

Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft

Im Auftrage
des Münchener Sprachwissenschaftlichen
Studienkreises

herausgegeben von
Norbert Oettinger und Eva Tichy



Heft 63 – 2003 [2009]
J.H. Röll

Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in
der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie;
detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über:
<http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar

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Gedruckt auf chlorfreiem, alterungsbeständigem Papier.
Gesamtherstellung: Verlag J.H. Röll GmbH

Printed in Germany
ISSN 0077-1910

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NAOKO NISHIMURA

The mantra *g(h)ošad asi* in the Yajurveda

o. The first chapter of the Yajurveda-Saṁhitās (YS¹) consists of the mantra collections for *iṣṭi*, the fundamental form of which is practically to be understood as the new and full moon sacrifice (Darśapūrṇamāsa). Every Saṁhitā except the VS has the section «Grazing» as its opening, followed by «Cutting *barhiṣ*», and then «Milking and making *dadhi*».² These are the ritual procedures of the so called Upavasatha day proceeding the day of chief offerings. Early in the morning, the sacrificer and the priests send the sacrificer's cattle off to the pasture³ with the mantras for «Grazing», and proceed to cutting *barhiṣ*. Prior to going to the cutting place, the Adhvaryu priest addresses the mantra *<g(h)ošad asi>* to the Gārhapatyā (G) fire. Then a horse's rib (*aśvaparśú*-⁴) used as a sickle is heated on the G fire in order to purify it.

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- 1 We know five existent branches of the Yajurveda [YV] school: Maitrāyaṇīya, Kāṭha, Kapiṣṭhalakāṭha, Taittirīya, and Vājasaneyin schools. These schools have their own Saṁhitā as their main text. They are divided into two groups: Maitrāyaṇī [MS], Kāṭhaka- [KS], Kapiṣṭhalakāṭha- [KapS], and Taittirīya-Saṁhitā [TS] belong to the “Black”-Yajurveda school. In this group the Saṁhitā consists of both mantra (*yajuṣ*) and brāhmaṇa sections. The other one is the “White”-Yajurveda, i.e. the Vājasaneyins, consisting of the Mādhyandina and the Kāṇva sub-school. The Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā [VS] has only the mantra sections, and their brāhmaṇas are compiled into the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. The Taittirīya school of the “Black”-YV has also a text entitled Brāhmaṇa, i.e. Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa [TB], which is composed of both the mantra and brāhmaṇa sections just as in the TS.
 - 2 The VS does not include the section «Cutting *barhiṣ*», so that «Milking and making *dadhi*» follows directly after «Grazing». → 4.
 - 3 There was probably not an exclusive place for the pasture, but the grazing land seems to have been *araṇya*-, the place where no one has his own claim. *araṇya*- as a pasture field is discussed in my thesis, *Grazing cows and mowing the sacrificial grass* (Tōhoku University Press, Sendai, 2006, in Japanese) II 3-1.: about the mantra *<vāyávas stha>* and *<upāyávas stha>* aaO 122f.
 - 4 This horse's rib is identified with *dhiśánā*- (a difficult word, originally ‘the act or place of the festival’?, cf. lat. *fānum* < **d^hh_s-no-* ‘temple’, *fēstus* < **d^heh_s-to-* ‘festive’, cf.

<*g(h)ošád asi*> is the first mantra of the section «Cutting *barhiṣ*». We find this mantra only in the texts belonging to the Black-Yajurveda schools having this section. Among them there are important differences: MS and KS have *goṣád*, TS and KapS (based on the single manuscript) *ghoṣád*. The mantra in the TS, furthermore, begins with the word *yajñásya*. (→ 1-1.)

Both *goṣád* and *ghoṣád* are attested only in this context throughout the Vedic literature, an instance anywhere else only refers to this. Their word formation, meaning, and relationship have not been made clear despite discussions by KEITH, DUMONT, BURROW, etc. (see below 3-1.). The present article aims to confirm the original word-form and meaning in light of the elucidation of the implication and role this mantra has in the ritual. I would like to refer also to some of the aspects surrounding the thinking and everyday life in ancient India as a background to understanding this mantra.

