Jaimini-Śrauta-Sūtra

with Bhavatrāta's *Vṛtti* and *Śrauta-kārikā*

edited by
Asko Parpola



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edited by Asko Parpola Preliminary edition, reprinted from Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies, vol. 27 (2023), issue 1

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Preface

In September 2019, I completed the first round in my efforts to edit the Sūtras of Jaiminīya-Sāmaveda with Bhavatrāta's commentaries. For digital search and for cross-references, I needed a draft version of Bhavatrāta's texts with his divisions of the Sūtra texts (especially the unpublished Jaimini-Kalpa and Jaimini-Paryadhyāya) into individual sūtras. I got the texts more or less established, but annotation of significant variant readings, parallel passages and the like was left for the second round, on which I would also collate the manuscripts of the plain Sūtra texts of the JŚS, the JGS and the JĀrB (many new mss. have been traced and photographed, see Fujii & Parpola 2016). The introductions, too, were largely yet to be written. In spite of these shortcomings I wanted to publish a preliminary version of my editions as they stand now, for the following reasons.

A new Vedic concordance is being prepared by Oliver Hellwig, Sven Sellmer and Kyoko Amano, and I would like them to include these (partly so far unpublished) texts — I sent to Oliver Hellwig an earlier version of this preliminary edition in December 2022.

Secondly, I shall be tied to publishing the last volume (3.4) of *Corpus of Indus Seals and Inscriptions* in 2023 — finishing this series was the reason for interrupting the editing the Jaimini-Sūtras with Bhavatrāta's commentaries in 2019 (CISI vol. 3.2 was then published in 2019 and vol. 3.3 in 2022): the publisher, Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, decided to discontinue with its Humaniora series in which the CISI has been appearing.

In the third place, it remains to be seen if I will be able to carry out the planned second round. I have been suffering from bone marrow cancer (multiple myeloma) for four years, and though the doctors and I myself are doing our best to keep me alive, it is uncertain how long we will succeed. And I would like to see at least this preliminary version published and made available to Vedic scholars.

Currently the following texts (all with Bhavatrāta-vrtti) are LaTeX-formatted and more or less ready for printing (altogether nearly 1700 pp.). Page numbers may slightly change.

- 1. Jaimini-Śrauta-Sūtra in 26 khandas & Śrauta-kārikā by Bhavatrāta. 187 pp.
- 2. Jaimini-Kalpa 1. Stoma-Kalpa in 13 khandas (forming 4 adhyāyas). 124 pp.
- 3. Jaimini-Kalpa 2. Prākrta-Kalpa in 33 khandas. 87 pp.
- 4. Jaimini-Kalpa 3. Samjñā-Kalpa in 6 khaṇḍas. 59 pp.
- 5. Jaimini-Kalpa 4. Vikrti-Kalpa in 129 khandas. 331 pp.
- 6. Appendices to the Jaimini-Kalpa by Asko Parpola:
- Synopsis of the Jaiminīya-Ūha-Gāna. 88 pp.
- Jaiminīya-Grāmegeya-Gāna index to the Jaiminīya-Ūha-Gāna. 87 pp.
- Synopsis of the Jaiminīya-Ūhya-Gāna. 17 pp.
- Jaiminīya-Āranyaka-Gāna index to the Jaiminīya-Ūhya-Gāna. 17 pp.
- 7. Jaimini-Paryadhyāya (Jaimini-Sūtra-Pariśesa) in 86 khaṇḍas (forming 12 adhyāyas).
- Khandas 1-28. 207 pp.
- Khandas 29-86. 237 pp.
- 8. Jaiminīya-Ārseva-Brāhmana with Javanta's commentary. 17 pp.
- 9. Jaimini-Grhya-Sūtra & Grhya-kārikā by Bhavatrāta. 242 pp.

When I presented this publication plan to Michael Witzel and Masato Fujii, asking if the proposed preliminary edition could be published in the *Electronic Journal of Vedic* Studies, I got a very welcoming reply. Michael Witzel kindly promised that the parts listed above could be published in the EJVS as and when they are submitted in PDF form, and moreover that the final edition if and when it was finished, could be published in *Harvard Oriental Series*. I have been closely collaborating with Masato Fujii in the study of the Jaiminīya tradition, especially in the search of new manuscripts, and I owe him many things, among them my knowledge of the Sanskrit LaTeX. We had been planning a coordinated publication of our researches.

