

# The Sacred Verse Sāvitrī in the Vedic Religion and Beyond<sup>1</sup>

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## 1 Introduction

The following verse in the Ṛgveda is one of the most famous Sanskrit formulas:

Ṛgveda (ṚV) 3.62.10  
*tāt savitūr váreṇyam bhárgo devásya dhīmahi /  
dhíyo yó naḥ pracodáyāt //*

We hope to obtain the desirable radiance of the god Savitṛ: may he stimulate our thought.

This verse is generally called Sāvitrī after the deity Savitṛ, or Gāyatrī after its meter. It has been highly esteemed in the Vedic and the post-Vedic culture, so that even in today's India the traditional Brahmins recite it every morning and evening.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on my oral presentation at the 16<sup>th</sup> World Sanskrit Conference, Bangkok, in June 2015. The research for this paper was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Numbers 25284011 and 17H02268.

<sup>2</sup> For a general survey of the Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī in the Vedic and post-Vedic literature, see Gonda 1963a: 288-298. For Sāvitrī as a name of goddess and princesses, see Parpola 2000 and

The history of the establishment and development of the sacred verse(s) called Sāvitrī, however, has remained unclear in several points. In the early Vedic texts, it is not definitely specified as to which verse is called by the name Sāvitrī as a sort of proper noun. The word *sāvitrī-* “belonging to Savitṛ” theoretically can, and actually does, refer to any verse dedicated to the god Savitṛ. Even after the word *sāvitrī-* comes to refer to a particularly sacred verse, and ṚV 3.62.10 which is in the *gāyatrī* meter comes to be designated as the Sāvitrī *par excellence*, still the Sāvitrīs in the meters other than the *gāyatrī* are mentioned repeatedly in the Vedic texts. Moreover, as will be described below, the verses called So-and-so-Sāvitrī which are not dedicated to Savitṛ are attested in the texts of several religious traditions other than the Vedic religion.<sup>3</sup>

In this paper, I will discuss the development of the sacred verse Sāvitrī and its variations in order to clarify the idea of the sacred formulas in the Indian religions, by examining the following points: (1) how and from when a verse called Sāvitrī is related to the knowledge of the Veda, (2) from when the word *sāvitrī-* refers to ṚV 3.62.10 in particular,<sup>4</sup> (3) how the variations of the Sāvitrī are produced in the Vedic and the post-Vedic texts, and (4) how and why the idea of the sacred verse Sāvitrī is adopted into the religious traditions beyond the ancient Vedic religion.

## 2 The Sāvitrī in the Vedic Texts

### 2.1 The Sāvitrī and the Knowledge of the Veda

In the ancient Vedic religion, the ritual in which the verse called Sāvitrī is most highlighted is the initiation of the Vedic student (*brahmacārīn*).<sup>5</sup> Two Brāhmaṇa texts of the Yajurveda (YV), i.e. the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (ŚB)<sup>6</sup> of the White YV

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his bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> In this paper, I will use the term “Vedic religion” to refer to the ancient religious culture of the Veda (since around the twelfth century BCE through around the second century BCE), to which the Vedic rituals are essential. Also, I will use the term “Vedic tradition” to refer to both the ancient Vedic religion and the religious traditions which have inherited it in some way or other in the post-Vedic period, especially in regarding the Veda as sacred.

<sup>4</sup> In this paper, while I call the verse *tāt savitūr vāreṇyam* “ṚV 3.62.10” for convenience, the verse may not be always quoted directly from the ṚV: the same verse is also attested in other schools’ Saṃhitās, e.g. SV 2.812; VSM 3.35; VSK 3.3.27 (for VSM and VSK, see n. 6 below); TS 1.5.6.4; MS 4.10.3: 149.14; etc.

<sup>5</sup> The initiation ritual of the Vedic student is called Upanayana or Upāyana since the Gr̥hyasūtras. In the pre-Gr̥hyasūtra texts, it is referred to by the verbs *ūpa-nī* “to lead near [the novice]; to initiate” and *ūpa-i* “to approach near [the teacher]; to ask for initiation” (Kajihara 2014: 1, n. 1; 2016b: 1, n. 1). For the possible relationship between the god Savitṛ, the Sāvitrī dedicated to him, and the Vedic student, cf. Falk 1988: 24–28. Another well-known ritual which involves the Sāvitrī is the Saṃdhyopāsana, which becomes popular since the post-Vedic period.

<sup>6</sup> The ŚB has two recensions, i.e. the Mādhyandina one (hereafter ŚBM) and the Kāṇva one (hereafter ŚBK). The two texts more or less correspond well to each other, while the order of

and the Kaṭha-Brāhmaṇa (KaṭhB)<sup>7</sup> of the Black YV, include the section on the initiation ritual. In both texts, the lesson of the “Sāvitrī” is mentioned.

The initiation section of the ŚB explains that the Sāvitrī is the first piece of speech given to the novice at the initiation, just as the first piece of speech given to a newborn baby:

Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa Mādhyandina 11.5.4.6, 12; ŚBK 13.5.4.6, 12  
*āthāsmāi sāvitrīm ānvāha. / tām ha smaitām purā samvatsarē 'nvāhuḥ.  
 samvatsarasammitā vai gārbhāḥ prajāyante. jātā evāsmiṃs tād vācam  
 dadhma iti. //6// ... // tād āpi ślokaṃ gāyanti. /  
 ācāryò garbhī bhavati hāstam ādhāya dākṣiṇam  
 trītyasyām sā jāyate sāvitrīyā sahā brāhmaṇā iti. ... //12//*

Then, [the teacher] recites the Sāvitrī to him (the novice whom he initiates). People used to recite it as such after a year [from the initiation ritual, thinking], “Embryos are born after a year. Thus we put speech upon him when he has been born [from his teacher through the initiation].” //6// ... // About this, people also sing the following śloka: “Having put his right hand, the teacher becomes the one who has an embryo. He (the novice who has become an embryo of the teacher) is born on the third [night] as a Brāhmaṇa together with the Sāvitrī.” ... //12//

The idea that the novice is “born” from his teacher at the time of the initiation is attested since the Atharvaveda (AV).<sup>8</sup> Through the initiation, one is newly born as the figure fit for the knowledge of the Veda.<sup>9</sup>

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the chapters and the sections is often different from each other. In this paper, for the ŚB, I will quote the text of the ŚBM, and give the corresponding text number of the ŚBK. The Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā (VS), the Saṃhitā of the White YV, also has the Mādhyandina recension (VSM) and the Kāṇva one (VSK). For the structure of the YV canon, see Tsuji 1970.

<sup>7</sup> The KaṭhB is reserved only in fragmentary condition, being included in the fragments of manuscripts of various texts found in Kashmir (see Schroeder 1898; Caland 1920; Sūryakānta 1943; Kajihara 2003, 13, n. 4; Rosenfield 2004). Among those fragments of the KaṭhB, a small text called *upanayana-brāhmaṇa* (hereafter KaṭhB (u)) is attested. Its text has been published in the following: Schroeder 1898: 21-23; Caland 1920: 490-492; Sūryakānta 1943: 47-52. As these editions note, the text of the KaṭhB (u) is often corrupt. In this paper, I will principally quote the Sūryakānta's edition, giving its page and line numbers.

<sup>8</sup> The AV, the second oldest Vedic text next to the ṚV, has two recensions, i.e. the Śaunaka-Saṃhitā (AVŚ) and the Paippalāda-Saṃhitā (AVP). The following verse is attested in the *brahmacārīn* hymn: AVŚ 11.5.3 / AVP 16.153.2 *ācāryā upanāyamāno brahmacārīṇam kṛṇute gārbham antāḥ / tām rātrīs tistrā udāre bibharti tām jātām drāṣṭum abhisāṃyanti devāḥ* // “The teacher, initiating the *brahmacārīn* to himself, makes him an embryo within. He bears him in his belly for three nights. The gods gather to see him when he has been born.”

<sup>9</sup> The KaṭhB (u) tells that the *brahmacārīn* is born together with the Sāvitrī at the initiation: KaṭhB (u) 50.10 *sā vā eṣā brahmacārī sāvitrīyā sahā prajāyate* “This *brahmacārīn* is indeed born together with the Sāvitrī”; 51.3 *sā vā eṣā sāvitrī eṣām lokānām pratipād eṣām ca védānām*

The above ŚB passage shows that the verse called Sāvitrī is regarded to represent the knowledge of the sacred speech, i.e. the Veda, of which the first piece is given to the Vedic student at the initiation.<sup>10</sup> The sections on the initiation in the Brāhmaṇas (ŚBM 11.5.4 = ŚBK 13.5.4; KaṭhB (*u*)), however, do not quote the text of the Sāvitrī verse, so that it cannot be known which verse is meant by the term Sāvitrī. This point will be discussed in the next section (2.2).

The custom of the teacher's reciting the Sāvitrī to the novice at the initiation continues into the late Vedic period. All the Gṛhyasūtras prescribe it as one of the main ritual actions at the initiation ritual Upanayana. In the post-Vedic period, the Dharma literature utilizes the idea of the birth from the teacher at the Upanayana to characterize the status of the three upper classes,<sup>11</sup> by regarding it as the requirement for becoming a member of their society. In this context, the teacher and the Sāvitrī are said to be father and mother for that second birth.<sup>12</sup>

Later, in the post-Vedic period, some of the Dharma texts even imply that one can acquire the merit of the Veda just by reciting the Sāvitrī:

Manu-Smṛti 2.76-77; Viṣṇu-Smṛti 55.11-12  
*tribhya eva tu vedebhyaḥ pādamaṃ pādamaṃ adūduhat /*  
*tad ity ṛco 'syāḥ sāvitrīyāḥ parameṣṭhī prajāpatiḥ //*  
*etad akṣaram etāṃ ca japan vyāhṛtipūrvikāṃ /*  
*samdhyaḥ vedavid vipro vedapunyaṇa yujyate //*

From the three Vedas, Parameṣṭhin Prajāpati milked the every foot of this Sāvitrī verse [beginning with] “*tat*.”<sup>13</sup> Murmuring this syllable (*om*) and this [Sāvitrī] preceded by the Vyāhṛtis at the two junctions (at dawn and dusk), the Brāhmaṇa who knows the Veda is endowed with the merit of the Veda (as if he has recited the [whole] Veda).

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“This Sāvitrī is indeed the entrance to these world and to these Vedas.”

<sup>10</sup> In some mid-Vedic texts, the Sāvitrī is said to be the mother of the Veda; e.g. GB 1.1.38. Cf. AVŚ 19.71.1 which mentions *vedamātā* (the Sāvitrī is not mentioned).

<sup>11</sup> The Gṛhya- and the Dharma-Sūtras tell that only the boys of the three upper classes (the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas / Rājanyas, and the Vaiśyas) can undergo the Upanayana.

<sup>12</sup> For example, VāsDhS 2.3 *mātur agre vinanaṇam dviṭīyaṃ mauñjibandhane / atrāsya mātā sāvitrī pitā tv ācārya ucyate //* “At first, the birth [of the members of three upper classes] is from the mother. The second [birth] is at the binding of the [girdle] made of *muñja* grass (= the Upanayana). There his mother is the Sāvitrī [taught at the Upanayana]. On the other hand, the teacher is said to be the father”; cf. ĀpDhS 1.1.1.14-18; VaikhGS 6.7: 93.12-14; etc. Since the Gṛhyasūtras, one who does not undergo the Upanayana until the prescribed limit of age is said to become a *patita-sāvitrīka-* or *sāvitrī-patita-* “one who has fallen from the Sāvitrī,” who is excluded from the Vedic rituals and the society of the three upper classes.

<sup>13</sup> That is, ṚV 3.62.10 (*tāt savitūr vāreṇyam ...*). By the time of early Dharma-Śāstras and Smṛtis such as the Manu (around the third century CE), ṚV 3.62.10 seems to have been well established as *the* Sāvitrī (see 2.2 below).

The connection between the Sāvitrī and the knowledge of the sacred canon persists throughout the Vedic religion. Moreover, it continues into the post-Vedic religious traditions, as will be discussed below.

## 2.2 The Sāvitrī and Ṛgveda 3.62.10

The word *sāvitrī-* is a feminine adjective “belonging to Savitṛ; dedicated to Savitṛ,” which modifies feminine nouns including *īc-* “a [sacred] verse.” When it modifies a verse, two usages are found in the Brāhmaṇas.

One is a use to point at a verse dedicated to Savitṛ as a *mantra* for the Śrauta rituals. In this case, the verse referred to is not always ṚV 3.62.10 nor a verse of unordinary sacredness.<sup>14</sup>

The other usage of *sāvitrī-* is to point at the particularly sacred verse Sāvitrī. This usage is attested since the late Brāhmaṇas, first in relation with the initiation ritual (see 2.1). As mentioned above, in the Brāhmaṇas on the initiation ritual (ŚBM 11.5.4 = ŚBK 13.5.4; KāṭhB (u)), the text of the Sāvitrī is not given. From the way of recitation described in the ŚB, it is at least known that it consists of three feet, i.e., it is in the *gāyatrī* meter:

Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa Mādhyandina 11.5.4.15; ŚBK 13.5.4.15 (Initiation)<sup>15</sup>  
*tām vai pacchó 'nvāha. / tráyo vai prāṇāḥ. prāṇā udāno vyānās. tām evāsmimś tād dadhāty. áthārdharcaśó. dvāu vā imāu prāṇāu. prāṇodānāv evā. prāṇodānāv evāsmimś tād dadhāty. átha kṛtsnām. éko vā ayám prāṇāḥ. kṛtsnā evā. prāṇām evāsmimś tāt kṛtsnām dadhāti. //*

He (the teacher) indeed recites it (the Sāvitrī) [to the novice] foot by foot.

