

J. GONDA

**THE MEANING OF
THE SANSKRIT TERM**

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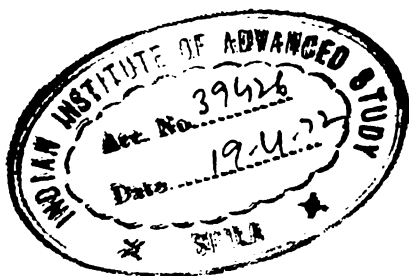
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AANGEBODEN IN DE VERGADERING VAN
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Among those ancient Indian terms which, while being of special interest for the historian of Vedic and brahmanical religion, have up to this time been the subject of some controversial discussion is the neuter *dhāman-*. Already at an early date such different meanings as *sthāna-* “place”, *janman-* “birth(place), race”, *nāman-* “name” were given as equivalents: Yāska, Nir. 9, 28 *dhāmāni trayāṇi bhavanti sthānāni, nāmāni, janmānīti* “there are three kinds of *dhāman-* . . .”, or “*dhāman-* has three meanings, viz. . . .”¹⁾, a place left not unnoticed by later commentators²⁾. Other explications furnished by Indian lexicographers are: *grha-* “house”, *deha-* “body”, *twiṣ-* “light, brilliance”, *prabhāva-* “might, power, majesty”, *raśmi-* “ray of light, beam”³⁾.

¹⁾ See also L. Sarup, *The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta*, repr. Benares 1962, p. 148.

²⁾ These three *dhāmāni* are for instance quoted (as a śruti) by Uvaṭa on VS. 1, 2; 3, 19 and by the comm. on AV. 4, 18, 4.

³⁾ See Petr. Dict. III, 941. It might be of interest to collect here the explications furnished by Sāyaṇa on the R̥gveda. They are: *tejah* (1, 91, 3; 4; 19; 1, 95, 9; 2, 3, 11; 3, 3, 4; 10; 3, 7, 6; 3, 31, 21; 3, 37, 4; 3, 55, 10; 4, 7, 5; 6, 2, 9; 7, 66, 18; 8, 27, 15; 9, 66, 3; 5; 10, 76, 8); *tejahsthānam* (1, 152, 5; 7, 61, 4; 7, 63, 3; 9, 28, 5); *tejahsthānabhūtam* (1, 152, 4 (with the addition: *yad vā priyaṃ dhāmeti sambadhyate, tayoh* (sc. of Mitra and Varuṇa) *premasthanam*); 1, 153, 2); *devānām tejahsthānam* (10, 82, 3); *tejahsthānāni karmāni vā* (4, 5, 4); *tejoyuktaṃ sthānam* (1, 123, 9); *sthānāni tejāṃsi vā* (7, 87, 2; 8, 12, 32); *dhāmabhiḥ*: *tejobhir mūrtiviśeṣarūpaiḥ* (1, 14, 10); *dyulokam* (9, 97, 5); *karmāni* (6, 67, 9); *vibhūti-* (7, 66, 18); *dhāraḥ karma* (10, 89, 8); *dhāraḥ* (9, 97, 31; 10, 67, 2); *dhāraḥ śarīrabhūtaṃ vā* (10, 181, 2); *sarvasya dhāraḥ* (1, 57, 3); *dhāraḥ sthānam* (9, 94, 2); *sthānam* (1, 43, 9; 1, 87, 6; 1, 144, 1; 4, 7, 7; 4, 55, 2; 7, 36, 5; 7, 66, 18; 8, 101, 6; 9, 97, 32; 10, 13, 1; 10, 25, 2; 10, 45, 2; 10, 48, 11; 10, 56, 5; 10, 189, 3); *svargākhyam sthānam* (6, 21, 3); *śarīrāni* (9, 67, 26; 9, 109, 4; 10, 65, 5; 10, 80, 4; 10, 81, 5; 10, 124, 3); *ātmīyāiḥ śarīraiḥ* (10, 93, 6); *śarīraṃ dhāram* (of Soma: 9, 39, 1); *devaśarīrāni* (9, 28, 2; 9, 69, 6); *tejoyuktaṃ śarīram* (9, 86, 15); *tejahsthānāni devaśarīrāni* (9, 86, 5); *śarīrāni tejāṃsi vā* (8, 21, 4); *nānavidhebhyaḥ śarīrebhyaḥ tava tejobhyo vā, antarikṣam divaṃ vā* (8, 41, 10); *grha-* (8, 92, 25; 9, 63, 14); *nāma* (9, 66, 2); and in addition to the above shorter explications, the following more detailed attempts at paraphrasing the sense in particular contexts: 1, 22, 16 *dhāmabhiḥ*: *saptabhir gāyatrīdibhiḥ chandobhiḥ sādhanabhūtaiḥ*; 1, 85, 11 *āyusḥ dhāraḥ udakāiḥ*; 1, 121, 6 *āhavanīya-lakṣaṇaṃ sthānam*; 1, 123, 8 (*uṣas*) *sthānam meruvalayam*; 2, 3, 2 *sthānāny āhutyadhikaraṇāni tejāṃsi*; 3, 55, 10 (*yad vā*) *lokadhāraṇāni . . . udakāni*; 5, 48, 1 *dhāmne*: *tejase vaidyutāya*; 7, 58, 1 *svargākhyasya sthānasya*; 7, 60, 3 *sthānāni lokān*; 8, 13, 20 *dhāmasu*: *prthivīyādīsthāneṣu*; 8, 19, 14 *dhāmabhiḥ*: (*Agni*) *śarīraiḥ gārhapatyādirūpeṇa vibhajya vartamānāiḥ*; 8, 27, 15 *dhāmabhyah*: *tejobhyah, dhīyate 'sminn iti dhāma śarīraṃ vā*; 8, 63, 11 *kalyāṇatejas-* (bah.); 9, 24, 5 *dhāmne*: *sthānāyādīdhāraḥ yodarūpa vā*; 9, 66, 3 (after 2 *nāmāni*!) *tvadudhīnā ahovātrarūpāḥ kalaviśeṣāḥ* or *tejāṃsi*); 9, 66, 18 and 19 *dyulokam* and *cāndramasaṃ sthānam*; 9, 86, 22 *sthāneṣu, devānām sambandhiṣṭūlareṣu ity arthah*; 9, 102, 2 *dhāraḥ . . . chandobhir gāyatrīdibhiḥ*; 9, 114, 1 *sthānāni droṇakalāśīlīni* (soma); 10, 10, 6

As to modern lexicographers, Roth ⁴⁾ enumerated the following uses of the word: "1) Wohnstätte, Heimat, Aufenthalt; Reich (der Götter); im Bes. die Stätte des heiligen Feuers und des Soma, Luftraum (the frequent phrase *priyaṃ dhāma* meaning "gewohnte Heimat, Lieblingsstätte; Liebingsache, Liebhaberei, Lust"); 2) Haus d.h. Hausgenossenschaft, Truppe, Schaar, Geschlecht; 3) Gesetz, Ordnung; 4) Zustand; 5) Weise, Form, Weise in Lied oder Spruch; 6) Wirkung, Kraft, Vermögen, facultas; Macht, Majestät; 7) Glanz, Licht". It is a priori highly improbable that so many and so divergent concepts should be really different 'meanings' of one and the same Sanskrit word. Nevertheless Grassmann ⁵⁾ was, as far as regards the 'meanings' 1-3, largely in agreement with Roth, adding "heiliges Gesetz, heiliger Brauch" etc. Observing that the term occurs, at least in the earlier texts, almost exclusively in connection with gods and things divine, Geldner ⁶⁾, though admitting that "die einzelnen Bedeutungen oft ineinander fließen", distinguished "1) numen, göttliche Macht, göttliches Wesen, Walten und Wirken, Satzung, Gebot, Bestimmung, Ordnung, göttliches Werk, Schöpfung; 2) Machtbereich, Wirkungskreis, Gebiet, erhabene Nähe oder Gegenwart der Götter; 3) numen, die Gottheit selbst, göttliche Erscheinung, göttliche Person, göttliches Wesen (konkret); im Plural von der einzelnen Persönlichkeit oder den verschiedenen Erscheinungsformen oder Verkörperungen (*mūrti-*) einer Gottheit; 4) Art, Form, Phase; 5) Element, Natur; 6) Wesen, Ding, Person; . . . 8) feste Ordnung; Satzung . . .".

Although, as will be shown in the following pages, there is much in this enumeration which can be subscribed to, the author completely fails to make the mutual connections of these 'meanings' clear and to give his readers an idea of what was, in his opinion, the semantic nucleus, the central idea expressed by the term. A short reference to the "vielverzweigten Bedeutungen des ahd. mhd. *tuom* > nhd. *-tum*" cannot compensate for these omissions. It is true that Skt. *dhāman-* (< **dhē-men-*) and OHG. *tuom* (< **dhō-me/o-*), meaning "Urteil, Tat, Sitte, Zustand", "Verhältnis, Stand, Würde" and in the course of time developing into the

sthānam ahorātram; 10, 70, 7 *haviṣāṃ dhārakāṇi yajñapātrāṇi*; 10, 97, 2 *sthānāni janmāni vā*; 10, 122, 3 *sthānāni pṛthivyādilokātmakāni*; 10, 166, 4 *dhārakeṇa tejasā balena vā*. A selection from other commentaries may be added here: *nāma* (Uvaṭa on VS. 4, 37); *tejorūpaṃ maṇḍalātmakaṃ sthānam* (comm. on AV. 4, 1, 6); *sthānam* (Mādhava on RV. 7, 58, 1; comm. AV. 7, 7, 1; Mahidhara on VS. 4, 37; Uvaṭa on VS. 17, 21); *sthānaṃ tejo vā* (comm. AV. 4, 25, 7; 7, 29, 2); *sthānam annam āyatanam* (Uvaṭa on VS. 1, 31); *sthānaṃ janma vā* (Uvaṭa on VS. 17, 14); *phalabhūtaṃ sthānam* (comm. on TB. 2, 6, 8, 1); *nivāsasthānam* (comm. on AV. 2, 14, 6); *vibhūti-* (comm. on VS. 17, 99); *śarīraṃ tejomayam* (comm. on PB. 14, 2, 3); *śarīram* (Mahidhara on VS. 17, 14).—The commentator Skandasvāmin explained (on RV. 1, 85, 11) *dhiyante tānti dhāmāni dhanāny atrābhīpretāni*; *athavā dhāmāni sthānāni, iha ca paratra ca loke 'bhīpretāni sthānāni*.

4) Petr. Dict., l.c.

5) H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda, Leipzig 1873 (Leipzig 1936), 677.

6) K. F. Geldner, Der Rigveda in Auswahl, I, Glossar, Stuttgart 1907, p. 92 f.

derivative element *-tum* derive from the same root 7), but one should not overlook, on the one hand the formal differences in the root syllable as well as the suffix between the Indian and the German word, and on the other hand their other relatives which even in German—cf. e.g. Goth. *dōms* “(Urteil) Ruhm”, *domjan* “to judge, urteilen”; Engl. *doom* “judgement, fate, evil destiny, ruin”; and compare further e.g. Phryg. *doumo* “assembly, meeting, gathering (of a council)” — are semantically speaking rather distant. One might apply here also the methodical rule, not to engage in Indo-European comparison before the meaning of the Indian term under examination has been established as thoroughly and as accurately as is for the time being possible. It is on the other hand in itself not devoid of interest that the Greek *θῆμα*, meaning “tomb”, which is the exact formal counterpart of Skt. *dhāman-*, is very rare, as well as that the compounds *ἀνάθημα* “votive offering 8); delight”; *ἐπίθημα* “lid, cover” and *θημῶν* (masc.) “heap”; *εὐθημῶν* “tidy in habits (of animals); harmonious” are semantically widely remote from *dhāman-*.

It is interesting to add that other modern lexicographers not only give a number of meanings which in part differ from the above lists, but also arrange them in another order. Thus it reads in Apte’s 9) Dictionary: “dwelling-place, abode, house; place, site, resort; the inmates of a house; ray of light; light; majesty, dignity; power, energy; birth; body; troop; state, condition; class; Ved. law, rule; Ved. property, wealth; fashion, mode, form, appearance”.

The first scholar to disagree with the above lexicographic procedure involving the tacit assumption of the co-existence of a considerable number of different meanings, that is of the possibility of an almost unlimited dissection of the meaning of the word, was Abel Bergaigne 10), according to whom *dhāman-*, being one of the Vedic terms for “law” (“loi”), expresses the etymological sense of “institution” and means, besides “law”, also

7) For details see e.g. S. Feist, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, 3Leiden 1939, p. 122 f.; F. Kluge–A. Götze, *Etymol. Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 15Berlin 1951, p. 813; A. Walde–J. Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen*, I, Berlin-Leipzig 1930, p. 828; Pokorny, *Indogerm. etym. Wörterbuch*, Bern 1948–59, p. 238. It may be parenthetically remarked that meanings such as “Sitz, Stätte, Satzung, Ordnung, Gesetz” given in etymological dictionaries after Skt. *dhāman-* are no great help to Indo-Europeanists in forming an opinion of the semantic relation between the members of the ramified derivatives of the root *dhē-*. It is for instance characteristic that an English dictionary (H. C. Wyld, *The Univ. Dict. of the Engl. language*, 6London 1946, p. 329) in providing an etymology for Engl. *doom* selected out of the many non-German relatives only Skt. *dhāman-* “law” (this meaning does not exist) and Gr. *thémis* “law”.

8) M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgef. etym. Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, II, Heidelberg 1963, p. 99; A. Walde–J. B. Hofmann, *Latein. etym. Wörterbuch*, I, 3Heidelberg 1938, p. 441 f.

9) V. S. Apte’s *Practical Sanskrit-Engl. Dict.*, edited by P. K. Gode and C. G. Karve, Poona 1958, p. 860.

10) A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique d’après les hymnes du Rig-veda*, III, Paris 1883, reprint 1963, 210 ff.

“nature, essence” (qui peut se changer au pluriel en “forme, espèce, race”), “loi” being “l’institution”, the nature of an object, “la manière dont elle a été instituée” — “les deux sens peuvent d’ailleurs souvent se confondre, la nature d’une chose étant en même temps sa loi” —, and the meaning “abode” (“demeure”) being considered a development in post-Vedic Sanskrit “par une modification semblable à celle qu’a subie en français le mot ‘établissement’ ”¹¹). The general sense of “institution” was up to the present day readily adopted by other French scholars¹²). The weaknesses of this line of arguing are, first the a priori etymological reasoning founded on one single, though not peripheral, meaning of the root **dhē-*¹³), and in the second place the tacit assumption that *dhāman-* is really and exactly translatable by some frequently used, but semantically vague French terms which are applicable to a variety of concepts in different provinces of our modern culture. Moreover, the construction of semantic shifts and developments between the various ‘shades of meaning’ of the same word occurring in the same body of ancient literature is, as stated elsewhere¹⁴), a very risky undertaking.

Though likewise opposing “die Tendenz, nach Belieben die Bedeutungen der vedischen Worte zu zersplittern”, Oldenberg¹⁵) preferred to start from *dhā-* in the sense of “ein Objekt, sei es sichtbar oder greifbar oder nicht, “setzen” d.h. . . es an einen Ort, in eine Lage versetzen, oder es einem Zweck, einem Besitzer beilegen . . .”. “So ist *dhāman-* die “Setzung”, . . . der Akt des Setzens, der dadurch geschaffene Zustand, und das dadurch betroffene Objekt . . . eben sofern es den entsprechenden Zustand verkörpert”. “Da kann nun eine materielle Wesenheit, bz. die ihr zugewiesene Stellung oder Funktion in Rede stehen . . . , aber auch die Verhältnisse oder Ordnungen . . .”. This again is a specimen of that deductive and (quasi-)logical reasoning which while rendered out of date by the progress of semantics¹⁶), is still in vogue in some circles of philologists, especially

¹¹) Bergaigne, o.c., p. 210, n. 1.

¹²) Not in N. Stechoupak, L. Nitti, L. Renou, Dict. sanskrit-français, Paris 1932 (which excludes Vedic words and meanings), p. 340: “habitation, séjour (not. des dieux); puissance . . .”.

¹³) Ludwig (Kuhn’s *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachw.* 28, p. 246) already warned against a translation “institutum” on the strength of the root “*dhā-* = ponere”.

¹⁴) See my article on the study of Ancient-Indian religious terminology in *History of religions*, 1 (Chicago 1961), p. 243 ff.

¹⁵) H. Oldenberg, *Zur Religion und Mythologie des Veda*, *Nachr. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.* 1915, Berlin 1916, p. 180 f. (see esp. p. 181).

¹⁶) I refer to S. Ullmann, *The principles of semantics*, Glasgow 1951; J. Weisweiler, *Bedeutungsgeschichte, Linguistik und Philologie*, *Festschrift — W. Streitberg*, Heidelberg 1924, p. 419 ff.; L. Weisgerber, *Die Bedeutungslehre*, *Germ. Rom. Monatsschr.* 15 (1927), p. 161 ff.; the same, *Methode und Terminologie der Wortforschung*, *Indog. Forsch.* 46 (1928), p. 305 ff.; J. Trier, *Das sprachliche Feld*, *N. Jahrb. f. Wiss. u. Jugendb.* 10 (1934), p. 428 ff.; E. Benveniste, *Problèmes sémantiques de la reconstruction*, *Word* 10 (1954), p. 251 ff.; B. L. Whorf, *Language, thought and reality*, London 1956, etc.

among those who, being often confronted with a scarcity of first-hand data, have every now and then to resort to conjectural criticism and logical acuteness in order to bridge over the difficulties of text places or the connections between 'meanings' of words.

It is no use quoting all other opinions in full¹⁷⁾. Let it suffice to recall that Ludwig¹⁸⁾ was convinced that "die Bedeutung, jeder Etymologie unerreichbar (this is incorrect), nichts anders ist als 'Manifestation'" (this is, as far as I am able to see, in itself not wide of the mark); that Hillebrandt¹⁹⁾ firmly believed in a double use: 1) "Stätte, Sitz"; 2) "Schar (das, was diese Stätten enthalten)"; that Geldner, in another publication²⁰⁾, stood in the breach for a plurality of senses: "Art, Tätigkeit, Gebilde, Ursprung, Eigenschaft, Verkörperung", the meaning mentioned last being also adopted by Lindenau²¹⁾; that Neisser²²⁾, throwing doubt upon the hypothesis of a unitary meaning and denying the possibility of the development of the 'post-Vedic meanings' "Zustand, Macht; Glanz" from "Stätte", adopted a semantic change "Setzen" ('activ') > "Gesetz" and hence "(göttliche) Macht, (göttliches) Walten" > "Geschöpf, Form, Wesen" ('passiv')²³⁾; that Porzig²⁴⁾ made a completely unsuccessful attempt at explaining the word as "Kultgemeinschaft", whereas Maryla Falk²⁵⁾ seemed to prefer, at least for part of the occurrences, the meanings "hypercosmic abode" and "light" and Ghoshal translated the word by "the omnipotent divine law (equivalent to *vrata*-)"²⁶⁾. Finally, Renou, recurring several times to this term, attempted to penetrate its mystery by observing that "*dhāman*- — qui paraît jouer . . . le rôle que jouera plus tard *rūpa*- — est en effet la 'forme' en tant que résultant d'une 'fonction'"²⁷⁾, stating that "*dhāman*- est un terme essentiellement polyvalent; mais toutes ces acceptations—e.g. 'statut' in connection with Varuṇa and

17) Some other opinions will be quoted in the following pages.

18) A. Ludwig, Über *dhāman*- und *svadhā*-, Kuhn's Zs. f. vergl. Sprachf. 28 (1887), p. 240 ff., esp. p. 242 f.

19) A. Hillebrandt, Lieder des Ṛgveda, Göttingen-Leipzig 1913, p. 66, n. 3; and the same, Vedisch *dhāman*-, Indog. Forsch. 44 (1927), p. 137. Compare K. Rönnow, Trita Āptya, Uppsala 1927, p. 164 f.; Oldenberg, o.c., p. 401 ff. and Geldner, Zs. deutsch. morg. Ges. 71, p. 344.

20) Geldner, Z. D. M. G. 71, p. 344.

21) M. Lindenau, Zs. f. Ind. u. Iran. 1, p. 40.

22) W. Neisser, Vedicā, in Z. I. I. 5, p. 283; *indrasya dhāman*- "Indra's Macht-gebot"; *mārutam dhāman*- "das M. Wesen"; ṚV. 8, 101, 6 "das Tun"; VS. 1, 30 "das Aufstellen, das Niederlegen".

23) A fine sample of 'desk semantics'.

24) W. Porzig, in I. F. 42, p. 249. See further on. "Auf dem *dhāman*- 'Gefolgschaft' eines Gottes beruht 'die Schöpfung' ṚV. 4, 58, 11; ja, aus ihr strömt dem Gotte selbst die Kraft, so daß er gleichsam aus ihr entsteht: 2, 3, 11; 6, 2, 9."

25) M. Falk, Nāmā-rūpa and dharma-rūpa, Calcutta 1943, p. 8; 9 n.; 53; 198.

26) U. N. Ghoshal, Kingship in the Ṛgveda, Ind. Hist. Quart. 20, Calcutta 1944, p. 41.

27) L. Renou, Études védiques et pāṇinécennes, Paris 1955-1966, I, p. 21.

Mitra—se déduisent de la parenté initiale avec *dhā-* ‘instituer, donner forme et norme à qqch.’ ”²⁸); and adding that “ ‘institution’ (est) aussi concrétisé en ‘séjour’ ou ‘forme’, mais comme valeur secondaire”²⁹) (“lieu où prend naissance une ‘institution’ divine, où se développe une ‘fonction’ ”³⁰); “ ‘formes’ vient à son tour aboutir à ‘siège(s)’ ”³¹); “ ‘structure’ pourrait rendre compte des deux versants (‘séjour’ et ‘institution’ de l’acception”³²).

²⁸) Renou, E. V. P., II, p. 56.

²⁹) Renou, E. V. P., III, p. 59; see also IV, p. 16; 52; 76.

³⁰) Renou, E. V. P., VII, p. 30.

³¹) Renou, E. V. P., VIII, p. 74.

³²) Renou, E. V. P., IX, p. 108 f.

II

In order to understand what was, in ancient India, a *dhāman*- of a divine power it would be worth while to remember some relevant characteristics of that power, or of 'the holy' itself. The 'divine', 'power', 'the holy', 'the numinous', becoming within some form of experience authenticated in objects, persons, the phenomena of nature, and by virtue of which these are effective, influential and loaded with a particular form of extraordinary might so as to become 'sacred', is *inter alia* characterized by being superior, majestic, remote, incomprehensible, tremendous, 'ungeheuer', energetic, mysterious, fascinating, a source of fear, hope and trust ¹). And so has the sacred, that which is endowed with divine power and essence, a place of its own ²). Terms such as "divine", "numinous", "holy" indicate it is true a firm belief and conviction on man's part, a realization that he is in the presence of something powerful the very nature and essence remains unknown to him, of a quality *sui generis*, or that he is confronted with an uncommon experience, but at the same time no definite conception of the completely different that is that "divine" or "holy". Man has what the Germans call an *Ahnung* ("inkling") of the mystery, but he is not able to describe it in exact terms: "das Numinose ist begrifflicher Erfassung völlig unzugänglich" ³).

Nevertheless the numinous and sacred, the divine and that which is endowed with holiness, have, and must have a form; they must be localizable, visibly or audibly, spatially or temporally ⁴). The numinous may for instance become 'placed' on the altar, or in an image or in incense which in Egypt was regarded as "the stair to heaven", in a live embodiment of the holy, in a sacred 'situation' ⁵), in the vision of a seer. It may with regard to different aspects, effects and relations be thought of differently

¹) G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938, *passim*; R. Otto, *Das Heilige*, ²⁵München 1936; M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions*, Paris 1949, p. 15 ff. (Engl. edition, *Patterns in comparative religion*, New York 1958, p. 7 ff.); the same, *The sacred and the profane. The nature of religion*, New York 1959.

²) R. R. Marett, *The threshold of religion*, London 1909; N. Söderblom, *Das Werden des Gottesglaubens*, Leipzig 1916; J. Wach, *Vergleichende Religionsforschung*, Stuttgart 1962, esp. ch. II. Compare also the description of the fearful shudder thrilling the wanderer who ventured near a Roman sacred grove by H. Wagenvoort, *Roman dynamism*, Oxford 1947, p. 79 ff.—The above observations are not to hold that religion in general is no more than a mode of feeling, mainly characterized by the emotion known as 'awe'; we only emphasize an aspect which should be borne in mind in order to understand the problem under discussion.

³) Otto, o.c., p. 5.

⁴) For details see Van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 447 ff.

⁵) Otto, o.c., p. 78 f.

and located in different places. Although there are different ways of thinking of the numinous at different levels of experience, and different attitudes towards it, ranging from love to fear, from trust to apprehension, from dependence to compulsion, the divine is ultimately incomprehensible⁶⁾, but believed to be willing to reveal part of its essence, to enter into contact with its faithful worshipper by means of rites and symbols, to manifest its presence in things visible or conceivable. According to Madhva⁷⁾ the true nature of Viṣṇu remains unknown even to those who have reached his community in meditation, because that which is seen by the yogin is only an 'image' produced by God (comm. Brahmasūtra 3, 2, 37). The popular hymns of the worshippers of Śiva and Viṣṇu sing of the immediate presence of the Lord in a definite place, that is to say, the poets call on Him as represented for instance in a shrine known to the devotee, addressing Him as "Lord of the shrine of Ārūr, Lord of Śrīraṅgam etc."⁸⁾. Interestingly enough, the name of the place in which the god, with part of his essence, is believed to reveal himself or to reside, may become a mode of address of the god himself: "Raṅgam, my Lord". This is no metaphor, but "the deity's presence in which the devotee finds himself is to be taken quite literally"; "it is in its very nature part of the devotee's experience and vision of God"⁹⁾. The form of this devotion with all importance which it attaches to specific places of divine presence or modes of divine revelation is an essential part of Indian popular religiosity.

It is in view of these facts small wonder that there are in many languages words vaguely to indicate the speaker's awareness that a place (in a large sense of the term) is visited, frequented, inhabited by non-human beings or higher power, that these "reside" or "occupy" there, "haunt" them, that the divine and the sacred may manifest there or may embody themselves therein, that they are represented by some event, object or phenomenon. Gods are not only believed to live, dwell or stay somewhere – Viṣṇu is for instance R̥.V. 1, 154, 2 described as *giriṣṭhāḥ* "inhabiting the mountains"; Śiva is *giriśa-* "living in the mountains" etc. – , they are also represented by manifestations, by beings, objects or phenomena believed to share in their specific power, by 'doubles' of their power (such

⁶⁾ See e.g. R. C. Zaehner, *Mysticism, sacred and profane*, Oxford 1957, p. 194.

⁷⁾ H. von Glasenapp, *Madhva's Philosophie des Vishnu-Glaubens*, Bonn-Leipzig 1923, p. 34.

⁸⁾ F. Kingsbury and G. E. Philips, *Hymns of the Tamil Śaivite saints*, Calcutta 1921, p. 48; J. S. M. Hooper, *Hymns of Alvārs*, Calcutta 1929, p. 41 ff.

⁹⁾ K. W. Bolle, *Devotion and Tantra*, *Studies of esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism*, Koyasan Japan 1965, p. 219 ff. – As is well known persons were, and still are – e.g. in the North of England and Scotland – referred to by the names of their dwellings or properties. Thus six brothers, all Williamsons, were about sixty years ago called by everyone Henshall, Dane Bank, Daisy Bank, Mortlake, Ramsdall and Greenway Bank, which were the names of their properties.

as e.g. the Indian *vāhanas*¹⁰)—RV. 1, 114, 5 Rudra is the “reddish boar of heavens”; Vāyu is the body of the sacred fire-place (ŚB. 9, 2, 1, 38)—and by a large variety of symbols¹¹). These views of the numinous are not, however, mutually exclusive. In elucidation of what will be said in connection with *dhāman*- it seems useful to observe that divine potency may for instance be represented as “sitting” — cf. e.g. Ahi Budhnya¹²) who is RV. 7, 34, 16 described as sitting in the bottom of the streams — as well as embodying itself in some being or object¹³). A Rudra “sits” in torrents, in the wild mountain and dangerous fords, among the savage beasts of the forests (cf. e.g. PGS. 3, 15, 9; 12 ff.)¹⁴), but these animals are also regarded as “a form or manifestation (*rūpa*-) of that fearful deity (ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 20), just as honey is a *rūpa* of soma (12, 8, 2, 15) and gold is a *rūpa* of nobility (13, 2, 2, 17)¹⁵). As Śiva the same deity is however explicitly said to be a balm and healing medicine (VS. 3, 59). What may be emphasized is that the same object may be a *rūpa*- of a potency (e.g. the horse is a ‘form’ of the sun: ŚB. 7, 3, 2, 16), and “correspond” to another power (6, 4, 4, 12), or simply be that potency (13, 2, 2, 17) or another potency: the horse also is the sun (6, 3, 1, 29). The horse is moreover Varuṇa’s animal (5, 3, 1, 5), and Varuṇa is nobility (9, 4, 2, 16), but the horse may also be Varuṇa (RV. 1, 163, 4)¹⁶).

The same divine power may on the other hand manifest itself in various ways. Similarities of subjective impressions and objective circumstances lead to the belief that the same numen¹⁷) or the same personal power, bearer of an individual name and representative of a special aspect of higher energy, cosmic activity or transcendent powerfulness, may ‘haunt’, or manifest itself in many forms, places, phenomena, at the same or at different times, may reveal itself in several localities, embodiments or other forms of epiphany. Thus Indra is the sun, Āditya (ŚB. 8, 5, 3, 2) as well as the thunder(-cloud; 11, 6, 3, 9); he is also nobility (5, 1, 1, 11) and the sacrificer is Indra (5, 1, 3, 4); besides, this god is stated to be energy and vital or generative power (5, 2, 3, 8)—that is to say he is present in every manifestation of energy, and he may become a tiger

¹⁰) I refer to Change and continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965, ch. III.

¹¹) M. Eliade, Images et symboles, Paris 21952.

¹²) I refer to A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 72 f.

¹³) See also Die Religionen Indiens, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 31; 38.

¹⁴) E. Arbman, Rudra, Uppsala 1922, p. 33.

¹⁵) For “Wesenheiten und ihre Erscheinungsformen” see also H. Oldenberg, Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte, Göttingen 1919, p. 99 ff. For the related phenomenon “des substantiellen Denkens” H. von Glasenapp, Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens, Halle S. 1940.

¹⁶) See J. Eggeling, The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated, V. Sacred Books of the East, 44, Oxford 1900, p. XIX f.

¹⁷) For *numen* see F. Pfister, in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, XVII (1937), 1273 ff., to whose ‘entwicklungsgeschichtliche’ constructions I hesitate to subscribe; H. J. Rose, Religion in Greece and Rome, New York 1959, p. 161 ff.

5, 3, 5, 3) or speech (11, 1, 6, 18) and appear as breath (6, 1, 2, 28), as the central vital air (6, 1, 1, 2), the wind (14, 2, 2, 6), the fire-place (10, 4, 1, 7). According to the Viṣṇuite Pāñcarātra school the so-called secondary avatāras of Viṣṇu, i.e. those transmigrating souls which are to perform a special task, have become a sort of shelters of God's power for the sake of the accomplishment of that special task. The Viṣṇuite *vibhūti*-doctrine regards every being which is extraordinarily powerful, illustrious and endowed with vigour and excellence as arisen from a portion of God's creative energy: see e.g. BhG. 10, 41. Another doctrine relates to the arcā-avatāras: a portion of the divine creative power (*śakti*-) is held to be present in a consecrated icon or image of the godhead. One might also compare passages such as MārK. 5, 20 *tejobhāgais tato devā avaterur divo mahim* "then the gods descended with portions of their brilliant energy from heaven to earth".

When, as is the case in the Veda, divine power is largely conceived of as borne by, or being a function of, mighty beings, who without coinciding with the phenomena of daily experience are to a considerable extent believed to stand for—as a rule important—ideas which manifest themselves among other things in the phenomena of nature and in all facts and circumstances that may affect man's life and welfare¹⁸), the conviction cannot indeed fail to arise that power, and hence the bearer of specific power, is present wherever that power operates and manifests itself and that that presence may make itself especially perceptible in definite forms, receptacles, embodiments, projections or whatever term one might use in this connection¹⁹). It seems indeed to be a wide-spread characteristic of what sometimes is called 'occult power', but may rather be described as mysterious efficacy, experienced as strange, uncanny, mighty, marvellous, holy, superhuman, operative, dangerous or beneficent, to appear to man as localized and confined to a more or less limited range of objects or events which particularly impress the imagination and are wonderful in aspect or activity, but also to be regarded as ubiquitous and all-pervasive, in any case as not limited to a particular manifestation²⁰).

Deities and numinous potencies in general make their presence widely known to worshippers by signs, emblems or manifestations of some sort, and the belief that they without being identical with natural phenomena or with heaven, sun, moon etc. reveal themselves or their energy in these, or that man cannot perceive the deity itself, but only its manifestations, is not only well-known in ancient India, but for instance also in Africa²¹)

¹⁸) I refer to my *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 48 ff.

¹⁹) Compare Heiler's long chapter on the "Erfahrung der Gotteswirklichkeit am heiligen Gegenstand": F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 34 ff.

²⁰) Cf. e.g. H. Webster, *Magic*, London 1948, p. 24.

²¹) E. G. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion*, Oxford 1956, p. 2: "It would be . . . a mistake to regard the association of God with the sky as pure metaphor, for though the sky is not God, and though God is everywhere, he is thought of as being

and other parts of the world. Although a god is not sky, moon, rain etc. he is often believed to be in them in the sense that he reveals himself through them. Thus the Semitic Istar, a mother goddess presiding over 'love' and fecundity, is on the one hand 'symbolized' by the cow, but on the other hand expressly said to become manifest in that animal ²²); the same divinity moreover appears as a queen and a high Lady, who may appear in the form of other goddesses. In ancient Mexico a deity could, during the performance of rites, be represented, not only by his idol, but also by his throne, a seat in the form of a stone jaguar ²³). A numinous power is with Indian 'semi-primitives' not rarely represented by a rough, unhewn stone or a pole ²⁴), or it may be well in evidence through a living 'symbol', e.g. a tree ²⁵). It is moreover often known by reference to the village in which it has a shrine: Pālūruppa is the "Father of the village Pālūr", although these 'village-deities' are not always necessarily the gods of a single village ²⁶). The same god is further said to be 'really' Viṣṇu, that is, he has been affiliated with the brahmanical ('sanskritic') pantheon. Thus Kuṭṭatammé, lit. the "Mother of Kuṭṭa (a village)" has as her 'real' name Black Kālī and is as such identified with one of the manifestations of Pārvatī. These gods may also settle down in a village or in some form or other vex those who refuse to propitiate them.

Roman gods such as Iupiter furnish good instances of gods whose 'presence' may be experienced in a considerable number of places or phenomena. As a god of light Iupiter was believed to reside on the summits of mountains, but he was also 'symbolized' by a stone — no doubt a thunderstone, and as such he was called *Iupiter lapis*, of whom Paulus, 102 L.

particularly in the sky . . . Hence anything connected with the firmament has associations with him. Nuer sometimes speak of him as falling in the rain and of being in lightning and thunder"; p. 317 "When Nuer speak of *kwoth* without specifying any particular representation of it . . . it is always understood that what is referred to is Spirit conceived of either as God or as some particular hypostasis or refraction of him . . ."; p. 124 "It might be held . . . that the Nuer conception of God is a conceptualization of events which, on account of their strangeness or variability as well as on account of their potentiality for fortune or misfortune, are said to be his activity or his activities in one or other of his hypostases or refractions".

²²) F. Jeremias, in Ch. de la Saussaye, A. Bertholet, E. Lehmann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, Tübingen 1925, I, p. 553.

²³) W. Krickeberg, in W. K., H. Trimborn, u.a., *Die Religionen des alten Amerika*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 34.

²⁴) See e.g. W. Koppers, *Die Bhil in Zentral-Indien*, Horn-Wien 1948, p. 273 f.; M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and society among the Coorgs of South India*, Oxford 1952, p. 60; 176; 179, etc.; T. C. Hodson, *The Naga tribes of Manipur*, London 1911, p. 126; J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, London 1922, p. 117.

²⁵) See e.g. S. Endle, *The Kacháris*, London 1911, p. 36. Remember also the ancient Indian epiphanies in trees: O. Viennot, *Le culte de l'arbre dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris 1954, p. 18.

²⁶) Srinivas, o.c., p. 182 f.; S. Fuchs, *The Gonds and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla*, London 1960, p. 383.

says: "lapidem silicem tenebant iuraturi per Iovem . . ." — ; or he descended from heaven in the form of lightning, being known as *Iupiter fulgur* and possessing in that function a temple on the Campus martius. For the agriculturists he was especially important in his aspect of *Iupiter liber* who had a temple of his own on the Mons aventinus. Representing and having absorbed various numina he really was multiform; in the eyes of the Roman worshippers he must have represented a more or less personal 'divine concept' which "verschiedener Gestaltungen und Modifikationen fähig war" ²⁷). "There are material objects so very full of *numen* as actually to bear specific divine names. For example, in the Regia, the ancient palace of Roman kings . . . , there were certain holy spears, with which war-magic was performed on occasion. . . . It sounds somewhat strange to modern notions that the spears themselves seem to have borne the name of the god Mars. It puzzled the later Romans, some of whom modified the name by speaking of the "spears of Mars" instead, but there is no real reason to doubt that to begin with Mars and the spears were one and the same . . . The interesting and significant thing is that the arms were Mars" ²⁸). In various parts of the world many people indeed think that the idols or other 'numinous objects' are not 'images' representing the gods but the gods themselves ²⁹).

In the ancient Israelitish religion Yahveh could manifest himself in the shape of his angel who sometimes appeared to men ³⁰). The texts alternately call this manifestation Yahveh and the Angel of Yahveh so that it remains uncertain whether these two are identical or not ³¹). Another mode of revealing himself is his 'Face', "eine Erscheinungsform für Jahwe selbst", which is nowhere described in detail ³²); "irgendwie muß

²⁷) For the details the reader may consult e.g. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultur der Römer*, München 1912, p. 113 ff. (cf. p. 119); A. Grenier, in *Mana, Les religions de l'Europe ancienne*, III, Paris 1948, p. 97 ff.; H. Wagenvoort, *Roman dynamism*, Oxford 1947, p. 50 ff.; W. Warden Fowler, *The religious experience of the Roman people*, London 1922, *passim*.