After finishing CISI vol. 3.3 in December 2022 and some accumulated other tasks, I wrote the following introduction to this and the following volumes. I first discuss Jaimini, the supposed author of these Sūtra texts, and Bhavatrāta, the commentator; then I tell about the discovery of the manuscripts containing the Jaimini-Kalpa (JK) and the Jaimini-Paryadhyāya (JPA) and Candraśekhara's Sāma-Prayoga-Vṛtti (Ca.), and the long-drawn process of their editing; finally I describe the manuscripts of Bhavatrāta's commentaries on the JŚS, JK and JPA. Manuscripts of Bhavatrāta's commentary on the JGS will be dealt with in the preface to that text.

Asko Parpola Helsinki, April 2023

Introduction

Jaimini

The commentator Bhavatrāta ascribes the above listed Sūtra texts to Jaimini, whom he identifies with the author of the $(P\bar{u}rva-)M\bar{v}m\bar{a}ms\bar{a}-S\bar{u}tra$ (PMS) and a student of Veda-Vyāsa [Bh 1,5-8]. The whole Jaiminīya branch of Sāmaveda has been named after Jaimini. Originally, however, the eponym of this school and probably also the "author" of its Sūtras and its Brāhmaṇas was Śāṭyāyani, quoted as an authority in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa and once also in the JŚS, in 1,18, while the next sūtra 1,19 quotes Tāṇḍya, the eponym of the other main school of Sāmaveda, that of the Kauthumas, also called Tāṇḍinaḥ. Śāṭyāyani and Tāṇḍya are actually the only teachers mentioned by name in the JŚS, and Tāṇḍya is supposed to be the author of the Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa alias Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa of the Kauthuma school. Batakrishna Ghosh (1935: 1-102) has traced 71 quotations from a lost Brāhmaṇa variously called Śāṭyāyani-Brāhmaṇam, Śāṭyāyaninām (Brāhmaṇam) or Śāṭyāyanakam, and in most cases a parallel passage, often either wholly identical or only slightly different, is found in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa. (For a comprehensive study of the authorities and Vedic schools quoted and Vedic schools mentioned in the JŚS, JK and JPA, see Parpola 2016.)

Since the edition of Dieuke Gaastra (1906), the present text has been called Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra. I have modified the name into Jaimini-Śrauta-Sūtra, retaining Śrauta-Sūtra. It is to be noted, however, that Bhavatrāta calls the text simply Sūtram (authored by Jaimini), and in the manuscripts of the plain text, it is called either Agniṣṭomasya Jaimini-Sūtram or Kalpa-Sūtram (Gāstra 1906: 33). Dhanvin in his commentary on the Drāhyāyaṇa-Śrauta-Sūtra, refers a number of times to the JŚS by simply mentioning Jaimini, but twice using the term Jaimini-Kalpa. Dhanvin once quotes Jaimini-Sūtra-Pariśeṣa. (Gaastra 1906: xiv-xvīi). Bhavatrāta mentions Sūtra-Pariśeṣa as an alternative name of Jaimini-Paryadhyāya. So far it has not been known that the Jaiminīyas actually had a proper Kalpa-Sūtra different from the JŚS.

Chronologically, the Jaimini-Śrauta-Sūtra belongs to the older layer of Vedic texts comprizing all Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras (excepting the Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra), which contain no reference to mirror, while the mirror ($\bar{a}darśa$) is mentioned in the Upaniṣads (excepting the oldest, Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa), the Gḥyasūtras and the Kātyāyaṇa-Śrautasūtra. The dividing line between these two groups of texts is c. 500 BCE, when mirror was adopted in North India from Achaemenid Persia. Late Vedic $\bar{a}darśa$ 'mirror' appears to be a translation loan from the indirectly preserved Old Persian word for 'mirror', * $\bar{a}daina(ka)$ -, from the preverb \bar{a} - + the Iranian verbal root *dai- 'to see, look'. (Parpola 2019).