<sup>14</sup> For example, the “two Sāvitrīs” in TS 5.1.5.3a (*úd u tiṣṭha svadhvarordhvā ū śú ṇa ūtāya iti sāvitrīrbhyām út tiṣṭhati*) refer to TS 4.1.4.1 (*úd u tiṣṭha svadhvara = ṚV 8.23.5*) and TS 4.1.4.2 (*ūrdhvā ū śú ṇa ūtāye = ṚV 1.36.13*); cf. AB 1.16.2 (*abhi tvā devā savitar [ṚV 1.24.3] iti sāvitrīm anvāha*) where ṚV 1.24.3 is called Sāvitrī. Cf. also AB 1.19.4 (*abhi tyam devam savitāram onyor [AVŚ 7.4.1; AVP 20.5.8; etc.] iti sāvitrī*); for the discussion about this verse’s not being included in the ṚV, see Oldenberg 1888: 364); AB 1.30.2 (*sāvīr hi deva prathamāya pitra [AVŚ 7.14.3; AVP 20.4.1; etc.] iti sāvitrīm anvāha*); TS 6.3.5.3 (*sāvitrīm īcam ānv āha*: the verse called Sāvitrī here refers to TS 3.5.11.3 = ṚV 1.24.3). On the other hand, ŚBM 2.3.4.39 / ŚBK 1.4.1.28 quotes VSM 3.35 / VSK 3.3.27 (= ṚV 3.62.10) as a Sāvitrī. There it would not mean the Sāvitrī of particular sacredness, but means more generally “a verse dedicated to Savitṛ,” since ŚBM 2.3.4.38-40 / ŚBK 1.4.1.27-29 quote a series of formulas dedicated to several deities in the VSM / VSK, i.e., *aindrī* to Indra (VSM 3.34 / VSK 3.3.26), *sāvitrī* to Savitṛ (VSM 3.35 / VSK 3.3.27), and *āgneyī* to Agni (VSM 3.36 / VSK 3.3.28). For the use of ṚV 3.62.10 in the Śrauta rituals, see Lal 1972.

<sup>15</sup> KāṭhB (u) seems to presuppose the same way of recitation as in the ŚB quoted here, though it does not say so clearly: KāṭhB (u) 52.3ff. *tām trīr evā \*kṛtvó* (ed.: *kṛtvó*) ‘nubrūyāt ... *tām dvīr evā \*kṛtvó* (ed.: *kṛtvó*) ‘nubrūyāt ... *tām sakṛt samāsyottamtató 'nvāha* “He (the teacher) should recite it only three times. ... He should recite it only two times. ... He recites it at once, having put [the three *pādas*] together.”

The breaths are indeed three. [They are] *prāṇá*, *udāná*, and *vyāná*. Thus he puts them in him (the novice) then. Then, [he recites it] by half-verses. These breaths are indeed two. [They are] nothing but *prāṇá* and *udāná*. Thus he puts *prāṇá* and *udāná* in him then. Then, [he recites] the whole [verse]. This breath is indeed one. [It is] nothing but the whole. Thus he puts the whole breath in him then.

This way of reciting the Sāvitrī in the *gāyatrī* meter (teaching its *pādas* in the order of “a, b, c” → “ab, c” → “abc”) is found also in the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka (TĀ)<sup>16</sup> and the Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa (JUB).<sup>17</sup> It continues in the late Vedic period: this way of recitation is prescribed in the Gṛhyasūtras for the teacher’s teaching the Sāvitrī at the Upanayana.<sup>18</sup>

It is in the Upaniṣads that ṚV 3.62.10 is first explicitly identified as *the* particularly sacred verse Sāvitrī. JUB 4.28 quotes the text of ṚV 3.62.10 in the same way as the ŚB and the TĀ mentioned above,<sup>19</sup> and tells that one who knows the Sāvitrī as explained there overcomes the repeated death and attains the same world with the Sāvitrī:

Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa 4.28.6<sup>20</sup>

*bhūr bhuvāsvas tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo naḥ  
pracodayād iti. / yo vā etām sāvitrīm evaṃ vedāpa punarmṛtyuṃ tarati.  
sāvitrīyā eva salokatām jayati.*

[After reciting the Sāvitrī foot by foot, and by half-verses, finally one recites

<sup>16</sup> TĀ 2.11.8 (Svādhyāya) *átha sāvitrīm gāyatrīm trīr ánvāha pacchò 'rdhàrcaśo 'navānām* “Then he recites the Sāvitrī in the *gāyatrī* [meter] three times, [first] foot by foot, [second] by half-verses, [and then] without interruption.”

<sup>17</sup> See n. 19 below.

<sup>18</sup> ĀśvGS 1.21.5; ŚāṅkhGS 2.5.12; KauśGS 2.3.8; GGS 2.10.39; KhGS 2.4.21; JGS 1.12: 13.3; KāthGS 41.20 (LGS 41.30); MGS 1.22.14; VārGS 5.26; BaudhGS 2.5.40; BhārGS 1.9: 9.1-5; ĀpGS 4.11.9f.; HGS 1.6.11; ĀgGS 1.1.3: 10.4-9; VaikhGS 2.6: 26.6f.; VādhGS (in the mss.; a critical edition is in preparation by the author); PGS 2.3.3-5; KauśS 56.8-11.

<sup>19</sup> JUB 4.28.1-6 (on the Sāvitrī) *tasyā eṣa prathamah pādo bhūs tat savitur vareṇyam iti / agnir vai vareṇyam / āpo vai vareṇyam / candramā vai vareṇyam // tasyā eṣa dvitīyah pādo bhargamayo bhuvo bhargo devasya dhīmahīti / agnir vai bhargah / ādityo vai bhargah / candramā vai bhargah // tasyā eṣa trītyah pādas svar dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayād iti / yajño vai pracodayati / strī ca vai puruṣaś ca prajānayatāḥ // bhūr bhuvāsvas tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahīti / agnir vai bhargah / ādityo vai bhargah / candramā vai bhargah // svar dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayād iti / yajño vai pracodayati / strī ca vai puruṣaś ca prajānayatāḥ // bhūr bhuvāsvas tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayād iti /;* see also JUB 4.28.6 quoted below.

<sup>20</sup> The JUB which consists of four chapters has a series of small sections concerning the instructions given from the teacher to the student at the end of the whole text, being concluded with JUB 4.28; see Fujii 1996: 114-116. As to the fragmentary sections in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads, which are related to the Vedic student’s learning the Veda, finishing the learning, and becoming a teacher of next generation, see Kajihara 2009/2010: 47-51; 56; cf. Thieme 2000.

it at one time (see n. 19),] “*bhūr, bhuvā, svas*.”<sup>21</sup> *tat savitur vareṇyam, bhargo devasya dhīmahi, dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt.*” One who knows this Sāvitrī thus, he indeed overcomes the repeated death. Thus he wins the residence in the same world with the Sāvitrī.

In Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad (BĀU)<sup>22</sup> 6.3.6, ṚV 3.62.10 is called Sāvitrī.<sup>23</sup> BĀU 5.14 uses the expression “that Sāvitrī.”<sup>24</sup> In both cases, the Sāvitrī is mentioned in the context of some cryptic speculation.

In the Gṛhyasūtras, the verse taught as the Sāvitrī at the Upanayana is ṚV 3.62.10, whenever the text of the Sāvitrī is specified.<sup>25</sup> For example:

Hiraṇyakeśi-Gṛhyasūtra 1.6.6-7, 11 (Upanayana)  
*atra sāvitrīm vācayati yadi purastād upeto bhavati /6/ yady anupetas tryahe paryavete /7/... / athāsmāi paccho 'gre 'nvāhāthārdharcaśo 'tha saṃtatām /*

<sup>21</sup> The three words (*bhūr, bhuvā, svas*) are the so-called Vyāhṛtis (“the sacred utterances”).

<sup>22</sup> The BĀU is included in the final chapter of the ŚB; see Olivelle 1998: 29. In this paper, the text of the BĀU, of which the vulgate text (without accents) is regarded to belong to the Kāṇva recension, is quoted from Olivelle 1998. The corresponding text in the Mādhyandina recension included in the ŚBM will be noted when necessary.

<sup>23</sup> There, to each of the three feet of ṚV 3.62.10, three other Ṛgvedic verses in the *gāyatrī* meter are attached. BĀU 6.3.6 (ŚBM 14.9.3.11) *tat savitur vareṇyam* [ṚV 3.62.10a] / *madhu vātā ...* [ṚV 1.90.6] / *bhargo devasya dhīmahi* [ṚV 3.62.10b] / *madhu naktam ...* [ṚV 1.90.7] / *dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt* [ṚV 3.62.10c] / *madhumān no ...* [ṚV 1.90.8] / *sarvām ca sāvitrīm anvāha sarvās ca madhumatīr*. Cf. Gonda 1963a: 296.

<sup>24</sup> BĀU 5.14.4 uses the expression “that Sāvitrī,” suggesting that no identification is needed, because it was established well enough as to which verse is the Sāvitrī: *athāsya etad eva turīyaṃ darśatam padaṃ parorajā ya eṣa tapati / ... /5.14.3/ saiṣā gāyatrī etasmīns turīye darśate pade parorajasi pratiṣṭhitā / ... sa yām evāmūm sāvitrīm anvāhaiṣaiva sā / ... /5.14.4/* “Then, what is giving heat (the sun) is this fourth visible dustless foot of this [Gāyatrī]. ... This Gāyatrī is based on this fourth visible dustless foot. ... If one recites **that Sāvitrī**, it is exactly this [mystic four-footed Gāyatrī].” The word *sāvitrīm* is missing from corresponding ŚBM 14.8.15.8 (*sā yām evāmūm anvāhaiṣāvā sā* “If one recites **that** [verse], it is exactly this”).

In BĀU 5.14, the first three feet of the four-footed Gāyatrī are identified with the 24 syllables in the following words: *bhūmi, antarikṣa, d[ī]yaus* (thus 8); *ṛco, yajūmsi, sāmāni* (thus 8); *prāṇa, apāna, v[ī]yāna* (thus 8; for the way of counting syllables here, cf. Jamison 1986: 163); its fourth foot is said to be the sun. Cf. ChU 3.12.5 *saiṣā catuṣpadā ṣaḍvidhā gāyatrī / tad etad ṛcābhyanūktam // tāvān asya mahimā tato jyāyāms ca pūruṣaḥ / pādo 'sya sarvā bhūtāni tripād asyāmṛtaṃ divīti //* “This as such is the Gāyatrī that consists of four feet and is sixfold. This is declared with a verse: ‘This much is his greatness. Puruṣa is greater than it. One foot of him is the all creatures. Three quarters of him are the immortality in heaven.’” Here, the four-footed Gāyatrī is associated to the Puruṣa’s four feet told in the Ṛgvedic Puruṣa hymn (ṚV 10.90.3 [Puruṣasūkta] *etāvān asya mahimāto jyāyāms ca pūruṣaḥ / pādo 'sya vīsvā bhūtāni tripād asyāmṛtaṃ divīti //*). MaitU 6.7 gives some other brief speculations on ṚV 3.62.10.

For the terms Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī as the name of ṚV 3.62.10, see 2.4 below. For the various examples of esoterically expanded Gāyatrī, see Gonda 1963a: 291-296; for the mystic forms of the Gāyatrī in the medieval Kashmir Tantrism, see Sastri 1934: xvi f.; 9f.; Ida 1999.

<sup>25</sup> ŚāṅkhGS 2.5.12; KauṣGS 2.3.8; SMB 1.6.29 (cf. GGS 2.10.39; KhGS 2.4.22); VārGS 5.26; HGS 1.6.11 (quoted here); BauḍhGS 2.5.40; BhārGS 1.9.9.1; ĀgGS 1.1.3: 10.5. For the exceptional cases, see 2.3 below.

*bhūs tat savitur vareṇyam / bhuvo bhargo devasya dhīmahi / suvar dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt / bhūr bhuvah tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi / suvar dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt / bhūr bhuvah suvas tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt / iti /11/*

At this point [of the ritual], he (the teacher) lets [the novice] recite the Sāvitrī, if he (the novice) has been initiated before.<sup>26</sup> /6/ If he has not been initiated before, [he lets him recite it] after three days. /7/ ... / Then, [the teacher teaches the Sāvitrī] to him, first foot by foot, then by half-verses, then the whole: “*bhūs tat savitur vareṇyam, bhuvo bhargo devasya dhīmahi, suvar dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt*” [thus foot by foot]; “*bhūr bhuvah tat savitur vareṇyam, bhargo devasya dhīmahi, suvar dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt*” [thus by half-verses]; “*bhūs tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt*” [thus the whole verse]. /11/

### 2.3 The Sāvitrīs in Various Meters

While ṚV 3.62.10 in the *gāyatrī* meter comes to be identified more and more often with “the sacred verse Sāvitrī,” the Sāvitrīs in the meters other than the *gāyatrī* are also mentioned since the Brāhmaṇas onwards.

The ŚB mentions some people’s practice of teaching a Sāvitrī in the *anuṣṭubh* meter at the initiation ritual, which practice the ŚB rejects:

Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa Mādhyandina 11.5.4.13; ŚBK 13.5.4.13 (Initiation)  
*tām haitām éke / sāvitrīm anuṣṭubham ánvāhur. vāg vā anuṣṭup. tād asmin vācam dadhma iti. ná táthā kuryād. yó hainaṃ tátra brūyād á nvā ayám asya vācam adita. múko bhaviṣyatiṭīśvaró ha táthaivá syāt. tásmād etām gāyatrīm evá sāvitrīm ánubrūyāt. //*

Some people recite this Sāvitrī as such in the *anuṣṭubh* meter [at the initiation, thinking], “The *anuṣṭubh* is indeed speech. By doing so (reciting the Sāvitrī in the *anuṣṭubh* meter) we put speech in him (the novice).” [However,] one should not do in that way. If someone speaks of him (the teacher) there, “He (the novice) has taken speech of him. He (the teacher) will become dumb,” it may become like that. Therefore, he (the teacher) should recite this Sāvitrī in nothing but the *gāyatrī* meter.