²⁸) Rose, o.c., p. 169; cf. also L. Deubner, in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 8, Beiheft, p. 71 ff.

²⁹) See also J. B. Pratt, *The religious consciousness*, New York 1923, p. 274 f.

³⁰) For a more detailed survey of the relative facts see H. Ringgren, *Israelitische Religion*, Stuttgart 1963, p. 79 ff.; A. Lods, *L'ange de Yahveh et l'âme extérieure*, *Studien* — J. Wellhausen, Giessen 1914, p. 265 ff.; F. Stier, *Gott und sein Engel im Alten Testament*, *Alttestam. Abh.* 12, Münster 1934.

³¹) In the Javanese *Serat Paramayoga* by R. Ng. Ranggawarsita (ch. III) the angel Ngadjadjil, being surrounded by blazing fire, reveals his identity as the lord of heaven and earth.

³²) E. Gulin, *Das Antlitz Gottes*, *Ann. Acad. Fennicae*, Helsinki 1923, p. 21 ff. Compare with regard to Roman-Catholic belief: "Avec la pièce précieuse de ma sainte humanité qui est ma Face adorable vous obtiendrez dans le royaume des Cieux ce que vous voudriez" (*Vie de la Sœur Marie de St. Pierre*, 29 oct. 1845); "cette Face adorable est comme le cachet de la Divinité" (*ibid.* 3 et 6 nov. 1845); "pas un de ceux qui honorent ma sainte Face ne sera séparé de moi" (i.e. de Jésus-Christ; *Ste Mechthilde, De la grâce spirituelle*, 1. 13).

damit eine wirkliche Gegenwart gemeint sein" ³³). Elsewhere the Lord's presence is indicated by the term *kābōd*, his "glory" or "magnificence" ("Herrlichkeit") ³⁴), which is not rarely associated with luminous phenomena. Whereas the cult in the temple is described as "seeing the Lord's Face", his glory was regarded as permanently present in his tabernacle or temple. The divine presence may also be borne by a cloud; but the relation between cloud and glory remains obscure. However, where the Presence is, there is God, and this Presence pervades the whole earth. The Lord may manifest his activity also through his Ghost, i.e. his special power and energy ³⁵). The Lord's word is, further, conceived as a concrete substance emanating from Him and charged with His power ³⁶). Mention must finally be made of Yahveh's name as a symbol of His presence, which in Israel as well as elsewhere was considered part of His person or even His person itself ³⁷). Yahveh places his name in the temple with the result that it is His abode (Deut. 12, 5; cf. 1 Kings 9, 3), that is to say, His name dwells in a place or is placed there.

In the ancient Egyptian cult the idol was 'tended' in order to fill it with vital power and to make it an abode of the god with whom it is not simply identical ³⁸). Whereas it appears, for instance from statements such as "his (i.e. Amun's) form is every god", that Amun is present in all divine forms, or embodies himself in them — he may, moreover, become phenomenal reality in the powers of nature —, he was also supposed to be willing to move into his image ³⁹). "His soul is in heaven, his body in the West, his image in Heliopolis". "He sits down on his image and the forms of the (other) gods take their seats beside him" ⁴⁰). With regard to the goddess Hathor it reads: "Sie fliegt vom Himmel . . . , um einzutreten in den Horizont ihres Ka ⁴¹) auf Erden, sie fliegt auf ihren Leib, sie vereinigt sich mit ihrer Gestalt (Bild, Figur)" ⁴²), and "Sie läßt sich nieder auf ihre Gestalt, die auf der Mauer eingemeißelt ist" ⁴³); in connection with Re-Harachte (the sun-god with the falcon's head): "Nachdem sein *b'* (i.e. his "Erscheinungsweise") vom Himmel kam, um seine Denkmäler

³³) Ringgren, o.c., p. 80.

³⁴) L. H. Brockington, The presence of God, Expository Times, Oct. 1945, p. 21 ff.

³⁵) H. Ringgren, Word and wisdom, Lund 1947, p. 165 ff.

³⁶) Ringgren, o.c., p. 158.

³⁷) G. von Rad, Deuteronomiumstudien, Göttingen 1947, p. 25 ff.: "Die Vorstellung von dem Namen als der eigentlichen Offenbarungsform Jahwes ist an sich wohl nichts Neues . . . ; entschieden neu daran ist aber die Annahme von einer konstanten, fast dinglichen Gegenwart des Namens am Kultort".

³⁸) S. Morenz, Ägyptische Religion, Stuttgart 1960, p. 92 ff.

³⁹) Morenz, o.c., p. 158 f.

⁴⁰) H. Junker, Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien, Vienna 1910, p. 6.

⁴¹) Ka: "the bearer of the super-physical vital power".

⁴²) J. Dümichen, Tempelinschriften, II (1867), T. 24, quoted by Morenz, o.c., p. 160.

⁴³) A. Mariette, Dendérah, Paris 1870, I, 87 a.

(zu sehen), vereinigte sich sein Herz mit seinen Falkenidolen'' 44). What may interest us also is that the terminology used in these statements is not fixed. From other facts, such as e.g. the belief that the god of a region is the sun in the sky whose image is on the earth, it clearly appears that at least in ancient times the god and his image were also regarded as in a way identical 45).

It is however also clear that man's inclination to transpose numinous experiences, or inexplicit feelings about the presence of the holy or the divine into concrete ideas or images, into notions or conceptions which may have a name 46) and be the object of reflection and discussion and to form a more or less satisfactory idea of the sacred and of the hierophanies 47) with which he is confronted, leads him on the one hand to create a 'special vocabulary of religious terms' and on the other to apply to these conceptions, in a more or less 'metaphorical' way, terms of his normal, 'secular' vocabulary 48). But the very use of this 'analogical terminology' is due precisely to human inability to express that which goes beyond 'natural' realities. The modern investigator should however not omit taking into account and, as far as possible, penetrating the modalities of the religious experience 49) underlying the speculative and more or less rationalized forms of *in casu* Vedism, known from our sources.

It is therefore hardly necessary to point out at greater length that we may not expect to find in the Vedic hymns or in the discussions of the ancient ritualists exact definitions, explications or paraphrases which while being in mutual agreement could, when combined, produce an irreproachable definition allowing an exact translation into a modern language 50). Too often have modern scholars when translating ancient Indian religious terms by terms which in the vocabulary of science, philosophy, or theology of their own native tongue, or in their own language generally, have more or less precise meanings, created the impression that their renderings were exact counterparts of the Vedic terms and as such reflections of clear concepts in the brains of Vedic man 51). The very nature of religious experience stood in the way of well-defined conceptions 52). Even terms such as *θεός* in Greek, *deus* in Latin

44) Ibidem, II, 45 c.

45) Morenz, o.c., p. 161 f.

46) For the name see further on.

47) For this term see Eliade, *Traité*, p. 20 ff.

48) Compare the remarks made by Otto, o.c., p. 153 in connection with Genesis 28, 17.

49) See e.g. Eliade, *The sacred and the profane*, p. 8 ff.

50) "Wir haben es (beim Numinosen) nicht mit einem eigentlichen rationalen 'Begriffe' zu tun, sondern nur mit einem Begriff-Ähnlichen . . ." (Otto, o.c., p. 21).

51) See also E. A. Nida, *Toward a science of translating*, Leiden 1964, p. 1 ff.

52) See also C. J. Bleeker, *The sacred bridge*, Leiden 1963, p. 36 ff. (The key word of religion).

— not to speak of *numen* —, *deva*- in Sanskrit ⁵³) were used in what would appear to a trained philosopher in an extremely vague way. Even indubitably polytheistic religions, such as the ancient Greek or Egyptian, may, in spite of the existence of a rich religious terminology, speak simply of “god” whenever it is a case of regarding some definite event or object as the revelation of superior power. This revelation might — I am convinced — be experienced as a *dhāman*- of some unknown god or of divinity generally.

Anticipating the results of the following examination of texts a Vedic *dhāman*- may, as far as I am able to see, to a certain extent be described as a ‘location’, of a numen, of divine power, of a deity, i.e. not only or merely a ‘holder’ or ‘receptacle’ of divine power, a place, being or phenomenon in which a divinity sets or locates itself, functions or manifests itself, or displays its power, or where its ‘presence’ is experienced, but also a particular way of presenting or revealing itself, of locating or ‘projecting’ a mode of its nature and essence ⁵⁴), a hypostasis or refraction in which it is believed to be active. The etymology is beyond dispute, but it should be remembered that the root *dhā*- does not only express ideas such as “establishing, making, creating” ⁵⁵), but also “holding, bearing”; cf. *-dhā*- in the sense of “holder”, *-dha*- and *-dhi*- in that of “holding” and “receptacle”. The suffix *-man*- is as I.E. *-men*- on the other hand common to a considerable number of ancient Indo-European words denoting some ‘power concept’ or other: in Latin e.g. *nūmen* (see above); *omen*, *carmen*, *sēmen*, etc., in Sanskrit *ojman*-, *karman*-, *bhāman*-, *sāman*- etc.⁵⁶). If the prehistoric function of this suffix was to denote “Geräte und Naturdinge als durch Formung mit Kraft erfüllt” — “in denen Kräften schlummern, die ohne menschliches Zutun ihre Wirkungen hervorbringen” — and to form first and foremost “kultische Wörter” in a large sense of the term, it is in perfect harmony with the above central meaning of Vedic *dhāman*-, also if one rejects the highly improbable thesis defended by Porzig that both Avestan meanings (“‘Stätte’ der Seligen oder der Verdammten nach dem jüngsten Gericht (Gāthās)”; “‘Geschöpf’ oder ‘Schöpfung’ (im jüngeren Avesta)”) may find their

⁵³) C. W. J. van der Linden, The concept of deva in the Vedic age, Thesis Utrecht 1954.

⁵⁴) Other efforts to give an idea of the word’s meaning are to follow.—Compare also the following attempt at describing the symbolical significance of the Tree of Life: it “springs up, out or down into space from its root in the navel centre of the Supreme Being . . . Brahman, as he lies extended on the back of the Waters, the possibilities of existence . . . That tree is his procession in a likeness (*mūrta*-), the emanation of his fiery-energy (*tejas*) as light, the spiration of his breath (*prāṇa* . . .)” (A. K. Coomaraswamy, Elements of Buddhist iconography, Cambridge Mass. 1935, p. 8).

⁵⁵) See also E. Benveniste, in Word, 10 (New York 1954), p. 252 f.

⁵⁶) Cf. W. Porzig, I. F. 42, p. 221 ff. See also J. Wackernagel–A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p. 756.

unity in the R̥gvedic facts which point to “die kultisch verbundene Gemeinschaft von Menschen oder von Göttern” — he refers to R̥V. 4, 5, 4; 7, 67, 9; 7, 61, 4; 7, 66, 18; 7, 87, 2; 4, 7, 7; 7, 36, 5. “Die Götterscharen werden als Kultgemeinschaften aufgefaßt und deshalb *dhāma* genannt”: 5, 48, 1 (“Gemeinde”); 7, 58, 1; 3, 55, 15; “Gefolgschaft (eines Gottes)”: 3, 31, 21; 3, 37, 4 — I.E. *dhēm̐n-* “gleichsam die krafterfüllte Formation zum Zwecke kultischer Tätigkeit” > I.Ir. “Kultgemeinschaft” > Y.Av. “Schöpfung oder Geschöpf eines Gottes”⁵⁷). The G.Av. use Y. 46, 6 *drūjō . . . dāmaṇ* reminds us of Vedic phrases such as R̥V. 1, 43, 9 *dhāmann ṛtasya*⁵⁸); the expression was translated by “créatures du Mal”⁵⁹); “Stätten des Trugs”⁶⁰). The *dāman-* (“Stätten”, “séjours”) of the holy man in the house of Ahura Mazda in Y. 48, 7 may likewise be ‘locations’ in the above sense⁶¹). In view of what is known of the cosmogonic doctrines of the ancient Iranians⁶²) — Ohrmazd (Ahura Mazda) produces the whole world out of himself, which may point to a divine body created *ad hoc* as an instrument of creation⁶³); or “there was an implement like a flame of fire, pure in light; it was fashioned from the Endless Light; and from it all creation was made; and after it had been made, it was put into a body . . . (after three thousand years) it fashioned (things) one by one from its body”⁶⁴) — a similar semantic relation of the Y.Av. meaning “creature, created being; creation” does not seem to be completely impossible.

If the *dhāman-*⁶⁵) concept⁶⁶) may to some extent be defined as a

⁵⁷) Porzig, o.c., p. 249 f.

⁵⁸) H. Humbach, Die Gathas des Zarathustra, II, Heidelberg 1959, p. 70.

⁵⁹) J. Duchesne-Guillemin, Zoroastre, Paris 1948.

⁶⁰) Humbach, l.c.; cf. C. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Strassburg 1904, 734; 736.

⁶¹) Cf. also G. Widengren, Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God, Uppsala 1945, p. 43 f.

⁶²) See e.g. Duchesne-Guillemin, La religion de l’Iran ancien, Paris 1962, p. 207 ff.; R. C. Zaehner, The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism, London 1961, p. 204, etc.

⁶³) J. de Menasce, Le témoignage de Jayhānī sur le mazdéisme, Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg oblatum, Uppsala 1954, p. 52. The whole passage is worth reading. The creator gave also the *din*, His deed or act, to Gayōmart, who was unable to find a person who could receive it; finally the creator gave it to Zardušt (Zarathustra) who put it into practice.

⁶⁴) Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dātastān i dēnik, ed. Dhabhar, Bombay 1913, p. 127 ff.; translated by R. C. Zaehner, Zurvan, Oxford 1955, p. 364 f.

⁶⁵) Reference may be made to the, in a way parallel, ‘concrete’ meaning of *-dhāna-* (cf. Wackernagel-Debrunner, o.c., II, 2, p. 732 f.) “receptacle, case, seat” in compounds such as *agnidhāna-* “receptacle for the sacred fire”; *havirdhāna-* “oblation-receptacle, i.e. the vehicle in which the soma plants are conveyed” and of *-dhānī-* in *jivadhānī-* “receptacle of living beings (the earth)”; *devadhānī-* “divine abode (the name of Indra’s city)”.

⁶⁶) Those who object to the vagueness of this ‘definition’ should attempt to describe in exact terms the religious ideas nursed by the average Christians or read

“‘place’, sphere, phenomenon in which a divine power is located; a holder or container of a numinous potency”⁶⁷⁾ it is not surprising to find it associated with *nāman-* “name”⁶⁸⁾—which e.g. TĀ. 10, 1, 3 appears as a more original⁶⁹⁾ *varia lectio* for *dhāman-* in AV. 2, 1, 2; VS. 32, 9⁷⁰⁾—, because the experience “here power manifests itself; here there is something numinous” induced man to assign a name to the powerful or incomprehensible⁷¹⁾. To every aspect of a numen belongs, generally speaking, a name⁷²⁾, and this name—“an actuality expressed in a word”, which gives consistency to its bearer—which in ancient times was a sort of double of the person or object named and was moreover regarded as identical with it⁷³⁾, served as an important means of penetrating the mystery of the divine and superhuman⁷⁴⁾. Contact with some strange potency, uncommon experiences receive name and form (*rūpa-*)⁷⁵⁾; they are located in, or to, a *dhāman-*.

Hence statements such as ṚV. 10, 45, 2 “We know thy . . . *dhāmāni*, O Agni, which are distributed in many places (or, variously); we know thy highest (chief, most excellent) name, which is secret”⁷⁶⁾: obviously, the names belonging to the *dhāmāni* are not secret. The poet of 3, 37 “approaches”, with all words of praise, Indra’s names (st. 3), rejoicing in the experience of the god’s hundred *dhāmāni* (st. 4).—The close connection between *nāman-* and *dhāman-* is illustrated by MS. 1, 3, 9 *dīteḥ putrāṇām aditer akāriṣam uruśarmanām . . . , yeṣāṃ nāmāni vihītāni dhāmaśaś cittair yajanti bhuvanāya jīvase* “I have commemorated the sons of Diti, of Aditi of wide refuge . . . , whose names which are distributed

a good account on the religion of, for instance, an African people. See e.g. Evans-Pritchard, Nuer religion, p. 315 “These definitions are only schemata . . . , and if we seek for elucidation beyond these terms, a statement of what Spirit is thought to be like in itself, we seek of course in vain. Nuer do not claim to know”.

⁶⁷⁾ R. Otto, *Das Gefühl des Überweltlichen*, München 1932; the same, *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*, Giessen 1932.

⁶⁸⁾ See also Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 210 f.—It may be recalled that words expressing some spatial idea may also in other cases have meanings such as “position, rank etc.”. Thus MärkP. 16, 134 (18, 14) Indra’s *pada-* of which he has been deprived by the demons appears in the next stanza to be his “Indrahood” (*indratva-*).

⁶⁹⁾ J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda*, Breslau 1906, p. 127.

⁷⁰⁾ Cf. also A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 13, n. 4.

⁷¹⁾ *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 26 ff.; M. Falk, *Nāma-rūpa and dharma-rūpa*, Calcutta 1943, p. 1, and in general Van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 147 ff.

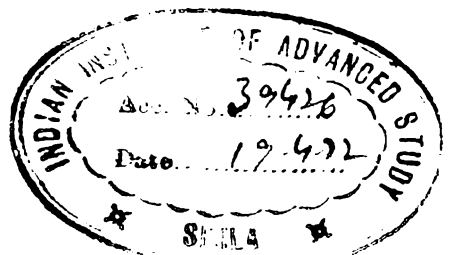
⁷²⁾ For *numen* and *nomen* see Wagenvoort, o.c., p. 78.

⁷³⁾ In a litany to Agni, the compiler of VS. 33, 10 invited the god to drink soma *mītrāsya dhāmabhiḥ*; the comm. explain “praised by the names of Mitra”.

⁷⁴⁾ See my article ‘The etymologies in the brāhmaṇas’, *Lingua*, 5 (Amsterdam 1955), p. 61 ff.

⁷⁵⁾ Van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 157. For *rūpa-* see also Oldenberg, *Nachr. Gött.* 1915, p. 183, n. 3.

⁷⁶⁾ The real name of a god is not rarely (ancient Rome, Egypt, Germany etc.) kept secret.



in accordance with their 'locations' they revere with intentions that creatures may live".—In a variant of the formula *rudra yat te . . .*⁷⁷⁾ occurring AVPaipp. 1, 95, 2 it reads *rudra yat te guhyaṃ nāma yat te* (conj.: *yat ten*) *dhāma tayor induḥ*.—In connection with the preparation of the sacrificial gifts to be offered to the god it reads ṚV. 1, 57, 3: *yásya dhāma śrāvase nāmendriyāṃ jyótir ákāri* which seems to mean "the expression (display) of whose (Indra's) divine power, whose manifestations known by the name of Indra have been made a light to be an object of praise". Other translations ("Sitz", Grassmann, "Wesen, Art", Geldner) are less satisfactory.

⁷⁷⁾ M. Bloomfield, A Vedic concordance, Cambridge Mass. 1906, p. 827.

III

A survey of the relevant text places seems to show that the sense provisionally attributed to *dhāman-* in the preceding chapter may lead to a satisfactory explication of the occurrences of this term in the Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda.

ṚV. 10, 45, 2 *vidmā te agne tredhā trayāṇi vidmā te dhāma vibhṛtā purutrā* "We know, O Agni, thy threefold three (i.e. Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, see ŚB. 6, 3, 5, 16; 6, 7, 4, 4; Sāyaṇa); we know thy 'locations' spread over many places". The last words mean "in as much as he (Agni) is here distributed many ways". In pāda a Sāyaṇa and other commentators, followed by Renou¹⁾, supply *rūpāṇi*, Geldner less probably *dhāmāni*, Griffith²⁾ translates (VS. 12, 19) "three powers" (in a) and "forms" (in b), Keith³⁾ (TS. 4, 2, 2, 1) "places" and "seat". The formula is, during the agnicayana, to accompany the vātsapra rite, i.e. the adoration of the fire in the pan (ŚB. 6, 7, 4, 4, where Eggeling⁴⁾ translates "sites").—The words *agnér dhāmāni vibhṛtā purutrā*⁵⁾ occur also ṚV. 10, 80, 4, Sāyaṇa explaining *śarīrāṇi*; Ludwig⁶⁾: "Manifestation"; Geldner: "Formen", Keith⁷⁾ (TS. 2, 2, 12, 6): "abodes"; Renou⁸⁾ "places-institutionelles"⁹⁾. See also 3, 55, 4, where the noun *dhāman-* is left out. It is true that the poets make also mention of "seats" (*sadana-*, *sādana-*) of divinities, but this is not to conclude, with Hillebrandt¹⁰⁾, that *dhāman-* and *sadana-* are completely synonymous.—In 10, 122, 3 the *saptā dhāmāni* round or about which Agni is said to move are, as far as I am able to see, likewise the various "places-fonctionelles" or "positions"¹¹⁾, i.e. 'locations' of Agni's divinity in the ritual fires required in performing rites¹²⁾.—Agni's *saptā dhāma priyāṇi* mentioned at VS. 17, 79 are according to ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 44 the metres (*chandāṃsi*), which are indeed supposed to consist of

1) Renou, E. V. P. XIV, p. 12.

2) R. T. H. Griffith, The texts of the White Yajurveda, Benares 1927, p. 122.

3) A. B. Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus School entitled Taittirīya Saṃhitā, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 309.

4) Eggeling, S. B. E. 41, p. 284.

5) The parallel line at AV. 13, 3, 21 has . . . *tr. janitraṃ tredhā devānāṃ janimāni vidma.*

6) Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 244.

7) Keith, o.c., p. 162.

8) Renou, E. V. P. XIV, p. 20.

9) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 212 n.: "La forme (et non la demeure) brillante d'Agni fait le tour de l'espace 1, 95, 9; ses formes sont dispersées en divers lieux, 10, 45, 2; 80, 4".

10) Cf. Hillebrandt, I. F. 44, p. 141.

11) Renou, E. V. P. XIV, p. 28; 97.

12) See further on, 9, 102, 2.

(three or) seven typical forms (cf. ŚB. 10, 3, 1, 1: "the seven metres produced in Agni"); this explication is endorsed by both commentators, Mahīdhara furnishing a—probably more original—alternative, viz. the āhavanīya and the other fire places.

ṚV. 3, 3, 10 *vaiśvānara tāva dhāmāny ā cake yēbhiḥ svarvīd ābhavo vicakṣana*¹³: *tejaḥ*, Sāyaṇa; "heiliger Brauch", Grassmann; "Eigenschaften", Geldner; "institutions", Renou¹⁴). Since Vaiśvānara is that special manifestation of Agni's in which he, inter alia, concerns himself with the descent of the celestial fire, and this aspect of the god displays its power in various ways¹⁵—inter alia by entering the waters (6, 8, 4; 7, 49, 1) and the plants (1, 98, 2) and by directing the course of the rivers (7, 5, 2), by pervading both parts of the universe with its light (7, 5, 4), by being the guest of men (6, 7, 1) and the 'navel' of sacrificial rites (6, 7, 2), by acting as a destroyer of enemies (1, 59, 6), finding the light of the sun (3, 3, 5), by being present in every family (3, 26, 3) etc.—the god may be said to be practically omnipresent and to have many *dhāmāni*.

In ṚV. 3, 3, 4 Agni Vaiśvānara is declared to have entered both parts of the universe and to be greeted with praise on account of his *dhāmāni*. Neither Grassmann's "heiliger Brauch" nor Geldner's "Eigenschaften" can satisfy me¹⁶: the god is in st. 5 said to dwell in the water, in 9 to take care of the abodes (of men), in 2 to bestow, day by day, his care and favour upon his abode (his place on the sacred hearth)¹⁷, so that the context does not prevent us from assuming the meaning "display or 'location' (of divine power)".

Agni's *dhāma* which at ṚV. 1, 144, 1 is touched by the wooden ladle is not his "Geburtsstätte" (Geldner), but his location, the place where he manifests himself¹⁸, resides, or is present.—The poet of ṚV. 6, 2, 9, picturing Agni's might, observes that the god's *dhāmā* fells the trees. Geldner¹⁹ wavers between "Kräfte" and "Erscheinungsformen", Renou²⁰: "pouvoirs-d'état", adding "formulation alambiquée pour **svadhāyā* ou *svadhābhiḥ yād . . . vṛścāsi*", about which I have my doubts. Here again it is not the 'complete' or transcendental god, the whole power complex called Agni, but empirical manifestations of his power, to which a definite activity is ascribed.

When Agni is AV. 6, 36, 2 explicitly declared to have emanated all seasons (*ṛtūmr utsrjate*) and to have adapted himself with regard to all

¹³ "Le sacrificateur aime les dhāman d'Agni par lesquels ce dieu est devenu un habitant du ciel", Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 227.

¹⁴ Renou, E. V. P. XII, p. 53.

¹⁵ A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 99.

¹⁶ The place is dealt with by Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 227 under the heading "L'idée de loi dans l'ordre des idées liturgiques".

¹⁷ Four studies, p. 78; 82 f.

¹⁸ Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 243 f.

¹⁹ Geldner, o.c., II, p. 94.

²⁰ Renou, E. V. P. XIII, p. 37; 121.

things (or creatures)—if this is the sense of *viśvā prāti cākṛpe*—, the high or distant (*para-*) *dhāmāni* in which he, the object of love (*kāmaḥ*), is in st. 3 said to be widely illustrious and powerful²¹) may be such emanations or adaptations of his divine essence.

The ghee (sacrificial butter), an inflammable substance which is ŚB. 9, 2, 2, 3 said to be sacred to Agni or, more literally, “related to Agni”, “of Agni’s nature” (*āgneya-*)—this god being regaled by his own portion, his own sap (*rasa-*), when ghee is offered to him (*ibidem*)—, is R.V. 2, 3, 11 said to be Agni’s womb and *dhāman-*, the god “being situated in it” or “occupying it”: . . . *ghṛtām asya yónir ghṛté śrító ghṛtām v asya dhāma*. That means that the god of fire takes up his residence at the ghee and that he breaks into new flames from it. Sāyaṇa’s explication *tejaḥ, ghṛtena hy ayam dīpyate* is preferable to Geldner’s “Schmalz ist sein Element” (*sthānam*, Mādhava²²). Here it is perfectly clear that a substance which is *āgneya-* is at the same time a *dhāman-* of Agni’s divine potency. ŚB. 13, 1, 1, 1 *tejo vā ājyam* “sacrificial butter is fiery energy”²³) is quite explicit. The words R.V. 2, 3, 11; VS. 17, 88; TĀ. 10, 10, 2; MahNārU. 9, 11 *ghṛtām mimikṣire ghṛtām asya yónir ghṛté śrító ghṛtām uv asya dhāma* are in the comm. on TĀ. 10, 10, 2 explained as follows: *pūrve yajamānā agnāv āhavanīyādirūpe ghṛtaṃ siktavantaḥ . . . tad ghṛtam agner utpattikāraṇam, ghṛtena jvālābhivṛddhidarsanāt. ato ’yam agniḥ ghṛtam āśritya avasthitaḥ. ghṛtam evāgner (dhāma) sthānam tejohetur vā.*—For ghee as the *priyam dhāma* of Agni see also TS. 5, 1, 9, 5 “he joins (it) with butter, butter is the *priyam dhāma* of Agni; verily he unites him with his *priyam dhāma*”; 5, 3, 10, 3; 5, 3, 11, 3; 6, 1, 7, 1; 6, 3, 5, 4, and TB. 1, 1, 9, 6 where the words *priyenaivainam dhāmnā samardhayati* are followed by *atho tejasū* “and also with fiery energy”, the comm. observing that ghee is dear to Agni because it causes his flames to increase. See also 1, 4, 4, 4. —The holy butter used in sacrificing is VS. 1, 31 addressed as light and *amṛta* and, besides, as *dhāma . . . priyam devānam*: Griffith²⁴) translates “beloved station”, Eggeling (ŚB. 1, 3, 2, 17) “favourite resort”, or “dainty”; the ŚB. explains: “that butter is the most favourite *dhāman-* of the gods”,

²¹) For the meaning of *vi-rāj-* see my remarks in the periodical *Numen*, 4, Leiden 1957, p. 136 ff.

²²) It might be remembered that the term *sthāna-* which the ancient commentators not rarely give in explanation of *dhāman-* does not merely mean “place”, but also “position, state, condition” and “support or receptacle of a divine power”. The Indian king for instance owed his position to the fact that he is the *sthāna-* of Indra and Yama: Kauṭilya, AS. 9: *indrayamasthānam*. J. J. Meyer, *Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben*, Leipzig 1926, p. 26, n. 2 wavers between “Stellvertreter” and “Standort, Wohnort”; R. P. Kangle, *The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, II, Bombay 1963, p. 32: “office”.

²³) J. Ph. Vogel, *Het sanskrit woord tejas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1930. Cf. e.g. TB. 2, 1, 2, 9 where sun and fire are called *ubhe tejasī*; BhagG. 7, 9 *tejas cāsmi vibhāvasau* “and I am tejas (its characteristic property) in fire”.

²⁴) Griffith, o.c., p. 10.

obviously using this word as a more or less technical term which cannot be replaced by a 'synonym'. — Clarified butter being the *priyaṃ dhāman-* of the gods, one supplies them with their *priyaṃ dhāman-* when one makes an offering with clarified butter (ŚB. 13, 2, 1, 2; see 13, 3, 6, 2). Similarly ŚB. 13, 6, 2, 11: this substance is at the same time *tejas-* "fiery energy" as well as *medhas-* "strengthening or vital sap" (ibidem). That clarified butter is for these reasons a bearer of divine power is self-evident.

In ṚV. 1, 95, 9 the sequence *budhnāṃ virōcamānam mahiśāsya dhāma* means "the radiant bottom (the fire place), the 'seat' of a modality of the bull's, i.e. Agni's, divinity". Geldner's "Ursprungsort" is, in view of the current ideas with regard to Agni's birth and origin²⁵), in itself improbable. Although the fire place is of course Agni's "lieu institutionnel"²⁶), I fail to see, here again, that this phrase covers or exhausts all the implications of the term *dhāman-*. Sāyaṇa seems right: the god's *tejas* has come down to that place²⁷).

The translation of ṚV. 8, 19, 14 *samīdhā yó nisīti dāsad āditim dhāmabhir asya mārtyaḥ* . . . seems to be "the mortal man who honours Aditi with fuel, with fanning (together) with the (other) 'locations' of his (i.e. Agni's divinity) . . ." ²⁸). As is well known Aditi sometimes figures as a representative of Agni (cf. 1, 94, 15; 2, 1, 11) — or both gods are identified ²⁹) —, so that the goddess may be worshipped with Agni's *dhāmāni* ³⁰), which seem to be the fuel, the fanning and other aids and appliances, if any, used in making fire ³¹). As is well known fire is kept in, or appears from, the kindling sticks: 3, 29, 2; 7, 1, 1 etc. Compare also KapS. 4, 1 to be discussed in chapter IV. The following line forms part of the incantation AVPaipp. 9, 7: (4) *arciṣ te agne prathamam aṅgānām aparam uta | gr-bhñāmi brahmaṇā nāma dhāma dhā<ma> paruṣ paruḥ*. The flames are Agni's limbs (ṚV. 1, 141, 8 etc.) and the person speaking is by means of the power inherent in his mantras aiming at the limbs, joints and *dhāmāni* — which here also may mean "modes of making his presence felt" — of the god of fire.

The *dhāma* of Virāj, the totality, the sum of all existence, the hypostatization of the universe as a whole, as evolving, expanding and creative ³²), must be a similar idea: in AV. 8, 9, 10 it is coupled with her "ordering" (*kalpa-*), her "steps" (*krama-*) and her "dawnings" (*vyuṣṭi-*);

²⁵) Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 91 f.

²⁶) Renou, E. V. P. XII, p. 26.

²⁷) "Manifestation", Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 243.

²⁸) For a possibly implied "other" see my Ellipsis, brachylogy etc., Amsterdam Acad. 1960, p. 30; Geldner's (o.c., II, p. 320) "unter seinen Erscheinungsformen" is questionable.

²⁹) Renou, E. V. P. XII, p. 97.

³⁰) Cf. Renou, E. V. P. XIII, p. 149, who however prefers to regard *dhāmabhir asya* as "un équivalent de *svadhāyā svadhābhīḥ*".

³¹) Cf. Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 245.

³²) Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, Utrecht 1954, p. 67 f.

cf. st. 25; 26. According to st. 11 Virāj is the one who "first shone forth" (*vyauccchat*) and who has entered the other (feminine: beings and entities), who moreover is a generatrix and possessed of great might. Here *dhāman-* may therefore be supposed to be all (female) generative powers which so to say represent her nature. If so the reading of Paipp. 16, 18, 10 *dhāmāni* seems more acceptable. Cf. also MS. 2, 13, 10 d: 159, 17 *kāti dhāmāni kāti yé vivāsāḥ*.

Turning now to the type of phrase exemplified by ṚV. 1, 87, 6 *mārutasya dhāmanah* — the qualification of the term by means of an adjective derived from a proper name — it should be noticed that it belongs to a larger group of expressions. According to Grassmann³³) the noun *nāman-* "name" may appear with the adjective (or genitive) of a word denoting a complete group (race): ṚV. 7, 57, 1 *nāma mārutam*³⁴); 10, 49, 3 *āryam nāma*; 10, 77, 8 *ādityéna nāmnā*. Translations such as "dem aditischen Namen" (Geldner)³⁵) are not adequate, the name being in olden times largely identical with, or at least suggestive of, the nature, essence or character of its bearer³⁶). "Der Namen macht einen Mensch oder Gott präsent"³⁷); "it is an actuality expressed in a word"³⁸). The above phrases correspond to, and may be identical in origin with, the Latin *nomen romanum* "whatever is (called) Roman, i.e. the Roman nation, power, *dominium*"; *nomen latinum* (and with other national names)³⁹). We also find ṚV. 2, 12, 4 *dāsam vārṇam* "the Dāsa colour", i.e. "all those who by their outward appearance are characterized as non-Aryans"; 3, 34, 9 *āryam vārṇam* "... as Aryans" (opposed to *dāsyūn* "the non-Aryans"). The conclusion may therefore be that *mārutam dhāma* means "all those who (that which) by their (its) *dhāma* (expression or location of their or its divinity) are (is) characterized as Maruts (as belonging to the M.)". All 'locations' of 'Marut' divinity may be indicated by this phrase⁴⁰). Now, the gods who "pour être prestigieux"⁴¹) dress themselves up with rays and ornaments are no doubt fully aware of their 'presence';

³³) Grassmann, Wörterbuch, p. 725. Cf. also Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 211 n.

³⁴) The occurrence of *mārutasya dhāmanah* (1, 87, 6) beside *nāma mārutam* (7, 57, 1) and *nāma ... mārutam dādhānah* (6, 66, 5) led Bergaigne (o.c., III, p. 210 n.) to assume the synonymy of *dhāman-* and words for "nature, form, race".

³⁵) In R. Pischel-K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III, Stuttgart 1901, p. 150 the same scholar translated: "(Bewusstsein ihres) Ranges oder ihrer Macht".

³⁶) W. Schmidt, *Die Bedeutung des Namens in Kult und Aberglauben*, Progr. Darmstadt 1912; H. W. Obbink, *De magische betekenis van den naam*, Amsterdam 1925; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938, ch. 17.

³⁷) F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 275.

³⁸) Van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 147.

³⁹) There may be room for the observation that like *dhāman-* the Latin word may assume the genitive: *nomen Atheniensium*.

⁴⁰) I cannot share Oldenberg's (*Nachr. Gött.* 1915, p. 184, n. 1) doubt whether the phrase "auf die von den Maruts oder auf die im Wesen der Maruts gesetzte Ordnung geht".

⁴¹) Renou, *E. V. P. X*, p. 20.

wherever they may be, they themselves know that their specific divinity manifests itself in that 'place'.

Among the unconvincing translations of ṚV. 10, 166, 4 *abhībhūr ahām āgamam viśvakarṁṇa dhāmnā* are Grassmann's⁴²⁾ tentative "Zwang, Gewalt", and Bergaigne's⁴³⁾ "acte conforme à la loi". Geldner⁴⁴⁾ seems to have hit the mark: "Es ist wohl direkt an Viśvakarman (the all-seeing, all-creating god⁴⁵⁾) zu denken und der Ausdruck ein aufgelöstes Kompositum (rather, equivalent to a compound) *viśvakarmadhāmnā*". The man who wants to have the upper hand of his rival has approached with a dhāman of the god, i.e. as the god's impersonation. Viśvakarman's *dhāmāni* are mentioned 10, 81, 5, where they are specified as *paramāṇi*, *avamā* and *madhyamā*: "offenbar die verschiedenen Formen des Schöpfers oder der Schöpfer" (Geldner)⁴⁶⁾; "natures" (Griffith, VS. 17, 21); "abodes" (Keith, TS. 4, 6, 2, 5)⁴⁷⁾. In my opinion, the poet refers to the three spheres (of the universe) in which the god's creative energy makes its presence felt, the locations of his threefold demiurgic activity. This is not unreservedly to subscribe to Sāyaṇa's comment: "this threefold dhāman suggests the 'bodies' of gods etc., of men etc. and of the lower beings". For gods or divine power pervading the three provinces of the universe see e.g. ṚV. 7, 5, 4; 10, 114, 1; Indra fills the world or parts of it with his greatness or majesty; 1, 152, 13; 2, 15, 2; 3, 34, 1 etc. What it means to have *dhāmāni* in the tripartite universe may become somewhat clearer from the more specified statements in connection with Prajāpati in the ŚB.—which do without the term—: e.g. 6, 3, 1, 11 the creator god is these 'worlds' (*lokāḥ*) and the quarters (of the universe); 8, 3, 4, 15 in the air he is Vāyu; 8, 4, 1, 11 he is the aerial space; 10, 1, 3, 2 he enters the earth; 10, 1, 3, 9 his 'body' is in part of the nature of Agni, Indra and the All-gods; 10, 2, 2, 4 he is Savitar's eagle; 10, 4, 2, 3 ff. he divides himself into different bodies in order to encompass all beings; 11, 1, 6, 17 he is everything endowed with breath; 11, 1, 8, 3 he creates the sacrifice as a counterpart (*pratimā-*) of himself; 13, 1, 1, 4 by producing the sacrifice he lost his 'greatness' which went to the sacrificial priests.

