṇāyāma mentioned e.g. in VaikhŚS 1.4 [5,8] and 2.4 [25,4-5] was possibly performed in the same way. But the practice of the prāṇāyāma in other Grhyasūtras must be examined differently, because they belong to the period in which the most popular way of the prāṇāyāma was presumably not yet practiced. There are several mentions of the prāṇāyāma in the Grhyasūtras. GobhGS 4.5.8 runs as follows:

\[
tapaś ca tejaś ceti jāpitaḥ prāṇāyāmam āyamyūrthamanā vai rūpākṣam āra-bhyocchvase t // \quad \text{"He should murmur (the Prapada formula), ‘Austerities and splendour,' should perform one suppression of breath, and should, fixing his thoughts on the object (of his wish), emit his breath, when beginning the Virūpākṣa formula."} \quad \text{(Oldenberg)}
\]

As in his note on this sūtra Oldenberg refers to VāśDhŚ 25.13 just as Bühler does in his note on Manusmṛti 2.75, Oldenberg has thought the prāṇāyāma is to be performed to the accompaniment of the gāyatrī and others, but I think his reference is anachronistic. To GobhGS 4.5.8 corresponds KhādGS 1.2.23:

\[
prapadaṁ japitputātmya kalyāṇam dhyāyam vairūpākṣam ārabhyocchvase t
\quad \text{"He should murmur the Prapada formula (MB. II,4,5), hold his breath, fix his thoughts on something good, and should emit his breath when beginning the Virūpākṣa formula (MB. II,4,6)."} \quad \text{(Oldenberg)}
\]

Here the word to express restraining of the breath is upā-tam. This verb has no association with the popular method of the prāṇāyāma and can be interpreted simply as “to hold the breath”. Thus the prāṇāyāma prescribed in GobhGS 4.5.8 is also performed without using any mantras and

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the same thing can be said in other cases of the *prāṇāyāma* found in several Grhyasūtras. (28)

The verb *upā-tam* used in KhādGS 1.2.23 and *ā-tam* used in HirPMS rather remind of the expression á tāmitos tiśṭhet “he should remain standing till he loses his breath” in TS 6.4.5.6. According to Vedic Word Concordance we find similar expressions in several vedic texts. (29) And this action that one remains standing or sitting without breathing till he loses his breath can be taken as a prototype of the *prāṇāyāma*, even if we can not find the direct relationship between this action and the later *prāṇāyāma*. We can perhaps find a remote resonance of this action in ĀpDhŚ 2.5.12.14-15:

svāpan abhyudito 'nāśvan vāgyato 'has tiśṭhet /14/ ā tamitoḥ prāṇam āya-cched ity ēke /15/ “14. If the sun rises whilst he is asleep, he shall stand during that day fasting and silent. 15. Some declare that he shall restrain his breath until he is tired.” (Bühler)

Recapitulating the above discussions I want to say as follows. In the vedic rituals there has been a ritual action that someone, mostly the officiating priest, remains standing or sitting without breathing until he loses his breath. The period of time of not breathing is expressed by ‘ā tamitoḥ’. But this expression became obsolete and in the Grhyasūtras we find such expressions as *prāṇān āyamya* “having restrained the breaths”, or *prāṇāyāmān āyamya* “having restrained the restraints of the breath” or *prāṇāyāmān dhārayitvā* “having held the restraints of the breath”, and the like, but in some cases this *prāṇāyāma* seems to have been performed without using any mantras, and when any mantras were used, they were for example the *aghamarsaṇa* hymn or the seven *vyāhrti* or others. From the time of the supplementary texts to the Grhyasūtras onward the *prāṇāyāma* has been accompanied by a set of formulas of the syllable *om*, the *vyāhrti*, the *gāyatṛī* mantra and its ‘head’ and this method of the *prāṇāyāma* found a very popular definition given for example in VāsDhŚ 25.13. The *vyāhrtis* were in earlier texts ‘bhūr bhuvah svah’ but later they also express the seven *vyāhrtis* and this method of the *prāṇāyāma* has been handed down till today.

