

Giving the Bride to the Bridegroom with Water at the Ancient Indian Marriage Ritual

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1 Introduction

1.1 The Kanyādāna in Modern India

In the marriage ceremony in today's Hindu societies, one of the most major ritual elements is the *kanyādāna* "the giving of the girl," through which the girl's father gives her to the bridegroom as the bride. A number of photos entitled *kanyādāna* are found on many Indian websites. The *kanyādāna* appears to have been adopted into the marriage ritual of various castes in various regions in modern India, and naturally its details vary. Those photos on the websites mainly show the bride and bridegroom joining their right hands. Many of them show the bride's father too, who is joining the couple's hands, and/or is pouring some liquid into the hand(s) of the bridegroom or of the couple. While the hands of the couple are mostly joined there, the *kanyādāna* is regarded to be separate from the *pāṇigrahaṇa* "the [bridegroom's] seizing the [bride's] hand," another major ritual element of the Hindu marriage.

The following photos depict the scene of the *kanyādāna* performed in the marriage ritual of a Nampūtiri Brahman couple in Thrissur district of Kerala in February 2011.¹ The ritual was conducted according to the manner of the Vādhūla school of the Black Yajurveda to which the bridegroom's family belonged.² At this *kanyādāna*, the bride's father poured water

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¹ I attended this marriage ceremony together with Masato FUJII and Hideki TESHIMA as a part of our joint research project on the Brahman society in modern Kerala, which we have been carrying on since 2009.

² The bridegroom was Sandīpū Nampūtiri of Tekkiniyattū Mana of the Vādhūla school, and the bride was Sāvēri of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalaṃ Mana of the Baudhāyana school. The ritual took place at the former's

into the bridegroom's right hand in the following way: First, the priest pours water from a golden metal water-jar (called *kinṇi* locally [Figure 5]) into the hollow of the bride's father's right palm (Figure 1). Next, the father pours the water into the hollow of the bride's right palm. He seizes her right hand in which she is keeping the water, and approaches the bridegroom who is extending his right palm upward from the other side (Figure 2). Then, the father makes the bride's palm turn downward over the bridegroom's right palm, so that the water flows down from her hand into the bridegroom's (Figures 3 & 4). It was as if the father poured water into the bridegroom's hand using the bride's hand as a ladle.³



Figure 1 ©Hideki TESHIMA

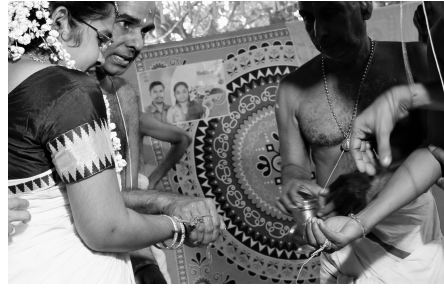


Figure 2 ©Mieko KAJIHARA

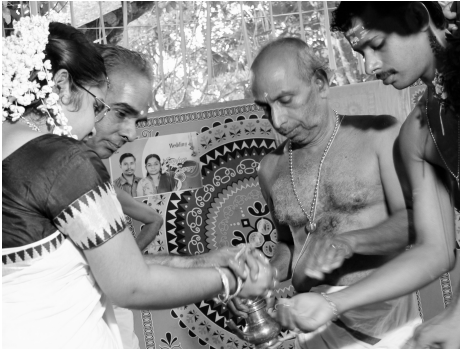


Figure 3 ©Mieko KAJIHARA



Figure 4 ©Hideki TESHIMA



Figure 5 ©Mieko KAJIHARA

house, so that there was no actual *vivāha* “taking the bride away [from her house].” Since the bridegroom's family-priest (*ōykan* in Malayalam [Malayāḷam]) was not available then, Pantāl Jātavedan Nampūtiri of the Baudhāyana school of Irinṇālakuṭa community (*grāmam*) was invited as the priest for the day. He administered the ritual following a modern ritual manual of the Vādhūlas in Malayalam (*Bādhūlaka-Caṭṭuṇṅū* by Maṭhattir Vāsudevan Somayājippātū, ca.2003). The role of the *ōykan* of the bride's family was played by Mūlayil Perunpaṭappū Dāmodaran Nampūtiri of the Baudhāyana school of Peruvanam *grāmam*.

³ This ritual action at the marriage is called *udakapūrvam* locally (cf. THURSTON [1909: 207; cf. 201; 86]). The meanings of *udakapūrvam* in the ancient Sanskrit texts will be discussed below in chapters 2 & 3.

1.2 The Kanyādāna in Ancient India

Though the bride's father's pouring water into the bridegroom's hand is widely seen in today's Hindu marriage, such a ritual action is not attested in the Gṛhyasūtras. The following verse in the Manu-Smṛti may provide comparatively ancient evidence for the ritual action in question:

Manu-Smṛti 3.35⁴

*adbhir eva dvijāgryāṇāṃ kanyādānaṃ praśasyate /
itareṣāṃ tu varṇānāṃ itaretarakāmyayā //*

For the chiefs of the *dvijas* (the Brāhmaṇas), the *kanyādāna* only with water is approved. For the other classes, on the other hand, [it may be done] by mutual desire.

This verse does not, however, tell how water is used at the giving of the girl. Most indologists have been careful not to give too much interpretation to this point.⁵

The giving of the bride is mentioned in several Gṛhyasūtras. In some cases, water is mentioned in relation to it, as will be examined below. Water is one of the important ritual elements in the Gṛhyasūtras' marriage: it is present at the ritual place (some schools call it *stheyā* "to be stationed" or *dhruvā* "firm"), washes a yoke-hole on the bride's head, is poured upon the bride or the couple, and so on [Tsuji 1975/1976]. These usages of water probably reflect its functions in ancient India such as purification and witness of contract.⁶

In this paper, I will survey how water was used for giving the bride in ancient Indian marriage by correlating relevant materials in the Gṛhyasūtras, the Dharma texts, and the Buddhist literature. The manners for giving gifts in general will be also discussed.

2 Giving the Bride to the Bridegroom in the Marriage

2.1 The Idea of Giving the Bride

The bride is regarded to be "given" to the bridegroom since the Ṛgveda:

Ṛgveda 10.85.36, 41 (the nuptial hymn)

*gr̥bhñāmi te saubhagatvāya hāstam māyā pātyā jarādaṣṭir yāthāsaḥ /
bhāgo aryamā savitā pūramdhir māhyaṃ tvādūr gārhapatyāya devāḥ /36/ ...
sōmo dadad gandharvāya gandharvó dadad agnāye /*

⁴ The text is from the edition by OLIVELLE [2005]. This verse will be discussed further in 2.3.

⁵ Cf. BÜHLER [1886: 82]: "(if it is preceded) by (a libation of) water"; OLIVELLE [2005: 110]: "by simply pouring water." WATASE [2013: 464f.] notes that the meaning of "giving with water" is unclear, and refers to the pouring water upon the bride at the end of the *kanyādāna* in MGS 1.8.11 and KāthGS 16.5 (these passages will be discussed in 2.2). For the commentaries on Manu 3.35, see n. 31 below.

⁶ For the functions of water in ancient India, see the following and their bibliographies: OLDENBERG [1894: 519]; JOLLY [1896: 112f.; 1928: 243–245]; LÜDERS [1951: 668f.]; LAMOTTE [1949: 685]; GOTŌ [2000: 159f., n. 39; 2008: 91f.]; SAKAMOTO-GOTO [2008 (esp. 55–58)]; TANABE [2013: 103]; KAJIHARA [2016]. As to water and contracts, cf. also JOLLY [1928: 243]: "Gifts of every kind are ratified by an offering of water. For this reason an offering of water is made also when handing over the bride to the bridegroom and surrendering the rights over a piece of land." This point will be discussed further in 3.

rayīm ca putrāmś cādād agnīr māhyam átho imām /41/

I seize your hand for good fortune, so that you will reach old age with me as [your] husband. Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitr, and Puramdhi — [those] gods gave you to me for [my] householdership. /36/ ...

Soma gave [her] to Gandharva. Gandharva gave [her] to Agni. Agni gave me property and sons to me, and also this [woman] (her). /41/ ⁷

In the Gr̥hyasūtras, about half of the schools mention the “giving” of the bride in the marriage.⁸ Roughly speaking, it is mentioned either with no reference to water (KauṣGS, BaudhGS, PGS),⁹ or with a reference to water in some way or other (KāthGS, MGS, VārGS, ĀśvGS, VaikhGS, ĀgGS).¹⁰ In the following sections, I will examine the latter cases.

2.2 The Brides Given for Brahman (*brahmadeyā*) and Given for Price (*śulkadeyā*)

The three Gr̥hyasūtras belonging to the Caraka school of the Black Yajurveda (KāthGS, MGS, VārGS) prescribe the giving of the bride in detail. They classify the brides into two types: one who is given not for price and one who is given for price (*śulka*).¹¹ The KāthGS calls them

⁷ In the Ṛgvedic nuptial hymn, water is said to anoint the couple together with Viśve Devāḥ: ṚV 10.85.47 *sām aṅjantu viśve devāḥ sām āpo hṛdayāni nau / sām mātariśvā sām dhātā sām u deśṛtī dadhātu nau* // “Let Viśve Devāḥ and water jointly anoint our hearts. Let Mātariśvan, Dhātṛ, and Deśṛtī, connect us two together.” In the Gr̥hyasūtras, this verse is quoted in the marriage ritual, for anointment (ŚāṅkhGS 1.12.4–5; KauṣGS 1.7.4–5), for pouring (*ava-sic*) [water] upon the couple’s heads (GGS 2.2.15; KhGS 1.3.28–30), for partaking *dadhi* or anointment (ĀśvGS 1.8.9).

⁸ Cf. GOPAL [1959: 225–227]; TSUJI [1975/1976: 306; 1960: 117, n. 36]; KANE [1974: 533]; CHATTERJEE [1978: 117–119]. For younger manuals, see PANDEY [1969: 214–216]; CHATTERJEE [1978: 120].

⁹ KauṣGS 1.8.13 *ko ‘dāt kasmā adāt – iti kanyām* “He [says] to the girl, ‘Who has given [you]? To whom he has given [you]?’” (cf. n. 21 below); BaudhGS 1.1.16f. *atha yadi dakṣiṇābhis saha dattā syān nātra varān prahīṇyāt /16/ tāṃ pratigṛhīyāt prajāpatīs striyām yaśaḥ ity etābhiḥ ṣaḍbhir anu-cchandasaṃ /17/* “Now, if [the girl] is given together with *dakṣiṇās*, then he (her father) should not dispatch [any messenger] to the suitors [unlike the case where no *dakṣiṇā* is concerned]. One should receive her with the six formulas beginning with *prajāpatīs striyām yaśaḥ* (TB 2.4.6.5ff.) following the text” (cf. n. 24 below); PGS 1.4.15 *pitṛā prattām ādāya gṛhītvā niṣkrāmati* “He (the bridegroom), having taken [the bride] given by her father, and having seized [her], goes out.”

¹⁰ KāthGS 15.1–5; 16.1–5 (*brahmadeyā* and *śulkadeyā*; see 2.2); MGS 1.7.11–12; 1.8.1–11 (do.); VārGS 10.11–18 (do.); ĀśvGS 1.6.1–8 (“to give with water”; see 2.3); VaikhGS 3.2 (do.); ĀgGS 1.6.1 (do.).

¹¹ The *śulka* as the price or compensation for the bride is mentioned, in addition to these texts (KāthGS, MGS, VārGS), also in KauṣS 79.17ff.; cf. the rules concerning the gift of a hundred cows and a chariot to the father in ŚāṅkhGS 1.14.16; KauṣGS 1.8.36; PGS 1.8.18; VāsDhS 1.36; cf. MGS 1.7.10 [DRESDEN 1941: 28f.]; VārGS 10.12; ĀpDhS 2.6.13.11f.; cf. also TSUJI [1975/1976: 294f.]. While receiving the *śulka* is condemned here and there as selling the girl (e.g. BaudhDhS 1.22.21.2f.; Manu 3.51–55; 9.98–100), the custom persists in the post-Vedic texts; e.g., MBh 5.113.21 (the story of Yayāti’s daughter Mādhavī) *iyaṃ śuklena bhāryārthe haryaśva pratigṛhyatām / śulkaṃ te kīrtayiṣyāmi tat satrutvā saṃpradhāryatām* // “[The Brāhmaṇa Gālava, who was seeking to acquire horses by means of Mādhavī who had been given to him by Yayāti, said,] ‘This [girl] must be received as [your] wife, O Haryaśva. I will tell you the price [for her]. It should be considered after hearing it’”; MBh 5.114.7 (do.) *tathā ity uktvā dvijaśreṣṭhaḥ prādāt kanyām mahīpateḥ / vidhipūrvaṃ ca tāṃ rājā kanyām pratigṛhītavān* // “Having said ‘So be it,’ the best of the Brāhmaṇas (Gālava who was seeking further horses by giving Mādhavī for price to another King) gave the girl to the lord of the earth (the king Divodāsa). The king

brahmadeyā “the [bride] given for *brahman*” and *śūlkadeyā* “the [bride] given for price.” The MGS and the VārGS mention the *brahmadeyā*, and also the two manners (*dharma*) of marriage, *brāhma* (< *brahman*) and *śaulka* (< *śulka*). In these Gr̥hyasūtras, the bride is given through short dialogues between the giver and the receiver according to the respective manners of the marriage.