An *anuṣṭubh* Sāvitrī is mentioned also in another passage in the ŚB (/BĀU):

Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa Mādhyandina 14.8.15.8; BĀU 5.14.5

<sup>26</sup> That is, if it is not his first Upanayana. The initiation ritual may be repeated in certain contexts; see Kajihara 2003: 18, n. 30; 2016a; 2016b.



*tām háiike / sāvitrīm anuṣṭubham ánvāhur. vāg anuṣṭub. etád vācam ánuubrūma iti. ná táthā kuryād. gāyatrīm evānubrūyād. yádi ha vā ápi bahv iva pratigṛhñāti ná haivá tád gāyatrīḥ ékaṃ caná padám prāti. //*

Some people recite the Sāvitrī<sup>27</sup> in the *anuṣṭubh* meter, [thinking,] “The *anuṣṭubh* is speech. By doing thus we recite speech.” One should not do in that way. One should recite nothing but [the Sāvitrī<sup>28</sup> in] the *gāyatrī* meter. Even if he<sup>29</sup> receives rather much [by the Sāvitrī in the *anuṣṭubh* meter], it is not equal even to a single foot of [the Sāvitrī in] the *gāyatrī* meter.

As seen in these passages, whenever the Sāvitrīs of various meters are discussed, the priority is always given to the Sāvitrī in the *gāyatrī* meter.<sup>30</sup>

This kind of discussion on the different meters is closely linked to the ideological speculations which are characteristic to the Brāhmaṇa literature. The speculations in the Brāhmaṇas are often based on identifying some entity with another. As to the meters, rather mechanical discussions on the correlation between major meters and particular entities or concepts, such as deities, classes, vital functions, seasons, *sāmans*, and so on, are attested in many Brāhmaṇas. Generally speaking, the *gāyatrī* meter is connected to the Brāhmaṇa and Agni; the *triṣṭubh* to the Rājanya and Indra; the *jagatī* to the Vaiśya and Viśve Devāḥ.<sup>31</sup> The most superior meter is always the *gāyatrī*.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> BĀU 5.14.5 reads “this Sāvitrī” (*tām haitām*), seemingly referring to the “four-footed Gāyatrī” discussed in BĀU 5.14.1-4; cf. n. 24.

<sup>28</sup> BĀU 5.14.5 includes the word Sāvitrī in the text (*gāyatrīm eva sāvitrīm anubrūyāt*).

<sup>29</sup> BĀU 5.14.5 reads “Even if he, knowing thus” (*yádi ha vā apy evamvid*).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. TĀ 2.11.8 (*átha sāvitrīm gāyatrīm trir ánvāha*); TĀ 2.16.2 (*trirātrām vā sāvitrīm anvāti recayati*). For the relationship between the *anuṣṭubh* and speech, cf. JB 1.102 *prāṇo vai gāyatrī ... cakṣur vai triṣṭub ... śrotram vai jagatī ... vāg vā anuṣṭub* “The breath is indeed *gāyatrī*. ... The sight is indeed the *triṣṭubh*. ... The hearing is indeed the *jagatī*. ... The speech is indeed the *anuṣṭubh*”; cf., however, ChU 3.12.1 *vāg vai gāyatrī* “The speech is indeed the *gāyatrī*.” Among the Gṛhyasūtras, ĀsvGS 1.22.24 prescribes that an *anuṣṭubh* Sāvitrī (RV 5.82.1) should be taught at the Upanayana for those who have been initiated before. For the initiation ritual repeated in particular contexts, cf. n. 26.

<sup>31</sup> E.g.: TS 1.5.4.5 (*gāyatrī* - Brāhmaṇa | *triṣṭubh* - Rājanya);

5.1.4.5 (*gāyatrī* - Brāhmaṇa - Agni);

TS 7.1.1.4-5 (*gāyatrī* - Agni - Brāhmaṇa - *rathantara* - *aja* |

*triṣṭubh* - Indra - Rājanya - *bṛhat* - *avi* |

*jagatī* - Viśve Devāḥ - Vaiśya - *saptadaśa* - *go* |

*anuṣṭubh* - Śūdra - *vairāja* - *aśva*);

JB 1.99; 102 (*gāyatrī* - *prāṇa* | *triṣṭubh* - *cakṣus* | *jagatī* - *śrotra* | *anuṣṭubh* - *vāc*);

PB 6.1.6-11 (*trivṛt* - *gāyatrī* - Agni - Brāhmaṇa - *vasanta* |

*pañcadaśa* - *triṣṭubh* - Indra - Rājanya - *grīṣma* |

*saptadaśa* - *jagatī* - Viśve Devāḥ - Vaiśya - *varṣa* |

*ekavimśa* - *anuṣṭubh* - Śūdra);

KS 19.4: 4.19ff. (*gāyatrī* - Brāhmaṇa | *triṣṭubh* - Rājanya | *jagatī* - Vaiśya); etc.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. PB 6.1.6 *tasmāt trivṛt stomānām mukhaṃ gāyatrī chandasām agnir devatānām*

In the Gṛhyasūtras, as mentioned above, it is principally ṚV 3.62.10 that is taught as the Sāvitrī at the Upanayana. Still, some of the Gṛhyasūtras prescribe that the Sāvitrīs in different meters (*gāyatrī*, *triṣṭubh*, *jagatī*) should be taught according to the class of the novice; for example:<sup>33</sup>

Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra 2.5.1-7 (Upanayana)

*saṃvatsare sāvitrīm anvāha / trirātre / anvakṣaṃ vā / gāyatrīm  
brāhmaṇāyānubrūyāt / triṣṭubhaṃ kṣatriyāya / jagatīm vaiśyāya / sāvitrīm  
tv eva /*

[The teacher] recites the Sāvitrī [to the novice] after a year [from the initiation]. [Or] after three nights. Or immediately. He should recite [the Sāvitrī in] the *gāyatrī* meter to the Brāhmaṇa [novice]. [He should recite the Sāvitrī in] the *triṣṭubh* meter to the Kṣatriya. [He should recite the Sāvitrī in] the *jagatī* meter to the Vaiśya. But [in any case, he should recite the verse] dedicated to no one but Savitṛ (*sāvitrī*).

Most Gṛhyasūtras do not specify the text of the Sāvitrīs in the *triṣṭubh* nor the *jagatī* meter for the Upanayana.<sup>34</sup> As Oldenberg (1886: 59) pointed out, this kind of prescription of different Sāvitrīs for the three upper classes is apparently correlated to that of the age of the initiation for those classes prescribed in the Gṛhyasūtras, i.e., 8 for the Brāhmaṇa, 11 for the Kṣatriya, 12 for the Vaiśya, each number being equal with those of the syllables in a foot of the three meters allotted to the three classes.<sup>35</sup>

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*brāhmaṇo manuṣyāṇām vasanta ṛtūnām* “Therefore, the *trivṛt* is the best of the *stomas*, the *gāyatrī* is [the best] of the meters, Agni is [the best] of the deities, the Brahman is [the best] of people, the spring is [the best] of the seasons”; TS 7.1.1.4 *sā mukhatās trivṛtaṃ nīramimīta. tāṃ agnir devātānv asṛjyata. gāyatrī chāndo. rathamtarām sāma. brāhmaṇo manuṣyāṇām. ajāh paśūnām. tāsmāt té mūkhyā. mukhatō hy āsṛjyanta* “He (Prajāpati) produced out the *trivṛt* from his mouth. After it, Agni was created as the deity, the *gāyatrī* as the meter, the *rathamtara* as the *sāman*, the Brāhmaṇa among the human beings, and the goat among the cattle. Therefore they (*té* Bibliotheca Indica ed.; *te* Weber’s ed.) belong to the mouth (i.e. best), because they were created from the mouth”; TĀ 10.26.1 *gāyatrī chāndasām mātā* “The mother of the meters is the *gāyatrī*.”

<sup>33</sup> ŚāṅkhGS 2.5.4-7 (quoted here); KauśGS 2.3.2ff.; VārGS 5.26 (with the designation of each verse); PGS 2.3.7-9; BaudhDhS 1.2.3.11; cf. MGS 1.22.13; 1.2.3. Cf. Oldenberg 1886: 66; 70 (the notes on ŚāṅkhGS 2.5.4-6 and 2.7.10); Kane 1974: 302; Malamoud 1977: 89.

<sup>34</sup> VārGS 5.26 and some post-Vedic commentaries specify the text of the Sāvitrīs in the *triṣṭubh* and *jagatī* meters taught at the Upanayana. ĀśvGS 1.22.24 gives the text of the Sāvitrī in the *anuṣṭubh* meter; see n. 30 above.

<sup>35</sup> The KauśS includes an argument in the context of the inauguration of the Purohita about whether the Sāvitrī may be taught to the Kṣatriya even if it is in the *triṣṭubh* meter: KauśS 17.31-34 *savitā prasavānām iti paurohitye vatsyan vaiśvalopīḥ / samidha ādhāya // indra kṣatram iti kṣatriyam upanayīta // tad āhur na kṣatriyam sāvitrīm vācayed iti // katham nu tam upanayīta yan na vācayed // vācayed eva //* “One, who is going to rest upon the office of the Purohita, having put fuelsticks of Viśvalopa tree, saying, ‘*savitā prasavānām*’ (AVŚ 5.24), should initiate

## 2.4 The Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī

The superiority of the *gāyatrī* meter among the various meters continues in the late Vedic and post-Vedic texts.<sup>36</sup> At the same time, as mentioned above, many texts come to explicitly designate ṚV 3.62.10 as *the* Sāvitrī, especially in relation to the Upanayana. Accordingly, the Sāvitrī began being called also by the name Gāyatrī, after the meter of ṚV 3.62.10. Thus, the words Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī came to function to represent one and the same verse.<sup>37</sup>

One of the impressive examples of the term *gāyatrī* used as a synonym of the Sāvitrī is found in the Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa (AVPariś). There, the text of the verse called Gāyatrī is given in the reverse form of that of ṚV 3.62.10:

Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa 34.7-8 (Anulomakalpa)  
*anulomāṃ vilomāṃ vā gāyatrīṃ yaḥ paṭhet sadā / sarvārthās tasya sidhyanti  
na cānarthān samaśnute / na cānarthān samaśnuta iti //*  
*t yā da co pra naḥ yo yo dhi / hi ma dhī sya va de rgo bha yaṃ nī re rva tu vi  
tsa ta t //*

If one always recites the Gāyatrī in the regular order or the reverse order, his all aims are accomplished. He does not accomplish worthless [aims].

[The text of the Gāyatrī in the reverse order is,] *t yā da co pra naḥ yo yo dhi  
hi ma dhī sya va de rgo bha yaṃ nī re rva tu vi tsa ta t.*

For ṚV 3.62.10 in the reverse form, another expression *pratilomā sāvitrī* “the reverse Sāvitrī” is attested elsewhere in the same text.<sup>38</sup> Thus, the word Gāyatrī

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the Kṣatriya, saying, ‘*indra kṣatram*’ (AVŚ 7.84.2, *triṣṭubh*). On this, some say, ‘One should not let the Kṣatriya utter the Sāvitrī.’ Then, now, how can one initiate him, if he does not let [him] utter? He should let [him] utter [the Sāvitrī]’; cf. Caland 1900: 41f.

Incidentally, an early Brāhmaṇa text mentions the Gāyatrī which consists of a hundred syllables: Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā (MS) 1.4.13: 62.19 *gāyatrīyā tvā śatākṣarayā sām̐dadām̐ti. vāg vāi gāyatrī śatākṣarā* “[He says to a broken potsherd,] ‘With the Gāyatrī which consists of a hundred syllables, I put you together.’ The Gāyatrī with a hundred syllables is indeed speech’; cf. MŚS 3.1.24; ĀpŚS 9.13.8; ĀśvŚS 3.14.10.

<sup>36</sup> E.g. Bhagavad-Gītā 10.35 (Mahābhārata 6.32.35) *bṛhatsāma tathā sām̐nām gāyatrī chandasām aham / māsānām mārḡasīrso ’ham ṛtūnām kusumākaraḥ //* “I am the *bṛhat-sāman* among the Sāmans, the *gāyatrī* among the meters. I am Mārḡasīrṣa among the months, the spring among the seasons.”

<sup>37</sup> This tendency is seen already in the mid-Vedic texts. Cf. BĀU 5.14.1-3 (ŚBM 14.8.15.1-4) in which the Sāvitrī and a mystic four-footed Gāyatrī are identified (see n. 24). The KāṭhB includes a fragment which is entitled *gāyatrī-brāhmaṇa* (Sūryakānta 1943: 118-120), in which the text of ṚV 3.62.10 is called Gāyatrī, not Sāvitrī. It is difficult, however, to determine whether this *gāyatrī-brāhmaṇa* is older than the Upaniṣads: it does not keep accents, while the KāṭhB’s *upanayana-brāhmaṇa* (KāṭhB(u)) does.

<sup>38</sup> AVPariś 31.8.4cd-5ab (Kotihoma) *eṣa eva vidhir dṛṣṭo abhicāre vidhīyate / pratilomayātra homaḥ sāvitrīyā tilasarṣapaiḥ; 31.9.4 khādirāgnau madhūcchiṣṭe kṛtvā pratikṛtiṃ ripoḥ /*

is used as the other name of the Sāvitrī “*tat savitur vareṇyam ...*” in some sections of the AVParīś.

In the course of time, the term Gāyatrī becomes more and more commonly used than Sāvitrī as the name of the verse ṚV 3.62.10. This tendency continues in modern India.

## 2.5 Producing the Variations of the Sāvitrī

While ṚV 3.62.10 is being established as the particularly sacred verse Sāvitrī in the Vedic religion, the movement of producing its variations appears in the Vedic texts. Gonda (1963a: 296) has pointed out that the poets’ weaving the words in ṚV 3.62.10 into another verse is found already in the ṚV itself:

Ṛgveda 1.159.5<sup>39</sup>

*tād rādho adyá savitúr vareṇyaṃ vayám devásya prasavé manāmahe /  
asmábhyaṃ dyāvāpṛthivī sucetúnā  
rayiṃ dhattam vāsumantam śatagvīnam //*

We shall think upon the desirable favor of Savitṛ today at the impulse of the god. For us, O heaven and earth, by your kind attention, establish wealth consisting of goods and a hundred cows.