The *prāṇāyāma* has another line of development in the yoga practice. [Kane 1977: 1432-1444] Kane traces the *prāṇāyāma* without using mantras to the tradition of the Yogasūtra. [Kane 1977: 1442] But we have found this way of *prāṇāyāma* also in the ritual traditions. These two kinds of the *prāṇāyāma* are mentioned in KūrmaP 2.11.31 using the expressions *agarbha* and *sagarbha* and in ViṣṇuP 6.7.40 using the expressions *sabīja* and *abīja*. [Kane 1977: 1442 n. 2371](30)
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The process of the prāṇāyāma is later divided into three stages, namely pūraka, kumbhaka and recaka. As for these three stages of prāṇāyāma we refer to a detailed discussion in Kane 1977: 1438-1442. The prāṇāyāma further plays a very important role as a means of prāyāścitta. [Kane 1973: 42; Kane 1977: 1436 and 1441] In the later development of the ideas surrounding the practice of the prāṇāyāma the method of restraining the breath to the accompaniment of the syllable om, the vyāhṛtis, the gāyatrī and its ‘head’ comes to the fore but in this paper I have attempted to show a development of the practice of the prāṇāyāma resulting to this method from the vedic rituals and I have shown that the prāṇāyāma as an important constituent of Hindu ritualism was for the first time fully treated in the post-vedic, supplementary texts to the Gṛhyasūtras.
Notes.

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1. Mbh 13.107.96-97ac aṅgūṣṭhasyāntarāle ca brāhmaḥ tīrtham udāḥtam / kaniṣṭhikāyā paścāt tu devatīrtham ihocṣate /96/ aṅgūṣṭhasya ca yan madhayaṃ pradeśinyāś ca bhārata / tena pitṛyāṇi kurvīta. The position of the brāhma tīrtha as aṅgūṣṭhasyāntarāle ‘in the intermediate space of the thumb’ is not clear by itself. I suppose the position between the thumb and the forefinger on the basis of all other texts which are unanimous as to the positions of the brāhma tīrtha and the tīrtha for the fathers. The position of the devatīrtha is expressed by kaniṣṭhikāyā paścāt ‘behind the little finger.’ Regarding the prājāpatyā tīrtha, a similar finger appears in PadmaP 3.52.17cd kaniṣṭhamūlatāḥ paścāt prājāpatyaṃ pracaksate ‘they call prājāpatya the place behind the root of the little finger.’ Other texts such as VaikhGS 1.5 [7.4-8] kaniṣṭhāṅgulimūlam daivaṃ, PārGSPŚ Ācamanavidhi [410.6-7] kaniṣṭhāṅgulimūle prājāpatitīrtham, VāsDīŚ 3.64 aṅgukaniṣṭhipātām daivaṃ tīrtham, and Viśnusmrṭi 62.1 kanīṇikāmūle prājāpatyaṃ nāma tīrtham, while calling this tīrtha daiva or prājāpatya, point to the place at the root of the little finger, using the word mūla for the root. The place behind the little finger may surely be identified with the place at the root of the little finger.

By the way, the word paścāt means also ‘to the west’. If the upper part of the hand can be taken as pointing to the east as in the maṇḍala pictures of Buddhist Tantrism, the place behind or ‘to the west’ of the little finger is the same as the root of the little finger. In the definition of the position of the brāhma tīrtha by BodhGŚŚ and HirGŚŚ the word paścāt occurs as follows: BodhGŚŚ 4.7.2 = HirGŚŚ 1.2.2 [9.6-9] aṅgūṣṭhatale ‘tiṁṛtya paścāllekhāṃ tad brahmatīrtham ‘at the root of the thumb the place reaching (atiṁṛtya?) to the line running to the west (paścāllekhā?)’ is the brahmatīrtha.’ In my interpretation the line running to the west is the life line which runs almost straight ‘to the west’ near the wrist. In this way the position of the tīrtha in several texts using the word paścāt can be put in the same position as the position given in many other texts without using the word paścāt.

2. HirGŚŚ 1.1.3 [2.4-5] kaniṣṭhapradēśinyāṅgūṣṭhamulāṇi karasya grant ca kramaṃ prajapatipitītbrahmadeva devatīrthāni. This sentence is very similar to that of the Yaṇavalkyaṃṛti. Viśnusmrṭi 62.1-4 atha dvijātiṇāṃ kanīṇikāmūle prajā-
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1. parītyam 'tārjanimulē brāhmaṃ /1/ aṅguṣṭhamulē brāhmaṃ /2/ aṅgulyagre daivam

