# VAIKHĀNASA-ŚRAUTA-SŪTRA

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Hearty welcome to you to visit the storehouse of Bhagavān Vikhanasas to cherish the wide strides of Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara like a dread beast that wanders at will on the peaks of the coiled shaped ranges<sup>1</sup> of the Eastern Ghats at Tirumala, to sip the draughts of ambrosia in the lashers of ravines or haunt in the terrane fields enveloped with smoke-screens given off by burning ghee oblations in the sacrificial fire altars enclosing with rivers flowing towards the seas. We bank on the literary sources of Vikhanasas, to conjecture the history of his times, who composed the Vaikānasa-kalpasūtra, the basic text of application by the followers of the Taittirīya recension of the Yajurveda who domiciled in a distant land from the āryāvarta in remote south called Toņḍamaṇḍalam, As we are not supported by either epigraphial or archaeological evidences during his times, the historians classify this period as dark.

## I

#### Composition of the text

The Vaikhānasa-kalpasūtra comprises of four parts called Śauta-sūtra, Sulbasūtra, Grhya-sūtra and Dharma-sūtra. In the text tradition the sulba-sūtra is treated as a part and parcel of the śrauta-sūtra and similarly the dharma-sūtra is treated as a part of the grhya-sūtra. The whole work was written by Bhagavān Vikhanasas to usher the āryan residents to meet the contemporary requirements of the socio-politico-religious institutions at the instance of the Pallava ruler Skandavarman who established a new

dynasty during c. 300 A.D. To appreciate how he grew himself to the stature of a bhagavān/yati and came to be respected by all members of his society, it is advised to read the other article in this portal named Vaikānasa-dharma-sūtra, because he wrote his śrauta-sūtra after giving his grhya- and dharma- sūtras to his followers.

The text of the Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra<sup>2</sup>, is descriptive of congregational Vedic rites of sacrifices involving large number of priests, recitation or chanting of different hymns addressed to different gods collected from different sources and different types of sacrificial substances to be offered as oblations to appease the gods who are invited at the sacrificial altars. Here it is to be remembered that the English word god is derived from the Indo-European root hū 'to invoke/invite'.<sup>3</sup> That means god is a deity who is invited by invocation at the sacrificial alter to receive the oblations and reciprocate by giving gifts for the well-being of the humanity as the highest goal.

## Ш

## Scope and types of sacrifices ordained in the Kalpa-sūtra

The whole ancient āryan culture of India is governed by sacrifice to be performed by residents of different domiciliations and the yajña 'sacrifice' is the yardstick to measure the civilisation of a given state. Then the ritualistic texts like the kalpa-sūtras aim at conservation and perpetuation of the tradition of sacrifice as theorised in the Samhitās, Brahmāṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, so that the groups are identified however small in their members and the area which is under their occupation may be. So each kalpa-sūtra defines its own methods of practicing sacrifices with a fewer number of deviations which do not change their base character. Here a strict bifurcation is also not observed between the śrauta- and gṛhya- sūtra texts, because the sacrifice is the common link between these texts. Thus the sacrifices prescribed in kalpa-sūtras can be classified into three broad groups, as summarised in the Śabdakalpadruma (under q.v. yāga), namely a) the haviryajñas (sacrifices of offering burnt ghee oblations to fire in its altar as prescribed in the śrauta-sūtra texts

śrautāgnikrtya-haviryajñāḥ), b). the pākayajñas (domestic sacrifices of burnt ghee oblations in fire as prescribed in the smārta-sūtra texts - smārtāgnikrtya-pākayajñas), and c) the sapta-saṃsthas (institutiona- lised congregational sacrifices in the śrauta-sūtra texts - śrautāgni- saptasaṃsthāḥ). Each of these contain seven varieties leading to 21 types of sacrifices and each one is differentiated by separate names as follows:

A. Śrautāgnikrtya-Haviryajñāņ: 1. Agnihotra (also called Āgnyā- dhāna), 2.
 Darśapūrmaņāsau, 3. Piņḍapitryajña, 4. Āgrayaņam 5. Cāturmāsya, 6.
 Nirūḍhapaśubandha, and 7. Sautrāmaņi.

B. Smārtāgnikrtya-Pākayajñas: 1. Aupāsanam, 2. Vaisvadeva, 3. Sthālīpāka, 4.
 Āgrayaņam, 5. Sarpabali, 6. Īsānabali and Astakānyastakā

C. Śrautāgni-Saptasaṃsthāḥ: 1, Somayāga also called Agniṣṭoma, 2. Atyagniṣṭoma,
3. Ukthya, 4. Ṣoḍaśī, 5. Vājapeya (which is of two types called Saṃsthā and Kuru), 6.
Atirātra and 7. Aptūryāma

On the basis of these three types several types of sacrifices are developed and practiced as prescribed by the Kalpa-sūtra texts like

1. Mahāvrata, 2. Sarvatomukha, 3. Rājasūya, 4. Pauņḍarīka, 5. Abhijit, 6. Aśvamedha, 7. Brhaspatisava, 8. Āṅgirasa and 9. eighteen types of Cayanas.

All the above sacrifices are divided into Prakrti 'model' sacrifices and Vikrti 'evolute' sacrifices based on the model sacrifices. The Darśapūrna, the Paśubandha and the Agnistoma are the model sacrifices respectively for the isti sacrifices, the animal sacrifices and the soma sacrifices. Isti is a technical name when the sacrifice is performed with four rtviks 'priests' by a sacrificer together with his wife. The number of priests, sacrificers together with their associates and the days and dates with their numbers are determinants of different sacrifices.

