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The Upanayana and Marriage in the Atharvaveda.

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\*The following 2 places are corrected in this version:

n. 13

(In the printed version:)

The Kauśikasūtra has all the verses in the Śaunaka version of this hymn in the *godāna* (KauśS 53–54). Probably because of this, little attention has been paid to the close correspondence between this hymn and the *upanayana* of the Gṛhyasūtras by those who studied this hymn WEBER 1873 and WHITNEY & LANMAN 1905 together with the actions pertaining to them.

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## References

(In the printed version:)

Winternitz, M. 1892. *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell nach dem Āpastambīya-Grihyasūtra und einigen anderen verwandten Werken*. Wien.

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## The Upanayana and Marriage in the Atharvaveda

Mieko KAJIHARA

0. The history of Vedic *gr̥hya* rituals before the Gṛhyasūtras is one of the important subjects which are still to be pursued. There are relatively few materials concerning the development of the *gr̥hya* rituals in the pre-Gṛhyasūtra texts compared to those on the *śrauta* rituals. Still, many of the *gr̥hya* rituals may be of very ancient origin, and, already in the Atharvaveda, we can find a good amount of, if not always direct, information on them. In this paper, I will discuss several ritual formulas found in the Atharvaveda, which hint at the development of the two major *gr̥hya* rituals, namely, the *upanayana* and marriage.

1. It is well known that the *upanayana* ritual and the marriage ceremony have several major ritual actions in common in their procedure at the final stage of the Vedic period. In the Gṛhyasūtras, these two rituals are prescribed to have in common not only the basic routine of *gr̥hya* rituals such as general ritual preparations and offerings into the fire, but also some of the more peculiar ritual actions such as the *brahmacārīn*'s/bride's stepping on a stone, his/her putting on a new garment, the teacher's/bridegroom's seizing his/her hand, the teacher's/bridegroom's touching his/her heart, the *brahmacārīn*'s/couple's keeping a *vrata* for three days after the main ritual, and so on, if not always in all the Gṛhyasūtras.<sup>1</sup>

From when have the two rituals had those ritual elements in common? Have those ritual elements been included in both rituals from the beginning, or have they been borrowed from one into the other? In the following, I will take up the ritual formulas for two of the peculiar ritual actions found in the procedure of both the *upanayana* and marriage of the Gṛhyasūtras. The two ritual actions in question are: (1) the *brahmacārīn*'s/bride's stepping on a stone, and (2) the teacher's/bridegroom's seizing his new partner's (i.e. the *brahmacārīn*'s/bride's) hand. Several formulas which suggest these two ritual actions are attested already in the Atharvaveda. As we will find below, the two ritual actions came to be incorporated into both rituals in different ways.

2. Before looking into the formulas for the two ritual actions in question, we shall briefly examine which kind of information the Atharvaveda furnishes on the *upanayana*. The *brahmacārīn*'s initiation<sup>2</sup> is first clearly mentioned in the Atharvaveda, in the so-called *brahmacārīn* hymn,<sup>3</sup> as follows:

ŚS 11,5,3; PS 16,153,3

*ācāryā upanāyamāno brahmacārīṇaṃ kṛṇute gárbham antáh |*  
*tám rátrīs tistrá udáre bibharti tám jātám dráṣṭum abhisám yanti deváh ||*

<sup>1</sup> For the *upanayana* in the Gṛhyasūtras, see KANE 1974: 268–392; KAJIHARA 2002: 25f.; 255–260. For the marriage ceremony in the Gṛhyasūtras, see HAAS 1862; WINTERNITZ 1892; TSUJI 1975/76.

<sup>2</sup> The noun *upanayana-* is not attested until the Gṛhyasūtras; in the older texts, the ritual is referred to by the verbs *úpa-nī* and *úpa-i*.

<sup>3</sup> Śaunaka-Saṃhitā (ŚS) 11,5; Paippalāda-Saṃhitā (PS) 16,153–155. For this hymn, see KAJIHARA 1995.

‘The teacher, initiating [him as his own Vedic student], makes the *brahmacārín* an embryo within him. He bears him in his womb for three nights. The gods go together to see him when he has been born.’

As already seen in this Atharvavedic verse, the rebirth is a characteristic concept underlying the initiation of the *brahmacārín* continuously through the Vedic and post-Vedic texts.<sup>4</sup> Except for this verse, no explicit reference to the Vedic student’s initiation is made in the *brahmacārín* hymn. Still, this hymn is full of information on the features of the *brahmacārín* of the Atharvaveda, and mentions many of his attributes (e.g. *mékhalā*; hide) and activities (e.g. putting fuelsticks on the fire; performing mendicancy) later found incorporated in the *upanayana* of the Gṛhyasūtras as ritual elements.