It appears that the Śāṭyāyani school decided to change its name and to ascribe its works to Jaimini when the Epic-Purāṇic myth of Veda-Vyāsa became prevalent. Vyāsa is said to have divided (vivyāsa) the Vedas into four and taught them to four students of his, the Rgveda to Paila, the Sāmaveda to Jaimini, the Yajurveda to Vaiśampāyana and the Atharvaveda to Sumantu, and his own composition, the epic Mahābhārata as the fifth Veda meant for common people, to his son Śuka. (Sullivan 1990; Renou 1947). According to Mahābhārata 1,48,6, Jaimini performed the duty of the Udgātṛ, the chief Sāmavedic priest, in the Snake sacrifice (sarpasattra) of King Janamejaya.

When the Vyāsa legend came into being, Jaimini was undoubtedly the most famous Sāmavedin: he was the author of the PMS and of the unpublished Anupada-Sūtra of the Kauthuma school, which in $m\bar{\imath}m\bar{a}ms\bar{a}$ terms comments on the Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa (Parpola 2012). The PMS came into being around 300-250 BCE, because it is slightly earlier than the Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra, which is dependent on it, and this ritualist Kātyāyana is likely to be the same as the grammarian Kātyāyana who wrote the $K\bar{a}rik\bar{a}s$ on Pāṇini's grammar (Paranjpe 1922) and who can be dated to c. 250 BCE. Jaimini is not mentioned or quoted in older Vedic literature. Pāṇini knows the Mahābhārata and some of its main characters, but not Vyāsa nor Jaimini; Kātyāyana and Patañjali, however, know Vyāsa. The mentions of Jaimini in younger Vedic literature, in the pravara-lists and in the Gṛḥya-Sūtras, already reveal knowledge of the Vyāsa legend. In the Jaiminīya-texts, Jaimini's name occurs only once, in JGS 1,13,9. Here Jaimini is mentioned first (i.e. as the oldest) in the list of thirteen teachers of the Sāmaveda who are to be satiated with water libations. In the corresponding tarpaṇa list of the Kauthuma school (Weber 1886: 27-28), Jaimini is the last (i.e. the youngest) of thirteen Sāmavedic teachers. (Parpola 2023.)

The tarpaṇa list of JGS 1,13,9 runs: ācāryam ācāryāṃś ca jaiminin talavakāraṃ sātyamugriṃ rāṇāyaṇiṃ kuruvāsasañ ca bhāguriṃ kaurukuṇḍiṃ gaulgulavam bhagavantam aupamanyavaṃ kārāliṃ sāvarṇiṃ gārgyaṃ vārṣagaṇyan daivantyam ity etāṃś trayodaśa. Here Jaimini is followed by Talavakāra ('musician-maker') which may be an epithet of Jaimini and not another teacher (Jaimini's student and follower), although it is so understood by Bhavatrāta and in customary verses paying homage to Jaimini, such as: sāmākhilaṃ sakalavedaguror munīndrād vyāsād avāpya bhuvi yena sahasraśākham / vyaktaṃ samastam api sundaragītarāgaṃ taṃ jaiminiṃ talavakāraguruṃ namāmi // (Raghu Vira & Lokesh Chandra 1954: 3 n. 1).

Of the two words jaiminin talavakāram at the beginning of the JGS list talavakāram is new compared to the names in the Kauthuma list of thirteen successive teachers of the Sāmaveda. It is true that only by counting Talavakāra as a separate teacher, the Jaiminīya list reaches the required number of thirteen. On the other hand, Talavakāra is used as an alternative name for the Jaiminīya school of Sāmaveda: one speaks of the $Talavak\bar{a}ra$ -śā $kh\bar{a}$; and Talavakāra replaces Jaimini in alternative names of several texts: Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa = $Talavak\bar{a}ri$ - $Br\bar{a}hmaṇam$ (Raghu Vira & Lokesh Chandra 1954: 3); Kena-Upaniṣad = $Talavak\bar{a}ra$ -Upaniṣad; Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa (Oertel 1896).