## Scope of the Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra

The text of the Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra,<sup>2</sup> is descriptive of Vedic rites of sacrifices according to the Vaikhānasa School belonging to the Taittirīya recension of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda. It is divided into 21chapters called Praśnas. The contents are:

- Praśna 1: Agnyādheya, Punarādheya
- Praśna 2: Agnihotra, Agnibhyah pravāsah
- Praśnas 3-7: Darśapūrņamāsau

Praśna 8, 1-2: Āgrayaņa

Praśnas 8.3 to 9.12: Cāturmāsyas

- Praśna 10: Nirūdha-paśubandha
- Praśna 11.1-6: Sautrāmaņi
- Praśna 11.7-11: Paribhāṣās of Yajñāyudhas
- Praśna 12-16: Aginistoma with Pravargya
- Praśna 17, 1-6: Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Sandhya, etc.
- Prasna 17.7-18: Vājapeya
- Praśnas 18-19: Agnicayana
- Praśna 20: Prāyaścitta at istis
- Praśna 21: Prāyaścitta at soma sacrifices

#### IV

#### **Text tradition**

The text of the Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra (= VŚS) was edited by Dr. Wilhelm Caland, Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Utrecht, Holland. Even though he completed the critical edition b 1930 at the age 70, it was published posthumously in 1941 in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. A commentary called Vyākhyā composed by Śrīnivāsadīkṣita is available in manuscripts. This edition is based on nine manuscripts of the Śrauta-sūtra and three manuscripts of its commentary.

Except the critical edition of Caland no much recordable secondary study is done on the influence of this text in rituals. By itself the text does not differ very much from the other śrauta texts of the Taittirīya-Yajurveda especially the Āpastamba. and the Bodhāyana kalpa-sūtras which are popular in different localities in south India.

Even though the Vaikhānasa-kalpa-sūtra is a Vedic ritual text written in c. 300 A.D. as applicable to all the ritualists of geological area of its origin, it was reduced to a restricted application in a particular sect of the priest community called Vaikhānasas during the ninth century, i.e. after a lapse of c. 500 years. The so called priest community headed by Bhrgu and his collegiates developed a new science of temple worship exclusively based on the Vaikhānasa-kalpa-sūtra under a new name Bhagavacchāstra, also called Vaikhānasāgama. Thus the Vaikhānasa-kalpa-sūtra is perpetuated in practice, of course in a transmuted form of priestcraft, not only in the temple of Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara at Tirumala but also spread over in Telugu-Tamil- Kannada areas. Thus the structure of the history of Vikhanasas and his progeny is a matter of interest to the historians and as well to the devotees who treck the Veṅkaṭa mountain to dive deep into the fathoms of humanity (manuṣyatā). The Vaikhānasa-sūtra is also wrongly called aukheya-sūtra in the colophons of manuscripts.

#### V

## Error in transliteration of augheya as aukheya

A close observation of the codices of the Vaikhānasa-śrauta- sūtra used by Caland reveals that the edition was mainly based on Telugu manuscripts originating from Guntur and Krishna districts of Andhra Pradesh and that a Telugu manuscript<sup>3</sup> treats the śrauta-sūtra as a part and parcel of the gṛhya-sūtra and all the folios are serially numbered beginning from the gṛhya-sūtra and ending with the śrauta- sūtra. Hence it can be conjectured that the primary aim of Vikhanasas was to write the gṛhyasūtra which was a desideratum to protect his sacrificial ritualistic community which was placed in Toņḍamaṇḍalam and the śrauta-sūtra was written in its continuation as a complement to make the whole work as a kalpa-sūtra. The gṛhya-sūtra also called smārta-sūtra<sup>5</sup> runs in eleven praśnas (= chapters), of which the first 7 praśnas constitute the gṛhya-sūtra proper and praśnas 8-10 is the dharma-sūtra and the eleventh is the pravara-praśna. The śrauta-sūtra runs into 21 chapters, which are also called praśnas. The whole volume treated as a single text and called 'Vaikhānasa-kalpasūtra of 32 chapters'. It is also called Aukheya-sūtra and Vikhanasas is also called aukheya-ṛṣi and the recension aukheya-śākhā.<sup>6</sup> The followers of this tradition are also called vaikhānasas and aukheyas. Because of the uniform text tradition presented in manuscripts, the colophon at the end of the printed text is retained as aukheyaśākhā.<sup>7</sup> The word aukheya is found in the manuscripts copied in Telugu script. Thus 'aukheya' is the key-word to unlock the history of Vikhanasas and also of the emergence of the vaikhānasa-śākhā as a subbranch of the Taittirīya recension of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda.

Variant readings of audheya and augheya for the word aukheya are observed by Caland.<sup>8</sup> They resulted from scribal errors arising from the transliteration of the text from Tamil-Grantha to Telugu and vice versa. The corrupt form aukheya, without any clue of its import, was pushed into circulation in the Telugu region, One Telugu manuscript used by Caland was copied in a tiny and silent town Maṅgalagiri in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā. This manuscript was copied to restore the damaged manuscript by one priest Śrīkṛṣṇamāryādhvarin.<sup>9</sup> Keeping in view the habitual errors in orthographic representation in transliteration in the shapes of series of surds in Tamil and Telugu, the word aukheya written in Tamil-Grantha script is to be traced back and corrected to augheya (which is supported by variants in MSS). Now the word augheya speaks of the volumes of the forgotten history of Vaikhānasas in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam.

## Jurisdiction of the Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra as signified by augheya

The development of the meaning of augheya speaks of 1). the date and nativity of Vikhanasas, 2). the origin and area of application of the Vaikhānasa-kalpasūtra and 3). the impact of āryanization in the remote areas of South India. Augheya is a secondary derivative from augha. The word augha is again a secondary derivative from ogha which connotes 'flood, stream, river' (cf. oghavat means a strong stream as of a river). This is an analogical derivative form like gāṅgeya which signifies 'being in or on the Ganges, coming from or belonging or relating to the Ganges' (cf. Monier William's Sanskrit- English Dictionary, q.v. gāṅgeya). Therefore augheya means those who live on the banks of river/rivers or in the lands bordered by rivers.

It is decisively the area encircled by four rivers, namely, the two Pennār rivers in the east and the west, the Kṛṣṇā in the north and the Kāverī in the south of Kāñcīpuram. Demographically it is exactly the area where the Vaikhānasas domicile today with hereditary priestcraft in temples as a profession following the Vaikhānasakalpa- sūtra in practice. So Vikhanasas is a resident of this area wherein he should have been patronised by the Pallava king Skandavarman.

