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NOTES ON NAMES  
AND THE NAME OF GOD  
IN ANCIENT INDIA

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Much has been written in publications on cultural anthropology and the history or phenomenology of religions on the significance of the names of gods and men<sup>1)</sup>. The name is, generally speaking, no mere label or specification but widely believed to be naturally and indissolubly connected with its owner, to constitute an actuality expressed in a word<sup>2)</sup>. For 'primitive' or archaic man a name is in a sense identical with its owner, or forms—not unlike his soul or limbs—part of his personality; it is loaded with power, expresses the very essence of its bearer and is subject to a considerable variety of beliefs and customs.

Several important remarks were also made by indologists on the function of names and the magico-religious convictions relating to them in the Veda. Oldenberg, for instance, not only discussed the ceremonies of naming a newborn child<sup>3)</sup> and giving a youth a second name<sup>4)</sup>, but also deepened our insight into the significance of the frequent occurrence of so-called etymological explanations of names and other practices connected with names and name giving in the brāhmaṇas<sup>5)</sup>, broaching also the subject of the combination of the term *nāman-* with *rūpa-* "form"—translating these words by "Name und Gestalt"<sup>6)</sup>—which was to constitute an important element in Buddhist thought<sup>7)</sup>. Whereas the discussion of this phrase, which had already attracted the attention of other scholars<sup>8)</sup>, was continued by Maryla Falk<sup>9)</sup>, who emphasized its being an expression of the conception "worldly reality", Lüders expatiated upon the magical use of the correct name<sup>10)</sup>, Renou<sup>11)</sup> furnished a small collection of relevant R̥gvedic text-places with a few valuable explicative remarks,

<sup>1)</sup> For a succinct bibliography see F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 275 and J. Gonda, *Epithets in the R̥gveda*, 's-Gravenhage 1959, p. 32 f. Some remarks made in that book on names in general are, to avoid repetition, omitted here. See also the same, *Stylistic repetition in the Veda*, Amsterdam Academy 1959, p. 390 ff. etc.

<sup>2)</sup> G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938, p. 147 ff.

<sup>3)</sup> H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1923, p. 463 etc.

<sup>4)</sup> Oldenberg, *ibidem*, p. 466.

<sup>5)</sup> Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft. Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte*, Göttingen 1919, p. 103 f.

<sup>6)</sup> Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*, Göttingen 1923, p. 57 f.

<sup>7)</sup> Oldenberg, *Buddha*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1921, p. 256 ff.

<sup>8)</sup> S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les brāhmaṇas*, Paris 1898, p. 30; P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, Leipzig 1921, Index, s.v., p. 909.

<sup>9)</sup> M. Falk, *Nāma-rūpa and dharma-rūpa*, Calcutta 1943.

<sup>10)</sup> H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, Göttingen 1951-1959, p. 521 ff.

<sup>11)</sup> L. Renou, *Etudes sur le vocabulaire du R̥gveda*, Pondichery 1958, p. 10 f.

and the present author made some observations on the names of gods in order to elucidate their use or character as epithets<sup>12)</sup> and their occurrence as what may be called a stylistic element<sup>13)</sup>. There are, finally, some collections of Sanskrit proper names, the authors of which contributed useful remarks on Indian nomenclature in general, and their forms and meanings in particular<sup>14)</sup>.

All these contributions are incomplete and more or less one-sided. What is, as far as I am able to see, wanting is first and foremost a (nearly) complete collection and, as far as may be desirable, a thorough interpretation of the main relevant Vedic text-places<sup>15)</sup> as well as a comprehensive and illustrative survey of all aspects of the ideas entertained by Vedic man in connection with names; in the second place a discussion of some beliefs and religious customs obtaining in later times, especially as far as they are historically and (or) structurally related to Vedic usage. Very often convictions and institutions which at first sight may seem characteristic of later times have their roots in the Vedic period or may at least be better understood in the light of Vedic phenomena. Not rarely religious currents which come to the fore after the beginning of the Christian era, or even in the last thousand years not only retain traditional convictions and ritual customs but also evince an eager desire to retain modes or elements of worship which are essentially inherited from their remote ancestors. This is however not to deny that they may have deepened their understanding of these elements and consciously given them a definite place in an elaborated theological or ritual system. The opposite may also be true: incidentally Vedic texts may become more comprehensible if we are able to see them also in the light of beliefs and customs which are well attested by later sources. It may appear that also in Vedic religion they were functional in the framework of a definite ritual structure. From this, the plan of the present publication, it follows that part of its pages address themselves primarily to philologists, part to students of comparative religion.

A few words may be said here on the presentation of the subject-matter and the disposition of the many text-places, comments and notes contained in this publication, a considerable part of which may be studied from several angles. Hence also some repetitions. It must of course be readily conceded that the subject of a scientific book intended to be read from beginning to end or the defence of a definite thesis gain from a well-considered and attractive presentation of the matter. However,

<sup>12)</sup> Gonda, Epithets, p. 32 ff.

<sup>13)</sup> Gonda, Stylistic Repetition in the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1959, ch. XXIV.

<sup>14)</sup> A. Hilka, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der indischen Namengebung, Breslau 1910; J. A. van Velze, Names of persons in early Sanskrit literature, Thesis Utrecht 1938 (with an introduction and copious explicative notes and bibliographical references).

<sup>15)</sup> I have given up any attempt at collecting all parallel places and all identical or similar cases of a use made or an idea entertained in connection with names.

in the case of publications which are largely meant to constitute an annotated collection of facts for reference or an assemblage of text-places dealing with more or less cognate subjects it seems advisable to let, as far as possible, the facts speak for themselves, to arrange them roughly — and as a consequence, to a certain extent arbitrarily — into a limited number of sections so as to provide an intelligible and to a certain extent readable whole and to invite the reader — who would probably have preferred his own classification and systematization and to have discussed many text-places in other sections — to let himself be guided by the indexes.

## II

Among students of comparative religion and cultural anthropology it is a matter of common knowledge that the name was widely regarded as an essential part of its bearer, as in a way identical with him; that it is "equivalent to his true existence"<sup>1)</sup>, or "is to be regarded as an essential part of his personality"<sup>2)</sup>; "der Name deckt sich mit dem Wesen und ist die Offenbarung des Wesens"<sup>3)</sup>. This belief obtained also in ancient India. Over and over again authors give evidence of their conviction that the connections between a name and its bearer, whether this is a person or a thing, is so intimate that there is for all practical purposes question of identity, interchangeability or inherent participation or that the name may reveal to the man who understands it well the nature and essence of the bearer<sup>4)</sup>.