Besides the *brahmacārín* hymn, the Atharvaveda has several groups of formulas which mention the features and ritual actions of the *brahmacārín*.<sup>5</sup> Among those groups of formulas, the so-called ‘*upanayana* formulas’ in PSO 20,52–53/PSK 20,48–49 have a direct correspondence in the Gṛhyasūtras’ *upanayana*. The other groups of formulas are not apparently connected with the Vedic student’s initiation ritual itself at the time of the Atharvaveda. Yet, most of the *brahmacārín*’s features mentioned there (such as his close relationship to *medhā* and his teacher) are found later in the *upanayana* of the Gṛhyasūtras as ritual elements, whether or not those features were directly related to the *upanayana* ritual in the Atharvaveda.

As for the formulas used for the two ritual actions in question in the Gṛhyasūtras’ *upanayana*, the formula for the teacher’s seizing his student’s hand is found among the ‘*upanayana* formulas’ in PS 20; on the other hand, the formulas for the student’s stepping on a stone are found in an Atharvavedic hymn which does not mention the *brahmacārín* nor his initiation explicitly.

**3.** The Atharvaveda contains a number of hymns which consist of formulas for general ritual actions such as putting on a garment, wishing for a long life, prosperity, and blessings by the gods, and so on. Those formulas for such general ritual actions may have been employed in more than one ritual at the time of the Atharvaveda.

Among the hymns of this kind, a hymn, which I shall call the ‘stone and garment’ hymn for convenience, is worth examining with regard to the development of the *upanayana*, though the hymn itself does not mention the *brahmacārín* nor his initiation. The hymn belongs to an old stratum of the Atharvaveda, being in the second book of the ŚŚ (2,13) and the fifteenth book of the PS (15,5–6).<sup>6</sup> This ‘stone and garment’ hymn is remarkable in the following three points:

<sup>4</sup> Probably under the same rebirth concept, the *brahmacārín*’s teacher is identified with death in ŚŚ 11,5,14; cf. ŚŚ 6,133,3/PS 5,33,3.

<sup>5</sup> ŚŚ 5,17/PS 9,15 (~ RV 10,109); ŚŚ 6,133/PS 5,33; PS 5,35; ŚŚ 11,5/PS 16,153–155 (the *brahmacārín* hymn); ŚŚ 19,19/PS 8,17; PS 7,14; ŚŚ 6,108/PS 19,17; ŚŚ 19,64 (*ācāryā*); PS 19,53–54; PSK 20,41; PSO 20,45–47/PSK 20,43–45; PSO 20,52–53/PSK 20,48–49 (*upanayana*); cf. PS 9,18; 23; ŚŚ 7,109/PS 4,9; PSO 19,15 (*brahmacarya*). Cf. also ŚŚ 2,13/PS 15,5–6 (the ‘stone and garment’ hymn; see below). For the *brahmacārín* in these hymns, see KAJIHARA 2002.

<sup>6</sup> ŚŚ 2, in which the Śaunaka version of the hymn is collected, is generally considered to belong to the oldest stratum of the Atharvaveda. The Paippalāda version of this hymn in PS 15 appears to be an expanded form of the Śaunaka version (see below). For the general scheme of strata in the two Atharvaveda-Saṃhitās, see WHITNEY & LANMAN 1905: cxl ff.; 1013ff.; WITZEL 1997: 275–283.

First, this hymn presupposes some special ritual which consists of several ritual actions, namely, wishing for a long life, putting on a garment, stepping on a stone, and taking off probably the same garment.<sup>7</sup> The frame of the ‘stone and garment’ hymn is almost the same in the two Atharvaveda-Saṃhitās, though the size of the hymn is considerably different in the two versions.<sup>8</sup> The gender of the person for or by whom the ritual actions are performed, as indicated in half of the formulas, is always masculine. There must have existed a certain ritual for a male person, which included this set of ritual actions, at the time of the early stratum of the Atharvaveda.