ṚV. 10, 13, 1 *śrṇvāntu viśve amṛtasya putrā ā yé dhāmāni divyāni tashāḥ* "all sons (i.e. manifestations) of immortality (i.e. gods)⁴⁸⁾ must listen, who have resorted to⁴⁹⁾ embodiments of (their) divine nature" (ŚB. 6, 3, 1, 17 explains: *ime lokāḥ* "these earthly spheres"; Geldner, translating

⁴²⁾ Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 677.

⁴³⁾ Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 213 n.

⁴⁴⁾ Geldner, o.c., III, p. 393.

⁴⁵⁾ Compare also AV. 19, 17, 7; 19, 18, 7.

⁴⁶⁾ Geldner, o.c., III, p. 264, comparing AV. 10, 7, 8 where however *viśvarūpam*.

⁴⁷⁾ "Es ist nicht von 'Kräften' die Rede, sondern von Wohnstätten, die er schafft" (Hillebrandt, I. F. 44, p. 142). The text does not however refer to building or making abodes.

⁴⁸⁾ See Gods and powers, The Hague 1957.

⁴⁹⁾ Cf. also Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 212 n.

“himmlische Leibesformen” refers to Mbh. 3, 247, 21 cr. ed. (gods) *divyaśarīrās te na ca vīgrahamūrtayaḥ* “not in embodied individual forms”) ⁵⁰ or — what seems less probable, because the gods, though invisible, are no doubt believed to be present (1, 83, 2; 1, 84, 18 etc.) — “to celestial embodiments” ⁵¹; “dwellings”, Griffith ⁵²) VS. 11, 5, *divi bhavāni sthānāni*, Mahīdhara and Sāyaṇa on ṚV.) ⁵³. — The next quotation in AV. 7, 68, 1 *sārasvatī vratēṣu te divyēṣu devī dhāmasu juṣāsva havyām āhutam . . .* which in my opinion must mean: “O S., during the fulfilment of thy functions, in the embodiments of thy celestial (divine) nature enjoy thou the offered oblation”. Here again *vrata-* occurs in the sense of “(rules) of functional conduct, fixed and regular behaviour as the fulfilment of a function, vow etc.” ⁵⁴). — In connection with the formula *ūpahūto divyē dhāman* TS. 2, 6, 7, 6 explains: the *divyaṃ dhāma* is the *svargo lokāḥ* “the ‘world’ of heaven”, which is another term for a “mode of divinity”.

It is clear that in ṚV. 10, 76, 8 *divyāya dhāmne* and *pārthivāya sunvatē* form a pair of opposites: everything pleasant produced by the pressing stones must fall to the embodiments of celestial power, freely translated “das himmlische Geschlecht” ⁵⁵). A similar phrase occurs 8, 63, 11 *ṛtvīyāya dhāmne* (“dem pünktlichen Geschlechte”, ?) ⁵⁶): the embodiment of the particular phenomenon and power concept known as *ṛtu-*, “the right or fixed time”. Geldner relates it needlessly to the Maruts, Sāyaṇa more probably to the god invoked, viz. Indra; I would add, “and his colleagues”, to any deity concerned, i.e. to the embodiments of *ṛtu-* collectively. For *ṛtvīya-* see e.g. 1, 143, 1; 9, 72, 4. — Similarly, 7, 58, 1 . . . *gaṇāya yó daivyaśya dhāmnas tūviśmān* “the troop (of the Maruts) which is the strong (troop, cf. 7, 56, 7) of (among) the embodiment(s) or ‘locations’ of divinity collectively”; Mādhava: *sthānasya*; Sāyaṇa: *svargākhyasya sthānasya* ⁵⁷). In view of the probably ancient character of phrases of the type *nomen romanum* I would not ⁵⁸) suppose the above expression to be a substitute of a *bahuvrīhi* **daivyaadhāmne*. In corroboration of the interpretations proposed in this paragraph one might rather remember the widespread

⁵⁰) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 141.

⁵¹) Cf. Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 247.

⁵²) Griffith, o.c., p. 105; similarly Keith, TaittS. 4, 1, 1, 2. Not “. . . even those who have ascended to . . .” (R. E. Hume, The thirteen principal Upanishads, Oxford 1934, p. 397: ŚvU. 2, 5).

⁵³) In AV. 18, 3, 38 this pāda is absent; see Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 858 f.

⁵⁴) I refer to my article in History of religions, 1 (Chicago 1961), esp. p. 259 f.; The Savayajñas, p. 290; otherwise, but not convincing H. P. Schmidt, Vedisch *vratá-* und awestisch *urvāta-*, Hamburg 1958, p. 86 whose views about the meaning of *vrata-* I cannot share.

⁵⁵) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 258; cf. Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 245.

⁵⁶) Geldner, o.c., II, p. 386.

⁵⁷) Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 245 regards *dhāman-* as equivalent to “the gods”.

⁵⁸) With Renou, E. V. P. X, p. 103.

use, in ancient times, of adjectival phrases of the type *δόμος Πηληϊός* "the house of Peleus"; *Δῖον ὄμμα* "the eye of Zeus"; *νῆ' Ἀγαμέμνονέην* "Agamemnon's ship"; *Τελαμῶνιος υἱός* "the son of Telamon"; Latin *erilis filius* "the son of the master"; *serviles nuptiae* "the wedding of the slave"; *virgo vestalis*; *flamen Dialis*; *Via Appia* etc. In all these cases modern languages such as Dutch or English would prefer a word group consisting of two substantives. Hence my translation of *divyaṃ dhāma* "refraction, embodiment of heaven".

In accordance with the above interpretation I would explain the disputed⁵⁹) place 9, 63, 14 *etē dhāmāny āryā śukrā ṛtāsya dhārayā | vājaṃ gōmantam akṣaran* as follows: "these light-coloured (soma juices) have with the stream of *ṛta*⁶⁰) given forth a stream of embodiments (locations) of Aryan nature, generative power⁶¹) consisting (inter alia) in cows", i.e. "they have streamed so as to extend the boundaries of Aryan culture". Renou⁶²) no doubt rightly referred to the Aryanization with Indra's help, mentioned in st. 5.

The interpretations given by H. P. Schmidt⁶³) of *ṛtāsya dhāma* in ṚV. 1, 123, 9, and allied phrases make the impression of a distortion of their probable meaning, partly under the influence of the onesided views of *ṛta*-pronounced by Lüders⁶⁴), and partly by the author's supposition that *dhāma* is to *dhā*- exactly as Germ. *Setzung* is to Germ. *setzen*. The meaning of the line ṚV. 1, 123, 9 cd *ṛtāsya yōṣā nā mināti dhāmāhar-ahar niṣkṛtām ācāranti* comes to this: "the young woman strictly observes that particular 'modality' of universal order and truth which is 'located' in, i.e. which consists in, chronological order, in casu, the regular succession of days⁶⁵), coming, every day, to the place of rendezvous (*niṣkṛtā*- "lieu fixé pour le retour périodique et ce retour même"⁶⁶)". There is an interesting parallel TS. 4, 3, 11, 5; PG. 3, 3, 5 *ṛtāsya gārbhaḥ prathamā vyūṣṣī . . . sūryasaikā cārati niṣkṛtēṣu*. In this stanza, which forms part of the formulas used in connection with the *vyuṣṭi*- ("daybreak") bricks (ĀpŚS. 17, 2, 12; BaudhŚS. 10, 42), some particulars are communicated of the five dawns (*pañca vyuṣṭih*) mentioned in the preceding stanza: "She who shone forth as the first is the child of *ṛta* . . . ; one wanders in the places of rendezvous

⁵⁹) See e.g. Geldner, o.c., III, p. 47; Renou, E. V. P. VIII, p. 36; 95; S. S. Bhawe (Bhawe), The Soma-hymns of the Ṛgveda, III, Baroda 1962, p. 60; 64.

⁶⁰) See H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951-59, p. 473 f.

⁶¹) For *vāja*- a power manifesting in animal and vegetable life, see e.g. Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, Utrecht 1954, p. 48; The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 99 f. Cf. also ṚV. 9, 56, 2.

⁶²) Renou, o.c., p. 95.

⁶³) Schmidt, Vedisch *vratā*- und awestisch *urvāta*-, p. 30.

⁶⁴) Lüders, o.c., p. 402 ff.; I refer to my observation in Oriens (review of Lüders, Varuṇa), 13-14 (Leiden 1960-61), p. 400 ff.

⁶⁵) Cf. also Renou, E. V. P. III, p. 60.

⁶⁶) Renou, l.c.; cf. Lüders, o.c., p. 211 f.

with the sun”⁶⁷). The expression “child of ṛta”, which must mean “representative of the universal order and eternal course of things”⁶⁸), is here quite appropriately applied to Uṣas herself. Instead of *garbhaḥ* KS. 39, 10 a and MS. 2, 13, 10 a: 160, 12 exhibiting the same stanza read *dhāma* and *dhāman* respectively; the possibility of this variant shows that both phrases are not widely different in sense, Dawn obviously being also a ‘location’ of that universal order. It is worth mentioning that *ṛtasya garbha-* occurs e.g. also ṚV. 1, 156, 3; 9, 68, 5; *ṛtasya dhāman-* ṚV. 4, 7, 7⁶⁹); 10, 124, 3; TS. 4, 2, 7, 2.

Another ‘seat’ or ‘manifestation’ of ṛta is the recurrent ritual, for without contending that “ṛta” and “sacrifice” are completely synonymous, which is denied by Lüders-Alsdorf⁷⁰)—who however were too much fascinated by the belief that *ṛta-* only means “verbal truth”⁷¹)—the regular rites were intelligibly enough regarded as representing the fundamental principle of ṛta⁷²): ṚV. 1, 143, 7; 3, 5, 2; 3, 6, 6; 3, 27, 11; 4, 2, 3 etc. Hence, I would suppose, the possibility of applying the phrase under discussion to that modality of the sacred universal order: ṚV. 10, 124, 3 ab (Agni is speaking) *pásyann anyásyā átithiṇi varáyā ṛtásya dhāma ví nime purúṇi* “seeing the guest (i.e. the domestic or ritual fire) of the other branch (i.e. gods and men), I put in order (arrange) the many locations (or representatives) of ṛta”⁷³) (*yajñasya śarīrāṇi*, Sāyana); that means, the god is willing to perform his ritual task now that he sees the numerous well-prepared fire places; not, I am convinced, “ich mess viele Setzungen der Wahrheit ab”, d.h. “verfertige oder singe zahlreiche Kultlieder”⁷⁴), because the activity of the god Agni may be either a determinant factor in the poets’ receiving inspiration or he may be an addressee of the poets⁷⁵); besides, the root *mā-* in all probability generally means “to

⁶⁷) This place may be adduced as a counter-argument to Schmidt’s thesis (o.c., p. 30, n. 26) that not Sūrya, but Agni in his manifestation as the sun is meant; moreover *yaj-* is “to worship (with a sacrifice)”, not “to offer, to sacrifice”. See also A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins*, II, Paris 1956, p. 264, § 739 “nulle part ‘sacrifier’ ne s’impose”.

⁶⁸) See my remarks in *Some observations on “gods” and “powers”*, The Hague 1957, p. 92 ff.

⁶⁹) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 254.

⁷⁰) Lüders, o.c., p. 478.

⁷¹) Cf. however, e.g. H. von Glasenapp, *Buddhismus und Gottesidee*, Mainz Akad. 1954, p. 55 f.; Renou, E. V. P. I, p. 21; J. Filliozat, *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne*, Paris 1949, p. 78, n. 1; Minard, o.c., II, p. 276.

⁷²) H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1923, p. 196 f.; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 168; Renou, E. V. P. VIII, p. 61: “A notre avis ṛta au Livre IX . . . ne signifie rien de plus que ‘rite, office ou manifestation du sacré’, . . . entendu d’une manière générale”.

⁷³) For details, Geldner, *Rig-Veda übersetzt*, III, p. 354.

⁷⁴) Schmidt, o.c., p. 30 f.; Lüders-Alsdorf, o.c., p. 478.

⁷⁵) See my book *The vision of the Vedic poets*, The Hague 1963, p. 83 ff. etc.

convert that which has been mentally conceived into (dimensional) actuality" 76).

It cannot but be admitted that Geldner's translation of ṚV. 7. 36, 5 *yájante asya sakhyaṃ . . . svá ṛtásya dhāman* "sie erbitten seine Freundschaft . . . , da wo die Wahrheit selbst zur Erscheinung kommt" is rather strange 77); I for one would prefer "where (that) particular modality of ṛta (which is their sacrificial rite related to Rudra, cf. e.g. 1. 114. 3; 8) is located" to "beim Singen ihrer Lieder" or "dans sa propre fonction (par rapport) à l'Ordre" 78). Compare Sāyaṇa: *svakīye yajñasya sthāne* 79).

ṚV. 4, 7, 7 the gods are described as delighting in taking food from the same udder 80) *ṛtásya dhāman (āvāsasthāne* "residence", Mādhava; "am Ursprungsort der Wahrheit", Geldner comparing TS. 4, 2, 7, 2 *ṛtásya dhāmno amṛtasya yóneḥ*; "au lieu-fondation de l'Ordre", Renou 81, 82). "Die Vorstellung ist doch wohl die, daß da das Ṛta nicht etwas andres gesetzt hat, sondern selbst gesetzt worden ist; vgl. *dádhan ṛtám* 1, 71, 3; 8, 27, 19" 83); rather "where ṛta 'places' itself". One is, in a way, reminded of the highest dhāman of the later Viṣṇuites.

I see therefore no reason for endorsing Schmidt's translation of *ṛtásya dhāma* "bei der Setzung der Wahrheit (=beim Singen des Kultliedes)" in 1, 123, 9 84): *ṛtásya yósā* (=Uṣas, Dawn) *ná mināti dhāma*. Again: "that particular modality of universal Order which is manifest in the regularity of natural phenomena".

The phrase *páram dhāma* occurs ṚV. 1, 43, 9 *yás te prajā amṛtasya párasmin dhāmann ṛtásya | mūrdhā nābhā soma vena ābhāsanīḥ soma vedah*; criticizing Geldner's 85) interpretation Lüders 86) translated: "Was

76) See my Four studies in the language of the Veda, The Hague 1959, p. 168.

77) Cf. Lüders-Alsdorf, o.c., p. 477. Bergaigne's explication is artificial and improbable (o.c., III, p. 219; cf. p. 251): "Le pronom possessif remplaçant un génétif, nous trouvons réunies les deux constructions au sens actif et au sens passif: "dans leur *dhāman*- du ṛta" c'est-à-dire "dans le maintien du ṛta qui est leur œuvre"."

78) Renou, E. V. P. V, p. 42.

79) It may be noticed that Hillebrandt (I. F. 44, p. 141 f.) put *ṛtásya dhāman*- etc. on a par with the 'abodes' of Agni and the sacrifice.

80) In Lüders' (Varuṇa, p. 395) opinion "der Urquell des Lebens im höchsten Himmel"; cf. ibidem, p. 592.

81) Renou, E. V. P. XIII, p. 12 (cf. p. 100).

82) "application du terme ṛta aux lois du culte", Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 230; cf. p. 254.

83) Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 183.

84) Nor can I adopt the translation "sich nach dem Zügel der Wahrheit (dem Liede) richtend" of st. 13 a; more probably, Renou, E. V. P. III, p. 55; 61.

85) One of the characteristics of Geldner's otherwise meritorious and highly useful Ṛgveda translation is the occasional inconsistency in rendering terms of weltanschauliches import. Thus the phrase under discussion (*p.*) *dh. ṛ.* is 1, 43, 9 translated: "am höchsten Ursprungsort des (Welt)gesetzes", 7, 36, 5 "wo die Wahrheit selbst zur Erscheinung kommt".

86) Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 231 f.; cf. p. 234: *párasmin dhāmann ṛtásya* deckt sich mit *ṛtásya yónā* in 9, 73, 1; p. 599.

deine, des Unsterblichkeitsgetrankes, Kinder sind (i.e. die irdischen, in den Himmel gesandten somas) an der höchsten Stellen des Ṛta (i.e. die Stätte der Wahrheit, die Heimat des Soma), nach denen mögest du, Soma, das Haupt in der Verwandtschaft, ausschauen, mögest du wissen, daß sie zur Stelle sind". Soma's children very likely are indeed his various representatives⁸⁷); for the verb *ā-bhūṣ-* I elsewhere⁸⁸) proposed, on the strength of an exhaustive investigation into all the forms of *bhūṣ-*, the meaning "to bestow one's strengthening favour upon, to approach or be present in a propitious mood" (cf. especially 8, 90, 1). The translation proposed for *mūrdhā nābhā* for which Lüders does not give a parallel is not very probable⁸⁹), the 'navel' rather being the centre of the world⁹⁰). For Soma as the chief (*mūrdhan-*) of heaven or of the world compare e.g. 9, 27, 3; 9, 69, 8. My translation would therefore be: "thou, O Soma, must as chief in the centre⁹¹) look out for the 'children' of thine, (the draught of) 'immortality', in the highest (best) residence of the universal order; thou, O Soma, must know them as being present in a propitious mood (bestowing their strengthening favour)"⁹²). Here also Ludwig's "bei der Weltordnung höchster Manifestation"⁹³) seems to have been nearest the truth.

I have little to add to the interpretations of ṚV. 1, 71, 3a *dādhan ṛtām dhanáyann asya dhītim* proposed in a former publication⁹⁴): "(the Ṇgirases, who were patriarchs and founders, established⁹⁵) a particular modality (or manifestation) of ṛta and brought into vogue⁹⁶) the visionary 'sight' of it", with which Renou⁹⁷) now is in essential agreement. Schmidt's⁹⁸) translation "sie setzten (schufen) die Wahrheit, sie setzten deren Einsicht in Bewegung" fails to convince me, because *dhīti-* is not "Einsicht" and the Ṇgirases did not create ṛta⁹⁹).

The same meaning may be adopted for ṚV. 8, 27, 19: the ṛta established by the gods three times a day obviously consists in the regular, normal and solemn ritual contact of man with the divine powers who are to

⁸⁷) See Gods and powers, passim.

⁸⁸) Four studies, p. 85.

⁸⁹) For ṚV. 9, 79, 4 now see Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 27 and 90.

⁹⁰) See e.g. M. Eliade, *The sacred and the profane*, New York 1957, passim.

⁹¹) One is reminded of the cakravartin idea; see e.g. G. Tucci, *The theory and practice of the maṇḍala*, London 1961, p. 23; 43 f. and my remarks in *Ancient Indian kingship*, Numen, 4 (Leiden 1957), p. 144 ff. (ch. XXII).

⁹²) See also: Vision, p. 352.

⁹³) Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 245.

⁹⁴) Vision, p. 174.

⁹⁵) For *dhā-* "poser quelque chose qui subsistera désormais, qui est destiné à durer" see E. Benveniste in *Word*, 10 (New York 1954), p. 252.

⁹⁶) For *dhan-* see A. Debrunner, *Turner Jub. Vol. I (Ind. Ling.)* 1958, p. 1 ff.

⁹⁷) Renou, E. V. P. XII, p. 17; cf. p. 90.

⁹⁸) Schmidt, o.c., p. 30; see also Lüders - Alsdorf, o.c., p. 477 (I fail to see why st. 3 should refer to the Vala myth); 513.

⁹⁹) See also Oldenberg, *Nachr. Gött.* 1915, p. 183.

protect and favour him (cf. st. 20 ff.) This again is an aspect or manifestation of the universal order¹⁰⁰). For a scholar who is free from the preconception that *dhī-ṛta-* ṚV. 6, 49, 7¹⁰¹) *dhīyaṃ dhāt* cannot be a parallel to settle the matter.

Elsewhere the term under examination is translated by "Sitz. Stätte, Lieblingsstätte" (Grassmann; Hillebrandt¹⁰²), "Gebilde" (Geldner), "Schöpfung" (Schmidt): ṚV. 1, 152, 4 "We see the lover (Sūrya) of the virgins (die Morgenröten)¹⁰³ come forward all around . . . clad in cloth without edging (probably, light with its indeterminable limits), Mitra's and Varuṇa's dear dhāman". Renou¹⁰⁴), no doubt right in observing: "the birth of the sun, his visible progress, . . . herein lies the context of the *dhāman-* of Varuṇa-Mitra", speaks of "the 'institutional' character of their empire"—his translation is "institution"—, adding, in another publication¹⁰⁵), the comment: "*dhāman-*: structure en profondeur, position-clef". I would prefer to consider the daily appearance of the sun with all its attendant circumstances another perceptible appearance of the presence and activity of the complex of divine power known as Mitra-Varuṇa. Variations of the same thought are the statements (4, 13, 2) that Mitra and Varuṇa cause the sun to rise (5, 63, 4), that the revolution of this celestial body is due to their *māyā* (cf. st. 7)¹⁰⁷). The belief that the sun is the eye of these gods may be considered another indicium of the location of part of their faculties and functions in the phenomena connected with that celestial body, especially of their knowledge or 'omniscience' which being part of their nature is based on vision¹⁰⁸). Similarly, 1, 152, 5 referring to the same *dhāman-* as an *acīttam brāhma*, i.e. "an incomprehensible manifestation of that particular mysterious, fundamental, universal and omnipresent power which is denoted by the term brahman"¹⁰⁹).

The words *viśvā jātāny eṣām | pāri dhāmāni mārmaṣat* in ṚV. 8, 41, 7 were translated, by Geldner "deren (der Götter) Geschlechter alle, deren

¹⁰⁰) "... vous avez disposé l'Ordre", Renou, E. V. P. V, p. 48.

¹⁰¹) Adduced by Schmidt, o.c., p. 30; Lüders - Alsdorf, o.c., p. 476; see Vision, p. 85.

¹⁰²) Hillebrandt, I. F. 44, p. 140. The use of the participle *prayantam* does not prove that the meaning of the relevant words is "... schreitet vor zu dem lieben Hause M.V.'s".

¹⁰³) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 211.

¹⁰⁴) Renou (and L. Silburn), Considerations on Ṛgveda 1, 152, Bhāratīya Vidyā, 10 (Bombay 1949), p. 133 ff. (cf. Journal de Psychologie 1949, p. 266 ff.).

¹⁰⁵) Renou, E. V. P. VII, p. 38.

¹⁰⁶) See also Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 212 n.: "L'être mythologique qualifié successivement d' 'amant des jeunes filles' et de 'cheval' . . . est une forme de M. et de V., une forme qu'on loue en M. et V. (cf. 1, 163, 4)".

¹⁰⁷) For other connections with the sun see ṚV. 7, 60, 1; 2; 4 etc.

¹⁰⁸) See also R. Pettazzoni, The all-knowing god, London 1954, p. 119.

¹⁰⁹) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 32 f. Cf. Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 243.

Formen umfassend", by Schmidt ¹¹⁰) "... Schöpfungen ...¹¹¹), by Renou ¹¹²) "(surveillant) toutes les naissances de ces dieux. enserrant-fortement (par la pensée leurs) institutions", with the comment "*dhāman*-est voisin du sens de 'séjour', lieu où prend naissance une 'institution' divine, où se développe une 'fonction' ". Rather, again "locations of modalities or manifestations of divine powers", which, like their "origins" or "races", are said to be encompassed by Varuṇa ¹¹³). This god indeed is often called a king, a king of both gods and men, of the whole world, of all that exists ¹¹⁴).

According to RV. 8, 41, 10 Varuṇa has *dhāma pūrvyām mame*: "er hat die erste Schöpfung ausgemessen" (Geldner ¹¹⁵); "il a mesuré le domaine-institutionnel primordial" (Renou ¹¹⁶). Rather "he has established (by measuring out) ¹¹⁷) his *dhāman* of old". From the absence of a pronoun or genitive with *dhāma* one might infer that it is Varuṇa's own. As the poet makes, in the same hymn, st. 4 and 9, mention of the god's *pada*- and *sadas*- "his residence" ¹¹⁸) and "seat" and as, moreover, the god is (st. 4) said to have established (*mā*-) also that residence of old (*sá mātā pūrvyām padām*), where an important aspect of his might ¹¹⁹) is said to exist or to manifest itself, it seems warranted to suppose that the *dhāman*- 'n st. 10 is, not a simple and unqualified "abode" ¹²⁰), but a particular 'seat' of a manifestation of power ¹²¹), which, judging from the context, may appear here in a creative and maintaining aspect. Thus the creative and preservative presence of the god, a projection of these divine functions into the phenomenal world, may be meant ¹²²). This interpretation is, as far as I am able to see, in perfect harmony with 7, 87, 2 *antár mahī bṛhatī ródasimé vísvā te dhāma varuṇa priyāṇi* which can hardly mean "zwischen diesen großen, hohen ¹²³) Welthälften (befinden sich) alle deine lieben Schöpfungen, O Varuṇa" ¹²⁴) ("formes", Bergaigne ¹²⁵); "Ord-

¹¹⁰) Schmidt, o.c., p. 62.

¹¹¹) See also Hillebrandt, I. F. 44, p. 143, n. 1.

¹¹²) Renou, E. V. P. V, p. 73; cf. VII, p. 30.

¹¹³) See also Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 130; 211 n.; 212 n.

¹¹⁴) I refer to Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 24.

¹¹⁵) Cf. Schmidt, o.c., p. 63.

¹¹⁶) Renou, E. V. P. V, p. 73; cf. Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 222: "conservation, maintien; institution".

¹¹⁷) For the sense of *mā*- see Four studies, p. 167 ff., esp. p. 178.

¹¹⁸) Cf. Renou, E. V. P. V, p. 73.

¹¹⁹) Cf. Renou, E. V. P. VII, p. 29.

¹²⁰) Hillebrandt, I. F. 44, p. 141.

¹²¹) Cf. Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 264 on this place as well as 10, 81, 5; 4, 58, 11; 9, 86, 15 etc.

¹²²) For Varuṇa's cosmic activity see e.g. RV. 7, 86, 1.

¹²³) Rather "firm, fundamental".

¹²⁴) Schmidt, o.c., p. 34.

¹²⁵) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 212 n.

nung”¹²⁶); “Erscheinungsformen oder Werke”, Geldner; “fonctions”, Renou¹²⁷), because heaven and earth are part of Varuṇa’s creation: 4, 42, 3; 8, 42, 1. If these *dhāma* are the projections of the god’s essence or nature in the phenomenal world, the connection with the former part of the stanza in which the wind is identified with his breath is perfectly clear: the god manifests himself in the perceptible universe, his breath is the wind, the sun his eye (1, 50, 6); he is or moves in the waters, in the sea (1, 161, 14; 7, 87, 6), and accordingly his *dhāman-* is (or are) everywhere between heaven and earth. That means that there the god is omnipresent. — I subjoin 7, 61, 4 *śāmsā mitrāsya varuṇasya dhāma śuṣmo rōdasi badbadhe mahitvā* stating that the impetuous strength or energy (“Eifer”, Geldner, “fougue”, Renou) has forced asunder heaven and earth. As this force is obviously believed to operate in the visible universe the *dhāman* of the gods (in pāda a) which is brought into close connection with this statement (pāda b) may so to say be regarded as the static, the *śuṣma-* as the dynamic aspect of the gods’ presence.

ṚV. 10, 56, 5 *pūrvā dhāmāny āmitā mīmānāḥ*¹²⁸) reminds us of 8, 41, 10 and should be interpreted in a similar way.

Scholars greatly differ with regard to ṚV. 10, 65, 5c *yājor dhāma dhārmaṇā rōcate bṛhāt*: “deren hohe Schöpfung nach ihrer Bestimmung strahlt” (Geldner); “. . . kraft der Stützung (von Himmel und Erde) leuchtet” (Schmidt)¹²⁹); “de qui la fonction resplendit selon la norme, avec puissance” (Renou)¹³⁰); “die Sonne oder überhaupt das Licht, die Lichtwelt, die sie (Mitra und Varuṇa) an ihre Stelle gesetzt haben”¹³¹). As the verb *rōcate* may be expected to express a process in connection with the sun which as stated before is the gods’ eye — 7, 88, 2 this luminary is the face of Agni and Varuṇa —, the conclusion seems to be that the sun is described here as a *dhāman* of the two gods Varuṇa and Mitra, i.e. as a place in which their presence and one of their functions manifests itself, the translation of the above words being “the location of a modality of whose power shines massively through the (power of the) principle of stability-and-maintenance”¹³²).

In ṚV. 1, 123, 8 the dawns are said to follow the expression of Varuṇa’s divine essence which continues during an extended period: *dīrghām*.

¹²⁶) Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 187.

¹²⁷) Renou, E. V. P. V, p. 71.

¹²⁸) I refer to Geldner’s introductory note, o.c., III, p. 219.

¹²⁹) Schmidt, o.c., p. 34, n.

¹³⁰) Renou, E. V. P. V, p. 57.

¹³¹) Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 181.

¹³²) For *dhārmaṇā* see Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 34 “Alles, in dem sich ein Halten oder Im-Stande-erhalten-bleiben manifestiert, d.h. die Stabilität oder feststehende Ordnung und das normgebundene Betragen, (hat) denselben Namen: Dharma(n)”; see also my relative article in Tijdschrift voor Philosophie, 20 (Louvain 1958), p. 213 ff. This sense may also be adopted in the texts discussed by Schmidt, o.c., p. 34 n.

sacante vāruṇasya dhāma, which of course may for practical reasons be translated "elles suivent la longue institution de V." ¹³³). The regularity of the natural phenomena and especially of the periodical returns of dawn are considered one of the most striking manifestations of the universal Order which is upheld by Varuṇa (cf. 1, 123, 9; 4, 2, 19; 4, 51, 7; 8; 1, 164, 11 etc.) ¹³⁴). Lüders' ¹³⁵ view: "dieses *dhāman-* des Varuṇa ist das Ṛta" is not acceptable because at 1, 123, 9 ¹³⁶) Uṣas observes the *dhāman-* of ṛta which is another expression for the same regularity of natural phenomena.

In ṚV. 7, 66, 17 Mitra and Varuṇa are invited to approach with the manifestations of that wisdom which is characteristic of an inspired sage (*kāvyebbhiḥ*), in st. 18 the invitation is repeated: "come with your *dhāmāni*". Geldner's "in Person" can hardly be right (Grassmann: "Schar"); I would decidedly prefer Sāyaṇa's *tejobhir vibhūtibhiḥ sārddham* "(together) with the manifestations of your divine dignity", or something to that effect. The same use occurs at ṚV. 7, 60, 3, stating that the sun surveys the *dhāmāni* of Mitra and Varuṇa. Geldner remains undecided between "Schöpfungen" and "die Werke (der Menschen)"; the last meaning is out of the question.—Yama, refusing to agree to the advances of his sister refers to 'moral law', called in ṚV. 10, 10, 6 *mitrāsya vāruṇasya dhāma* ¹³⁷) and qualified as *bṛhāt* "firm": moral order ¹³⁸) indeed is a manifestation of these gods, or it is in their province.—"Das heilige Gesetz" (Grassmann), "Personen" (Geldner) are among the translations proposed for ṚV. 8, 27, 15 *nā tāṃ dhārtīr varuṇa mitra mārtyaṃ yó vo dhāmabhyó 'vidhat* "harm does not, O M. and V., (fall upon) that mortal man who worships (honours) the expressions (representations) of your divinity".

Geldner and Schmidt rightly agree in considering ṚV. 4, 5, 5 a characterization of the subject of st. 4 in which the god Agni is requested to snap at those *prá yé minānti vāruṇasya dhāma priyā mitrāsya . . . dhruvāni* (*tejahsthānāni karmāni vā*, Sāyaṇa; "Satzungen", Geldner with the incorrect addition "die für die Disputation geltenden Regeln" ¹³⁹); "Setzungen", Schmidt; "institutions", Renou ¹⁴⁰). The transgressors are impostors who deceitfully and contrary to all rules ¹⁴¹) produce and

¹³³) Renou, E. V. P. III, p. 55. Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 182 was likewise of the opinion that "der Genitiv den Setzer des *dhāman-* ausdrückt".

¹³⁴) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 77 ff. (with a bibliography).

¹³⁵) Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 570.

¹³⁶) See above.

¹³⁷) Which is not, with Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 247, an apposition to *prathamā-syāhnaḥ*.

¹³⁸) "dhāma: das Sittengesetz", Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 182.

¹³⁹) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 424.

¹⁴⁰) Renou, E. V. P. XIII, p. 9.

¹⁴¹) See also Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 221.

divulge the inscrutable inspiration. Mitra and Varuṇa are e.g. 7, 66, 3¹⁴²) invoked to protect the eulogists and to make their *dhīyah* (inspirations and poems produced by inspired poets) successful. The 'rules' to be observed in receiving inspiration and making its content known belong to, are part of, the universal order guarded and upheld by Varuṇa and Mitra¹⁴³); they also are a particular modality, a 'location' of this aspect of their divine power. But although the transgression meant in these stanzas is "ein Verstoß wider Treu und Glauben"¹⁴⁴) this is not to conclude that *dhāman*- here means "Vertragswahrheit"¹⁴⁵). — The same explication may apply to 6, 67, 9 where despicable impostors *priyā dhāma yuvādhitā* (notice the 'etymological figure')¹⁴⁶) *minānti* ("abusent les institutions chères instituées par vous-mêmes (Mitra and Varuṇa)"¹⁴⁷); the 'locations' of the gods' divinity and their special function, preservation of order, are conceived of as *dhita*- "instituted, established" by these divine persons themselves. — Thus the order maintained by these gods, law, justice, faithfulness, good conduct etc. etc., being aspects of their functions and presence, are, all of them, covered by the term *mitrāsya varuṇasya dhāma*. Thus 10, 89, 8 aims at a variety of faithless and disloyal people who violate this manifestation of the gods' power¹⁴⁸); "Wahrheit, (Setzung der) Vertragswahrheit"¹⁴⁹) is not the right equivalent of the untranslatable word¹⁵⁰).

To RV. 10, 48, 11 *devó* (= Indra) *devānāṃ ná mināmi*¹⁵¹) *dhāma* Geldner¹⁵²) — translating "Gesetz" — supplied the comment: "Trotz aller Gewalttaten fügt sich Indra der Ordnung der anderen Götter". Schmidt preferred "Schöpfung" ("alles was die Götter geschaffen haben")¹⁵³). However, the gods are generally concerned in the upkeep of the world and operations of nature rather than in creation. Thus the poet may intend to say that

¹⁴²) For details see Vision, p. 132; 208.

¹⁴³) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 77 ff.

¹⁴⁴) Schmidt, o.c., p. 32.

¹⁴⁵) Nor to subscribe to Hillebrandt's (I. F. 44, p. 145 f.) view that *dhāman*- here also means "Wohnstätte": "the gods Varuṇa and Mitra possess the abodes and preserve them". However, places such as 7, 85, 3 *kr̥ṣṭīr anyó* (V.) *dhārāyati* do not prove that *dhāman*- and *kr̥ṣṭi*- are synonyms.

¹⁴⁶) Which should not, with Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 216, be considered "un jeu étymologique".

¹⁴⁷) Renou, E. V. P. V, p. 84. Why "(si d'autres) abusent . . ."?; the subject of the pādas a and b may be identical. See Renou's enlightening commentary in E. V. P. VII, p. 53 (*pra* in pāda a seems to express the initial stage of the process). In the eyes of Ludwig (K. Z. 28, p. 243; 246) these places exhibit the sense of "von den Göttern geschaffene Verhältnisse".

¹⁴⁸) "von den Göttern geschaffene Verhältnisse", Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 246.

¹⁴⁹) Schmidt, o.c., p. 33; "Gesetz" (Geldner).

¹⁵⁰) See my article in History of religions, I (Chicago 1961), p. 243 ff.

¹⁵¹) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 221.

¹⁵²) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 248.

¹⁵³) Schmidt, o.c., p. 35.

Indra holds the 'projections' of the divinity¹⁵⁴) of his colleagues in esteem, that is that he does not encroach upon their positions or 'privileges', hinder them in the performance of their functions, infringe the laws for which they are responsible etc.

The difficult stanza 6, 21, 3 seems to exhibit the same sense: *kadā te (= indrasya) mártā amṛtasya dhāméyakṣanto ná minanti . . .*, where Geldner translated by "Abmachungen", Schmidt¹⁵⁵) by "Setzung"; "the place called heaven", Sāyaṇa. If, what indeed seems probable, the other part of the stanza refers to sunrise, this phenomenon, which was an important product of Indra's ordering activity¹⁵⁶) (1, 7, 3; 1, 10, 8; 1, 51, 4 etc.)¹⁵⁷), may quite naturally be a *dhāma* of his, that is to say the god may be described as having 'taken up his residence' in the phenomena connected with it, as having projected his divine power into it.

When the poet of RV. 9, 24, 5 affirms that the soma on the strainer is *āram indrasya dhāmne* this means that it proves itself equal to, that it flows suitably to, is sufficient for, that particular 'location' or 'projection' of Indra's 'Gesamt-person' which will come and refresh itself. Geldner wavers between "(Eigen)art" and "Person"; Bergaigne¹⁵⁸): "il s'agit de l'essence, de la nature"; Bloomfield¹⁵⁹): "suitably to Indra's nature"; Grassmann: "Gefolge"; Ludwig¹⁶⁰) (rightly, no doubt): "9, 109, 4 *devānām dhāma* ist wohl kaum von *devāḥ* verschieden, so wenig als *indrāsya dhāmne* 9, 24, 5 von *indrāya*"; Bhavé¹⁶¹): "strength" or "(thou art) sufficient to create power for I."; Renou¹⁶²): "(tu es) de taille à (satisfaire) la vocation d'I.", explaining however: "le dh. d'un dieu . . . est une périphrase pour dire: ce dieu même". In 8, 92, 25 the same pāda combines with two word groups with *aram* which, as already observed by Bloomfield, have a different value. — In 8, 92, 24 the drops of soma are in a similar way said to be *āram (indrasya) dhāmabhyah*. Here Sāyaṇa is quite right: *nānāvidhebhyaḥ śarīrebhyaḥ* "for the god's manifold bodies (embodiments)". — RV. 8, 12, 32 refers to a similar situation: the singers have started their songs at Indra's dear *dhāman* (. . . *asya dhāmani priyé*), the god being conducted to the sacrifice by the eulogy mentioned in st. 31: Grassmann: "Sitz, Stätte"; Bergaigne¹⁶³): "l'essence (d'Indra)"; Geldner: "Erscheinung". — In 8, 21, 4 the same god is implored to come to drink

¹⁵⁴) Cf. Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 246.