Some ancient author or other gives evidence of the conviction that names cannot come from nowhere, that they have been given deliberately and in a well-considered way; that there must be, or has been, an intelligent being who, endowed with knowledge, has given names. It is perhaps no matter of indifference that at AV. 2, 1, 3 *sá naḥ pitá janitá sá utá bándhur dhāmāni veda bhūvanāni viśvā| yó devānāṃ nāmadhá éka evá . . .* such a being "who knows the locations (*dhāmāni*) of divine power and all (worlds of) beings, (and) who of the gods is the sole giver of names"

<sup>1)</sup> M. Eliade, Birth and rebirth, New York 1958, p. 28.

<sup>2)</sup> R. P. Masani, Customs, ceremonies and superstitions connected with the naming of children in India, in Actes du XVIIIe Congrès intern. des Orientalistes 1931, Leiden 1932, p. 147.

<sup>3)</sup> W. Schulze, in (Kuhn's) Zeitschrift f. vergl. Sprachf. 40, p. 411, n. 1.

<sup>4)</sup> No survey of the opinions about the nature and limitations of the 'concept' name and the relation between name and reality of theorists living in later times can be attempted here. It is, to mention only this, interesting to notice that the assumption of a name, though proving, to a certain extent, the reality of its bearer, was, in Buddhist thought, not necessarily enough to endow it with the highest grade of reality. Dhammas without individual essence and produced by the taking of a name are "produced", but not "positively produced". (I refer to Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, The path of purification, Colombo 1956, p. 833, n. 18).

is in the same context called "our father": a father gives a name to his child<sup>5</sup>).

When, RV. 1, 185, 1 it reads that heaven and earth bear all that is a name (*viśvam . . . yád dha nāma*) this no doubt means, as was already observed by Sāyana (*yád dha nāma: yat kiñcit padārthajātam asti* "the whole aggregate of everything that corresponds to the meaning of a word") and Geldner<sup>6</sup>, "all that has a name, all things"<sup>7</sup>). The "name of the ghee" at RV. 4, 58, 2 (*vayám nāma prá bravāmā ghr̥tāsya*) was correctly considered to be identical with the ghee itself "avec ses implications latentes"<sup>8</sup>). The line VS. 33, 22 (= RV. 3, 38, 4) *mahát tát vṣṣno ásurasya nāmā* was not incorrectly translated "that is the bull's, the asura's lofty nature"<sup>9</sup>). "That which bears the same name 'cow'" (*samānam nāma dhenú*)<sup>10</sup> is the whole group of bovine animals (RV. 6, 66, 1). RV. 10, 63, 2 all the names of the gods—the Viśve Devās are addressed—are said to deserve homage, praise and worship; as observed by Renou<sup>11</sup>) that means that the Viśve Devās themselves, their personalities, are worthy of these. Compare also RV. 7, 56, 14 inviting the Maruts to "extend" their names, to spread these over a wide expanse.

Far from being a mere appellation a name was, for instance in ancient Egypt<sup>12</sup>), an essential part of a personality, which is not only distinguished, but also, so to say, formed and constituted by the name. "Fast alle Götternamen sind (in Egypt) übersetzbar und bezeichnen in der Regel ein Charakteristikum ihres Wesens oder dessen Funktion".

Yet it is interesting to read a formula quoted TS. 7, 1, 20, 1 "Thou art the path of Ṛta, the shadow of the gods, the name of 'immortality' (*amṛtasya nāma*) . . .", which may be taken to imply that the relation between the name and 'immortality' is similar to that between the gods and their shadow. However, the shadow, being widely believed to be a form of the soul is, like the name, intimately connected with the man (or the animal) to whom it belongs and even regarded as forming a vital part of it. It is one's representative or alter ego.

<sup>5</sup>) It is well known that by the term under discussion the Indians, like ourselves, understood something more than a proper name in a limited sense of the term: according to Buddhist authorities 'Name' is fourfold: that given on a special occasion (e.g. the name of a king called by the people Mahāsammata "the Much-honoured One"); the name given in virtue of a personal quality ("Preacher", "Believer"); that given by acclamation (e.g. by the relatives to a new-born boy); the name which has spontaneously arisen (e.g. the moon in a previous cycle is what we now call "moon").

<sup>6</sup>) K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, I, Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 264.

<sup>7</sup>) "Ce qui existe, c'est ce qui est nom", Renou, *Études* (see above), p. 11.

<sup>8</sup>) Renou, *ibidem*. RV. 4, 58, 1 will be discussed elsewhere.

<sup>9</sup>) R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 320.

<sup>10</sup>) Renou, *Études védiques et pāninéennes*, X, Paris 1962, p. 98.

<sup>11</sup>) Renou, *E.V.P.* IV, Paris 1958, p. 116.

<sup>12</sup>) S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, Stuttgart 1960, p. 22.

The stanza VS. 18, 38 in which the apsarasas are said to be the (medicinal) herbs Delights by name (*ośadhayo 'psaraso mudo nāma*) is quoted and explained in ŚB. 9, 4, 1, 7: "the herbs are indeed Delights, for everything here delights (*modate*) in herbs". The following passage (8 ff.) gives rise to similar observations; in 12 Prajāpati is for instance stated to be the All-maker (Viśvakarman) "because he has wrought this All". KS. 7, 7: 66, 7 making mention of the cow-names Saṃhitā "Mixed in colour" and Viśvarūpā "Many-coloured" adds, in explanation: "a cow is mixed in colour and of many colours"; therefore one should address them with these names lest they run away in terror.

Instead of the usual formula *saho 'si* (AV. 2, 17, 2; VS. 10, 15 etc.) KS. 1, 10 has *saho nāmāsi* "Thou art Conquering Power as to thy name": the following words *sahasvārāṭim sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ* implore the possessor or, rather, representative, of that power to conquer the speaker's enemies and the malign beings which are aiming at him. What interests us much is, however, the equivalence of the longer formula with the term *nāma* and the shorter formula without that word. He who is something by name is that very something.