### 2.5.1 The Variations of the Sāvitrī in Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā 2.9.1

The production of the variations of the Sāvitrī after the model of ṚV 3.62.10 becomes active since the mid-Vedic texts onwards. The most significant product is found in Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā (MS) 2.9.1. There a series of *mantras* dedicated to Rudra and other various deities is collected, which *mantras* are apparently modeled after the wordings and the structure of ṚV 3.62.10.

MS 2.9.1 begins with the introductory prayer to the great god who is gracious (*mahādevá- śíva-*).<sup>40</sup> Then comes the series of *mantras* in question. The first one is dedicated to Rudra:

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*tāpayet pratilomāṃ tu sāvitrīm manasā jayet //* For AVParīś 31.8-9, see Caland 1900: 183f.; for *pratiloma-*, Caland 1900: 184, n. 1. The Gāyatrī in the reverse form is used for magics and curses also in several other post-Vedic literature such as Ṛgvidhāna 1.75-78; Viṣṇu-Dharmottara-Purāṇa 1.165.54-67 (Einoo 2017 [card1111.txt], under *abhicāra*); cf. Ishii 2017.

<sup>39</sup> Geldner 1951 vol. 1, 218: “erinnert an die Sāvitrī 3.62.10”; Witzel und Gotō et al. 2007 and Jamison and Brereton 2014 give no particular comment on its similarity to ṚV 3.62.10, nor does Oldenberg 1909. For the subjunctive *manāmahe* in this verse, cf. Doyama 2005: 70; 81f.; 93; 174f.

<sup>40</sup> MS 2.9.1: 119.3-6 *ā tvā vahantu hārayaḥ sucetāsaḥ śvetāir āsvair ihā ketūmadbhiḥ /  
vātajavāir balavādbhir manojavāir asmīn yajñé máma havyāya śarva //* *devānāṃ ca ṛṣiṇām  
cāsurāṇām ca pūrvajām / mahādevām sahasrākṣām śívam āvāhayāmy ahām //*

Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā 2.9.1: 119.7-8

*tāt pūruṣāya vidmahe mahādevāya dhīmahi /  
tān no rudrāḥ pracodāyāt*<sup>41</sup> //

We perceive it for *pūruṣa*. We meditate<sup>42</sup> for the great god (*mahādevā*). May Rudra stimulate it of ours.

This verse is to acquire particular importance in the Pāsupata Śaivism, being called Raudrī Gāyatrī, Rudra-Sāvitrī, or Rudra-Gāyatrī, as will be discussed below (3.1).

After this, the *mantras* dedicated to other deities follow, which are formulated in a similar structure. The deities who are called for in them are Gaurī, Skanda, Dantin, Brahman (m.), Viṣṇu, Bhānu, Candra, Vahni, Dhyāna, and Sṛṣṭi:

Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā 2.9.1: 119.9-120.15

*tād gāṅgāucyāya vidmahe girisutāya dhīmahi /  
tān no gaurī pracodāyāt //*  
*tāt kumārāya vidmahe kārṭtikeyāya dhīmahi /  
tān naḥ skandāḥ pracodāyāt //*  
*tāt karāṭāya vidmahe hastimukhāya dhīmahi /  
tān no dantī pracodāyāt //*  
*tāt cāturmukhāya vidmahe padmāsanāya dhīmahi /  
tān no brahmā pracodāyāt //*  
*tāt kēśavāya vidmahe nārāyaṇāya dhīmahi /  
tān no viṣṇūḥ pracodāyāt //*  
*tād bhāskarāya vidmahe prabhākarāya dhīmahi /  
tān no bhānūḥ pracodāyāt //*  
*tāt sōmarājāya vidmahe mahārājāya dhīmahi /  
tān naś candrāḥ pracodāyāt //*  
*tāj jvālanāya vidmahe vaiśvānarāya dhīmahi /  
tān no vahniḥ pracodāyāt //*  
*tāt tyājapāya vidmahe mahājapāya dhīmahi /  
tān no dhyānāḥ pracodāyāt //*  
*tāt paramātmāya vidmahe vinateyāya dhīmahi /  
tān naḥ sṛṣṭiḥ pracodāyāt //2.9.1//*

<sup>41</sup> Though the accentuation should be \**pracodāyāt* since this verb is not in a subordinate clause (cf. RV 3.62.10: *yó ... pracodāyāt*), the text reads *pracodāyāt* in this and all the following verses in MS 2.9.1, as well as in the same verse in KS 17.11: 253.20-21.

<sup>42</sup> For the interpretation of *dhīmahi* (aorist optative [injunctive according to Gonda 1963b: 98] of *dhā* in the RV; present indicative of *dhī* in later texts) in these verses, see Gonda 1963b: 98f.; 291; Kimura 1975a: 30.

While these formulas make up the variations of the Sāvitrī by utilizing the structure “*tāt ... dhīmahi ... pracodáyāt*,” they differ from the “original” Sāvitrī in having the words “*vidmahe ... tán no*” in common, which are not in RV 3.62.10.

MS 2.9.1 quoted above is a section attached to the beginning of MS 2.9, which chapter forms a *mantra* collection called Śatarudriya (Śatarudrīya in the Taittirīyas) “addressed to the hundred [forms of] Rudra.” The Śatarudrīya formulas are the *mantras* which call for Rudra with his various names. MS 2.9.2, which succeeds MS 2.9.1, begins with the following *mantra*, which is a typical example of the Śatarudrīya:

Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā 2.9.2: 120.16<sup>43</sup>  
*nāmas te rudra manyāva utó tā iṣave nāmaḥ /*  
*nāmas te astu dhánvane bāhúbhyām utá te nāmaḥ //*

Homage to your wrath, O Rudra, and homage to your arrow.

Homage be to your bow, and homage to your arms.

All the YV Saṃhitās include the Śatarudrīya *mantra* collections which are more or less parallel with each other.<sup>44</sup> The YV Brāhmaṇas explain that the *mantras* in those collections are used for the Śatarudrīya oblation performed at the Agnicayana, in order to appease the god Rudra who is regarded as the dreadful aspect of Agni.<sup>45</sup> The Śatarudrīya formulas are recited also at some other minor rites related to Rudra prescribed in several Śrauta- and Gṛhya-sūtras.<sup>46</sup> Some Dharma texts treat the Śatarudriya as one of purificatory formulas.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Cf. TS 4.5.1.1; KS 17.11: 254.1-2; KapKS 27.1; VSM 16.1; VSK 17.1.1.

<sup>44</sup> MS 2.9; TS 4.5; KS 17.11; KapKS 27; VSM 16; VSK 17. For the correspondences between the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas of the YV schools, see Keith 1914: xvii ff.; for the Śatarudrīya formulas, see Gonda 1980.

<sup>45</sup> MS 3.3.4; TS 5.4.3; KS 21.6; KapKS 32.21; ŚBM 9.1.1.1-44; ŚBK 11.3.1.1-41. For the Śatarudrīya oblation in the Agnicayana, cf. Weber 1873: 270ff.; Arbman 1922: esp. 221ff.

<sup>46</sup> The rites other than the Agnicayana which include the oblation with the Śatarudrīya are, for example, an Iṣṭi which is performed when one’s child or cattle is killed by Rudra (MŚS 5.1.9.26-30; ĀpŚS 9.14.11-14); the Śūlagava in which gratifying Rudra and averting plague in cattle are aimed at (HGS 2.8.11; cf. MGS 2.5.3); an oblation called Īśānabali (ĀpGS 7.20.8f.); an expiation at the Agnihotra (MŚS 3.2.13); etc. See Gonda 1980; cf. Tsuji 1970: 69; Kimura 1975a; Krick 1982: 115; 537, n. 1463. Cf. MŚS 11.7.1 (Nityajapa), where the Śatarudriya and the “Five Brahma Mantras” (see 2.5.2 below) are quoted; see n. 68 below. According to Gelder (1961: 5), MŚS 11.1-7 are *pariśiṣṭas* put into the manuscripts without text-numbers, and a manuscript includes a line “*iti mānavagṛhyapariśiṣṭe rudrajapavidhānaprārambhah.*” In her edition, MŚS 11.7.1 is called Nityajapa, and 11.7.2-3 are called Rudrajapa.

<sup>47</sup> E.g. VāsDhS 28.10-15 *sarvavedapavitrāṇi vakṣyāmy aham ato param / yeṣāṃ japaiś ca homaiś ca pūyante nātra saṃśayah /10/ ... durgāsāvitrir* (for this word, see 3.3 below) *eva ca /11/ ... / śatarudriyam atharvaśiras trisuparṇaṃ mahāvratam /14/ ...* “From now on, I will tell the purifiers (the purificatory formulas) in the all Vedas, by the murmuring of which [formulas], and by the oblations [with them], people are purified. There is no doubt [about this]. /10/ [They are] ... the Durgāsavitri (see 3.3), / ... / the Śatarudriya, the Atharvaśiras, the Trisuparṇa, the

Though the Śatarudrīya *mantra* collections are included in the Saṃhitās of the all Yajurvedic schools, the above-quoted variations of RV 3.62.10 in MS 2.9.1 find no parallels in the other schools' Śatarudrīya chapters but one verse *tāt pūruṣāya vidmahe* ... in the Kāthaka-Saṃhitā (KS).<sup>48</sup> Actually, in the MS, almost the whole of the first and the last sections of the Śatarudriya chapter (MS 2.9.1 and 2.9.10) has no parallel in the other Vedic texts, except TĀ 10 which will be examined next, and some sporadic quotations in the Sūtras.<sup>49</sup>

### 2.5.2 The Variations of the Sāvitrī in Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka 10

TĀ 10 includes the verse “*tāt pūruṣāya vidmahe* ...” in MS 2.9.1 in two places. First, it is found in TĀ 10.1, in which some variations of the Sāvitrī are collected. The collection begins with two formulas dedicated to Rudra, of which the second is the verse in question:

Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka 10.1.5: 769.2-770.1 (Bibliotheca Indica ed.)<sup>50</sup>  
*pūruṣasya vidma sahasrākṣāsyā mahādevāsya dhīmahi /*  
*tān no rudrah pracodāyāt //*  
*tāt pūruṣāya vidmāhe*<sup>51</sup> *mahādevāya dhīmahi /*  
*tān no rudrah*<sup>52</sup> *pracodāyāt*<sup>53</sup> //

After these two, the *mantras* in the structure similar to the second one (dative + *vidmāhe* ... *dhīmahi* ... *pracodāyāt*) follow, which are dedicated to Danti, Nandi,

Mahāvratā, /14/ ...”; ViṣṇuSm 56.1-27 (*śatarudriyam* /56.21/); cf. ĀgGS 3.10.2: 172.2. Cf. also the word “*rudrāḥ*” in the similar context :BaudhDhS 3.10.10 *upaniṣado vedādayo vedāntāḥ sarvacchandaḥsu saṃhitā madhūny aghamarṣaṇam atharvaśirasō rudrāḥ ... pāvamānyāḥ sāvitrī ceti pāvanāni* “The Upaniṣads, the beginnings of the Vedas, the ends of the Vedas, the Saṃhitās in the all hymns, the Madhus, the Aghamarṣaṇa, the Atharvaśiras, the Rudras, ... the Pāvamānis, and the Sāvitrī: [these are] the purificatory [formulas]”; cf. BaudhDhS 4.3.8; GDhS 19.12; VāsDhS 22.9; YājSm 3.303; ViṣṇuSm 86.12; etc.; cf. 3.3 below. See Gonda 1980: 78.

<sup>48</sup> KS 17.11: 253.20-21 (Śatarudriya).

<sup>49</sup> MŚS 11.7.1 (Nityajapa) quotes from MS 2.9.1; 2.9.2-9 (Śatarudriya); 2.9.10. Cf. BaudhGŚeS 2.18.9; 2.19.2. Cf. n. 46 above and n. 68 below.

<sup>50</sup> There are two extant recensions of the TĀ: (1) The Drāviḍa recension with the Sāyaṇa's commentary, which comprises 10 chapters (the Bibliotheca Indica ed. by Rājendralāla Mitra, Calcutta 1864-1872 [= Bib. Ind. ed.]; the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 36, 1897-1898 [= ĀnSS ed.]), and (2) The Āndhra recension, which comprises 8 chapters (ed. Sastri and Rangacarya, Mysore 1900-1902, with Bhaṭṭa Bhāskaramiśra's commentary [= Mysore ed.]; another Āndhra edition is attached to ĀnSS 36; see Tsuji 1970: 13-15; 97, n. 87; cf. Houben 1991: 32-33 (he takes the Drāviḍa and the Āndhra recensions in reverse). TĀ 10 (Drāviḍa) or TĀ 6 (Āndhra) is also called MNU; cf. Weber 1853: 78-100 (for the two recensions, see p. 79); Tsuji 1970: 15; 99, n. 106.

<sup>51</sup> The irregular accentuation in this verse (*vidmāhe* with an unnecessary accent, *rudrah* without the necessary accent, and *pracodāyāt* with an unnecessary accent [cf. n. 41 above]) is found in common in the editions of the TĀ.

<sup>52</sup> See n. 51.

<sup>53</sup> See n. 51.