#### VII

#### Augheyas and Pallavas in Tondamandalam

Āryanization of the south India through the Vedic sacrificial mode of fire worship in fire-altar (promoted by Bhrgus and Angirasas from Rgvedic times) with the recitation of the hymns from different Vedic texts, matched with the Yogic practices, visualisation of the theology based on the concept of inseparability of each from the other of individual (vyakti), society (samāja, aggregation of groups of people samaṣți/saṅgha), land (deśa), language (bhāṣā), and deity (devatā), thematic code of conduct of man visa-vis society, the philosophical doctrines of the upaniṣads, kernels of the Buddhism and

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the Jainism and they could be found in operation through out the country from the time of expansion of the Magadha empire. Aśoka inscriptions ( c 260 B.C.) vouch for the full knowledge of the South India to the northern emperors. From about 230 B.C. the whole South India was under the rule of Sātavāhanas and their rule was spread far into Northern India also, promoting an evolution of a unified common core of 'humanity' (manusyatā) called culture in their territory. At the close of the third century A.D. the Sātavāhana rule fell and it was partitioned among many rulers like the Ābhīras, the Cūtas, the Iksvākus, the Kadambas, and the Pallavas, all proclaiming affirmatively their allegiance to the Vedic religion of sacrifice. The Iksvākus ruled over Krsna-Guntūr regions for 57 years till they were overrun by the Pallavas and they performed the aśvamedha and vājapeya sacrifices. The south-east region of the former Sātavāhana empire was taken over by the Pallavas, with the area lying between two Pennār rivers in the east and the west, adjoining with the kingdom of Iksvākus on the bank of the Krsnā in the north and the Arabian sea in the west. They called their region 'tondamandalam'. They ruled with Kāñcīpuram as their capital till they were defeated by Colas in the tenth century.<sup>10</sup> The augheya region is a territory encircled by the afore said four rivers in the Tondamandalam of the Pallava dynasty. For the first ruler Skandavarman of the Bhāradvāja-gotra (c. 300 A.D.), Vikhanasas should have consecrated the temple of Srī Venkateśvara at Tirumala in an āryan way.<sup>11</sup> Demographically the ancient augheya Tondamandalam comprises of the modern present day districts of reaion in Rāyalasīma, Nellore, Ongole, Guntur and Krsna districts of Andhra Pradesh, Salem, Coimbatore, Tanjavūr and Vellore districts of Tamil Nadu, and some portions of Mysore state where the river Kāverī wets the paddy fields. Thus the influence of the Bodhāyana in his Kalpa-sūtra is found as a model for Vikhanasas in his Kalpa-sūtra.

#### VIII

## Pallavas and Āryanization

Pallavas may be of north Indian or foreign origin (< \*pahlava), but they adapted the local traditions to their best advantage and by popular etymology they called themselves pallavas, like the Banavāsis (< vanavāsins) and the Kabambas. Kadambavanavāsinī is the name of the goddess Kāmākṣī/Lalitā/Durgā/Pārvatī and kadamba is a tree symbolising Svāmi Mahāsena (= Kumārasvāmin/Skanda). Cūta means a mango tree which is a symbolic representation of Śiva (< ekāmranātha, the name of Śiva at Kāñcī). By metanalysis and popular etymology pahlava is Sanskritised as pallava 'tender leaf at the top branch of the mango tree'. By this nomenclature they identified with the natives and assured them to protect their interests in daily life in spite of āryanization. Thus arose deśī and mārga styles in their lives and aspirations.

The first Pallava ruler Skandavarman (named after Kumāra- svāmin, a resident of kadamba tree) claimed himself as a descendent of the Bharadvāja-gotra and performed the agniṣṭoma, the vājapeya, and the aśvamedha and won the appreciation of his people with title 'supreme king of kings devoted to dharma'. Matching to his name and religious conviction, the region which he took over from the Śātavā- hanas was called toṇḍamaṇḍalam 'tender creeper implying his loyalty to the forerunner royal lineage, as an expression of gratitude - a corner stone of dharma. Not only himself but also all the rulers up to the last king Aparājita (c. 900A.D) retained Kāñcīpuram as their capital.

The Pallava rule at least for the first 300 years up to the end of 6th century was not a happy run because the evil rulers Kālabhras were attacking them time and again. Simhaviṣṇu (555-590A.D.), the father of Simhavarman started a new line of Pallava dynasty after suppressing the Kālabhras and conquered the whole Tamil country up to the Kāverī. Both himself and his mother gifted grants to the Jains. Perhaps he promoted Jainism in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam during his time. His son Mahendravarman I (590-630) professed Jainism at the beginning, but turned to Śaivism under the influence of Appar, one of the nāyanārs.<sup>12</sup> He extended his kingdom in the north up to the river Kṛṣṇā bordering to the kingdoms of the Kandaras and the Viṣṇukunḍis.

During this period between 630-750, the śaiva and vaiṣṇava saints and priests pleaded for Śiva-Viṣṇu centric trinity worship and fought for the promotion of the Vedic worship against the Jainism and Buddhism. This religio-political evolution is not an instantaneous change but produced through several centuries at least from third century. Under this historical background, Vikhanasas is to be studied through his writings and his influence over the social and religious life.

#### IX

## Vaikhānasa-Kalpa-sūtra

There are at least five Kalpa-sūtras for the Taittirīya recension of the Yajurveda, namely Bodhāyana, Āpastamba, Hiraņyakeśi (also called Satyāṣāḍha), Bhāradvāja and Vaikhānasa. They are complete in their composition with all parts, namely śrauta, śulba, gṛhya and dharma sections. Each of them represent different sub-recensions of the Taittirīya recension of the Yajurveda developed from reorganisation of practices of the Vedic text to suit to their preferences of applications. Vikhanasas composed a separate Kalpa-sūtra on the model of the Bodhāyana-kalpa-sūtra, consisting of the Śrauta-sūtra and Gṛhya-sūtra to be applicable in the augheya region of the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam modified to suit to his contemporary socio-politico-religious institutions. By the time of Bodhāyana, iconolatry entered into the domestic rituals, perhaps under the influence of Śaunaka's Ŗgvidhāna,<sup>13</sup> and the construction of temples was preferred outside the residential places of villages on a par with the sacrificial pendals. In iconolatry, as evidenced by the Mānasāra the worship of Viṣṇu or Śiva in the trinity has taken precedence over Indra.<sup>14</sup> The trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara is a personification of monotheistic Purusa spoken of in RV. 10.90.