1. Interpretation in the brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras

1-1. The following table shows the beginning stage of «Cutting *barhiṣ*». The mantra in question is situated in the first place except in the KS. The word form *goṣád* in the MS and KS is supported by the sūtra Pāṇini V

MAYRHOFER Indogermanische Grammatik I-2, 1986, 127) in a brāhmaṇa of the later part of «Cutting *barhiṣ*», glossing a mantra: <*préyám agād dhiṣāṇā barhír ácha | mánunā kṛtā svadháya vítaṣṭā*> (MS I 1,2:1,6 ~ KS I 2:1,7-8 ~ TS I 1,2,1) 'This *dhiṣāṇā* has come forth towards the sacrificial grass, made by Manu, fashioned by *svadhā* (the decision for oneself)'. All the brāhmaṇas belonging to the Black-YV explain this *dhiṣāṇā*- as *vidyā*- 'intelligence, skill'. TB III 2,2,2^p connects the rib with the daughter of Manu, which reminds us of the legend about the origin of the woman from the man's rib (or, the birth from the rib, resp. the side): <*mánunā kṛtā svadháya vítaṣṭā*> -*éty āha*. | *mānaví hí pársuḥ svadhākṛtā* 'He says: <(the *dhiṣāṇā*) made by Manu, fashioned by *svadhā*>. For the rib is the daughter of Manu, made by *svadhā*'. The connection between the rib and the daughter of Manu appears in RV X 86,23 (the last stanza of the Vṛṣākapi hymn) and GELDNER refers to the very place of the TB in his footnote: *pársur ha nāma mānaví¹ sākām sasūva vimśatim* 'the daughter of Manu, Parśu by name, has borne twenty [sons] at once'.

2,26, which teaches us that the word was used for designating the group of *yajuṣ* for cutting *barhiṣ*.⁵

The first *yajuṣ* in the KS <*devāsya tvā savitūḥ*...> is recited at various stages of almost all the rituals. For the present case also, it is included in every brāhmaṇa (i.e. the prose portion) except in the KapS, and placed in the beginning of the ŚrSū's. So we may duly judge that it was added to the mantra section of the KS at some later stage, for, in the brāhmaṇas or ŚrSū's, we often encounter a mantra which the Saṁhitā does not have in the corresponding mantra section.

MS I 1,2:1,5 ^m	KS I 2:1,6–7 ^m	KapS I 2:3,7 ^m	TS I 1,2,1 ^m
<i>goṣád asi.</i> You are <i>goṣad</i> (→ 2.).	<i>devāsya tvā savitūḥ</i> <i>prasavè 'śvinor</i> <i>bābhūbhyām pūṣṇó</i> <i>hástābhyām ādade.</i>	<i>ghoṣad asi.</i> You are <i>ghoṣad</i> (→ 3.).	<i>yajñāsya ghoṣád asi.</i> You are <i>ghoṣad</i> (→ 3.) of the sacrifice.
<i>prātyuṣṭām rákṣaḥ.</i> <i>prātyuṣṭārātiḥ.</i> The destructive power is burnt out. The malice is burnt out.	Under God Savitṛ's encouragement (au- thorizing approval), I take you in my hand with both arms of two Ásvins, with both hands of Pūṣaṇ.	<i>niṣṭaptaṁ rakṣaḥ.</i> The destructive po- wer is burnt down.	<i>prātyuṣṭām rákṣaḥ.</i> <i>prātyuṣṭā árātayaḥ.</i> The destructive power is burnt out. Malicious intents are burnt out.
	<i>goṣád asi</i> ⁶ . (the following man- tras are the same as MS)		

5 *goṣadādibhyo vun* 'after (the words) *goṣad-* etc., *vun* (-*aka-* Suffix with the accent on the first syllable) [appears]'. Kāśikā shows some examples: *goṣadako 'dhyāyayḥ/nuvākaḥ, iṣetvakaḥ, mātariśvakaḥ*. A series of words in Gaṇapāṭha 80 (*goṣadādayaḥ*) seems to aim to title the chapter or section of the *yajuṣ* collection. About the familiarity of the MS and KS to Pāṇini, cf. THIEME Pāṇini and the Veda (1935) 63–71, TSUJI Genzon-Yajurveda-Bunken (Existent Yajurveda Literature), 1970, 42f. (lit.), "Indo bunpōgaku gaikan" (Survey of Indian traditional grammar) §1 (Veda gaku ronshū [Collected Articles for Vedic Studies], 1977, 428f. and n.22 [lit.]). According to OERTEL Kl.Schr. (1994) 595, also Devarāja's commentary on the Nighaṇṭu quotes *goṣad*.