Ṣaṅmukha, Garuḁa, Brahman (n.), Viṣṇu, Nārāsimha, Āditya, Agni, and Durgi.<sup>54</sup>

Second, the verse “*tāt puruṣāya vidmahe ...*” in MS 2.9.1 is attested also in TĀ 10.46. It is included in a series of five formulas (TĀ 10.43-10.47<sup>55</sup>). Those five constitute the so-called “Five Brahma Mantras (*pañca-brahma-mantra*)” which are to be highly esteemed by the Śaiva cults in the post-Vedic period (3.1). The formulas which consist TĀ 10.43-10.47 begin with the words “*sadyojātam,*” “*vāmadevāya,*” “*aghorebhyo,*” “*tāt puruṣāya,*” and “*īśānaḥ*” respectively. Of these five, the fourth (“*tāt puruṣāya ...*”) is the same as the variation of the Sāvitrī dedicated to Rudra in MS 2.9.1. The third (“*aghorebhyo ...*”) has an equivalent in MS 2.9.10,<sup>56</sup> which section is located at the end of the MS’s Śatarudrīya chapter (MS 2.9), which again finds no parallel in the other schools’ Śatarudrīyas. The other three (“*sadyojātam ...*”; “*vāmadevāya ...*”; “*īśānaḥ ...*”) are attested only in TĀ 10 among the Vedic canon.

The collections of the *mantras* related to Rudra in MS 2.9.1, MS 2.9.10, TĀ 10.1, and TĀ 10.43-47 appear to be less stable in the Vedic tradition compared to the Śatarudrīya: while the Śatarudrīya is included in the all YV Saṃhitās, those *mantra* collections are attested only in MS 2.9 and TĀ 10.<sup>57</sup> The Śatarudrīya

<sup>54</sup> Thus, the *mantras* here make 1 (*puruṣasya vidma sahasrākṣāsyā...*) + 11 (“dative + *vidmāhe ... dhīmahi ... pracodāyāt*” type dedicated to the deities from Rudra to Durgi): the commentaries appear to regard the second one dedicated to Rudra (*tāt puruṣāya vidmāhe ... tān no rudraḥ pracodāyāt*) as the first of the series of the *mantras*. Those which are dedicated to Rudra, Danti, Nandi, Ṣaṅmukha, and Garuḁa begin with “*tāt puruṣāya vidmāhe.*” The others’ beginnings are different, though the structure “dative + *vidmāhe ... dhīmahi tān no ... pracodāyāt*” is the same.

The numbers of the variations of the Sāvitrī and the deities called for by them in TĀ 10 are different according to the editions. The ĀnSS ed. of TĀ 10.1 (vol. 2: 699-700) includes 1+5 variations of the Sāvitrī which are dedicated to Rudra\* (hereafter, the sign \* after the deities indicates that the *mantras* dedicated to them begin with “*tāt puruṣāya vidmāhe*”), Danti\*, Garuḁa\*, Durgi (Sāyaṇa’s comm.: *durgir durgā*), and Viṣṇu; TĀ Āndhra recension 6.1.5-6 (Mysore ed. 84-86) includes 1+5 variations dedicated to Rudra\*, Danti\*, Garuḁa\*, Durgi, and Viṣṇu (Bhāskaramiśra’s comm. reads: *caturthī durgāgāyatrī ... chāndasaṃ hrasvatvaṃ vibhaktiropas ca durga ity agner nāma tadātmikā devī durgā*); MNU (3.71-82 in Varenne 1960: 30-32) includes 1+11 variations dedicated to Rudra\*, Danti\*, Nandi\*, Ṣaṅmukha\*, Garuḁa\*, Brahman (n.), Viṣṇu, Nārāsimha, Āditya, Agni, and Durgā; MNU (1.5-7 in TĀ-ĀnSS ed., 796-799 [= an Āndhra text attached to the ĀnSS ed. of the TĀ, vol. 2: 783-909]) includes 1+11 variations dedicated to Rudra\*, Danti\*, Nandi\*, Ṣaṅmukha\*, Garuḁa\*, Brahman (n.), Viṣṇu, Nārāsimha, Āditya, Agni, and Durgi; MNU (3.1-18 in the Ātharvaṇa recension [Jacob 1888: 3-4]) includes 1+17 variations are included, dedicated to Rudra\*, Vṛṣabha\*, Danti\*, Ṣaṣṭha, Vaiśvānara, Agni, Sūrya, Āditya, Bhānu, Vṛṣabha, Durgā, Bhagavati, Gaurī, Garuḁa\*, Viṣṇu, Siṃha, Brahman (m.).

<sup>55</sup> TĀ 10.43-47 (in Bib. Ind. ed. and ĀnSS ed.); TĀ Āndhra recension 6.43-47; MNU (TĀ-ĀnSS ed., pp. 839-842, nos. 17-21); MNU (7.277-286 in Varenne 1960: 70-72); MNU (17.1-5 in Bombay ed., p. 17).

<sup>56</sup> MS 2.9.10: 130.1-2 *āghorebhyo ātha ghorēbhyo aghoraghoratarēbhyas ca / sarvātāḥ śarvaśarvēbhyo nāmas te rudra rūpēbhyo nāmaḥ //* For the parallels in TĀ 10, cf. n. 55.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Keith 1914: lxxxi; Kimura 1975a; 1975b; Mirasi 1975: 57-59; Dharmadhikari 2008: 265-266; Amano 2016: 36.



chapters of the YV imply that some tradition of Rudra-worship has persisted since an early time.<sup>58</sup> To such a tradition, the *mantra* collections in MS 2.9.1, 2.9.10, TĀ 10.1, and TĀ 10.43-47 may have been added as a sort of precursors of the Rudra-Śiva cults, which developed more in the post-Vedic period. The number of the variations of the Sāvitrī in TĀ 10 differs in the modern editions (see n. 54), suggesting that such variations keep being expanded during the transmission.

Most of those variations of the Sāvitrī in MS 2.9.1 and TĀ 10.1 are dedicated to the deities who become popular in the post-Vedic literature. Since the Vedic Sāvitrī “*tāt savitūr vāreṇyam ... prācodayāt*” was so well established as the sacred verse in the ancient Vedic religion, it would have modeled for the *mantras* for worshipping those deities. The variation of the Sāvitrī dedicated to Rudra (“*tāt pūruṣāya vidmahe ...*” in MS 2.9.1 etc.) was adopted by the then growing Rudra-Śiva cults as one of their own sacred *mantras*,<sup>59</sup> as will be discussed next.

### 3 The Sāvitrīs in Various Traditions

#### 3.1 The Rudra-Sāvitrī in the Pāsupata Śaivism

##### 3.1.1 The Raudrī Gāyatrī, Rudra-Sāvitrī, and Rudra-Gāyatrī

The variation of the Sāvitrī dedicated to Rudra discussed above (“*tāt pūruṣāya vidmahe ...*” in MS 2.9.1 etc.) becomes more and more prevalent in the late and post-Vedic period.

The Pāsupata Śaivism is one of the major religious tradition in the post-Vedic period (founded around the second century CE). In some texts of this tradition, the terms Rudra-Sāvitrī, Rudra-Gāyatrī, and Raudrī Gāyatrī are attested as mentioned above. The Pāsupata-Sūtra (PāSū), one of the most important texts of this religious tradition, tells about the verse called Raudrī Gāyatrī, as what one should recite when he is polluted:

Pāsupata-Sūtra 1.12-17

*mūtrapurīṣam nāvekṣet /12/ strīśūdraṃ nābhibhāṣet /13/ yady avekṣed yady abhibhāṣet /14/ upasṛṣya /15/ prāṇāyāmaṃ kṛtvā /16/ raudrīm gāyatrīm bahurūpīm vā japet /17/*

One should not look at urine or feces. /12/ He should not talk to women and Śūdras.<sup>60</sup> /13/ If he looks at [urine or feces] or talks to [women or Śūdras],

<sup>58</sup> The term Śatarudrīya is mentioned not infrequently in the post-Vedic literature such as the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas; see Gonda 1980.

<sup>59</sup> For the dangerous god Rudra and the Āraṇyakas as the text genre, cf. Parpola 1981: 162.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. AVPariś 40.6.2 (quoted below). Cf. also BaudhDhS 3.8.17 *strīśūdrair nābhibhāṣeta mūtrapurīṣenāvekṣeta* // “One [who is in the *cāndrāyaṇa* observance] should not talk with women and Śūdras. He should not look at urine and feces.” For the rule against talking to

/14/ he, having touched [ashes for ablution<sup>61</sup>], /15/ and having done breath control, /16/ should murmur the Raudrī Gāyatrī (the Gāyatrī dedicated to Rudra), or the Bahurūpī.<sup>62</sup> /17/

The Kauṇḍinya's commentary explains that the word *raudrī* in PāSū 1.17 refers to the Gāyatrī which begins with “*tat puruṣa*,” excluding the Vedic Gāyatrī which begins with “*tat savitur*.”<sup>63</sup> The full text of the Raudrī Gāyatrī is given at the end of the fourth chapter of the PāSū.<sup>64</sup> It is the same as the verse dedicated to Rudra in MS 2.9.1:

Pāśupata-Sūtra 4.22-24

*tat puruṣāya vidmahe / mahādevāya dhīmahi /  
tan no rudrah pracodayāt //*

A more or less the same rule against pollution as in PāSū 1.12-17 above is found in AVParīś 40,<sup>65</sup> an early-medieval Pāśupata text, which deals with the *pāśupatavrata* or *paśupater vrata*. There the *mantra* which should be recited to dispel the pollution is called Rudra-Sāvitrī:

Atharvaveda-Parīśiṣṭa 40.6.2-4

*strīśūdraṃ nābhibhāṣeta /2/ tadā sāvitṛiṃ jayet /3/ yadi bhāṣeta tadā  
rudrasāvitrīṃ jayet /4/*

One should not talk to each other with women and Śūdras. /2/ [If he does so,]

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women and Śūdras, cf. KāthGS 4.15; 5.3; BaudhGS 3.3.20; 3.4.24; PGS 2.8.3; BaudhDhS 3.8.17 (quoted above in this footnote); 4.5.4; VāsDhS 24.5; Manu 11.223; ViṣṇuSm 46.25; MBh 12.36.35; GDhS 3.8.8 (26.8) (*anāryair na saṃbhāṣeta*) etc.; cf. also Bisschop and Griffiths 2003: 338, n. 121. For the rule against looking at urine and feces, cf. ŚāṅkhGS 4.12.19; KauṣGS 3.11.20; BaudhDhS 1.7.15.30; Manu 4.77.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Kauṇḍinya's commentary on PāSū 1.15 *upaspr̥ṣyeti snānaparyāyaḥ / sacaulodaka-sparśanavat / sa ca bhasmanā kartavyaḥ nādbhiḥ* “*Upaspr̥ṣya* is a synonym of bathing, as in bathing in water with a cloth. But this [bathing] is to be performed with ashes, not water” (tr. Hara 1966: 227).

<sup>62</sup> The Bahurūpī refers to the third of the *pañca-brahma-mantra*, which begins with *aghorebhyo*; see 2.5.2; n. 56 above and n. 63 below.

<sup>63</sup> Kauṇḍinya on PāSū 1.17 *tasmād atra raudrī nāma tatpuruṣā / ... atra yā raudrī sā gāyatrī / ... atra raudrīgrahaṇād vaidikyādigāyatrīpratiṣedhaḥ / iha tu gāyatrīgrahaṇāt sadyojātādīnām pratiṣedhaḥ / ... bahurūpī nāmāghorā* / “Accordingly [we have here] the Raudrī verse [that begins with] ‘*tatpuruṣa*.’ ... Here the *raudrī* [that is meant] is the Gāyatrī verse. ... Here the word *raudrī* excludes the Vedic Gāyatrī [which begins with *tat savitur*], etc., while the word Gāyatrī excludes the verses *sadyojāta* etc. ... The Bahurūpī verse is that which begins with ‘*aghora*’” (tr. Hara 1966: 230f.).

<sup>64</sup> The so-called *pañca-brahma-mantras* of the Pāśupatas, in which this Raudrī Gāyatrī is included, form a framework for the PāSū. They are placed one by one at the conclusion of each of the all five chapters of the PāSū. The Raudrī Gāyatrī, which concludes the fourth chapter, is the fourth *mantra* of the five.

<sup>65</sup> For this text, see Bisschop and Griffiths 2003.

then he should murmur the Sāvitrī.<sup>66</sup> /3/ If he talks [to each other with women and Sūdras], then he should murmur the Rudra-Sāvitrī. /4/

The full text of the Rudra-Sāvitrī is given in the same text as follows:

Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa 40.2.5-6

*tat puruṣāya vidmahe mahādevāya dhīmahi / tan no rudraḥ pracodayāt /5/  
tasmai devāya vidmahe mahādevāya dhīmahi / tan no rudro 'numanyatām/  
iti rudrasāvitrīm japtvā /6/*

“We strive for Tatpuruṣa, we meditate for Mahādeva, Rudra shall propel it to us.” “We strive for this god, we meditate for Mahādeva, Rudra shall permit it to us.” Thus he mutters the Rudrasāvitrī (tr. Bisschop and Griffiths 2003: 330f.).<sup>67</sup>

For the verse “*tat puruṣāya vidmahe ...*,” another name Rudra-Gāyatrī is attested in some ancillary *grhya* texts attached to the Gṛhyasūtras; for example:

Baudhāyana-Gṛhyaśeṣasūtra 2.18.9 (Rudrasnānārcanavidhi)<sup>68</sup>

*atha rudragāyatrīm jayet “tat puruṣāya vidmahe” ity.*

Then, he should murmur the Rudra-Gāyatrī, “*tat puruṣāya vidmahe.*”

<sup>66</sup> This “Sāvitrī” may refer not to the Vedic Sāvitrī but to the Rudra-Sāvitrī. “The apparent redundancy of rules 40.6.3 and 40.6.4 is awkward” (Bisschop and Griffiths 2003: 338, n. 123).