The religious situation at the time of Vikhanasas was perceived with a new tendency of dichotomy of Śiva-centric trinity worship and Viṣṇu-centric trinity worship. Thus while the Bodhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra evidences for a balance, the Vaikhānasa-

Grhyasūtra tilts towards the Viṣṇu-centric trinity worship, by which the subordinate deity Viṣṇu of the Rgveda was equated with Puruṣa (RV.10.90), taking exclusively its derivative sense of omnipresence. As Vikhanasas wrote the Śrauta-sūtra after his Grhya-sūtra, this trend was found also in the Śrauta-sūtra. For example in one of the Cāturmāsya sacrifices, called Sākamedha, he prescribes burnt ghee oblations with the hymn 'viṣṇav asi', VŚS. 9.2, p. 90, I. 18: viṣṇv asītyājyabhimantraṇam. Here it is to be noted that according to the Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa, (cf. KB. 5.6.1: aindro vā eṣa yajñakratur yat sākamedhāḥ) the principal deity to be addressed in the Sākamedha is only Indra at that time. The influence of this socio-religious change is ostensibly seen in the following prescriptions in the Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra:

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## 1.VŚS. 2.6, p. 26, l. 7-13: Agnihotra

The Vaikhānasa-Śrauta-Sūtra starts with the first ritual of kindling fire (agnihotra/agnyādhāna) in which Vikhanasas introduces the upaniṣadic doctrine of ātman and also of yoga; cf.

sruvādīn prakṣālyottareņāpo visrjya vedyām nikṣipet. tejomūrtir ātmā hṛdaye 'ntar ūrdhvam jvalann agniśikhāmadhye sthitas tasyāḥ śikhāyā madhye paramātmeti śrutiḥ. tato homānte sarvatrātmānam prokṣya gārhapatyād bhasmādāya lalāṭe hṛdaye kukṣau bāhvoḥ kaṇṭhe ca tajjvālārūpam caturaṅgulam dīpavad ūrdhvāgram puṇḍram kuryād yajamānas tena śubham labdhvātmayogam ante prāpnoti, (VŚS. 2.6, p. 26, l. 7-13).

Here what is to be noted in the above passage is: tasyāḥ śikhāyā madhye paramātmā, which is from the Nārāyaṇopaniṣad, 13.2.8. It is a recast of the Puruṣasūkta of RV. 10.90 = TA. 3.13 which enshrines the core principle and a milestone in the Indian culture of monotheism quashing polytheism on the one hand and the worship of the trinity namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Vikhanasas showed a preference to the Viṣṇu-centric worship in sacrifice and in image worship and hence prescribes the

wearing of vertical mark (ūrdhvapuņḍra) of the ashes from the sacrificial altar on the body as a token of the culmination of the ritual.

After a lapse of about four to five centuries, the theorisation of the image worship in the domestic sacrifices by Vikhanasas was fully developed into a new science of priestcraft called Bhagavacchāstra by a conclave headed by Bhrgu, the priest in the temple of Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara at Tirumala, presently in Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. Thus the image worship of Viṣṇu-centric trinity of Vikhanasas was fully practiced till date in the temple of Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara at Tirumala from c. 870 A.D. and also in many temples in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. By this the dichotomy of the mārgī and deśī types were presented in the priestcraft of Bhagvacchāstra or Vaikhānasāgama in contrast to the Pāñcarātrāgama respectively.

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## 2. VŚS. 9.2, p. 90, l. 18: Sākamedha

Close observation reveals that Vikhanasas was leaning towards the Viṣṇu-centric trinity worship. Perhaps it could be because of the influence of the contemporary Āļvārs like Poygai Āļvār (c. 300 A.D.), whose Tamil psalms were included on a later date in the Nālāyira-divya-prabandha, For example in the Sākamedha ritual he prescribes the collection of ghee for the offering of burnt ghee oblations with the Vaiṣṇava mantra: viṣṇv asi; cf.

viṣṇav asīty ājyabhimantraṇaṃ, havirudvāsane śṛtāddhaviṣaḥ śaram ādāya sarakṣitaṃ nidhāya nirṇijya pātrīṣūpastīrya tāsu pratipuruṣam odanān uddharati, (VŚS. 9.2, p. 90, l. 18- p. 19. l. 2)

This mantra is not prescribed in the Kauşītaki-Brāhmaņa in the Sākamedha ritual, because Indra is the presiding deity in the Sākamedha at the time of KB: aindro vā eşa yajñakratur yat sākamedhāḥ, KB.5.6. At the time of Vikhanasas Viṣṇu has taken the place of Indra by religious preference.

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3. VŚS. 9.11, p. 99, l. 13: Śākamedha

Notwithstanding his preference for Viṣṇu, following suit of Bodhāyana, Vikhanasas also introduces Śiva/Rudra in his prescriptions. For example in the same Śākamedha sacrifice he prescribes burnt ghee oblations in the Gārhapatya fire altar with the hymns of the Śatarudīya of the Yajurveda (TS. 4.5.1); cf.

gārhapatyād udīco 'ṅgārān nirūhya teṣv adhiśritya nābhighārayati. sa te havīṃṣy udvāsyāntarvedyāsādya paśūnāṁ śarmāsīti mūte mahatyopyaika eva rudra ity anvāhāryapacanād ekolmukam ādāyāpareņa gārhapatyaṃ gotvottarapūrvaṃ catuṣpathaṃ yanty ākhuste rudra paśur ity ākhumūṣāyām ekaṃ puroḍāśam upavavapati.

(VŚS. 9.10, p. 98-99)

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## 4. VŚS. 9.11, p. 99, l. 13: Śākamedha

The influence of the gṛhya-sūtra is perceptible while prescribing the congregational sacrifices, Vikhanasas introduces the gṛhya ritual also by bringing the family members to the sacrificial altar as participants. In the same Śākamedha sacrifice he observes that women are not the participants of the congregational sacrifice (cf. na patnīḥ saṃyājayanti na samiṣṭayajuḥ, VŚS. 9.10, p. 98, l. 13). In the following paragraph he prescribes the offering of puroḍāśa cakes with the mantra: tryambakaṃ yajāmahe (TS. 4.5.12) by all the male members at the fire altar.<sup>15</sup> At this sequence he prescribes the inclusion of wives of the yajamāna. He ordains that the yajamāna puts the puroḍāsa cake into the cupped hands of his wife and his daughter who is aspiring to get a husband; cf.