6 According to fn. 2 in the KapS ed., one of the ṛcaka-manuscripts of the KS (possessed by A. STEIN) has *ghoṣad*.

1-2. Each of the brāhmaṇas interprets in the same way that the recitation of the mantra brings wealth to the sacrificer:

MS IV 1,2:2,15^P: <goṣād as_i>-īti. rayīm yájamāne dadhāti.
 <You are goṣād> [he addresses]. He places the wealth in the sacrificer (by means of this recitation).

KS XXXI 1:1,3-4^P: <goṣād as_i>-īti. rayīm eva yajamāne dadhāti.
 <You are goṣād> [he addresses]. He places [by this] just the wealth in the sacrificer.

KapS XLVII 1:333,2-3^P: <ghoṣād as_i>-īti ...
 <You are ghoṣād> [he addresses] ...

TB III 2,2,2^P: <yajñāsya ghoṣād as_i>-īty āha. |yájamāna evá rayīm dadhāti. |
 <You are ghoṣād of the sacrifice> he addresses. He places [by this] the wealth just in the sacrificer.

1-3. According to the description of the ŚrSū's (: Mānava- and Vārāha-ŚrSū belonging to the MS, Baudhāyana-, Vādhūla-, Bhāradvāja-, Āpastamba-, Hiranyakeśi-, and Vaikhānasa-ŚrSū belonging to the TS), the mantra <g(h)oṣād asi> is recited during a series of procedures done for the horse's rib or a sickle beside the G fire. The mantra is thereby addressed to the G fire, so that the object which is characterized by g(h)oṣād is to be understood as the G fire itself:

MānŚrSū I 1,1,24: <goṣād as_i>-īti gārhapatyam upatiṣṭhate.
 [Addressing] <You are goṣād>, he worships the G fire (literally: stands by the fire with honour).

VārŚrSū I 2,1,13: <goṣād as_i>-īti gārhapatyam prekṣate.
 [Addressing] <You are goṣād>, he looks to the G fire.

BhārŚrSū I 3,5: sāvitrenāśvaparsūm anaḍutparsūm asidaṃ vādāya gārhapatyam abhimantrayate <yajñāsya ghoṣād as_i>-īti.

Having taken a horse's rib, a cart-ox's rib, or a sickle [in his hand] with the mantra relating to Savitr, he addresses to the G fire: <You are ghoṣād of the sacrifice>.

ĀpŚrSū I 3,3: <yajñāsya ghoṣād as_i>-īti gārhapatyam abhimantraya ...

Having addressed the mantra <You are ghoṣād of the sacrifice> to the G fire ...

HirŚrSū I 2:80,19: <yajñāsya ghoṣād as_i>-īti gārhapatyam upatiṣṭhate.

[Addressing] <You are ghoṣād of the sacrifice>, he worships the G fire.

VaikhŚrSū III 3:34,9–11: <yajñasya ghoṣad asḥ>-īty abhimantrayate gārhapatyam vopatiṣṭhate.

He addresses the mantra <You are *ghoṣad* of the sacrifice> to [the G fire], or he worships the G fire.

Though the BaudhŚrSū, the earliest text of the ŚrSū's, does not show clearly what the mantra is addressed to, its description can be interpreted as suggestive of the G fire:

BaudhŚrSū I 2:2,5–7: *atha jaghanena gārhapatyam tiṣṭhann asidam vāśvaparśum vādatte <devasya tvā savituḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām ādada (not included in the corresponding TS mantra section; but in TB III 2,2,1^p)> iti. ādāyābbimantrayate <yajñasya ghoṣad asḥ>-īti. gārhapatyē pratitapati <pratyuṣṭam rakṣaḥ pratyuṣṭā arātayo> iti triḥ.*

Then, standing behind (in the west of) the G fire, he (the Adhvaryu) takes a sickle or a horse's rib [in his hand, addressing] <Under God Savitṛ's encouragement (authorizing approval), I take you with both arms of two Aśvins, with both hands of Pūṣaṇ>. Having taken it, he addresses the mantra <You are *ghoṣad* of the sacrifice> to [the G fire]. He heats [a sickle or a horse's rib⁷] on (in the face of) the G fire [addressing] <The destructive power is burnt out. Malicious intents are burnt out>, three times.