In illustration of the popular belief with regard to names mention may be made here of the Pāli Jātaka n° 83 in which the owner of the name Curse (lit. Black-eared, Kālakapṇī, which denoting an unlucky quality, is ominous), though repudiated by his fellow men, turns out to be lucky. The name is explicitly said to be ill-omened: "It is enough to scare an ogre to hear such ill-omened observations as: 'Stand up, Curse' or 'Sit down, Curse'" etc. The importance of a name is also illustrated by the *Gegenwartsgeschichte* of n° 97 of the same collection: A young man of good family, named Base (Pāpaka) who had joined the Buddhist brotherhood resolved that, as Base gave the idea of incarnate wickedness and ill-luck, he would change his name to one of better omen. His teachers, implored to give him a new name, informed him that a name only serves to denote and does not impute; they bade him rest content with the name he had. This idea is developed in the Jātaka proper, showing that a man named Quick dies, that a girl of the name of Rich may be poor etc.

The same belief explains the inclination, in many milieus, to name children after repulsive or unattractive persons or to give children ugly names or names of insignificant, worthless or indifferent objects<sup>13</sup>). The evil powers will, it is supposed, not notice them, the jealousy of the demons will be averted and they will be secure from misfortune, because their very names stamp them as unworthy of any interest. If a child is, for

<sup>13</sup>) G. Rohlf's, *Sprache und Kultur*, Braunschweig 1928, p. 22 ff.; W. Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, Heidelberg 1931, p. 106; 199; 239; R. E. Enthoven, *The folklore of Bombay*, Oxford 1924, p. 232; E. Thurston, *Ethnographic notes in Southern India*, Madras 1906, p. 534 f.; P. G. Shah, *The Dublas of Gujarat*, Delhi 1958, p. 59.

instance, known as "Fly" the spirits will not condescend to notice it<sup>14</sup>). Thus Hindus as well as Jainas and others may call their children "lunatic", "mendicant", "dung-hill", "stone" or "forest" in order to keep the demons at a distance<sup>15</sup>). When Caitanya was born some people proposed to give him the name of a tree with bitter leaves, Nimāi, because this is not liked by Death<sup>16</sup>). For the same reason so-called primitive communities resort to the device of slighting or opprobrious names: "in cases of successive deaths in a family, a child is . . . given a name that suggests disgust or worthlessness so that spirits may overlook it as of no account"<sup>17</sup>). Some persons figuring in Vedic literature may be suspected to owe their names to similar considerations of their parents<sup>18</sup>).

There is an interesting passage in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa, 2, 100: Darbha (lit. "Tuft of grass") was not held in respect by the Pañcālas although he was their king; their boys went so far as to hoot at him, crying "Darbha! Darbha!" As he was in low spirits his priests performed

<sup>14</sup>) W. G. Griffiths, The Kol tribe of Central India, Calcutta 1946, p. 186. A Gond child "may be given a bad name in order to deceive the evil spirits as to its value, as *Ghurha*, a heap of cowdung, *Jhāru*, sweepings, *Dumre* or *Bhangī*, a sweeper, *Chamari*, a Chamār or tanner, and so on. If the mother has got the child after propitiating a spirit, it may be called *Bhūta*, from the *bhūt*, a spirit or ghost. Nicknames are also given to people when they grow up, as *Dariya*, long-footed, *Bobdi*, fat and sluggish, *Putchi*, having a tail or cat-like, *Bera*, an idiot, and so on. Such names come into general use, and the bearers accept and answer to them without objection. All the above names are Hindi. Names taken from the Gond language are rare or non-existent, and it would appear either that they have been completely forgotten, or else that the Gonds had not advanced to the stage of giving every individual a personal name prior to their contact with the Hindus" (B. V. Russell, The tribes and castes of the Central provinces of India, 1916, III, p. 86 f.). "Opprobrious names are among the Mahar sometimes given to avert ill-luck, as *Damdya* (purchased for eight cowries), *Kauria* (a cowrie), *Bhikāria* (a beggar), *Ghusia* (from *ghus*, a mallet for stamping earth), *Harchatt* (refuse), *Akālī* (born in famine-time), *Langra* (lame), *Lula* (having an arm useless)" (The same, *ibidem*, III, p. 136). "Bad names are commonly given to avert forms of ill-luck or premature death, as *Boya*, a liar; *Labdu*, one smeared with ashes; *Marha*, a corpse; or after some physical defect as *Lati*, one with clotted hair; *Petwa*, a stammerer; *Lendra* shy; *Ghundu*, one who cannot walk; *Ghumari*, stunted; or from the place of birth, as *Dongariha* or *Pahāru*, born on a hill; *Banjariha*, born in brushwood, and so on" (*Ibidem*, II, p. 500 in connection with the Dhanwars).

<sup>15</sup>) H. von Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, Berlin 1925, p. 412.

<sup>16</sup>) W. Eidlitz, *Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya*, Stockholm 1968, p. 245.

<sup>17</sup>) G. W. Briggs, *The Doms and their near relations*, Mysore 1953, p. 282. "A pregnant woman who is afraid that her child will die will sometimes sell it to a neighbour before its birth for five or six cowries. The baby will then be named Pachkouri or Chhekouri, and it is thought that the gods, who are jealous of the lives of children, will overlook one whose name shows it to be valueless. Children are often nicknamed after some peculiarity as *Kānwa* (one-eyed), *Behra* (deaf), *Konda* (dumb), *Khurwa* (lame), *Kāri* (black), *Bhūri* (fair). It does not follow that a child called *Konda* is actually dumb, but it may simply have been late in learning to speak" (Russell, *o.c.*, II, p. 414 on the Chamars).

<sup>18</sup>) For a good name, evil repute etc. see chapter X.

a sacrificial rite for him which was called "Reverence" (*apaciti-*), with the result that he came to be so much respected that "even today" the Pañcālas are in the habit of replacing the ordinary word for "grass" by the no doubt more noble one denoting the sacred grass *poa cynosuroides*, viz. *kuśa-*. The implication that the rite enabled the king to replace his unworthy name by that of the highly valued "holy grass" seems to be corroborated by BaudhŚS. 18, 38 f. informing us that Keśin, the son of Darbha, who was desirous of esteem, performed the same rite with a view to inducing his subjects to change his two names. The rite is successful and since that time both names of the Pañcāla kings are replaced by what may be called eulogistic substitutes: in place of *keśa-* "hair" one preferred *śiṛṣanya-* "what is on the head" and in place of *darbha-* one introduced *kuśa-*. It may in this connection be recalled that also *muñja-*, the variety of grass now known as *saccharum muñja*, and *naḍa-* (*naḷa-*) "a species of reed" were in use as personal names (see JUB. 3, 5, 2; ŚB. 2, 3, 2, 1 f.). Another Pañcāla king was Durmukha "Ugly-faced" (AiB. 8, 23).