At the scenes of the dialogues for giving the bride, water is present. In the KāthGS, water is put down at the ritual place. If it is the *brahmadeyā*’s marriage, the giver (the bride’s father) says that he gives her, and the receiver (the suitor¹²) announces that he receives her. In the *śūlkadeyā*’s marriage, they transpose gold. Then, a piece of gold is thrown into a metal cup (*kaṃsa*), and the relatives touch (*sam-ava-mṛś*) it.¹³ Since the *mantras* for touching the cup are dedicated to water, the relatives thus indirectly touch water inside the cup as well.¹⁴

received the girl according to the rules”; cf. Manu 8.204; 9.97. Cf. also VāsDhS 1.35 *pañivā dhanakṛtī sa mānuṣaḥ* “If one bargains over a [girl] and purchases for money, it is the Mānuṣa [-form marriage]” (the text of VāsDhS 1.35 is by OLIVELLE [2000: 354]; FÜHRER [1930: 3] reads *pañivā dhanakṛtām* and puts those words in brackets, suggesting that “the passages in brackets are probably glosses.” For the reading *dhanikṛtīm* in the manuscripts and *dhanakṛtām* in past editions, see OLIVELLE’s note [2000: 635]); cf. JOLLY [1928: 113ff.]. For the forms of marriage, see 2.3 below.

¹² In the Gr̥hyasūtras, the person who chooses (*vara-*) and receives the girl is not always the bridegroom but is in some cases his representative such as his father. I will call the person “suitor” when unclear.

¹³ KāthGS 15.1–5; 16.1–5 (Marriage) *atha brahmadeyāyāḥ pradānavidhiṃ vakṣyāmaḥ* /15.1/ ... *teṣūdakam saṃnidhāya vr̥hiyavān opya dakṣiṇata udānnāsina ṛtvig upayamaṇaṃ kārayet* /3/ *sameteṣv āha dadānīti pratigṛhṇāmīti trir āvedayate* /4/ *etad vaḥ satyam ity uktvā samānā vaḥ saṃ vo manāmsīty ṛtvig ubhau samikṣamāno japati* /5/ *atha śūlkadeyāyāḥ* /16.1/ *hiranyaṃ vyatiharataḥ* /2/ *prajābhyas treti pradadāti* /3/ *rāyaspoṣāya treti pratigṛhṇāti* /4/ *kaṃse hiranyaṃ samupya hiranyavarṇā itī catasṛbhiḥ samavamṛśante* /5/ “Now, we will explain the manner of the giving the *brahmadeyā* [bride]. /15.1/ ... Having put water down on those [bunches of grass], and having scattered rice and grain [in water], the priest, sitting northward in the south, should make [them] perform the marriage. /3/ When they come together, he (the giver) says, ‘I shall give’ [three times]; [the other] declares ‘I receive’ three times (the commentaries interpret that the priest teaches them these words). /4/ Having said ‘This is truth for you two,’ the priest murmurs ‘*samānā vaḥ* ... (KS 10.12)’ looking at the two. /5// Now [the manner of the giving] of the *śūlkadeyā* [bride]. /16.1/ They two transpose gold. /2/ [The suitor] gives [gold], saying, ‘You, for offsprings’ (the commentaries by Devapāla and Ādityadarśana agree that it is the suitor [*vara-*] who gives gold with these words; cf. CALAND [1897: 131f.]). /3/ [The father] receives [it], saying, ‘You, for increase of wealth.’ /4/ Having thrown gold into a cup, they (the relatives) touch [it] with four formulas beginning with ‘*hiranyavarṇāḥ*.’ /5/” For the formulas beginning with *hiranyavarṇāḥ*, cf. AVŚ 1.33.1–4; TS 5.6.1 (the *kumbheṣṭakās*); etc.; cf. CALAND [1925: 62, n. 4] “They formed probably a part of the Kāthāranyaka.”

¹⁴ In the KāthGS, water is not poured upon the bride when she is given in spite of TSUJ’s statement [1975/1976: 306]. The Brāhmaṇabala’s commentary on KāthGS 15.4 includes the following line: *udakapūrvaṃ dattāyāṃ kanyāyāṃ praṇavoccāraṇapūrvaṃ bhagavan kanyāṃ pratigṛhṇāmīti trivaraṃ* “When she has been given preceded by water, [the priest directs the suitor to say to the father,] preceded by the utterance of the sacred syllable (i.e., having uttered *om* first), ‘Sir, I receive the girl,’ thrice.” For the phrase *udakapūrvaṃ dā*, see 2.3. For touching a [water] cup, cf. the following texts where the relatives touch a full vessel when the marriage arrangement is agreed successfully: ŚāṅkhGS 1.6.2–6 (cf. KauṣGS 1.2.2–3) *abhiḡamane puṣpaphalayavān ādāyodakumbhaṃ ca* /2/ *-ayam aham bhoḥ iti triḥ procyā-* /3/ *-udite prāṇmukhā gr̥hyāḥ pratyāṇmukhā āvahanānā gotranāmāny anukīrtayantaḥ kanyāṃ varayanty* /4/ *ubhayato rucite pūrṇapātrīm abhimṛśanti puṣpākṣataphalayavahiranyamiśrām anādhr̥ṣṭam asy ānādhr̥ṣṭyaṃ devānāṃ ojo* ‘*nabhiśasty abhiśastipā anabhiśastenyam aṇṇasā satyam*

In the MGS, a metal cup (*kāṃsya*) is filled with water. A piece of gold is in it. The *brahmadeyā* is given through the dialogue between the giver and the receiver, while handfuls of gold are transposed between them presumably in the *śaulka* marriage. The bride is poured water (*abhi-ṣic*) after she is received:

Mānava-Gr̥hyasūtra 1.7.11; 1.8.3–11 (Marriage)

saṃjuṣṭāṃ dharmēnopayaccheta brāhṃeṇa śaulkena vā /1.7.11/ ... // ... *teṣāṃ madhye prāktūlān darbhān āstīrya kāṃsyam akṣatodakena pūrayitvāvidhavāsmāi prayacchati* /1.8.3/ *tatra hiranyam* /4/ *aṣṭau maṅgalyāny āvedayati* /5/ *maṅgalyāny uktvā dadāmi pratigr̥hṇāmīti trir brahmadeyāpitā bhrātā vā dadyāt* /6/ *sahiraṇyān añjalīn āvapati dhanāya tveti dātā putrebhyas tveti pratigrahītā tasmai pratyāvapati* /7/ *catur vyatir̥hṭya dadāti* /8/ *sāvitreṇa kanyāṃ pratigr̥hya prajāpataya iti ca ka idaṃ kasmā adād iti sarvatrānuṣajati kāmaitat ta ity antam* /9/ *saṃānā vā ākūtānīti saha japanty āntād anuvākasya* /10/ *khe rathasya khe 'nasaḥ khe yugasya śatakrato apālām indras triḥ pūrty avakṣnot sūryatvacam iti tenodakāṃsyena kanyāṃ abhiṣīcet* /11/

One should marry a girl approved [by certain tests], in the manner (*dharma*) of *brāhma* or *śaulka*. /1.7.11/ ... In the middle of them (the giver, the receiver, the girl, and the priest), having scattered bunches of grass with their tufts pointing to east, and having filled a cup with unhusked [grain] and water, a woman who is not a widow presents [it] to him.¹⁵ /1.8.3/ A piece of gold is there. /4/ He announces the eight *maṅgalyas*.¹⁶ /5/

upa geṣaṃ suvite mā dhā ity /5/ *ā naḥ prajāṃ iti kanyāyā ācārya utthāya mūrdhani karoti prajāṃ tvayi dadhāmi paśūṃs tvayi dadhāmi tejo brahmavarcasaṃ tvayi dadhāmīti* /6/ “When they (the suitors who represent the bridegroom-to-be) approach [the girl’s father], they, having taken flowers, fruits, barley, and a water-pot, /2/ say ‘Here I am, sir!’ three times. /3/ When [this is] said, those who belong to the house [of the girl] face eastward, and those who are fetching [the girl] face westward, announcing their *gotras* and names. They choose the girl. /4/ When [the matter is] agreeable for both sides, they touch a full vessel in which flowers, unhusked grains, fruits, and gold are mixed, saying ‘*anādhr̥ṣṭam asi* (cf. TS 1.2.10.2 etc.).’ /5/ Reciting ‘*ā naḥ prajāṃ* (RV 10.85.43),’ the Ācārya of the girl’s [family] stands up and places [the vessel] on her head (*mūrdhani karoti*; Nārāyaṇa commentates *karoti sthāpayati* [OLDENBERG 1878: 122]; cf. KauSGS 1.2.3 *mūrdhni niṣīncati* “pours [water] upon her head”), saying ‘I place offspring in you. I place cattle in you. I place splendor and glory of *brahman* in you.’” /6/ LÜDERS [1951: 668] claims that the full vessel is filled probably also with water.

¹⁵ The Aṣṭāvakra’s commentary interprets that *tasmai* refers to the giver (*dātṛe prayacchati prādhānyāt*); so does CHATTERJEE [1978: 118] (he refers to “VārGS 13.5,” of which, however, the text is that of the MGS which has been wrongly inserted into the SASTRY’s edition of the VārGS; cf. n. 23). DRESDEN [1941: 29] says “I do not know who is meant by *tasmai*” and refers to MGS 1.8.11 (the bride’s *abhiṣeka*).

¹⁶ The eight *maṅgalyas* would refer to some auspicious words or items, of which contents may vary with texts and context. Cf. GGS 2.7.12 (Pūṃsavana) *vīrasūr jīvasūr jīvapātṇīti brāhmaṇyo maṅgalyābhīr vāgbhir upāsīran* “The Brāhmaṇa women sit by her (the woman in labor), [saying] the auspicious words, ‘O a woman giving birth to a brave son! O a woman giving birth to a living son! O a wife of living man!’”; KauS 43.14–15 (building a new house) *sarvānnāni brāhmaṇān bhojayati* /14/ *maṅgalyāni* /15/ “He lets the Brāhmaṇas eat all [pieces] of food. [He lets them utter] the auspicious [words]” (Dārilaḥbhāṣya on KauS 43.15: *maṅgalyāni vācayati / brāhmaṇān svastivācanam / bahudhānyabahuputra-āyusyavarcasvityādi / balādāarakādīn api vācayeyuḥ / vṛddhāḥ* /; Keśava’s Pad-dhati: *vṛddhā striyo gūtamāṅgalyādi kurvanti / brāhmaṇāḥ puṇyāhāni paṭhanti*). CALAND [1900b: 148]

Having said the *maṅgalyas*, [the giver of a *brahmadeyā* says] “I give,” [the receiver (i.e. suitor) says] “I receive,” three times [each]. The *brahmadeyā*’s father or brother should give [her].¹⁷ /6/ [In the case of a *śulka*deyā,] the giver¹⁸ throws in handfuls [of things] with gold, saying “You, for wealth.” The receiver, saying “You, for sons,” throws in [gold] back to him. /7/ After transposing [gold] four times, he gives [her to him]. /8/

Having received the girl with the formula dedicated to Savitr̥ (*sāvitra*),¹⁹ he says, “For Prajāpati.”²⁰ In every case, he attaches [the phrase] “Who has given this to whom?”

translates *maṅgalyāni* as “(diese Brahmanen) soll er Segenswünsche sagen lassen”; CALAND [1900a: 98] notes: “*Hinter maṅgalyāni* hat H[andschrift] noch *vācayati*. Haben wir hier eine varia lectio oder soll das Wort in den Text?” Incidentally, in today’s Kerala, a set of eight items called *aṣṭamaṅgalyaṃ* is used at auspicious ceremonies such as the marriage [PARPOLA 2000: 183, n. 41; 187f.; 209; 222]. The one which I heard of in February 2009 from our informant in Kerala, Muṭṭattukāṭṭi Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri, consisted of sandalwood (*candanam*), charcoal eyeline (*kaṇmaṣi*), rice (*aḷṣaṭam*), ten kinds of herb (*daṣaṣuṣpaṇi*), a mirror (*vāḷḷkaṇṇāṭi*), a book (*granthaṇi*), cloth (*vastraṇi*), and ointment (*cānū*), which were collected on a special wooden tray.

¹⁷ CALAND [1897: 131, n. 3] suggests to read **brahmadeyāṃ pitā* (instead of *brahmadeyāpitā*) “the father or the brother should give the *brahmadeyā*.”

¹⁸ Considering that the gold represents the *śulka*, this “giver” would refer to the suitor; cf. CALAND [1897: 132]; DRESDEN [1941: 30] “The giver (i.e. the varaka).” The commentary does not specify which is which, but emphasizes that the two transpose gold each other.

¹⁹ For *sāvitra*, see the next footnote.