¹⁵⁵) Schmidt, o.c., p. 35.

¹⁵⁶) Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 183 explains: "also *dhāma* offenbar von der durch Indra begründeten Naturordnung".

¹⁵⁷) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 55; Geldner(-J. Nobel), Rig-Veda übersetzt, IV, Cambridge Mass. 1957, p. 80.

¹⁵⁸) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 211 n.

¹⁵⁹) M. Bloomfield, Rig-veda repetitions, I, Cambridge Mass. 1916, p. 395.

¹⁶⁰) Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 245.

¹⁶¹) Bhavé, o.c., II, p. 34; 38.

¹⁶²) Renou, E. V. P. VIII, p. 16; 72.

¹⁶³) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 212 n.

soma with all his *dhāmāni*: Grassmann's "Gefolge" is less probable than Geldner's "Erscheinungsformen" or Oldenberg's¹⁶⁴) "Schöpfungen". Compare 1, 103, 1, stating that 'part' of his is in heaven, 'part' on the earth and 4, distinguishing some of his aspects and the names which belong to these. That means that Indra who is in heaven as well as on the earth has more than one *dhāman*. — The poet of 3, 37, 4 exalts the god as follows: *puruṣtutāsya dhāmabhiḥ śatēna mahayāmasi . . .* "we delight in the hundred 'residences' of the power of the highly praised one . . ." ¹⁶⁵). — The same explication may be proposed with regard to ṚV. 10, 93, 6 invoking the protection of the Aśvins, Mitra and Varuṇa *dhāmabhiḥ* ("selon les lois", cf. Bergaigne¹⁶⁶); "in Person", Geldner): "with their representative 'locations'".

Describing the exploits of the Maruts the poet of ṚV. 1, 85, 11 says *kāmaṃ viprasya tarpayanta dhāmabhiḥ*: "Brauch, gewohnte Handlung" (Grassmann)¹⁶⁷); "mit ihren Scharen" (Hillebrandt)¹⁶⁸); "they satisfy the desire of the sage by their powers"¹⁶⁹); "sie befriedigen in eigener Person den Wunsch . . ." (Geldner); ". . . selon leurs institutions" (or "leur vocation", Renou)¹⁷⁰). Mādhava: *dhāraḥ jalaiḥ* "with (their) supporting waters"; Sāyaṇa: *āyuso dhāraḥ udakaiḥ*. Here also the term *dhāman*- expresses, if I am not mistaken, the same idea: the gods satisfy the desire of the vipra by agency or through the instrumentality of those phenomena in which their power resides, that is, in which their specific functions are believed to become manifest¹⁷¹). One of their main functions being to shed rain¹⁷²), those natural phenomena which are connected with rain may, I suppose, be regarded as their *dhāmāni*, but there is no reason to exclude the 'remedies' which they are said to bring to their worshippers (2, 33, 13; 8, 20, 23; 25) and the other media through which they confer benefits upon man¹⁷³). Though by no means coinciding with provinces of, or phenomena in, nature the Vedic gods largely worked and functioned in or through nature¹⁷⁴), and the 'seats' of their active presence were, here also, called *dhāmāni*.

There are grounds for interpreting ṚV. 3, 31, 21 in a similar way. Elsewhere¹⁷⁵) attention has been drawn to the connection between Indra's

¹⁶⁴) Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 186, n. 2.

¹⁶⁵) For the construction see RV. 6, 15, 2; cf. also E. Sickinge, De genetivi in lingua sanscrita . . . usu, Thesis Berlin 1869, p. 42 ff.

¹⁶⁶) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 256.

¹⁶⁷) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 252 deals with this place under the heading "l'idée de loi dans le culte".

¹⁶⁸) Hillebrandt, Lieder des Rigveda, Göttingen-Leipzig 1913, p. 66.

¹⁶⁹) Macdonell, Vedic reader, Oxford 1928, p. 29.

¹⁷⁰) Renou, E. V. P. X, p. 19; 67.

¹⁷¹) Cf. Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 244.

¹⁷²) Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 79 f.

¹⁷³) I refer to Geldner-Nobel, Der Rig-Veda übersetzt, IV, p. 102.

¹⁷⁴) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 49.

¹⁷⁵) Epithets, p. 70 etc.; cf. p. 74.

heroism and liberality; being a conqueror and a possessor of cows, he is expected to give part of his wealth or booty to his worshippers: hence pāda a. The poet continues: *antāḥ kṛṣṇāṃ aruṣāir dhāmabhir gāt*, which in this connection may mean: "he excluded the black ones — as a collective denomination of all enemies — (from the recipients) by the agency of (the) reddish ones, i.e. of the representatives, 'seats' or impersonations (of the reddish colour), i.e. of light" ¹⁷⁶). One might for instance refer to places such as ṚV. 7, 5, 6 (Agni expelled the dasyus from their abodes); 4, 28, 3 (Indra slew, Agni burned the dasyus to death), or to 7, 77, 4 imploring Uṣas — who being of course the destroyer of darkness par excellence (1, 92, 5 etc.) owes her existence to Indra (2, 21, 4; cf. 3, 44, 2) — to ward off the enemy (enmity); cf. also 1, 48, 8 ¹⁷⁷). The same goddess moreover lent assistance in forcing the door of the enclosure in which the cows were penned ¹⁷⁸) (7, 79, 4), a process to which the poet of 3, 31 (21 d) may have also alluded ¹⁷⁹).

Sometimes a rendering impresses us as a mere guess. Thus AV. 19, 47, 1 (ṚVKh. 4, 2, 1; VS. 34, 32) "O night, the earthly spaces have been filled *pitūr dhāmabhiḥ* was translated by "wondrous works" (Griffith) ¹⁸⁰). "Power and might" (Griffith, VS. 34, 32 where the stanza recurs) is in any case preferable to "ordinances" (Whitney). I would propose: "with the 'projections' of the Father's (an otherwise anonymous mighty god) divine essence". This is in harmony with the continuation "great, thou spreadest thyself to the seats of the sky (*divāḥ sādāṃsi*)". The comm. AV. and VS. give *sthānaiḥ saha*, comm. AV. explaining the Father as Heaven (heavenly world), the others as *madhyama-loka*.

AV. 4, 25, 7 *ūpa śrēṣṭhā na āśiṣo devāyor dhāmann asthīran* "our best prayers have come unto the 'locations' of the two gods (i.e. unto that 'projection' of the gods' essence which may be regarded as being within earshot; Vāyu and Savitar are meant)" (TS. 4, 7, 15, 3 and KS. 22, 15 read *dharme*, MS. 3, 16, 5: 191, 4 *dharmā(s)*). Whitney-Lanman and Keith (TS.) translate otherwise, but compare the commentary; for *upa-sthā-* cf. e.g. ṚV. 4, 41, 8; 7, 23, 3 etc.; the above translation is in harmony with pāda c "I praise god Savitar and Vāyu; do ye free us from distress".

From a comparison of AV. 7, 29, 1 and 2 it appears that *dhāman-* (2) belongs to the same semantic class as *mahitvam* "greatness, majesty" (1); thus "display, projection of divine essence" rather than "domain" (Whitney-Lanman), or "abode" (Keith, TS. 1, 8, 22, 1; Caland, ŚSS. 2, 4, 3; cf. ĀśvŚS. 2, 8, 3); being present as, or in, this *dhāman-* the gods Agni

¹⁷⁶) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 211 n.: "les essences ou les races rouges"; Mādhava and Sāyaṇa: *tejobhiḥ*.

¹⁷⁷) For Agni, Uṣas and Indra ṚV. 10, 101, 1.

¹⁷⁸) I refer to Geldner, o.c., II, p. 133; 252; Renou, E. V. P. III, p. 101.

¹⁷⁹) See Geldner, o.c., I, p. 370.

¹⁸⁰) R. T. H. Griffith, The hymns of the Atharva-veda translated, II, Benares 1896, p. 303; similarly ("Wunderschöpfungen") H. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, Berlin 1879, p. 179.

and Soma are invited to partake of the ghee, to increase by praise and to bring treasures ¹⁸¹).

Ṛ.V. 8, 13, 20 *tād id rudrásya cetati yāhvām pratnēsu dhāmasu* "That recent ¹⁸² display of Rudra ('s power) is conspicuous among the preceding ones" ("Sitz", Grassmann; "Schöpfung", Geldner, identifying this with the Maruts, who are Rudra's sons) ¹⁸³).

Geldner ¹⁸⁴) ventured the opinion that the seven *dhāmāni* of the earth through which Viṣṇu is Ṛ.V. 1, 22, 16 related to have traversed are "die sieben Formen (?) der Erde", i.e. "die drei Erden, Luftreich. und die drei Himmel" ¹⁸⁵), without rejecting the possibility of explaining, with Sāyaṇa, "von der Erde aus mit sieben Kräften" (read: with the seven metres, *gāyatrī* etc. which are means of attaining his aims) ¹⁸⁶). Both interpretations ¹⁸⁷) would not tally with the sense attributed to *dhāman-* in this article. Is something known about the seven locations of the divine power believed to be inherent in the earth ¹⁸⁸)? The number seven ¹⁸⁹) in connection with striding may remind us of the well-known indispensable element of the marriage ceremonies, the seven steps, in which Viṣṇu is involved ¹⁹⁰); were these steps themselves or the heaps of rice (representatives of the goddess Śrī ¹⁹¹)) on which the bride was to set her foot considered *dhāmāni* of the earth? Or, what is more plausible: are the gods implored to extend their favour to those speaking (cf. 5, 87, 4), from where Viṣṇu started his march through seven *dhāmāni* of the earth, whatever they may be? ¹⁹²)

Ṛ.V. 3, 55, 10 is, in view of the post-Vedic use of *dhāman-*, of special interest because it is Viṣṇu who is said here to watch, protect or govern (*pāti*) as a herdsman the highest 'protectorate' ¹⁹³) (*paramām . . . pāthah*) while *prīyā dhāmāny amṛtā dādhanah*: "seine lieben unsterblichen Formen

¹⁸¹) For variants see W. D. Whitney - Ch. R. Lanman, Atharva-veda Saṃhitā translated, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 408 f.; see also ŚSS. 2, 4, 3.

¹⁸²) For *yāhvā-* cf. Geldner, Kuhn's Zs. 28, p. 195; Renou, Etudes védiques, B. S. O. A. S. 20, p. 475.

¹⁸³) Otherwise Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 246 ("Rudra als jüngerer unter den ältern *dhāma*").

¹⁸⁴) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 21.

¹⁸⁵) See e.g. W. Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder, Bonn-Leipzig 1920, p. 4 f.

¹⁸⁶) Mādhava and Sāyaṇa: *chandobhiḥ* (cf. TS. 5, 2, 1, 1).

¹⁸⁷) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 255 under the heading "loi".

¹⁸⁸) Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 183 takes *prthivyāḥ* as an objective genitive.

¹⁸⁹) Which puzzled Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 243.

¹⁹⁰) See Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, Utrecht 1954, p. 20; 59.

¹⁹¹) Aspects, p. 176 ff.; Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 96 f.

¹⁹²) Since however Viṣṇu's third step is in the heavens, beyond mortal ken, he began his striding on the earth and so *prthivyāḥ* may also continue *yataḥ*, so that the *dhāmāni* may, with Sāyaṇa, be attributed to the god himself.

¹⁹³) "Schutzbezirk" (Wackernagel - Debrunner, o.c., II, 2, p. 722) where other attempts to explain this word; or 'pasture' (? > territory > resort?) see also Renou, E. V. P. IV, p. 52 and III, p. 47 f.

annehmend", Geldner 194), adding: "(d.h.) seine verschiedene Namen oder Gestalten in 7, 100, 5, 6 als Zwerg, Riese usw. (oder auch) die Schöpfungen, d.h. die Welten, vgl. 10, 82, 3" 195); "réalisant ses propres institutions = se réalisant", Renou 196). Since the sense of the participle *dādḥāna-* must in all probability be in harmony with that of the root element in *dhāman-* 197), "exhibiting" may be the nearest possibility of making the poet's intentions clear. Without straining the meaning of the words we may understand the poet to say that Viṣṇu while 'protecting' (by his very presence) his highest resort exhibits the 'dear' immortal expressions (projections, 'locations') of his essence 198). The *priyam . . . pāthah* of the god is ṚV. 1, 154, 5 identical with the 'place' where those men who turn to him will have contact with him; there in the highest heavens, in his highest step, is a spring of honey 199).

The *samānām . . . dhāma* meant in ṚV. 7, 63, 3 is correctly observed by the sun when "rising from the lap of dawns" 200). According to Macdonell 201) the translation must be "who infringes not the uniform law", to Geldner 202) "der die gemeinsame Abmachung nicht übertritt", to Renou 203) ". . . qui n'abuse pas l'institution commune (de Varuṇa et Mitra)". Rather, "the common 'location'".

A great variety of interpretations have been proposed for the occurrence ṚV. 1, 14, 10 *viśvebhīḥ somyām mādhu āgna indreṇa vāyūnā | pība mitrāsya dhāmabhiḥ*: "Gefolge, begleitende Schar" (Grassmann; Hillebrandt) 204); "formes" (Bergaigne) 205); "(die untergeordneten Geister der Götter sind eben nur) Emanationen, untergeordnete Manifestationen (derselben)", Ludwig 206); "Verkörperungen", Geldner, who connects *viśvebhīḥ* mit *dhāmabhiḥ*: "es sind die Götter gemeint als Repräsentationen oder Verkörperungen des Mitra, d.h. Freund oder Freundschaft, sofern sie alle mit Agni auf freundschaftlichem Fuße stehen" 207), cf. Sāyaṇa: *tejobhir mūrtiviśeṣarūpaiḥ*; "avec tous (les dieux), ô Agni, (bois) le miel consistant

194) Cf. Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 211 n. "Viṣṇu prend ses essences, ses formes désirées et immortelles". "Die Ordnung, die ein Gott gesetzt hat, (ist) diesem lieb", Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 187.

195) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 401.

196) Renou, E. V. P. IV, p. 52.

197) Cf. also Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 181; Renou, o.c., IV, p. 52.

198) For this passage see also R. N. Dandekar, Viṣṇu in the Veda, Festschrift-Kane, Poona 1941, p. 102.

199) Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, p. 93.

200) The reader may be referred to Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 224 f.

201) Macdonell, Vedic reader, p. 126.

202) Cf. also Schmidt, o.c., p. 36 f.

203) Renou, E. V. P. V, p. 87.

204) Hillebrandt, I. F. 44, p. 148: a semantic development "Wohnstätte" > "Bewohner" > "Schar" is in itself possible.

205) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 111; 211 n.

206) Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 245.

207) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 15.

en soma, (spécialement) avec Indra, avec Vāyu, bois(-le) avec les institutions de (Varuṇa-)Mitra!", Renou²⁰⁸), adding: "c. à d. avec (V.)M. en qualité de dieux institutionnels"; "drink . . . the honey which is mixed with soma, by the establishments of Contract (= "by the stipulations of the sacrificial contract")", Thieme²⁰⁹). As long as the general meaning of *dhāman-* which suits the other text places gives a satisfactory sense one should not resort to conjectured semantic shifts. Following Geldner and reverting to Sāyaṇa's explication one may therefore explain: "drink . . . with all impersonations²¹⁰ of Mitra (Friendship; i.e. with the friendly gods), (especially) with I. and V. . . ." Mitra who "bears or sustains" all the gods (ṚV. 3, 59, 8) appears 3, 5, 4 as Agni when the latter is kindled and acts as a hotar (cf. also 5, 3, 1, where all the gods are said to be in Agni).

ṚV. 1, 91, 3b = 9, 88, 8b²¹¹) *bṛhád gambhīrám táva soma dhāma* does not, as far as I am able to see, mean "hoch und tief ist dein Wesen" (Geldner); ". . . deine Schöpfung" (Schmidt)²¹²; "haute, profonde, ton institution" (Renou)²¹³, but "firm (solid)²¹⁴, deep (hard to understand) is the location of thy divinity" or something to that effect. After comparing the god to Mitra and Aryaman, the poet proceeds (1, 91, st. 4) to specify these locations: *yá te dhāmāni divi yá pṛthivyám yá párvateṣv apsú | tébhīr no viśvāih . . . práti havyā grbhāya*. Schmidt is no doubt right in observing (on st. 3) "d.h. wohl: 'du bist überall' ", for here the *dhāmāni* are said to be in the heavens, on the earth, in the mountains, herbs and waters, and Geldner²¹⁵ does not appear to be far from the truth in adding the comment "es sind seine verschiedenen Erscheinungsformen gemeint"²¹⁶). The *dhāmāni* embodying as it were the god's presence are quite consistently supposed to be able and willing to act as intermediaries for the god in accepting the oblations. It may be remembered that soma is the omnipresent vital juice, which is in the earth (2, 40, 4), in the sea (9, 107, 15), lord of rain (9, 74, 3) and of the plants (9, 114, 2) etc. etc.²¹⁷. Similarly, 1, 91, 4 and 19.

In view of the parallelism assumed to exist between the process of clarification of the soma and the preparation of ghee (see ṚV. 9, 67, 11; 12 and also 4, 58)²¹⁸ the words 9, 97, 31 *pávamāna pávase dhāma gónām*

²⁰⁸) Renou, E. V. P. V, p. 2 f.

²⁰⁹) P. Thieme, Mitra and Aryaman, Trans. Connecticut Acad. 41, New Haven 1957, p. 57 (compare the review by F. B. J. Kuiper, in Indo-Ir. J., 3 (1959), p. 207 ff.).

²¹⁰) Of course in the 'good' sense of the term.

²¹¹) Cf. also Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 237; Hillebrandt, I. F. 44, p. 143, n. 1: "die weite Wohnung, das weite Reich".

²¹²) Schmidt, o.c., p. 43; cf. Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 186.

²¹³) Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 38.

²¹⁴) See my Notes on brahman, Utrecht 1950, p. 30 ff.

²¹⁵) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 116.

²¹⁶) "Das ist doch nur er selber", Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 244.

²¹⁷) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 62 ff.; H. Lommel, König Soma, in Numen, 2, p. 196 ff.

²¹⁸) With Geldner's introductory note, o.c., I, p. 488.

may mean "O (Soma pavamāna,) thou clarifiest thyself like (and at the same time, as) ²¹⁹ the ghee (which is the location of the specific power of the cows)"; "die Essenz der Kühe" (Geldner) ²²⁰ which anyhow is preferable to "Sitz" (Grassmann); "(séjour) institution(nel)" ²²¹. In the next stanza Soma is declared to shine brightly as a *dhāma* of the principle of immortality (*amṛtasya dhāma*, not "offenbarst du . . . das Wesen, die Essenz, des Göttertrankes" ²²²), which is perfectly clear, because Soma is 'immortal' (8, 48, 12; 9, 84, 2; 9, 91, 2) and, like other substances—the milk in the cow (1, 71, 9; 3, 1, 14), the ghee (3, 26, 7), the oblation (5, 2, 3), cf. also 1, 23, 19 there is *amṛtam* in the waters—, a form or manifestation of that 'principle' ²²³. The same expression recurs 9, 94, 2 *vyūrṇvānn amṛtasya dhāma* which could tentatively be translated "revealing himself as a 'location' of amṛta" ²²⁴, unless—what seems preferable—the god Soma himself is the subject who is described as revealing his own *dhāma*.—In the second half of the line AVPaipp. 5, 16, 3; Kauś. 2, 37 *ud vāsāyāgneḥ śrtam akarṃa havyam āroha (sīda) pṛṣṭham amṛtasya dhāma*, inviting the sacrificial material to ascend unto the heavenly regions (cf. Kauś. 68, 26), the "back or surface (of heavens)" ²²⁵ and the "*dhāman*- 'holder, location' of (the) immortal(ity)" seem to be 'synonyms' or rather to be complementary concepts characterizing the 'sphere' in which the sacrifice will be stored up to await the sacrificer.

In RVKh. 3, 10b, 9 the waters, invoked to wash away evil are described as *ṛtasya yónayo 'mṛtasya dhāma sārṇā devēbhyaḥ pūṇyagandhāḥ*. This is quite intelligible: the waters have received or contain vital power.—For *amṛtasya dhāma* (ms. *dhāman*) see also AVPaipp. 20, 1, 3.

The first line of RV. 9, 86, 15 *só asya viśé máhi sārṃa yachati yó asya dhāma prathamāṃ vyānaśé* may, I think, be translated: "He (Soma) gives much protection to the homestead (clan etc.) of him who has reached (obtained) his (Soma's) first 'location' " ²²⁶, which in connection with the second half of the stanza, stating that Soma passes through the whole

²¹⁹) For the absence of *iva* see my Ellipsis, brachylogy etc. in the R̥gveda, Amsterdam Acad. 1960, p. 54.

²²⁰) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 98.

²²¹) Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 49.

²²²) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 99.

²²³) For the sense of *amṛta*—"(which contains or grants) continuance of life, vitality; being secure (security) against a (premature) death etc." see Four studies, p. 97 f.; Change and continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965, p. 61; P. Thieme, Studien zur indogerm. Wortkunde und Religionsgeschichte, Leipzig Akad. 98, 6 (Berlin 1952), p. 15 ff.

²²⁴) With a predicative nominative; see A. Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 111; B. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax, Halle S. 1888, p. 103 f.; J. S. Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, Leiden 1886, p. 23.

²²⁵) See The Savayajñas, p. 413.

²²⁶) Not "die Manifestation des Weltenvaters *viś*-genannt" (Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 246).

series (probably, of the phases of the preparation)²²⁷ after starting from his place in the highest heaven²²⁸), may refer to the heavenly place of origin of the stalks which are acquired and prepared for ritual purposes (e.g. 9, 61, 10; 9, 79, 4).

The parallelism *viśvā dhāmāny āviśān* (RV. 9, 28, 2c) - *viśvā rūpāny āviśān* (9, 25, 4a)²²⁹ induced Geldner²³⁰ to consider *dhāman-* as far as its Ṛgvedic occurrences are concerned, a synonym of *rūpa-*²³¹), and Renou²³² to express the opinion that in connection with soma *dhāman-* "semble un peu différent du même mot employé ailleurs": " 'institution, fonction' vient s'amortir en 'forme(s)' . . . ; 'formes' vient à son tour aboutir à 'sièges' "; for Hillebrandt²³³ the verb *ā-viś-* pointed on the other hand to the meaning "abode"; Ludwig²³⁴ proposed "alles Geschaffene". - The god Soma is RV. 9, 39, 1 requested to flow to the gods *priyéna dhāmnā*. This phrase is explained, by Sāyaṇa, as *śarīreṇa dhārayā*, by Bergaigne²³⁵ as "forme désirée", by Geldner, adding "d.h. der geläuterte Trank", as "in deiner angenehmen Form" (endorsed by Bhavé²³⁶), by Renou²³⁷ as "en (ta) fonction aimée", whose comment "la 'fonction' ou 'position' aimée est celle par quoi le soma réside chez les dieux ou leur est assimilé" does not convince me. Oldenberg²³⁸ explained: "es (ist) für das betreffende Subjekt als etwas von Natur ihm besonders Angenehmes gesetzt". The pressed juice which is about to flow to the regions of the gods²³⁹ is a modality of the divine power called Soma. The poet of 9, 25, 4 interestingly expresses the same thought as follows: *viśvā rūpāny āviśān*: "in alle Formen eingehend" (Lüders) - "die verschiedenen Stadien in der Somabereitung sind gemeint" (Geldner)²⁴⁰, "such as the 'following' one, the 'white' one when mixed with milk and so on"²⁴¹ - , seems more convincing than "(assumant) aussi les 'formes' divines"²⁴².

²²⁷) Cf. Geldner, o.c., III, p. 80; Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 96.

²²⁸) See also Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 202 f.

²²⁹) See further on, p. 47.

²³⁰) Geldner, Glossar, p. 92; Rig-Veda übersetzt, III, p. 27; combatted by Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 186.

²³¹) Cf. also Lüders, o.c., p. 208.

²³²) Renou, E. V. P. VIII, p. 74, quoting Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 477.

²³³) Hillebrandt, I. F. 44, p. 141.

²³⁴) Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 245.

²³⁵) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 212 n.

²³⁶) S. S. Bhavé, The Soma-hymns of the Ṛgveda, II, Baroda 1960, p. 74, adding: "that *dhāman-* can mean 'form' is well suggested by this passage, though it may not be true for every occurrence of the word"; cf. also Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 208.

²³⁷) Renou, E. V. P. VIII, p. 22; 79.

²³⁸) Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 187.

²³⁹) Compare the texts collected by Lüders, o.c., p. 207 ff. under the heading "Somās Aufstieg in den Himmel".

²⁴⁰) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 26; cf. Geldner - Nobel, Rig-Veda übersetzt, IV, p. 242.

²⁴¹) Bhavé, o.c., p. 40. For phrases with *ā-viś-* see Petr. Dict. VI, 1190, 4 and Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 186.

²⁴²) Renou, E. V. P. VIII, p. 72.

The verb *ā-viś-* (cf. 7, 55, 1; 8, 15, 13) "to enter" is repeatedly used of Soma when going into the vessels or into the stomach of the god, each position being a *rūpa-* of his. Describing the same situation the poet of 9, 28, 2c says *viśvā dhāmāny āviśān*: "this has trickled into the strainer, the soma pressed for the gods, entering all 'forms' or rather 'modalities' ". This is not to hold, with Geldner²⁴³), that both words are complete synonyms²⁴⁴). The implication "location of divine power" proper to *dhāman-* does not seem to be essential in *rūpa-*²⁴⁵) for the Ṛgvedic use of which compare e.g. 10, 168, 4 contrasting Vāyu's roar with his invisible form or shape (*rūpa-*); 3, 38, 7 where those possessed of *māyā* are said to adapt their *rūpa-* to the asuric *rūpa-* of the Primeval Being; 5, 81, 2 of Savitar who assumes all forms; 5, 42, 13 in connection with Tvaṣṭar's creative activity; gods may appear in many forms or are multiform: *pururūpa-*: Rudra, 2, 33, 9; Soma 6, 41, 3; Indra 6, 47, 18 *īndro māyābhīḥ pururūpa īyate*, etc.

Reverting to the use of *dhāman-* in connection with Soma, I subjoin here, first, ṚV. 9, 109, 4 asking the god to purify himself with regard to all his *dhāmāni* (*viśvābhī dhāma*), that is in order to pass through the phases of his existence ("pour (atteindre) toutes (tes) structures"²⁴⁶) which are manifestations of his divine presence, and in the second place 9, 67, 26, one of the so-called purificatory stanzas²⁴⁷) addressed to Soma Pavamāna, Agni and Savitar who are implored to purify those speaking: *tribhīḥ tvāṃ deva savitar vārṣiṣṭhaiḥ soma dhāmabhiḥ | āgne dākṣaiḥ punīhi nah*. Interpreters differ in opinion: Geldner considers "das geistige Läuterungsmittel des Soma und die Gedankenweckung (Inspiration) durch Savitar" (25) in addition to Agni's *dakṣas* (26c) to be the "drei Formen oder Arten der Läuterung"²⁴⁸); Bhave²⁴⁹), translating: "... with (thy) three (inspirations), O. S., with (thy) three best forms, O. A., with (thy) efficient (powers), purify us" and improbably²⁵⁰) disconnecting *dhāmabhiḥ* from the numeral, takes the stanza to be a prayer to all three deities, who are implored to purify the singer or worshipper, "each by means of his own special power"; Renou²⁵¹) asks himself whether the "positions" or

²⁴³) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 27.

²⁴⁴) For the extreme rarity of which see e.g. S. Ullmann, The principles of semantics, Glasgow 1951, p. 108 ff.

²⁴⁵) For *rūpa-* "sensuous appearance" see M. Falk, Nāma-rūpa and dharma-rūpa, Calcutta 1943, p. 19 ff. and passim.

²⁴⁶) Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 93.

²⁴⁷) I refer to Vision, p. 105 f.; see also Geldner, o.c., III, p. 56 f. — Cf. Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 253; Hillebrandt, I. F. 44, p. 144 (in connection with Soma *dhāman-* always means "Stätte").

²⁴⁸) Cf. Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 212 n.

²⁴⁹) Bhave, o.c., III, Baroda 1962, p. 133 f.; cf. 120.

²⁵⁰) This position of the two members of a syntactic group (*tribhīḥ . . . dhāmabhiḥ*) is not rare.

²⁵¹) Renou, E. V. P. VIII, p. 103.

“forms” are not simply Savitar, “Soma (lui-même, tout et partie comme souvent)”, and Agni, who here completes the triad of gods. This may be correct ²⁵²): the poet impresses us as invoking the three gods conjointly to purify himself and the worshippers through the highest (or, most eminent) ‘locations’ ²⁵³) of their essence, by means of their ‘expertness’ ²⁵⁴), the *dakṣa-* being the skill displayed by the locations in realizing their intentions, and the three *dhāmāni* Soma Pavamāna (st. 22), Agni’s flames (st. 23; 24) and Savitar in his function of a stimulator, i.e. the light of heaven in its dynamic aspect which excites or inspires the visions of the poets ²⁵⁵) (st. 25). Thus st. 26 is a recapitulation before the climax in st. 27 ²⁵⁶).

Turning now to R.V. 1, 91, 19 (VS. 4, 37; cf. R.V. 1, 91, 4) *yā te dhāmāni haviṣā yājanti tā te viśvā paribhūr astu yajñām*, I recall that this formula is to be recited when the soma, after being purchased etc. is made to enter the sacrificial hall to be given a hospitable reception (TS. 1, 2, 10, 1; ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 30; cf. ŚŚS. 5, 5, 2 etc.) ²⁵⁷). The term *dhāmāni* was explained as *tejāṃsi* (Sāyaṇa), *nāmāni* (Uvaṭa), *sthānāni* (Mahīdhara) and translated by “die Kraftäußerung, die wirkende Kraft” ²⁵⁸) or “Formen” (Geldner), “die durch das Universum hin von Soma gesetzten Ordnungen und Schöpfungen” ²⁵⁹), “glories” (Griffith) ²⁶⁰), “powers” (Eggeling ²⁶¹) and Keith ²⁶²); “abodes” (Keith) ²⁶³), “resorts” (Caland) ²⁶⁴). The meaning of the line may be “Whatsoever locations of thine they worship with an oblation, they all must encompass (with the implication of protection) (our) worship”. As Soma is under the name of Indu as well as Soma invoked to come to the sacrifice and like other gods to receive the offerings on the strewn grass ²⁶⁵) and as he is elsewhere (cf. e.g. 1, 93, 8; 9, 70, 9; 9, 85, 1; 10, 25, 7 etc.) believed to be a guide and protector it would appear to me that the *dhāmāni* corresponding with the god’s names, epithets, aspects etc. are those modifications of his essence which are both

²⁵²) Sāyaṇa explains *dhāmabhīḥ*: *śarīraiḥ agnivāyusūryātmakaiḥ*.

²⁵³) Cf. Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 243: “die drei Somagefäße und . . . ihren Inhalt, den Soma in dreifacher Erscheinung”.

²⁵⁴) Vision, p. 132; Gods and powers, p. 5 ff. It may be remembered that gods are “sons, i.e. manifestations of *dakṣa-*”.

²⁵⁵) Vision, p. 98 f.

²⁵⁶) The variant MS. 3, 11, 10: 156, 9; TB. 1, 4, 8, 3 runs as follows: *bṛhadbhīḥ savitas tribhīḥ varṣiṣṭhair deva manmabhīḥ | agne dakṣaiḥ punīhi mā*.

²⁵⁷) See also Eggeling, in S. B. E. 26, p. 79, n. 2.

²⁵⁸) Quoted by Hillebrandt, I. F. 44, p. 143.

²⁵⁹) Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 186.

²⁶⁰) Griffith, The White Yajurveda translated, p. 38.

²⁶¹) Eggeling, in S. B. E. 26, p. 84.

²⁶²) Keith, Veda Black Yajus School, p. 29.

²⁶³) Keith, Rigveda brāhmaṇas, Cambridge Mass. 1920, p. 116; 389.

²⁶⁴) W. Caland, Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra, Nagpur 1953, p. 109.

²⁶⁵) I refer to Bergaigne, Religion védique, I, p. 182. See e.g. also R.V. 1, 93, 7; 8.

objects and protectors of worship ²⁶⁶). It may be noticed that the other great ritual god, Agni, is likewise implored for the protection of man's worship (3, 13, 4).

As already stated this expression seems to have given rise to re-interpretation. At VS. 4, 34—used during the processions and entrance of King Soma—the poet invites Soma to move forward on his way *viśvāny abhi dhāmāni*: *sarvāṇi sthānāni patniśālāhavirdhānaprabhṛtīni* (comm.), that is “the various places in the sacrificial enclosure such as the hut for the sacrificer's wife and the shed for the soma vehicles”. Compare TS. 1, 2, 9, 1 etc. (mantras used to accompany Soma's progress to the hall or hut of sacrifice) and 6, 1, 11, 5 where the term *dhāmāni* is repeated in the brāhmaṇa. ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 14 explains *dhāmāni* as *aṅgāni* “limbs” or “subdivisions” which may stand for “stages”; hence the continuation “may no prowling enemies meet thee etc.”.

On ṚV. 9, 66, 2, mentioning Soma's two *dhāmanī* with which he reigns over all things (*viśvasya* ²⁶⁷) *rājasi*) and st. 3 stating that Soma surrounds his own *dhāmāni* completely through (with) the ṛtus (“au moyen des temps-rituels” ²⁶⁸), Geldner ²⁶⁹) rightly observed: “die verschiedenen Stadien, die der Soma während seiner Zubereitung durchläuft; in allen bleibt er doch Soma”. Compare also 9, 114, 1. The two *dhāmanī* ²⁷⁰) seem to correspond to the two “forms” (*rūpa-*) of 9, 68, 6, viz. that which the falcon brought from heaven and the clarified juice—and which, as is already implied in Sāyaṇa's comment: *dhāma* = *nāma*, correspond to the names *aṃśu-* and *soma-* (*pavamāna-*) ²⁷¹—, the plural in st. 3 refers to the other forms assumed by Soma after being pressed out and which he as King Soma himself encompasses ²⁷²). Intelligibly so, because the idea may be said to encompass its manifestations, the whole its parts ²⁷³). Compare 9, 86, 5 where Soma's *ketavaḥ* (“Banner”, Geldner; “signaux-lumineux”, Renou) ²⁷⁴) are said to revolve ²⁷⁵) round all his forms and

²⁶⁶) “Ses formes, et non ses demeures, entourent toutes le sacrifice” (Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 212 n.; cf. I, p. 171; 175).

²⁶⁷) Bhave, o.c., III, p. 99 supplies *bhuvanasya*; cf. 9, 86, 5.

²⁶⁸) Renou, E. V. P. VIII, p. 41; 100; III, p. 30 and especially Archiv Orient. 18, p. 431 ff.

²⁶⁹) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 52.

²⁷⁰) Not, with Oldenberg, Gött. Nachr. 1915, p. 185, “von zwei von Soma, dem *dhāmadhāḥ* gesetzten Gebilden”.

²⁷¹) Bhave, o.c., III, p. 100.

²⁷²) Cf. Ludwig, Der Rigveda . . . übersetzt, II, Prag-Leipzig 1876, p. 467, though incorrectly rendering *dhāma* by “Herrschaftsgebiet” (i.e. heaven and earth).

²⁷³) I would hesitate completely to adopt Renou's explication (E. V. P. VIII, p. 100 “le *dhāman-* en tant que ‘position (temporaire)’ est fonction du temps (rituel)”. Hillebrandt's view (Vedische Mythologie, I², Breslau 1927, p. 386, n. 4) is most improbable (“*dhāmāni* Sternbilder, die Soma ‘nach den Jahreszeiten’ besucht”).

²⁷⁴) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 79; Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 32 and 95.

²⁷⁵) For *pari-i* see also ṚV. 10, 122, 3 (; 9, 102, 1).

in a similar way reference is made to his kingship ²⁷⁶) over the universe; the implication clearly is that whatever the modification of the Divine Juice its luminous essence is present in it ²⁷⁷).

R.V. 9, 96, 17 ff. (esp. 18 and 19) go into detail, specifying some of the "Stätten" of the divine juice—as Grassmann ²⁷⁸) would call them—, particularly the third and fourth one—which, following his 'birth' and the process of clarifying (st. 17), succeed to those two which are mentioned in 9, 66, 2 (see above). The fourth dhāman is the *samudra*-, i.e. the large vessel into which the juice is collected and which is identified with the heavenly ocean ²⁷⁹), the third the intermediate stage, the mixing ²⁸⁰). Whereas Geldner explained 9, 86, 22 *pávasva soma divyēṣu dhāmasu* as "läutere, dich, S., an den himmlischen Geburtsstätten . . ." (which seems impossible) and Renou ²⁸¹) as "... dans les structures célestes (de ton essence)", Lüders ²⁸²) wavered between "Stätten" and "Erscheinungsformen" ²⁸³). Comparing st. 27d I would ascribe the use of the adjective *divya*- to the tendency to assume a parallelism between the preparation of the soma juice and natural phenomena. In 9, 66, 5 *táva śukrāso arcāyo divás pṛṣṭhē vi tanvate | pavitram soma dhāmabhīḥ* the last word is not "Eigenschaften" (Geldner), the idea expressed being "Thy (of Soma, who here as elsewhere fuses with the sun, see e.g. 9, 71, 9; 9, 85, 9; 12) shining rays spread out a strainer on the back of heaven (cf. e.g. 9; 10, 5; 9, 83, 2) ²⁸⁴) through (the agency of) thy *dhāmāni*". Here again the god acts through his 'locations' or 'modalities'. Hence also 9, 28, 5 "This one made the sun shine (cf. 6, 44, 23; 9, 63, 7; 9, 86, 22) . . . (knowing, finding) all *dhāmāni*, the knower (finder) of all (things)" and 10, 25, 2. With regard to 9, 28, 2 and 5 Bergaigne ²⁸⁵) already observed: "il ne s'agit, je crois, ni des demeures, ni même des formes de Soma, mais des formes ou des essences des dieux dans lesquelles il pénètre, qu'il connaît toutes, et vers lesquelles il coule".

²⁷⁶) For the significance of which see above, p. 33 n. 91.

²⁷⁷) "Das *viśvam bhūvanam* ist schwerlich von den *viśvā dhāmāni* sehr verschieden", Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 185.