It is in complete harmony with these lines of thought that VS. 12, 4; TS. 4, 1, 11, 5 etc. the name of a bird is put on a par with its head, eye, wings, ātman (self), limbs, body (*tanū-*), tail, claws. Interestingly enough the placing of three sacrificial ladles is accompanied by the formula TS. 1, 1, 11 q "Thou art named juhū, upabhṛt, dhruvā, loving the ghee, sit on thy dear seat with thy dear name (. . . *priyeṇa nāmnā priye sadasi sīda*)<sup>19</sup>). If the ladles were to "sit down" without their names, they were no doubt regarded as incomplete and unidentifiable. See BaudhŚS. 1, 13, 20 *prastare juhūm juhūr asi gṛtācī nāmnā priyeṇa*. As is well known it is, also in later times, imperative that in definite mantras the name of the god or object addressed should occur.

Correspondence in name is therefore a form of participation. "The Phalgunīs are Indra's asterism (ŚB. 2, 1, 2, 11) and even correspond to him in name (, are related in name: *apy asya pratināmnayah*); for indeed Indra is also called Arjuna, this being his secret (mystic: *guhya*m, explained as *rahasyam*, comm.) name; and they (the Ph.) are also called Arjunīs"<sup>20</sup>). The asterisms are Indra's merely on the strength of an identity in name.

The belief in a more or less substantial and independent existence of a name and its identity with its bearer has also led to the conviction that the name is the "Träger des Wesensidentität oder der Seele des Verstorbenen". With the Eskimos a child is named after a relative or other person who has recently died. "Dabei denkt man zumeist, die Namengebung vermittele oder bekräftige die Reinkarnation des Verstorbenen in dem Neugeborenen". "In Westgrönland hat man, jedenfalls

<sup>19</sup>) Cf. also Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 13 and A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondopfer*, Jena 1880, p. 68.

<sup>20</sup>) Now see also G. Dumézil, *Mythe et Épopée*, Paris 1968, p. 45; 55; 112 etc.

in neuerer Zeit, den Verstorbenen als Schutzgeist jenes Kindes betrachtet, das seinen Namen trägt" <sup>21</sup>). In modern times the naming of children is, amongst the Hindus, likewise influenced by their theory of metempsychosis; that is to say, names are often chosen from those borne by deceased ancestors whose souls, it is believed, are reincarnated in the family <sup>22</sup>). The practice of giving the grandfather's name continues today. There are, however, several tribes who refrain from repeating the names of dead relatives <sup>23</sup>). The custom was not foreign to Vedic India. According to BaudhGS. 2, 1, 28 f. a name of a child may be derived from a sage, a deity or an ancestor (*ṛṣyanūkaṃ devatānūkaṃ vā, yathahavaiṣāṃ pūrvapurusaṅāṃ nāmāni syuḥ*) and this view is shared by other authorities <sup>24</sup>). What is in the opinion of others—see MānavaGS. 1, 18—not allowed is the repetition of the father's name and a name which is fully identical with the name of a deity. The reason for this may have been that their personality could by no means be identified with that of the new-born member of the family.

The well-known fact that the names of the children of the same couple are not rarely partly identical—cf. e.g. the twins Yama and Yamī in RV. 10, 10, 7 and the four children of Nala and Damayantī in Mbh. 3, a. 50 ff.—or the use of the prefix *upa-* to denote a younger relation of the person mentioned (cf. also Upendra=Viṣṇu) in the second part of the word <sup>25</sup>) is, like their counterparts in German and elsewhere (e.g. *Σωκράτης*, son of *Σωφρονίσκος*, *Ἀρισταγόρης* son of *Μολπαγόρης*), another indicium of the conviction that factual relationship or partial identity are adequately reflected or 'symbolized' by similarity in designation.

An interesting piece of evidence of the 'identity' of the name and the object it stands for is furnished by the belief that two entities may be identified by the transference of the name of the one to the other which underlies ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 11: whilst assigning to the gandharvas the objects constituting the purchase price for the soma, the sacrificer addresses them with the names of the hearth-mounds ("it is these very (names) that he thereby has assigned to them"), the Kāṇva text observing: "they (the gandharvas) are (meant) instead of those (hearth-mounds, *dhiṣṇya-*), for those are their names".

A curious rite described TS. 1, 5, 10, 1 (cf. KS. 7, 3; 4, 14; KKS. 5, 2; ĀpSS. 6, 24, 7; MŚS 1, 6, 3, 9 etc.) essentially consists of an exchange of names <sup>26</sup>) between a twice-born man who is about to go on a journey

<sup>21</sup>) Å. Hultkrantz, Die Religion der amerikanischen Arktis, in J. Paulson usw., Die Religionen Nordeuropas usw., Stuttgart 1962, p. 409; A. Wachtmeister, Självandningsföreställningar hos Nordamerikas indianer, Stockholm 1957, p. 33 f.

<sup>22</sup>) See also L. N. Chapekar, Thakurs of the Sahyadri, Oxford 1960, p. 51.

<sup>23</sup>) Masani, o.c., p. 146.

<sup>24</sup>) I refer to Kane, o.c., II. p. 245.

<sup>25</sup>) Van Velze, o.c., p. 23.

