vidhena'man and vṛdhātu in Yajurvedic Mantras

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to consider two problematic words vidhena'man and vṛdhātu which appear in Yajurvedic mantras. The followings are the mantras whose oldest forms and ritual contexts the Maitrāyaṇī Sarhīta (MS) represents:

MS I 9,1:131,7–8m ~ I 9,4(2):133,9–10p (1) vācaspatiḥ hīnā vidhena'man, vidhēma te nāma, vidhēs tvām asmākam nāma; MS I 9,1:131,12m ~ I 9,5(1):135,10p (2) vidhena'man, vidhēma te nāma, vidhēs tvām asmākam nāma → 2;

MS I 2,2:10,14m ~ II 6,4:64,5p bhṛgapātīr no havīḍa vṛdhātu → 3.

2. vidhena'man

2.1. vidhena'man Mantras and the Explanation in MS

(1) MS I 9,4(2):133,7–11 tā īndrāṃ janayitvābruvant: “śvār ayāma=” iti. tē vāi pāncahotāro nyāsīdan vāraṇaṃgrhapatayo. (gnir hōtāsīd, aśvīnādhvaryaṅ, rudrō 'gnīḍ, bhṛgapātīr upavaktā) yād “aśvīnae” iti, tēna pāncahotā. tē vā etāu grāhā agṛhnata: [vācaspatiḥ hīnā vidhena'man, vidhēma te nāma, vidhēs tvām asmākam nāma=] iti. tē triṇavāṃ ayātanam acāyāns. tām sētuṃ kṛtvā śvār āyān.

They brought forth Indra and said: “Let’s go to the sun!” They sat down [at a sattrā] with five priests and Varuna playing the role of grhapati. The hotṛ was Agni, the adhvaryus [were] both Aśvins, the agniḥ [was] Rudra, the upavaktṛ [was] Bhṛgapati. 1) [Owing] to that both Aśvins [are contained], there are five priests (in this paṇcachoṛ formula). They drew these two [soma] drawings, [saying:] “Vācaspatiḥ hīnā vidhena'man! We may arrange your name! You may arrange our name!” They thought of triṇava [stotra] as their foothold. They used it as bridge and went to the sun.

(translated in Amano 2009, 330–331)


As they were coming to the sun, they said: “Give us something from there (the earth)!” — “On
What as foothold?" — "You will find it here," they said. They sat down [at a sattrā] with seven priests and Aryaman playing the role of gṛhapati. The hotr was Mahāhavis (who has a great oblation), the adhvaryu [was] Satyahavis (who offers truth) . . . They drew these two [soma] drawings, [saying:] "vidhenāman! We may arrange your name! You may arrange our name!" They thought of trayastriṃśa [stotra] as their foothold. They connected this [earth] (with heaven) from this [foothold].

(Translated in Amano 2009, 334–336)

These two mantras have variants in the parallel texts of Yajurveda and Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (AB):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāthaka-Saṃhitā (KS)</td>
<td>vācaspate ḫṛd vidhenāman</td>
<td>vācaspate vidhenāman vidhema te nāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) 9,8:110,18, (2) 9,9:112,2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā (KapKS)</td>
<td>vācaspate ṛđ̃̄dvidhenāman</td>
<td>vācaspate vidhenāman vidhema te nāma</td>
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<td>(1) 8,11, (2) 8,12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taittīrīya-Āraṇyaka (TĀ)</td>
<td>vācaspate vidhenāman vidhema te nāma</td>
<td>vācaspate ḫṛd vidhenāman vidhema te nāma</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1) III 1,1, (2) III 5,1</td>
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<tr>
<td>AB 5,25,13</td>
<td></td>
<td>vācaspate vidhenāman vidhema te nāma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2. Are ḫṛd vidhe + nāman Three or Two Words, or One Word?

Several interpretations are attempted hitherto:

(1) (hin)vidhe nāman as two words, in VWC, VC, MS ed. Schroeder and ed. Sātavalekar;
(2) (hin) vidhe nāman as three words "(O "Hin"!) O Rule! O Name!" in Voegeli (2002, 172–176);
(3) (hin)vidhenāman as one word, in PW, pw, Caland (1953, to ŚāṅkhśŚ X 14,6) "O thou that art ḫṛd vidhe by name,“ Amano (2009, 331 n. 1126).

I consider the following arguments as decisive: [1] KS shows the accentuation ḫṛd vidhenāman, and vidhenāman stands without ḫṛd in the mantra (2) of MS, KS and KapKS, so ḫṛd is probably independent; [2] the vocative nāman as address to Vācaspati is attested nowhere; [3] the following mantra vidhema te nāma, vidhēs tvām asmākaṇṭ nāma includes probably the same lexical expression, so vidhe-nāman most likely builds a syntagma.