²⁷⁸) Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 677.

²⁷⁹) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 65 and Lüders' one-sided expatiations, Varuṇa, I, p. 272 f. See also Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 247.

²⁸⁰) The reader may, for the sake of brevity, be referred to Geldner, o.c., III, p. 1 ff., according to whom the *dhāmāni* are "die einzelnen Stufen, die im Rigveda-Ritual der Soma . . . zu durchlaufen hat: das erste Wasserbad, die Pressung, die Filtrierung, das zweite Wasserbad, die Milchmischung". Here Sāyaṇa explains: *dyulokam*, on st. 19 *cāndramasaṃ sthānam*; cf. e.g. 9, 86, 27 (and Renou's note (E. V. P. IX, p. 97); 9, 69, 5.

²⁸¹) Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 34; Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 219 "lois".

²⁸²) Lüders, o.c., p. 210 f.

²⁸³) Sāyaṇa: *sthāneṣu*, viz. "the stomachs of the gods" (cf. pāda c!).

²⁸⁴) Bhavé, o.c., III, p. 101. Cf. also Lüders, o.c., p. 241; 704.

²⁸⁵) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 212, n.

The same sense "location (of Soma's divine nature)" occurs in the pāda ṚV. 9, 69, 6d *néndrād ṛte pavate dhāma kīm cana* which was translated, by Keith²⁸⁶): (KB. 2, 7) "Not without I. is any form made pure", by Geldner: "... kein Ding", by Renou²⁸⁷): "... nulle structure (sômique)". Each portion of soma stalks which is ritually clarified may be regarded as bearing the divinity of the god Soma. One of the phases of the juice's existence being its arrival at Indra's 'abode' Sāyaṇa might be right in explaining ṚV. 9, 97, 5 . . . *ānu dhāma pūrvam āgann indram : purātanaṃ dyulokam . . .*; Soma's divine essence has gone to its traditional 'station' — if this name may be given to the divine juice's presence at its destination —, viz. Indra. However, the order of words rather points to "praised . . . along (at) his traditional 'location' (on the sacrificial place)". Not, with Geldner, "nach der früheren Weise".—Geldner²⁸⁸) went so far as to explain the phrase *jarāṇābhī dhāma* in the difficult stanza ṚV. 1, 121, 6 as meaning "in die alten Gefäße" (Soma), whereas Oldenberg²⁸⁹) had proposed: "zu den zerfallenden (?) Wesenheiten (des brennenden Holzes?)", and Ludwig²⁹⁰) had been inclined to regard *dhāman-* as synonymous with *deva-*. The word *jarāṇā* ("decayed" does not seem to suit the context) remains obscure.

In stanza 7 of the Āpri hymn 10, 70 *ūrdhvó grāvā bṛhád agníḥ sámiddhaḥ priyá dhāmāny áditer upáste* Geldner²⁹¹) translates: "die lieben Sachen (d.h. die Opfergeräte, *haviṣāṃ dhārakāṇi yajñapātṛāṇi*, Sāyaṇa) sind im Schoße der Aditi". As Aditi's womb is the navel of the earth, on which oblations are offered²⁹²), the sacrificial vessels are here viewed as receptacles of divine power.

At ṚV. 4, 7, 5 and 9, 102, 2 there is question of the seven *dhāmāni*²⁹³) of sacrificial worship. Sāyaṇa gives different explications, viz. *tejobhiḥ* and *dhārakaiḥ . . . chandobhiḥ*; Grassmann: "heiliger Brauch (besonders des Opfers)"; Geldner: "Formen"; Hillebrandt: "Stätten"; Rönnow²⁹⁴): "(Opfer)stätte"; Renou: "positions (sacrificielles)" and "structures du sacrifice"²⁹⁵). Bergaigne²⁹⁶) was inclined to relate this occurrence of *dhāman-* with the myth of the seven founders of sacrifice (9, 10, 3). Besides, the Āngirases are 10, 67, 2 related to have, while following in the footsteps

²⁸⁶) Keith, Rigveda brāhmaṇas, p. 354.

²⁸⁷) Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 19.

²⁸⁸) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 165.

²⁸⁹) H. Oldenberg, Ṛgveda, Textkrit. und exeg. Noten, I, Berlin 1909, p. 120.

²⁹⁰) Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 245.

²⁹¹) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 248.

²⁹²) Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, p. 115. Cf. VS. 1, 11.

²⁹³) See above, p. 42.

²⁹⁴) K. Rönnow, Trita Aptya, Uppsala 1927, p. 163 ff.

²⁹⁵) Renou, E. V. P. XIII, p. 12; IX, p. 56.

²⁹⁶) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 232.

of Bṛhaspati, the priest of the gods ²⁹⁷), realized ²⁹⁸) the first *dhāman*-of sacrificial worship. That must mean that in a way they invented or introduced the sacrifice. Now, these “seers who are sons of the gods” ²⁹⁹) became, according to AV. 20, 135, 7, the leaders of sacrificial activities. Reference is moreover repeatedly made to the ritual practices of their descendants: AV. 18, 4, 8; TS. 7, 1, 4, 1 (where they “saw” the two-night rite); PB. 20, 11, 3. ṚV. 10, 67, 2 may therefore mean that these mythical beings introduced ³⁰⁰) the first species or variety of sacrifice, or, more precisely, the first actualisation of the ‘idea’ or potency *yajña*-, rather than “they thought of the first ordinance of sacrifice” ³⁰¹). The sacrifice indeed belonged to those mighty and influential Daseinsmächte ³⁰²) on which man and his well-being were largely dependent (cf. e.g. ṚV. 5, 15, 2). Seven being also in the Veda often used to denote completion and perfection ³⁰³), the words *yájiṣṭham sapta dhāmabhīḥ* used in connection with Agni the hotar (ṚV. 4, 7, 5) may mean “the worshipper par excellence with (the normal instrumental case of the means by which the rite is performed) the seven (i.e. the complete and perfect number of) ‘modalities’ of sacrificial worship” ³⁰⁴). Although, in Ṛgvedic times, the ritual system had not reached the state of fixation, complication and elaboration of the later Vedic period ³⁰⁵), some performances were recognized as different from others by some distinctive characteristic or other: the atirātra is e.g. mentioned in 7, 103, 7, a sahasrasava in 3, 53, 7 and 7, 103, 10 etc. ³⁰⁶). The poet of ṚV. 9, 102, 2 says that “a place in secret” has fallen to Soma’s share, now his dear (place) — “il s’agit de la quatrième forme (96, 19), ou du quatrième nom (8, 80, 9)” ³⁰⁷) — with, or through, by means of, the seven (i.e. all) modalities of *yajña*, which, I suppose, comes to “through a perfect and complete performance of the sacrificial rites” ³⁰⁸).

The words *prástutir vāṃ dhāma ná práyuktir úyāmi mitrāvaruṇā* in the much disputed stanza ṚV. 1, 153, 2 can hardly mean “das Preislied für

²⁹⁷) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 72 f.

²⁹⁸) The verb *man*- in the sense discussed Vision, p. 146: the subject does not only cause an object to appear real to the mind by forming a clear conception of it, but is also regarded as being able to convert it into actuality.

²⁹⁹) See also The Savayajñas, p. 197 and M. Bloomfield, The Atharva-Veda and the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa, Strassburg 1899, p. 9 etc.

³⁰⁰) On the creation of the sacrifice: ṚV. 10, 65, 7; 66, 2; 130, 6.

³⁰¹) Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 142.

³⁰²) H. von Glasenapp, Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens, Halle S. 1940, p. 9 ff.

³⁰³) E. W. Hopkins, in J. A. O. S. 16, p. 277 ff.; The Savayajñas, p. 139; see also F. Heiler, Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion, Stuttgart 1961, p. 167 ff.

³⁰⁴) Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 243 preferred: “the seven hotars” (cf. 8, 60, 16; 9, 114, 3).

³⁰⁵) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 108.

³⁰⁶) See K. R. Potdar, Sacrifice in the Ṛgveda, Bombay 1953, p. 123 ff.

³⁰⁷) Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 113. For the significance of this fourth compare e.g. ṚV. 1, 164, 45 and Geldner’s note.

³⁰⁸) “dans les sept mondes”, Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 236.

euch wurde wie eure Eingebung als Anschirrung dargebracht . . .”³⁰⁹ or “. . . ward euch gleichsam als ein Antrieb eurer Tätigkeit . . . dargebracht” (Geldner). As *dhāma* probably depends on *práyuktiḥ*³¹⁰, Ludwig’s³¹¹ translation “die Lobpreisung von euch beiden ist wie eine Veranlassung zur Manifestation” may, after emendation, be adopted: “the eulogy has been extended (offered to you) as a ‘yoking’ of (i.e. an incitement to display) your presence”. The eulogy meant to invite the gods is elsewhere (cf. 7, 5, 5; 7, 24, 5; 7, 62, 2) described as a vehicle which is to conduct them to the sacrificial place.

In R.V. 10, 181, 2 the famous *sāman bṛhat* is called “the highest *dhāman*-of the sacrifice is secret”. This may mean that the *bṛhat* – which is identified with heaven³¹² – is in a mysterious way a most important residence or embodiment of ritual energy.

From the instructive passages AV. 15, 2, 1–4 “of the *bṛhat* and the *rathantara* and of the *Ādityas* and of all the gods . . .”, “of the *yaññāyajñīya*-and the *vāmadevya*- (two *sāmans*) and the sacrifice, the sacrificer and cattle . . .”, “of . . . the waters and king *Varuṇa* . . .”, “of the seven seers and king *Soma* . . . does he become the dear *dhāman*- who knows thus” it may be inferred that these divine powers take up residence with part of their nature in this man. Similarly 15, 6, 1–9: “earth, fire, forest, trees, plants, sun, moon etc. have their seat in etc.”; 15, 8, 3; 15, 9, 3.

It would appear to me that modern translations of R.V. 3, 7, 6 *ukṣā ha yātra . . . ānu svām dhāma jaritūr vavākṣa* (“Sitz”. Grassmann; “selon sa propre nature”, Bergaigne³¹³); “Art”. Geldner; “statut”. Renou) are inferior to *Mādhava*’s and *Sāyaṇa*’s *tejah*³¹⁴. The bull (*Agni*) is said to become strong in accordance with (along with and consequent on) the display of particular power inherent in or proper to the eulogist. Singers and eulogists are bearers of inspired poetry (cf. e.g. 1, 80, 1) and as such keepers of divine power³¹⁵, friends of the gods (2. 38. 11; 3. 62. 1) and drivers of the ‘vehicle’ which is the sacrifice (cf. 5, 46. 1; 8. 6. 2)³¹⁶. It is therefore intelligible that their professional ability which was a divine gift was described as a *dhāman*-, the phrase being a type of periphrasis³¹⁷.

Addressing the ghee which is a very potent substance the poet of R.V. 4, 58, 11 says: *dhāman te viśvam bhūvanam ādhi śritām* “the whole world

³⁰⁹) Schmidt, o.c., p. 33, n. 40. Cf. also Renou, E. V. P. VII, p. 39.

³¹⁰) Cf. Geldner, o.c., I, p. 212 (and R.V. 1, 65, 3); see B. Delbrück, Das altindische Verbum, Halle S. 1874, § 200 ff.; C. Gaedicke, Der Accusativ im Veda, Breslau 1880, p. 190 ff.

³¹¹) Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 247.

³¹²) See Eggeling, S. B. E. 44, p. 526. Cf. also AiB. 5, 30, etc.

³¹³) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 376.

³¹⁴) Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 244: “das *dhāma* *Agni*’s ist seine Erscheinung in der Flamme”: what about *jaritūḥ*?

³¹⁵) I refer to my book The vision of the Vedic poets, passim.

³¹⁶) See my paper on *adhvarā-* in Vishv. Indol. Journ., 3 (1965), p. 163 ff.

³¹⁷) For *anu* see Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 182, n. 1.

rests on the display of thy divine power" ("Kraft", Stenzler *ĀśvGS.* 3, 5, 7³¹⁸); "power", Griffith *VS.* 17, 99³¹⁹), cf. the comm. *vibhūtyām*; "abode", Oldenberg *ŚGS.* 4, 5, 8³²⁰); "Wesen" or "Grundlage", Geldner). That is to say, the empirical universe is based on the empirical presence of the divine principle *ghee*.

The empirical species or varieties—viewed from the same angle—of the genus 'medicinal herb' are in all probability meant in *RV.* 10, 97, 1 and 2 (see also *VS.* 12, 75 ff.; *ŚB.* 7, 2, 4, 26 f.). The herbs which have come into existence even before the gods (st. 1) are doubtless divine in nature and bearers of a useful potency; in st. 4 they are addressed as "goddesses". *Sāyaṇa* whose explication is *sthānāni janmāni vā* (st. 2) specifies as follows: *anulepamārjanābhīsekādirūpeṇāśrayabhūtāni sthānāni*. Geldner's "Arten"³²¹ and Hillebrandt's³²² "Standorte", though not precise, may serve³²³. Oldenberg³²⁴ rightly drew attention to the fact that here and elsewhere the plurality and manifoldness of the *dhāmāni* are brought to the fore.

All ritual uses of *AV.* 2, 14³²⁵ imply the value of this text as exorcizing evil beings or influences of a rather indefinite character, called *sadānvāḥ*. They are driven out of the cow-stall, out of the houses (st. 2), etc.; hence no doubt the commentary: *nivāsasthānāni* in explication of st. 6 *pāri dhāmāny asaram* (cf. Ppp. 2, 4, 3) "I have gone around their abodes" (Whitney-Lanman); yet "their locations" ("the places where, or forms of evil in which, they manifest themselves") is also possible, the more so as the *sadānvāḥ* are described as "female descendants of an angry and cruel demoniac power" and are specified as the "expeller", "the bold one", "the voracious" etc. (st. 1). A similar explication may apply to *RV.* 8, 101, 6 *tē dhāmāny amṛtā mārtyānām ādabdhā abhī cakṣate*: "die unbetörten Unsterblichen beobachten das Tun der Sterblichen" (Geldner); *sthānāni* (*Sāyaṇa*). The poet may mean all embodiments, locations, expressions of mankind, human nature and human culture.

The term under examination may be used in a general way, no indication being added of the numinous potency or deity whose *dhāman-* is meant. In the *Āpri* hymn *RV.* 2, 3 st. 2a reads *nārāśamsaḥ prāti dhāmāny añjān*: "N., der die Formen (des Opfers) einweiht" (Geldner). *Nārāśamsa*—a 'name' of Agni when he is born (3, 29, 11)—performs, with 'honey' on his tongue and in his hand, the sacrifice (1, 13, 3; 5, 5, 2), besprinkling

³¹⁸ A. F. Stenzler, *Ind. Hausregeln*, I, Leipzig 1864 (Abh. K. M. 3, 4), p. 95*

³¹⁹ Griffith, o.c., p. 192.

³²⁰ Oldenberg, *The Gṛhyasūtras* I, S. B. E. 29, p. 112; cf. p. 221 (*ĀśvGS.* 3, 5, 7).

³²¹ Geldner, o.c., III, p. 306; "sinon 'troupe', du moins 'forme' ou 'race'" (Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 212 n.).

³²² Hillebrandt, *Lieder*, p. 107.

³²³ "Die einzelnen Pflanzenarten sind *dhāmāni* dem Soma, der idealen Pflanze . . . gegenüber" (Ludwig, *K. Z.* 28, p. 243).

³²⁴ Oldenberg, *Nachr. Gött.* 1915, p. 183, n. 1.

³²⁵ I refer to Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 57 f.

it with 'honey' three times a day (1, 142, 3) and making it pleasant for the gods (10, 70, 2) ³²⁶). "Il oint, c'est-à-dire sans doute qu'il honore les dhāman" ³²⁷). As the god in all likelihood fulfils the same function the above words seem to mean: "N., anointing ('besprinkling'; cf. e.g. pāda d 8, 39, 1 where *devān* is the object etc.) the 'locations' or 'display' of divine power (the divine presences) . . ."—In ṚV. 10, 82, 3 Viśvakarman is said to know *dhāmāni* . . . *bhūvanāni viśvā*: not "die verschiedenen Typen der Schöpfung und (alle) Geschöpfe" ³²⁸), but "embodiments and locations of divine power" (*devānām tejaṣthānāni*, Sāyaṇa who may be perfectly right); he indeed is, as stated in pāda c, "the sole name-giver of the gods", i.e. "he identifies their natures" ³²⁹).

In the difficult stanza ṚV. 4, 55, 2 *prā yé dhāmāni pūrvyāṅy arcān* the sense of the noun is no doubt the same; the subject, probably (the) gods ³³⁰), intends to celebrate in song 'locations' of power ³³¹). For *arcati* cf. 9, 97, 4 (*devān*); 3, 32, 3 (object: Indra's ojas celebrated by the Maruts) ³³²).

ṚV. 5, 48, 1 *kād u priyāya dhāmne manāmahe* ("Was sollen wir dichten auf das liebe . . . Geschlecht?" ³³³) or "das Werk der obersten Götter, die Schöpfung", Geldner) was explained by Renou: "l' 'Institution' comme symbole du dieu Indra = **priyadhāmavate*" ³³⁴). Preferably, "the presence, display or 'location' of (the god's) power as representing the god himself", the natural phenomenon (lightning and thunder-storm) described in the second line being the immediate expression of the god's 'presence', or, the poet concludes from the natural phenomenon to the god's ('partial') presence.

In AVPaipp. 6, 10, 7 the sequence *priyaṃ dhāma hṛdayaṃ saumyaṃ madhu* seems to apply to the cow which desires a bull (*vāṣitā*), the same line describing her as *vājinīm*, i.e. characterized by the generative and food producing potency known as *vāja-*. The phrase *somīdam mādhu* "the sweet soma draught" is frequent in the ṚV.: 1, 14, 10; 1, 19, 9 etc. Whatever the exact connotations of "heart" in this particular connection (centre of the personality, seat of the 'soul?'), so much is clear that the animal

³²⁶) I refer to Bergaigne, o.c., I, p. 305 ff.; Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 101 (who in 2, 3, 2 seems to connect "three heavens" with "he anoints"); and the literature mentioned by Macdonell, p. 101.

³²⁷) Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 227.

³²⁸) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 265.

³²⁹) Is Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 181, n. 2 right in assuming the existence of a close connection between *dhāmāni* and *vidhātā* in pāda a?

³³⁰) See Geldner, o.c., I, p. 485; Renou, E. V. P. IV, p. 56; V, p. 18.

³³¹) "loi", Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 255. I doubt whether the noun *vidhātārah* in the same stanza sheds light on the sense of *dhāman-* as is supposed by Oldenberg, Nachr. Gött. 1915, p. 180, n. 2.

³³²) "Die Manifestationen der Urzeit Agni's, die für höhere Wesen als die Menschen bestimmt waren", Ludwig, K. Z. 28, p. 246.

³³³) Likewise Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 211.

³³⁴) Renou, E. V. P. IV, p. 76; cf. V, p. 29.

is characterized as a bearer of a variety of important potencies. — AVPaipp. 5, 31, 7 enjoining the sacrificial milch-cow³³⁵) to go heavenward, while “seven³³⁶) suns are radiating heat after (her)”, has as its fourth pāda *idaṃ dhāma sātisaram parācaih*. The words *idaṃ dhāma* may in the sense of “this holder of (divine) power” be an apposition to *tvā* (the cow); the other words are adverbs apparently qualifying the participle.

In stanza 6 ab of the enigmatical text AV. 4, 1, viz. *nūnām tād asya kāvyó hīnoti mahó devásya pūrvásya dhāma* the last word was explained *tejorūpam maṇḍalātmakam sthānam* (“his ‘place’ consisting of brilliant energy and being of the nature of a disk”, the sun being meant). To Weber’s³³⁷) “. . . fördert diese Satzung dieses grossen, uralten Gottes” (correctly explained as: “das Erscheinen des neuen Tages”) I would prefer: “The man who is concerned with manifestations of inspired wisdom or who is endowed with the qualities of a sage poet (*kāvya*-) now stimulates (and so brings near) the ‘projection’ of the essence of his, of the great god of old”. For the influence supposed to be exerted by inspired poets, singers and priests on the sun cf. e.g. ṚV. 1, 6, 1; 1, 22, 21.

Commentators (Sāyaṇa, on ṚV., TS., AV., Uvaṇa, Mahīdhara) agree in considering the *trīmsád dhāma* of ṚV. 10, 189, 3³³⁸); TS. 1, 5, 3, 1; VS. 3, 8; AV. 6, 31, 3 etc. to be the thirty *sthānāni* of the sun, i.e. the thirty hours of a day and a night, which are so to say their “members” (*avayava*-). This is also Geldner’s opinion, Ludwig³³⁹) explaining “the thirty gods”, Whitney³⁴⁰) “the thirty days of the moon’s synodical revolution, or spaces of the sky traversed by it in them”, which is less probable than the ‘anachronism’ (Whitney–Lanman) implied in the traditional explication³⁴¹). Griffith’s³⁴²) translation “all the divisions of the world, the number being used indefinitely” is unconvincing because numbers are as a rule not devoid of meaning. As long as the original function of this text and the deity addressed (Sūrya, Agni, Vāc) remain unknown no absolute certainty can be reached about the character of *dhāman*-. Although the comm.’s *nivāsasthānam* seems self-evident the term may in AV. 1, 13, 3 admit of another translation: in this “deterrent homage to lightning” (Whitney–Lanman) the author reveres its missile and heat, which obviously are aspects or representatives of the power of lightning. Why should he not know another partial location of its essence, viz. its “highest ‘location’ ” (*dhāma paramám*) which is in secret?

³³⁵) Rectify my note on Kauś. 62, 21 (The Savayajñas, p. 204): the three stanzas contained in Kauś. l.c. recur in AVPaipp. 5, 31, 3.

³³⁶) For the significance of the number seven see The Savayajñas, p. 442, s.v.

³³⁷) A. Weber, Ind. Stud. 18, Leipzig 1898, p. 7.

³³⁸) For which see The Savayajñas, p. 301 and Geldner, o.c., III, p. 403.

³³⁹) Ludwig, Der Rigveda, IV, p. 11. For Vāc and the gods see e.g. ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 6 ff.

³⁴⁰) Whitney–Lanman, o.c., p. 303.

³⁴¹) The Savayajñas, p. 304.

³⁴²) Griffith, o.c., p. 21.

The same expression recurs 2, 1, 2, where the comm., quoting BhagG. 15, 6, explains *punarāvṛttirahitam sthānam* “the place from which one does not return (to be reborn)”.

I have my doubts about the correctness of Whitney’s³⁴³ translation of AV. 10, 5, 7-14 “with the ordinance of Prajāpati I set you for this world”. In preparing “water thunderbolts”, viz. handfuls of water hurled in the framework of a complicated ritual in order to destroy a wretch or enemy (see Kauś. 49, 3-14)³⁴⁴ it rather reads, to accompany the heating of part of the water required, “Agni’s portion are ye . . . O waters . . . ; with the help (by means) of a display, location or embodiment of P. I place you with a view to (for the sake of) this loka”³⁴⁵ (*prajāpater vo dhāmnāsmāi lokāya sādāye*). In Kauś. 49, 6 Prajāpati, addressed as the first of the gods, is invoked to remove the adversaries. The practitioner may therefore be held to stimulate a portion of Prajāpati’s nature into a display of helpful activity. — Interestingly enough, AVPaipp. 19, 19, 1 reads *ā mā bhadreṣu dhāmasv ā tvam dhehi . . .* as against AVŚaun. 6, 26, 1 (with a defective metre) *ā mā bh. loka . . .* “place me in the sphere of the happy-and-excellent”; the phrase *bhadreṣu dhāmasu* may express the idea of “those conditions or circumstances in which the happy-and-excellent manifests itself”.

In a hymn for protection and purification, AVPaipp. 19, 30 it reads, st. 5: *prajāpatir ṛtubhiṣ pañcabhis saṃvatsaro dhāmabhiṣ pātu viśvaih*; this may mean that Prajāpati—who is the year; see e.g. ŚB. 11, 1, 1, 1—is requested to protect the man speaking with the seasons, and the year—which assails and “burns up” all beings: ŚB. 8, 7, 1, 14 f.—with all its manifestations, i.e. its divisions, *dhāman-* being ‘synonymous’ with *ṛtu-*.

In a prayer addressed to the earth it reads (AV. 12, 1, 52) *sā no dadhātu bhadrāyā priyē dhāmani-dhāmani*; Whitney³⁴⁶: “let her kindly set us in each loved abode”³⁴⁷; Beekh³⁴⁸: “da bringe sie uns . . . in die liebe Wohnung, jeden in sein Haus”. In view of the general meaning of *dhāman-* I would prefer: “she must kindly place us in (procure for us: see RV. 6, 10, 3) every dear representation of her special divinity”.

Imploring a variety of divine beings (herbs, rain, apsarases etc.) to give him *payas-* “invigorating juice” the poet of AVPaipp. 2, 76, inserts the stanza (3) (*payasvan me kṣetram astu payasvad uta <me> dhā<ma> | ahaṃ*

³⁴³) Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 580.

³⁴⁴) For particulars, W. Caland, Altindisches Zauberritual, Amsterdam Acad. 1900, p. 171 f.

³⁴⁵) For loka see my publication Loka, heaven and world in the Veda, Amsterdam Academy 1966.

³⁴⁶) Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 670.

³⁴⁷) Similarly Bloomfield, Hymns of the Atharvaveda, S. B. E. 42, Oxford 1897, p. 205; Hillebrandt, I. F. 44, p. 149, n. 1 proposing to translate *priyām dhāma* by the German “Heim”; “séjours”, V. Henry, Les livres X, XI et XII de l’Atharvaveda, Paris 1896, p. 186.

³⁴⁸) H. Beekh, Der Hymnus an die Erde, Stuttgart 1934, p. 35.

payasvān bhūyāsaṃ gāvo ma uta payasvatīḥ. Here the meaning “dwelling” seems undeniable. As however a man’s house, like his landed property, was a holder of higher power – cf. e.g. AV. 3, 12, 5 making mention of a “(divine) mistress of the house”³⁴⁹) and ṚV. 7, 54; ĀśvGS. 2, 9, 9 invoking Vāstoṣpati “the lord of the dwelling” who is expected to bless man and beast, to afford protection etc.³⁵⁰) – it would appear to me that *dhāman*- does not mean “house” in a ‘profane’ sense but that “holder of higher power” par excellence of the Aryan who is praying here, which is his home and in which he lives in contact with the sacred, and that this word occurring between many other terms for bearers of divine power (herbs, rain, wind, heaven, earth etc.), has been chosen because of its special connotation. – Did the author of AVPaipp. 19, 42, 12 intend to say that “slaying pre-eminence in holiness and surrounding a (one’s?) *dhāman* (inimically)” are equally wrong: *ye brāhmaṇaṃ varco hatvā* (ms. *hatya*) . . . *brāhmaṇā pari dhāma* (ms. *dhāpa*) *yanti*? If so *dhāman*- must be an ‘embodiment’ of divine power (in general)³⁵¹). – If the emendation in AVPaipp. 8, 18, 9 is right the term seems here, for similar reasons, to apply to the field, regarded as a mighty substratum in which the corn is expected to germinate: *asmīn dhāman nyupyate* (for *dhāṃ nu-*) *yavo vrīhīr atho tilaḥ* . . .

Notwithstanding its corrupted fourth pāda the stanza AVPaipp. 1, 44, 1 – the first part of which is nearly identical with AVŚaun. 5, 13, 6 ab used in a ceremony to counteract snakes’ poison – is of special interest: “Of the timātan black serpent, of the brown, and of the one which lives near to the water, (I destroy?) all *dhāmāni* (emended for *dhāmāṃ*) of the poison . . .”: the snakes are obviously characterized as *dhāmāni* of poison.

In VaikhGS. 2, 17, dealing with the samāvartana, . . . *bāndhavaiḥ saha dhāma bhūñjīta mahudhāmnós codanāyāṃ toyapiṣṭau pratindhī grhṇīyāt* the meaning of the word is uncertain, the bhāṣya running: *snātako dhāmaṃ (sic)*³⁵²) *māṃsam bhūñjīta . . . madhu kṣaudraṃ dhāma māṃsam*, the

³⁴⁹) I refer to M. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-Veda and the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, Strassburg 1899, p. 80; A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg 1897, p. 80 f.; A. B. Keith, *Religion and philosophy in Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 188; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, Poona 1941, p. 833 ff.

³⁵⁰) For Kṣetrapati see e.g. *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 37; V. M. Apte, *Social and religious life in the Gṛhya-sūtras*, Bombay 1954, p. 113.

³⁵¹) In a context dealing with various ways of counteracting, by means of imprecations etc., evil influences, AVPaipp. 19, 36, 9, the edition reads (L. C. Barret, *The Kashmirian Atharva Veda*, books XIX and XX, New Haven Conn. 1940, p. 56) *aśva iva dhṛtīyogas prati hāyāmahe dhāma | kṛtvānaṃ brahmaṇas pate daṃṣṭrābhyām upahītaṃ jahi*. The editor’s emendation *dhāma* for the obviously corrupt *dhasaḥ* is doubtful, for whereas the second line is completely clear in meaning: “Kill, O Brahmaṇaspati, the magically active one by your teeth after having placed (him) upon (them)” the first line: “like a resolute horse we urge on (? the verb is without precedent as to form) (his, ?) *dhāman*” sounds somewhat strange, unless the verb may mean “to pester, importune”.

³⁵²) Cf. Caland, *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, Engl. transl., p. 64.

prayoga: *atha dadhighṛtāpūpādi bandhubhir bhūñjīta*. Caland translates "viands"; I would suppose, not "Lieblingsspeise" (cf. Petr. Dict., s.v.) but "food which is regarded as containing some special force or power".

As long as the identity of the subject of RV. 1, 164, 15 cd (AV. 9, 9, 16 cd)³⁵³ remains uncertain, the nature of *dhāman-* in *dhāmasāḥ* cannot be established; anyhow, "each as is (in accordance with) its inherent divine potency" seems possible³⁵⁴.

³⁵³ See also Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 552.

³⁵⁴ P. Deussen, Allg. Geschichte der Philosophie, I, 1, Leipzig 1920, p. 111 translated: "je nach der Art".

IV

After the above account of the occurrences of *dhāman-* in the R̥gveda and Atharvavedasaṃhitās some remarks must be made on the use of the term in the other divisions of Vedic literature.

How difficult it is exactly to define the meaning of the term under consideration may appear also from the Indian explications of a place such as VS. 1, 30 (VSK. 1, 10, 3; KS. 1, 10) *suhār devébhyo dhāmne-dhāmne me bhava yáyuṣe-yajuṣe* (the sacrificial butter is addressed). According to ŚB. 1, 3, 1, 19 these words mean: *sarvasmai me yajñāyaidhi* “be thou a good invoker of gods for my complete sacrifice”, to Uvāṭa “reach (pervade) . . . all ‘places’ (*sthānāni*) and all formulas of my sacrifice”, to Mahīdhara “be . . . for the sake of success of the various ‘places’ of enjoyment of the fruits of the sacrifice”. Eggeling ¹⁾ translated ‘dainty’ or ‘sacrificial site’; Caland (ŚSS. 4, 8, 1) “at every site”; Keith ²⁾ (TS. 1, 1, 10, 3) “sacrifice”. I suppose: “for every ‘endowment’ with (the relative) divine power (with which the successful sacrificer may expect to come into contact)”. “Representation of the special power inherent in a sacrificial rite” may also be the sense in VS. 20, 37, where some aspects of Agni, Narāśaṃsa, Tanūnapāt etc. are said to measure out (and create) after an example (*prāti mīmānaḥ*) the *yajñāsya dhāma* (: *sthānam*, comm.; “sacrificial stations”, Griffith). The comm. on TB. 2, 6, 8, 1 explains *phalabhūtaṃ sthānam*, “a location in the form of the fruits (of the sacrifice)”.

In MS. 1, 2, 14: 23, 16 *tā te dhāmāny uśmasi gāmadhyai gāvo yātra bhūriśṛṅgā ayāsaḥ* (cf. TS. 1, 3, 6, 1 etc. *te te . . .*) ³⁾, used to accompany the placing of the sacrificial post in the earth (ĀpŚS. 7, 10, 8; MānŚS. 1, 8, 2, 18) the word under discussion may impress us as meaning “places”, “dwellings” (Keith); the next line (“there the highest step of the wide-striding Viṣṇu becomes manifest”) however shows that these ‘dwellings’ are, in any case, receptacles of divine power, the translation being: “To these refractions (locations) of thy power—or ‘places where thy power manifests itself—we are fain to go, where are the many-horned agile kine”. The erection of the post which, being identical with the *axis mundi*, is, according to the previous stanza, “to support heaven with its top, to fill the atmosphere with its middle, and to make firm the earth with its base”—powerful partial manifestation of its being and essence—, means Viṣṇu’s victory which destroys all evil and enables the sacrificer

1) Eggeling, S. B. E. 12, p. 74.

2) A. B. Keith, Veda of the Black Yajus School, Cambridge 1914, p. 11 f.

3) See Keith, Veda of the Black Yajus School, p. 41, n. 2.

to reach the heavenly regions. The parallel RV. 1, 154, 6 reads *tā vāṃ vāstūni* ("dwellings") . . . (Indra and Viṣṇu are addressed). The kine probably are the stars, and reference is made to a 'celestial region'.

The cooking-pot on the gārhapatya fire is VS. 1, 2 invited to stand firmly *paramēna dhāmnā*, which is, according to Uvaṭa "(thou art the cooking-pot) called by an excellent name", to Mahīdhara "by thine energy (*tejas-*) in the form of the ability to contain much milk", to Griffith "secure by Law Supreme". Similarly, ŚB. 1, 7, 1, 11. The pot is in the same set of formulas also identified with the three provinces of the universe and hence said to be the container of all things (*viśvadhā*); it is moreover said to be heaven (because it aids in producing rain) and earth (because it is made of clay). I would therefore suppose the pot to stand firmly because it is an "embodiment of the highest principle".

"Without the gods", VS. 17, 14 says, *nā . . . pāvate dhāma kimcana*; that means, according to Mahīdhara, . . . *kim api śarīraṃ na ceṣṭate* (hence Griffith: "no body whatsoever moves"), to Uvaṭa, *sthānaṃ janma vā (na) vartate*. These gods are the vital airs (cf. ŚB. 9, 2, 1, 13 ff.) which are neither in the sky nor on earth (VS. 17, 14d), that is, they are in whatever breathes (ŚB. 9, 2, 1, 15). Therefore Eggeling's translation⁴) may be modified into: "without the vital airs no receptacle of divine power (in casu, of the vital breaths) becomes pure". Curiously enough the author of the ŚB. repeats the words of VS.⁵)

From TB. 3, 1, 1, 2 *sómo rājā mṛgaśīrṣeṇa āgan śivāṃ nākṣatraṃ priyām asya dhāma* it may be concluded that the nakṣatra Mṛgaśīrṣa is a *dhāman-* of Soma (see also the comm.). For a close connection between Soma and this nakṣatra see TS. 4, 4, 10, 1 etc., where it is 'presided over' by this deity⁶). According to ŚB. 14, 3, 2, 12 the nakṣatras collectively are the *āyatanam* "seat or abode" of all the gods.—Water utilized for ritual purposes is to be conveyed to its place in order to destroy the demoniac powers "because such is the virtue of the water" and also because it is the *priyaṃ dhāma* of the gods; one thus brings the *priyaṃ dhāma* of the gods to its place (TB. 3, 2, 4, 2). All the gods are indeed (present in) the water (ibid. 3)⁷). Compare ŚB. 14, 3, 2, 13 *āpo vai sarveṣāṃ devatānām āyatanam* ("seat").

The gods are said to rejoice or delight in a dear *dhāman-*: GB. 1, 2, 22 *devāḥ priye dhāmani madanti*,—quite intelligibly, because it is there that they display, manifest themselves and their power.

At first sight, the meaning of the phrase in JB. 1, 13 is rather obscure: *sa ya evaṃ vidvān ājyāhutim ca paśvāhutim ca juhoti, priyam evāsya tena*

⁴) Eggeling, S. B. E. 43, p. 186.

⁵) "*dhāma* is a little obscure", Keith on TS. 4, 6, 1, 4 (Veda Black Yajus School. p. 364), translating "place".

⁶) See also W. Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder, Bonn-Leipzig 1920, p. 35.

⁷) Cf. ĀpŚS. 1, 16, 5 ff.

dhāmopagacchati. However, the general use in the sense of “a location of divine power” is already known to us⁸).

It is therefore hardly probable that the phrase *dhāmnū pātyamānāḥ* VS. 27, 16; TS. 4, 1, 8; KS. 18, 17 etc. means “ruling by foundation (Griffith) or “lording it with dominion” (Keith)⁹. At AV. 5, 27, 8 Dawn and Night are implored to favour the sacrifice *uruvyācasāgnér dhāmnū pātyamāne* “lording it with Agni’s domain (Whitney-Lanman, rather “location, presence”) of wide expansion”.

In the formula *sá no bāndhur janitā sá vidhātā dhāmāni veda bhūvanāni vísvā* occurring VS. 32, 10; TĀ. 10, 1, 4; MahNārU. 59 (cf. AVPaipp. 2, 6, 3 . . . *vidhartā* . . .) *dhāmāni* is explained, by Uvāta as *brahmaṇaḥ sthānāni*, by Mahīdhara as *sthānāni*, “that is to say the gods move at pleasure in the third *dhāman*- i.e. ‘place’ (*sthāne*) of the form of heaven”, by the comm. on TĀ. “(the Supreme Lord . . . , our generator . . . , knows all lokas (*bh.*) and in these lokas) the ‘places’ (*sthānāni*) proper to the gods etc.”, by Griffith¹⁰ as “ordinances”, by Varenne¹¹) as “fonctions”. In VS. 17, 27 exhibiting the same words Griffith however translated “races”¹²). The Supreme God may in my opinion be supposed to know not only all “(parts of the universe containing) creatures” but also all modes or containers of divine power and activity.