'bhagena tvā saṃsṛjāmi māsareṇa surām ' iveti yajamānaḥ patnyañjalau ca patnī duhituḥ patikāmāyā añjalau samāvapati. VŚS. 9.11, p. 99, l. 13-16.

## The Vaikhānasa-mantra-praśna - a chrestomathy of hymns

Х

The first concern for Vikhanasas was to give a Grhya-sūtra to fire-worshiping community of migrants in Toņḍamaṇḍalam with a restricted application of specific hymns in specified domestic rituals. To obtain full operational advantage he compiled a chrestomathy (saṅkalana) of hymns called Vaikhānasa-mantra-praśna in four Praśnas,<sup>16</sup> from the Taittiirīya-Yajurveda in particular, and from other Vedas also in general depending upon frequency of application in the domestic rituals. In other words he did not touch up on the hymns specific for the congregational śrauta sacrifices. So the Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra together with the Vaikhānasa-mantra-praśna becomes a composite text to match with his holistic approach. This ensured a safe passage of his grhya-sūtra into a tradition which is in a fluid socio-religio-political conditions. Several deviations from other grhya-sūtras, say of Āpastambaor Bodhāyana, show his wisdom to offer synthesis in the changing society.

The Vaikhānasa-mantra-praśna contains the mantras taken from the Nārāyaņopanisad, also known as Mahānārāyaņopanisad and Yājñikyopanişad (all the significant), which terms are derivatively is found as an appendage/annex/supplement in the text tradition of the Tattiriya-Āranyaka<sup>17</sup> being read in certain parts of Karnātaka (perhaps indicating the area in which the Bodhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra was in vogue).<sup>18</sup> Hence it is treated as an annex (pariśista) or khila<sup>19</sup> to the last chapter of the Tattiriya-upanisad also called Varunyupa- nisad. As Vikhanasas follows Bodhāyana in general, this Nārāyano- panisad was also adapted in his domestic rituals.

The speciality of this upanişad lies in two facts. Firstly it teaches how to combine the philosophical tenets of monotheism (which was established in the previous chapters of the āraņyaka called Taittirīyo- panişad) with the religion of upāsanā involving meditation and sacrifice.<sup>20</sup> Secondly, this whole annex-upanişad attempts at a

synthesis towards the emergence of Śiva-Viṣṇu as a unified form of Puruṣa obliterating the role of Indra in sacrifice, as found in the Rgveda. While TS is towards the Śiva-centric Śiva-Viṣṇu worship in the application of the the Śatarudrīya (TS. 4.5.1-11) and Vasordhārā (TS. 5.4.8) sets of mantras in the Agnicayana sacrifice in the Yajur-Veda, this upaniṣad tends towards the Viṣṇu-centric Śiva-Viṣṇu worship. Hence the whole text is called Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad or Nārāyaṇo- paniṣad. Śiva-Viṣṇu is a dvandva compound formed in the sense of 'mutual conjunction' (itaretarayoga) by Pāṇinian rule cārthe dvandvaḥ (Pāṇ. 2.2.26). So the whole text is spread through with the sacrificial hymns in praise of Viṣṇu, Mahādeva under the monotheistic vedānta philosophy.

After a lapse of five hundred years from Vikhanasas, Bhrgu - the preceptor (ācārya)<sup>21</sup> cum priest (arcaka) of the Śrī Venkateśvara temple - evolved a new temple priestcraft in collaboration with his collegiates under the name Bhagavacchāstra on the model of sacrificial and domestic rituals of the Vaikhānasa-kalpasūtra under the Visnu-centric Śiva-Visnu worship background of as established in the Yājñikyopanisad.<sup>22</sup> To meet his target Bhrgu compiled second part to also Vikhanasas' chrestomathy of hymns in another four prasnas as a complement to the Vaikhānasa-mantra-praśna, which are exclusively needed for the temple priestcraft. The latter part comprises the hymns assorted from the sacrificial and domestic rituals, besides analogically formulated mantras needed in iconolatry. For example the seventh praśna containing the Pāramātmikopanisad is the peak of culmination of fusion of sacrifice with the upanisadic doctrine of self-realisation. All the sentences are made ready with the suffix of svāhā with full utilisation in the sacrifice to reach the omnipresent soul hidden in the transcendental heart of the worshipper.<sup>23</sup> Similarly not to loose the thread of continuity and to stress identity of Maheśvara with Visnu, the following passage in the khila-text is transpositioned in the Nārāyana-sūkta of the Vaikhānasa-mantra-praśna, (vol.2, 34. 126, p. 39):

rtagum satyam param brahma puruṣam kṛṣṇapingalam/ ūrdhvaretam virūpākṣam viśvarūpāya vai namaḥ//24

Thus the Vaikhānasa-mantra-praśna is a compilation of Vikhanasas (c. 300 A.D.) and Bhrgu (c. 870 A.D), who were separated by about 500 years. Nevertheless neither the grhya-sūtra nor the āgama<sup>25</sup> of the Vaikhānasa school cannot exist in practice without this chrestomathy of hymns. Vikhanasas was successful to sustain the āryan mode of fire worship of sacrifice while practicing the abstract mode of internal worship by engaging the manas 'finite transcen- dental mind' in the ātman 'omnipresent transcendental heart' which is called by another name upāsanā theorised in the Nārāyaņopaniṣad and practiced by the people running in four periods of brahmacarya, grhastha, vānaprastha and bhikṣu/sannyāsa. Similarly after five hundred years Bhrgus and Aṅgirasas (the descendants of fire worship- ping clan of āryans) were able to establish the sacrificial worship in the iconolatry an as indispensable limb in religious congregational practice of worship in temples.