2.3. Grammatical Form of vidhe

There are some examples for a compound built from a sentence, śaṃ-yor-vākā- 'a passage beginning with śaṃ yor'; ye-yajāmahā- 'a [passage] beginning with ye yajāmahe'; idām-madhu- 'a [passage] including idām evā sāraghām mādhu' (see AiG II 1: 87, 325–326).
So it may account for that **vidhe-nāman** is concerned with the mantra **vidhēs . . . nāma**, so that it most likely means ‘someone [who is addressed in] vidhēs . . . nāma.’ The grammatical form of **vidhe** can indicate the 2nd sg. opt. **vidhes** as in the mantra. Based on this assumption **vidhe-nāman** could be corrected to ‘**vidhēr-nāman**.

2.4. *Meaning of **vidhema**/**vidhes . . . nāma***

The verb **vidh**⁴ ‘work for’ is constructed with dative of recipient (always gods) and instrumental of offering/praising (the most frequent is **haviśā**); for example **Ṛg-Veda** (RV) X 121,1–9 = MS II 7,14:95,3, II 7,15:96,14, II 13,23:168,6–169,3 **kāsmai devāya haviśā vidhema** ‘Which divinity may we work for with the oblation?’⁵ Construction with accusative of offering/praising appears in few cases and means ‘arrange something (acc.) for a god (dat.)’; for example RV I 189,1 = MS I 2,13:22,7 **bhūyīṣṭhāṁ te nāmauktīṁ vidhema** ‘We may arrange most abundant praise to you.’

The following table will present the constructions with cases attested in RV (in total 31 examples) and MS (in total 34 examples):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RV (31)</th>
<th>RV citation in MS (18)</th>
<th>Yajurvedic original mantras in MS (16)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dat. + instr.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat. + instr. + acc.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat. + acc.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat. + loc.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instr.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. + acc.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We see that **vidhēma te nāma vidhēs tvām asmākaṁ nāma** in construction with genitive and accusative **nāma** is an isolated case. Also a god (Vācaspati) as subject of **vidh** is only one example, because a god always appears in dative of recipient. Such peculiar use and expression can owe to the peculiar background of the chapter I 9. This chapter contains esoteric ritual thinking and practice that show characters of secrecy, ascetic and symbolism, and also a lot of unusual linguistic appearances; see Amano, forthcoming, §3.7.

In either case, this mantra could be influenced by other mantras or verbal expressions, possibly MS I 2,8:17,14–18,1⁶ MS 8,5:100,2⁷ **vidēr agne nābho nāma yāt te** ‘Agni! Find the name nābhas as your own!’ or a thinkable construction *nāma vi-dhā*

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'assign a name'\textsuperscript{6} took after the traditional expression \textit{nāma dhā} 'give a name.'\textsuperscript{7}

2.5. Meaning of the Mantras

The mantras can be translated "(Vācaspati! hin!) You addressed with 'You may arrange [our] name!' We may arrange your name! You may arrange our name!'" Arranging a name means probably nomination of someone for a role in a ritual as the \textit{caturhotṛ} and other formulae indicate in identifying sentences like 'the \textit{hotṛ} is Agni, the \textit{adhvarṣya} are both Āśvins, the \textit{agniṇḍī} is Rudra, the \textit{upavakṛ} is Bṛhaspati' (see 2.1 (1) above and n. 1). It seems to be implied that someone becomes a member of a ritual group that the \textit{sattra} of the gods in the myth represents.

3. \textit{vrddhātu}

The 2nd sg. opt. \textit{vidhes} is attested in two cases in the \textit{YS}: one is the above mentioned mantra and the other is a mantra explanation in \textit{TS} VI 1,2,4–5. In this passage, we meet another problematic word \textit{vrddhātu} that seems to be an alternative for \textit{vidhes}.