According to Albrecht Weber (1876: 257) the name Jaimini has been formed irregularly from the Rgvedic noun $j\acute{e}man$ 'victorious' — one would have expected Jaimani. Jaimani is actually sometimes attested as a variant reading for Jaimini. (In later Jaiminīya manuals and manuscript colophons one also meets the folk-etymological variants Jaimuni and Jayamuni.) But it seems possible to derive Jaimini regularly from the neutral noun $jem\acute{a}n$ 'victoriousness' with the late suffix -m-in- giving the meaning 'possessing victoriousness' (cf. $dhar-m\acute{a}n-:dhar-m-in-$).

Bhavatrāta

A proper introduction to, and assessment of, Bhavatrāta's excellent commentaries to the Jaiminīya Sāmaveda Sūtras has to be postponed to a later occasion. Only his life time and family history will be discussed here.

Bhavatrāta can be dated to the seventh century CE on the basis of what Daṇḍin, the famous author of the Daśakumāracarita and the Kāvyādarśa, tells in his partly autobiographical Avantisundarīkathā (Ullūr 1955, I: 102-104; Raja 1980: xvii & appendix p. iii; Shastri 1966: 9). Unfortunately this work has survived only in a single incomplete and lacunary manuscript (ed. Kuñjan Pillai 1954) and in a metrical summary called Avantisundarīkathāsāra (ed. Harihara Sastri 1957). "If tradition preserved in the Avantisundarīkathā is true, the illustrious Daṇḍin was the great-grandson of Dāmodara, a friend of Bhāravi, and adorned the Pallava court of Narasimhavarman I (630-68)" (Nilakanta Sastri 1966: 345). But in another place of the same book, Nilakanta Sastri (1966: 153) states that Daṇḍin probably spent many years at the court of Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha (700-728).

In Kāñcīpuram Daṇḍin one day met a famous architect (sthapati) Lalitālaya, whom the people around praised as an excellent mechanical engineer and a man of many other skills. Whisking away these praises Lalitālaya wanted Daṇḍin to come with him to Mahāmallapuram to see if his mending of the broken arm of the Śeṣaśayana image on the shore was worth anything. Daṇḍin's friend, son of a general, was present; he recommended acceptance of this invitation, as Daṇḍin would in Mahāmallapuram also meet his own friends Mātrdatta and Devaśarman, illustrious Brahmins who had come from Kerala to see Daṇḍin. Mātrdatta is here said to be son¹ of the Kalpa-Sūtra commentator ($kalpas\bar{u}trat\bar{v}k\bar{u}k\bar{u}ra$) Bhavarāta (sic). Avantisundarīkathāsāra I.45-46:

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ārya saṃbhāvyatām asya sthapateḥ praṇayas tvayā / api ca spṛhaṇīyaṃ te suhṛdām api darśanam // 45 // mitrāṇi mātṛdattādyāḥ keraļebhyo dvijottamāḥ / tvaddarśanārtham āyātās tasmin sannidadhaty amī // 46 //
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In the Avantisundarīkathā itself this key passage is told more elaborately (ed. Kuñjan Piḷḷai 1954: 13-14; here ... denotes skipped passages, [...] gaps in the ms.): $atha\ sannidh\bar{a}v$ evopaviṣto (ed. $-t\bar{a}$ -) ... raṇamalla(h?) $sen\bar{a}patikum\bar{a}rah$... $abrav\bar{\imath}t$ / $\bar{a}rya\ sambh\bar{a}vya$ $ev\bar{a}sya\ silpivarasya\ praṇayah$ / ... $mitram\ ca\ tavaiṣa\ viśvabrahmarāseh\ kalpas\bar{\imath}tratīk\bar{a}k\bar{a}rasya\ sakalavidyānadīp\bar{\imath}ravāridhes\ trimsatkratuvibhātibhāvitatrayastrimsasya\ sāpānugrahasamarthasya\ brahmarṣer\ bhavarātanāmnah\ putrah\ tatputrāṇām\ tatsamānamedhādisarvasampadām\ dvitīyas\ trayyām\ aṅgeṣv\ ai[tihyakalāsu]kavitāyām\ cādvitīyah\ suhrnmatanirvikāradattahradayo\ guruparicaryāparah\ paramamāhesvaro\ labdhavarṇakarṇadhārah\ karṇam\ api\ naparā[xx]kas\ tyāgaśaktyātikrānto\ mantrārthatattvavyākhyānacaturas caturvedavit\ sarvajanamātrbhūtakaruṇāvrttir\ mātrdattah\ tadā\ caiṣā\ [follows\ a\ blank\ space\ of\ ca.\ 10\ lines\ in\ the\ ms.]\ ...$