## XI

## Religio-philosophical change

Āryanization of south India is characterised by the fusion of 'the Vedic sacrificial mode of worship with the recitation of the hymns from different Vedic texts', with 'the theology based on the visualisation of the concept of inseparability of individual (vyakti), society (samāja, aggregation of groups of people samaṣṭi/saṅgha), land (deśa), language (bhāṣā), and deity (devatā)', and with 'the thematic code of conduct of man vis-a-vis society, governed by the philosophical doctrines of the upaniṣads,<sup>26</sup> the Yogic practices, kernels of Buddhism and Jainism'. It would be interesting to read the Vaikhānasa-Śrauta- sūtra and Vaikhānasa-Gṛhya-sūtra in the changing scenario of religion in South India through the third century on wards (in the context of āryanization of the South and stabilisation of the sacrificial culture in the south). Another important norm was to combine two streams of the philosophical and the yogic doctrines with the sacrificial worship subsumed under iconoclast on the one hand and development of sacred places of temples away from the residential demobilizations of villages on the other.

Bodhāyana in his Grhya-sūtra ordains that the preceptor takes the place of brahmā of the Atharvaveda in the domestic rituals; cf. ācāryo vai brahmeti, Bodhayana-Grhyasūtra, 3.2.2. When the temple priestcraft is newly structured by the Vaikhānasas all the personnel needed for temple worship are to be picked up from the brahmanas who follow the Vaikānasa-sūtra. To ensure continuity and stability of the institution of congregational temple worship the preceptor (ācārya) is made hereditary<sup>27</sup> and the institutor has to comply his instructions in validation of different actions performed by priests and others in service.

#### REFERENCES

1. Cf. pra tad vișnuh stavate viryena na bhimah kucaro giristhah, RV. 1.154.2 which forms the basis for the identification of the presiding deity of the Venkata mountain with Visnu and its serpentine path with sesa leading to the peak called Venkata where the temple of Srī Venkatesvara was built around c. 300 A.D. according to a special Siva-Visnu combined architecture. So metaphorically the the mountain ranges are called ananta 'very long stretches' and also sesa 'serpentine' (which resembles the upward movement of nerves in the human body from muladhara to The beast that is called kucara is identified with a bull (vrsa), and sahasrāra cakra). also with tiger (vyāghra) or a lion (simha) and hence the images of tiger are included in the architecture to be adorned on the tops of the enclosure walls at corners. If connected with a bull, the image of Śrī Venkateśvara becomes the kucara is Iśvara/Śiva. and if it is connected with a lion or tiger the image becomes Sivā/Sivāni 'wife of Isvara' or 'the splendorous light encompassing the lotus shaped heart of Isvara'. The image is also Visnu contextually because the hymn RV. 1.154.1 in which starts with visnor nu kam vīryāni pravocat, 'I will now praise the word kucara occurs. heroic deeds Visinu'. It certainly hint at a stage when the trinity of Brahmā, the Visnu and Maheśvara are worshipped as a single deity personified as Purusa in the Purusa-śūkta (RV. 10.90) replacing Indra. Further because of this reason the female deity Lalitā is described as vyāghragā or simhagā in the Lalitāstotra, hitting at the date of its composition and its author to sahasranāma-Vidyāraņya, the architect of the Vijayanagara empire in 1336 A.D. in Toņdamaņdalam.

2. Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtram, the description of Vedic rites according to the Vaikhānasa School belonging to the Black Yajurveda, critically edited by W. Caland, Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1941, reprint by Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1991.

3. Interestingly the concept of god in the Indian context developed its meaning in the same sense as in English and other languages of the Centum group of languages with

only difference that there is no directly comparable cognate in current use. In the Centum group, the word god is represented with the cognates Old English god, pl. gudu, n. godas m, Dutch god, Icelandic goth, guth, Danish and Swedish gud, Gothic guth, German Gott. While the majority of English dictionaries opine that the root of the word god was not known for not being able to establish its cognate in Sanskrit, the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles (prepared by William Little, H.W. Fowler and Jessie Coulson revised and edited by C.J. Onions, Third edition completely reset with etymologies, revised by C.W.S. Friedrichsen, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987) connects the word god with the Sanskrit root hū (Juhotyādi class) and reconstructs the conjectural PIE root \*ghut. For not being able to connect the development of the root hū in the Indian context with the development the Dictionary observes: 'A Germanic \*zu° points to IE of the sense of god in English, ppl. formation of uncertain origin, but prob. of \*ghu- represented by \*ghut- pa. Skt. hū invoke the gods". Patañjali's exegesis on Pānini's rule: trtīvā hoś chandasi, 2.3.3 confirms that the above wild guess was fully justifiable; cf.

ayam agnihotraśabdo 'sty eva jyotişi vartate. tad yathā agnihotram prajvalayatīti. asti havişi vartate. tad yathā agnihotram juhotīti. juhotiś cāsty eva prakşepaņe vartate 'sti prīņātyarthe. tad yadā - tāvad yavāgūśabdāt tṛtīyā tadāgnihotraśabdo jyotişi vartate juhotiś ca prīņātyarthe. tad yathā - yavān agnihotram juhoti. agnim prīņāti. yadā yavāgūśabdād dvitīyā tadāgnihotraśabdo havişi vartate juhotiś ca prakşepe. tad yathā - yavāgūm agnihotram juhoti. yavāgūm havir agnau praksipati. Mahābhāsya, 2.3.3.

4. Caland (ed.), Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtram, Preface, p. 9 quoted from GOML with No 1605.

5. Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtram, the domestic rules and sacred laws of the Vaikhānasa School belonging to the Black Yajurveda, translated by W. Caland, Bibliotheca India work No. 251, Calcutta, 1929, reprint by Ramanand Vidya Bhavan, New Delhi, 1982.

6. A Telugu manuscript (S.No.6 = V) reads the colophon after the first praśna as follows: iti śrīvaikhānase vikhanasā rsiņā prokte mūlagr, Śrīnivāsadīksita in his Vyākhyā records the place of Vikhanasas in his school:

yena vedārtham vijnāya lokānugrahakāmyayā/ praņītam sūtram aukheyam tasmai vikhanase namaḥ// Cf. also the colophon: iti śrīmad-aukheyaśākhāyām vikhanasā rsinā .... Caland. VŚS, Preface, p. xi.