The description of the VādhŚrSū might mean that the mantra is addressed to the sickle:

VādhŚrSū II 1,1,9 (Ed. IKARI)⁸: <devasya tvā savituḥ prasava> ity apareṇa gārhapatyam asidan nidhāyādatte <aśvinor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām ādade. yajñasya ghoṣad asḥ>-īti.

[Addressing] <Under God Savitṛ's encouragement (authorizing approval), you>, having laid the sickle behind the G fire, he takes [it], [addressing] <I take with both arms of two Aśvins, with both hands of Pūṣaṇ. You are *ghoṣad* of the sacrifice>⁹.

7 BaudhŚrSū XX 2:7,4–7 (Dvaidhasūtra) introduces Śālīki's view that the priest must heat the rib only, and that he does not have to heat the sickle.

8 Ed. CHAUBEY II 1,14–15 supplies *iti* after *ādade*, and *abhimantrayate* after the concluding *iti*. The editor supposes thus two different procedures under two mantras. The manuscripts do not support this interpretation.

9 The VādhŚrSū cites in principle the beginning part of a mantra/mantras first, continues with the prescription, then concludes with the citation of the left part of the mantra/mantras. Cf. CALAND AcOr 2 (1924) 144 = Kl.Schr. (1990) 279, TSUJI Exis-

2. MS–KS *goṣád-*

2-1. The word *goṣád* of the MS–KS is found also in Pāṇini's sūtra (→ 1-1., n.5). This form is, as it stands, to be understood as a compound of *gó-* and the root noun *sád-*. Then its meaning should be 'sitting among/in the cow', since *sád-* appears in various compounds having a substantive or a prefix as its first member and the substantive indicates thereby a place to sit; the compound itself means 'sitting or getting a seat in/on/among...', e.g., *nṛṣád-* 'getting his seat among men', *pitṛṣád-* 'getting his seat among fathers', *barhiṣád-* 'sitting on *barhiṣ*'.¹⁰ KEITH gives the same interpretation for *goṣád* in the MS and KS: 'sitting among the cows' (TS tr. p.2 n.2).

2-2. Neither from the mantra section nor from its corresponding brāhmaṇa does it become clear what *goṣád-* 'sitting among the cow' suggests. In the ŚrSū's, on the other hand, as we have already seen, the present mantra is addressed to the G fire without difference among the schools or between the wording *goṣád-* and *ghoṣád-*. About the ambivalence of the VādhŚrSū see above 1-3.

Between the sacred fire and the cattle a close relationship seems to have existed since the earliest brāhmaṇas.¹¹ Agni gets into the cattle as the fire of life, i.e. body heat; the cattle gather around the fire in all seasons:

MS I 8,2:116,14–117,5^P [Agnihotra]: *agnīm vái paśávaḥ prāviśanty agnīḥ paśūn. prá ha vá enaṃ paśávo viśanti prá sá paśūn yá evám véd_a-aitád dha sma vá āha nāradó. yátra gām śáyānām nirjānāti mṛtām enām ávidvān +manyatā +ity (manyatē 'ty: Ed. SCHROE., SĀT.). agnīm hy éváité prāviśanty agnīr etāms. tásmāt sárvaṃ ṛtūn*

tent Yajurveda-Literature (1970) 31 and n.285 (125 [lit.]), IKARI Zinbun 30 (1995) 103ff. In the present case, the cited mantras <*devasya tvā savitūḥ prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyāṃ pūṣṇo hastābhyāṃ ādade*> and <*yajñasya ghoṣad asi*> are divided into two parts, <*devasya tvā savitūḥ prasave*> and <*aśvinor bāhubhyāṃ pūṣṇo hastābhyāṃ ādade. yajñasya ghoṣad asi*>, and thus they seem to be regarded as a single set accompanying the described procedures.