The same stanza (VS. 32, 10 etc.) continues *yātra devā amṛtam ānasānās tṛtīye dhāmann adhyārayanta*: the gods, obtaining ‘immortality’, have risen upward to the third *dhāman* (so as to stay there: locative). Mahīdhara explains: *sthāne svargarūpe*, now Griffith translates: “station”, Varenne¹³) “se sont dirigés vers le troisième jour” (?) and (MahānU., where *dhāmāny*) “gagnèrent leur fonctions”. Some idea like *svarga*— which need not refer to a definite place—is in all probability meant: cf. e.g. ṚV. 9, 86, 27; VS. 15, 50 *tṛtīye pṛsthé*; ṚV. 10, 145, 3 *tṛtīye rájasi*¹⁴). Instead of the last pāda AVPaipp. 2, 6, 3 reads *samāné dhāmann* . . . and AVŚaun. 2, 1, 5 *samāné yónau*; *yoni*- is not “place of union”¹⁵), but “Lieblingsstätte, Gegenstand bei dem man am liebsten weilt”¹⁶), or rather, “safe place, original home”. Thus the Almighty One, who knows all modes of divine power, knows also that particular “third *dhāman*” (same meaning) to which the gods, obtaining ‘immortality’, have gained access.

From the prayer occurring JB. 1, 40 *annasya mā tejasā svargaṇ lokam gamaya. yatra devānām ṛṣiṇām priyaṇ dhāma tatra ma idam agnihotraṇ*

⁸) See chapter III, p. 54 f.

⁹) Keith, Veda Black Yajus School, p. 300.

¹⁰) Griffith, White Yajurveda, p. 316.

¹¹) J. Varenne, La Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, Paris 1960, p. 21.

¹²) Griffith, ibidem, p. 181.

¹³) Varenne, l.c.

¹⁴) See Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 57 ff.

¹⁵) Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 39.

¹⁶) Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 1126 f.

gamaya it may be inferred that the condition of bliss called *svarga-loka*-¹⁷⁾ and the *priyaṃ dhāma* of gods and ṛṣis “a sphere or state containing (part of the power) or characterized by (the presence of) gods and ṛṣis” are closely related concepts. Cf. also JS. 2, 1, 5 *idaṃ chando . . . yena devāsa amṛtatvam āyan | tatra dyāvā pṛthivī dhattam asmān yatra devānāṃ guhyam nidhāma* ¹⁸⁾.

From ŚB. 1, 9, 1, 16 it may be inferred that a *divyaṃ dhāma* is, or may be, identical with “a place in the world of the gods”. Enumerating the formulas to be recited by the hotar during the sūktavāka ceremonies ¹⁹⁾, the author after quoting the formula *divyaṃ dhāmāsāste* comments: *devaloke me 'py asad iti vai yajate yo yajate*: “he prays for a celestial *dhāman*.” means “he expresses the wish to enter upon (a continued existence in) the sphere of the gods”, which however may be experienced in this life, and on this earth ²⁰⁾. Cf. TB. 3, 5, 10, 5; ĀśvŚS. 1, 9, 5; ŚŚS. 1, 14, 17, and see also ĀśvŚS. 4, 16, 4 etc.

While laying down the fourth brick (Agnicayana) ²¹⁾ the officiant pronounces the formula VS. 15, 52 “This Agni . . . must shine; blazing in the midst of the waves go forth *divyāni dhāma* (“the celestial mansions”, Griffith; “the abodes divine”, Keith, TS. 4, 7, 13, 4); rather, “the locations of ‘heaven’ ”; according to ŚB. 8, 6, 3, 21 *d. dh.* means *svargaṃ lokam* which referring to a position of celestial happiness however not necessarily denotes a ‘world’ or abode in heaven ²²⁾.

By inserting a nivid (i.e. a short formulary inserted in a liturgy and containing epithets or short invocations of a god) ²³⁾ in a hymn (RV. 2, 12) which is considered to be the body (*tanū-*) of Indra one “goes to Indra’s *priyaṃ dhāma*, and conquers the other world (*jayati paraṃ lokam*)” ²⁴⁾: thus KB. 22, 4. That means that in this way one comes into contact with Indra’s divine sphere, with a refraction of his nature, which is also accessible by austerity and performance of vows (JUB. 3, 3, 7).—In a similar way access is gained to the *priyaṃ dhāma* of the gods in general by giving a cow, because that animal is sacred to all the gods, and access to the *priyaṃ dhāma* of Agni or the Sun by giving a he-goat or a horse which are sacred to Agni and Sūrya respectively GB. 2, 3, 19. The purport of these statements is somewhat elucidated by the alternating statements: “in that he gives a sheep, he wins what belongs to the sheep (wool) . . . ; in that he gives gold, he regains possession of a full life-time . . .”

¹⁷⁾ See my publication on Loka, p. 73 ff.

¹⁸⁾ Cf. Caland, *Die Jaiminiya-Saṃhitā*, Breslau 1907, p. 57.

¹⁹⁾ Renou, *Vocabulaire du rituel védique*, Paris 1954, p. 166.

²⁰⁾ See Loka, p. 64; 84; 91; 93; 107.

²¹⁾ *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 191 ff.

²²⁾ See Loka, p. 80 ff.

²³⁾ See I. Scheftelowitz, in *Z. D. M. G.* 73 (1919), p. 30 ff.; S. P. Niyogi, *A critical study of the Nivids*, Calcutta 1961.

²⁴⁾ For this expression see Loka, p. 36.

With nine verses in different metres (ṚV. 1, 120, 1-9) Kakṣivant ²⁵⁾ went to the *priyaṃ dhāma* of the Aśvins and won the highest sphere (Lebenskreis: *paramaṃ lokam*): AiB. 1, 21, 6; the man who follows his example will likewise go to that dhāman and win that loka. Keith ²⁶⁾ translated "dear home". A man, called Avatsara went in a similar way to the *priyaṃ dhāma* of Agni likewise to conquer the *paramaṃ lokam* by means of a definite text (AiB. 2, 24, 12), and Hiranyastūpa with ṚV. 1, 32 – which is called a house, a firm foundation – to the dear dhāman of Indra to win the highest sphere (3, 24, 12). Cf. also 5, 2, 4; 12; 6, 20, 9; PB. 5, 4, 14: one may reach Indra's *priyaṃ dhāma* (*sthānam*, comm.) by praising with a chant one of Indra's members, which has been omitted in other chants. There is no reference to honey or ghee which elsewhere are the *priyaṃ dhāma* of the Aśvins and Agni ²⁷⁾.

That "going to a god's dear dhāman" means gaining access to the god's presence appears also from AiĀ. 2, 2, 3: Indra (presumably invisible) sat down beside Viśvāmitra, who being about to declaim definite hymns recited the thousand *bṛhatīh* saying that they were food. Thus he went to Indra's *priyaṃ dhāma* ²⁸⁾. Indra, addressing him, affirmed this fact enjoining the seer to repeat other hymns by which he would again reach Indra's *priyaṃ dhāma*. After his third 'interview' with the god, the latter accorded him a boon. Viśvāmitra wishing to know him, Indra spoke: "I am breath (*prāṇaḥ*), thou art breath, all creatures are breath . . . In this form I pervade all quarters. This my food is my friend . . ." For a parallel see ŚāĀ. 1, 6 informing us that Viśvāmitra came into contact with Indra by means of recitation and the performance of vows. – For "reaching Indra's *priyaṃ dhāma*" by reciting see also ŚāĀ. 1, 4; 5, 1; KauṣU. 3, 1 (see further on).

The combination *dhāma nāma* ²⁹⁾ recurs TS. 2, 4, 3, 2 (MahānU. 334) *ojo 'si saho 'si . . . devānāṃ dhāma nāmāsi*; not, with Keith ³⁰⁾, "thou art by name the home of the gods".

It is abundantly clear that Tvaṣṭar who, after having (mentally) seen the re-consecrated fire, established it and thereby gained an entrance to Agni's *priyaṃ dhāma*, came into touch with, or obtained a share in, an important 'location' or 'partial presence' of Agni's divinity (ŚB. 2, 2, 3, 4). Similarly § 5; 15. Compare also the variant of ṚV. 3, 20, 3 viz. *agne dhāmāni tava . . .* MS. 2, 13, 11: 162, 3; in MŚS. 6, 1, 8, 12 used to accompany the touching of the layers on the place of the naturally perforated pebbles.

²⁵⁾ See A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, Vedic Index, ²Benares 1958, I, p. 131 f.

²⁶⁾ A. B. Keith, Rigveda Brāhmaṇas, Cambridge 1920, p. 123.

²⁷⁾ See p. 25; 43.

²⁸⁾ I would not follow Keith, The Aitareya Āraṇyaka, Oxford 1909, p. 214 in translating "dear home".

²⁹⁾ Chapter III, p. 21.

³⁰⁾ Keith, Veda Black Yajus School, p. 178.

The above is not to deny that for all practical purposes a translation "abode" is admissible in cases such as ŚŚS. 2, 11, 5 (agnyādheya) "Thou, O Agni, hast attained to Sūrya's lustre . . . , to the favourite dhāman. May I attain long life, vigour . . . , the favourable dhāman ('place' of contact with divine power) . . ."

Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa told (imparted) to the Aśvins the manifestation of brahman (*brāhmaṇam*) called *madhu*, which is their *priyaṃ dhāma* ("favourite resort", Eggeling): ŚB. 4, 1, 5, 18; 14, 1, 4, 13³¹). As is well known, there is a close relation between these beneficent gods and honey³²): they pour out jars of honey, have a skin filled with it, and bestrew sacrifice and worshipper with their "honey-lash", an activity which may probably be interpreted as an 'atmospheric flagellation' in order to promote, in the early morning, the fertility of nature. Obviously the Aśvins discharge part of their duties by means of the honey which is so to say congenial to them, in which their power becomes manifest and which may therefore be called their *dhāman*-.

VS. 3, 19 "Thou hast become united, O Agni, with the splendour of the sun (viz. at night, when the setting sun has entered the ahavanīya fire), with the eulogy of the ṛṣis, and with the dear dhāman (*sām priyēṇa dhāmnā*)". The commentaries explain "with the dear oblations"; cf. also ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 24 *āhutayo vā asya priyaṃ dhāma*³³). The text seems to say that Agni who is to convey the oblations which are thrown into the fire (*āhuti*-) makes them his *dhāman*-. This idea would be in harmony with the view expressed in ŚB. 13, 2, 1, 2: the *ājya*- is *tejas*- "fiery energy". When the butter is thrown into the fire Agni's tongues, as it were, issue forth (1, 3, 1, 19), no doubt to 'enter' the oblation; a text such as 9, 5, 1, 61 "whenever Agni is placed on the built (fire-place), this whole Agni passes into that very brick" shows that the fire may be supposed to enter something; cf. also 10, 5, 4, 8 "the whole Agni comes to the space-filler".

When the ṛṣis performed a sacrificial session on the Sarasvatī they drove away Kavaṣa Ailūṣa from the soma and sent him to the wilderness, where he was afflicted by thirst. However, after seeing the 'child of the waters' hymn (RV. 10, 30) he went by means of it to a *priyaṃ dhāma* of the Waters. What this means is explained in the text itself: "the waters welled out for him; all around him Sarasvatī hastened". This hymn which is to accompany the ceremony of the drawing of water for the soma³⁴), expresses in various ways the desire to reach and to obtain water; the savoury "wave" which is to delight even the gods and for which

³¹) Cf. ŚB. 14, 1, 1, 18 and Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, I, p. 338 f.

³²) Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 431; Bloomfield, Atharva-Veda and Gopatha-Brahmaṇa, p. 90.

³³) Griffith, White Yajurveda, p. 22 mentions this explication, but translates "habitation".

³⁴) Caland-Henry, L'Agniṣṭoma, p. 139; A. Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur, Strassburg 1897, p. 129.

the divine Waters are implored (*mádhumantam ūrmīm devamādanam prá hīnotāpah*; cf. 3; 9) is no doubt a *dhāman-* of the Waters³⁵); this conclusion is not disproved by the fact that in st. 8 the wave is a child (*garbha-*) of the Waters, because a 'child' or 'embryo' is likewise a 'representative' of its 'parents'³⁶).

ŚB. 1, 7, 3, 10 and 11, dealing with the oblation to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt which is offered at the end of the principal oblations to other gods in order to secure their validity, are worth quoting at some length: (10) "Having recited the invitatory formula, he (the hotar) enumerates (those deities) which (have received oblations at the fore-offerings, butter-portions, etc.), as well as Agni Sviṣṭakṛt", *ayād agnir agneḥ priyā dhāmānīti, tad agnīyam ājyabhāgam āha* . . . "Agni has worshipped (made the object of an act of ritual worship) the favourite *dhāmāni* (not, with Eggeling, "dainties") of Agni; thereby he refers to the portion of clarified butter for Agni . . ." (cf. 1, 4, 2, 16 f.) (similarly in connection with Soma etc.); (11) . . . *ayād devānām ājyapānām priyā dhāmānīti tat prayājānuyājān āha. prayājānuyājā vai devā ājyapā. yakṣad agner hotuḥ priyā dhāmānīti tad agnīm hotāram āha. tad asmā etām devā āhutiḥ kalpayitvāthainenaitad bhūyaḥ samasāmyan priya enam dhāmann upāhvayanta* . . . "He has worshipped the favourite *dhāmāni* of (the) gods who drink clarified butter"; thereby he refers to the fore-offerings and after-offerings; for, indeed, the butter-drinking gods are (represent) the fore-offerings and after-offerings; 'let him worship the favourite *dhāmāni* of Agni, the hotar'; thereby he refers to Agni, the hotar; for after the gods had set apart this oblation for him, they still further propitiated him by this (formula) and invited him to his favourite *dhāman-*". (Compare KS. 18, 21; MS. 4, 13, 7: 209, 3; TB. 3, 5, 7, 6; ĀśvŚS. 1, 3, 14; 1, 6, 3, etc. and for the first formula VS. 21, 47 etc.).

ĀśvŚS. 1, 6, 5 *devānām ājyapānām priyā dhāmāni yakṣat*, and KS. 32, 1 d. ā. *ayāṭ p. dh.*³⁷). According to the commentary *ayaṃ sviṣṭakṛd agnīḥ prathamājyabhāgadevasya priyāni dhāmāni niḥśeṣāny ayād iṣṭavān* etc.³⁸). The conclusion must be that the fore-offerings and after-offerings³⁹— which consist of butter—are *dhāmāni* of the butter-drinking gods who are explicitly identified with these oblations (ŚB. 1, 7, 3, 11)⁴⁰). In § 13 the hotar continues to recite: *yakṣat svam mahimānam iti* "let him ritually worship his own greatness". "When he asks him (Agni) to bring hither the deities, he also makes him bring hither his own greatness". Sacrificing

³⁵) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 97.

³⁶) 'Gods' and 'powers' in the Veda, p. 92 ff.

³⁷) I also refer to M. Bloomfield, A Vedic concordance, Cambridge 1906, p. 108. Compare also TB. 3, 6, 11, 3 (MS. 4, 13, 7: 208, 14).

³⁸) For Agni see ch. III, p. 23 ff.

³⁹) For these see A. Hillebrandt, Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, Jena 1880, p. 94 ff.

⁴⁰) One might for instance compare SB. 11, 2, 7, 19 where the fore-portion (*prāsitram*) is called a "place in heaven" (*loka-*).

to a god's *dhāman*- and sacrificing to his *mahiman*- may no doubt be put on a par.—See also MŚS. 5, 1, 3, 27 “Agni and Varuṇa worshipped the dear *dhāmāni* ⁴¹⁾ of Agni . . .”

KauṣBrU. 3, 1 is interesting in that it leaves no doubt about the possibility of a man's reaching the *priyaṃ dhāma* of a god: *pratardano . . . indrasya priyaṃ dhāmopajagāma yuddhena ca pauruṣeṇa ca. tam hendra uvāca . . .* “by means of fighting and heroic effort P. arrived at the ‘beloved abode’ ⁴²⁾ of Indra, who said to him . . .” It is worth noticing that Indra, though referring to his own exploits, speaks, in this passage, in the name of, or simply as, the Supreme Being. Yet, he is no *dhāman*- of the Supreme Being, but the king ⁴³⁾, obviously after being killed in battle comes to Indra's *dhāman*-, where he is addressed by the god himself, not by a ‘representative’ or ‘manifestation’. The conclusion must therefore be that *dhāman*- here is the very “presence” of that side of the god's nature by, or with, which he is willing to grant his devotee access to him, in short that it is the god's “presence”. “What we can describe at a distance as ‘divine presence’ has as its crucial religious moment on the part of the devoted subject the immediate vision of and access to the divine reality itself” ⁴⁴⁾.

The man who wishes to take hold of a cow or a horse goes towards it a bundle of sacrificial grass in his hand, because that (*barhiṣ*-) is the *priyaṃ dhāma* of these animals (TB. 2, 3, 2, 5), “for they like grass” (comm.). One should not in my opinion explain *dhāman*- as “seat”, or “domain” because the *barhiḥ* was the place to which the gods come to receive the offerings ⁴⁵⁾, but “therein these animals like to be present” because the *barhiḥ* is expressly identified with cattle: AiB. 2, 4, 8 *paśavo vai barhiḥ*. When one recites a formula for the *barhiḥ* one delights cattle (ibid.).

In TĀ. 2, 7, 1 the kuṣmāṇḍa mantras ⁴⁶⁾ which the *vātaraśana*- (“wind-girt”, which obviously means “naked”) ṛṣis had entered as a place of refuge are called their *dhāman*-. Does this mean that these formulas, a characteristic trait of which is that they invoke various gods and embrace and deliver from all imaginable cases of sins committed, are believed to be a container of the ṛṣi's essence?

The waters (*āpaḥ* i.e. water as a divinity) are MS. 4, 1, 4; KS. 31, 3 and KapS. 47, 3 said to be the *priyaṃ dhāma* of the gods. This is in harmony

⁴¹⁾ “seats”: J. M. van Gelder, The Mānava Śrautasūtra, New Delhi 1963, p. 137.

⁴²⁾ Thus e.g. R. E. Hume, The thirteen principal upanishads, Oxford 1934, p. 320 and S. Radhakrishnan, The principal Upaniṣads, London 1953, p. 774.

⁴³⁾ For Pratardana see Macdonell and Keith, o.c., II, p. 29 f.

⁴⁴⁾ K. W. Bolle, Devotion and Tantra, Studies of esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism, Koyasan, Japan 1965, p. 223.

⁴⁵⁾ Keith, Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 286.

⁴⁶⁾ VS. 20, 14–17. See also S. Rodhe, Deliver us from evil, Lund–Copenhagen 1946, p. 156 ff.

with ŚB. 14, 3, 2, 13 where the waters are the *āyatanam* "support, home" of all the gods. For the idea underlying this statement compare RV. 10, 82, 5 and 6: the Waters received the One, the primeval being in which all the gods were included or had united as the first germ.

In JB. 1, 277 mention is made of the *yajñasya dhāma paramaṃ guhā san nīrmitaṃ mahato 'ntarikṣāt* "das Opfers höchste Ordnung, die geheim ist, ist aus dem weiten Luftraum hergestellt" ⁴⁷); rather the sense generally adopted in this publication, cf. further on *vartanīm adhvaryasya* "the track or course of a sacrifice" ⁴⁸). By a definite formula this *yajñasya priyaṃ dhāma* may according to TS. 2, 5, 7, 4 be won.

In a curious passage, AiB. 3, 8, 6 ff., *dhāman-* is associated with, and practically a synonym of, *tanū-* ⁴⁹). While dealing with the *vaṣaṭ* call the author teaches how to 'appease' its terrible force lest it should injure the man who pronounces it: one should accompany it by the words *ojaḥ saha ojaḥ* "(inaugurative or creative) power, (overwhelming) strength, power", because *ojaḥ* and *sahaḥ* are the two dearest "bodies" or "embodiments" (*priyatame tanvau*) of the *vaṣaṭ* call—which in 3, 5, 1 is said to be "a vessel of the gods", and in 3, 6, 1 is called a 'thunderbolt' (*vajra-*) ⁵⁰—; "verily thus", the text continues, "he causes it to be completely furnished (*samardhayati*) with its *priyaṃ dhāma*". The man who knows this is furnished with a *priyaṃ dhāma*. For the use of *tanū-* cf. also 1, 24, 5.—Compare also TS. 5, 2, 1, 2: Agni, being created by Prajāpati, went away from him. Prajāpati followed him with the mantra "he (Agni) has cried" (TS. 4, 2, 1, 2; 2, 2; RV. 10, 45, 4); "with it he secured Agni's *priyaṃ dhāma*. By repeating this formula one gains access to Agni's *priyaṃ dhāma*". The author adds that Agni's *priyā tanūḥ* is the metres. Cf. also 5, 2, 1, 6; 5, 2, 3, 4 and for reaching Agni's *priyaṃ dhāma* by means of a mantra KapS. 31, 1; 2.—KS. 7, 14; KapS. 6, 4 *śukraṃ dhāma* combines, with reference to Agni, with *śukrā tanūḥ* and *śukraṃ jyotiḥ* (cf. MS. 1, 6, 2: 87, 7). A divinity's *tanūḥ* are not simply his "bodies" but "his powers and characteristic qualities which constitute his 'mystic' corporeal self", and Agni manifests himself in light.

Being under the impression that *dhāman-* means "abode" Keith ⁵¹) incorrectly translates AiB. 3, 37, 16 *etad dha vā eṣām priyaṃ dhāma yad barhiṣada iti* "sitting on the strew (the term occurs in RV. 10, 15, 3 which is quoted and commented upon) is a reference to their (the Fathers') dear abode (the strew)"; the text rather says that the epithet *barhiṣadaḥ* "seated on the sacrificial grass" is a *priyaṃ dhāma*, i.e. a 'location' or 'modality' of the *pitaraḥ*: the Rgveda text referring to the *pitaraḥ* uses

⁴⁷) Caland, Das Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl, Amsterdam Acad. 1919, p. 108.

⁴⁸) For *adhvara-* see my relevant article in Vishv. Indol. Journ. 3 (1965), p. 163 ff.

⁴⁹) For *tanū-* see further on, p. 72 f.

⁵⁰) It is, moreover, the sun and death; the sacrificer is regenerated and delivered from death by it (ŚB. 11, 2, 2, 5).

⁵¹) Keith, Rigveda Brāhmaṇas, p. 188.

the epithet: *barhiśádo yé . . . sutásya bhájanta pitrás tá ihágamiṣṭhāh*. By reciting these words, the AiB. continues, one makes them prosper or increase with their favourite dhāman. That is to say, by pronouncing liturgical words one re-activates the power inherent in them for the benefit of the god or being addressed. A name being an actuality expressed in a word, a power centre expressing the very essence of its bearer, and an essential part of the bearer's personality, an epithet might refer to definite aspects of a person's or god's power and personality. Pronouncing a name or an epithet sets the inherent power in motion; every new name attributed to a god adds something, not only to his dignity and prestige, but also to his power. Pronouncing the stanza with the above epithet therefore meant adding the special power of that dhāman to the Fathers. In order fully to understand the implications of this passage it is useful to remember that epithets and other characterizations of divine beings often are mainly 'praise', that is 'confirmation' of the power of these beings, consolidation and strengthening of that power and of their bearers. By praising a god and reciting verses replete with characterizations of his nature one adds to his power (compare the use of the verb *samarḍhayati*) and influences his abilities for the benefit of one's patrons or of a wider circle of men; one contributes to the continuance of his power and to the maintenance of his supposed salutary activity⁵²). Says ŚB. 2, 6, 1, 7 "those (Fathers) who gain (a divine) sphere (*loka-*) by means of cooked (sacrificial) food offered by them are the *pitavo barhiśadaḥ*", in contradistinction to two other categories mentioned in the same paragraph⁵³). In 2, 6, 1, 22 the same brāhmaṇa likewise distinguishes Fathers accompanied by Soma, Fathers seated on the barhis, and Fathers consumed by Agni; cf. also 28 ff. For the intimate connection of the Fathers and the barhis one may also compare 1, 8, 1, 40 where an Agni cake, divided into four parts and laid on the barhis is said to lie in the place of the Fathers who are represented by the four quarters⁵⁴). It is clear that the barhis — which as is well known is loaded with potency⁵⁵) — may be described as a receptacle of that which might be called the *bārhiśadaṃ dhāma* of the Fathers⁵⁶).

⁵²) See Epithets in the R̥gveda, 's-Gravenhage 1959, p. 188 ff. etc.

⁵³) For particulars and other classes of *pitaraḥ* in later works see P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, IV, Poona 1953, p. 343 f.

⁵⁴) See also Eggeling, o.c., I, p. 228, n. 2.

⁵⁵) The Savayajñas, p. 317; Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 141; A. B. Keith, The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 34; 286.

⁵⁶) "Man glaubte sich also die Väter während des Tottenopfers persönlich gegenwärtig und meinte, daß sie in unsichtbarer Gestalt das ihnen dargebotene genossen und die an sie gerichteten Gebete hörten. Freilich genossen die Väter, die Geist geworden waren (. . . *asumgamāḥ, vāyubhūtāḥ*) — nach Rudradhara soll der Opferer sich seine Väter gegenwärtig denken in den Strahlen der Sonne (*bhāsvaramūrti-*) — nicht in Menschenweise, sondern nahmen von den Klößen nur die heisse Luft zu sich" (W. Caland, Altindischer Ahnencult, Leiden 1893, p. 179 f.).

Also from ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 38 it may be concluded that a frequent epithet of a god which evokes one of his essential features or one of his characteristic aspects may be called a *dhāman-*, a modality of his divinity: *tad dhāsyā priyaṃ dhāma yad yaviṣṭhaḥ* "this indeed, to wit, 'the youngest' is his (Agni's) favourite form" (Eggeling): "the youngest", which is exclusively applied to this god characterizes him as being produced every morning⁵⁷).

Thus one may (PB. 14, 2, 3) cryptically appropriate (*parokṣam upaśikṣati*) Agni by means of a formula (SV. 2, 490b) containing his epithet Vaiśvānara because Vaiśvānara is the god's "favourite resort" (Caland)⁵⁸; (4) Mitra and Varuṇa by a chant addressed to Heaven and Earth, because these are the *priyaṃ dhāma* of these gods; and for similar reasons (5) by a verse addressed to the Ṛbhus, Indra. The comm. explains *dhāman-* by *śarīraṃ tejomayam* which is essentially right: "one cryptically propitiates the god through his *p. dh.* which is indicated by the name Vaiśvānara". For Mitra and Varuṇa see perhaps passages such as ṚV. 6, 67, 6 (cf. 4, 55, 7) stating that the gods' bed⁵⁹ (rain) has spread heaven and earth⁶⁰. According to the same (on 5) Indra is the Sun and the Ṛbhus its rays; "hence it is clear that the latter are the Sun's *priyaṃ dhāma*". For the close connection between Indra and the Ṛbhus see also ṚV. 1, 51, 2; 3, 60, 3 (friends); 4, 33, 3 (invited together to a sacrifice); 4, 37, 4 (the eldest is Indra's son)⁶¹. Indra is even, like the eldest of the three Ṛbhus, called Ṛbhukṣan. The three Ṛbhus are moreover Indra-like (or, rather, possessed of Indra's nature: *indrasvant-*) (4, 37, 5) and Ṛbhu is said to be like a new Indra (1, 110, 7 *rbhūr na indraḥ śavasā nāvīyān*).

In connection with VS. 16, 46 "Reverence to you, the sprinklers (, to the hearts of the gods)" ŚB. 9, 1, 1, 22 observes that "this is his most agreeable (*pratijñātātamaṃ*) *dhāman*, like a dear son or (one's) heart; therefore, if one should be in fear of Rudra one should offer to him with the above formula, because then one draws nigh unto the god's *priyaṃ dhāma*. It appears that not only a formula containing a god's essence or concentrated power may be considered a *dhāman-* but also a son or one's heart, the former being a manifestation or representative of essential aspects of oneself⁶², the latter being the centre of the personality by which one comes into touch with the divine and the residence of the Supreme Reality⁶³). — AiB 6, 7, 10 *etad dha vā indrāgnyoḥ priyaṃ dhāma*

⁵⁷) Epithets, p. 81 f.

⁵⁸) W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 351 f.; for *upaśikṣati* ibid., p. 246; the comm. may be right in explaining by *prīnayati* "delights, propitiates".

⁵⁹) i.e. the bed of a river.

⁶⁰) K. L. Janert, *Sinn und Bedeutung des Wortes dhāsi*, Wiesbaden 1956, p. 6 etc.

⁶¹) Cf. also Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 131 f.

⁶²) 'Gods' and 'powers' in the Veda, The Hague 1957, passim.

⁶³) The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, ch. XII.

yad vāk "Speech (Vāc) is the favourite *dhāman-* of Indra and Agni", so that with a Sarasvatī formula—Sarasvatī being speech—one "causes these two (gods) to prosper with their favourite *dhāman*", i.e. "... one causes them to be abundantly furnished with ..." The explication of this statement is furnished by ṚV. 10, 125, 1 (AV. 4, 30, 1) explicitly stating that the goddess Vāc bears, holds, supports, or contains (*bibharmi*) Mitra and Varuṇa, Indra and Agni and the two Aśvins. This goddess, who pervades heaven and earth (st. 6), has been distributed over many places (st. 3) so as to assume many (forms) which may be conceived of as her *dhāmāni*. In Speech, which as a goddess is traditionally regarded as speaking here, part of the essence of Indra and Agni is so to say located⁶⁴). Cf. also GB. 2, 5, 13 *etaḍ dha vā indrāgnyoḥ priyaṃ dhāma yad vāk*.

The view was also ventilated that saline soil is the *priyaṃ dhāma* of the sky (*āsā vai divaḥ p. dh.*): KS. 20, 1; KapS. 31, 3; probably because of the fertilizing force ascribed to salt (ŚB. 13, 8, 1, 14 "salt means semen (*retah*)", and of the fact that the sky sheds seed (*retah*) when it rains (7, 4, 2, 22). Thus salt may be regarded as a 'refraction' of the (fertilizing) power of heavens. Nor can the information contained also in KS. 8, 2; KapS. 6, 7 that the saline soil⁶⁵) is a *priyaṃ dhāma* of cattle therefore be disconnected from ŚB. 7, 3, 1, 8 "saline soil means cattle". Cf. also 5, 2, 1, 16; 7, 1, 1, 7 "salt means cattle"⁶⁶).

In TS. 5, 5, 1, 3 the 'wind' or moving air (*vāyu-*) is said to be the *priyaṃ dhāma* of cattle (*paśūnām*). Why? Bovine cattle represent all animals (ŚB. 13, 3, 2, 3). Animals have Vāyu for their leader (*vāyupranetrā vai paśavaḥ*: 4, 4, 1, 15), and Vāyu is breath (*prāṇa-*: vital air)⁶⁷), "since it is by means of breath that animals move about" (ibidem); cf. 8. 4. 3. 15. The close association between Vāyu and cattle (*paśu-*) is also apparent from the AV. 2, 26, 1 where they are companions: 6. 141, 1. TB. 3. 2. 1, 3; KapS. 46, 8 moreover inform us that the wind is the overseer (*adhyakṣa-*) of the atmosphere, and that the latter is the divinity of cattle (*antari-kṣadevatyāḥ paśavaḥ*). What seems also to be of relevance is that animals are ŚB. 6, 6, 2, 7 said to be "as much as the vital air (*prāṇa-*) and the body", ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 6 informing us that Prajāpati fashioned animals from his vital airs. The vital air which went out of Prajāpati is on the other

⁶⁴) B. Essers, Vāc, Thesis Groningen 1952, p. 107 goes too far in contending that the gods are almost called into being by the sacred word.

⁶⁵) Cf. also MS. 1, 6, 3: 91, 2; TB. 1, 1, 3, 2.

⁶⁶) Cf. J. J. Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, III, p. 185; The Savayajñas, p. 409 f.

⁶⁷) On "breath" (*prāṇa-*) as a vital principle and the speculation associated with it see e.g. E. Arbman, Untersuchungen zur primitiven Seelenvorstellung . . . , Le Monde Oriental 20, p. 85 ff.; 21, 1 ff.; A. H. Ewing, The Hindu conception of the function of breath, I, J. A. O. S. 22, p. 249; II, Allahabad 1903; E. Frauwallner, Geschichte der indischen Philosophie, I, Salzburg 1953, p. 81; J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 200 f.; S. Wikander, Vāyu, Uppsala 1941, p. 84 etc.

hand identical with Vāyu (7, 1, 2, 5). who is also one half of this Creator God (7, 2, 2, 11). Hence people say "animals are vital airs" (*prānāḥ paśavaḥ*: 7, 5, 2, 6). That all things are "established" in breath or moving air appears e.g. from AV. 11, 4, 15.

After drinking soma at a sacrifice of another sacrificer one should perform a rite with ghee (ĀpŚS. 14, 31, 9 ff.; LŚS. 3, 2; DŚS. 7, 2)⁶⁸ using the formulas "Thou art the flower of the waters, the juice of the herbs, the *priyaṃ dhāma* of Soma, the oblation most beloved by Agni, Indra, the Viśve devāḥ" (TB. 3, 7, 14, 2 f.)⁶⁹. According to ṚV. 4, 58, 1 and 2 soma—which has assumed 'immortality'—is a secret name of *ghṛta*-; in 9, 67, 11 and 12 both substances are compared; 9, 62, 9 etc. the soma contains ghee; 10, 65, 2 soma is *ghṛtaśrī*- "mixed with ghee".

The formula MS. 1, 1, 11: 7, 3; KS. 1, 10; ĀpŚS. 2, 7, 9 *dhāmāsi priyaṃ devānām anādhr̥ṣtaṃ devayajanam* is to accompany the ladling of the sacrificial butter into the wooden container: Caland translated: "die den Göttern liebe Stätte, der unerschütterliche Gottesdienst"⁷⁰.—From the words KS. 35, 1; KapS. 48, 2 *ghṛtāhavano ghṛtam asya dhāma* which relate to Agni it appears that this thought could also be expressed without the adjective *priyam*. See ṚV. 2, 3, 11 etc. discussed in chapter III.—Griffith's⁷¹ translation of VS. 2, 6 (quoted ŚB. 1, 3, 4, 14) . . . *priyēna dhāmnā priyaṃ sāda āsīda*, viz. ". . . on this dear seat, with the dear home, be seated" is not clear. Addressing one of the sacrificial ladles, the juhū, the adhvaryu lays it down on the prastara ("the seat"); the *dhāman*- is the ghee, which, as we know already⁷², is the gods' dear dhāman (cf. comm.)⁷³. As also elsewhere the text does not explicitly state whose dhāman is meant.—ŚB. 3, 4, 2, 5; 8 *te devāḥ juṣṭās tanūḥ priyāṇi dhāmāni sārđham samavadadire. te hocur etena naḥ sa nānāsad etena viṣvaṇi yo na etad atikrāmād iti* "the gods divided their loved forms (bodies⁷⁴), manifestations) and their favourite *dhāmāni*⁷⁵ and laid them down (comm.) together and said: "Thereby (i.e. by that body which has been laid down) he shall be 'manifold' (i.e. 'separated', comm.; i.e. disintegrated), thereby

⁶⁸) See also Caland, Śrautas. d. Āpast., II, Amsterdam Acad. 1924, p. 419.

⁶⁹) For the same formulas without "the p. dh. of S." see PB. 1, 6, 8; DŚS. 7, 2, 8 . . . *agneḥ priyatamā tanūr indrasya priyatamaṃ haviḥ*.

⁷⁰) Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, I, Göttingen-Leipzig 1921, p. 57.

⁷¹) Griffith, o.c., p. 12.

⁷²) See chapter III, p. 25.

⁷³) Cf. also Eggeling, S. B. E. 12, p. 93, n.

⁷⁴) For *tanū*- which may assume the sense of "mystic body" (Renou, E. V. P. IV, p. 20) see H. Oldenberg, Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte, Göttingen 1919, p. 100 ff. etc., cf. p. 102: "So dient mannigfach die Vorstellung der *tanū*-dem Wunsch eine Wesenheit in Tätigkeit zu setzen, andre auszuschalten, Teile der Gesamtsubstanz aus ihr heraus zu verlegen . . ."; E. Arberman, o.c.; S. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, Paris 1898, p. 37; J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 192.

⁷⁵) Here Eggeling translates: "desirable powers, attributes, or resources" (S. B. E. 26, p. 94).

(he shall be) scattered to the winds, whosoever shall transgress this (covenant of ours).” Whatever the exact definition, *dhāman-* belongs to the same class of concepts or entities as *tanū-* and can be divided and laid down. In § 9 the text, after repeating the first statement, continues: “Now it is by taking portions of butter that they (the officiants) lay down together the loved forms and favourite *dhāmāni* . . .”. Further on (§ 15) the author supplies the interesting note that the gods deposited their *juṣṭās tanūḥ priyāṇi dhāmāni* on Indra ⁷⁶), commenting that Indra did not burn in the beginning; it is however by that very energy (*vīryeṇa*), derived from these divine entities that he now burns. That is why, in a sacrificial session in which all the officiants are like the sacrificer consecrated ⁷⁷), the sacrificial butter should be given to the sacrificer, because he is Indra. In the next paragraph we are informed that these collected *tanūḥ* and *dhāmāni* became the *sāman*, which therefore must be regarded as identical with *satya-* “reality”, “because it is born of the gods”. It may be remembered that ghee is the essence or life-sap (*rasa-*) of the universe (ŚB. 7, 2, 3, 4), that it is a manifestation (*rūpa-*) of the air (7, 5, 1, 3) which is a place of abode (*āyatanam*) for all the gods (14, 3, 2, 6) and that, moreover, it is considered to be the gods’ *priyaṃ dhāma* (13, 2, 1, 2; 13, 6, 2, 11). However from what is said in the same chapter it appears that man also may have *dhāmāni*: (9) “Let him, then, not covenant with any one and every one, lest his loved forms and favourite *dhāmāni* should be mixed up (with those of others)” (the author uses the direct construction: *nen me juṣṭāḥ* etc.).

In KS. 1, 11; KapS. 1, 11 this series of formulas addressing the placing of the sacrificial ladles likewise runs as follows: “O juhū (upabhr̥t . . .) come, heaven (intermediate space . . . , cf. AV. 18, 4, 5 and 6) by birth, Aditi of uncurtailed wings (cf. ṚV. 1, 22, 11), dear to the gods, sit down, with (thy) dear *dhāman-* on (thy) dear seat”. This is perfectly intelligible: the ladles, which are elsewhere said to sustain sky, intermediate space and earth (AV. 18, 4, 5), are containers of power. Keith ⁷⁸) is not right in contending that the reading *dhāmnā* is much less good in sense than *nāmnā* which is found TS. 1, 1, 11*q*, although it is true that “the mystic significance of the name is world-wide”.