7. iti śrīmadaukheyaśākhāyām vikhanasā prokte śrīvaikhānasasūtre mūlagrhye dvāvimśah praśnah, VŚS. p. 334. As if to explain the status of the VŚS, a Telugu manuscript from Ākulamannā·u reads: Iti śrīmadaukheyaśākhāyām vikhanasā rṣinā prokte mūlagrhye ekavimśatpraśnātmake ekavimśan-mahāyajñaprabodha-kalpasūtre ekonaşaşţyadhika-triśata-khan·ātmake prāyaścitta-vidhirniyoga ekavimśatipraśnah,VŚS. p. 334.

8. VŚS, Preface, p. xxvii.

 śrīmangalaśailanāthakrpayā śrīkrsnamādhvarī/ śrīvaikhānasasūtram abhyudaharaj jīrnam trayīvittamaņ// tatsūtrādhikrtaprayogamanīm kļptim karoty ujjvalām/ drstvā tām sudhiyo 'bhinandatatamām traividyavrddhaś ciram//

## VŚS, Preface, p. x.

This verse also indicates that the scribe Śrīkṛṣṇamādhvarin is a scholar and a priest at the Śrī Nṛsiṃha temple at Maṅgalagiri. He being a Telugu man should have erred in reading augheya from a grantha manuscript. 10. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India, (4th edn. Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 84-96; 135-145.

11. Traditionally this incidence is remembered by Nārāyaņa-Marīci, the author of the Vimānārcanākalpa, who records in c. 1372 A.D.

in his Veṅkaṭeśa-sahasranāma-stotra; cf. nīlagokṣīradhārābhūr varāhācalanāyakaḥ / bharadvājapratiṣṭhāvān bṛhaspativibhāvitaḥ// 155 vaikhānasamakhārambho vṛṣajñeyo vṛṣācalaḥ/157

12. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, op.cit. p. 135.

13. a) Rg -vidhāna, 3. 134-230; cf.

ity evam uktah puruşasya vişnor arcāvidhir vişnukumāranāmnā / muktyaikamārgapratibodhanāya drstvā vidhānam tv iha nāradoktam// ibid. 230.

b) Rg-vidhāna prescribes the images in replica (pratikrti) of persons (3.90; 113) and amulets for worship (4.38, 88-94). In the Brhat Śaunakīya he recommends to recite this hymn begging with kad rudrāya (RV.1.43) thousand times touching the Śiva-linga to obtain relief from fever arising out of cold; cf.

kadrudrāya japet sūktam śītajvaravināśanam/

lingam sprstvā yutam dhīmān nirogī śīghratas tadā//

Brhat-Śaunakīya, 126.

Similarly in Rgvidhāna, 3.150 Saunaka speaks of the image worship of Viṣṇu while ordaining the Purusa-sūkta in domestic rituals of individuals; cf.

apsv agnau hrdaye sūrye sthan ale pratimāsu ca/

satsv eteşu hareh samyag arcanam munibhih smrtam//

Rgvidhāna, 3.150.

14. umāpativisņuharmyāņām cakravartinas tathālaye/ Mānasāra, 13.63, p. 76. P.K. Acharya, Manasara Series vol. 3.

brahma-vișņu-maheśānām lakşaņam vakşyate 'dhunā/

Mānasāra, 51.1, p. 334

evam tu rudravisnoh kuryāt tat tu vidhivat tatah/ sarvālankārasamyuktam devam dhyātvā trimūrtinam/

ibid. 88-89, p. 337

The Mahānārāyaņopaniṣad in which the Puruṣa-sūkta (of RV. 10.90 and TA. 3.13) is recast as Nārāyaṇa-sūkta, by which the upaniṣad is known by that name also purports the trinity worship both in the form of sacrifice and domestic worship.

- yajamānasyāmātyāḥ sarva ekam ekam puro·āsam ādāya
   'tryambakam yajāmahe' ity etam agnim pradaksiņam daksinān ūrūn āghnānāḥ pariyanti, VŚS. 9.11, p. 99, l. 13-16.
- 16. Śrī Vaikhānasa-Manatra-Praśnāḥ, Śrī Veṅkațeśvarasvāmivārla Devasthānam, Dvārakā Tirumala, 1984.
- 17. Taittirīyāraņyakam (sapariśiṣṭam), vol. 2, Ānandāśrama-Saṃskṛta- Granthāvali, 36, Poona, 1920.

18. Šāyaņa, while commenting on this annex-upanişad, gives a justification for inclusion in the text tradition; cf. tadīyapāţhasampradāyas tu deśaviśeşeşu bahuvidha upalabhyate. tatra yady api śākhābhedaḥ kāraṇaṃ tathāpi taittirīyaśākhādhyāyakais tattaddeśanivāsibhiḥ śiṣṭair ādṛttvāt sarvo 'pi pāţha upādeya eva. tatra drāvi·ānāṃ catuḥṣaṣṭyanu-

vākakramapāţhah. kārņāţakeşu keşāñcic catussaptatih pāţhah. apareşām cāśītipāţhah. tatra vayam pāţhāntarāni sūcayanitah catuḥṣaṣṭya(nto 'aśītya)nuvākapāṭhaṃ pādhānyena vyākhyasyāmaḥ, ibid. (Taittirīyāraṇyakam, 10th Prapāṭhaka -Pariśiṣṭa, vol. 2, p.784.

19. vāruņyupanişady uktā brahmavidyā sanātanā/ yājñikyām pha[khi]larūpāyām sarvaśeso 'bhidhīyate//

> ibid. p.783. yathā bṛhadāraṇyake sapramāṣṭamādhyāyau khilakāṇḍatvenācāryair udāhṛtau tayāyaṃ nārāyaṇīkhyā yājñikyupaniṣad api khilakāṇḍarūpā, tallakṣaṇopetvāt, karmopāsanā-bahmatattvajñāneṣu kiñcid avaśiṣṭaṃ tasya sarvasyābhidhānena prakīrṇarūpatvaṃ khilatvam, ibid. p. 784.