\textit{vrddhātu} must be a verbal form of \textit{vardh}/\textit{vrdd} 'grow larger/stronger' in the middle, 'make something larger' in the active. This verb has a thematic aorist stem \textit{vrdd-} that \textit{vrddhātu} should belong to, but this doesn't show any correct grammatical form. And also the mantra's meaning 'Bṛhaspati should make larger' is unusual, because in other cases Bṛhaspati is the subject of \textit{vrdd} in the middle ('Bṛhaspati has become larger')\textsuperscript{8} or the object of the active ('[someone] makes Bṛhaspati larger').\textsuperscript{9}

3.1. \textit{vrddhātu} Mantra and Its Explanation with \textit{vidhes} in \textit{TS}

\textit{TS} VI 1,2,4–5\textsuperscript{p} [\textit{bṛhaspatir no haviśa vrddhātu} (\textit{TS} I 2,2,1)\textsuperscript{m}] \textit{ity} āha. \textit{brāhma} vai devānām \textit{bṛhaspātir}. \textit{brāhmaṇaivaṁsvai} yajñām āva rundhāne. yād brūyād "\textit{vidher}" īti, yajñasthānāṁ jched. "\textit{vrddhātv}" ity āha. yajñasthānāṁ eva pāri \textit{vrṇakti}.

He (the priest) says: "Bṛhaspati should make [the heaven, earth and the intermediate space] larger with our oblation." \textit{brahma-} is Bṛhaspati for the gods. He (the priest) ensures a sacrifice for him (the sacrificer) with \textit{brahma-}. If he would say: "\textit{vidhes} (you may arrange)," he would bump against a stump in the sacrifice. He says: "\textit{vrddhātu} (he should make larger)." He avoids the stump in the sacrifice.

\textit{MS} I 2,2\textsuperscript{m} ~ III 6,4\textsuperscript{p} has this mantra, but doesn't refer to the alternative \textit{vidhes}.

3.2. \textit{vidhema} Instead of \textit{vrddhātu} in the Parallel Texts

\textit{TS} seems to think that \textit{vidhes} had originally stood and \textit{vrddhātu} had better replace it. The parallel mantra in \textit{KS} and Vājasaneyin-Sarīhītā (\textit{VS}) can be supportive of that \textit{vidhes}

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stood originally, because KS II 2 and VS IV 7 say bhāspātaye havīśa vidhema 'We may work for Bṛhaspati with the oblation.' This is the typical use of vidh as seen in many examples from RV and MS (see 2.4 above). The 2nd sg. vidhēs in TS and MS is nevertheless unusual in the point that a god (here Bṛhaspati) is the subject of vidh, that could have become the reason for the adoption of another verb vṛdh that is sometimes concerned with Bṛhaspati (see 3 above and nn. 8 and 9).

3.3. How Was the Form vṛdhātu Built?
The most appropriate form would be the 3rd sg. imperative middle of thematic aorist *vṛdhātām 'Bṛhaspati] should become larger' (see 3 above). The use of the active form vṛdhātu could have been influenced by the active vidhes that can be original in the mantra.

The stem and ending form -ātu is still a problem. The form seems to be built from the subjunctive stem vṛdh-ā- (e.g., 3rd sg. *vṛdhāt, 3rd du. act. vṛdhātās in MS III 11,1:140,9 and KS, VS parallel) and the imperative ending -tu. Such a building is seen in a few cases of thematic present: e.g., imper. svadātu in MS I 11,1:161,8 (cf. the parallel passage: subj. svadāti in KS 13,14:195,18 and TS I 7,7,1; imper. svadatu in VS 9,1); imper. mṛdayātu in MS II 9,2:121,13 (cf. subj. mṛdayāti in KS 17,11:254,15). There are also some examples at root aorist and s-aorist: 2nd du. act. karatām, 3rd du. act. gamatām, karatām, yaksatām, matsatām, 3rd pl. act. gamantu, 3rd sg. mid. rāsātām, 3rd pl. mid. rāsantām.

vṛdhātu in the mantra of TS and MS could have been influenced also by the root aorist imperative *vi-dhātu (cf. dhātu RV I 190,8, VI 47,11; dhātu X 56,2; nīdhātu X 11,2) :: subjunctive *vi-dhātī (cf. vī... dhāti RV II 38,1, see Gotō 2013, 108) as model for analogy. The verb vidh should have lain between both. For this phenomenon there are further arguments. The first point is that vidhes in TS VI 1,2,5 was explained with vidadhātu in the commentary, and the second point is that a modified mantra in MS I 7,1:109,8–9 has dadhātu in the place of vṛdhātu. Both indicate the possibility that the verb (vī-)dhā could have been associated with vidh and vṛdh.

The stem and ending form -ātu could have been built from metrical reason. vṛdhātu stands in the cadence of triśtubh (- U - -), in a similar way MS I 11,1:161,8 svadātu nah in the cadence of jagatī (- U - U -), II 9,2:121,13 mṛdayātu nah in the cadence of anuṣtubh (U - U -).