10 Cf. SCARLATA Wurzelkomposita (1999) 560–576.

11 KRICK Feuergründung (1982) regards Agni as the lord of the cattle, *paśupati-*, see above all 268 n.661. On the identification of Agni with Rudra, see NISHIMURA Diss. (→ n.3) I. 2-1.: Detailed explanation for «Grazing», I. Cutting a branch (p.89ff.), e.g. *eṣá hí rudró yád agnīḥ* MS I 6,6:95,12^P, I 6,7:98,1^P, similarly TB II 1,3,1^P.

paśávo 'gním abhisarpanti. ná hy ètá r̥tè 'gnér. yáj jātáḥ paśúm ávinda data táj jātávedaso jātavedastvám.

Into Agni, verily, the cattle enter, Agni into the cattle. Into him enter the cattle, [and] he into the cattle, if he knows thus. Nārada used to say about this: In the case one discerns about a lying cow, if he does not know (about the relation between Agni and the cattle), he takes it (the cow) to be dead. For these [cattle] enter into Agni, Agni into them. The cattle, therefore, creep toward Agni in all seasons. For they cannot [exist] without Agni. That he (Agni) found the cattle as soon as he was born, that is the Jātavedasness of Jātavedas.

In the situation of the sacrifice, the cattle are assumed to occupy the place between the Āhavanīya (Ā) and the G fire:

KS XXXII 6:24,22–23^P [brāhmaṇa for Yajamāna]¹²

ošadhayo vai vedāḥ. paśava ośadhaya. eṣa paśūnām goṣṭho yad antarāgnī. yad vedam antarāgnī stṛñāti sva eva goṣṭhe bhrātṛvyasya paśūn vṛñkte.

The plants, verily, are the veda (i.e. a kind of small brush made of the same sacred grass as the barhiṣ), the cattle are the plants. As to [the place] between both the [sacred] fires (i.e. the Ā and the G fire), this [place] is the cattle shed¹³. If one strews the veda between both the fires (fire altars), he seizes [as a result] the rival's cattle [and drives them] into his own cattle shed.

MS I 4,10:58,1–5^P [do.]¹⁴

^[58.1]*devātānām vā etād āyātanaīm yád āhavanīyo. yád antarāgnī tát paśūnām.*
^[2]*manusyānām gārhapatyāḥ. pitṛñām odanapácanaḥ. sárva ha vā asya* ^[3]*yakṣyámānasya devātā yajñām āgachanti yá evām véda. pūrvam cāgnīm áparam ca* ^[4]*páristarītavā āha. manusyānām vái návāvasānam priyām. návāvasā-* ^[5]*nam evākar. medhyatvāya.*

As to the Ā fire, this is the post of the deities. As to [the place] between both the [sacred] fires (i.e. the Ā and the G fire), that is the post of the cattle. The G [fire] is [the post] of the men. The Odanapacana (the fire 'cooking a mess as a fee for the priests') is [the post] of the fathers. All the deities come up to the sacrifice of the one being about to sacrifice, if the one knows thus. [The sacrificer] tells [the priest]

12 ~ MS I 4,8:56,4–5^P [do.].

13 The MS version (→ n.12) has *paśūnām lokāḥ* 'cattle's world/region' instead of *goṣṭhaḥ* 'cattle shed'.

14 Parallel passages characterizing three sacred fires are found in KS XXXII 7:25,17–18^P ~ TS I 6,7,1–2^P, and that of strewing grass around the Ā and G fires, cf. KS XXXII 7:25,18–21^P ~ TS I 6,7,2–3^P. These passages argue that the sacrificer prepares a 'new settlement' for the deities and the men respectively through the ritual procedure.

to strew grass around the eastern (Ā) fire and the western (G fire). A new settlement is, verily, favourable for the men.¹⁵ He has [thus] made¹⁶ a new settlement. [It is] for suitability to the sacrifice.

Cf. TB III 7,4,4^m (i)¹⁷ [upavasatha]

antarāgnī pašāvah | devasamsādam āgaman | tān pūrvah párigrbhāmi | svā āyātane manīśáyā |

Through [the place] between both the [sacred] fires (i.e. the Ā and the G fire), the cattle have come to the place where the gods are sitting together. I seize them at first, at my own post with [my] plan.