Second, the ritual with this set of ritual actions appears to involve a process of ritual rebirth. In other words, the ritual behind the ‘stone and garment’ hymn marks a new stage of the performer’s life, into which he enters after a process of ritual rebirth. The motif of rebirth is presented explicitly in the following verse in the Paippalāda version:

PS 15,6,8

*anyad ā dhatsva pari dhatsva vāsa imam \*ulbam<sup>9</sup> apa \*lumpāmi<sup>10</sup> yas te |  
jarase tvām ṛṣayaḥ saṃ vyayantu sūryo bhaga te pra tirantv āyuh ||*

‘Receive another [garment]. Put the garment on. I strip off this embryo-membrane<sup>11</sup> which is yours. Let the Ṛṣis wrap you for the sake of old age. Let Sūrya, Bhaga, [and other gods] lengthen your lifetime.’

The rebirth motif is also implied in the final verse of the same version of the hymn:

PS 15,6,10

*ahatenāhato bhava sthira[s] sthireṇa saṃ bhava |  
pra mṛṇīhi durasyataḥ sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ ||*

<sup>7</sup> The Paippalāda version adds one more ritual action: putting on (changing into) another garment (PS 15,6,8).

<sup>8</sup> The ŚS version has five verses, while the PS version has twenty. The latter enlarges the size of the hymn with some more formulas on the same topics (garment, long life, protection etc.). The following table shows the correspondence between the two versions. The words in brackets refer to the main topics of the formulas; the formulas without such a note express wishes for a long life, protection, and so on (the formulas for putting a garment on and stepping on a stone also contain statements of wishes for a long life etc.):

ŚS	PS	ŚS	PS
<b>2,13,1</b>	15,5,1	<b>2,13,2</b> /19,24,4	15,6,1 (garment)
2,29,2	15,5,2	19,24,5	15,6,2 (garment)
2,28,5	15,5,3	<b>2,13,3</b> /19,24,6	15,6,3 (garment)
	15,5,4	19,24,7	15,6,4
	15,5,5 (garment)	19,24,8	15,6,5
	15,5,6 (garment)		15,6,6 (garment)
<b>2,13,4*</b>	15,5,7*(stone)		15,6,7 (garment)
19,24,1	15,5,8 (garment)		15,6,8 (another garment)
19,24,2	15,5,9 (garment)	<b>2,13,5</b>	15,6,9 (taking garment off)
19,24,3	15,5,10(garment)		15,6,10 (garment & stone)

\*As quoted below (p. 7), ŚS 2,13,4 and PS 15,5,7 are different, though both are formulas for stepping on a stone.

<sup>9</sup> *ulvam* BHATTACHARYA’s ed.

<sup>10</sup> Reading proposed by BHATTACHARYA 1997: 806; his edition has *apa lampāmi*. For *apa-lup* (sometimes *lamp* for *lump* in mss.) in the PS, see ZEHNDER 1999: 182; LUBOTSKY 2002: 74f. (including a note on PS 15,6,8). Cf. JAMISON 1991: 190f. (*ulbam āpa-lup* in the Brāhmaṇas).

<sup>11</sup> Here *ulba-* is masculine as in ŚS 4,2,8/PS 4,1,8.

‘Become unbeaten (m.) by the unbeaten (i.e. new) [garment]. Come into existence<sup>12</sup> as a firm one (m.) by the firm [stone]. Smash away those who are wishing to injure. Conquer those who are fighting hostilely.’

Third, the set of ritual actions suggested in this hymn is later found in more than half of the Gr̥hyasūtras also as a set in the *upanayana* with formulas which correspond to those in the ‘stone and garment’ hymn. Those formulas are found also in some other places in the Gr̥hyasūtras, mainly in the marriage ceremony, but more sporadically than in the *upanayana* (except the formula for stepping on a stone, which is found in the marriage ceremony of all the Gr̥hyasūtras but the Kauśikasūtra; we will come back to this below).<sup>13</sup> The following table is an overview of the rituals in which the formulas in the ‘stone and garment’ hymn are quoted by the Gr̥hyasūtras (U: *upanayana*; M: marriage; brackets indicate a partial correspondence of the formula. ŚS 2,13,4 and PS 15,5,7 in boldface are the formulas for

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<sup>12</sup> For *sám-bhū* and *abhí-sám-bhū* used in the context of rebirth in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, see GOTŌ 1996: 78.