<sup>26</sup>) 'Namentausch' is, in Polynesia, a device adopted by those who enter into intimate friendly relation (Aly, in Hdwtb. d. deutschen Aberglaubens, VI, 967).

involving absence for at least a night and the god Agni and who then has to pay reverence to his ritual fires: "Do thou (Agni) bear, until I return, the name that first my parents bestowed upon me; O Agni, I will (shall, am to) bear thy name". A variant occurring KS. 7, 3 has: "do thou preserve (guard) that, I will (shall, am to) give it back to you" <sup>27</sup>). The texts (TS., MŚS. 1, 6, 3, 16) continue: "My name and thine, which we bear like men changing garments, let us exchange again, Thou for life, and we to live". This prescription cannot be disconnected from the absent householder's obligation to make his fire enter his own breath <sup>28</sup>). The relations between his fires which are also in other connections called his "vital spirits" <sup>29</sup>) and the sacrificer are very intimate. The prescription probably is to maintain, during the householder's absence, this intimate relation between his fires and himself; he, so to say, bears his fires with him and his name, i.e. his representative, which is left behind, guards his fires or protects them from 'estrangement'. Compare TB. 1, 1, 10, 8: when one is about to go on a journey one should revere one's fires. The result is the same as that arising from the care of a brahman who, temporarily living in his house, has been in charge of it. This explanation is corroborated by KKS. 6, 1 stating that two (persons) who set out on a journey while pronouncing the above stanza exchange their persons ("bodies": *tanvau*). If one respectfully approaches Agni (the fire) before departing (one performs, it is to be understood, this act with Agni and) so one will not fall into misfortune. Here may be inserted a reference to the so-called "oblations in connection with the exchange of names" <sup>30</sup>) (ĀPSS. 18, 16, 14 f.) which should be offered when an Aryan wants one of his wives to become the mother of a ruler. The formula to be pronounced is according to MS. 4, 4, 6: 57, 17 etc. *asā amuṣya putro muṣyāsu putraḥ* "X. is the son of Y., Y. is the son of X." <sup>31</sup>). That is, he "intertwines", i.e. exchanges, the names, saying them in all probability first in the incorrect, and then in the correct order. This is indeed explicitly said in ŚB. 5, 4, 2, 9 where the rite is, no doubt correctly, explained ("after linking together the manly vigour (heroism) of these two, i.e. of father and son, he puts (the names) in the proper way": *tad enayor vīrye vyatiśajya punar eva yathāyatham karoti*): the ritual act is to "intertwine" the *vīryam* of father and son, that is by identifying them temporarily, to transfer it to the son who is to take hold of his father during the ceremony <sup>32</sup>).

One of the ritual acts to be performed in the framework of the cere-

<sup>27</sup>) See also W. Caland, in W.Z.K.M. 23, p. 60.

<sup>28</sup>) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 124; Raghu Vira, Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Samhitā, Lahore 1932, p. 59.

<sup>29</sup>) Ibidem, I, p. 130.

<sup>30</sup>) For details see W. Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, Amsterdam Acad., III, p. 28.

<sup>31</sup>) For crosswise formulations see Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 140.

<sup>32</sup>) Compare Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 143.

monies of the royal consecration (*vājasūya*) is that of the interchanging names (*vyatīṣaṅjanīyau homau*)<sup>33</sup>. Between two of the quarters of a formula the names of the royal sacrificer and of his son who is the heir apparent are intercalated, the first time in the wrong, the second time in the right order. This at first sight curious act is no doubt to stress by means of the interchanging of their names the identity of the father with his son in whom he is reborn<sup>34</sup>.

Although Uṣas (Dawn) is always the same, she has every day a new identity. This induced the poet of ṚV. 1, 123, 4 to say that every day she bears other distinctive names which in st. 12 are qualified as auspicious: ". . . ce qui revient à dire qu'elle crée chaque jour des structures nouvelles en assumant (comme qui dirait) des noms sans cesse nouveaux"<sup>35</sup>. Cf. also ṚV. 1, 155, 6.

Thus a name is a form or mode of existence. The plants are AV. 8, 7, 8 said to be "thousand-named", an expression which might be replaced by "existing in a thousand varieties".

The belief that there exists a link between the name and the character, deeds, functions or course of life of the divine or human person denominated by it is also apparent from such etymological explanations as occur already in the Atharvaveda: 3, 13, 1 ff. the rivers are called *nadī-* because they resound (*nad-*); (2) they are waters (*āpaḥ*) because Indra obtained (*āp-*) them, and (3) water (*vāṛ*) because the same god hindered (*vr-*) them. The purpose of many arguments in the brāhmaṇas is therefore to detect and understand the motive of a definite term or nomenclature<sup>36</sup>. Thus ŚB. 7, 1, 2, 23: the *antarikṣa-* (the space between heaven and earth) is said to have been an *īkṣam* (i.e. "something capable of being seen or seen through") which had come "between" (*antarā*). Cf. also ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 5 ff. Other places to show that a perfect correspondence between the meaning or supposed meaning of a name or denomination with the bearer or the object denoted was not only considered self-evident and normal, but also a clue to the understanding of the bearer's nature are e.g. KB. 21, 6 "in that this six-day (rite) repeatedly approaches (*abhiplavate*) therefore it is called Abhiplava, for by it the sacrificers approach the world of heaven"; JB. 1, 160; 1, 276; JUB. 1, 6, 2, 4 (1, 20, 4) "because this All is within (*antah*) it, therefore (it is) *antaryakṣam* (the secret<sup>37</sup>) name of *antarikṣam*, the space between earth and sky). Cf. also 1, 7, 2, 2 (1, 24, 2); 1, 8, 3, 4 (1, 27, 4). The raison d'être of a name may also be a

<sup>33</sup>) For particulars see J. C. Heesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 123; W. Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, Amsterdam Acad. 1928, III, p. 147.

<sup>34</sup>) For exchange of names see also p. 12.

<sup>35</sup>) Renou, E.V.P. III, p. 57.

<sup>36</sup>) I refer to my paper The etymologies in the ancient Indian brāhmaṇas, in Lingua, 5 (1955), p. 61 ff.

<sup>37</sup>) See p. 79 ff.

mythological event: ŚB. 7, 4, 2, 16; 7, 4, 2, 33. One example suffices to characterize these: ŚB. 1, 7, 1, 1 "When the Gāyatrī flew towards Soma an archer aiming at her severed one of the feathers (*parṇa-*) either of the Gāyatrī or of king Soma; and on falling down it became a parṇa tree (*palāśa-*); hence its name *parṇa-*". ŚB. 4, 6, 5, 3 may throw some light upon this passionate search for the origin, relationship and etymological meaning of important words: "The *graha-*"—literally "seizer, holder"<sup>38</sup>—"is the name, for everything is held (seized, fixed) by a name here . . . We know the names of many and are they not thereby held by us?" (*athā nas tena te na gṛhītā bhavanti*). This interpretation which attests to the conviction that knowledge of the name and its meaning enables a man to exercise power over its bearer seems preferable to the alternative considered by Eggeling: "are not those of us held (known) thereby?"