2. tarjanimulē pitryam /4/ MārkP 31.107-109 aṅguṣṭhotarato rekha pānervā daksinasya tu / etad brāhmaṃ iti khyātāṃ tīrtham ācamaṇāya vai /7/ tarjanyaṅguṣṭhayor antaḥ paitram tīrtham udāḥtraṃ / pitryaṃ tena toyaṇī dadyān nandimukhādṛśe /108/ aṅgulyagre tathā daivam tena divyakriyāvidhiḥ / tīrtham kaniṣṭhikāmule kāyaṃ tena prajāpateḥ /109/ Amarakoṣa 2.7.50cd-51ab aṅgulyagre tīrtham daivam svalpāṅgulyor mule kāyaṃ /50/ madhye 'ṅiguṣṭhaṅgulyor pitryaṃ mule tv aṅgūṭhasya brāhmaṃ / Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 840 mule 'ṅiguṣṭhasya syād brāhmaṃ tīrtham kāyaṃ kaniṣṭhayor / pitryaṃ tarjanyaṅguṣṭhantar daivatam tv aṅgulimukhe //

3. Vivarāṇa on BaudhDuḥs 1.5.8.13 [34,22-23] aṅgulyaṅguṣṭhayor madhyamā pitryam / tathā ca vasiṣṭhāḥ pradeśinyaṅguṣṭhayor antare pitryam iti.

4. VDuḥUP 2.88.9cd-10ab aṅgulyagre bhaved daivam brāhmaṃ aṅgulimulē /9/ paityaṃ tārjanimulē syāt kaniṣṭhāyās ca mānaṃ. VDuḥUP 3.233.1 aṅgulyagre srutam daivam pitryam tārjanimulagam / aṅguṣṭhamulē brāhmaṃ tu kaniṣṭhāyās ca mānaṃ // The position of the brāhma tīrtha is according VDuḥUP 2.88.9d at the root of the fingers. Among the texts which have been collected, this is the only text which gives this reading of aṅguṣṭhamulē for the brāhma tīrtha. Therefore, I suspect the possibility that this aṅguṣṭhamulē can be corrected to aṅguṣṭhamulē as in VDuḥUP 3.233.1c.

5. PārGSPŚ Ācamaṇavidihi [410,6-8] brāhmaṇasaṃ daksinahaste paṇca tīrthāni bhavanti aṅguṣṭhamulē kaniṣṭhikāṅguṣṭhamulē prajāpatitātmaṃ tarjanyaṅguṣṭhamadhyamulē pitṛāṅgulimulē aṅgulyagre devatātmaṃ madhye 'gnitāṅgulimulē eyed tīrthāni tīrthāni bhavanti.

6. Brhadyogiyājaivalkyamṛtir 7.75-77ab paṇca tīrthāni vipraṃya kare tiṣṭhan-ti daksine / brāhmaṃ daivam tathā paityaṃ prajāpatyaṃ tu saumikam /75/ aṅguṣṭhamulē brāhmaṃ tu daivam hy aṅguṣṭhāryah / prajāpatyaṃ tu mule syāt madhye saumyaṃ pratisthitāṃ /76/ aṅguṣṭhasya pradesinyā madhye pitryaṃ prakirtitam /

7. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi’s Śeṣa 152a karamadhye saumyaṃ tīrthāṃ.

8. ĀgnGS 2.6.1 [93,5-8] brāhmaṇasaṃ daksine haste paṇca tīrthāni paṇca daivatāni bhavanti / aṅguṣṭhāryah daivam tīrtham aṅgulyagra ārṣaṃ tīrtham aṅguṣṭhātaranjor madhye paitṛkam tīrtham aṅguṣṭhamulasyottarato rekhaṃ su brāhmaṃ tīrtham madhye 'gnitāṅgulimulē BodhGSS 4.7.2 brāhmaṇasaṃ daksine haste paṇca tīrthāni bhavanti / aṅguṣṭhāryah devatātmaṃ aṅgulyagra ārṣaṃ tīrtham madhye 'gnitāṅgulimulē aṅguṣṭhātaranjor madhye paitṛkatātmaṃ aṅguṣṭhīdole 'tiḥṣya paścāllekhāni taṅ brāhmaṃtīrthāṃ /
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japet sadaśoṇḍikaraḥ prāṇāyāmo 'yam ucyate // See also Karmapradīpa 2.1.7d and 8b in the following note 18.