<sup>13</sup> The Kauśikasūtra has all the verses in the Śaunaka version of this hymn together with the actions pertaining to them in the *godāna* (KauśS 53–54). Probably because of this, little attention has been paid to the close correspondence between this hymn and the *upanayana* of the Gr̥hyasūtras by those who studied this hymn (WEBER 1873 and WHITNEY & LANMAN 1905).

stepping on a stone, which will be discussed below):<sup>14</sup>

ŚS	PS	ĀśvG	ŚāikhG	KauṣG	SMB (GGS/KhGS)	JGS
2,13,1	15,5,1					
2,29,2	15,5,2		<i>utthāna</i>	<i>utthāna</i>		
2,28,5	15,5,3		<i>annaprāśana</i>	<i>annaprāśana</i>		
	15,5,4					
	15,5,5					
	15,5,6					
<b>2,13,4</b>	<b>15,5,7</b>	M	M	M	M	U,M
19,24,1	15,5,8					
19,24,2	15,5,9					U
19,24,3	15,5,10					U
2,13,2/19,24,4	15,6,1				(M)	
19,24,5	15,6,2					
2,13,3/19,24,6	15,6,3				(M)	
19,24,7	15,6,4					
19,24,8	15,6,5					
	15,6,6					
	15,6,7					
	15,6,8					
2,13,5	15,6,9					
	15,6,10					

ŚS	PS	KāṭhGS	MGS	VārGS	BaudhGS	BhārGS	VādhG
2,13,1	15,5,1				U	U	U
2,29,2	15,5,2						
2,28,5	15,5,3	<i>samāvartana</i>					<i>samāvartana</i>
	15,5,4						
	15,5,5	U					
	15,5,6	U					
<b>2,13,4</b>	<b>15,5,7</b>	M,U	M,U	M	M,U	U,M	M
19,24,1	15,5,8						
19,24,2	15,5,9	U					
19,24,3	15,5,10	U					
2,13,2/19,24,4	15,6,1	U		(U)	U	U	
19,24,5	15,6,2	U			U	U	
2,13,3/19,24,6	15,6,3	U	(M)	(U)	U	U	
19,24,7	15,6,4	M,U					
19,24,8	15,6,5						
	15,6,6						
	15,6,7						
	15,6,8						
2,13,5	15,6,9				U	U	U
	15,6,10						

<sup>14</sup> For the details of each quotation, see KAJIHARA 2002: 80–89.

ŚS	PS	ĀpMP	HGS	ĀgGS	VaikhGS	PGS	KauśS
2,13,1	15,5,1	U	U	U, <i>śatābhīṣeka</i>	U		<i>godāna</i>
2,29,2	15,5,2						
2,28,5	15,5,3	U	U	U, <i>śatābhīṣeka</i>			
	15,5,4	U	U	U	U		
	15,5,5	U, <i>(samāvartana)</i>					
	15,5,6	U, <i>(samāvartana)</i>					
<b>2,13,4</b>	<b>15,5,7</b>	M,U	U,M	U,M	U,M	M	<i>godāna</i>
19,24,1	15,5,8						
19,24,2	15,5,9		U	U			
19,24,3	15,5,10		U	U			
2,13,2/19,24,4	15,6,1	U	U	U,M			<i>godāna</i>
19,24,5	15,6,2	U	U	U,M		M	
2,13,3/19,24,6	15,6,3	U	U	U,M		<i>(samāvartana)</i>	<i>godāna</i>
19,24,7	15,6,4	M,U	U	U	U		
19,24,8	15,6,5						
	15,6,6						
	15,6,7						
	15,6,8						
2,13,5	15,6,9	U	U	U			<i>godāna</i>
	15,6,10						

Thus, more than half of the Gṛhyasūtras (J, Kāṭh, M, Vār, Baudh, Bhār, Vādh, Āp, H, Āg, Vaikh) use several formulas in the ‘stone and garment’ hymn in the *upanayana*. As is shown in the next table of the main topics of the formulas quoted in those Gṛhyasūtras, the ritual actions in question occur more or less as a set in them, as in the Atharvaveda:

	J	Kāṭh	M	Vār	Baudh	Bhār	Vādh	ĀpMP	H	Āg	Vaikh
long life <sup>15</sup>					*	*	*	*	*	*	*
stone	*	*	*		*	*		*	*	*	*
garment	*	*		*	*	*		*	*	*	*
taking garment					*	*	*	*	*	*	

The two tables above show that not only the formulas of the ‘stone and garment’ hymn in the Atharvaveda but also the set of ritual actions mentioned in it are kept in the *upanayana* of the Gṛhyasūtras. In this sense, the ‘stone and garment’ hymn serves as a source for the Gṛhyasūtra-style *upanayana*. The hymn may have been used for an initiation ritual for a male person, already at the time of the Atharvaveda; however, we have no more data on this point.<sup>16</sup>

4. It is principally in the *upanayana* that the Gṛhyasūtras have the set of ritual actions performed with the formulas in the Atharvavedic ‘stone and garment’ hymn. All the Gṛhyasūtras except the Kauśikasūtra, however, employ the formula for the ritual action of

<sup>15</sup> The column ‘long life’ refers to the quotations of formulas which do not indicate any ritual actions other than wishing for a long life etc.