²⁰ The *Samhitā* of this school includes a series of formulas for receiving, which begin with a call to Savitr̥, and enumerate the formulas beginning with datives of various deities: MS 1.9.4: 133.13ff. *sā etāṃ prati-grahām apaśyat / devāsya tvā savitūḥ prasavē ’śvīnor bāhūbhyāṃ pūṣnō hāstābhyāṃ prātigrhṇāmi. yamāya tvā māhyaṃ vāruṇo dadāti. sō ’mṛtatvām aśīya. māyo dātṛ bhūyān. māyo māhyaṃ prati-grahītṛ. ... rudrāya tvā māhyaṃ vāruṇo dadāti ... agnāye tvā māhyaṃ vāruṇo dadāti ... bṛhaspatāye tvā māhyaṃ vāruṇo dadāti ... utthānāya tvāṅgirasāya māhyaṃ vāruṇo dadāti ... kā idam kasmā adāt kāmāḥ kāmāyādāt kāmō dātā kāmāḥ prātigrhṇāmi kāmāya tvā prātigrhṇāmi kāmaitāt te*. While “*prajāpataye tvā*” is not included in MS 1.9.4, it is attested in MŚS 5.2.14.5–13 (the acceptance of gifts), where the formulas in MS 1.9.4 are recited: *apa upasprśya prāṇmukhaḥ prātigrhṇāti deyaṃ vābhimukhaḥ /5/ sāvitraḥ purastāt sarveṣāṃ /6/ yamāya tvety aśvaṃ yac caikaśapham /7/ rudrāya tveti dviśapham /8/ agnāye tveti ... bṛhaspatāye tveti ... prajāpatāye tveti ... utthānāya tvety ... /9–12/ ka idam kasmā adāt iti sarvatṛānuṣajati kāmaitāt ta ity antam /13/* Cf. MŚS 11.1.1.2–4 (Pratigraha-kalpa) *dakṣiṇāṃ prātigrhṇīyād nāvedavin nāśucir nāyajñopavīti na muktaśikho nārtaś ca nānudake na cākāle /2/ sāvitraḥ purastāt ka idam iti paścāt /3/ prajāpatāye tveti puruṣiṃ prātigrhṇīyād dhastinaṃ puruṣaṃ bhūmiṃ prāṇi cānyat sarvaṃ jīvaṃ anūrvarāṃ ... /4/* “One should accept the sacrificial fee. One who does not know the Veda [should] not [accept it]. One who is impure should not. ... Nor if there is no water. Nor if it is not the time. The *sāvitra* [formula] in the beginning, [and the formula] ‘*ka idam*’ at the end. With “You, for Prajāpati,” one should receive a woman, an elephant, a man, land, and all other living beings in the soil. ...” Cf. also Brāhmaṇabala’s comm. on KāṭhGS 15.4 (marriage, see n. 13) *nātra sāvitraḥ pratigrahantraḥ*. As to *sāvitra* in MGS 1.8.9, DRESDEN [1941: 31, nn. 6–7] refers to MGS 1.10.15 (“*devāsya tvā savitūḥ ... hastam grhṇāmi*” recited at the *pāṇigrahaṇa* in the marriage), and suggests, following KNAUER [1897: 152], that “*prajāpatāye*” refers to the so-called *paridāna* formulas “To So-and-so, I entrust you” (dative + *tvā paridadāmi*), which are recited in the Upanayana since the AV [KAJIHARA 2009/2010: 42, 45f.]. Though it is true that the prescriptions of the marriage and the Upanayana are often parallel, here it is more likely that the suitor recites the *sāvitra* formula for receiving in MS 1.9.4 (*devāsya tvā ... prātigrhṇāmi*) rather than a formula for entrusting. The *paridāna* formulas in the Upanayana of the MGS begins with *kāya tvā paridadāmi kasmāi tvā paridadāmi ...* (MGS 22.5); they do not include *prajāpatāye*.

which ends with “O Kāma, this is yours.”²¹ /9/ They (pl.) murmur together “*samānā vā ākūtāni* (MS 2.2.6)” until the end of the section. /10/ Reciting “*khe rathasya ...*,”²² he should pour water of the cup on the girl. /11/

Unlike the MGS, the dialogue for giving the girl in the KāṭhGS and the VārGS is not succeeded by the pouring of water upon her. In the KāṭhGS, the formula “*khe rathasya*” in MGS 1.8.11 is recited (KāṭhGS 25.9) long after the dialogue for giving the girl (KāṭhGS 15.1–16.5), and is not directly associated with her *abhiṣeka*. In the VārGS, though water is poured upon the bride with the formula (VārGS 13.5–14.1), it is long after the dialogue for giving her (VārGS 10.16).²³

2.3 Giving the Bride with Water in the Brāhma Marriage or the Brāhmaṇas’ Marriage

The classification of *brahmadeyā* and *śulkadeyā* or *brāhma* and *śaulka* in the KāṭhGS, the MGS, and the VārGS reminds us of the famous eight forms of Indian marriage, i.e., Brāhma, Daiva, Prājāpatya, Ārṣa, Gāndharva, Āsura, Rākṣasa, Paiśāca.²⁴ Among the Gr̥hyasūtras, two

²¹ For the formula “*ka idam kasmā adād ... kāmaitat te*,” see MS 1.9.4 and MŚS 5.2.14.13 quoted in n. 20 above; cf. AVŚ 3.29.7; AVP 1.30.6; KS 9.9.12; KauśS 45.17; etc.; cf. *ko ’dāt kasmā adāt* in VS 7.48; ŚB 4.3.4.32; KauśGS 1.8.13 (marriage [quoted in n. 9]); etc.

²² The verse “*khe rathasya ... sūryatvacam*” is attested in the ṚV (8.91.7, the Apālā hymn), the AVŚ (14.1.41, the nuptial hymn; its parallel AVP 4.26.7 is not in the nuptial hymn), and the JB (1.221, the Apālā’s tale). In the Gr̥hyasūtras, it is recited at several scenes in the marriage: when water is poured upon the bride (MGS 1.8.11 [quoted here]; VārGS 13.6–14.1); when the bride ascends upon the chariot (ŚāṅkhGS 1.15.6; KauśGS 1.9.7); when the bride is released from a yoke (KāṭhGS 25.9; after this, a piece of gold is laid and washed [*ava-kṣar*] with water; cf. MGS 1.10.7 [a yoke-hole and another *abhiṣeka* of the bride with different *mantras*]); when a yoke-hole is put upon the bride (ĀpGS 2.4.8, ĀpMP 1.1.9; after this, a piece of gold is laid on it, and the girl bathes [*snā*]).

²³ The VārGS does not mention the presence of water in the context of the dialogue for giving the *brahmadeyā* bride: VārGS 10.11–16 (Marriage) *asaṃspr̥ṣtām dharmenopayaccheta brāhmeṇa śaulkena vā* /11/ ... *dadāni pratigr̥hṇānti trir brahmadeyām* /16/ “One should marry an unseduced girl in the manner (*dharmā*) of *brāhma* or *śaulka*. ... [The father and the suitor say] ‘I shall give,’ ‘I shall receive,’ three times to the *brahmadeyā* [bride].” The 13th section of the Baroda edition [SASTRY 1921] of the VārGS is entitled “Kanyādāna,” of which, however, the text is actually “a verbal reproduction of a Mānava-Gr̥hya ms.” [RAGHU VIRA 1932: 8].

²⁴ Generally speaking, (1) at the Brāhma marriage, the father gives his daughter after having adorned her to the man whom he chooses, (2) at the Daiva, he gives her to the priest at the sacrifice, (3) at the Prājāpatya, he gives her to the bridegroom, telling the couple to perform the *dharmā* together, (4) at the Ārṣa, he gives her to a man and receives cows according to the *dharmā* (i.e. it does not mean to sell her), (5) the Gāndharva marriage is made by the mutual love of the couple, (6) at the Āsura, the father gives the girl and receives the price, (7) at the Rākṣasa, the weeping girl is taken by force, (8) at the Paiśāca, the girl is raped while she is asleep or drunk (ĀśvGS 1.6.1–8; VaikhGS 3.1; BaudhDhS 1.11.20.1–9; ĀpDhS 2.5.11.17ff. [six forms]; Manu 3.20–34; YājñSm 1.58–61; etc.; cf. MBh 13.19.1–2; 13.44.3–9; etc.).

These eight become common in the Dharma texts and onward, while various opinions about the names, the numbers, and the order of the forms of the marriage are attested in the texts [CALAND 1929: xviii f.; KANE 1974: 516ff.; TSUJI 1975/1976: 293ff.; cf. HAAS 1862: 283f.]. The KauśS mentions Saurya Vivāha, Brāhmya, and Prājāpatya (79.31–33). Even if no particular classification is made, some Gr̥hyasūtras imply more than one manner of giving one’s daughter; e.g., BaudhGS 1.1.14–17 *udagayana āpūryamānapakṣe puṇye nakṣatre yugmān brāhmaṇān varān prahīṇoti* /14/ ... *atha yadi*

(ĀśvGS, VaikhGS) mention these eight.

In the context of enumerating the forms of the marriage, it is sometimes said that, in the Brāhma marriage, the bride should be given with water. The ĀśvGS expresses it in the phrase *udakapūrvām dā* “to give [the bride who is being] preceded by water”:

Āśvalāyana-Gr̥hyasūtra 1.6.1–8 (Vivāha)

alamkṛtya kanyām udakapūrvām dadyād. eṣa brāhmo vivāhaḥ. tasyām jāto dvādaśavarān dvādaśa parān punāty ubhayataḥ. /1/ ṛtvije vitate karmaṇi dadyād alamkṛtya. sa daivo. daśavarān daśa parān punāty ubhayataḥ. /2/ saha dharmam carata iti prajāpatyo. ...

Having adorned [his daughter, one] should give the girl who is preceded by water.²⁵ This is the Brāhma marriage. A [son] born by her purifies twelve descendants and twelve ancestors on both sides (families). /1/ To the priest, when the sacrifice is over, [one] should give [his daughter] having adorned [her]. It is the Daiva [marriage]. [A son born by her] purifies ten descendants and ten ancestors on both sides. /2/ “They two perform the *dharma* together”: [if he says thus to the couple], it is the Prajāpatya [marriage]. ...

Similar expressions are attested in two young Gr̥hyasūtras. The VaikhGS tells that the four forms of the marriage approved for the Brāhmaṇas (Brāhma, Daiva, Prajāpatya, Ārṣa) are *toyapradānapūrvaka*- “preceded by a gift of water,”²⁶ and describes the giving and the receiving of the girl in the Brāhma marriage in the phrases *udakena dā* “to give with water” and *udakena hr̥* “to take with water.”²⁷ The ĀgGS, another young Gr̥hyasūtra, uses the phrase

dakṣiṇābhis saha dattā syān nātra varān prahiṇuyāt /16/ *tām pratigrhṇīyāt prajāpatis striyām yaśaḥ ity etābhiḥ ṣaḍbhir anucchandasaṃ* /17/ “In the half year in which the sun goes north, in the half month in which the moon is getting full, at [the time of] the auspicious constellation, he dispatches [messengers] to the even numbers of Brāhmaṇa suitors. ... Now, if [the girl] is given together with *dakṣiṇās*, then he should not dispatch [any messenger] to the suitors. One should receive her with the six formulas beginning with *prajāpatis striyām yaśaḥ* (TB 2.4.6.5ff.) following the text”; cf. CALAND [1897: 132].

²⁵ OLDENBERG [1886: 166] translates *udakapūrvām* as “pouring out a libation of water.”

²⁶ VaikhGS 3.1 (Marriage) *yad abhirūpaṃ vṛttavayaḥ sampannam āhūyārhayitvā kanyāalamkṛtā dāsyate sa brāhma iti gīyate ... eteṣāṃ prathame catvāras toyapradānapūrvakāḥ śastā brāhmanasya* “If, having summoned a handsome and excellent [man] who has come to the prime of life, and having honored [him], a girl who has been adorned would be given [to him], it is called the Brāhma [marriage]. ... Of these [eight forms of the marriage from the Brāhma to the Paisāca], the first four (Brāhma, Daiva, Prajāpatya, Ārṣa), which are preceded by a gift of water, are approved for the Brāhmaṇa.”

²⁷ VaikhGS 3.2 (Marriage) *kanyāprado varagotranāma śarmāntaṃ tathaitām asya sahadharmacāriṇī bhavati brāhme vivāhe dharmaprajāsampattiyartham yajñāpattiyartham brahmadevarsipitrṛptyartham prajāsatvakarmabhyo dadāmi udakena tām dadyāt. tām prajāpatiḥ striyām ity udakena harate* “The giver of the girl (i.e. her father), [having pronounced (cf. CALAND 1929: xiii)] the *gotra* and the name of the bridegroom with [the word] *śarman* at the end, and likewise [having called] her (the girl), [thinking] ‘She becomes his *sahadharmacāriṇī* (“the woman who performs *dharma* together”; i.e. wife),’ in the Brāhma marriage, [saying,] ‘For the prosperity of the *dharma* and progeny, for the satisfaction of the Brahman, the gods, the Ṛṣis, and the Fathers, for the acts for getting progeny together, I give,’ should give her with water. He (the bridegroom) takes her with water, reciting, ‘Prajāpati [put] in a woman (TB 2.4.6.5ff.)’.” As CALAND [1929: 68, n. 12] admits, the structure of this *sūtra* is

adbhir dā “to give with water.”²⁸ Among the Dharmasūtras, the VāsDhS explains the Brāhma marriage in the phrase *udakapūrvam dā* “to give preceded by water.”²⁹ On the level of commentaries on the Grhyasūtras, the phrase *udakapūrvam dā* is more commonly attested.³⁰

The Manu enumerates the eight forms of the marriage in 3.20–34. Then comes the following verse quoted above:

Manu-Smṛti 3.35

*adbhir eva dvijāgryāṇaṃ kanyādānaṃ praśasyate /
itareṣāṃ tu varṇānāṃ itaretarakāmyayā //*

For the chiefs of the *dvijas* (the Brāhmaṇas), the *kanyādāna* only with water³¹ is ap-

not very clear; CALAND [1929: 68, n. 13] refers to the Prayoga and the commentary which tell that this prescription covers not only the Brāhma marriage but also the other three (Daiva, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya) approved for the Brāhmaṇas (see VaikhGS 3.1 quoted in n. 26). He translates *udakena* as “after having poured water into the hand of the groom” and “whilst pouring water out,” and gives a note “*udakena* is explained by the Bhāṣya: *udakadhārāpurassaram*” [CALAND 1929: 69]. For pouring water into the bridegroom’s hand, see 2.4 below.