A brāhmaṇa passage says that cattle worship the G fire:

MS III 7,7:84,5–6^p [Soma sacrifice]¹⁸: ... *gārbhatyā upavapati. gārbhatyām hí pašávó 'nūpatiṣṭhante. pašúbhir evāinaṁ samyāñcaṁ dadhāti.*

He (the Adhvaryu) strews [a dirt clod with the foot stamp of a cow given as the price for Soma: *padá-*] around the G fire. For the cattle worship the G fire following [after the sacrificer].¹⁹ He (the Adhvaryu) places him (the sacrificer) [consequently (through the strewing of clod)] together with the very cattle.

Against this background in reality and speculation, Agni, especially the fire ‘belonging to the householder’ (*gārbhatya-*), has apparently become a symbol of the sacrificer and characterised as *gośád-* ‘sitting among the cattle’, as transmitted in the mantra in the MS and KS. Addressing the G fire with ‘you are the one sitting among the cattle’ functions thus as

15 Cf. KS XXXII 7:25,19^p *manuṣyāñām in nvai navāvasānaṁ priyaṁ* ‘Even for the men, a new settlement is favourable’ ~ TS I 6,7,2–3^p *manuṣyāñ //2// in nvā upastīraṁ ichānti kīm u devā yéśāñ návāvasānaṁ* ‘Even the men want [the place] strewn [with grass], much more the gods, for whom there is a new settlement.’

16 *akar* is a resultative aor. to confirm the effect of a sacrificial procedure. It is well attested in the MS, cf. WHITNEY Grammar §930, AiS 288 n.1, OERTEL The Syntax of Cases (1926) 311, K.SAKAMOTO (AMANO) Diss. Freiburg 2001, 25f., NISHIMURA Diss. (→ n.3) n.175.

17 We can find the complete parallel of this mantra only in ĀpŚrSū IV 1,9 [prescriptions for the sacrificer], further of pāda c in TB III 7,4,5^m and ĀpŚrSū IV 1,10 [do.], of d in TB III 7,4,3, 5, ĀpŚrSū IV 1,8–10 [do.].

18 ~ KS XXIV 6:95,6–8^p ~ TS VI 1,8,5^p.

19 Cf. MS I 6,5:93,14^p [Agniyādheya]: *etām upāśīnaṁ pašāvā upatiṣṭhante* ‘Around this (sacrificer), who is sitting by [the G fire] with reverence (*upa-ās*), cattle stand together with reverence (*upa-sthā*)’.

a prayer that many cattle may gather around the sacrificer. We can duly understand in this way why the brāhmaṇas explain the mantra throughout with the consequence that it lays the wealth on the sacrificer.

3. TS–KapS *ghośád-*

3-1. A.B. KEITH interprets the mantra of the TS <*yajñásya ghośád asi*> as “Thou art the substance of the sacrifice” with the commentary of Sāyaṇa *yajñásya sādhanam dravyam asi* ‘you are a means, [i.e.] substance of (for) the sacrifice’. He adds a note: “*ghośád* is very obscure: KS. and MS. have *gośád*, apparently ‘sitting among the cows’; the comm. takes it as ‘wealth’; probably *ghośád* is no more than an error for *gośád*” (TS tr. p.2 n.2).

P.-É. DUMONT (JAOS 75, 1955, 117f., PrAmPhilosSoc 101, 1957, 221 n.15) argues against it and claims that **gośádh-* “cattle procurer, cattle provider” is the original form with the nom. sg. masc. *gośád* as in the MS–KS. The latter member of the compound *-sádh-* is according to him, the root noun from *sādh/sidh* ‘to obtain one’s goal’. The form *ghośád* in the TS is an irregular nominative with the aspiration transferred from the final to the initial position because of the sandhi in pausa. He suggests furthermore that the original version is that of the TS with *yajñásya*, which was omitted secondarily in the MS and KS, for the nominative *gośád* “cattle procurer” had been reinterpreted as “sitting among the cow” in these texts. The form *sadhnoti* which he cites for the alternation between *sādh* and *sidh*, is, however, a ghost word²⁰, and there is no way to derive a form *-sádh-* from the root *sādh/sidh* (PIE. **seh₁dʰ*).

T. BURROW (JAOS 76, 1956, 185f.) supposes, following DUMONT’s line, *-sádh-* as the closing member of the compound as well, but explains it from the root *sad* ‘to get one’s seat, sit’ with a “laryngeal-suffix”, his interpretation is “abode of cows”.