In summary, the original vidhes in the mantra can be supported by [1] the argument


We saw at the two mantras that some problematic uses and forms happened around the 2nd sg. opt. vidhes, and it was clear that TS VI 1,2,4–5 avoids the use of vidhes in the mantra. I want to remark a probable reasoning that vidhes is a word that is not appropriate for a ritualistic use, that is to say a colloquial expression. What can be supportive of that is the variant readings for vidhes found in the manuscripts. In I 9,4(2)² and I 9,1:131,8⁸ vidhe tvām and vidhēh tvām stand in some manuscripts for the right reading vidhēs tvām.¹⁵ It is remarkable because s before t is well preserved in normal cases, and ḥ hardly appears before t. This could owe to that vidhēh could have been frequently used in this form, most likely as an exclamation vidhēh! (or vidhe that lost ḥ).¹⁶

Notes

1) This is modelling after the so-called pañcachotṛ formula: MS I 9,1:131,7 agnir hōtāḥ, aśvināḍhvāryāḥ, rudrō agnīd, bhospāṭir upavaktā. See Amano 2009, 329 n. 1116.

2) Voegeli (2002, 174 n. 33) comments about hīn in MS “probably a mistake for the corresponding KS and TĀ III.5.1 hṛd,” but both of hīn and hṛd are never used as address to Vācaspati. hṛd-vidhe could have been influenced by RV I 24,8 hṛdayāvidh- ‘sticking into heart’ (with vyadh ‘stick’), it could have occurred after vidhenāman- had no more been understood as connected with vidh.

3) This is more probable than the vocative vidhe as first member of compound that was argued in Amano (2009, 331 n. 1126). In the argument there, a word (hīn)vidhi- “(dem hīn-Laut) eine Einteilung gebend” was supposed as referred to in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (ŚB) IV 2,2,11 that explains that voice (vāc-) came into being from the sound hīn. But this explanation of ŚB is probably a trial to interpret this difficult mantra of MS (and KS/KapKS). Such an interpretation is sometimes seen in ŚB (e.g., ŚB XII 4,1,7 to MS I 8,3(2), see Amano 2009, 286 n. 854).

4) Catt (2014) argues construction and meaning of vidh and its grammatical forms. He denies the etymology of vidh from vi-dhā by Thieme (1949, 36–37) and Hoffmann (1969, 1–7 [1975, 238–244]). In either case, vidh is independent from vi-dhā already in RV.


6) vi-dhā means ‘partition,’ as used in I 9,3(1):132,8 sā dāsahotāraḥ yajñām ātmānaṁ vyādhatta ‘He
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(Prajāpati) partitioned himself as sacrifice into ten constituents,’ so nāman vī-dhā could originally mean ‘give a name to each part of something.’

7) See Gotō 1989, 142 and 151 n. 6.
8) RV X 14,3 = Atharva-Veda Saunaka (AVŚ) 18,1,47, MS IV 14,16: 243,4, TS II 6,12,5 bṛhaspāṭīr ṣavabhir vārydhānds.
9) RV X 67,10 = AVŚ 20,91,10, MS IV 12,1:178,2 bṛhaspātīṁ vṛṣanāṁ varāhāyantas.
10) See Ōshima 2007, 213.
11) See Whitney 1889, §740. Further examples are Atharva-Veda Paippalāda (AVP) 16,50,6 nayātu; AVP 19,41,11, TĀ II 6,1 muṇcātu; cf. Whitney 1889, §752c nudātu. I thank Dr. Makoto Fushimi for providing me with the examples.
12) See Gotō 2013, 109 and 116; Narten 1964, 185 and 202–203. I thank Prof. Eijirō Dōyama for providing me with the examples.
13) See Keith 1914, to TS VI 1,2,5 n. 2.
14) MS I 7,1:109,8–9 bṛhaspātīr no haviśā ghṛtēna vichinnaḥ yajñāḥ sām imām dadhātu.
15) MS I 9,4(2): M1 Sātavalekar vidhēś tvām; H Bb B Ox VSMP664 vidhē tvām. I 9,1: M1 vidhēś tvām; P vidhā iti vidhēḥ; VSMP vidhēś tvām; B vidhē; H Bb dhidhē. M1, H, Bb, B are the manuscripts used in ed. Schroeder; P = padapātha used in ed. Schroeder; Ox = Oxford manuscript; VSMP = Vaidika Samśodhana Manḍala (Poona) manuscripts. I thank Prof. Michael Witzel for providing the pictures of Ox and VSMP manuscripts for me and I thank also Dr. Nobuyuki Ikeda for co-operation at reading manuscripts.
16) That can be used like ‘Come on!’ or ‘Help!’ in English.

Abbreviations

VC Bloomfield 1906.

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