18. Karmapradīpa 2.1.6-8 bhūrādyas tirs evaitā mahāvyāhṛtayo 'vyaṭāḥ / mahar janas tapaḥ satyaṁ gāyatri ca śiras tathā /6/ āpo jyoti raso 'mṛtam brahma bhūr bhuvah svar iti śiraḥ / pratiprākṣaṁ prāṇavam uccārayed ante ca śirasah /7/ etā etāṁ sahānena tathaḥbhir dasabhis saha / trir joped āyataprāṇaḥ prāṇāyāmah sa ucyate /8/. VaikhDhS 2.10 [128,6-8] udakasyāgger vāmapārśvā prāṇān āyamya pratyekam omkāradisaptavyāhṛtipārvam gāyatrīm ante saśīraskāṁ trir japet sa prāṇāyāmas trīṁ ekaṁ vā prāṇāyāmaṁ kṛtvā pūtāḥ. ĀsvGPŚ 1.2 [141,25-26] āyataprāṇaḥ saprāṇavāṁ saptavyāhṛtikāṁ sāvitrīṁsaśīraskāṁ trir āvartayed ity eṣa samantrāḥ prāṇāyāmah. Bhṛḥadyogiyājñavalkyasmṛti 8.8 omkārāṇaṁ vyāhṛtiḥ sapta gāyatri saśīras tathā / prāṇāyāmo 'yam manunā vedeso kathitaḥ purā // Cf. VādhSm 129 prāṇavena tu saṃyuktā vyāhṛtiḥ sapta nityāsaḥ / sāvitrīṁ śīrāḥ sārdham manasā trīṁ pāthed duśāḥ // Here is no mention of the prāṇāyāma; this is a definition of the japa.

19. As for Karmapradīpa 2.1.6ab, see note 18. Visṇusmṛti 55.15ab omkārapurāṇ-vikās tisro mahāvyāhṛtayo 'vyaṭāḥ “The three imperishable ‘great words,’ preceded by the syllable Om,” suggests that the mahāvyāhṛtis are three in number. Kātyāś 2.1.6 mahāvyāhṛtibhir vā prākṣaṁstham /6/ “(He may put the fire-sticks) by uttering the (three) Mahāvyāhṛtis (great formulas: om bhūr, bhuvah and svaḥ) losing the procedure in the east.” (Ranade) The commentary here says that the mahāvyāhṛtis are bhūr bhuvah svaḥ: bhūr bhuvah svar ity etāṁ mahāvyāhṛtya iti saṁjñā.

20. The same definition is given also in Visṇusmṛti 55.9; Śaṅkhāsmṛti 7.14 [Kane 1974: 317]; Bhṛḥadyogiyājñavalkyasmṛti 8.2. Other definitions are very similar, so that only the differences are noticed: Atrisamhītā [37,22-23] savyāhṛtiṁ ... ; BhudDhS 4.1.28 savyāhṛtikāṁ ... ; Laghu-Atrisamhītā [2,8-9] savyāhṛtikāṁ ... / ... āyataḥ prāṇaḥ ... ; Vṛddhātreyasmṛti 1 [48,13-14] savyāhṛtisapraṇavāṁ ... / ... āyataḥ prāṇaḥ ... ; VisṇudharmottaraP 1.165.24cd-25ab savyāhṛtikapraṇavāṁ ... . HirGS 1.1.10 [4,27-28] savyāhṛtiṁ saprāṇavāṁ gāyatrīṁ śīrāḥ saha / trir joped āyataprāṇaḥ prāṇāyāmah sa ucyate // See also AVPS 42.1.9 prāṇavadyā vyāhṛtis tu gāyatrīṁ ca śīrūytāṁ / pāṭhet trir anuvāṇaṁ hi prāṇāyāmaḥ sa ucyate //