<sup>16</sup> The set of ritual actions in this Atharvavedic hymn is not attested until the Gṛhyasūtras’ *upanayana*, while the teacher’s seizing the student’s hand in PS 20, which will be discussed below, is found in a Brāhmaṇa prior to the Gṛhyasūtras (see n. 26)

stepping on a stone in the hymn (ŚS 2,13,4 or PS 15,5,7) also in the marriage ceremony. As mentioned above, the subject of the ritual behind the ‘stone and garment’ hymn is always a male when the gender of the person is specified in the formulas. The formula for stepping on a stone is found in both the recensions of the Atharvaveda with much difference in wording. In the Paippalāda version, the gender of the subject is masculine, while in the Śaunaka version it is not specified:

PS 15,5,7

*imam aśmānam ā tiṣṭhāśmeva tvam sthiro bhava |  
pra mṛṇāhi durasyataḥ sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ ||*

‘Stand on this stone here. You, become firm (m.) like the stone. Smash away those who are wishing to injure. Conquer those who are fighting hostilely.’

ŚS 2,13,4

*ēhy aśmānam ā tiṣṭhāśmā bhavatu te tanūḥ |  
kṛṇvāntu viśve devā āyus te śarādaḥ śatām ||*

‘Come. Stand on the stone. Let your body become a stone. Let all the gods make your lifetime a hundred autumns long.’

The Gṛhyasūtras, without exception, use variations of these ‘stone’ formulas in the ‘stone and garment’ hymn for the ritual action of stepping on a stone in the *upanayana*.

On the other hand, it is a female, the bride, who is to step on a stone in the marriage ceremony.<sup>17</sup> The bride’s stepping on a stone is not found in the Ṛgveda. It is in the nuptial hymn of the Atharvaveda that this ritual action is first mentioned for her. The formula that indicates this ritual action in the marriage ceremony in the Atharvaveda is quite different from the ‘stone’ formulas in the ‘stone and garment’ hymn quoted above:

ŚS 14,1,47; cf. PS 18,5,4

*syonāṃ dhruvāṃ prajāyai dhārayāmi té ’śmānam devyāḥ pṛthivyā upāsthe |  
tām ā tiṣṭhānumādyā svārcā dīrghāṃ ta āyus savitā kṛṇotu ||*

‘I hold the agreeable firm stone on the lap of the divine earth for progeny for you. Stand on it as one (f.) who is to be acclaimed in succession, one (f.) who has much splendor. Let Savitṛ make your life long.’

Interestingly, it is nevertheless not this formula in the nuptial hymn of the Atharvaveda that is found in the Gṛhyasūtras’ marriage ceremony. Instead, variations of the formula for the same ritual action in the ‘stone and garment’ hymn — either the Śaunaka or Paippalāda version (ŚS 2,13,4 or PS 15,5,7 quoted above) — are prescribed for the bride’s stepping on a stone in all the Gṛhyasūtras, with the exception of the Kausikasūtra which uses ŚS 14,1,47 for this ritual action in the marriage. The following are a couple of examples of the formulas

<sup>17</sup> A few Gṛhyasūtras prescribe that the bridegroom should also step on a stone; see KāṭhGS 25,28; MGS 1,10,16f.

used for stepping on a stone in the *upanayana* and marriage in the Gr̥hyasūtras:<sup>18</sup>

## Upanayana

BhārGS 1,8: 8,11  
*ā tiṣṭhemam aśmānam*  
*aśmeva tvaṃ sthiro bhava*  
*pra mṛṇīhi durasyūn*  
*sahasva prtanyata[h]*

KāṭhGS 41,8 (LaugGS 41,12)

*ehy aśmānam ā tiṣṭha-*  
*-aśmeva tvaṃ sthiro bhava |*  
*kṛṇvantu viśve devā*  
*āyus te śaradaḥ śatam*

## Marriage

BhārGS 1,16: 16,10  
*ā tiṣṭhemam aśmānam*  
*aśmeva tvaṃ sthirā bhava |*  
*pra mṛṇīhi durasyūn*  
*sahasva prtānyata[h]*