Places are on the other hand not wanting in the Veda in which a "name" is, contrary to fact, "a mere name". AV. 15, 13, 6 speaks of "a non-vrātya, who calls himself a vrātya, bearing the name only". In post-Vedic times also the view was sometimes pronounced that names might be "fortuitously arisen without any reference to the meanings of the word or the objects denoted" (cf. the Buddhist Visuddhimagga, 10, 54)<sup>39</sup>.

There can therefore be no doubt that qualifications used in connection with names of gods were in an archaic community also believed to apply to the gods themselves. ṚV. 7, 100, 3 Viṣṇu's name is said to inspire respect because of its inherent energy (*tveṣāṃ hi asya sthāvīrasya nāma* "car redoutable est le nom de ce dieu robuste"<sup>40</sup>), and this means that the energetic and respect inspiring side of the god's character is expressed, conveyed and transmitted by his name so as to impress those who hear it. At ṚV. 6, 66, 5 *ā nāma dhṛṣṇū mārutam dādhanāḥ* "eux qui ont reçu le nom hardi de Marut's"<sup>41</sup> likewise implies that the Maruts themselves are "bold and fierce". Cf. also ṚV. 5, 57, 5 *amṛtam nāma bhejire*. That there often was no hard-and-fast line between what we would consider a name and another indication (adjective, epithet etc.) may appear from places such as AV. 4, 9, 10 "If thou (an ointment-amulet) art of the three-peaked (mountain: *traikakudam*), or if thou art called of the Yamunā (*Yāmunam*)—both thy names are excellent"; cf. also AV. 6, 16, 2.

The man who with AV. 5, 9, 7 invokes various gods for protection identifies his eye with the sun, his breath with the wind, his body with the

<sup>38</sup>) Compare J. Eggeling, The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, II, in S.B.E. 26 (Oxford 1885), p. 432, n. 2.

<sup>39</sup>) The view that the existence of a name necessarily proves the existence of a corresponding object is refuted e.g. by the Nāgārjuna school: "There are two kinds of name: those that have actuals and those that do not have actuals. . . . Rabbit horns and tortoise hairs have names only but do not have actuals". (For particulars see e.g. R. H. Robinson, Early Mādhyamika in India and China, Madison and London 1967, p. 50).

<sup>40</sup>) L. Renou, E.V.P. XV, Paris 1966, p. 42.

<sup>41</sup>) Renou, E.V.P. X, p. 41.



earth etc., adding that he is "not overthrown, i.e. invincible, by name". This must—in our terminology—mean that the man who realizes his identity with the cosmos—under the protection of which he now puts himself—may be qualified as invincible. For the author the expression may, however, have implied something more. By the very identifications he adds to his personality an aspect or an element which consists in invincibility.

In cases such as AV. 9, 5, 31 ff.<sup>42</sup>) the addition "by name" (*nāma*) should not therefore be considered a complete superfluity: "Whoever knows the season 'scorching' by name—the goat with five rice-dishes verily is the season 'scorching' by name—he burns out the fortune of his . . . rival, he thrives himself . . ." Cf. AV. 10, 7, 25. The name indeed identifies (cf. AV. 5, 5, 1; 3; 8; 10, 4, 24; 11, 9, 4) and enables the speaker to address the right person. Says the author of AV. 19, 57, 3 f. "Thee, O Dream that art . . . by name, we thus know completely"<sup>43</sup>). The name is also a substantial help in calling attention to an aspect of the bearer which is, in a particular context, of special interest. Cf. e.g. AV. 4, 9, 8; 5, 5, 6; 5, 6, 4; 6, 44, 3; 7, 29, 1; 6; 7, 81, 3; 8, 2, 28; 15, 15, 3 ff. It makes explicit what is of primary importance: AV. 10, 7, 25. At ŚB. 1, 2, 4, 17 the words *ararur ha vai nāmāsurarakṣasam āsa* were translated "Arura, namely, was an asurarakṣasa . . ."<sup>44</sup>); one could prefer: "the one (the person) named A. was . . .". A phrase "so-and-so by name" can therefore freely alternate with qualificatory adjectives, epithets etc.: VS. 17, 3 "Ye are . . . dropping down butter and honey, Ruling wide (Widely splendid: *virājo nāma*) by name, yielders of every wish". Thus the noun *nāma* may develop into a somewhat emphatic addition by which to achieve a sort of stylistic variation: ṚV. 2, 27, 15 *subhāgo nāma pūṣyan* "ein glücklicher heissend, gedeihend" (Geldner). Another place exhibiting an instance of common nouns or qualifications used as names is e.g. JUB. 4, 1, 7 *grāho nāmāsi viśvāyus tasmai te . . . namaḥ* "Seizer by name art thou, possessing all life. Unto thee . . . homage!"

The practical identity of nouns denoting ideas or phenomena and roundabout manners of speaking such as "the deities named . . ." is also evident in cases such as AV. 11, 8, 19 "Sleep, weariness . . ., the deities named evils, old age . . ."

Thus it is not surprising to find the word under discussion in statements of identity etc.: ChU. 1, 7, 5 "the form (*rūpam*) of this one is the same as the form of that (Person seen in the sun) . . .; the name (of the one) is the name (of the other)": *yan nāma tan nāma*.

In describing the universe as a treasure-chest and refuge the author of ChU. 3, 15, 2 avails himself of the opportunity offered by the noun *nāma* in expressing identity, individuation or identification: (1) "The

<sup>42</sup>) See J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 93.

<sup>43</sup>) The reading of this stanza is uncertain.

<sup>44</sup>) J. Eggeling, in S.B.E. XII, p. 57.

chest which has the atmosphere for its inside and the earth for its bottom, does not decay. The quarters of space are its corners . . .; its eastern quarter is named sacrificial ladle (*tasya prācī dig juhūr nāma*)". Cf. ChU. 4, 5, 2 "This is the quarter of brahman . . . named the Shining"; 4, 6, 3; AiU. 3, 12; KenaU. 4, 6. Radhakrishnan<sup>45</sup>) is therefore right in observing that in PrU. 6, 4 the term *nāma* suggests individuation: "He created life; from life, faith . . . food; from food . . . the worlds, and in the worlds 'name'" (*lokeṣu ca nāma ca*). In reading places such as Mbh. 1, 39, 31, describing how the infatuated king invites the little worm to bite him after having transformed himself into the malicious snake-demon Takṣaka we acquire the impression that the wording of the text: *kṛmiko mā daśatv ayam | takṣako nāma bhūtvā* lit. "after having become Takṣaka as to his name" is not fortuitous, but finds its explanation in the belief that a being which assumes a name becomes the bearer of that name.