²⁸ The ĀgGS does not define this style of giving the girl as the Brāhma marriage. ĀgGS 1.6.1: 34.13–35.10 (marriage; cf. TSUJI [1960: 117]) *atha dūtān prahiṇoti “anṛkṣarā rjava” iti / vadhūmantam yācayati “amuṣmai amukagotrāya amūm amukagotrīm dharmaprajārthaṃ vadhūm dadātu” iti / tathety ukte vadhūm / ... / ... “prajāpatiḥ striyām” iti ṣadbhir enām dakṣiṇata udānimukhas tiṣṭhan “amūm amukagotrīm amuṣmai amukagotrāya tubhyaṃ prajāśahatvakarmabhyah pratipādayāmi” iti vadhūmatādbhir dattām pratigrhṇāti strīdhanaṃ ca /* “Then he dispatches a messenger, reciting, ‘*anṛkṣarā rjavaḥ* (RV 10.85.23; ĀgGS 1.5.1).’ He solicits a man who has a girl, saying, ‘Let him give the girl N.N. of the N.N. *gotra*, for the sake of the *dharma* and progeny, to N.N. of the N.N. *gotra*!’ When [the answer] ‘So it be’ is said [by the father of the girl], [the suitor receives] the girl (i.e., the engagement is established). ... [On the day of the marriage,] ... with the six [formulas beginning with] ‘*prajāpatiḥ striyām* (TB 2.4.6.5ff.; ĀgGS 1.5.1),’ at the south, standing northward, saying ‘I bestow N.N. of the N.N. *gotra* to you N.N. of the N.N. *gotra* for the deeds for getting progeny together.’ [The groom] receives her who has been given with water by the one who has the girl. And [she (?) receives] the *strīdhana* (the woman’s property).” For the giving of the girl at the engagement (*vāgdāna*) and that on the day of the marriage ceremony (*kanyādāna*), see TSUJI [1960: 117; 1975/1976: 306].

²⁹ VāsDhS 1.30 *icchata udakapūrvam yām dadyāt sa brāhmaḥ* “If [the father] gives her (his daughter) preceded by water to one who wishes, it is the Brāhma [marriage].” VāsDhS 1.30–35 enumerates six forms of the marriage (Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Gāndharva, Kṣātra, Mānuṣa). Cf. also VāsDhS 17.72 *adbhir vācā ca dattāyām mriyetādaḥ varo yadi / na ca mantropanītā syāt kumārī pitur eva sā //* “If the suitor of a [girl] who has been given with water and speech [to him] dies, and if she has not been brought by the *mantras* [in the marriage ritual], she [still] belongs to her father alone.”

³⁰ For example, Aṣṭāvakra’s commentary on MGS 1.7.11 (see 2.3) reads *brāhma dharmah kanyāyā udakapūrvam āhīya dānam* “The Brāhma manner is a gift of the girl which is preceded by water [made] after summoning [a suitor]” (cf. CALAND [1898: 67]; DRESDEN [1941: 28]); Brāhmaṇabala on KāthGS 15.4 (the *brahmadeyā*’s marriage; see n. 14) reads *udakapūrvam dattāyām kanyāyām*.

³¹ The commentaries on Manu 3.35 give few details as to what one should do with water. They include the words *āpodāna-* and *udakadāna-*, which suggest that water is given in some way or other to the bridegroom. The words *jalapūrvam* and *udakapūrvam* are also attested in the commentaries. Medhātithi on Manu 3.35 reads: *brāhmaṇāya yadā kanyām dadāti tadādbhir eva dadyāt / katham punar āpodānakaraṇam / na hi tābhir vinā dānam asti – adbhir vācyam namaḥpūrvam bhikṣādānam dadāti vai / evam dharmeṣv iti niyamāt* “When one gives a girl to a Brāhmaṇa, he should give only with water. But why is the action of the gift of water done? Because no gift exists without

proved. That of the other classes [may be done] by mutual desire.

In the Manu, this rule of giving one's daughter (*kanyādāna*³²) with water appears to be applied not only to the Brāhma marriage but also to the other forms of marriage permitted to the Brāhmaṇa class (Daiva, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya, Āsura),³³ in which the father is said to “give” his daughter (*dānaṃ kanyāyās, sutādāna-, kanyāpradāna-*).³⁴ In the Mahābhārata, the giving a girl with water (*adbhiḥ pra-dā*) is said to be the manner of the marriage for the Brāhmaṇas.³⁵

them (water). Because of the rule ‘One gives a gift of announced alms with water and with reverence: thus in the Dharma [texts]’” (cf. GautDhS 1.5.16 [5.18] quoted below in 3.2); Kullūka's comm.: *udakadānapūrvakam eva brāhmaṇānām kanyādānaṃ praśastam* “The *kanyādāna* which is only preceded by the gift of water is approved for the Brāhmaṇas”; Rāmacandra's comm.: *adbhir eva jalair eva jalapūrvam praśasyate* “Only with water [means] only with water (*jala*). [Giving] preceded by water is approved”; Mañirāma's comm.: *brāhmaṇānām udakapūrvam eva kanyādānaṃ praśastam*; Govindarāja's comm.: *brāhmaṇānām udakadānapūrvam eva kanyādānaṃ praśastam*. The rules of giving gifts in general with water will be discussed in 3.2.

³² This is one of the first occurrences of the term *kanyādāna-*.

³³ Manu 3.23 tells that the first six forms of the marriage (Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva) are appropriate for the Brāhmaṇa class. The Gāndharva marriage is made by the mutual love of the couple, so that there is no “giving” by the father. In the last two forms (Rākṣasa, Paisāca), the bride is not “given” but is taken away by force.

³⁴ Manu 3.27–31 *ācchādyā cārcayitvā ca śrutaśīlavate svayam / āhūya dānaṃ kanyāyā brāhma dharmāḥ prakīrtitaḥ /27/ yajñe tu vitate samyag ṛtviḥ karma kurvate / alaṅkṛtya sutādānaṃ daivaṃ dharmāṃ pracakṣate /28/ ekaṃ gomithunaṃ dve vā varād ādāya dharmataḥ / kanyāpradānaṃ vidhivad ārṣo dharmāḥ sa ucyate /29/ saḥbhau caratām dharmam iti vācānubhāṣya tu / kanyāpradānaṃ abhyarcya prājāpatyo vidhiḥ smṛtaḥ /30/ jñātibhyo draviṇaṃ dattvā kanyāyai caiva śaktiḥ / kanyāpradānaṃ svācchādyād āsuro dharmā ucyate /31/* “The giving a girl after clothing and praising her, and inviting by himself a person who is learned and well-disposed, is called the Brāhma *dharmā*. On the other hand, people call the giving a daughter after decorating her to a priest who is performing his work properly at a sacrifice the Daiva *dharmā*. The giving a girl following the rules after receiving a pair of cows or two from the bridegroom according to the *dharmā* is called the Ārṣa *dharmā*. The giving a girl after praising, having said the phrase ‘You two do perform the *dharmā* together,’ is called Prājāpatya. The giving a girl after [the suitor's] giving property to the relations and the girl as far as possible, from his own will (not following the manner), is called the Āsura *dharmā*.” The word *kanyāpradāna* in the Āsura has been interpreted as *kanyā-āpradāna* “receiving a girl” by the commentators of the Manu, though in the Ārṣa it must be *kanyā-pradāna* “giving a girl” (cf. *sutā-dāna* in the Daiva); cf. OLIVELLE [2005: 256]: “The word *āpradāna* is not noted in any dictionary. ... more likely, *kanyāpradāna* is a frozen form that Manu uses for the giving away of the girl after the payment of the bride-price by the groom.”

³⁵ MBh 13.44.3 *śīlavṛtte samājñāya vidyām yoniṃ ca karma ca / adbhir eva pradātavyā kanyā guṇavate vare / brāhmaṇānām satām eṣa dharmo nityaṃ yudhiṣṭhira //* “Having known thoroughly [his] disposition, conduct, knowledge, birth, and acts, a girl should be given with water to an excellent suitor. This is always the manner (*dharmā*) of righteous Brāhmaṇas, O Yudhiṣṭhira”; MBh 13.44.53–54 *pāṇigrahaṇamantrāṇām niṣṭhā syāt saptame pade / pāṇigrāhasya bhāryā syād yasya cādbhiḥ pradīyate /53/ anukūlām anuvaṃśām bhrātrā dattām upāgnikām / parikramya yathānyāyaṃ bhāryāṃ vinded dvijottamaḥ /54/* “The completion of the *mantras* for seizing the hand (i.e. the marriage ritual) should be at the seventh step [of the bride's making seven steps at the ritual]. [The girl] should become the wife of the man who seizes her hand, to whom [she is] given with water. /53/ The best of the *dvijas* (the Brāhmaṇa) should find a wife according to rule, who is faithful and of a corresponding family, and is given by [her] brother, after stepping round [the fire]. /54/”

2.4 Pouring Water into the Bridegroom's Hand: (1) Explanations in Ancillary Texts

While the phrases “to give preceded by water” and “to give with water” imply that water is given to the suitor when the girl is given to him in the marriage, the Gr̥hyasūtras and the Dharma texts do not explicitly tell that water is poured into the bridegroom's hand. It is since some ancillary gr̥hya texts that the pouring of water into his hand is prescribed.

For example, a Gr̥hya-Pariśiṣṭa of the Āśvalāyanas, which has been known to include a detailed description of the giving of the girl [OLDENBERG 1886: 34; TSUJI 1975/1976: 306], alludes to pouring water into the suitor's hand at the ritual as follows:

Āśvalāyana-Gr̥hya-Pariśiṣṭa (ĀśvGP) 1.22: ĀnĀS 105, 159.23ff.

*vatsagotrotpannām amuṣya prapautrīm amuṣya pautrīm amuṣya putrīm suśīlānām nūm imāṃ kanyāṃ vasiṣṭhagotrodbhavāyāmuṣya prapautrāyāmuṣya pautrāyāmuṣya putrāya śrutaśīlānāmne 'smāi varāya saṃpradade kanyāṃ *pratigr̥hṇātu (ed.: pratigr̥hṇātu) bhavān iti bruvan varasya pāṇau hiraṇyam upadhāya kalāśodakadhārām āsiñcen manasā prajāpatiḥ prīyatām iti brūyāt / atha ... dakṣiṇe 'mse kanyām abhimṛṣya ka idaṃ kasmā adāt ... /³⁶*

[The father says,] “This girl, born in the Vatsa *gotra*, the great-grand-daughter of N.N., the grand-daughter of N.N., the daughter of N.N., whose name indicates well-disposed [character]: I give [her] to this suitor, born in the Vasiṣṭha *gotra*, the great-grandson of N.N., the grandson of N.N., the son of N.N., whose name indicates learned and virtuous [character]. You do please receive the girl.” Saying [thus], having placed a piece of gold into the suitor's palm, he should pour a flow of water from the jar. He should recite mentally, “May Prajāpati be pleased.” Then, ... having touched the girl on the shoulder, [the suitor recites,] “Who has given this to whom? ...”

As to the Vādhūla school, whose *kanyādāna* in today's Kerala has been described in 1.1 above, the giving of the bride is mentioned not in its Gr̥hyasūtra but in its commentary and

³⁶ To the Āśvalāyana school, two different gr̥hya Pariśiṣṭas, the ĀśvP (ed. by ARTHAL [1963]) and the ĀśvGP (included in the ĀnĀS edition of the ĀśvGS), are attributed under the same title [ARTHAL 1963: 230ff.; TSUJI 1975/1976: 287]. Among the two, the ĀśvGP quoted here, being younger, depicts the giving of the bride more extensively. The ĀśvP, on the other hand, does not refer to pouring water into the bridegroom's hand, though it mentions the formulas related to water, a water vessel (*udapātra*), and the *abhiṣeka* of the bride after she has been given to the suitor: ĀśvP 6: 240.2ff. *tato varaṃ vācayet – śivā āpaḥ santu / saumanasyam astu / ... tato varaḥ ka idaṃ kasmā adāt – ity anena kanyām abhimṛṣet / ... udapātraṃ tataḥ kṛtvā abhimṛṣyānumantrayet / anādhṛṣṭam asy anādhṛṣyam iti / yat kakṣivān saṃvananam ā naḥ prajāṃ janayatu prajāpatiḥ – iti kanyām abhiṣicya brāhmaṇān vācayed iti*. Another ancillary text of the Āśvalāyanas [cf. TSUJI 1975/1976: 306] also mentions *udakapūrvī*- (f.): Āśvalāyana-Gr̥hya-Kārikā 1.21.6 (ĀnĀS 105, 197) *śrīrūpāṃ ca mayā dattāṃ tubhyaṃ śrīdhararūpiṇe / ity uktvōdakapūrvīm tām dadyāt svastipadaṃ vadet //* “ ‘The [girl] with beautiful form is given by me to you, to one who has the form of a possessor of fortune.’ Having said thus, he should give her, who is preceded by water. He should say the words of fortune.”