KāṭhGS 25,28 (LaugGS 25,24)<sup>19</sup>

*ehy aśmānam ā tiṣṭha-*  
*-aśmeva tvaṃ sthiro bhava |*  
*kṛṇvantu viśve devā*  
*āyus te śaradaḥ śatam*  
*ā tiṣṭhemam aśmānam*  
*aśmeva tvaṃ sthirā bhava |*  
*pra mṛṇīhi duvasyavaḥ*  
*sahasva prtanyata[h]*

As for the ritual action of stepping on a stone, two different rituals would have included it independently, with completely different formulas, already at the time of the Atharvaveda.<sup>20</sup> One is the initiation ritual for a male person behind the ‘stone and garment’ hymn, and the other is the marriage ceremony behind the Atharvavedic nuptial hymn. The fact that the ‘stone’ formulas in the two hymns are very different from each other suggests that there was no direct borrowing from one into the other.

As for the usage of the formulas for the same ritual action, nevertheless, there seems to have occurred a crossover between the initiation ritual behind the ‘stone and garment’ hymn and the marriage. The formulas quoted by the Gr̥hyasūtras for this action in the

<sup>18</sup> The stepping on a stone in the *upanayana* is found in JGS 1,12:10,16; KāṭhGS 41,8 (LaugGS 41,12); MGS 1,22,12; BaudhGS 2,5,10; BhārGS 1,8:8,10; ĀpMP 2,2,2 (ĀpGS 4,10,9); HGS 1,4,1; ĀgGS 1,1,2:6,1; VaikhGS 2,5:24,17f.; cf. KauśS 54,8 (*godāna*); that in the marriage is in ĀśvGS 1,7,7; ŚāṅkhGS 1,13,12; KauśGS 1,8,20; SMB 1,2,1 (GGS 2,2,4; KhGS 1,3,19); JGS 1,21:21,6; KāṭhGS 25,28 (LaugGS 25,24); MGS 1,10,16f.; VārGS 14,15; BaudhGS 1,4,24; BhārGS 1,16:16,9; VādhGS [cf. IKARI 1998; an edition of the VādhGS is under preparation in collaboration by IKARI and the author]; ĀpMP 1,5,1 (ĀpGS 2,5,3); HGS 1,19,8; ĀgGS 1,5,3:30,11; 1,6,2:37,4; VaikhGS 3,3:37,14; PGS 1,7,1; KauśS 76,15f; 77,17ff.

<sup>19</sup> The KāṭhGS prescribes the action of stepping on a stone for both the bride and bridegroom at the marriage, using, curiously enough, both ‘stone’ formulas in the two recensions of the Atharvaveda, ŚS 2,13,4 for the bridegroom and PS 15,5,7 for the bride.

<sup>20</sup> The comparison of a strong body to a stone is found since the R̥gveda; cf. RV 6,75,12; also ŚS 1,2,2/PS 1,3,2. A stone is mentioned also in another formula found in the birth ritual in the Upaniṣads and Gr̥hyasūtras, in which formula, however, no action of stepping upon the stone is alluded to: ŚBM 14,9,4,26 *āthainam abhīmṛśati | aśmā bhava paraśūr bhava hiraṇyam asrutāṃ bhava | ātmā vāi putra nāmāsi sā jīva śaradaḥ śatām iti* ‘Then he (the father) touches him (his son), [saying] “Become a stone. Become an axe. Become inexhaustible gold. You are Ātman by name, O son. As such, live a hundred autumns” ’ (not found in BĀUK 6,4); cf. KauśU 2,11 (the father’s greeting his son after returning from a journey; for this KauśU passage, see BODEWITZ 1994); ĀśvGS 1,15,3; SMB 1,5,18 (GGS 2,8,21; KhGS 2,3,13; returning from a journey); JGS 1,8:7,17; MGS 1,17,5; VārGS 3,11; BaudhGS 2,1,5; BhārGS 1,24:25,3; HGS 2,3,2; ĀpMP 2,12,1 (ĀpGS 6,15,1); 2,14,4 (ĀpGS 6,15,12; returning from a journey); VaikhGS 3,14; ĀgGS 2,1,3:46,19; PGS 1,16,18.