It may be permitted to depart here for a moment from our chief subject. In ancient texts the nom. acc. sing. *nāma* has too often been taken as an adverb, e.g. ṚV. 2, 37, 2<sup>46</sup>). The poet of ṚV. 5, 37, 4 intends to say that the king who worships Indra is named "a (very) fortunate one" (*subhāgo nāma*<sup>47</sup>). The addition "he thrives" (*pūṣyan*) confirms us in the conviction that "bearing this name" and "being fortunate" are practically equivalent expressions. Lexicographers and translators have indeed been inclined to render *nāma* in particular contexts as an adverb of the meaning "namely, really, indeed" also where another interpretation seems preferable<sup>48</sup>). In stating that the god addressed was placed in the house (of himself, his patrons and Vedic men in general) *agnir nāma* the poet of ṚV. 10, 115, 2 rather emphasizes that it was "as Agni" that he is a guest in man's dwellings<sup>49</sup>). Cf. e.g. JUB. 3, 5, 8, 11 (3, 27, 11). There can therefore be no doubt that this *nāma* is not always translatable by "verily" or "certainly": KaU. 1, 3 (cf. BĀU. 4, 4, 11) *anandā nāma te lokāḥ* "those worlds are called (and so are) joyless"<sup>50</sup>) rather than "joyless, verily, are those worlds" (Radhakrishnan); MuU. 2, 2, 1. It is highly questionable whether in sentences such as VS. 1, 31 a rendering "truly"<sup>51</sup>) is right: "Thou (the sacrificial butter) art the god's beloved location (presence) by name" (*dhāma nāmāsi priyāṃ devānām*) seems preferable; compare TS. 2, 4, 3, 2 (MahānU. 334) *devānām dhāma nāmāsi* (incorrectly) "thou art by name the presence of the gods"<sup>52</sup>). The commentators on VS.

<sup>45</sup>) S. Radhakrishnan, *The principal Upaniṣads*, London 1953, p. 667.

<sup>46</sup>) Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 724 f. incorrectly "in der That, wirklich".

<sup>47</sup>) Grassmann, l.c.: "wirklich".

<sup>48</sup>) For a survey of the 'semantic nuances' which need not detain us see e.g. Bh. Jhalakīkar, *Nyāyakośa*, Poona 1928, p. 406.

<sup>49</sup>) Cf. also ṚV. 10, 49, 2.

<sup>50</sup>) "... ces mondes qu'on appelle sans joie" (L. Renou, *Kaṭha Upanishad*, Paris 1943, p. 5).

<sup>51</sup>) R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 10.

<sup>52</sup>) Cf. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 178.

1, 31 explain: *nāma* means "he (it) makes all beings bow (*nāmayati*) to him(it)self", which, though incorrect, shows that they regarded *nāma* as a 'full word'<sup>53</sup>. See also TS. 3, 4, 7, 1; VS. 18, 38 etc.<sup>54</sup> "his apsaras are the plants Delights by name" which is explained at ŚB. 9, 4, 1, 7 "the plants are indeed delights, for this All delights in plants". Similarly VS. 18, 39 ff. (ŚB. 9, 4, 1, 8 ff.). A translation "Aye, to the asuras belong those worlds enwrapped in blinding gloom" (VS. 40, 3)<sup>55</sup>, though intrinsically right, is not in harmony with the commentary: *asuryāḥ evaṃsam-jñakās te lokāḥ*. The question may even arise as to whether the words *prāti tyān nāma rājyām adhāyi* at TS. 1, 8, 10; KS. 15, 8: 215, 5 which were translated "This kingdom hath verily been conferred"<sup>56</sup> constitute a reminiscence of an older phrase in which a second noun (in casu *rājyam*) was an explicative apposition<sup>57</sup> to *nāma*: compare, in Latin, Verg. Aen. 7, 717 *quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen* (where there is no need to go so far as to translate *nomen* by "a thing", rather: "a bearer of a well-known name"); Tib. 3, 4, 61 *a crudele genus nec fidum femina nomen* which was rendered as follows: "Ah! race cruelle, femmes, sexe sans loyauté"<sup>58</sup>. I add an instance of the sentence type exemplified by ŚB. 2, 4, 2, 6 *tad dhaitad tejo nāma brāhmaṇam ya(h) . . . śaknoti* "that is called brāhmanic lustrous energy, when one knows how to . . .", in which *nāma* was regarded as a parenthetic nominative<sup>59</sup> (cf. JB. 1, 151 *ko nāma kumārah*; 1, 135)<sup>60</sup>.

The intimate relation between the names and the manifestations of their possessor is also apparent from places such as ṚV. 5, 44, 4 stating that the soma deprives the waters of their names when they are poured into it: when water is mixed with soma it loses its identity<sup>61</sup>; and ṚV. 9, 75, 1 where young Soma is said to purify himself for (the sake of, i.e. in order to assume) his dear names, in (under) which he grows"<sup>62</sup>: as soon as there are names there is growth<sup>63</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> For this term see J. Vendryes, *Le langage*, Paris 1921, p. 98 ff.; 200 ff.

<sup>54</sup> "namely", Griffith, o.c., p. 198.

<sup>55</sup> Griffith, o.c., p. 364.

<sup>56</sup> Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 122.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. also ṚV. 6, 66, 1 quoted above (p. 8).

<sup>58</sup> M. Ponchont, *Tibulle*, Paris 1924, p. 144.

<sup>59</sup> K. Brugmann, in I.F. 27, p. 144 ff.; E. Schwyzer, *Die Parenthese*, in *Abh. Preuss. Akad. Berlin* 1939, 6. p. 43.

<sup>60</sup> As is well known *nāma* in *rājā Nalo nāma* is likewise a nominative used as an apposition. Compare also in Pāli, *Jāt. 546, VI, p. 364 bhadde, loke amaran nāma n'atthi, tvam Amarā nāma bhavissasi*.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. H. Oldenberg, in *Z.D.M.G.* 62, p. 475; K. Rönnow, in *Acta Or.* (Lugd.) 16, p. 161 translating *nāmāni* by "former nature". See also Renou, *E.V.P.* IX, p. 87.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Lüders, o.c., p. 526; Renou, *E.V.P.* IX, p. 24; 87, whose explanation "croissance par le nom" does not convince me. Not exactly the various sweets with which the soma is mixed (Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 725).