In a little later passage (p. 17), Mātrdatta and Rāmaśarman are mentioned as Daṇḍin's "dear friends" who pressed him to unravel a mysterious event that took place in Mahāmalla-puram (mātrdattarāmaśarmaprabhrtibhiḥ priyasakhair muhur muhuḥ preryamāṇo...).

In the introductory verses to his JŚS-vrtti, Bhavatrāta [Bh 1,15–2,7] tells that his grandfather Hastiśarman, who descended from rṣi Maṭhara, one of the many sons of Sage Kaśyapa, migrated to Kerala from a village of many great sāman singers called Vasiṣṭhakuṭi in the Cōḷa country. (Today the village is called Tiṭṭakuṭi, located in the South Arcot District of Tamilnadu near Vriddhachalam.) Hastiśarman's son, named Mātratta, mastered the Sāmaveda, Rgveda and Yajurveda, and knew thoroughly the meaning of the śruti and the smṛti, and was held in high regard by kings and was much consulted by Brahmins.

 $^{^{1}}$ Shastri 1966:9 wrongly states that Daṇḍin's friend Mātṛdatta was the father of Bhavatrāta.

This book publishes primary sources on ancient South Asia.

The *Jaimini-Śrauta-Sūtra* (JŚS) is a Sanskrit text composed around the 6th century BCE. It is reproduced here from the edition of Dieuke Gaastra published (with a Dutch translation and an index of words and mantras) in her doctoral dissertation of 1906. The important new contribution of this book is the excellent Sanskrit commentary of Bhavatrāta, who lived in the South Indian state of Kerala around 700 CE. This commentary was first published in 1966 by Premnidhi Sastri on the basis of a single faulty manuscript. The present edition is based on the best existing manuscripts, all from Kerala.

The Śrauta-Sūtras codify the duties of the priests performing the elaborate sacrifices of the Vedic religion, as prescribed less systematically in the earlier Brāhmaṇa texts considered to be divine revelation (śruti). There are four groups of priests representing the four Vedas: the Hotar priest and his assistants recite verses from the early Saṃhitā collection of verses of the *Rg-Veda*, the Udgātar and his assistants chant songs from the Saṃhitā collection of songs of the *Sāma-Veda*, the Adhvaryu and his assistants perform most of the ritual actions and mutter prose formulae from the Saṃhitā collections of the *Yajur-Veda*, while the solitary Brahman priest mostly sits silent observing the proceedings and recites verses from the Saṃhitā of the *Atharva-Veda* in atonement if some mistake is made by any of the other priests.

The *Sāma-Veda* has two main "schools" or "branches" (śākhā), called Kauthuma (or Chāndogya) and Jaiminīya, both having their own varieties of Saṃhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra texts. At the Sūtra level the Kauthuma school further split into two, with its *Lāṭyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra* (LŚS) getting besides it a later largely identical variant *Drāhyāyaṇa-Śrauta-Sūtra* (DŚS) used in the Rāṇāyanīya subschool. These two texts are much longer and more comprehensive than the JŚS of the Jaiminīya school, which chiefly deals with the shortest *agniṣṭoma* form of the sacrifice of Soma (the sacred drink from the juice of the Soma plant), which is the topic of the initial chapters of the LŚS and the DŚS (translated into English with the ancient commentaries of Dhanvin and Agnisvāmin by Asko Parpola, Helsinki 1969). The misbalance is rectified in the newly discovered text *Jaimini-Paryadhyāya* alias *Jaimini-Sūtra-Pariśeṣa*, which complements the JŚS.