Prayogas.³⁷ A commentary of this school mentions it as follows:

Vādhūla-Kalpasūtra-Vyākhyā³⁸

yathāśakti suvarṇādīnālaṃkr̥tya ... varahastasyopary asyā hastam aspr̥ṣṭam dhārayitvā prājāpatye vivāhe saha dharmas̥ caryatām ity uktvodakam dadāti. prājāpatyād anyatra tūṣṇīm.

Having adorned [the girl] with gold and so on as far as possible, ... having let keep her hand over the suitor's hand untouched, in the Prājāpatya marriage, having said "Let the *dharmas̥* be performed together," he gives water. In the other [forms of marriage] than the Prājāpatya, silently.

A Prayoga of the same school explains the giving of the girl with water in more detail:

Vādhūla-Gr̥hya-Prayoga³⁹

³⁷ The critical edition of the Vādhūla-Gr̥hyasūtra is still to be published [cf. KAJIHARA 2008–2009] (as to the book with the title *Vādhūlagr̥hyasūtram with Vṛtti* [CHAUBEY 2012], see n. 38 below). A number of palmleaf manuscripts in Malayalam script of the texts of the Vādhūla school, including the VādhGS, are preserved in two Nampūtiri houses (Neṭumpiḷḷi Mana and Kiṭaṇṇas̥ṣēri Mana) in Irīṇṇālakuṭa, Kerala, which were first identified, photographed, and studied by Prof. Yasuke IKARI in 1990s–2000s [IKARI 2005]. I owe Prof. IKARI much for his kind advice and his generously sharing with me his unpublished notes on the manuscripts of the Vādhūla texts which I am quoting below.

³⁸ The text quoted here is a tentative one prepared by the author utilizing two manuscripts: One is a palmleaf manuscript in Malayalam script in the possession of Neṭumpiḷḷi Mana, ms. number N 252 (folio 75b5f.; photographed first by Yasuke IKARI and later by Masato FUJII). This manuscript consists of three texts: (1) the Kalpāgamasamgraha by Āryadāsa, (2) a *gr̥hya* commentary (the title and author unknown), (3) the Prayogakṛpti (alias Prayogakalpanā) by Śivaśroṇa. Only the titles (1) and (3) are registered in the Neṭumpiḷḷi's catalog [IKARI 2005: 20f.; CHAUBEY 2012: xxi]. For the time being, I call the second part (a *gr̥hya* commentary) Vādhūla-Kalpasūtra-Vyākhyā: it is the title of the paper manuscript in Devanāgarī script preserved in Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, under ms. number M 2978, which is the other manuscript I utilized here (in M 2978, the passage quoted here is found in p. 512, ll. 14–17). M 2978 more or less corresponds to N 252, though the former may not be the latter's direct copy, and the former's text is often in disorder, according to IKARI's unpublished notes on these manuscripts ("R2978 and N 252" [IKARI, February 2001]).

This text has been published in a complicated form by CHAUBEY [2012] under the title *Vādhūlagr̥hyasūtram with Vṛtti*. CHAUBEY [2012] uses five secondary Devanāgarī manuscripts of two different texts, i.e. the Vyākhyā (M 2978 mentioned above and its copy) and the VādhGS proper (M 4375 in Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, and its copies), attempting to present the "*gr̥hyasūtra*" and its "*vṛtti*." However, M 4375 omits many sections of the Gr̥hyasūtra which are preserved in the Malayalam manuscripts [cf. KAJIHARA 2008–2009]. Since the marriage chapter is missing from M 4375, the text given in the marriage chapter of CHAUBEY [2012: 46] as the "*Gr̥hyasūtra*" is actually that of the Vyākhyā.

³⁹ The Vādhūla-Gr̥hya-Prayoga has been unpublished yet. The text quoted here is a tentative one prepared by the author utilizing two palmleaf manuscripts in Malayalam script in the possession of Neṭumpiḷḷi Mana, nos. N 145 (folio 49b2f.; photographed first by IKARI and later by FUJII) and N 115 (folios 65a11–66b2; photographed first by IKARI and later by FUJII).

The Vādhūla-Gr̥hya-Prayoga has another tradition of which the text is a little different from that in N 145 and N 115. It is found in two manuscripts: a palmleaf manuscript in Malayalam script of Neṭumpiḷḷi Mana (no. N 151; photographed first by IKARI and later by FUJII), and a paper manuscript in Devanāgarī script preserved in Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library, Trivan-

pratyañmukha[s] sthitvā svadakṣiṇabhāge kanyām api tathāvasthāpya tasyā dakṣiṇa-kare svadakṣiṇakareṇa jalam āsicya taṃ hastam svadakṣiṇahastena jalānvītena grhītvā tiṣṭhate prāñmukhāya varāya kanyām trir dadāti saha dharmaś caryatām iti. trivāram api mantreṇa dānaṃ ... udakapūrvadānāt prāk kānyāmālāṃ varāya prayacchati.

[The father,] having stood facing westward, having let the girl stay at his own right side in the same manner as well, having poured water on her right hand by his own right hand, having seized the hand [of her] by his own right hand possessing water, gives the girl thrice to the suitor who is standing facing eastward, saying, “Let the *dharma* be performed together.” The giving is [done] with the *mantra* three times. ... Before the giving being preceded by water, he gives the girl’s garland to the suitor.

2.5 Pouring Water into the Bridegroom’s Hands: (2) In Accordance with the Upanayana
Among the Gr̥hyasūtras, the BhārGS includes an exceptionally detailed description of pouring water into hands in the marriage. It is actually a repetition of an almost identical prescription in its Upanayana chapter. In its Upanayana (BhārGS 1.7), the teacher pours water (*udakam ā-nī*) with his hollow of hands (*añjalī*) into the novice’s, and then seizes the latter’s hand.⁴⁰ In the marriage (BhārGS 1.15), the bridegroom does the same to the bride:

BhārGS 1.7 (Upanayana)

*athainayoḥ praiśakṛd
añjalī udakena pūrayaty
athāsyāñjalīnāñjalāv
udakam ānayati
śaṃ no devīr abhiṣṭaya āpo bhavantu
pītaye śaṃ yor abhi sravantu na ity
athāsyā dakṣiṇena hastena dakṣiṇaṃ
hastam abhīvāṅguṣṭham abhīva
lomāni grhṇāti*

BhārGS 1.15 (Marriage)

*athainayoḥ praiśakṛd
añjalī udakena pūrayaty
athāsyāñjalīnāñjalāv
udakam ānayati
śaṃ no devīr abhiṣṭaya āpo bhavantu
pītaye śaṃ yor abhi sravantu na ity
athāsyā dakṣiṇena hastena dakṣiṇaṃ
hastam abhīvāṅguṣṭham abhīva
lomāni grhṇāti*

drum (no. T 1095), which more or less corresponds to N 151. In these manuscripts, the passage quoted here from N 145 and N 115 is missing. On the other hand, they include the following lines, which appear to be verses (N 151, 43b:3–5; T 1095, p. 80, ll. 1–5): *bhūṣayitvā samutthāpya tayā sārddhaṃ varāntikaṃ, gatvā pratyañmukhas tiṣṭhan (pratyañmustaṣṭhan N 151) prāñmukhāya varāya tām, dakṣiṇām sānuṣamsthānām dadyād udakapūrvakam, svakarāhitatoyaṃ yat kanyāhaste nīpātitaṃ, saṃsrāvayet tasya haste dānaṃ trir iha mantravat* “Having let adorn, and let stand together, and having gone near to the suitor with her, standing, facing westward, [the bride’s father] should give her who is following in the south, preceded by water, to the suitor who is facing eastward. He should let flow water, which has been on his own hand and is let fall on the girl’s hand, into his (the suitor’s) hand. Here the giving is [done] thrice with the *mantra*.” Verses similar to these are attested also in another ancillary text of this school, the Vādhūla-Gr̥hyāgamavṛtti-Rahasya, though the text is corrupt there (Neṭumpiḷli Mana’s manuscript no. 147 [palmleaf, Malayalam script, folio number unclear, photographed first by IKARI and later by KAJIHARA]; CHAUBEY [2006: 180f., verses 314cd–316]).

⁴⁰ For these ritual actions in the Upanayana, see KAJIHARA [2014].

<i>devasya tvā savituḥ prasave 'śvinor</i>	<i>devasya tvā savituḥ prasave 'śvinor</i>
<i>bāhubhyāṃ pūṣṇo hastābhyāṃ</i>	<i>bāhubhyāṃ pūṣṇo hastābhyāṃ</i>
<i>hastena te hastam grhṇāmi</i>	<i>hastena te hastam grhṇāmi</i>
<i>savitṛa prasūtaḥ</i>	<i>saubhagatvāya</i>
<i>ko nāmāsīty ...</i>	<i>mayā patyā jaradaṣṭir yathāsaḥ ...</i>

Then, the priest who executes orders fills the hollows of hands of the two (the teacher and novice / the bride and bridegroom) with water. Then, he (the teacher / the bridegroom) pours (ā-nī) water with his hollow of hands into [the novice's / the bride's] hollow of hands, saying, “*śam no devīr ...* (RV 10.9.4; TB 1.2.1.1; etc.).” Then, he (the teacher / the bridegroom) seizes his (the novice's) / her (bride's) right hand just like with the thumb and hair by his right hand, saying, “At the impulse of the god Savitṛ, with the two arms of Aśvins, with the two hands of Pūṣan, with [my] hand, I seize your hand,

(Hereafter the text becomes different in the Upanayana and the marriage:)

being impelled by Savitṛ. Who are you by name? ...” (Upanayana)

for good fortune, so that you will reach old age with me as the husband.⁴¹” (Marriage)

The pouring of water into the bridegroom's hands in BhārGS 1.15 is most probably a borrowing from the Upanayana in BhārGS 1.7. While the ritual action of pouring water from hands to hands is attested in the Upanayana of the half of the Gṛhyasūtras [KAJIHARA 2014], only the BhārGS includes it in the marriage too.⁴² In the Upanayana, this pouring would symbolize the teacher's giving the novice knowledge and filling him with it.⁴³ The same interpretation is difficult in the marriage, since it is clear from the *mantras* that water is poured not from the giver of the girl (the father) to the receiver (the bridegroom) but from the bridegroom to the bride. In BhārGS 1.15, the pouring of water rather serves as a prelude to the bridegroom's seizing the bride's hand (*pāṇigrahaṇa*) which immediately follows it.

⁴¹ This *mantra* is made up by mixing (1) “*devasya tvā ... hastam grhṇāmi*” commonly used in the Upanayana [KAJIHARA 2014] and (2) “*grhṇāmi te saubhagatvāya hāstam*” in the R̥gvedic nuptial hymn (RV 10.85.36 quoted in 2.1 above).

⁴² More precisely speaking, as to the seizing of one's new partner's hand in the marriage and the Upanayana, the KāthGS and the MGS have the expression *ariktam ariktena* “the hand which is not empty, with the hand which is not empty” in common, in KāthGS 25.21 (marriage), MGS 1.10.15 (marriage), MGS 1.22.5 (Upanayana). The commentaries on KāthGS 25.21 by Devapāla and Ādityadarśana explain that their hands are filled with ornaments etc., while DRESSEN [1941: 95, n. 7] suggests to interpret that water is being transferred from hands to hands; cf. KAJIHARA [2014: 5, n. 10].

⁴³ The teacher's knowledge is given but is not transferred: it remains with him even after he filled his student with it. Cf. THIEME [2000]; KAJIHARA [2014: 11f.].

3 Giving Water to the Recipient before Giving Gifts

Since the Gr̥hyasūtras onwards, a rule surfaces that gifts must be given “with water.”⁴⁴ In the Gr̥hyasūtras, there are two occasions on which something is said to be given “with water.” One is the marriage as was discussed in 2.3 (*udakapūrvām dā* in ĀśvGS 1.6.1, *toya-pradānapūrvaka-* in VaikhGS 3.1, *udakena dā* in VaikhGS 3.2, *adbhir dā* in ĀgGS 1.6.1). The other occasion is the ancestor rituals, which will be discussed next.