In the cool season, the KapS. 4, 1 holds, dry wood (underwood) must be burnt for Agni (*upādutyah*: MS. 1, 8, 2: 117, 10 reads *upādheyah* “must be put on (the fire)”; “thus one gives Agni his *priyaṃ dhāma* (cf. KapS. 31, 9), i.e. a place to display his power. Compare the remarks made in connection with ṚV. 8, 19, 14 (chapter III.)—In this connection mention may be made of TS. 5, 7, 8, 1; KS. 40, 5: *yās te agne samīdho yāni dhāma | yā jihvā jātavedo yō arcīḥ . . . ātmānaṃ cīnuhi* “pile thyself,

⁷⁶) Cf. AiB. 1, 24 where the gods, being afraid, are said to have deposited their dearest ‘bodies’ (*tanū-*) in the house of King Varuṇa”.

⁷⁷) Cf. Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 160 f.

⁷⁸) Keith, Veda Black Yajus School, p. 13.

O Agni, with thy kindling-sticks, the locations of thy power, thy tongues . . . , thy light . . ." is to accompany the ritual act of the so-called self-piling of the fire (ĀpŚS. 16, 21, 6; 19, 11, 7). The god of fire is invited to pile himself, that is to make the constituents of his own being present and ready to function. Quoting the words *saṃ tvam agne . . . saṃ priyeṇa dhāmnā* (see e.g. VS. 3, 19; MS. 1, 5, 2: 67, 9; ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 24) KapS. 5, 5 adds "cattle is Agni's *priyaṃ dhāma*".

In explication of the formula *pra cyavasva bhuvanaspate viśvāny abhi dhāmāni* (see e.g. also VS. 4, 34; MS. 1, 2, 6: 15, 13; 3, 7, 8: 86, 20; TS. 6, 1, 11, 5 etc.) KS. 2, 7; 24, 7 and KapS. 37, 8 observe *devatā vai viśvā dhāmāni*, that must mean that the gods collectively represent all 'locations' of higher power. This statement is the converse of the proposition "all manifestations, or 'locations' of (higher) power are a god" ⁷⁹).

According to Geldner ⁸⁰) the term *dhāman-* occurring in MS. 4, 2, 11: 34, 6 ff. means "Tageszeit" because the text enumerates *uśas-*, *saṃgava-*, *madhyaṃdīna-*, *aparāhṇa-*. The four parallel sentences *yāsām indra udājata vasu nāma rūpaṃ paśūnām uśasaṃ dhāma paśyamānaḥ . . .* rather point to a relation between Indra and dawn, between Bṛhaspati and the second division of the day, called *saṃgava-* ⁸¹), between the Maruts and midday ⁸²), between Prajāpati and the afternoon.

A formula for inviting the *gāyatrī* at three prayers runs in TĀ. 10, 26, 1 as follows: *āyātu varadā devī . . . gāyatrī chandasām mātā idam brahma juśasva naḥ. ojo 'si saho 'si balam asi bhrājo 'si devānām dhāma nāmāsi viśvam asi viśvāyuh sarrvam asi sarrvāyuh*. Cf. TS. 2, 4, 3, 2 and KS. 10, 7 etc. The statements "thou art ojas etc." mean that the *gāyatrī* representing or embodying these important power concepts, or consisting of them, is a source of these. Furthermore, she is the *dhāman-* i.e. *tejaḥ* (comm.) of the gods, or rather a refraction of their nature and power; she also bears their names ⁸³). — TB. 3, 11, 1, 21 *devānām dhāmāmṛtam*, occurring after *ojo 'si saho 'si balam asi bhrājo 'si* is explained *vināśarahitam sthānam* (comm.), i.e. "a position sacred from destruction".

By performing the ritual act called *nigrābha-*—i.e. by turning water into *nigrābhya-* water ⁸⁴) which is used in the preparation of the soma draught—the gods made Soma "consort" (copulate) with the regions as his "mate" (*mīthunena*), his "loved resort" (Eggeling: ŚB. 3, 9, 4, 20). Here the question arises as to how the quarters of the universe could at the same time be spouse and *dhāman* of Soma. The answer seems

⁷⁹) C. W. J. van der Linden, The concept of deva in the Vedic age, Thesis Utrecht 1954.

⁸⁰) Pischel—Geldner, Vedische Studien, III, p. 113.

⁸¹) For details see A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, Vedic index of names and subjects, ²Benares 1958, I, p. 48 ff.

⁸²) The Maruts have a share in the soma which is pressed at noon.

⁸³) Keith, Veda Black Yajus School, p. 178 translates: "thou art by name the home of the gods".

⁸⁴) Caland, Śrautas. d. Āpast. II, p. 258 f.

to be that the mixing of the soma and the water into which it so to say enters is a cohabitation (cf. ĀpŚS. 12, 10, 9). The act is executed by stirring the stalks three times with the formula VS. 6, 36 "From East, West, North, South, from every side to meet Thee (Soma); fill (satisfy) him, O mother (each region)—i.e. *pūraya svair bhāvair etaṃ somam—...*"⁸⁵); cf. ŚB. 3, 9, 4, 21.

Enunciating a theory about the union of two deities (Indra and Indrāṇī)⁸⁶ in the heart of the man who sleeps the author of ŚB. 10, 5, 2, 12 says that the one who knows this should sleep because he "thereby causes these two gods to prosper with (through) copulation, (their) favourite *dhāman-*" ("wish", Eggeling, ?) (*devate mithunena priyeṇa dhāmnā samardhayati*). The term is here, as far as I am able to see, used for the common presence and union of these two divine powers in the heart.

Whilst invoking the sacrificial stake as Vanaspati the compiler of VS. 21, 46 (cf. 47; KS. 18, 21) says, *inter alia*, *yātrāgnēḥ priyā dhāmāni, y. sōmasya p. dh. etc. tātrāitān . . . upāvasrakṣat* "where are the receptacles of, or places receiving, Agni's etc. divine power . . . , there let him arrange these (victims)". Interestingly enough, the term *pāthāṃsi* 'protectorates'⁸⁷, not *dhāmāni* is used in connection with Vanaspati himself who is bodily present. Some variant formulas read *yātréndrasya ṛṣabhāsya havīṣaḥ priyā dhāmāni* etc. "where the favourite stations of Indra, of the bull, the sacrifice are" (Griffith).

VS. 27, 16 (TS. 4, 1, 8 f.; MS. 2, 12, 6: 150, 9) the deified 'doors' of the sacrificial halls are, ruling (or, "lording it": *patyamānāḥ*) *dhāmnā* (not "by foundation")⁸⁸, said to preserve Agni's holy works. I would prefer "through (this) particular presence of (their) divinity" or something to that effect to *sthānena* (comm.) or "dominion", Keith⁸⁹). AV. 5, 27, 8 reads *uruvyācasāgnér dhāmnā patyamāne*⁹⁰ "lording it with the wide presence or refraction of Agni's divinity", the subject being Dawn and Night who are implored to favour the speaker's sacrifice.

The *dhāman-* (*sthānam*, comm.; "domain", Whitney-Lanman⁹¹), (?) of the Ādityas and of the sons of Diti is AV. 7, 7, 1 (Paipp. 20, 1, 6) said to be deep in the sea. The celestial sea may be meant, although ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 7 the Ādityas are said to be the overlords of the western region (which is protected by Varuṇa, the lord of the sea).

Instead of the readings TS. 1, 2, 8, 1; TĀ. 4, 42, 5; ĀpMB. 2, 5, 11 *ut parjanasya śuṣmeṇa . . .* "with the impulsive energy of Parjanya . . ."

⁸⁵) See also Eggeling, S. B. E. 26, p. 245 f.

⁸⁶) Cf. BĀU. 4, 2, 3; MaiU. 7, 11.

⁸⁷) Chapter III, p. 42 f.

⁸⁸) Griffith, White Yajurveda, p. 281.

⁸⁹) Keith, Veda Black Yajus School, p. 300.

⁹⁰) See Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 270 f. (translating "domain").

⁹¹) Followed by N. J. Shende, The foundations of the Atharvāṇic religion, Poona w.y., p. 115.

and KS. 2, 6 *u. p. vṛṣṭyā* . . . “with P.’s rain . . .” (. PG. 3. 2. 14 *u. p. dṛṣṭyā* . . . “with P.’s eyesight . . .”) MS. 1, 2, 6: 15. 5 has *u. p. dhāmnū* . . . and ĀSS. 1, 3, 23 (*ud āyusā svāyusā ud oṣadhīnām rasenot parjanyaṣya dhāmabhir ud asthām amṛtām anu*) to accompany the taking up of the soma and the rising up of the officiant⁹²): “up with life. with fair life. up with the sap of the herbs, up with the ‘locations’ of P.’s power. up have I arisen along with the immortals”. The variants may to a certain extent be regarded as explications of the dhāman concept.

A line occurring in many texts (AV. 7, 83, 2; AVPaipp. 20. 32. 5; VS. 6, 22; TS. 1, 3, 11, 1; MS. 1, 2, 18; KS. 3, 8; ŚB. 3, 8, 5. 10; ĀsvŚS. 3, 6, 24; ŚSS. 8, 12, 11; LŚS. 5, 4, 6 etc.)⁹³ is *dhāmno dhāmno rājams tāto varuṇa no muñca*. The comm. on AV. 7, 83, 2 explains “from every state of disease”, Uvaṭa on VS: “release us (O king Varuṇa) from every ‘place’ or ‘state’ (*sthānāt*) full of evil, which we fear”; Mahīdhara prefers “Varuṇa’s fetters” to “evil”, quoting KŚS. 6, 10, 5 *dhāmno dhāmnaḥ sumitriyā na ity upasprśanty apaḥ* “while pronouncing the words ‘from every dhāman (let the waters be) friendly to us’ they (the officiants and the sacrificer) touch water”, the formula relating to Varuṇa. Keith⁹⁴ translated “rule” or “order”, Caland⁹⁵ “abode”. The Petr. Dict.⁹⁶, Eggeling⁹⁷) and Whitney–Lanman⁹⁸) rashly conjectured *dhāmnaḥ* to be a mistake for *dāmnaḥ* “bond”. Now this formula is together with some other mantras – “do not hurt the waters nor the herbs etc.” – used when at the end of the animal sacrifice the stick on which the victim’s heart has been roasted is buried where dry ground and moist ground meet. Furthermore, Varuṇa is addressed also to set those speaking free from the oath which they swear by the waters, by kine⁹⁹), and by the god (Varuṇa) himself and a formula “Let the waters and the plants be friendly disposed to us” is pronounced to accompany the touching of water (cf. ŚSS. 8, 12, 11). Water, the ground, and the oath are typical representatives of Varuṇa’s power and presence¹⁰⁰). The *āpaḥ* and *aghnyāḥ* mentioned in the formula may, like the name Varuṇa itself (*yad āpo aghnya iti varuṇeti śapāmahe*), be regarded as locations or refractions of the god’s nature and so were, it would appear to me, such displays of his power as the diseases which he sent to punish the wicked. From these *dhāmāni*

⁹²) Cf. e.g. TS. 6, 1, 11, 1 f.

⁹³) See also Whitney – Lanman, o.c., p. 450. For a ritual application see also J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich–Leipzig 1937, III, p. 328.

⁹⁴) Keith, *Veda Black Yajus School*, p. 47.

⁹⁵) Caland, *Śāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra*, Nagpur 1953, p. 218.

⁹⁶) Roth, in the Petr. Dict. III, 943. The translation “fetter” was also adopted by S. Rodhe, *Deliver us from evil*, Lund–Copenhagen 1946, p. 39.

⁹⁷) Eggeling, in S. B. E. 26, p. 216.

⁹⁸) Whitney – Lanman, o.c.

⁹⁹) For variants see Whitney – Lanman, o.c.

¹⁰⁰) For particulars see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 73 ff.

the person praying wishes to be released. — The same interpretation may be applied to AV. 7, 83, 1 d etc.¹⁰¹⁾ where Roth and Whitney considered the reading *sárvā dhāmāni muñcatu* a corruption for *s. dāmāni m.*, notwithstanding the same reading in Paipp. 20, 32, 4 and ĀśvŚS. 3, 6, 24. Here also Varuṇa seems to be requested to “release” i.e. to “dismiss”, to “eliminate” all his *dhāmāni*.

Instead of ṚV. 5, 70, 2 (. . . *ásyāma dhāyase*) JS. 3, 28, 8 reads *tā vāṃ samyag adruhvāṇeṣam ásyāma dhāma ca | vayaṃ vāṃ mītrā syāma* “We would like to obtain your refreshing draught . . . and *dhāman-* (which must mean here something like “access to your presence”); may we be yours, O Varuṇa and Mitra”.

In KS. 6, 9: 59, 10; KapS. 4, 8 the following prayer is handed down: *sam ṛṣiṇām stutena*¹⁰²⁾ *saṃ priyeṇa dhāmnā sam aham āyusā saṃ varcasā saṃ prajāyā saṃ rāyaspoṣeṇa gmīya* (cf. also TS. 1, 5, 5, 7 etc.) “may I be united with the praise of the ṛṣis (i.e. the metrical texts), with (thy; Agni being invoked in the preceding sentence; cf. 6, 9) dear *dhāman-* (“holder of divine power”) — or: “with a dear place of contact with divine power (in general)” —, with a full life-time, with splendour, with offspring, with increase of prosperity”. — Reference may here be made to TS. 6, 6, 11, 4 “what is recited has the word bay in it — the śāstra begins ṚV. 1, 84, 2; remember Indra’s bay horses who in this stanza are said to bring the god near — ; one obtains (*upaprāpnoti*) Indra’s *priyaṃ dhāma* by it”.

PB. 1, 6, 5 *ṛtasya tvā deva stoma pade viṣṇor dhāmani vimuñcāmi* was translated by Caland¹⁰³⁾: “on the place of sacred order, O divine Stoma, in the home (*tejasi*, comm.) of Viṣṇu I unyoke thee”. This formula, which is to be used at the end of the third service, is to ‘unyoke’ the stoma, when all the lauds have been chanted. This act takes place on the sacrificial place, during the sacrifice and the use of the term *dhāman-* may therefore become clear if we realize that Viṣṇu is constantly declared to be the sacrifice (ŚB. 5, 2, 3, 6; 5, 4, 5, 1; 14, 1, 1, 6)¹⁰⁴⁾, which may therefore be supposed to contain part of the god’s divinity.

The *dhāma paramāṃ gūhā yāt* which according to AV. 2, 1, 2; VS. 32, 9 is proclaimed by the gandharva who knows the immortal¹⁰⁵⁾ and three-quarters of which are in secret is no doubt the Highest Presence (*svarūpam*, Mahīdhara), characterized by comm. AV. as *punarāvṛttirahītaṃ sthānam* (cf. BhG. 15, 6), the “highest expression of the divine power or selfhood of the Supreme Principle”. Cf. ṚV. 10, 90, 3 f.: three-quarters of the Puruṣa, the original Giant, is the immortal in heaven; MāU. 2 etc.

¹⁰¹⁾ See Whitney – Lanman, o.c., p. 450.

¹⁰²⁾ Cf. TS. 1, 5, 5, 42; KS. 7, 6; KapS. 5, 5.

¹⁰³⁾ W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 11 and W. Caland – V. Henry, *L’Agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906, p. 382.

¹⁰⁴⁾ For details see *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 77 ff. For “the place of *ṛta-*” in the sense of “sacrificial ground” cf. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 614 ff.

¹⁰⁵⁾ *gandharvaloke hi brahmavidyā sutarāṃ jñāyate* (Uvaṇa). Cf. also *Dic Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 101 f.

A brief survey of some later uses of the term under examination will not be out of place here. In connection with the man who goes to heaven Yājñ. 3, 168 says that his ātman by particular rays attains or enters divine bodies together with their *dhāmāni: devaśarīrāṇi sadhāmāni prapadyate*, which is explained: *taijasāni sukhaikabhogādihikaraṇāni kanakaraġataratnaracitāmarapurasaġitāni* (Mitākᡡara), i.e. “(embodiments, expressions of the divine selfhood) consisting of fiery energy, substrata of only one enjoyment, viz. happiness, associated with paradises made of gold, silver and jewels”. Praising Rudra the Hariv. 2, 72, 58 has the following line: *dhāmnno (=tejoġālasya* “abundance of tejas”, comm.; “corps” 1)) *harir agro ’tha viśvaᡡ brahmā . . .* “from whose ‘divine presence’ Viᡡṅu as the first, next the Omnipresent One (Virāġ, the hypostatization of the conception of the universe as a whole), Brahmā . . . (have come into existence)”.

Although it is not my intention to repeat what may be read elsewhere 2) this frequent association of the term *dhāman-* with *tejas-* and the predilection of commentators for this ‘synonym’ – compare e.g. AV. 20, 19, 4 *dhāmabhiᡡ śatēna* explained as *tejobhiᡡ . . .*, and ViᡡṅuP. 5, 1, 48 *sarveśvara . . . dhāmnām dhāmātmakākᡡayaᡡ*, explained as *tejasām sūryādīnām prakāśakarūpaᡡ* 3) – calls for closer attention. Being one of those untranslatable terms in which Sanskrit religious and philosophical literature abounds – “Schärfe des Lichtes und Feuers, Feuer, Energie; geistliche, intellektuelle, moralische, magisch-religiöse Wirkungsmacht, Einfluß, und die darauf beruhende Glorie, Würde, Herrlichkeit” 4) may according to the context serve as ‘translations’ – this extremely frequent term does not only, at least in part of its normal applications, adjoin the acceptation of *dhāman-* argued in this publication, but also corroborate my argument and view of the meaning of the latter. Some texts may be quoted in substantiation. The ancient Indian king consists of the tejas of all the gods (Manu 7, 11 *sarvatejomayo hi saᡡ: sarveśām . . . tejo bibharti*, Kullūka 5); as a baby king Raghu radiated his innate tejas (Kāl. R. 3, 15). A prince may be said to “contain within himself the germ of tejas”: Kāl. Śak. 7, 15 *mahatas tejaso bījaᡡ bālo ’yaᡡ pratibhāti me*. Like kings,

1) M. A. Langlois, *Harivansa*, II, Paris 1835, p. 34.

2) Especially in J. Ph. Vogel’s brief monograph which has unfortunately been written in Dutch: *Het Sanskrit woord tejas (=gloed, vuur) in de beteckenis van magische kracht*, Amsterdam Acad. 1930.

3) See also chapter I, n. 3.

4) *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 31.

5) Cf. my publication *Ancient Indian kingship*, Leiden 1966, p. 35 f. “Splendour”: Gaᡡgūnātha Jhā, *Manusmᡡᡡti with the bhāᡡya of Medhātithi*, III, Calcutta 1924, p. 279.

gods and heroes (e.g. Rām. 1, 75, 3; 12 cr. ed.) excel in this 'power substance' which is characteristic of their appearance or manifestation⁶), and Kṛṣṇa, the Highest Being, reveals that all beings endowed with extraordinary power, high rank and vigour have sprung from a fragment of his own tejas (BhG. 10, 41). The tejas belonging to a king may leave its owner (Mbh. 2, 42, 22 cr. ed. *cedipater dehāt tejo 'gryaṃ . . . utpatantam . . . gaganād iva bhāskaram*) and is for instance said to enter water with the result that this assumes a scorching heat (Rām. 7, 65, 31). A hero may on the other hand possess the tejas of a god (Mbh.). Gods impart this power to their idols which are therefore regarded as bearers of tejas: Jonarāja, Dvit. Rāj. ed. Durgaprasad 1896, III, p. 65. It is finally worth recalling that a person or an object possessed of this power substance may be likewise called a *tejas-*, which then may for practical purposes admit of the translations "dignified person". Thus Mbh. 13, 104, 62 vulg. the cow and the brahman are, like fire, indicated by this term; cf. also 13, 22, 10 *tejasām : tejasvinām sarvajñānām*, Kullūka. In this point also *tejas-* and *dhāman-* run parallel. The asuras on seeing a pretty young woman exclaimed *aho rūpaṃ aho dhāma* (BhāgP. 8, 9, 2): I would suggest "incarnation (of a divine being)" rather than "splendour", although of course the difference may practically be slight or naught.

This equivalence with *tejas-* made Kālidāsa, R. 18, 23 use the compound *haridaśvadhāmā* in the sense of *sūryatejāḥ* (viz. a prince) and the poet of the Prabodhacandrodaya, 2, 15 speak of *amarapatidhanurdhāmacitrāḥ patākāḥ* "banners bright-coloured like the luminous manifestation of divine power of Indra's bow (i.e. the rainbow)"; cf. e.g. Rām. 1, 54, 21 cr. ed. describing the effect of the tejas of a hero's heavenly weapons: . . . *tapovanaṃ sarvaṃ nirdagdhaṃ cāstratejasā*.

Mbh. 6, 14, 4 cr. ed. Sañjaya informs king Dhṛtarāṣṭra that Bhīṣma has fallen on the battle-field, qualifying this hero as *kakudaṃ sarvayo-dhānām dhāma sarvadhanuṣmatām* "the chief of all warriors, the embodiment of the essence of all archers" (*tejaḥ* Nīlakaṇṭha; "unter allen . . . hervorstrahlend", Petr. Diet. may give rise to misunderstanding). — Queen Kuntī is Mbh. 1, 114, 26 cr. ed. persuaded to procreate a son (Arjuna) who will be a *dhāma kṣatriyatejasām*, that is: in him the 'energies' of nobility will take up their residence or will be embodied. This application is also apparent from text-places such as Kāl. R. 6, 6 *rarāja dhāmnā raghusūnuḥ* "the son of Raghu shone (looked pre-eminently) by his peculiar majestic lustre"⁷) (*tejasā*, Mallinātha) and Bhāravi, Kir. 2. 47 *sahate na jano 'py adhaḥkriyāṃ kim u lokādhikadhāmarājakam (lokottara-pratāpaṃ rājasamūham, comm.)*⁸). Although *dhāman-* might be conceived

⁶) Vogel, o.c., p. 8 f.

⁷) M. R. Kale, The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa, II, Bombay 1922, p. 43; 146.

⁸) "kings possessed of valour surpassing the world" C. S. Rama Sastri, Kirātārjuniya of Bhāravi, Cantos 1 and 2, Madras 1952, p. 122; not, with C. Cappeller (Bhāravi's poem Kirātārjuniya, Cambridge Mass. 1912, p. 13) "der höchste Glanz".

of as tejas, the Petr. Dict. was in my opinion not right in translating by "Glanz, Licht" in cases such as BhāgP. 4, 9, 6 *yo 'ntaḥ praviśya mama vācam imāṃ prasuptāṃ samjīvayaty akhilaśaktidharaḥ svadhāmnā* "(the Venerable Lord) who, being omnipotent, enters (me) and animates my word which had become inactive through his presence" ⁹⁾.

"(Divine) presence" is in my opinion also the most satisfactory equivalent of *dhāman-* in BhāgP. 1, 1, 1, a text which as is well known has a special predilection for archaisms, a feature which may to a certain extent also explain the comparatively frequent occurrences of the term under examination. In 1, 1, 1 ¹⁰⁾ it reads in connection with the Supreme Being: *dhāmnā svena sadā nirastakuhakaṃ satyaṃ param . . .* To Burnouf's ¹¹⁾ translation: "sur cet être dont la lumière n'est jamais obscurcie par l'erreur . . ." I would prefer "by whom by his mere presence (all) illusion is removed"; that means, "on account of God's presence, of his abiding reality which underlies the universe, all illusory appearance, i.e. the entire world of appearance, attains a character of reality".

Discussing transmigration Aṣṭaka asks (Mbh. 1, 85, 3 cr. ed.), to the *dhāman* of whom those whose merit is lost or exhausted are expected to go. The answer is that they will go to an hell on earth.

TripU. 7 holds out a prospect of access to the *paraṃ dhāma traipuram* which is on (or, at) the back of the great firmament which may mean "behind the great firmament" (*nākasya pṛṣṭhe mahataḥ*) ¹²⁾: this phrase must refer to the highest expression of the essence of Tripurā (= Durgā) which is conceived of as the presence of the goddess herself in a celestial sphere.

MuU. 3, 2, 1 *sa vedaitat paramam brahmadhāma yatra viśvaṃ nihitam bhāti śubhram* "he knows that supreme 'abode' ¹³⁾ of brahman, founded on which the universe shines brightly": the text unquestionably refers to the highest, that is purest, 'location' or mode of the One and Supreme, to the highest expression of its nature and essence. — From DattU. 1, 1 it may likewise be inferred that Brahmā recommending the respectful spiritual approach to what he calls *satyānandacidātmaṃ sāttvikam māmakaṃ dhāma* with a view to the realization of unity with it, characterizes this supreme 'location' of his essence by means of the well-known formula expressing the nature of brahman: *sat-* "being (esse subsistens), *cit-* "pure, unqualified intuitive consciousness" and *ānanda-* "bliss", the term *sāttvika-* meaning "endowed with *sattva-* "purity, brightness". — The

⁹⁾ E. Burnouf, Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I, Paris 1840, p. 7, II, p. 91: "splendeur".

¹⁰⁾ For the opening stanza of the Bhāgavata, which is an adoration of God as the ultimate truth or reality see S. Dasgupta, A history of Indian philosophy, IV, Cambridge 1949, p. 11 f.

¹¹⁾ Burnouf, o.c., I, p. 7.

¹²⁾ Cf. The Savayajñas, p. 227.

¹³⁾ Thus e.g. Hume, Radhakrishnan. Cf. also J. Maury, Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad, Paris 1943, p. 16, who irrelevantly refers to ChU. 8, 1, 1.

man who does not know brahman has no access to the *paramaṃ dhāma* (ŚāṭyU. 4). Cf. e.g. also Lakṣmī T. 2, 9 *brahma paramaṃ dhāma*.

How difficult it was to define the term may appear from the commentaries on BhG. 8, 21 *avyakto 'kṣara ity uktas tam āhuḥ paramāṃ gatim | yaṃ prāpya na nivartante tad dhāma paramaṃ mama* “(this) unmanifest is called the imperishable; they call him the highest goal (end). Those who attain Him do not return; that is my highest *dhāman*”. Śaṅkara explained: . . . *tad dhāma sthānaṃ paramaṃ prakṛṣṭaṃ mama viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padam*, identifying *dhāman*- and Viṣṇu’s “highest station or footmark”. “This being, from which one can never return after having reached it, is God’s supreme sphere of dominion, the released ātman in its proper form, no longer conjoined with acit”, Rāmānuja¹⁴) who, whilst explaining *dhāman*- by *niyamanasthānam* “place of dominion or limitation”¹⁵) gives as an alternative paraphrasis “light, brightness, splendour” (*prakāśa-*) > “(light of) knowledge” (*jñāna-*): “the supreme *dhāman*- is the proper form of the released ātman which is beyond prakṛti-conjoined ātman because the latter is limited and the former unlimited knowledge”. According to Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (± 1500)¹⁶) the term means *svārūpaṃ mama viṣṇoḥ* “Viṣṇu’s own form”. Modern interpreters resorted to “Statt”¹⁷); “Stätte”¹⁸); “dwelling-place”, “light” or “glory”¹⁹); “station” or “light”²⁰); “abode”²¹); “le suprême demeure de Mon être”²²). This highest state can be “gained” (*labhyaḥ*) only by exclusive ‘devotion’ (*bhakti-*: st. 22)²³). Compare ŚvU. 6, 23 “These subjects become clear to the man of exalted soul who has the highest ‘devotion’ for God and for his spiritual teacher as for God”.

The same phrase recurs BhG. 15, 6 “where sun and moon do not shine . . .” *yad gatvā na nivartante tad dhāma paramaṃ mama*²⁴) (*vaiṣṇavaṃ*

¹⁴) Cf. J. A. B. van Buitenen, Rāmānuja on the Bhagavadgītā, Thesis Utrecht 1953, p. 111.

¹⁵) The other *niyamanasthāne* being the *acetanaprakṛtiḥ* and the *tatsaṃsrṣṭarūpa-jīvaparakṛtiḥ*. That means, there are three such spheres, viz. the non-spiritual prakṛti; the spiritual prakṛti, i.e. ātmans created conjointly with the non-spiritual prakṛti; God’s supreme ‘sphere of dominion’, the released ātman.

¹⁶) I refer to S. Dasgupta, A history of Indian philosophy, II, Cambridge 1932, p. 225 ff.

¹⁷) L. von Schroeder, Bhagavadgītā, Jena 1922, p. 41.

¹⁸) R. Garbe, Die Bhagavadgītā, Leipzig 1921, p. 120.

¹⁹) W. D. P. Hill, The Bhagavadgītā, Oxford 1928, p. 178.

²⁰) F. Edgerton, The Bhagavad Gītā, Cambridge Mass. 1944, I, p. 85; 184; see II, p. 50: “(The author) does not feel able to get rid of the upaniṣadic Absolute, but he strives, perhaps unwittingly, to color it with his personal theism”.

²¹) S. Radhakrishnan, The Bhagavadgītā, London 1948, p. 234.

²²) Shri Aurobindo, La Bhagavad-Gītā, trad. fr., Paris 1924, p. 210.

²³) For bhakti see e.g. Die Religionen Indiens, II, p. 130 etc.; K. Bolle, in Adyar Libr. Bull. 24, p. 112 ff. and the same, Devotion and tantra published in Studies of esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism, edited by Koyasan Univ. Japan 1965.

²⁴) “Mijn hoogste staat”, J. P. K. Sukul, De Bhagavadgītā, Thesis Utrecht 1958, p. 68.

padam, Śaṅkara). Here Rāmānuja comments: "It is God's supreme light (*jyotiḥ*) . . . ; it is God's because it is an *aṃśa*- (i.e. "integrant or constituent part")²⁵) and a *vibhūti*- (i.e. "manifestation of power")²⁶) of God". It may be true that "details as to the nature of the state of final emancipation are wholly wanting in the *Gītā* (, if we except such vague expressions as 'that highest station of Mine . . . (15, 6)"²⁷), the repeated use of the term *dhāman*- shows that it was at all events conceived of as the 'Presence'. — Whereas in BhG. 8, 21 the Lord speaks of His *paramaṃ dhāma*, Arjuna addresses him at 10, 12 as *paraṃ brahma paraṃ dhāma*. The conclusion may be that the Lord's highest *dhāman* and the Lord as ('supreme brahman' and) supreme *dhāman* are identical concepts. Here Rāmānuja prefers the explication *jyotiḥ* "light", adducing ChU. 3, 13, 7 "the light which shines above is heaven"; 8, 12, 2 ". . . reach the highest light"; BĀU. 4, 4, 16 "light of lights, life immortal"; Śaṅkara explained: *tejaḥ* so as to exclude the meaning *sthānam*. — A similar statement is made 11, 38 . . . *tvam asya viśvasya paraṃ nidhānam* | . . . *paraṃ ca dhāma tvayā tataṃ viśvam* . . . "thou art the supreme resting-place of this universe . . . the supreme *dhāman*; by thee the universe is pervaded . . ." Here Śaṅkara explained: *paramaṃ padaṃ vaiṣṇavam*, Rāmānuja: *sthānam prāpyasthānam* "place to be reached".

Arguing that he who mutters the king of mantras—the formula *oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya*—is infinitely superior to all other ascetics and religious men the author of the Nṛsiṃhap. Upan. 5, 10 expatiates upon the *paramaṃ dhāma* of such an exalted and successful being: there sun and moon do not shine, the wind does not blow, fire does not burn, there is no death, no grief; there is the highest bliss, the peaceful, eternal etc. which is the object of the meditative concentration of the yogins, from which the yogins after having 'come to' it do not return. From the stanzas quoted in illustration (RV. 1, 22, 20 f.) it is clear that the author regards this state of final emancipation as identical with Viṣṇu's highest step which is the ideal situation of the sacrificers. Cf. also BrhājU. 8, 6.

In a detailed description of the holiness of the man who is emancipated when still alive it reads (AvyU. 7)²⁸) *dehānte tamasah paraṃ dhāma prāpnuyāt, yatra virāṇ nṛsiṃho 'vabhāsate tatra khalūpāsate*. That is, at the end of his life he will reach "the *dhāman*- beyond darkness"; "where Viṣṇu's fourth avatāra, the Man-Lion²⁹), shines in brilliant manifestation there he approaches respectfully (with a view to realize unity with it)".

²⁵) See e.g. V. S. Ghate, *Le vedānta*, Paris 1918, passim.

²⁶) See e.g. O. Lacombe, *L'absolu selon le Védānta*, Paris 1937, p. 403.

²⁷) Edgerton, o.c., II, p. 23.

²⁸) Compare J. F. Sprockhoff, *Die Idee der Jīvanmukti in den späten Upaniṣads*, W. Z. K. S. O. A. 7 (1963), p. 190 ff.

²⁹) See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 251.

It is not surprising that many adherents of the doctrine expounded in texts of this character were inclined to regard a *dhāman-* as a sort of celestial abode.

After enumerating a considerable number of qualifications applicable to brahman, the Viṣṇuite TripādU. 1, 11 enunciates the doctrine that the four 'quarters' (*pāda-*) of brahman ³⁰⁾ are that of ignorance, knowledge, bliss and the fourth state (*turiya-*) ³¹⁾ successively. The three higher *pādas* are 'immortal' (*amṛta-*) and characterized by pure intelligence and bliss. There shines strongly an unmeasurable mass of brilliant energy (*tejas-*), which is beyond definition and exclusively consists of complete bliss. In the middle of the middlemost *pāda* is the perpetual Vaikuṅṭha ³²⁾. There is illustrious Great Viṣṇu's highest step (*paramaṃ padam*) and there is completely seen the highest *dhāman-* of this god (*vaiṣṇavaṃ dhāma paramam*) (which is) like a pitcher of amṛta. There is also seen Ādinārāyaṇa, who is the Fourth (*turiyam*) Brahma, beyond the Fourth, Viṣṇu, the Supreme Light, beyond *māyā* . . . , the Highest Lord . . . This is an unmistakable attempt at harmonizing the ideas of Vaikuṅṭha, Viṣṇu's highest footstep and the *dhāma paramam*, which is God's Highest and Purest presence. — For a similar passage see the Śivaite Īśvaragītā 7, 2 ³³⁾. — From the accumulative evidence that the *param dhāma* was identified with *paramātmā param jyotiḥ parā gatih*, or that these phrases are strung together in mutual explanation reference may be made to TejobU. 6, 67. "Like the *vigraha-* ("individual form, person") ³⁴⁾, *mūrti-*, or *rūpa-* of the Bhagavat himself, his loka is thus really a part of himself and consists of the three attributes of *sat-*, *cid-* and *ānanda* ³⁵⁾. It is called by the Vedic name of Viṣṇupada and it is higher than all other lokas such as svarloka, Śivaloka etc. ³⁶⁾. Just as the form or *vigraha-*—which is not something different from his essence but is eternally identical with it—of the Bhagavat makes its appearance in the world, so it is said that his

³⁰⁾ Brahman is, according to an ancient doctrine, by three quarters unmanifest, by one quarter manifest: ṚV. 10, 90, 3; cf. also ChU. 4, 5 ff.

³¹⁾ Cf. MaitrU. 7, 11, and see R. E. Hume, The thirteen principal Upanishads, Oxford 1934, p. 49; 574; M. Falk, Nāma-rūpa and dharma-rūpa, Calcutta 1943, p. 24 etc.; J. F. Sprockhoff, Der Weg zur Erlösung bei Lebzeiten . . . , W. Z. K. S. O. A. 8 (1964), p. 256 f., and compare also B. Heimann, Die Tiefschlafspekulation der alten Upaniṣaden, Zs. für Buddhismus, 4, p. 255 ff.; W. Norman Brown, Man in the universe, Berkeley 1966, p. 36 f.

³²⁾ A 'heaven', Viṣṇu's residence; see Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, p. 107 ff.

³³⁾ "puissance": P. E. Dumont, L'Īśvaragītā, Baltimore-Paris 1933, p. 97.

³⁴⁾ By the 'form' or 'body' of the Lord, his *mūrti-* or *vigraha-*, is not to be understood any gross or sensuous body like that of for instance human beings. See e.g. S. K. De, The early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal, Calcutta 1961, p. 284 ff. etc.

³⁵⁾ I refer to Die Religionen Indiens, II, p. 84 etc.

³⁶⁾ See my publication on Loka, p. 155.

dhāma, *pada*- or residence also sometimes makes its appearance” 37).

MaitrU. 6, 38 “. . . thereupon having pierced the space beyond (the whorls of the brahman calyx) he beholds the Supreme (*sarvāparam*) Dhāman, called Viṣṇu, present within the *sattva* (pure being), unmoving, undying, unfalling, stable, possessed of the trueness of desires, ‘realizing impulse’ 38) and omniscience, the autonomous consciousness, which abides in its own greatness”. Whereas most translations preferred “abode”, van Buitenen 39), no doubt remembering the explication *dhāman*- = *tejas*-, translated by “Light” and Mlle Esnoul by “le suprême refuge de tous” 40). Compare 6, 23 stating that the Highest Principle which is “pure, soundless, fearless bliss etc.” is Viṣṇu, and the additional note in 7, 3 “That pure . . . stable . . . immortal, fixed, called Viṣṇu, Supreme Dhāman”.