<sup>67</sup> *japtvā* “having muttered [thus]” at the end of 40.2.6 would continue to the next *sūtra*. Though two verses are quoted in AVParīś 40.2.5-6, the word *rudra-sāvitrī* (sg.) appears to refer to the first one only; see the comments by Bisschop and Griffiths on AVParīś 40.2.6: “This last mantra does not belong to the five *brahmantras* and seems superfluous” (2003: 330, n. 79); “The second may be an interpolation” (2003: 331, n. 80).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. HGŚeṣS 1.2.12: 17.5-6 (in ĀnSS 53, vol. 8) (Rudrasnānārcanābhīṣekavidhi) *atha rudragāyatrīm jayet tat puruṣāya vidmahe iti*; cf. also BaudhGŚeṣS 2.19.2 (Punahpratīsthākalpa) *aṣṭahasraṃ aṣṭasatam aṣṭāviṃśatim vā mūlamantreṇa rudragāyatrīyā snāpayitvā puṣpāni dadyād yathālābham arcayitvā guḍodanam nivedayet.*

In MŚS 11.7.1.14; 17 (Nityajapa, cf. n. 46 and n. 49 above; Gonda 1980: 77f.), the word Rudra-Gāyatrī is used in a peculiar way: ... *ā tvā vahantv iti rudragāyatrīm aṣṭau kṛtvah prayuñjīta /14/ ... / tato japam ārabhed namas te rudra manyava itiprabhṛtibhir aṣṭābhir anuvākaiḥ /17/* “... He should pronounce the Rudra-Gāyatrī eight times, [reciting] ‘*ā tvā vahantu* (the first line of MS 2.9.1).’ ... Then he should begin the murmuring with the eight sections (MS 2.9.2-2.9.9: the Śatarudriya formulas), which begin with ‘*namas te rudra manyava* (the first line of MS 2.9.2).’” The formula *ā tvā vahantu* is attested at the beginning of MS 2.9.1, in which section the variations of the Sāvitrī / Gāyatrī are included (see 2.5.1 above). The verse *ā tvā vahantu* (MS 2.9.1: 119.3-4) itself is not in the *gāyatrī* meter but in the *triṣṭubh / jagatī* meter (see n. 40 above); the other 11 formulas which follow it in MS 2.9.1, of which the first is *tāt puruṣāya vidmahe* dedicated to Rudra, are in the *gāyatrī* meter. It is not very probable that the formula *ā tvā vahantu* is also called Rudra-Gāyatrī; here the whole of MS 2.9.1 may have been meant, though *rudragāyatrīm* is in singular. Further, MŚS 11.7.1.23 quotes from MS 2.9.10 (*aghorebhya* [MS 2.9.10: 130.1] *iti japtvā yaḥ patha* [MS 2.9.10: 130.3] *iti visarjayet*) too, which section finds no parallel in the other schools’ Śatarudriya just as MS 2.9.1 (see 2.5.1 above).

From the fact that the names Raudrī Gāyatrī, Rudra-Sāvitrī, and Rudra-Gāyatrī are applied to one and the same formula “*tat puruṣāya vidmahe ...*,” the following four points can be assumed.

(1) The words Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī are regarded to be the synonyms in the Pāśupata Śaivism, just as in the case of the Vedic Sāvitrī / Gāyatrī.

(2) Within the terms Raudrī Gāyatrī and Rudra-Gāyatrī, the word *gāyatrī* refers not only to “a verse in the *gāyatrī* meter” in general, but also more specifically to “the particularly sacred verse Gāyatrī,” just as in the case of the Vedic Gāyatrī.

(3) In the compound Rudra-Sāvitrī, the word *sāvitrī* no longer retains its original meaning “dedicated to Savitṛ,” but represents “an equivalent of the [Vedic] Sāvitrī.” The Rudra-Sāvitrī, literally “the Sāvitrī dedicated to Rudra,” must mean either “the verse which reminds people of the Vedic Sāvitrī” and/or “the verse especially sacred like the Vedic Sāvitrī,” which is dedicated not to Savitṛ but to Rudra.

(4) The Raudrī Gāyatrī / Rudra-Sāvitrī / Rudra-Gāyatrī is called by these names because it is highly esteemed in the Pāśupata Śaivism just as the Vedic Sāvitrī / Gāyatrī is regarded to be sacred in the Vedic religion.

### 3.1.2 The Functions of the Rudra-Sāvitrī / -Gāyatrī

The Rudra-Sāvitrī / -Gāyatrī discussed above is parallel with the Vedic Sāvitrī / Gāyatrī not only in its particular sacredness but also in its functions.

The author of AVPariś 40 must have well remembered that the Vedic Sāvitrī is central to the Vedic initiation ritual Upanayana (2.1). In AVPariś 40, some of the ritual elements of the Vedic initiation are embedded in the procedure for entering the *pāśupatavrata* (Bisschop and Griffiths 2003: 332, n. 88): for example, one announces his *gotra*, and declares that he is going to observe the *vrata* (AVPariś 40.3.1); the preceptor gives one who enters the *pāśupatavrata* the girdle made of *muñja* grass, and gives him a staff “with the Sāvitrī” (AVPariś 40.3.2).<sup>69</sup> As Bisschop and Griffiths argue (*ibid.*), while these ritual elements find similar ones in the Vedic initiation, there the “Sāvitrī” for giving the Pāśupatas’ staff

<sup>69</sup> AVPariś 40.3.2 *tato śya mauñjīm prayacchati // sāvitrīyā tu daṇḍam pālāśam bailvam āśvatthaṃ vāsiṃ lakuṭam khaṭvāṅgam paraśuṃ vā //* “Then he gives him the [girdle] made of *muñja* grass. And, **with the Sāvitrī**, [he gives him] the staff made of Palāśa, Bilva, or Aśvattha [wood], or a knife, a club, a skull-staff or an axe.” For the teacher (*guru*) and the student at the Pāśupatas’ initiation and observance, cf. Bakker 2004. For the Vedic initiation Upanayana, the novice’s declaring to come to the *brahmacarya*, the teacher’s asking his name, giving him the *mekhalā* girdle, and giving him the staff, are prescribed in almost the all Gṛhyasūtras (around the third century BCE). To use the Sāvitrī as the *mantra* for giving a staff is not very popular in the Gṛhyasūtras: the lesson of the Sāvitrī is central to the Upanayana.

would not be the Vedic Sāvitrī, but the Rudra-Sāvitrī quoted in the same text (AVPariś 40.2.5-6 quoted above). If AVPariś 40 has prescribed to recite the [Rudra-] Sāvitrī at the Pāśupata's *vrata*, it must have been conscious of the custom of the Vedic tradition in which the Vedic Sāvitrī is taught at the Upanayana. It is, so to say, that the authenticity of the initiation into the *pāśupatavrata* with their own [Rudra-] Sāvitrī is confirmed by the authority of the Vedic Sāvitrī.

Another major function of the Sāvitrī / Gāyatrī is purification.

In the Pāśupata texts, as quoted above, the Gāyatrī dedicated to Rudra is recited in order to purify one's pollution:

Pāśupata-Sūtra 1.12-17

*mūtrapuriṣaṃ nāvekṣet /12/ strīśūdraṃ nābhibhāṣet /13/ yady avekṣed yady abhibhāṣet /14/ upaspr̥śya /15/ prāṇāyāmaṃ kṛtvā /16/ raudrīm gāyatrīm bahurūpīm vā jayet /17/*

Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa 40.6.2-4

*strīśūdraṃ nābhibhāṣeta /2/ tadā sāvitrīm jayet /3/ yadi bhāṣeta tadā rudrasāvitrīm jayet /4/*

In the Dharma literature of the Vedic tradition, on the other hand, the Vedic Sāvitrī is often prescribed to be recited in order to purify one's sins and pollution at various occasions. For example, the purification by touching (*upa-spr̥ś*) water, controlling one's breath (*prāṇāyāma*), and reciting the Sāvitrī / Gāyatrī, just as prescribed in PāSū 1.15-17 quoted above,<sup>70</sup> is found, though in a little different context:

Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra 1.9.26.10-14; cf. 1.9.27.1

*mithyādhitapṛāyaścittam /10/ ... / ... / parvaṇi vā tilabhakṣopoṣya vā śvobhūta udakam upaspr̥śya sāvitrīm prāṇāyāmaśah sahasrakṛtvā āvartayed aprāṇāyāmaśo vā /14/*

[Now] the penance for the wrongly-learned ones. ... Having eaten sesame or kept fast on a joint day (the days of new-moon, full-moon, etc.), in the next morning, having touched water, he should recite the Sāvitrī a thousand times, controlling his breath. Or [he should recite the Sāvitrī] without controlling his breath.

In the Dharma literature, the Sāvitrī / Gāyatrī is sometimes even regarded to be a sort of almighty *mantra* which purifies almost all sins; for example:<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> In the PāSū, one touches not water but ashes; cf. n. 61.

<sup>71</sup> For the various kind of purification by the recitation of the Sāvitrī in the Dharma literature, see VāsDhS 27.18 (quoted here); BaudhDhS 4.5.31 *gāyatrīyāṣṭasahasraṃ tu japaṃ kṛtvotthite*

Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmasūtra 27.18; cf. Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra 4.5.31  
*sāvitrīyaṣṭasahasraṃ tu japam kṛtvotthite ravau /*  
*mucyate pātakaiḥ sarvair yadi na brahmahā bhavet //*

But if one murmurs the Sāvitrī eight thousand times at sunrise, he is freed from the Pātaka sins, if he is not the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa.<sup>72</sup>

To this kind of idea, the following passage on the murmuring prayers to Rudra may be compared, though the text of the prayers is not specified:

Mānava-Śrautasūtra 11.7.3.6 (Rudrajapa; cf. nn. 46; 68 above)  
*snānatarpanajapahomārcanarato yaḥ saṃvatsare jayet /*  
*sa daśāphalam āpnoti brahmaḡhno 'tviśudhyati /*  
*surāpaḥ suvarṇahartā goghno vā vṛṣalīpatiḥ /*  
*mucyate sarvapāpebhyo rudralokaṃ sa gacchati //*

If one, being devoted to the bathing, the satiating, the murmuring, the offerings, and the praising, murmurs [the prayers to Rudra] for a year, he obtains the gain of his condition of life. [Even] the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa is purified; or the drinker of the Surā, the thief of gold, the murderer of cows, or the husband of a Śūdra woman [is purified]. He is freed from all sins. He goes to the world of Rudra.

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*ravau / mucyate sarvapāpebhyo yadi na bhrūṇahā bhavet //* “But if one murmurs the Gāyatrī eight thousand times at sunrise, he is freed from all sins, if he is not the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa”; cf. BaudhDhS 3.10.10 (see n. 47 above); GDhS 3.6.10 (24.11) *sāvitrīm vā sahasra-kṛtvā āvartayan punīte haivātmānam //* “Or if one [performs the penances for the murder of a Brāhmaṇa etc.] repeating the Sāvitrī a thousand times, he purifies himself”; cf. GDhS 3.2.8 (20.8) *ata uttaram tena sambhāṣya tiṣṭhed ekarātram japan sāvitrīm ajñānapūrvam* “After that (the ceremony of driving away the Upapātaka sinner), if one speaks to him (the outcast) unknowingly, he should stand [still] for one night, murmuring the Sāvitrī”; GDhS 3.5.21 (23.21); VāsDhS 20.4-5; cf. Manu 2.220 (the penance for sleeping after sunrise or before sunset); VāsDhS 21.6-8 (the penances for unfaithful wives); Manu 11.225 *sāvitrīm ca japen nityam pavitrāni ca śaktitaḥ / sarveṣv eva vratesv evam prāyaścittārtham ādytaḥ //*; YājSm 3.309 *yatra yatra ca saṃkīrṇam ātmānam manyate dvijaḥ / tatra tatra tilair homo gāyatrī vācānam tathā //*; YājSm 3.311cd *japtvā sahasraṃ gāyatrī śudhyed brahmavadhād ṛte //*; etc. Cf. also n. 47 above.

<sup>72</sup> Generally, in the Vedic tradition, the four largest sins are the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, the drinking of the Surā, the theft of gold, and the misconduct with an unappropriate woman, especially the wife of one’s teacher. ChU 5.10.9 *steno hiraṇyasya surām pibaṃś ca guros talpam āvasan brahmahā ca / ete patanti catvāraḥ pañcamaś cācarams tair iti //* “The thief of gold, one who drinks the Surā, one who enters his teacher’s bed, and the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa — these four fall [from his right status], and the fifth ones who consort with them”; Manu 9.235 *brahmahā ca surāpaś ca stevī ca gurutalpagah / ete sarve pṛthag jñeyā mahāpātakino narāḥ //*; etc.

### 3.2 Producing Various Gāyatrīs

In the Purāṇas and the Tantra literature,<sup>73</sup> more variations of Vedic Sāvitrī / Gāyatrī (ṚV 3.62.10) are attested. Those variations are dedicated to the deities other than Savitṛ, and are mostly called So-and-so-Gāyatrī, or simply Gāyatrī.<sup>74</sup> In those cases, the word *gāyatrī* not only means “a verse in the *gāyatrī* meter,” but also strongly alludes to “a verse which reminds people of the Vedic Gāyatrī (Sāvitrī),” just as in the case of the Raudrī Gāyatrī / Rudra-Gāyatrī.

For example, the Kālikā-Purāṇa quotes the following verse and calls it Kāma-Gāyatrī:

Kālikā-Purāṇa 63.22-23ab (Kāma-Gāyatrī)  
*kāmākhyāyai ca vidmahe kāmeśvāryai tu dhīmahi /*  
*tataḥ kuryān mahādevī tataś cānu pracodayāt //*  
*eṣā tu kāmagāyatrī pūjayed anayā śubhām /*

*kāmākhyāyai ca ... dhīmahi ... pracodayāt*: This [verse] is, on the other hand, the Kāma-Gāyatrī. One should worship the fair [goddess<sup>75</sup>] with it.

The following formula is generally called Brahma-Gāyatrī:<sup>76</sup>

Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra 3.109-111 (Brahma-Gāyatrī)  
*parameśvarāya vidmahe paratattvāya dhīmahi*  
*tan no brahma pracodayāt*

Though those various Gāyatrīs are not always in the proper *gāyatrī* meter (e.g. the Kāma-Gāyatrī has four feet; the Brahma-Gāyatrī has 9 syllables in the first foot), they are called Gāyatrīs, most probably because the words “*dhīmahi + pracodayāt*” reminds people of the Vedic Gāyatrī (ṚV 3.62.10).