3.1 Giving Water before Offering Water to the Ancestors in the Gr̥hyasūtras

Two Gr̥hyasūtras, the GGS and the ĀśvGS, prescribe that some particular water-offerings in the ancestor rituals should be “preceded by water.” The GGS tells that the sacrificer should give water containing sesamum (*tilodaka-*), which is preceded by water (*udakapūrvā-*), to the Brāhmaṇas whom he has invited to the Anvaṣṭakya rite.⁴⁵ That is, he first gives them water, and then sesamum-water:

Gobhila-Gr̥hyasūtra 4.2.33–37 (Anvaṣṭakya)

śucau deśe brāhmaṇān anindyān ayugmān udanmukhān upaveśya /33/ darbhān pradāya /34/ udakapūrvam tilodakam dadāti pitur nāma gr̥hītvāsāv etat te tilodakam ye cātra tvānu yāṁś ca tvam anu tasmai te svadheti /35/ apa upaspr̥ṣyaivam evetarayoḥ /36/ tathā gandhān /37/

Having let an odd number of blameless Brāhmaṇas [who represent the ancestors] sit down upon a pure spot facing northward, /33/ [and] having given [them] the bunches of *darbha* grass, /34/ he (the sacrificer) gives [the first Brāhmaṇa who represents the father] the sesamum-water preceded by water (i.e., he first gives ordinary water and then gives the sesamum-water), calling [his] father’s name: “O N.N., this is your sesamum-water,⁴⁶ and those who follow you here (offsprings), and those whom you follow (ancestors).⁴⁷ To you as such, *svadhā*.” /35/ Having touched water, [he does] thus in the same way for the other two [Brāhmaṇas who represent the grandfather and the great-grandfather]. /36/ In the same way, [he gives them] perfumes. /37/

⁴⁴ KAJIHARA [2016]. The assumption by FALK [1984: 119f.] that the prescription of the Rājasūya in BaudhŚS 12.11: 102 presupposes a ritual of adopting a son with a water-vessel is not convincing enough as far as the context is concerned [FUKU forthcoming].

⁴⁵ The procedures of the ancestor rituals in the Gr̥hyasūtras principally follow that of the Piṇḍapitṛyajña in the Śrautasūtras. Some Gr̥hyasūtras add the receptions of the Brāhmaṇas, to whom water-offerings are offered.

⁴⁶ Cf. PGS 3.10.21 (Udakakarman after cremation) *pretāyodakam sakṛt prasiṅcanty añjalīnāsāv etat ta udakam iti* “For the deceased, they [who have plunged into water] pour water once with a hollow of hands, saying, ‘O N.N., this is your water’.”

⁴⁷ Cf. TS 1.8.5.1.b (Pitṛyajña in the Rājasūya) *etat te tata yé ca tvām ánv etát te pitāmaha prapitāmaha yé ca tvām ánv átra pitaro yathābhāgām mandadhvanī* “This is for you, O father, and those who follow you. This is for you, O grandfather, O great-grandfather, and those who follow you. Here, O Fathers, rejoice in your shares!”; KS 9.6; etc.

Similarly, the ĀśvGS tells that one should offer the Arghya water “preceded by water” (*appūrva-*) to the Fathers at the Śrāddha.⁴⁸

In these cases, the main gifts are water. The water-offerings are often given into the receiver’s hand.⁴⁹ The water which precedes them is possibly also given into the place where the main gifts are going to be given, i.e. the receiver’s hand.

3.2 Giving Water before Giving Gifts in the Dharma Texts

Some Dharmasūtras tell that any kind of gift should be given being preceded by water (*udakapūrva-*; *appūrva-*), as follows:

Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra 2.4.9.8–9

sarvāṇy udakapūrvāṇi dānāni / yathāśruti vihāre /

All gifts [should be given] being preceded by water.⁵⁰ [The offerings should be offered] into the arrangement [of sacred fires] as prescribed in the Śrutis.

Gautama-Dharmasūtra 1.5.16–17 (5.18–19)

⁴⁸ ĀśvGS 4.7.13–14 (Śrāddha) ... *pitara idam te arghyaṃ pitāmahedaṃ te arghyaṃ prapitāmahedaṃ te arghyaṃ ity appūrvam* /13/ *tāḥ pratigrāhayaṣyan sakṛtsakṛt svadhārghyā iti* /14/ “... [Saying] ‘O father, this is your Arghya (n.). O grandfather, this is your Arghya. O great-grandfather, this is your Arghya,’ [he offers the Arghya water to the Fathers] preceded by water (i.e. he first offers ordinary water and then offers the Arghya water). /13/ He, letting [the Brāhmaṇas] receive them (f., the Arghya waters), [utters] each time, ‘svadhā, the Arghyas!’ /14/”

⁴⁹ Cf. ŚāṅkhGS 4.1.3f. (Śrāddha; cf. KauṣGS 3.14.2) *ayugmāny udapātrāṇi tilair avakīrya-/3/-asāv etat ta ity anuḍiṣya brāhmaṇānām pāṇiṣu ninayed* /4/ “Having strewn sesame into an uneven number of water vessels, and having assigned [them by saying] ‘O N.N., this is yours,’ he should pour [the sesame-water] into their hands”; VaikhGS 4.3 (Aṣṭakā) *teṣāṃ kare tilodakam dattvā* “Having given sesame-water into their hand (kara-)”; VaikhGS 7.7 (Prāyaścittas for the Ekoddiṣṭa-Śrāddha) *pretāya svadheti pāṇau tilodakam dattvā* “having given sesame-water into [a Brāhmaṇa’s] hand (pāṇi-), saying, ‘For the deceased, svadhā’”; YājñSm 1.231ab (Śrāddha) *yā divyā iti mantreṇa hasteṣv arghyaṃ vinikṣipet* “He should throw down the Arghya into the [Brāhmaṇas’] hands (hast-) with the formula ‘yā divyā’”; cf. VaikhGS 7.8. Cf. also ĀśvGS 1.24.13 (Madhuparka) *prakṣālitapādo rghyam aṇjalīnā pratigrhyāthācamanīyēnācāmaty amṛtopastaraṇam aṣṭi* “When his feet have been washed, he (the guest) receives the Arghya with the hollow of hands, and then sips the sipping-water, saying, ‘You are the [first] cover of the amṛta (TĀ 10.32.1; cf. ŚB 11.5.4.5).” Cf. ĀśvGS 4.7.20ff. (Śrāddha) *athāgnau juhōti yathoktaṃ purastāt* /20/ *abhyanuḍjñāyām pāṇiṣv eva vā* /21/ *agnimukhā vai devāḥ pāṇimukhāḥ pitara iti hi brāhmaṇam* /22/ “Then he offers [the food for the Fathers] into the fire as stated before [in the Piṇḍapitṛyajña section of the Śrautasūtra]. /20/ Or, with the permission [of the Brāhmaṇas whom the sacrificer asks for permission to make the offering, he offers it] into their (the Brāhmaṇas’) palms as well. /21/ For, ‘The gods have the fire as their mouth; the Fathers have palm as their mouth’ — thus says the Brāhmaṇa [text]. /22/”

⁵⁰ BÜHLER [1879: 122] translates *udakapūrvāṇi* in ĀpDhS 2.4.9.8 as “to be preceded by (pouring out) water” and notes that “The custom is to pour water, usually with the spoon called Darvī (Pallī), into the extended palm of the recipient’s right hand”; he gives no reference for this information. FRIEDRICH [1993: 167, n. 74] agrees with BÜHLER: “Zwar steht das Wort ‘Ausgießen’ weder im Text, noch verlangt es Haradatta; daß diese Ergänzung aber richtig ist, beweist das folgende sūtra.” She translates the next sūtra (ĀpDhS 2.4.9.9) as “bei der Aufstellung der drei heiligen Feuer gemäß der vedischen Überlieferung”; it is not clear how this line supports her argument.

svastivācyā bhikṣādānam appūrvam / dadātiṣu caivaṃ dharmyeṣu /

The giving of alms [should be] preceded by water,⁵¹ after letting [the receiver] pronounce a blessing. Thus is also at the [other] virtuous gifts.

In the course of time, the expressions “to give something with water” and “to give being preceded by water” become more and more common. For example, the *Manu* and the *KauṭṢ* tell that a son for adoption is given with water (*adbhir dā*).⁵² The *MBh* states that food for guests is to be given preceded by water (*toyapūrva*-).⁵³ The word *udakapūrva*- continues in the broader Hindu culture in the context of gifts and donations.⁵⁴

3.3 Giving Gifts with Water in the Buddhist Literature

The Buddhist literature include many scenes of giving gifts with water. An early association between a gift and a water-jar is alluded to already in the prose portion of the *Sn* and the *S*:

Suttanipāṭa 455 (3.4 *Sundarikabhāradvāja*), prose before the verse; 486

≈ *Samyutta-Nikāya* I 167 (*Sagāthavagga Brāhmaṇasaṃyutta Sundarikasutta*)

*atha kho sundarikabhāradvājo brāhmaṇo aggaṃ juhivā aggihuttaṃ paricaritvā
uṭṭhāyāsanaṃ samantā catuddissā anuvilokesi, ko nu kho imaṃ havyasesaṃ bhuñjeyyā
ti. ... disvāna vāmena hatthena havyasesaṃ gahetvā dakkhiṇena hatthena kamaṇḍalum
gahetvā yena bhagavā tenupasaṃkami. ... / ... /457/ ...*

buddho bhavaṃ arahati pūraḷāsaṃ / ... /486/

The *Brāhmaṇa Sundarikabhāradvāja*, having offered [oblation] to the fire, and having attended to the *Agnihotra*, stood up from the seat, looked about all the four directions, [thinking,] “Now, who should eat this remnant of oblation?” ... Having seen [the Bud-

⁵¹ BÜHLER [1879: 203] translates *appūrvam* in *GautDhS* 1.5.16 (5.18) as “shall be preceded by a libation of water,” referring to *ĀpDhS* 2.4.9.8 quoted above.

⁵² *Manu-Smṛiti* 9.168 *mātā pitā vā dadyātām yam adbhiḥ putram āpadi / sadṛśaṃ prītisaṃyuktaṃ sa jñeyo datṛimaḥ sutaḥ* // “If a mother or father gives a son who belongs to the same class [as the adopter] with water affectionately at the time of misfortune, he should be known to be a *datṛima* son.” In *Manu* 9.141–142, the *datṛima*- is an adopted son who can inherit his father-in-law’s legacy; cf. *Manu* 8.415 (the *datṛima*- as a type of slave). Cf. *KauṭṢ* 3.7.15 *tatsadharmā mātāpitṛbhyām adbhir mukto dattaḥ* “A [son] who has been discharged and given with water by his mother and father has the same right.” For the adopted son in the lists of various kinds of son, see *VāsDhS* 17.28–29 (*dattaka*-; also in 15.19); *BaudhDhS* 2.2.3.20 (*datta*-); *GautDhS* 3.10.30 [28.32] (*dattaka*-); *Manu* 9.141–142 (*datṛima*-; see above); 9.159 (*datta*-); 9.168 (*datṛima*-; see above); *YājñSm* 2.130 (*dattaka*-).

⁵³ *Mahābhārata* 13.107.89 *toyapūrvaṃ pradāyānnaṃ atithibhyo viśaṃ pate / paścād bhuñjīta medhāvī na cāpy anyamanā naraḥ* // “Having given food preceded by water to the guests, O the lord of people, a wise man should eat afterwards. And he [should] not be absent-minded.”

⁵⁴ Just for an example, the giving of a village by the *Cālukya* king *Vikramāditya I* (7 AD) is recorded in an *Amududālapāḍu* plate as follows: ... *śivamaṇḍaladikṣāyām sudarśanācāryāya gurudakṣiṇārthaṃ vaiśākhapauruṣamāsyām iparuṃkalnāmagrāmaḥ sarvaparihāram udakapūrvō dattaḥ* “I have on the full moon day of *Vaiśākha*, ... donated with [the due pouring of] water the village *Iparuṃkal* with all exemptions to *Sudarśanācārya* as *Guru*’s fee on the occasion of [my] initiation into the *Maṇḍala* of *Śiva*” (text and translation by SANDERSON [2001: 8, n. 6]).

dha], having seized the remnant of oblation with the left hand, and having seized a water-jar with the right hand, he approached the Noble One. ...

“You are the *buddha*, worthy of the oblation-pancake. ...”⁵⁵

In the Pāli Vinaya, the giver’s pouring water upon the receiver is mentioned as follows:

Vinaya I 39

atha kho rājā māgadho seniyo bimbisāro sovaṇṇamayaṃ bhīṅkāraṃ gahetvā bhagavato oṇojesi (oṇojesi PTS ed.) etāhaṃ bhante veḷuvanaṃ uyyānaṃ buddhapamukhassa bhikkhusaṃghassa dammīti.

Then the king Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha, having seized a golden water-jar, let wash [a part of the body, probably the hand] of the Noble One, saying, “I, sir, will give this Veḷuvana garden to the Saṅgha of the *bhikkhus* which has the Buddha at its front.”

The verb *oṇojeti* (< *ava-nij* “to wash,” caus.)⁵⁶ is attested four times in the Pāli canon.⁵⁷ This verb appears to assume not only pouring water but also giving a gift after it: it is always attested in the context of giving someone or something.⁵⁸ While none of the instances in the canon asserts that water is poured upon the receiver’s hand, a commentary explains so (*oṇojesiṃ ti udakaṃ hatthe pātetvā adāsim*; see n. 63 below).

A younger parallel of the above story tells the king’s pouring water into the Buddha’s hand more clearly:

⁵⁵ Cf. Pj II 402 *imassa dakkhiṇodakaṃ datvā imaṃ havyasesaṃ dassamīti brāhmaṇasaññī hutvā eva upasaṅkami* “[Thinking] ‘I, after giving water of donation to him, will give this remnant of oblation,’ having been convinced that he (the Buddha) was a Brāhmaṇa, [Sundarikabhāradvāja] approached [the Buddha].”