20. Sāyaņa elucidates how various concepts and practices were combined in this Nārāyaņopanişad. Cf. 'atha yaḥ kāmayeta mahat prāpnuyāt' ityādinā manthākhyaṃ

karmābhihitam. tathā putravišeṣādikāmanāyuktānām tu tat tat karmāny abhihitatāni. evam atrāpi 'ambhasya pāre' ityādinopāsanam abhihitam. 'bhūr annam agnaye pṛthivyai svāhā' ityādinā karmāny abhihitāni. tatra karmanām bāhulyād yājñikīty ucyate. upakrame brahmatattvābhidhād [upasamhāre ca tatsādhanānām satyādīnām sannyāsantānām abhidhānād] upaniṣad ity ucyate. tadīyapāṭha- sampradāyam tu deśaviśeṣeṣu bahuvidha upalabhyate. TA. 10 Khila, 1, p. 748.

Sāyaņa and Mādhava-Vidyāraņya should have fallen in line of this argument of combining the sacrifice with the monistic philosophy, as Sāyaņa observes in the introduction of his Mādhavīya-

Dhātuvrtti:

na dhyānam na vratam nārcā na samādhir na vā japah/

mantrasiddhā balam yasya matir eva mahīyasī// Mādhavīya-Dhātuvrtti, intr. 12.

It is also be noted if this Nārāyaņopanişad is pulled out from its sources, the whole structure of the Vaikhānasa tradition of ritualand philosophy collapses instantaneously. Sāyaņa and his elder brother Mādhava-Vidyāraņya accredit to the Vaikhānasa tradition including the iconolatry. Mādhava-Vidyāraņya's reconciliatory approach between the Taittirīyopanişad and the Nārāyaņopanişad can be seen in his Vedānta-Pañcadaśī; cf.

evam vidvān karmaņī dve hitvātmānam smaret sadā/ krte ca karmaņī svātmarūpeņaivaisa pasyati// 11.6 bhrguh putrah pituh srutvā varuņād brahmalaksanam/ annaprānamanobuddhīs tyaktvānandam vijijnivān// 11.12 See also: 11.104, 108; 12.132; 12.81, etc.

Sāyaņa and Mādhava-Vidyāraņya never aimed at producing a new doctrine but to preserving the salient features of the tradition.

For example he underlines this concept in the Mādhavīya- Dhātuvrtti; cf. asyā pūrvanibandhebhyo guņavattā tu na kathyate/ sarva eva svavākyesu yad āhur guņagauravam// intr. 14

This justifies the assignment of writing a priefcraft under the name of the Vimānārcanākalpa to a Vaikhānasa priest Nārāyaņa-

Marīci, of Uttaramerūr to summarise the principles enshrined in the treatises of Bhrgu during c. 1372 A.D.

21. The preceptor (ācārya) plays the role of Brahmā of the Sāmaveda, in the domestic rituals; cf. ācāryo vai brahmeti, Bodhayana- Grhyasūtra, 3.2.2.

- 22. yajña iti yajñena hi devā divangatā yajñenāsurān apanudanta yajñena dvişanto mitrā bhavanti yajñe sarvam pratisthitam tasmād yajñam paramam vadanti, ibid. 79, p. 897
  - Cf. yajñena yajñam ayajanta devās tāni dharmāņi prathamāny āsan/ RV. 1.164.50. asmin vai loka ubhaye devamanuşyā āsuḥ. te devāḥ svargaṃ lokaṃ yanto 'gnim ūcuḥ,

Kaușītaki-Brāhmaņa, 1.1.1-2.

 mām ātmaguptām satvasya sarvasya vitānarūpām sañjūjuşantīm paramām pavitrām/ santīrayantīm svayam apramattām samyojayitre varadāya pitre svāhā// Pāram°tmikopanişat, in: Vaikhānasa-Mantra-Praśna, (Part 2). 11.21.

This is certainly formulated for temple worship on the model of the hymn in the Nārāyanopanisad, 1.15.1-2 :

sa naḥ suvaḥ saṁ śiśādhi. ārdraṃ jvalati jyotir aham asmi. jyotir jvalati brahmāham asmi. yo 'ham asmi brahmāham asmi. aham asmi brahmāham asmi. aham evāhaṃ māṃ juhomi svāhā.

Even newly created hymns for temple worship on analogy of the original models are treated as valid, because the intuition in both of them does not differ essentially in spite of distance in time and space. So Nārāyaņa-Marīci (c. 1372 A.D) justifies by saying: sūktir āmnāyasūktigaḥ in Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa-sahasranāma-stotra, 128.

24. This passage was modified taking from the Nārāyaņopanişad, 23: namo hiraņyabāhave hiraņyavarņāya hiraņyarūpāya hiraņyapataye 'mbikāpataya umāpataye paśupataye namo namaḥ/ rtagum satyam param brahma puruşam krşnapingalam/ ūrdhvaretam virūpākşam viśvarūpāya vai namo namah//

- 25. The word āgama in the Vaikhānasa context refers to the iconolatry based on the grhya and śrauta rituals fully based on the Vedic rituals, while grhya refers exclusively to the rituals of house-holders. Secondarily the word ācārya acquired a derivative conventional sense of a priest of the Yajurveda as a synonym of adhvaryu. The difference in the connotation of the words nigama and āgama in iconolatry is to be noted. Nigama denotes the Vedic hymns as used in the grhya and śrauta rituals as defined by the āryans of the āryāvarta and āgama refers to the same Vedic hymns which are transmutated in iconolatry structured by the priests in dakṣiṇāvarta. It means that the place and mode of operation differentiates them. Thus nigama is deśī, while āgama is mārgī in Vaikhānasa temple worship.
- 26. Šaunaka in his Ŗgvidhāna attests the prevalence of this situation; cf. tasyā hrdayadeśam tu samākramya japed rsim/ amogham karmajānodayād ahorātre gate sati// Ŗgvidhāna, 3.82 puruşasya hareh sūktam svargyam dhanyam yaśaskaram/ ātmajñānam idam punyam yogajñānam idam param// ibid. 3.186
- 27. Cf. Bhrgu's Khilādhikāra, 2. 38-39; Yajñādhikāra, 51. 32-34;
   Vāsādhikāra, 1. 84-96.