At the same time, it is noteworthy that those formulas called So-and-so-Gāyatrī or Gāyatrī in the post-Vedic texts are rather closer to the *mantras* in MS 2.9.1 quoted above (2.5.1) than ṚV 3.62.10, having the structure “dative + *vidmahe + dhīmahi + pracodayāt*” in common (cf. n. 54 above). This may suggest

<sup>73</sup> The range of the dates of the Purāṇas and the Tantra literature would be considerably large, from an early time of the Common Era through the medieval and the more later periods.

<sup>74</sup> See Gonda 1963: 297-298. E.g. Kālikā-Purāṇa 63.22-23ab (the Kāma-Gāyatrī, quoted below); Mahānirvāṇatantra 3.109-111 (the Brahma-Gāyatrī, quoted below); Garuḍa-Purāṇa 23.4f. *atho gāyatrīṅ ca japet tataḥ // oṃ hām tan maheśāya vidmahe vāgvaśuddhāya dhīmahi tan no rudraḥ pracodayāt //* “Then, he should also murmur the Gāyatrī there, saying, *oṃ hām tan maheśāya vidmahe ... pracodayāt*”; cf. a number of Gāyatrīs quoted in Liṅga-Mahā-Purāṇa 48 which are dedicated to Śiva, Gaurī, Rudra, Danti, Skanda, Vṛṣa, Nandin, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Dharā, Garuḍa, Śṛṣṭi, Vācā, Śakra, Vahni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Yakṣa, Rudra, and Durgā. Cf. the variations of Sāvitrī in TĀ 10 (MNU); see 2.5.2 and n. 54 above.

<sup>75</sup> Kāmākhyā = Kāmeśvarī, “i.e., Durgā or Kālī” (Gonda 1963a: 297).

<sup>76</sup> For the Brahma-Gāyatrī, see Gonda 1963a: 296f.; Kimura 1975a: 40; 1975b: 62.

that those various Gāyatrīs were not directly produced from the Vedic Gāyatrī (ṚV 3.62.10), but may have been the secondary products made after some earlier variation of the Vedic Gāyatrī such as those in MS 2.9.1.<sup>77</sup>

### 3.3 The Durgā-Sāvitrī in the Dharma Texts

Some of the variations of the Vedic Sāvitrī / Gāyatrī in the post-Vedic texts are called So-and-so-Sāvitrī, though they are not dedicated to Savitṛ. In those cases, the word *sāvitrī-* no longer retains its literal meaning “dedicated to Savitṛ,” but means either “a verse which reminds people of the Vedic Sāvitrī” or “a verse especially sacred like the Vedic Sāvitrī,” just as the case of the Rudra-Sāvitrī.<sup>78</sup>

The Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmasūtra (VāsDhS) mentions the Durgā-Sāvitrī<sup>79</sup> in the context of purifying sins by reciting various *mantras*:

Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmasūtra 28.10-11

*sarvavedapavitrāṇi vaksyāmy aham ataḥ param /  
yeṣāṃ japaś ca homaiś ca pūyante nātra saṃśayaḥ /10/  
aḥamarṣaṇaṃ devakṛtaṃ śuddhavatyas taratsamāḥ /  
kūṣmāṇḍāni pāvamānyo durgāsāvitrir eva ca /11/ ...<sup>80</sup>*

From now on, I will tell the purifiers (the purificatory formulas) in the all Vedas, by the murmuring of which [formulas], and by the oblations [with them], people are purified. There is no doubt [about this]. /10/ [They are] the

<sup>77</sup> Gonda (1963a: 296f.) appears to regard the Brahma-Gāyatrī quoted above as the second model of the various Gāyatrīs in the post-Vedic texts: “In the purāṇic and tantric liturgies the ancient Gāyatrī was not rarely, in accordance with this tantric model, modified and adapted to the needs and requirements of a Hindu religion” (Gonda 1963a: 297).

<sup>78</sup> In the case of the word “Sāma-Sāvitrī” mentioned in the Gṛhyasūtras of the Sāmaveda, the structure of compound may be different. JGS 1.14: 14.7f. (Upākarāṇa) *tebhyah sāvitrīm \*prabrūyād (prabrayād ed.) yathopanayane manasā sāmāsāvitrīm ca* “To them (the students), he (the teacher) should recite the Sāvitrī as in the Upanayana, and [recite] mentally the Sāma-Sāvitrī.” Caland (1922: 23) translates *sāmāsāvitrī* as “the Savitṛ-chaunt” and gives the following note (ibid., n. 5): “Found at the end of the āraṇya-gāna of the Jaiminīyas.” Cf. JGS 2.8: 32.20f. (the recitation during a fast) *om pūrvā vyāhṛtīḥ sāvitrīm ca catur anudrutya manasā sāmāsāvitrīm ca somaṃ rājānaṃ brahmajajñānīye cobhe vedādīm ārabheta* “Having recited four times the Vyāhṛtis preceded by *om* and the Sāvitrī, and mentally the Sāma-Sāvitrī and the chants on *somaṃ rājānaṃ* and on two *brahmajajñānyas*, he should begin with the beginning of the Veda”; Caland (1922: 57) translates *sāvitrīm ... sāmāsāvitrīm* as “the verse addressed to Savitṛ and the chaunt composed on this verse”. Cf. also GGS 3.3.2-3 (Upākarāṇa) *vyāhṛtibhir hutvā śiṣyāṇāṃ sāvitrīyanuvacanaṃ yathopanayane /2/ sāmāsāvitrīm ca /3/* “Having offered [oblation] with the Vyāhṛtis, there is the recitation of the Sāvitrī to the pupils as in the Upanayana. And [he recites] the Sāma-Sāvitrī.” Oldenberg translates *sāmāsāvitrīm ca* in GGS 3.3.3 as “And (he chants) the Sāvitrī with its Sāman melody” (1892: 77). KhGS 3.2.18-19 (Upākarāṇa) does not mention the Sāma-Sāvitrī (*hutvopanayanavat / sāvitrīm anuvācayet /*).

<sup>79</sup> The forms ending in *-i-* and *-ī-* are attested for this word. Cf. n. 81 below.

<sup>80</sup> VāsDhS 28.11a consists 9 syllables. The list of the purificatory formulas extends from VāsDhS 28.11 to 28.15, in which the Śatarudriya is included (VāsDhS 28.14); cf. n. 47 above.



Aghamarṣaṇa, the Devakṛta, the Śuddhavatīs, the Taratsamas, the Kūṣmāṇḍas, the Pāvamānīs, and the Durgāsāvitrī, /11/ ...

The Durgā-Sāvitrī (or Durgā) is mentioned also in some other Dharma texts such as the Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra (BaudhDhS) and the Viṣṇu-Smṛti (ViṣṇuSm).<sup>81</sup> According to the commentaries, the Durgā-Sāvitrī mentioned in ViṣṇuSm 56.9 refers to ṚV 1.99.1, which includes a word *durgā-*, which word actually represents not the goddess Durgā but a neuter noun “difficult passage”.<sup>82</sup>

Ṛgveda 1.99.1<sup>83</sup>

*jātavedase sunavāma sōmam arātīyatō nī dahātī vēdaḥ /  
sā naḥ parṣad āti durgāṇi vīśvā nāvēva sīndhum duriātīy agnīḥ //*

For Jātavedas, we shall press Soma. He shall burn down the property of those who are hostile. He should convey us across all difficult passages; he — Agni —, as if with a boat a river, [should convey] across bad courses.

If this identification is correct, the Durgā-Sāvitrī in the Dharma texts has nothing to do with the god Savitṛ nor the Vedic Sāvitrī verse. It even does not look similar to the Vedic Sāvitrī.

Whatever its text is, the name Durgā-Sāvitrī suggests that, at the time of the

<sup>81</sup> BaudhDhS 4.3.8 (*durgā*); ViṣṇuSm 56.9 (*durgāsāvitrī*); Laghu-Atri-Saṃhitā 3: 3.17ff. (*durgāsāvitrī*) and Vṛddha-Atri-Saṃhitā 3: 39.9ff. (*durgāsāvitrīyā*). For the latter two texts, see *Dharmaśāstra-Saṃgraha* vol. 1 (ed. Upadhyaya 1982).

<sup>82</sup> ViṣṇuSm 56.9 *durgāsāvitrī* (thus the editions by Jolly 1881; Krishnamacharya 1964; Olivelle 2009). Nandapaṇḍita’s Keśava-Vaijayantī (around the seventeenth century CE) on ViṣṇuSm 56.9 reads *jātavedase sunavāma somam* [ṚV 1.99.1] *ity eṣā ṛk*; cf. Jolly 1880: 185 (a note on ViṣṇuSm 56.9); 1880: xxxii ff. (on the comm.). Bühler 1882: 134 (a note on VāsDhS 28.10-15) refers to Jolly 1880: 185 (the notes on ViṣṇuSm 56).

Olivelle 2009 notes that ViṣṇuSm 56.9 is cited in the Aparārka’s commentary on YājñSm 3.311 and that the Mādhava’s commentary on the Parāśara-Smṛti reads *durgāḥ sāvitrī* (Olivelle 2009: 374: “Cited by Apa[rārka] 1222-23; Mādh 2/2.157. Mādh *durgāḥ sāvitrī*”). The latter half of his note may need a little more explanation: in the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Parāśara-Smṛti (Parāśara-Mādhava) which he gives in his bibliography (Olivelle 2009: 509), the Mādhava’s quotation from the ViṣṇuSm reads *durgāsāvitrī* (vols. 2 & 3: 452, Calcutta 1973 [first published as the bound volume of 2 & 3 in 1899]). On the other hand, in the Islāmpurkar’s Bombay edition of the Parāśara-Smṛti (Islāmpurkar 1906), which Olivelle appears to have actually referred to, the quotation by Mādhava reads *durgāḥ sāvitrī* (vol. 2, part 2: 156f.). To this Bombay edition, an anonymous commentary is attached, which explains *durgāḥ* and *sāvitrī* separately: *jātavedase* [ṚV 1.99.1] *iti sūktam durgāḥ / devasya tveti ṛcaḥ sāvitrī*; note that here *sāvitrī* is not said to be ṚV 3.62.10.

Bloomfield notes that ṚV 1.91.1 (*tvām soma prā cikito manīṣā ...*) is “designated as *durgā* or *durgāsāvitrī*” in his *A Vedic Concordance* (1906: 455). This would have come from his mistaking “1.99.1” in Jolly’s note on ViṣṇuSm 56.9 (1880: 185) for “1.91.1”; ṚV 1.91.1 does not mention *durgā*. Monier-Williams’s *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1899: 487) refers to ṚV 1.99.1 as the Durgā-Sāvitrī.

<sup>83</sup> For the subjunctives in this verse (*sunavāma, dahātī, parṣad*), cf. Doyama 2005: 97; 170.

Dharma texts,<sup>84</sup> some people worshiped Durgā, and called their sacred formula by the name Sāvitrī. The most probable reason why it was called by the name Sāvitrī would be that it could express the formula's sacredness by invoking that of the Vedic Sāvitrī proper.

### 3.4 The Bhārata-Sāvitrī in the Mahābhārata

To the end of the Mahābhārata (MBh), a section of praise of this great epic is attached. There, the recitation of even a part of the MBh is recommended for washing off all sins and attaining the heaven (MBh 18.5.30-54). In that context, the Bhārata-Sāvitrī is mentioned. It is said that if one learns the Bhārata-Sāvitrī, he obtains the fruit of Bhārata and attains the supreme Brahman:

Mahābhārata 18.5.45-51 (Svargarohanika Parvan)  
*bhāratādhyayanāt punyād api pādām adhīyataḥ /*  
*śraddadhānasya pūyante sarvapāpāny aśeṣataḥ /45/*  
*maharṣir bhagavān vyāsaḥ kṛtvemāṃ samhitāṃ purā /*  
*ślokaś caturbhir bhagavān putram adhyāpayac chukam /46/*  
*mātāpitṛsahasrāṇi putradāraśatāni ca /*  
*saṃsāreṣv anubhūtāni yānti yāsyanti cāpare /47/*  
*harṣasthānasahasrāṇi bhayasthānaśatāni ca /*  
*divase divase mūḍham āviśanti na paṇḍitam /48/*  
*ūrdhvbāhur viraumy eṣa na ca kaścic chṛṇoti me /*  
*dharmād arthaś ca kāmāś ca sa kimarthaṃ na sevyate /49/*  
*na jātu kāmān na bhayān na lobhād dharmam tyajej jīvitasyāpi hetoḥ /*  
*nityo dharmah sukhaduḥkhe tv anitye jīvo nityo hetur asya tv anityaḥ /50/*  
*imāṃ bhāratasāvitrīm prātar utthāya yaḥ paṭhet /*  
*sa bhārataphalaṃ prāpya paraṃ brahmādhigacchati /51/*

By the virtue of the auspicious learning of even a *pāda* of the story of Bharatas, all sins of the one who is learning faithfully are totally purified. /45/ Formerly, the great sage, Blessed Vyāsa, having made this Saṃhitā together with [the following] four Ślokas, let his son Śuka learn it. /46/

Thousands of mothers and fathers and hundreds of sons and wives go, experiencing [various stages of] transmigration, and will go to another. /47/ There are thousands of states of joy and hundreds of states of fear. Every day, [such states] enter the stupid ones, [but] not the learned ones. /48/ Here I roar having my arms lifted up. Still, no one listen to me. The *artha* (wealth) and the *kāma* (desire) [are derived] from the *dharmā*

<sup>84</sup> Probably around the second century BCE onwards; the younger texts would be much later.

(virtue). Then, having what aim, is it (the *dharma*) not served? /49/ One should never leave the *dharma* because of the [objects of] desire, fear, nor covetousness, even for the sake of life. The *dharma* is eternal. But happiness and unhappiness are not everlasting. /50/

If one recites this Bhārata-Sāvitrī when he gets up in the morning, he, having obtained the fruit of Bhārata, attains the supreme Brahman (n.). /51/

Though the word *bhārata-sāvitrī-* is used in singular, it is generally understood that the Bhārata-Sāvitrī refers to the four Ślokas (18.5.47-50) quoted here.<sup>85</sup>

The Bhārata-Sāvitrī has nothing to do with the god Savitṛ nor the Vedic Sāvitrī verse. It represents “the verse(s) concerned with the Bhāratas (or the Mahābhārata), which verse(s) is especially sacred like the Sāvitrī.”