*upanayana* and marriage more or less correspond either to ŚS 2,13,4 or PS 15,5,7 in the ‘stone and garment’ hymn. And, in all the Gṛhyasūtras (except the Kauśikasūtra), the formulas for the bride invariably include the line ‘*aśmeva tvaṃ sthīrā bhava*’, while the formulas for the *brahmacārīn* have ‘*aśmeva tvaṃ sthīro bhava*’. These lines are not attested in the pre-Gṛhyasūtra texts except for the Paippalāda version of the ‘stone and garment’ hymn, which has the masculine version ‘*aśmeva tvaṃ sthīro bhava*’ (PS 15,5,7b). There seems to have been a borrowing of the formula for this ritual action, from the initiation ritual for a male person into the marriage ceremony for a female, sometime between the Atharvaveda and the Gṛhyasūtras.

5. Among the ritual actions mentioned in the Atharvaveda in relation to (directly or indirectly) the *brahmacārīn*, there is one more action that is later found in both the *upanayana* and marriage in the Gṛhyasūtras: it is the teacher’s/bridegroom’s seizing his new partner’s (i.e. the *brahmacārīn*’s/bride’s) hand. This ritual action is prescribed in the two rituals in all the Gṛhyasūtras.

For the marriage ceremony, a formula for this ritual action is attested already in the nuptial hymn of the Ṛgveda:

ṚV 10,85,36; cf. ŚS 14,1,50/PS 18,5,6  
*gṛbhṇāmi te saubhagatvāya hāstam māyā pātyā jarādaṣṭir yāthāsaḥ |*  
*bhāgo aryamā savitā pūraṃdhir māhyam tvādur gārhapatyāya devāḥ ||*

‘I seize your hand for happiness, so that you shall attain great age with me [as your] husband. Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitṛ, Puraṃdhi — the gods have given you to me for householdership.’

The bridegroom’s seizing the bride’s hand at the marriage is alluded to several more times in the tenth book of the Ṛgveda, in and outside the nuptial hymn.<sup>21</sup> The Atharvaveda introduces a few more new formulas for this ritual action during the marriage in its nuptial hymn, including the following:

ŚS 14,1,51; cf. PS 18,5,8<sup>22</sup>  
*bhāgas te hāstam agrahīt savitā hāstam agrahīt |*  
*pātnī tvam asi dhārmaṇāhām gṛhāpatis tāva ||*

‘Bhaga has seized your hand. Savitṛ has seized [your] hand. You are the wife by ordinance. I am your householder.’

On the other hand, for the *upanayana*, the teacher’s seizing the *brahmacārīn*’s hand is not attested until the final stratum of the Atharvaveda, that is, the twentieth book of the PS. This late book includes a good number of hymns which consist of ritual formulas

<sup>21</sup> Cf. ṚV 10,85,26 (marriage); 10,109,2; 3 (Brahman’s wife); 10,18,8 (funeral).

<sup>22</sup> PS 18,5,8 *dhātā te hastam agrahīt, savitā te hastam agrahīt, bhagas te hastam agrahīt, aryamā te hastam agrahīt, patnī tvam asi dhārmaṇāhām gṛhāpatis tāva* ‘Dhātṛ has seized your hand. Savitṛ has seized your hand. Bhaga has seized your hand. Aryaman has seized your hand. You are the wife by ordinance. I am your householder.’ Note that the beginning of the PS version is the same as that of PSO 20,53,1/PSK 20,49,1 (*upanayana*; quoted below).

pertaining to several non-solemn rituals such as the *upanayana* and childbirth.<sup>23</sup> Among them, the following formula is found:

PSO 20,53,1; cf. PSK 20,49,1<sup>24</sup>  
*dhātā te hastam agrahīt savitā hastam agrahīt |*  
*mitras tvam asi dharmaṇagnir ācāryas tava ||*

‘Dhātṛ has seized your hand. Savitṛ has seized [your] hand. You are Mitra by ordinance. Agni is your teacher.’

This *upanayana* formula in PS 20 is obviously parallel with the above-mentioned verse in the Atharvavedic nuptial hymn (ŚS 14,1,51/PS 18,5,8) — the crucial words *pātnī* and *grhāpati* in the nuptial verse being changed to *mitra* and *ācārya* in the *upanayana* formula.<sup>25</sup>

It seems most probable that this ritual formula was originally in the nuptial hymn of the Atharvaveda, and was borrowed later into the ‘*upanayana* formulas’ of PS 20. And once it was incorporated into the *upanayana*, it became well established in the ritual. The teacher’s seizing the *brahmacārīn*’s hand is mentioned in one of the Brāhmaṇa passages on the *upanayana*,<sup>26</sup> and is prescribed also in the *upanayana* of all the Gr̥hyasūtras, mostly with variations of the formula found in PS 20 above.