⁵⁶ As to the verb *ava-nij*, cf the formulas by which the sacrificer addresses the ancestors in the Vedic ancestor ritual; e.g., ŚB 2.4.2.16, 23 (Piṇḍapitṛyajña) *āthodapātrām ādāyāvaneyajayati / āsāv āvanenikṣvety evā yājamānasya pītaram. āsāv āvanenikṣvety pītāmahām. āsāv āvanenikṣvety prāpitāmahaṃ. tād yāthāśiṣyate ’bhiṣiñcéd evām tāt. /16/ ... tād yāthā jakṣuṣé ’bhiṣiñcéd evām tāt. /23/* “Then, having taken a water vessel, he lets [the ancestors] wash themselves, just [by saying], ‘O N.N., wash yourself,’ [thus he lets] the sacrificer’s father [wash himself]. ‘O N.N., wash yourself,’ [thus he lets] his grandfather [wash himself]. ‘O N.N., wash yourself,’ [thus he lets] his great-grandfather [wash himself]. As one would pour [water] on [a guest who] is going to eat, it is just like it. /16/ ... As one would pour [water] on [a guest who] has eaten, it is just like it /23/”; cf. ŚB 2.6.1.34, 41 (Mahāpitṛyajña).

⁵⁷ Vinaya I (*oṇojesi*, quoted here); A IV (*oṇojesiṃ* [twice] (quoted in 3.4 below); Milindapañha (*oṇojetvā*) 236.4ff.

⁵⁸ The wording of the two instances in A IV (*bhīṅgāraṃ gahetvā* + genitive of the receiver + *oṇojesiṃ*) is almost the same as that of the Vinaya, while it is a little different in the Milindapañha (*sovaṇṇena bhīṅkārena udakaṃ oṇojetvā ... adāsi*). *Critical Pāli Dictionary* 711 *oṇojeti*: “to pour water (on somebody; with gen.) as a ritual gesture indicating a solemn gift to the order; hence to dedicate (something [acc.] to somebody [gen.]).” Cf. Vinaya II 31.27 *anujānāmi bhikkhave pārivāsikānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ pañca yathāvuddhaṃ: uposathaṃ pavāraṇaṃ vassikasāṭhikaṃ oṇojanaṃ bhattaṃ* “I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, five things (permissible) to Bhikkhus who have been placed on probation, according to their seniority; (that is to say), the Uposatha ceremony, the Pavāraṇa ceremony, the share in robes for the rainy season, in things dedicated to the Saṅgha, and in food” (tr. RHYS DAVIS AND OLDENBERG 1882: 385f.).

Jātaka I 85 (Nidānakathā)

*suvaṇṇabhiṃkārena pupphagandhavāsitaṃaṇivaṇṇaudakaṃ ādāya veḷuvanuyyānaṃ
pariccajanto dasabalassa hatthe udakaṃ pātesi*

Having taken water which is fragrant with the aroma of flowers and has the color of jewels with a golden water-jar, [Bimbisāra], giving the Veḷuvana garden, made water fall into the hand of the one who has ten powers (the Buddha).⁵⁹

The donations of other pieces of land is also described in similar phrases.⁶⁰

In the same manner, even one's wife could be donated.

In the Vessantara-Jātaka, the pious prince Vessantara makes so generous donations that he eventually gives away his children and wife. At the scene of donating his wife, water and a water-jar are mentioned in the verse portion, while pouring water into the receiver's hand is also told in the prose portion:



Figure 6
MARSHALL AND FOUCHER
[1982: Plate XXIV, a part]

Jātaka VI 570 (No. 547: Vessantara-Jātaka), verse 2307 and preceding prose

*sīgham eva kamaṇḍalunā udakaṃ āharitvā udakaṃ
hatthe pātetvā bhāriyaṃ brāhmaṇassa adāsi. ...*

*maddiṃ hatthe gahetvāna udakassa ca kamaṇḍaluṃ /
brāhmaṇassa adā dānaṃ*

sivīnaṃ raṭṭhavaḍḍhano /2307/

⁵⁹ For the story of Bimbisāra's donating the Veḷuvana garden, cf. 『四分律』 (T 22: 798) 「時瓶沙王, 持金澡瓶水授 如來 令清淨, 白佛言, 今羅閱城諸園中此竹園最勝. 我今 施 如來」 “Then the king Bimbisāra, having seized a golden water-jar, gave water to the Tathāgata and let him purify, said to the Buddha, ‘Now in Rājagṛha, Veḷuvana is the best of all gardens. Now I donate it to the Tathāgata’”; 『四分律』 (T 22: 936c) 「時瓶沙王, 捉金 澡瓶, 授水與 佛, 白言, 此王舍城迦蘭陀竹園最為第一. 今 奉施世尊」; SBhV (Gnoli 1977: 166) *sauvarṇaṃ bhr̥ṅgāraṃ gr̥h̥tvā tad udyānaṃ bhagavate niryātayati: idaṃ bhadanta veḷuvanaṃ kalandakanivāpam, atra bhagavān viharatu yathāsukham iti* “Having seized a golden water-jar, [Bimbisāra] gives the garden to the Noble One, saying, ‘This, sir, is the Veḷuvana Kalandakanivāpa garden. Here may the Noble One live at ease’”; 『根本說一切有部毘奈耶破僧事』 (T 24: 138b) 「王取 寶瓶灌世尊掌, 而白佛言, 我毘婆迦蘭陀園 奉施 世尊」 “The king, having seized a jewel jar, poured [water] on the Noble One's hand, and said to the Buddha, ‘I Bimbisāra donate the Veḷuvana garden to the Noble One’.”

⁶⁰ Cf. Anāthapiṇḍika's donation of the Jetavana: SBhV (Gnoli 1977: 180) *sauvarṇaṃ bhr̥ṅgāraṃ ādāya vāridhārāṃ pātayitum ārabdhaḥ sā na prapatati*; “Having taken a golden water-pot, he began letting fall a flow of water. It did not fall”; 『根本說一切有部毘奈耶破僧事』 (T 24: 142a) 「時給孤獨長者 ... 金 瓶盛水盥世尊手」; Jātaka I 93 (Nidānakathā) *suvaṇṇabhiṃkāraṃ ādāya dasabalassa hatthe udakaṃ pātetvā imaṃ jetavanavihāraṃ .. dammūti adāsi*; etc.

For a gift of land, cf. Jātaka VI 344 (No. 546 Mahāummaggajātaka) *rājā tussitvā gandhodaka-puṇṇaṃ suvaṇṇabhiṃkāraṃ ādāya pācīnagāmaṃ rājabhogena bhuñjā ti seṭṭhissa hatthe udakaṃ pātetvā ...* “The king, being satisfied, having taken a golden water-jar full of perfume and water, poured water into the hand of the chief, saying, ‘Enjoy the eastern village by the king's revenue’”; etc.

He (Vessantara), having brought up water with a water-jar with haste, and having let water fall on the [Brāhmaṇa's] hand, gave his wife to him [as a donation]. ...

The one who bestows prosperity to Sivi, having seized Maddī in hand and a water-jar of water, gave [her as] a gift to the Brāhmaṇa. /2307/ ⁶¹

The scenes of donation with water are found in the Buddhist art too. For example, Figure 6 shows a part of the Sāncī relief which depicts Vessantara's donation of his wife, pouring water from a jar in his right hand into the Brāhmaṇa's right hand. ⁶²

3.4 Giving the Bride with Water in the Buddhist Literature

Some Buddhist texts include descriptions of giving the bride in the marriage ceremony. The descriptions are attested in two kinds of context: (1) those in the scenes of marriage in the narratives, and (2) those in the enumerations of the types of marriage or wife.

Brides given with water in the narratives

At the scenes of marriage in the narratives, the brides are given in a manner similar to that of general donations. In the following story, the giver of the bride seizes her with his left hand and a water-jar with his right hand. His pouring water is alluded to by the verb *oṇojeti* just as the scene of donating the Veḷuvana garden in the Vinaya (quoted in 3.3):

Āṅguttara-Nikāya IV 210; 214

evaṃ vutte sā bhante jeṭṭhā pajāpati maṃ etad avoca: itthannāmassa maṃ ayyaputta purisassa dehīti. atha kho ahaṃ bhante taṃ purisaṃ pakkosāpetvā vāmena hatthena pajāpatiṃ gahetvā dakkhiṇena hatthena bhīṅgāraṃ gahetvā tassa purisassa oṇoesiṃ.

When thus [my intention to discharge my wives] is said, sir, the chief wife said this to me: “Give me to a man So-and-so by name, O my lord.” Then I, having summoned the man, sir, having seized my wife with my left hand, and seized a water-jar with my right hand, let wash [a part of his body; probably his hand] of the man. ⁶³

⁶¹ For the story of Vessantara, see KARASHIMA [1988]; cf. HIKITA [2013]. Since it emphasizes his generous donations including his children and wife, what is depicted in this scene is a ritual of donation rather than a marriage. For giving away one's wife to a man for letting her re-marry, see 3.4 below. In another version of this story, no water-jar is mentioned: SBhV (Gnoli 1978: 131f.) *mādrīm pāṇau grhītvā ... mama bhāryām imāṃ iṣṭāṃ grhāṇa tvam dvijottama* “Having seized Mādrī in hand, [Viśvantara said,] ‘You do seize this wife of mine wished [by you], O the best of the *dvijas*.’”

⁶² Cf. SAKAMOTO-GOTO [2008: 93, n. 46]; TANABE [2013]; and their bibliographies.

⁶³ The commentary Manorathapūraṇī IV 113 reads: *oṇoesin ti udakaṃ hatte pādetvā adāsim* “‘I let wash,’ i.e., I gave [her] after pouring water on [his] hand’.” Cf. 『中阿含經 郁伽長者經』 (T 1: 480a) 「於是最夫人白, ... 便可以我與彼某甲。郁伽長者, 即爲呼彼人, 以左手執大夫人臂, 右手執金 澡罐, 語彼人曰, 我今以大夫人 與 汝作婦」 “Then the chief wife said, ‘... Can you give me to So-and-so?’ Then Ugra Gr̥hapati summoned the man, took the chief wife's arm with his left hand and a golden water-jar with his right hand, and said to the man, ‘Now I give you the chief wife to you and make her your wife’.”

The scenes of giving the bride, mostly those of the father's giving his daughter with a water-jar in hand, are depicted more elaborately in the younger narratives.⁶⁴

Brides given with water in the enumerations of the types of wife

The A includes an enumeration of various types of wife. The following passage implies the custom of the Brāhmaṇas to marry off their girls with water:

Āṅguttara-Nikāya III 226; cf. 227; 228; 229

so ācariyassa ācariyadhanaṃ nīyādetvā dāraṃ pariyesati. ... neva kayena na vikkayena. brāhmaṇiṃ yeva udakūpassaṭṭhaṃ.

He (a Brāhmaṇa who has finished his *brahmacarya* and the learning of the *mantras*), having given the teacher's property (fees) to his teacher [at the graduation], seeks a wife. [He should marry] not by buying nor by selling. [He should marry] only a Brāhmaṇa girl who has been shed forth with water (< *udaka-upa-sṛṣṭā*).⁶⁵

Various types of marriage and wife are enumerated also in the Vinaya texts in the context of the Saṅghādisesa offences (僧殘法), one of which is the monks' playing matchmaker [SATO 1972: 98–100; HIRAKAWA 1993: 421–436].⁶⁶ Some lists include the type of marriage or wife

⁶⁴ Cf. Divyāvadāna 36: 522 (Mākaṇḍika; cf. Pj 2.4.9 quoted in n. 65) *tāṃ dārikāṃ sarvālaṃkāra-vibhūsitāṃ kṛtvā vāmena pāṇinā gṛhītvā dakṣiṇena pāṇinā bhṛṅgārakam ādāya mānavasya purataḥ sthītvā kathayati — imāṃ te 'haṃ mānavaka duhitaram anuprayacchāmi bhāryārthāyeti* “[The father,] having adorned the girl with all ornaments, having seized [her] by his left hand, having taken a water-jar by his right hand, and having stood in front of the young man, says, ‘O young man, I give my daughter here as your wife’”; cf. 30 (Sudhana); 『根本説一切有部毘奈耶藥事』 (T 24: 64b; cf. 34b); etc. One of the few descriptions of the Buddha's own marriage in his youth mentions the bride's father's pouring water into the hand: 『佛本行經』 (T 4: 63a) 王即令求 女父母來 賜與珍寶 不可稱計 召明梵志 卜擇良辰 塗香坦地 飾以衆花以神咒酥 充飽火神 灌太子手 父母授女 爲太子妃 “The king directed the father and mother of the girl to come. He granted them innumerable unordinary treasure. He invited the learned Brāhmaṇas and let them tell the fortunate dates [for the marriage ceremony]. They anointed the ground with scent, decorated with various flowers, and satisfied the god of fire with the *mantras* to the gods and the ghee. The father and mother, having poured [water] into the hand(s) of the prince, gave their daughter, and made her the wife of the prince.” Cf. HAMAMOTO [2014]; VERARDI [1994: 4–6].