It is noteworthy that the Bhārata-Sāvitrī appears to be connected with the learning and the recitation of the MBh, through which one attains the supreme Brahman. This function of the “Sāvitrī” reminds us of the similar ideas in the Dharma texts: the Manu equates the merit of the recitation of the Vedic Sāvitrī with that of the Veda;<sup>86</sup> it also tells that one goes to the supreme Brahman (n.) if he recites the Vedic Sāvitrī every day.<sup>87</sup>

As to the Bhārata-Sāvitrī, the term Sāvitrī again confirms the sacredness and authenticity of the formula(s) which represents one’s canon, in this case the MBh, on the basis of the authority of the Sāvitrī proper in the Vedic religion.

### 3.5 The Sāvitrī in the Buddhist Texts

The Buddhism is one of the earliest religions outside the Vedic tradition, which arose in the mid-Vedic period (around the fifth century BCE). The Buddhists in early times must have known well the Vedic religion.

Some Buddhist texts mention the Sāvitrī as the verse most sacred to the Brāhmaṇas and their canon Veda. For example, one of the earliest Pāli Buddhist text Suttanipāta (Sn) tells about it as follows:

<sup>85</sup> E.g., the Āhnikaprakāśa (Śarmā 1913: 20f.; cf. Kane 1974: 648, n. 1523) quotes from the MBh as it is: *uktaṃ mahābhārate, mātāpitr̥sahasrāṇi ... asya tv anityaḥ / imāṃ bhāratasāvitrīṃ prātar utthāya yaḥ paṭhet / sa bhārataphalaṃ prāpya paraṃ brahmādhigacchati //* Cf. Iyer 1951: 109 “This set of four slokas is to be found in all the recensions of the Mahabharata, northern and southern, except in the P. P. S. Sastri’s edition of the Southern recension.”

<sup>86</sup> Manu 2.76-77; see 2.1 above.

<sup>87</sup> Manu 2.81-82 *omkārapūrvikās tisro mahāvyaḥṛtayo ’vyayāḥ / tripadā caiva sāvitrī vijñeyam brahmaṇo mukham // yo ’dhīte ’hany-ahany etāṃ trīṇi varṣāny atandritaḥ / sa brahma param abhyeti vāyubhūtaḥ khamūrtimān //* “The three impresihable Mahāvyaḥṛtis which begins with *om* and the Sāvitrī consisting of three feet should be recognized as the mouth of the Brahman. If one recites it (the Sāvitrī) every day diligently for three years, he goes up to the supreme Brahman, becoming like the wind, possessing air as his body.”

Suttanipāta 568 (3.7, Sela); cf. Majjhima-Nikāya 2: 111 (Selasutta);  
Vinaya 1: 246 (Mahāvagga)

*aggihuttamukhā yaññā sāvittī chandaso mukhaṃ  
rājā mukhaṃ manussānaṃ nadīnaṃ sāgaro mukhaṃ*

The [Vedic] rituals have the Agnihotra as their best. The Sāvitrī is the best of the [Vedic] verses. The king is the best of the human beings. The ocean is the best of the rivers.<sup>88</sup>

The Sāvitrī known to the Sn appears to be in the *gāyatrī* meter:

Suttanipāta 457 (3.4, Sundarika Bhāradvāja)  
*brāhmaṇo ce tvaṃ brūsi mañ ca brūsi abrāhmaṇaṃ  
taṃ taṃ sāvittim pucchāmi tipadaṃ catuvīsatakkharaṃ*

[Buddha said to the Brāhmaṇa, Sundarika Bhāradvāja by name,] “If you say that you are a Brāhmaṇa, and if you say that I am not a Brāhmaṇa, I ask you about the Sāvitrī, which has three feet, twenty-four syllables.”

Later, to Sn 457cd, a medieval commentary gives an innovative interpretation. It explains that the Sāvitrī here means the Buddhists’ so-called *śaraṇa-gamana* formula which consists of 24 syllables, i.e., *buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* (thus 8), *dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* (thus 8), *saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* (thus 8):<sup>89</sup>

Paramatthajotikā 3.4: 403.23ff. (on Suttanipāta 457cd quoted above)  
*ettha ca bhagavā ... paramatthavedānaṃ tiṇṇaṃ piṭakānaṃ ādibhūtaṃ  
paramatthabrāhmaṇehi sabbabuddhehi pakāsitaṃ atthasampannaṃ vy-  
añjanasampannañ ca  
buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi  
saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmīti  
imaṃ ariyasāvittim sandhāya pucchati. yadi pi hi brāhmaṇo aññaṃ vadeyya,  
addhā naṃ bhagavā nāyaṃ brāhmaṇa ariyassa vinaye sāvittī vuccatī ti tassa  
asārakattaṃ dassetvā idheva patiṭṭhapeyya.*

There the Blessed One ... asks about this noble ones’ Sāvitrī,<sup>90</sup> which is

<sup>88</sup> Cf. 『十誦律』卷第十四 \*Daśabhāṇavāraṇinaya 14 (Taishō 23:100b) 一切天祠中，供養火爲最。婆羅門書中，薩毘帝爲最。... “The fire for oblation is the best of the all dwellings of the gods. The Sāvitrī is the best of the Brāhmaṇas’ texts. ...”

<sup>89</sup> See Nakamura 1984: 341f.; cf. Murakami and Oikawa 2009: 136-138.

<sup>90</sup> *ariyasāvitti-*. For *ariya-* (Pāli; *ārya-* in Sanskrit; 聖 in Chinese) in the Buddhist texts, see Enomoto 2009.

endowed with meaning and letter, which is explained by all Buddhas, the Brahmans in the highest sense, and which is at the beginning of the three Piṭakas which consist of the best knowledge(s), [which reads]:

“I go to the Buddha as the refuge; I go to the Dharma as the refuge; I go to the Saṃgha as the refuge.”

Because, even if the Brāhmaṇa (Sundarika Bhāradvāja whom the Blessed One asked about the Sāvitrī) says anything else, the Blessed One would, saying “It is not, O Brāhmaṇa, called Sāvitrī in the noble ones’ terminology,” show his (the Brāhmaṇa’s) not having the essence, and would certainly make him stand here (in the Buddha’s teachings).

This interpretation of the Sāvitrī would be an intentionally secondary one. It provides another good example of the idea of applying the name Sāvitrī to the formulas which are regarded to be particularly sacred in the sects outside the Vedic tradition. In the above case, the commentary is not making up a Buddhist Sāvitrī after the Vedic Sāvitrī, but equates the completely different prayer of faith of the Buddhists (the *śaraṇagamaṇa* formula) with the Vedic Sāvitrī ideologically. Thus it makes the former understood to be equally sacred as the latter.

#### 4 Conclusion

The term Sāvitrī as the name of the particularly sacred formula(s) begins appearing since the mid-Vedic period, in the late Brāhmaṇas. It is since the Upaniṣads that ṚV 3.62.10 in the *gāyatrī* meter comes to be explicitly identified as *the* Sāvitrī. While the Sāvitrīs of more than one meter are mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, the Sāvitrī in the *gāyatrī* meter is always preferred, most probably because the *gāyatrī* is said to be the best among the meters, being correlated with Agni and the Brāhmaṇa class, in the ideological speculations which are the characteristics of the Brāhmaṇa literature. Accordingly, the sacred verse Sāvitrī comes to be also called Gāyatrī by the post-Vedic period, and the terms Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī are used in one and the same meaning, “the particularly sacred verse dedicated to Savitṛ, composed in the *gāyatrī* meter, of which the text is ṚV 3.62.10.”

In the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, the Sāvitrī represents the sacred knowledge of the Veda. This character of the Sāvitrī continues in the post-Vedic period, and manifests itself in the following three ways:

(1) Within the Vedic tradition, the Sāvitrī is the first piece of the Vedic canon that should be taught to the novice at the initiation ritual Upanayana. It is acknowledged as the symbol of the Veda not only in the Vedic tradition but also in other religious traditions such as the Buddhism.

(2) Once ṚV 3.62.10 is established as the sacred verse Sāvitrī, a number of its variations begin being produced. Such variations are first attested in the mid- and late-YV canon, and later more widely in the post-Vedic texts. Many of them are called So-and-so-Sāvitrī or So-and-so-Gāyatrī; for example, the Rudra-Sāvitrī, Raudrī Gāyatrī, and Rudra-Gāyatrī. In those cases, the word Sāvitrī represents “an especially sacred verse which has nothing to do with Savitṛ, but is created after, and/or equally sacred with, the Vedic Sāvitrī,” while the word Gāyatrī stands for “an especially sacred verse in the *gāyatrī* meter, which has been created after, and/or looks like, the Vedic Gāyatrī (/ Sāvitrī).” Those variations of the Gāyatrī in the post-Vedic texts have the structure “dative + *vidmahe* + *dhīmahi* + *tan no* + *pracodayāt*,” suggesting that they would have been stemmed not directly from ṚV 3.62.10 but from some early variation of the Sāvitrī / Gāyatrī such as those in MS 2.9.1.

(3) Some formulas which are regarded to be sacred to the sects outside the Vedic tradition are also called by the name Sāvitrī; for example, the Durgā-Sāvitrī in the Dharma literature, and the Bhārata-Sāvitrī in the Mahābhārata. They have nothing to do with Savitṛ, nor the Vedic Sāvitrī, nor the *gāyatrī* meter. In those cases, the word Sāvitrī denotes “a verse especially sacred like the Vedic Sāvitrī.”<sup>91</sup> As to the Bhārata-Sāvitrī, an idea of “the symbol of the sacred canon, which, or of which recitation, represents the whole canon, like the Vedic Sāvitrī” may be also involved.

The word Sāvitrī, and the word Gāyatrī as its synonym, are preserved in the names such as So-and-so-Sāvitrī, So-and-so-Gāyatrī, and So-and-so Gāyatrī, because the Sāvitrī proper has borne the authority of the Veda, so that it could represent the most sacred formulas of any sects, in the same way as the Sāvitrī proper does in the Vedic tradition. This history of development of the sacred verse Sāvitrī and its variations shows how well people have always remembered the Sāvitrī proper and its sacredness, and how far the authority of the Sāvitrī and the Veda represented by it has persisted within and beyond the Vedic religion.

### Abbreviations

AB = Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa / ĀgGS = Āgniveśya-Gṛhyasūtra / AiG = *Altindische Grammatik* (see Wackernagel und Debrunner 1896-1957) / ĀpGS = Āpastamba-Gṛhyasūtra / ĀpMP = Āpastamba-Mantrapāṭha / ĀpŚS = Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra /

<sup>91</sup> For this kind of losing the original meaning of the word, cf. *ajina-* which would have derived from *ajā-* “goat” but means “hide [in general]” in practice. Mayrhofer’s *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* explains *ajina-* as follows: “von *ajā-* abgeleitet (AiG II 2,351), wobei ursprüngliches „Ziegenfell“ schon in indoiran. Zeit zu „Fell“ geworden ist” (Mayrhofer 1986: 51f.).

ĀśvGS = Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra / AV = Atharvaveda / AVP = Atharvaveda Paippalāda-Saṃhitā / AVParīś = Atharvaveda Parīśiṣṭa / AVŚ = Atharvaveda Śaunaka-Saṃhitā / BĀU = Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad (Kāṇva recension) / BaudhDhS = Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra / BaudhGS = Baudhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra / BaudhGŚeṣS = Baudhāyana-Gṛhyaśeṣasūtra / BhārGS = Bhāradvāja-Gṛhyasūtra / ChU = Chāndogya-Upaniṣad / GB = Gopatha-Bṛhmana / GGS = Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra / HGS = Hiranyakeśi-Gṛhyasūtra / HGŚeṣS = Hiranyakeśi-Gṛhyaśeṣasūtra / JB = Jaiminīya-Bṛhmana / JGS = Jaimini-Gṛhyasūtra / JUB = Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Bṛhmana / KapKS = Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā / KaṭhB = Kāṭhaka-Bṛhmana / KaṭhB (u) = Kāṭhaka-Bṛhmana, *upanayana-brāhmana* chapter / KāṭhGS = Kāṭhaka-Gṛhyasūtra / KauṣGS = Kauṣītaka-Gṛhyasūtra / KauśS = Kauśika-Sūtra / KhGS = Khādira-Gṛhyasūtra / KS = Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā / LGS = Laugākṣi-Gṛhyasūtra / MaitU = Maitri-Upaniṣad / Manu = Manu-Smṛti / MBh = Mahābhārata / MGS = Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra / MNU = Mahā-Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad / MŚS = Mānava-Śrautasūtra / MS = Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā / PāsSū = Pāśupata-Sūtra / PB = Pañcaviṃśa-Bṛhmana / PGS = Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra / RV = Ṛgveda / ŚāṅkhGS = Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra / ŚB = Śatapatha-Bṛhmana / ŚBM = Śatapatha-Bṛhmana Mādhyandina recension / ŚBK = Śatapatha-Bṛhmana Kāṇva recension / SMB = Sāma-Mantra-Bṛhmana / Taishō = 大正新脩大藏經 (Taishō shinshū daizōkyō) / TĀ = Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka / TĀ Āndh = Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka Āndhra recension / TS = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā / VāsDhS = Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmasūtra / VādhGS = Vādhūla-Gṛhyasūtra / VaikhGS = Vaikhānasa-Gṛhyasūtra / VaikhSmS = Vaikhānasa-Smārtasūtra / VārGS = Vārāha-Gṛhyasūtra / ViṣṇuSm = Viṣṇu-Smṛti / VS = Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā / YājñSm = Yājñavalkya-Smṛti / YV = Yajurveda

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