**6.** It was not without reason that the *upanayana* and marriage came to have some ritual elements in common in their procedures. As has been pointed out by many people, they are rituals that connect two persons — the teacher and *brahmacārīn* / the bridegroom and bride — very closely. Also, they are rituals that mark one’s entering a new stage of life. In the *upanayana*, the *brahmacārīn* is actually said to go through ritual rebirth, by which he becomes a new person fit for occupying himself with the *brāhman*, while the bride also enters a new stage of life as a wife after marriage. The two ritual actions discussed in this paper are appropriate for such rituals: the ritual action of the *brahmacārīn*’s/bride’s stepping upon a stone is related to the wish for firmness, not only in his/her health but presumably also in his/her resolution as the Vedic student/wife, while the ritual action of the teacher’s/bridegroom’s seizing the *brahmacārīn*’s/bride’s hand symbolizes the connecting of the *brahmacārīn* to the teacher or of the bride to the bridegroom. The formulas for these two ritual actions indicate that the *upanayana* and the marriage ceremony were developed under mutual influence already since the time of the Atharvaveda, until the two rituals were systematized in the Gr̥hyasūtras.

<sup>23</sup> For those ‘*gr̥hya* formulas’ in PS 20, see KAJIHARA 1999; 2002, ch. 5.

<sup>24</sup> The PSK version is mixed with the nuptial formula (PSK 20,49,1 *dhātā te hastam agrahī[t] savitā te hastam agrahīt | pātnī tvam asi dharmaṇagnir ācāryas tava ||*).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. ŚS 11,5,15/PS 16,154,5 (in the *brahmacārīn* hymn) in which the *ācārya* and *brahmacārīn* are identified with Varuṇa and Mitra.

<sup>26</sup> ŚB 11,5,4,2 *āthāsya hāstaṃ gr̥hṇāti | indrasya brahmacāry āsy agnir ācāryās tāvāhām ācāryās tāvāsāv ity* ‘Then, he (the teacher) seizes his (the *brahmacārīn*’s) hand, [saying] “You are the *brahmacārīn* of Indra. Agni is your teacher. I, N.N., am your teacher.” ’ These lines in the ŚB have a correspondence in the ‘*upanayana* formulas’ of PS 20: cf. PSO 20,53,1d/PSK 20,49,1d *agnir ācāryas tava*; PSO 20,53,2ab/PSK 20,49,2ab \**agner (agne mss.) brahmacāry asi mama brahmacāry asi*. For the correspondence between the ‘*gr̥hya* formulas’ in PS 20 and those in the Brāhmaṇas/Upaniṣads including ŚB 11, see KAJIHARA 1999; 2002, chs. 5–7.

## Abbreviations

Āg/ĀgGS	Āgniveśya-Gṛhyasūtra
ĀpGS	Āpastamba-Gṛhyasūtra
ĀpMP	Āpastamba-Mantrapāṭha
ĀśvGS	Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra
Baudh/BaudhGS	Baudhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra
BĀUK	Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad, Kāṇva recension
Bhār/BhārGS	Bhāradvāja-Gṛhyasūtra
GGS	Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra
H/HGS	Hiraṇyakeśi-Gṛhyasūtra
J/JGS	Jaimini-Gṛhyasūtra
Kāṭh/KāṭhGS	Kāṭhaka-Gṛhyasūtra
KauṣGS	Kauṣītaka-Gṛhyasūtra
KauśS	Kauśika-Sūtra
KauṣU	Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad
KhGS	Khādira-Gṛhyasūtra
LaugGS	Laugākṣi-Gṛhyasūtra
M/MGS	Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra
PGS	Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra
PS	Paippalāda-Saṃhitā
PSK	Paippalāda-Saṃhitā, Kashmir transmission
PSO	Paippalāda-Saṃhitā, Orissa transmission
ṚV	Ṛgveda
ṚVKh	Ṛgveda-Khila
ŚāṅkhGS	Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra
ŚB	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
ŚBM	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Mādhyandina recension
SMB	Sāma-Mantra-Brāhmaṇa
ŚS	Śaunaka-Saṃhitā
Vādh/VādhGS	Vādhūla-Gṛhyasūtra
Vaikh/VaikhGS	Vaikhānasa-Gṛhyasūtra
Vār/VārGS	Vārāha-Gṛhyasūtra

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