⁶⁵ The commentary Manorathapūraṇī III 309.15ff. reads: *udakūpassaṭṭhaṃ ti udakena upassaṭṭhaṃ pariccattaṃ. ... te dārikaṃ ānetvā tassa udakaṃ pādetvā denti. so taṃ udakūpassaṭṭhaṃ bhariyaṃ gaṇhītvā gacchati* “‘Shed forth with water’ is, with water, shed forth, i.e. discharged. ... They (the girl's family members), having led the girl, and having let water fall upon his (the Brāhmaṇa's) [hand], give [her]. He, having received her who has been shed forth with water as his wife, goes.” Cf. Pj 2.4.9 (Māgandiyasutta) [cf. TANABE 2013] *atha brāhmaṇo dhītaraṃ vāmena hatthena gahetvā kamaṇḍalum dakkhiṇena bhavagantaṃ upasaṃkamitvā, ... imāhaṃ bhoto bhariyaṃ posāvanatthāya dammi, pariṇaṇha udakūpassaṭṭhaṃ dārikan ti vatvā dātukāmo aṭṭhāsi* “The Brāhmaṇa, having seized his daughter with his left hand [and] a water-jar with his right [hand], came to the Noble One, ‘... I give her as your wife for nourishment. Do receive the girl who has been shed forth with water’ — thus saying, stood [there], hoping to give.”

⁶⁶ Cf. also Iwai [2015] on the lists of women in the Nikāyas and their commentaries.

related to water. The Pāli Vinaya reads as follows:

Vinaya III 139f. (Saṅghādisesa)

dasa bhariyāyo dhanakkūtā chandavāsiniṃ bhogavāsiniṃ paṭavāsiniṃ odapattakinī obhaṭacumbaṭā dāsī ca bhariyā ca kammakārī ca bhariyā ca dhajāhaṭā muhuttikā. ... odapattakinī nāma udakapattaṃ āmasitvā vāseti.

There are ten [kinds] of wife:

- (1) *dhanakkūtā* “the [wife who has been] bought by property,”
- (2) *chandavāsiniṃ* “the [wife who] lives by will,”
- (3) *bhogavāsiniṃ* “the [wife who] lives by fee,”
- (4) *paṭavāsiniṃ* “the [wife who] lives by clothes,”
- (5) *odapattakinī* “the [wife] related to a water-vessel,”
- (6) *obhaṭacumbaṭā* “the [wife who] is taken the head ring,”
- (7) *dāsī bhāriyā* “the slave wife,”
- (8) *kammakārī bhāriyā* “the servant wife,”
- (9) *dhajāhaṭā* “the [wife who] has been taken by a flag (i.e. obtained in a battle);”
- (10) *muhuttikā* “the [wife] for a moment.” ...

If one lets her live after touching a water-vessel, she is the [wife] related to a water-vessel.

The commentary explains “the wife related to a water-vessel” (*odapattakinī*) as follows:

Samantapāsādikā III 555 on Vinaya III 140

odapattakinī ti ubhinnaṃ ekissā udakapāṭiyā hatthe otāretvā idaṃ udakaṃ viya saṃsaṭṭhā abhejjā hothā ti vatvā pariḡgahitāya vohāranāmaṃ etaṃ. niddese pi 'ssa tāya saha udakapattaṃ āmasitvā taṃ vāsetīti evamattho veditabbo.

The [wife] related to a water-vessel: it is the customary name of [a wife] who has been acquired after having let put down the hands of the two (the couple) into one water-bowl, and after having said “Like this water, you [two] do become united and inseparable.”

In its explanation, too, **having touched a water-vessel** with her, **he lets live** her: such a meaning should be understood.⁶⁷

The marriage by a water-vessel is called *brāhma* marriage (cf. 2.3) in the following text:

Cariyāpīṭaka 2.4.8 (Cūḷabodhicariyaṃ)

odapattakiyā mahiyaṃ ...

When she was my (Cūḷabodhi's) wife related to a water-vessel, ...

Cariyāpīṭaka-Atṭhakathā Paramatthadīpanī (PTS ed. pp. 135–136)

odapattakiyā ti udakapattaṃ āmasitvā gahitabhariyā odapattikā nāma. ... sā pan'

⁶⁷ Cf. also 『善見律毘婆沙』 (T 24: 764a) 水得者, 因共洗浴以水相灌, 共作要誓爲夫婦, 是名水得。

assa brāhmaṇavivāhasena mātāpitūhi sampatipādītā.

The [wife] **related to a water-vessel** (*odapattakī*): a wife who has been acquired after having touched a water-vessel is called *odapattikā*. ... Actually she has been given to him by [her] father and mother by the manner of Brāhmaṇas' marriage.

Some other Vinayas which are preserved mainly in Chinese translations also mention a wife acquired by water.⁶⁸

4 Conclusion

The giving of the bride with water is attested since some Gṛhyasūtras (2.1). At first, the use of water is described in a usual *sūtra* style along with the use of utensils and *mantras* (2.2). Since some late Gṛhyasūtras (which may be younger than the early Dharma literature) and the Dharma texts, the rather simple set phrases such as “being preceded by water” (*udakapūrva-*, *appūrva-*) and “to give with water” (*adbhir dā, udakena dā*) abruptly pervade (2.3), not only for giving the bride but also for giving various kinds of gift.

The words *udakapūrva-* and *appūrva-* assume that water is first given into where the main gift is to be given. As in the cases of the water-offerings at the Gṛhyasūtras' ancestor rituals, when the gift can be physically given to the receiver, it would be natural that the gift and the water which precedes it are both given into the receiver's hand. The same would have been done also in the cases of giving a bride, an adopted son, a piece of land, and so on, just like it is expressed in English “to put something into the hands of somebody.”

In the Buddhist literature, water-jars are often mentioned at the scenes of donation since the Pāli canon. In addition, some Jātakas and commentaries tell that water is poured into the

⁶⁸ 『十誦律』 T 23: 18c 有七種婦。索得，水得，破得，自來得，以衣食得，合生得，須與得。... 水得者。若人捉手，以水灌掌，與女作婦，是名水得。 “There are seven kinds of wife: (1) one who is obtained by property, (2) one who is obtained by water, (3) one who is obtained by defeating [other countries or rebels], (4) one who has come by her will, (5) one who is obtained by food and clothing, (6) one who has her own property as well as he, (7) one who meets him once. ... The [wife] obtained by water is: If one seizes [the suitor's] hand, pours water into his palm, gives a girl and makes her the wife, she is called [the wife] acquired with water.”

『十誦律』 (T 23: 19c) 有三種婦。一財索得，二水得，三破賊得。 “There are three kinds of wife: (1) first, one who has been acquired by property, (2) second, one who has been obtained by water, (3) third, one who has been obtained by defeating robbers.”

『根本說一切有部毘奈耶』 (T 23: 686b) 有七種婦... 水授婦者。謂不取財物女之父母，以水彼女夫手中，而告曰，我今此女與汝為妻。汝當善自防護。勿令他人輒有欺犯。是名水授婦。 “There are seven kinds of wife. ... The wife given with water: If the father and mother do not require any property, and [give] her to the hands of the bridegroom with water, saying, ‘I now give this girl to you as your wife. Do protect her well by yourself. Never let others violate her’: this is called the wife given with water.”

『四分律』 (T 22: 583a–b) 女有二十種。母護，父護，父母護，兄護，姉護，兄姉護，自護，法護，姓護，宗親護；自樂為婢，與衣婢，與財婢，同作業婢，水所漂婢，不輸稅婢，放去婢，客作婢，他護婢，邊方得婢。... 水所漂者，水中救得。 “There are twenty kinds of woman. ... The [wife] who floated on water is one who has been rescued in water.”

Upāsakajanālaṅkāra 179 (the twenty kinds of women) *odapattakinī nāma udapattaṃ āmasitvā vāsītā* “The *odapattakinī* is [the wife] who is made to live after having touched a water-vessel.”

hand of the receiver. It is noteworthy that, while the Buddhist narrative texts describe the donations of gardens etc. and the giving of the bride in similar expressions, the Pāli Vinaya and its commentary use a wording different from them when they mention the bride given with water. The use of water at the time of gift and its description may not have been uniform in the beginning in the Buddhist texts as well as in the Gr̥hyasūtras.

Abbreviations

A = Aṅguttara-Nikāya / ĀgGS = Āgñiveśya-Gr̥hyasūtra / ĀnĀS = Ānanda Āśrama Saṃskrit Series / ĀpDhS = Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra / ĀśvGK = Āśvalāyana-Gr̥hya-Kārikā / ĀśvGP = Āśvalāyana-Gr̥hya-Pariśiṣṭa (Ānanda Āśrama Saṃskrit Series 105; cf. ĀśvP) / ĀśvGS = Āśvalāyana-Gr̥hyasūtra / ĀśvP = Āśvalāyana-Gr̥hya-Pariśiṣṭa (AITHAL 1963; cf. ĀśvGP) / AV = Atharvaveda / AVŚ = Atharvaveda Śaunaka / AVP = Atharvaveda Paippalāda / BaudhGS = Baudhāyana-Gr̥hyasūtra / BaudhŚS = Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra / BhārGS = Bhāradvāja-Gr̥hyasūtra / GautDhS = Gautama-Dharmasūtra / GGS = Gobhila-Gr̥hyasūtra / JB = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa / KāthGS = Kāthaka-Gr̥hyasūtra / KauṣGS = Kauṣītaka-Gr̥hyasūtra / KauŚS = Kauśika-Sūtra / KauṭĀŚ = Kauṭilya Artha-Śāstra / KhGS = Khādīra-Gr̥hyasūtra / Manu = Manu-Smṛti / MBh = Mahā-Bhārata / MGS = Mānava-Gr̥hyasūtra / MS = Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā / PGS = Pāraskara-Gr̥hyasūtra / Pj = Paramatthajotikā / R̥V = R̥gveda / ŚāṅkhGS = Śāṅkhāyana-Gr̥hyasūtra / ŚB = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa / S = Saṃyutta-Nikāya / SBhV = Saṅghabhedavastu / Sn = Suttanipāta / T = Taishō (大正新脩大藏經) / TĀ = Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka / TB = Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa / VādhGS = Vādhūla-Gr̥hyasūtra / VaikhGS = Vaikhānasa-Gr̥hyasūtra / VārGS = Vārāha-Gr̥hyasūtra /

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古代インドの結婚式における「水による花嫁の授与」の儀

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紀元前のインドにおいてバラモン階級を中心に形成されたヴェーダ文化（いわゆるブラフマニズム）の儀礼には、ヴェーダ期以降にも伝統が受け継がれていくものが少なくなく、結婚式も例外ではない。バラモン階級の結婚式は、現代では各地域の現代語による儀礼手引書に沿って執り行われているが、主要な儀礼要素の多くは、後期ヴェーダのグリヒヤーストラ（家庭儀礼綱要書）まで遡ることができる。

現代インドの結婚式で中心的な場面と目されるもののひとつに、「花嫁の授与（カニヤーダーナ *kanyādāna*）」がある。花嫁の父が、短いマントラと共に、花婿の手に水を灌ぐというもので、この儀によって花嫁の父は娘を花婿に与えたことになる。とされる。

結婚において花嫁が「与えられる」という観念は、古くは『リグヴェーダ』の婚姻讃歌からみられ、後期ヴェーダでも約半数の学派のグリヒヤーストラが花嫁の授与に言及する。ただし、その際に花嫁の父が花婿の手に水を灌ぐという規定はグリヒヤーストラにはみられない。水は結婚式の場に据えられて堅固さを象徴し、あるいは花嫁の頭上に灌がれ、あるいは祭火の周りに撒かれるが、手から手に灌ぐとはいわれない。では「花婿の手に水を灌いで花嫁を授与する」という儀礼行為はどこからきたのか。

グリヒヤーストラの一部から紀元前後のダルマ文献にかけて、なにかを授与する際に、「水を先として」、あるいは「水によって / 水とともに」与える、という表現が現れる。グリヒヤーストラの祖霊儀礼では、供物水を祖霊に授与するとき、「水を先として / 水によって / 水とともに」行くと規定される。具体的には、祖霊〔の代理を務めるバラモン〕の手に、まず水を灌ぎ、その同じ手に供物水を灌ぐ。「水を先として / 水によって / 水とともに」与える、という文言は、一部のグリヒヤーストラ以降、各種の授与の文脈での用例が増えていくが、それはこの一連の儀礼行為 — 授与物の行き先、すなわち受領者の「手」に、まず水を先触れとして与え（灌ぎ）、次いで授与物をそこ（受領者の「手」）に与える、すなわち「（広い意味で）手渡す」 — を表すものである。この一連の儀礼行為と、水による授与という表現が定型化するにつれて、結婚式でも、娘を花嫁として「手渡す」際に受領者（花婿）の手に水を灌ぐ行為が慣習化していったものとみられる。グリヒヤーストラでは一部の学派が「水を先として / 水によって / 水とともに」花嫁を授与すると述べるのみであるが、のちのグリヒヤ補遺文献になると、花嫁の父が花婿の手に水を灌ぐ動作を儀軌に記すものがある。

受領者の手に水を灌いでから授与するという儀礼行為は、仏教文献でも言及される。土地の寄進にも花嫁の授与にも「水瓶を手にして / 水を〔手に〕灌いで」与えるという定型表現が用いられる。ただし律典の一部には、花嫁の授与について、水ないし水の器との関係を明確に意識しながらも、これらの定型表現を用いないものがある。これについては、グリヒヤーストラが花嫁の授与に際して灌手を明言していないことに鑑みて考える必要がある。