The happiness of seeing and meeting Viṣṇu, of beholding his face is therefore identical with that of entering his *param dhāma*. See ViP. 5, 17, 6 *nirjagmuś ca yato vedā vedāṅgāny akhilāni ca | drakṣyāmi tat param dhāma dhāmnām bhagavato mukham* 41). This best or principal *dhāman*- of the god 42) is according to the comm.: *dhāmnām tejomayānām sūryādīnām*

37) De, o.c., p. 292.—In order correctly to understand the idea of ‘residence’ of an *avatāra* it may be recalled that the *avatāras* though appearing in various forms are classified generally into three groups, viz. *puruṣa-avatāras*, the first being the *Puruṣa* who becomes the conditioned creator; *guṇāvatāras*: *Brahmā* as creator presiding over the *rajas-guṇa*, *Viṣṇu (sattva-)*, *Śiva (tamas-)*; *līlāvatāras*. Among the last is e.g. *Rāma* who ‘lives’ in *Ayodhyā* and in *Mahāvaiṣṇuṭha*. Although all these *avatāras* are perfect (*pūrṇa-*), there is yet a difference in excellence or virtue. In an *aṃśāvatāra*- the All-powerful expresses only a part of his infinite power. In a *līlāvatāra*- the Lord displays his inherent divine energy. As an aspect of that energy (*śakti-*) the *līlā*- “divine sport” and hence also the *līlāvatāras* are real and eternal. Although the Lord essentially is beyond the sphere of the phenomenal He may as a result of his grace show himself to his faithful devotee in a “manifest” (*prakāṣa-*) *līlāvatāra*. That is why also his form (*rūpa-*), name (*nāman-*), might or greatness (*aiśvarya-*) etc. have, through his display of *līlā*, a supersensuous reality, although in his essence he is without name, form etc. Whereas the Lord in his unmanifested form stays in all his glory and exquisite charm eternally in *Vṛndāvana* he may in a manifest *avatāra* become *Vāsudeva* at *Mathurā* and *Pradyumna* etc. at *Dvārakā*. Thus by means of the manifest and unmanifest forms the Lord remains at the same time in such different places as *Vṛndāvana*, *Mathurā* and *Dvārakā*. Moreover, his *Goloka* or ‘highest paradise’ is really a display of *śakti (vaiḥvara-)*, of *Vṛndāvana* itself. See e.g. De, o.c., p. 245 ff.—Another term used in connection with *avatāras*—*VāPur.* 98, 88 in connection with *Viṣṇu’s Nārāyaṇa*, *Narasimha* and *Vāmana avatāras*—is *divyasaṃbhūti-* “incarnation in heaven”, as opposed to the incarnations among men (*Rāma*, *Kṛṣṇa* etc.).

38) See my note in *The Savayajñas*, p. 367 f.

39) J. A. B. van Buitenen, *The Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad*, The Hague 1962, p. 151.

40) A. M. Esnoul, *The Maitry Upaniṣad*, Paris 1952, p. 50.

41) H. H. Wilson—F. Hall, *The Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, V, London 1870, p. 1: “that glory of glories”. The commentator *Ratnagarbha* preferred the variant *dhāma devānām*.

42) For this phrase (paronomastic genitive) see my book *Stylistic repetition in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1959, p. 264 ff.

param dhāma āśrayaṃ sukhāvayaveṣu locanarasanavadaneṣu sūryavaruṇāgninām āśrayatvāt. Here all that consists of tejas such as the sun etc. is a *dhāman-* of the god, i.e. a seat or receptacle (of that tejas) and (in the *param dhāma*) the gods Sūrya (Sun, Light), Varuṇa (Water), Agni (Fire) are held to reside in “the parts (of the body) of delight”, in the eyes, tongues and mouths. The phrase no doubt is to characterize Viṣṇu’s face as the divine presence par excellence.

BhāgP. 3, 11, 41 *tad āhur akṣaram brahma sarvakāraṇakāraṇam | viṣṇor dhāma param sākṣāt puruṣasya mahātmanaḥ*: “l’essence suprême”⁴³, or “the highest presence”.

Hence the use of the phrase *madhyamaṃ dhāma viṣṇoḥ* “the middlemost sphere in which Viṣṇu displayed his divine essence” for the “air” or “atmosphere” in Kāl. Śak. 4, 5⁴⁴. Compare the compound *tridhāman-*⁴⁵.

The Lord is Hariv. 2, 72, 29 (= 129, 29) said to be *dhṛtimaddhāma divyam* “the celestial *dhāman-* of the steadfast”, that is according to Nilakaṇṭha’s explication: (*dhṛtimatām*) *svaprakāśacaitanyarūpam adhiṣṭhānam yoginām nilayam* “a ‘position’ or ‘seat’ in the form of self-luminousness for the steadfast yogins”. The Lord in whom the steadfast yogins attain their ultimate goal, viz. the realization of the state of pure consciousness, is a *dhāman-* for these yogins and the *dhāman-* consists in the ‘celestial’ realization of that state⁴⁶.—The wonderful gross (material) ‘body’ of the Lord is said to be the *dhāman-* of (for) all groups of living souls: BhāgP. 5, 26, 40 *īśvarasya sthūlam vapuḥ sakalajīvanikāyadhāma*. According to the philosophy of the Bhāgavatas God holds the individual souls which are but parts of Himself within Himself and within the grasp of His power of which they are a manifestation. Thus his ‘body’ may be said to be the ‘divine location’ in which they rest, are contained, or which they constitute. It is clear that in these contexts an interpretation “residence, abode” may—with some qualifications, and for practical purposes—indeed be chosen. It seems difficult not to conclude that a comparatively late author (Kṛṣṇamīśra ± 1000, who was an orthodox Viṣṇuite Vedāntin) used it in a ‘profane’ sense: Prab. 2, 7 “In the kingdom Gauḍa, in a town Rādhā there is a *dhāman-* (*gṛham*, comm., rather “quarter”)⁴⁷, in which my father is the most prominent man . . .” Compare also BhāgP. 4, 2, 35 *te ’pi viśvasṛjaḥ* (“creators of the universe”) . . . *sarve svaṃ svaṃ dhāma yayuḥ*.

The same translation was intelligibly enough adopted when the term is used in connection with the celestial aspect or form of a deity, with its divine essence when concentrated in heaven, in a context such as

⁴³) Burnouf, o.c., I, p. 385.

⁴⁴) Ed. A. Scharpé, Kālidāsa-Lexicon, I, 1, Werken Fac. Letteren Gent 117, Brugge 1954, p. 50.

⁴⁵) Chapter VI, p. 90 ff.

⁴⁶) This place was not understood by Langlois, Harivansa, II, p. 29.

⁴⁷) “wijk”, J. W. Boissevain, Maansopgang der ontwaking, Den Haag 1951, p. 57.

BhāgP. 1, 3, 43 *kṛṣṇe svadhāmopagate dharmajñānādibhiḥ saha | kalau . . .* “in the Kali-age when Kṛṣṇa together with Dharma etc., had resorted to his own *dhāman-* (“demeure”, Bergaigne)”. Dealing with the Highest Lord when being seated on his throne in the celestial realms the same text 2, 9, 16 describes Him as *sva eva dhāman ramamāṇam īśvaram*; not “Reich (der Götter)”⁴⁸), but “(highest) expression or, rather, modality of His divine selfhood”.

That a temple or rather, a sacred monument, being a place housing part of a deity’s being, and hence bearing also the name of *prāsāda-*, – the term denotes “‘a settling down’ (*pra-sad-*) and a seat made of that which has settled down and acquired concrete form, the form of a dwelling, a residence, the seat of God”⁴⁹ – could, within the semantic possibilities of this word, be also called a *dhāman-* appears for instance from Kāl. Megh. 33 where the Mahākāla, i.e. “the famous temple, or place, as well as the image of Śiva in Ujjain”⁵⁰) is referred to by means of this name which is quite intelligibly⁵¹) also borne by the god himself⁵²). The same use recurs Kāśyapaśilpa 23, 1⁵³). In the Mānasāra (19, 108 ff.) it is one of the 23 ‘synonyms’ for “building” in general, others being *vimāna-*, *ālaya-*, *mandira-*, *āyatana-* etc. These many ‘synonyms’ throw some light, not only on the multiple origins of the house of the Hindu gods, but also on its various functions and the different angles from which it could be viewed. As a *dhāman-* it no doubt was, at least originally, seen as a

⁴⁸) Petr. Diet., s.v. *dhāman-*; “essence”, Burnouf.

⁴⁹) S. Kramrisch, The Hindu temple, Calcutta 1946, p. 135; Die Religionen Indiens, II, p. 68. Compare also Īśānagurudevapaddhati, III, 12, 16 “The temple, *prāsāda-*, is made up of the presence of Śiva and Śakti, and of the principles and forms of existence (*tattva-*) from the elementary substance earth (*vasudhā-*) and ending with Śakti. The concrete form (*mūrti-*) of Śiva is called House of God (*devālaya-*)”, quoted by Kramrisch, o.c., I, p. 136. The Agni-Purāṇa 61, 11 similarly states that “the whole *prāsāda-* is to be understood as *puruṣa-*” and 61, 26 “lord Hari himself is visibly established in the *prāsāda-*”; cf. also 102, 14; 22 f.

⁵⁰) M. R. Kale, The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa, Bombay 1934, Notes, p. 43. See also B. S. Upadhyaya, India in Kalidasa, Allahabad 1947, p. 64; 73.

⁵¹) See note 49.

⁵²) The Supreme Being of the philosophers was the Transcendent One, who, though at the same time immanent in the universe, was still so far removed from it that He not only was incapable of being described in terms of anything known in experience, but was also incapable of being regarded as actively related to it. The Supreme should assume a finite form for the sake of his worshippers and those who would meditate on Him, that means that He is capable of descending into images etc. with a portion of His śakti or divine creative power. “It is . . . for meditation more that for anything else than Viṣṇu is believed to have manifested Himself under different forms” (F. O. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra, Adyar 1916, p. 48 f.; Cf. Bh. Kumarappa, The Hindu conception of the deity, London 1934, p. 112).

⁵³) Explained as “residence” by Kramrisch, o.c., p. 139, as “dwelling, house” by P. K. Acharya, An encyclopaedia of Hindu architecture, Mānasāra series VII, Oxford 1946, p. 246.

'container' of a deity. See also Kalhaṇa, Rājat. 3, 171 f. "palace (of a king)"; Rām. 2, 13, 26, 300.

There is indeed an abundancy of evidence that Indian worshippers attached much importance to places of divine presence, that they were, and are, conceived of the immediate presence of a deity in specific places, for instance in definite shrines. On the part of the devotee this divine presence means the immediate vision of, and access to the divine reality. "The calling on the Lord of a place or even on the place of the Lord is not a mere metaphor or a matter of ornate style. It is in its very nature part of the devotee's experience and vision of God" ⁵⁴). When for instance the poet Kulasekaran expresses his hope to be reborn, "like a fish within the springs", in or near the residence of Viṣṇu in Tirumalai at Tirupati ⁵⁵), the deity's presence in which this devotee finds himself is no metaphorical device of poetic diction. In the emotional sphere of bhakti it is to be taken literally.

In a pseudo-epic passage quoted as Mbh. 5, 43, 55 (271*, cr. ed. I, p. 206) it reads *dhāmāṃśabhāgasya tathā hi vedā | yathā hi śākhā ca mahīruhasya* "the Vedas are of him who has a share in a dhāman just as the branches belong to the tree".

Other special applications, admitting of apparently exceptional translations, do not fail to occur in particular contexts. Thus Abhinavagupta teaches, *inter alia*, a meditation on the *bhāva*-, i.e. "les modalités de la conscience (de la conscience ordinaire à laquelle atteint le délivré vivant qui est la modalité suprême, la réalité universelle)", and another on the *dhāmāni*, i.e. "les stades par lesquels passe la conscience dans cette ascension vers le Suprême" ⁵⁶), a use easily reconcilable with the general meaning of the term because these stages, being experienced by the consciousness of the yogin for instance in Buddhism "im Grunde aus nichts anderem als geistigen Wesenheiten (bestehen)" ⁵⁷). Cf. also TripurātU. 1 . . . *evaṃ pañcadaśākṣaram traipuram yo 'dhīte sa sarvān kāmān avāpnoti . . . sa sarvāṃl lokān jayati* ⁵⁸) . . . *sa rudratvaṃ prāpnoti. sa vaiṣṇavaṃ dhāma bhittvā param brahma prāpnoti ya evaṃ veda . . . dvītiye dhāmani . . . tṛtiye dhāmani . . . caturthe dhāmani śivaśaktyākhyam vāgbhavam* etc.

One might compare in this connection KaivU. 1, 17 f. — the text teaches a Śivaite yoga method — "When one has realized that one is identical

⁵⁴) Bolle, Devotion and tantra, p. 220; A. K. Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas, Smithsonian Miscell. Coll. 80, 6, Washington 1928, passim.

⁵⁵) J. S. M. Hooper, Hymns of the Alvārs, Calcutta 1929, p. 45 ff.

⁵⁶) A. Padoux, Recherches sur la symbolique et l'énergie de la parole dans certains textes tantriques, Paris 1963, p. 334, n. 2.

⁵⁷) H. Beekh, Buddhismus, Berlin-Leipzig 1916. II, p. 52; D. Schlingloff, Die Religion des Buddhismus, I, Berlin 1962, p. 61; II, 1963, p. 27; cf. also M. Eliade, Le yoga, Paris 1954, p. 101; R. Gnoli, Abhinavagupta, Essenza dei Tantra, Torino 1960, passim.

⁵⁸) Cf. Loka, p. 36 f.

with that brahman which manifests itself in the phenomenal diversity of the states of waking, dreaming and dreamless sleep etc.⁵⁹), one is freed from all bonds. What in (these) three *dhāmāni* is the object of experience (*bhogyam*), the experiencer and the experience, I am different from these, a witness, consisting of pure *cit-* (pure consciousness)". Here the above three modes of existence are described as *dhāmāni*. Similarly Kṛṣṇamiśra, Prab. 1, 30 *jāgratsvapnasusuptīdhāma-*.—Cf. PañcabrU. 8 *dhāmatrayaniyantāraṃ dhāmatrayasamanvitam*.

Somadeva, KSS. 25, 261 uses the term in connection with the "wahre Heimat"⁶⁰ or the "proper dwelling"⁶¹ of two vidyādhara who are freed from a curse, regain their specific supranormal knowledge and are allowed to return to the summit of the Himālayas. Although the vidyādhara are said to go through the air to that peak of the Himālayas, one could hardly object to a translation "(true divine) state (or) condition)". This state is of course enjoyed in a special place which may therefore also come within the definition of the dhāman concept.

In Kṛṣṇamiśra, Prab. 4, 30 the compound *-uddāmadhāmādhipa* (Viṣṇu) has been translated "gij die over onbedwingbare tovermacht beschikt" ("thou that commandst irresistible magic power")⁶². As this faculty of the god consists in his ability to wipe off the red evening-glow constituted by the red-lead in the hair of the wives of the demons, one might rather say that he is the lord of an unrestrained or self-willed exhibition of his divine power. Here also God projects his power so as to assume the 'form' of a *dhāman-* by means of which he achieves one of his marvellous purposes.

⁵⁹) Cf. also P. Deussen, Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda, (Leipzig 1921) Darmstadt 1963, p. 740 f. Otherwise B. Tubini, Kaivalyopaniṣad, Paris 1952, p. 8 (translating "conditions").—See also above, p. 83.

⁶⁰) H. Brockhaus, Die Märchensammlung des Somadeva . . . , Leipzig 1843, II, p. 157.

⁶¹) C. H. Tawney – N. M. Penzer, The ocean of story, II, London 1924, p. 210.

⁶²) Boissevain, o.c., p. 100.

VI

Turning finally to some compounds I would explain AV. 17, 1, 10 "O Indra, with propitious aid, be most favourable to us—ascending heaven" *priyádhāmā svastáye* as "with a dear location" (viz. in the visible manifestation of Indra's might which in this hymn coalesces with the sun, cf. st. 9 "protect us, O Indra with (thy) rays"). In st. 13 different 'bodies' (*tanū-*)¹⁾ of Indra are distinguished, one being in the waters, one on the earth, one in fire, etc. The comm. hesitates: either *priyasthānaḥ*, i.e. *dyusthāne prītimān*, because the sun does not, like other gods, go to places other than the sky, or: *dhāma* is *tejaḥ*, or again: *yasya dhāma lokasya priyam*.—Applied in RV. 1, 140, 1 to Agni²⁾ the same compound hardly means "der seine Geburtsstätte lieb hat" (Geldner) or "de qui l'institution est aimée" (Renou)³⁾.—In a formula addressed to the Ādityas it reads (ŚB. 4, 3, 5, 20; KŚS. 10, 4, 13) *priyebhyaḥ priyadhāmabhyaḥ priyavratebhya mahasvasarasya patibhyaḥ . . .*; not, with Eggeling "rite-loving" and (ĀśvŚS. 1, 17, 3, to accompany the ādityagraha⁴⁾ belonging to the third soma preparation) *ādityān priyān priyadhāmna ādityāso adītir mādayantām*.

One might be almost tempted to explain the epithet *sthīrádhāman-* ("belonging to a strong race", Monier-Williams⁵⁾. ?) attributed to the white mythical snake-destroying horse Paidva⁶⁾ in AV. 10. 4, 11 (*paidvāsya . . . sthīrásya sthīrádhāmnaḥ*)—which is a long charm against serpents invoking the help of this horse—in connection with the fact evidenced by Kauś. 32, 20 ff., viz. the substitution of an insect that has come by the name of Paidva for the unattainable horse itself: it does not seem beyond possibility that this obviously quite efficient substitute was considered a *dhāman-* of the mythical steed which in the R̥gveda (1, 117, 9; 118, 9) is called a dragon-slayer. In any case, the epithet does not seem to mean "zu einem kräftigen Geschlecht gehörig"⁷⁾ or "of staunch abode"⁸⁾, but "whose presence or embodiment(s) is (are) lasting

¹⁾ See above, p. 72 f.

²⁾ For *dhāman-* in connection with Agni see chapter III, p. 23 ff.

³⁾ Renou, E. V. P. XII, p. 31.

⁴⁾ Caland - Henry, o.c., p. 230 ff., translating, p. 232: "... à qui la demeure est chère".

⁵⁾ M. Monier - Williams, A Sanskrit-English dictionary, Oxford 1899, p. 1264.

⁶⁾ Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 452; Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 149; M. Bloomfield, The Atharva-Veda and the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa, Strassburg 1899, p. 81; N. J. Shende, The religion and philosophy of the Atharvaveda, Poona 1952, p. 36.

⁷⁾ Petr. Dict. VII, 1336.

⁸⁾ Whitney - Lanman, o.c., p. 557.

or resolute”, which suits the context and the character⁹⁾ of the horse very well.

The compound *ṛtādhāman-*, incorrectly translated by “wahren, lautern Wesens”¹⁰⁾ occurs in the consecration formula VS. 5, 32 *ṛtādhāmāsi svarjyōtīḥ* where applying to the udumbara post it does not mean “seat of the Law”¹¹⁾ but “whose embodiment or presence is ṛta”, i.e. “in whom ṛta is embodied or present”¹²⁾, “whose presence is (the very presence of) ṛta”; and *ibid.* 18, 38 in the first of the formulas accompanying the *rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ* or kingdom-supporting libations¹³⁾ so as to apply to Agni (*ṛtāsādḥ ṛtādhāmāgnīḥ*)¹⁴⁾ who is the first-born, i.e. the main manifestation, of ṛta (RV. 10, 5, 7)¹⁵⁾. In later times the adjective is used as an epithet or name of Viṣṇu: Rām. 6, 117, 7. Besides, it is the name of the 13th Manu, and of Indra in the 12th manvantara: BhāgP. 8, 13, 29¹⁶⁾.

The compound *dyudhāman-* (Pur.) is in Monier-Williams’ Dictionary incorrectly explained as “having one’s abode in heaven, a god”.

JŚS. 9: 11, 8 mentions the following formula: *sa pavasva sudhāmā devānām abhi priyāṇi dhāmā . . .* (the soma is addressed): “purify thyself, thou that are of good *dhāmāni* unto the dear *dhāmāni* (both times in the usual sense) of the gods”¹⁷⁾.

An interesting compound occurs BhāgP. 3, 26, 3 *anādir ātmā puruṣo nirguṇaḥ . . . | pratyagdhāmā svayamjyotir viśvam yena samanvitam*: “the eternal Supreme Person who is devoid of all qualities and being self-luminous fills all things has (his) *dhāmans* (which are) turned inward” (i.e. “in himself”: all *dhāmāni* of the Eternal One are within himself, because he is the All)¹⁸⁾, if at least *pratyag-* has that sense which is usual in philosophical contexts: *jñānam* (BhāgP. 2, 6, 39); *pratyagdr̥ś-* (8, 3, 17); *pratyag-* in connection with *ātman-* (KaU. 4, 1); Śadānanda, Vedāntasāra 239 *pratyagānanda-* “appearing as, consisting of, inward delight” (qualifying *paramabrahman-*; *pratyag-* = *abhinna-* “uninterrupted”, Nṛsiṃhasarasvatī).

The compound *tridhāman-* is not rarely found in purāṇic literature. One of its earliest occurrences is Mbh. 13, 158, 23 vulg. (Kṛṣṇa is praised) *sa evoktaś cakram idaṃ trinābhi saptāśvajuktaṃ*¹⁹⁾ *vahate vai tridhāma.*

⁹⁾ Cf. also Macdonell, o.c., p. 149.

¹⁰⁾ Petr. Dict. I, 1049.

¹¹⁾ Griffith, o.c., p. 47. Cf. Uvaṭa: *ṛto yajñas tasya dhāma sthānaṃ janma vā.*

¹²⁾ Cf. Mahidhara: *ṛtaṃ sāmagānaṃ dhāmopaveśanasthānaṃ yasyāḥ sā.*

¹³⁾ Cf. e.g. ŚB. 9, 4, 1.

¹⁴⁾ *ṛtaṃ satyam avinaśvaram dhāma sthānaṃ yasya* (Mahidhara).

¹⁵⁾ Cf. ‘Gods’ and ‘powers’, p. 27; 74. See e.g. also ŚB. 6, 7, 3, 11.

¹⁶⁾ Cf. Wilson – Hall, o.c., III, p. 25; 27.

¹⁷⁾ D. Gaastra, Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Vedische ritueel, Jaiminiya-śrautasūtra, Thesis Utrecht 1906, p. 14 “plaats van oponthoud”.

¹⁸⁾ Burnouf, o.c., I, p. 525: “il rayonne au dedans de lui-même”.

¹⁹⁾ See e.g. Geldner, Rig-veda übersetzt, I, p. 228.

Here the three-naved 'wheel', which occurs already ṚV. 1, 164, 2, being explained by Yāska (4, 27) as the three seasons of the year (cf. ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 33, and Nilakaṅṭha on Mbh. 13, 158, 23), and there is said to be the bearer of all these 'places in which coming into being takes place' (*bhuvanā*)²⁰, is described as *tridhāma*. that is, Nilakaṅṭha comments, *varṣavātoṣṇaprakāram* "of the (threefold) nature of rain, wind and heat". The Petrograd Dict. (III, 433) however explains: "den drei Gebieten, Welten angehörig". This is worth considering, the more so as this use of the word is beyond doubt in BhāgP. 3, 8, 31 (*harim*) *sūryenduvāyavagnyagamaṃ tridhāmabhiḥ parikramatprādhānikair durāsadam* "dont l'approche est défendue par les armes étincelant au milieu des trois mondes"²¹). As a name²² or epithet *tridhāman-* denotes Kṛṣṇa: Mbh. 12, 43, 10 . . . *trikakut tridhāmā trivṛd acyutaḥ*. It might be remembered that in connection with Viṣṇu three is a favourite number²³; here the three spheres in which he placed his feet may be meant. Compare also PañcabrU. 8 *dhāmatrayānīyantāraṃ dhāmatrayasamanvitam*. This explication need not however exclude another interpretation. In view of the fact that the number three in cosmographic contexts indicates universality²⁴ and completeness, and the threefold is ŚB. 5, 1, 4, 11 expressly said to belong to the gods one might be tempted to suppose that the wheel with the threefold nave is according to the epic author at the same time characterized as being a threefold—i.e. complete—expression or location of divine power, the wheel representing concentration of power²⁵, the *nābhi-* "nave" or "navel" being the central and most important point, the centre in which the phenomenal comes into touch with the divine and eternal and in which the latter takes its seat to rule and govern the temporal and phenomenal²⁶). A wheel with a threefold *nābhi-* may be a threefold or complete container of divine power.

Successful meditation makes a man a *tridhāmā haṃsaḥ* (TejobU. 1, 4)

²⁰ See my paper on *bhuvana-* which is to appear elsewhere.

²¹ Burnouf, o.c., I, p. 357.

²² See also V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, The Purāna Index, II, Madras 1952, p. 45.

²³ Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, Utrecht 1954, p. 55 ff.

²⁴ Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, p. 56. See also F. Heiler, Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion, Stuttgart 1961, p. 163 ff.: "Die Dreizahl ist die heiligste Zahl, die göttliche Zahl, die Zahl *kat' exochēn* . . . (sie) bedeutet die Totalität und Abgeschlossenheit, da sie Anfang, Mitte und Ende umfaßt".

²⁵ See e.g. G. Tucci, Teoria e pratica del maṇḍala, Roma 1949 (=The theory and practice of the maṇḍala, London 1961), passim; A. K. Coomaraswamy, Elements of Buddhist iconography, Cambridge Mass. 1935, p. 27 ff.; M. Eliade, Le yoga, Paris 1954, p. 237 ff. etc.; J. Gonda, Ancient Indian kingship from the religious point of view, Leiden 1966, p. 123 ff.

²⁶ Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, p. 84 ff. In ViPur. 5, 7, 35 Viṣṇu is called the *nābhi-* of the universe (which bears and sustains it) and from which the spokes (spread to all sides).

“dreiwelthafter Hamsa” 27); or “a soul 28) which is in a threefold way, i.e. completely, ‘filled’ with the divine presence”, i.e. “which has access to ‘heaven’”. Compare also VarāhP. 2, 17 . . . *brahmānandaṃ sadā paśyan . . . tridhāmasākṣiṇaṃ satyajñānānandādilakṣaṇam . . .*

The compound *tridhāman-* is sometimes indeed used for “(highest) heaven”, that is as a synonym of *tridiva-*: BhāgP. 3, 24, 20 *hamso haṃsena yānena tridhāma paramaṃ yayau* “on the goose, his vehicle, Brahmā went to the highest heaven”, not “la région qui s’élève au-dessus des trois cieux”.

A plant used in a ‘witchcraft ceremony’ is AV. 4, 18, 4 likewise addressed as *sahasradhāman-*: “of a thousand places or abodes” (*sthānāni*), comm.

ViPur. 5, 30, 27 *matprasādān na te subhru jarā vairūpyam eva ca | bhaviṣyaty anavadyāṅgi sarvadhāmā bhaviṣyasi* does not mean “. . . thou (Satyābhāmā, wife of Kṛṣṇa, is addressed) shalt be the asylum of all loveliness . . .” 29).

Various translations were proposed for *viśvadhāman-* which ŚvU. 6, 6 is applied to the Highest Being: “der Allheit Heimat” 30); “the abode of all” 31); “the support of all” 32); “universelle ordinance” 33). Rather “the divine presence inherent in all”. Similarly, PañcabrU. 19.

Mention is made of a group of gods called the Svadhāmans, “who acted according to their name” (*yathānāmānukāriṇaḥ*: MārK. 69 (73), 2; cf. also ViP. 3, 1, 14 (also *sudhāman-*).

Notice also the phrase BhāgP. 1, 11, 26 *śriyo dhāmāṅgam acyutam* “Acyuta whose body was the ‘incarnation (embodiment)’ of Beauty” which may have been ephemeral or proper to a definite tradition.

The compound *merudhāman-* is Mbh. 13, 17, 91 applied to Śiva.

AiB. 3, 7, 1 three *vaṣaṭ* calls are distinguished, viz. *vajro dhāmachat riktah* “the thunderbolt, the hider of his abode, the empty” (Keith). The second one is defined as follows: (4) *yaḥ samaḥ samtato nirhāṇarcaḥ sa dhāmachat* “that which is even, continuous, and without loss of (part of) the verse (i.e. without the loss of the last syllable of the ṛc merged in the sound *om*)”. The thunderbolt is made aloud and forcibly; in the empty one the syllable *ṣaṭ* is fading. According to the comm. *dhāman-* means *yajñasthānam* and this type of *vaṣaṭ* prevents the demons from

27) P. Deussen, Sechzig Upanishad’s des Veda, (3Leipzig 1921) 4Darmstadt 1963, p. 664.

28) *Hamsa-* “goose” means the individual ‘soul’ or spirit or the supreme spirit with which the individual ‘soul’ is identical (BĀU. 4, 3, 11 f.; ŚvU. 1, 6; MaiU. 6, 34 f.). See e.g. J. Ph. Vogel, The goose in Indian literature and art, Leiden 1962, p. 13.

29) Wilson – Hall, o.c., V, p. 96.

30) R. Hauschild, Die Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad, Leipzig, 1927, p. 33.

31) Hume, o.c., p. 409.

32) Radhakrishnan, o.c., p. 745.

33) A. Silburn, Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, Paris 1948, p. 72.

entering this. In any case *dhāman-* must here also denote a divine presence and a *dhāmachad-* something protecting it by its even and continuous and therefore "covering" nature. Keith's "his abode" is erroneous. Compare GB. 2, 3, 3 and for *chad-* in the sense of "protecting" ŚāGS. 3, 11, 8 f.; PGS. 3, 9, 6.

VS. 18, 76 the compound *dhāmachad-* likewise means "covering the *dhāman-*" rather than "hiding . . ." or "changing . . ." (Petr. Dict.; Monier-Williams etc.). When one offers a cake on eight potsherds to Agni Dhāmachad (MS. 2, 4, 8: 45, 19), this god causes rain to fall; that is, he, together with the Maruts and Sūrya, "makes Parjanya rain for that man"; "becoming a coverer of his *dhāman*, as it were, he (Sūrya who moves low with his rays) rains" (TS. 2, 4, 10, 2). This explication impresses me as being a later attempt at accounting for the epithet which while obviously belonging to Agni—compare KS. 11, 10: 157, 17 *agnir vā ito vṛṣṭim udīrayati dhāmachad iva bhūtvā varṣati marutaḥ sṛṣṭām vṛṣṭim nayanti*³⁴), and the comm. on ĀśvŚS. 2, 13, 5 *dhāmachad-* is an epithet (quality: *guṇa*) of Agni—is explained in connection with Sūrya. The commentators on VS. 18, 76 stating that the god—who together with some of his colleagues is invoked to protect the sacrifice—"fills the 'places' (*sthānāni*) which are deficient and equalizes the redundant ones" may put us in a fair way to an understanding of the original force of the epithet (cf. also ŚB. 10, 1, 3, 9 f.). They take Agni to be a stabilizer in nature, that is in the 'provinces' of the gods, in their *dhāmāni*, in the 'refractions' or 'locations' of their power. It seems here also warranted to suppose that he so to say covers these *dhāmāni* so as to fill them or that he protects them, rather than "puts them on" (*ā-chad-*, *saṃ-chad-* "to put on clothes"). Agni indeed is distributed in many ways (ŚB. 6, 7, 4, 4); through him everything exists (8, 1, 1, 4); he is thousand-eyed (9, 2, 3, 32) and fills the air with his shine (9, 2, 3, 34); his is universal sovereignty (9, 3, 4, 17); he is the lord of creatures whose dwellings are everywhere (9, 4, 1, 16). An omnipresent sovereign god may be supposed to exert an influence on the *dhāmans* so as to effect a change in the weather or to protect the sacrifice (VS. 18, 76). After quoting VS. 18, 76 in 10, 1, 3, 8 the ŚB. § 12 explains "the *dhāmachad-* is speech (*vāc-*); it is by speech that he secures for him what was not secured for him".—Compare also KS. (Kāṭh.) 40, 6 *dhāmachad asi, sve yonau sīda, sve pṛthivyā yonau sīda. ṛtavas te kalpantām*. In translating *dhāmasācam* (sc. *īndram*) in ṚV. 3, 51, 2 Geldner wavers between "der dem Gesetz folgt" and "seiner Art folgend"; "an die bestimmte Stätte sich haltend" (Petr. Dict.); *tejo bhajamānam, yad vā dhanam dhāma, tadarthibhiḥ saha yojayitāram* (the second explication is completely untenable). Rather "possessed of (giving evidence of) *dhāmāni*, i.e. of refractions of his divinity".

³⁴) Quoted Nirukta, 7, 24, translated by L. Sarup, The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta. Delhi 1962, p. 126: "space-coverer (i.e. cloud)".

KB. 10, 6 *tad āhur: yad dhāmabhājo devā atha kasmāt pāthobhāg vanaspatir iti dhāma vai devā yajñasyābhajanta pāthaḥ pitarah* was translated by Keith ³⁵). "With reference to this they say: 'Since the gods possess the solid, then why does the lord of the forest possess the liquid as his share?' The gods shared the solid of the sacrifice, the Fathers the liquid". The lord of the forest is Agni, whose portion has been said to be milk, the deities of which are the Fathers. It would however be difficult to find parallel passages in which the meaning adopted by Keith is beyond doubt. The term *pāthas-* probably denoting a "sphere protected by a divinity (in which man etc. may come into touch with it)", *dhāman-* and *pāthas-* ³⁶) may in harmony with their usual meanings rather be hypostases or aspects of the concept 'sacrificial worship', or, rather, of the potencies manifesting themselves in it, accessible or otherwise congenial to the gods and Fathers respectively.

Soma is ṚV. 9, 86, 28 said to be the *prathamó dhāmadhāḥ: dhāmno dhartā* (Sāyaṇa); ". . . Ordnungsstifter" ³⁷); "der erste Schöpfer" (Geldner) and "le premier fondateur des structures" (Renou) ³⁸). I would venture: "the first who establishes, assumes locations or exhibits, develops (and probably also "who brings *dhāmāni* into play for the benefit of others, who vouchsafes them") modalities of his divine nature". Compare the compound *dhīyaṃdhā-* "giving concrete shape to the visions (received by a poet who is a recipient of that visionary insight)" ³⁹).

As an equivalent of *tejas-* ⁴⁰) the word appears also in the compound *dhāmanidhi-* "treasure of splendour" (Monier-Williams' historically incorrect translation), applied to the sun ⁴¹); cf. Varāh. Laghuḥ. 1, 1 *dhāmnām nidhiḥ sūryaḥ*. Authors of later times seem to have used it as a complete synonym of *tejas-* in the sense of "light": Amaruś. 86 *ratnaughadhāmanīkarāruṇanūpura-* "die von Juwelenfersenglanz rotschimmerig bespangte" ⁴²); Kṛṣṇamiśra, Prabodhac. 4, 13 *indudhāmadhavalā-* "white with moonshine", although moonshine may be regarded, it is true, as a "refraction" of the potency inherent in the luminary itself.

The conclusion to be drawn from this examination of many relevant

³⁵) Keith, Rigveda brahmanas, p. 408, connecting *pāthas-* (for which see ch. III, p. 42 f.) with *pā-* "to drink". One would hardly suppose Keith to have been subconsciously influenced by the tune 'So the navy gets the gravy, but the army gets the beans'.

³⁶) For the combination of these terms cf. ṚV. 3, 55, 10 (see p. 42 f.).

³⁷) R. Roth in the Petr. Dict. III, 941.

³⁸) Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 34. Bergaigne, o.c., III, p. 211 n. *dhāman-* was equivalent to *nāman-*.

³⁹) The vision of the Vedic poets, p. 88, where also other compounds in *-dhā-* (*vayodhā-*, *canodhā-*) are discussed.

⁴⁰) See chapter V, p. 83 f.

⁴¹) Petrograd Dict. III, 943.

⁴²) F. Rückert, Die hundert Strophen des Amaru, herausg. v. J. Nobel, Hannover 1925, p. 54.

texts seems therefore to be that Sāyaṇa's explication of the term *dhāman-* (see his commentary on RV. 10, 82, 3): *dhāmāni = devānāṃ tejahsthānāni* is essentially right. The term has one single 'central meaning' which may be exactly defined. As however vagueness and 'openness', though variable, are the most striking differentia of sense in general⁴³), which is reflected in its 'zonal' structure, shifts in application have not, in accordance with context and situation, failed to arise, from which, also in this case, varieties of multiple 'meaning' have to a certain extent developed. These applications and 'variants' call for special explanations or translations which in their turn may lead—and, indeed, have led—readers astray, inducing them to believe in a plurality of irreducible 'meanings' or in the impossibility of determining the proper or nuclear sense of the word.

Some places may be added in illustration of these remarks.

Bhaṭṭikāvya 3,42 the compound *dhāmaprathiman-* is explained: *tejorāsi-, munir ity arthah;* lit. "one whose extension (i.e. greatness) consists in being a recipient of divine power".

Many kāvya authors have a predilection for the term. Thus Māgha, Śiśup. 1,24 *nidāghadhāmānam ivādhidīdhitim*, Mallinātha explaining *nidāgham uṣṇam dhāma kiraṇā yasya tathoktam*. Compare Rudrakavi, Rāṣṭraudhav. (1596 A.D.) 2,32 *bhūpārajambālanidāghadhāmā*. The same author speaks 7,20 of *pracaṇḍadhāmā* "the one whose manifestation (of light) is violently burning", i.e. "the sun"; 2,4 of *sahasradhāmā: tasyātmajo 'bhūt . . . prauḍhatāpena s;* 2,26 in connection with *śiraḥkabandhau* of *prāṇasamūhadhāmni;* 7,31 of *kṣmāpatilakṣmadhāmā* "a manifestation of good characteristics or excellence of kings"; 6,3 of *sphuradujjvaladhāmā madhyaratnam* "a middle jewel (of a string of pearls) with the magnificence of a glittering light".

The term is often used in the Sārasaṅgraha which, being attributed to Rūpa Kavirāja, discusses various aspects of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism. Dealing especially with *mādhurya-*, i.e. the manifestation of the sentiment of love for God in its most exalted and intensified form it describes its implications such as "love" (*rati-*), ecstatic sports (*līlā-*), "sites of ecstatic sports" (*dhāman-*) and means of realization of *bhakti-* (*sādhana-*). Cf. e.g. 2,60 *vande śrīkṛṣṇacaitanyaṃ kāraṇātītavigrahaṃ | yallilā kāraṇātītū dhāmabhṛtyādibhiḥ saha || yaddhāmā līlādvavidhyaṃ bhedē 'pi deśakūlayoḥ | apekṣya vrajatalīle (kṛṣṇalīlāgauralīle, athavā vrajaś ca vrajalīlā ca te) nataṃ gauravidhuṃ bhaje;* 3,14 *dhāmabhede yathā hariḥ pūrṇatamaḥ pūrṇataraḥ pūrṇa iti tridhā*.

⁴³) I refer to S. Ullmann, The principles of semantics, Glasgow 1951, p. 92 ff.

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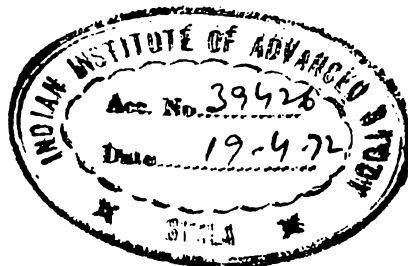
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