Both explanations presuppose the abnormal transfer of an aspiration from the final position to the initial, and that only in the TS (and KapS).²¹

20 Cf. GOTŌ „I. Präsenksklasse“ im Vedischen (1987) 326f.: an error of *saghnoti* (JB).

21 A comparable phenomenon could be cited at best in Old-Iranian: jav. *χumba-* (~ ai. *kumbhá-*), ap. *amāḡam* (~ jav. *ahmākam*, ai. *asmākam*). An analogy for some word

But all these difficulties are to be reduced to the fact that the interpretation has started from the version of the TS, following Sāyaṇa's commentary and paid little attention to the correct understanding of the meaning of the mantra in the MS and KS bears.

3-2. We can hardly imagine that the MS and KS, the texts that in all probability are older than the TS, each change their own transmission at a later stage. As we have seen in 2., the *goṣád* in the MS–KS presents no problem in form and meaning, and coincides with the interpretation in the brāhmaṇas and ŚrSū's of not only both schools but also of the Taittirīyakas. Thus it is quite natural, as KEITH suggests, to suppose that *goṣád* has been subject to a change into *ghoṣád* in some way. The reason of the change is not evident. A kind of association could have played a role, in the case that *goṣád*, a word otherwise not attested, had become increasingly less intelligible. An association after *ghoṣa-* 'sound' seems assumable, for the sacrificial fire puts forth sounds when it is brought into a blaze with fuels (*samidh-*) from a state of embers.²² The formal basis of the change is delivered by the adverb type ending with *-át* such as *dravát* 'flugs', *trpát* 'zur Genüge', *drabyát* 'fest', *dhṛṣát* 'kühn', *patayát* 'im Flug', *pravát* 'strömend (?)', *iṣát* 'annähernd, obenhin, leichtin' (WACKERNAGEL Kl.Schr. 313f.), which have originated obviously from the present participle with the change of accent position.²³ If the reading in the KapS is correct, *ghoṣad asi* could have been understood as 'you are sounding' with predicative adverb²⁴. *yajñásya ghoṣád asi* in the TS may be the product of a further interpretation of such a sentence with a rare construction developing into 'you belong, raising sounds, to the sacrifice'. The position of the accent supports in all cases that *goṣád* was the original wording. It is

showing GRASSMANN's rule might be, if need be, taken into consideration.

22 E.g. RV VIII 19,8 *praśámsamāno átithir ná mitriyo 'gní rátho ná védyah* 'Agni is to be recognized like a [noisy] chariot, announcing himself like a guest under contract' (cf. GOTŌ I.Präs. 303), I 127,6 (however, of the fire of burning off the field), further the places cited by CARDONA JOIB 12 (1962) 4.

23 The present participle (then the neuter sg.) of *ghoṣ* would be *ghoṣad*. If one should start from *ghoṣad*, then an association after some archaic stem with *-át-* (cf. AiG II-2, 1954, 159ff.), especially *vāghát-* 'a praising singer' (RV), would come into consideration.

24 About the predicative adverb cf. HOFFMANN Aufsätze II (1976) 339–349.

difficult to assume that the other schools have in accordance omitted the word *yajñásya*.

4. Cutting *barhiṣ* and the mantra

Cutting *barhiṣ* is a ritual procedure where the priest or sacrificer collects the sacred grass to be used in a ritual. But the cutting and collecting of grass itself should not be considered an unusual act. Since ancient times, for various purposes grass has been used in every day life, e.g. to thatch a roof, to cover a floor, to feed the cattle, etc. It can be imagined that people chanted some spell before cutting grass, praying for the prosperity of cattle and accumulation of wealth, or to avoid accidents and injury. Such spells originating from daily life are assumed to have been collected and edited into the mantra portion for each ritual procedure in accordance with the systematization and development of the Vedic ritual. Such a process is also supposed for the opening mantra for cutting *barhiṣ*. The original meaning of a mantra could have been forgotten in the course of time following along with the development of the Śrauta rituals and the texts belonging to the Yajurveda schools, and also with a change of the environment of life, and consequently exposed to greater change and re-interpretation. As a result the mantra collection of «Cutting *barhiṣ*» has been completely omitted from the White Yajurveda school.