22. At the time of the snāna: ĀgnGS 2.6.2 [95,15]; HirGSS 1.2.7 [11,29-30]; BaudhDhS 2.5.8.12; in the dhūrtabali: BodhGSS 4.2.3.
23. BaudhGS 3.3.5 antarjalagato aghanarṣeṇa sodaṇa prāṇyāmān dhārayitvā (in the section on the saṃmitavṛata); HirGSS 1.8.7 [122,27-28] = BaudhDhS 2.10.17.33 (in the saṃnyāśavidhi); 3.4.7 (in the aghanarṣaṇaḥkalpa).
24. See note on Karmapradīpa 2.8.21 by the editor and translator of Der Karmapradīpa. II. Prapāṭhaka, Alexander Freiherr von Stael-Holstein on p.57: “Dieser Vers bezieht sich ebenso wie der folgende auf die Gobh. 4.3,12 vorgeschriebene Wendung.”
25. As for the definition of the duration of time of mātra, see Kane 1977: 1438 n. 2361 where he gives the definitions of mātra according to VāyuP 57.6; BrahmaP 231.6; MārkP 36.13; ViṣṇudharmottaraP 1.73 and Vācaspati on Yogasūtra 2.50. See also AgniP 161.24ab talo laṅhavāṣaro mātra praṇavādi carec chanaḥi and Śabdakal padruma, s.v. mātra.
26. As for the group of the supplementary texts to the Grhyasūtras, see Einoo 1993: 229-231, 235-236.
27. E.g. VaikhGS 4.1 [54,1-2]; [54,11]; [55,1-2]; 5.5 [77,17].
28. See further e.g. KauS 55.19 prachādyā trīṇ prāṇyāmān kṛtvā “After having covered he performs three prāṇyāma”; ŚāṅkhGS 4.7.52 eteśāṁ yadi kiccid akāmotpāto bhavet prāṇān āyamyādityam īkṣitvādhiyīta “Should any of these cases arise against his will, let him (continue to) recite after having held his breath and looked at the sun” (Oldenberg); JaimGS 1.13 [13,18] udītesu naksatresu trīṇ prāṇyāmān dhārayitvā sāvitrīṃ sahasrākṛtvā āvarta yec chakartra vā daśāvaram “When the stars have appeared, he should, after having thrice restrained his breath, repeat the verse addressed to Savitrī a thousand times or a hundred times, (but) at least ten times.”; 14 [14,4] trīṇ prāṇyāmān āyamya; BaudhGS 2.9.4 jagahana gārhapattyam upaviṣyauṣpānasya vā adhīhi bho iti gārhapatyam uktaḥ prāṇyāmānāṃ trīṇ aṣṭāyamya sāvitrīṃ sahasrākṛtvā āvartayec chakartra ‘parimitakṛtvā vā daśāvaram “Sitting behind the gārhapatyam or the aupsāna fire, having said to the gārhapatyam ‘O you, learn it’ and having held the breath according to the way of prāṇāyāma, he should repeat the sāvitrī formula a thousand times or a hundred times or a number of times, at least ten times”.
29. MS 4.5.5 [71,6] á tāmitos tiṣṭhet. MS 1.10.19 [159,4]; KS 36.13 [80,3] á tāmitos tiṣṭhanti. As for several passages dealing with the Cāturmāsya in the Śrautasūtras see Einoo 1988: 256 n. 1361. KS 27.1 [139,9]; KapS 42.1 [289,1] á tamitos tiṣṭhati. ŚB 2.4.2.21; ŚBK 1.3.3.18; TB 1.4.4.2; 5; 2.1.9.3 á tāmitor
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āsīta “He should remain sitting until he loses his breath.” JB 3.79 [388,4] ā tamitor nidhanam upeyāt “He should keep on chanting the nidhana until he loses his breath.” PB 5.4.9; 12.11.17 ā tamitor nidhanam upayanti.

30. See also AgniP 161.21 prāṇāyāmas tu dvividhiḥ sagarbho 'garbha eva ca / japādyānayuṣṭo garbhō viparītas tv agarbhakaḥ // We find also a similar verse in SauraP 12.21 agarbhaś ca sagarbhaś ca tayor ādyo 'jayah smṛtaḥ / dvitiyāḥ sajayāḥ prakto dhruvaṁ vyāhrītimātrbhiḥ // Here the words ajaya and sajaya can be corrected to ajapa and sajapa. Does mātr in vyāhrītimātr mean the gāyatri? As for goddess gāyatri as chandasāṁ mātrī see an inviting mantra of goddess gāyatri: āyatu varadā devy aksaraṁ brahmaśaṁmitam / gāyatri chandasāṁ mātedaṁ brahma juṣasva nāḥ. // in ĀgniS 2.6.8 [105,5-6]; cf. BodhGŚS 3.6.1 [303,5-6]; HirGŚS 1.6.12 [82,15-16]. See also NāradaP 1.27.43cd-44ab. AVPS 30.3.1cd gāyatri chandasāṁ mātā brahmayoniḥ prakīrtitā. See also Vedic Concoardance s.v. gāyatri chandasāṁ mātā.

31. In addition to many passages referring to these three divisions of the prāṇāyāma mentioned by Kane we refer further to AgniP 161.22-23a, SkandaP 7.2.18.9-10 and SauraP 12.22-24. In SkandaP four elements of recaka, śūnyaka, pūraka and kumbhaka are mentioned.

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