<sup>63</sup> For a relation between name and growth see also J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (abr. ed.), London 1957, I, p. 323 "The reluctance (to tell one's own names)

Hence also the predilection for sequences consisting of a qualification and a name of the type VS. 15, 3 *agnēḥ purīṣam asy āpso nāma* "thou art the mould<sup>64</sup> of Agni, Apsas by name". The brick addressed is called Apsas, but *is* the *purīṣa-* of the god. When the horse which is to be the victim in the *Asvamedha* rites is loosed a series of formulas are (VS. 22, 19) whispered in his right ear: ". . . thou art a horse, thou art a steed, thou art a courser . . . Thou art called Yayu, thou art called Śiśu". Although these two words may be taken to mean the "Swift one" and the "Young one" the addition of *nāma* shows that they function as proper names.

Among the formulas accompanying the performance of the ceremony called *Vasor dhārā* ("Shower of goods or wealth") — a sort of consecration service of Agni as king on the completion of the great fire-place which is identified with him — are also VS. 18, 66 (ṚV. 3, 26, 7) and 67. They contain, inter alia, the following words: ". . . I am exhaustless heat, named burnt oblation" (. . . *ājasro gharmó havir asmi nāma*) — in pronouncing these words the sacrificer identifies himself with Agni — and "I am the stanzas of the *Ṛgveda*, the formulas of the *Yajurveda* and the chanted hymns of the *Sāmaveda* in name" (*ḥco nāmāsmi yājūṃsi nāmāsmi sāmāni nāmāsmi*) — words by which he states his identity with the three Vedas.

The belief under consideration accounts also for the attempts of commentators to explain the name of gods in cases such as VS. 9, 5 (18, 30) ". . . we celebrate with praise her, the Great Mother, Aditi by name". The explanations furnished — *adīnām* "not depressed, cheerful, noble-minded" etc. — are incorrect, but give evidence of the wish to make the reader understand the nature of the goddess. It was no doubt for the same reason that the name Aditi was added to the qualification 'Great Mother' by the poet of the mantra. As to her function the goddess may be described as a Great Mother, it is her name Aditi which fully identifies her and reveals her individuality.

When the gods with a view to the unction of Indra composed his throne, this seat was called *Ṛc* (AiB. 8, 12, 3 *āsandīṃ . . . ṛcam nāma*). That means that *Ṛc* (the *Ṛgveda*) is the very seat or basis on which that mighty god was consecrated; cf. also the commentary on 8, 12, 5 *etasyām vedamāyāṃ āsandyām āsinam* "seated on that chair consisting of the Veda". It should be remembered that it is the throne which, being the "navel and the womb of kingship"<sup>65</sup>, 'makes' the king<sup>66</sup>. So here the *Ṛgveda* is so to say stated to fulfil that function. Cf. VS. 18, 66 "exhaustless heat I am, named burnt oblation".

arises from an impression they (the Ojebways) receive when young, that if they repeat their own names it will prevent their growth".

<sup>64</sup> For *purīṣa-* "loose crumbling earth etc." see Renou, in *I.I.J.* 4, p. 104 ff. and M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, II, Heidelberg 1963, p. 310 f.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. TB. 1, 7, 10, 2; ŚB. 5, 4, 4, 3 f.

<sup>66</sup> J. Auboyer, *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris 1949, p. 177 ff.

## III

For a right understanding of the names of divine powers in connection with the belief in the ability and readiness of these powers to help man in some special way it is important to notice that manifestations of some power or other are often supposed to act in accordance with the meaning of the names by which they are chiefly characterized. This belief is obvious in cases such as AV. 11, 8, 13 in which gods are invoked who are credited with special and limited qualities and functions (Sondergötter): "Pourers-together (*samsīcaḥ*) by name are these gods who brought together the requisites; having poured together (*samsīcyā*) the whole mortal, the gods . . .". It is (AV. 2, 8, 1; 3, 7, 4; cf. 6, 121, 3) hoped that two stars called the "Looseners" (*vicītau*) will loosen the fetters of the disease kṣetriya. Sacred bricks used in constructing the fireplace are said to bear the name Virājas, i.e. "the widely ruling and splendid" and they are expected to be (in yonder world) milch cows, milkers of all desires for him who duly pronounces a relative formula (TS. 4, 4, 11; MS. 2, 8, 14: 118, 18; KS. 17, 10: 253, 17). The procreation of cattle is apparently promoted by means of a ritual act in which a metre called Samudra ("Ocean") plays a part: we are informed that cattle have been born from the ocean (KS. 20, 4; cf. also 22, 1; 25, 2). A plant which was probably intended to be employed in a healing rite for wounds<sup>1)</sup>, is in an appeal for help (AV. 5, 5, 6) addressed as "Cure" (*nīṣkṛti-*), with the addition "verily, relief by name art thou". A plant called *ūṭika*, which was used as a substitute for the soma, was supposed to bring "help" (*ūṭi-*) to the sacrificial rite (KS. 34, 3: 37, 16). A good illustration of this belief is also the mantra KS. 8, 17: 102, 7 f. "Senā ("Armed Force") by name, broad, winning wealth, embracing all things, Aditi whose skin is as bright as the sun's, Indrāṇī, overpowering, victorious, the mistress of prosperity, must give prosperity to me".

To what extent conclusions were drawn and logical conclusions were assumed as acceptable may appear from the warning addressed to one of the officiants at KS. 20, 8: 27, 19 f.: "The adhvaryu should not move between the heads of the cattle; this fire, one should know, is "last-born" (the youngest: *yaviṣṭha-*) by name; (if he should do so,) he would take hold of (*yuveta*) his vital breaths (and) he would perish": an 'etymological' connection is obviously assumed to exist between *yaviṣṭha-* and the verb *yu-*, which as a matter of fact have nothing to do with each other. See also KS. 21, 10: 50, 3 *tad etad bhuvanacyavam nāma havir, āsthānād āsthānād evaitena bhrātṛvyam nudate* "that oblation is called 'shaking the world': he thrusts his rival away from every basis (ground)".

A very instructive custom is reported from the Andaman islands<sup>2)</sup>:

<sup>1)</sup> W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, Atharva-Veda Saṃhitā, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 228.

<sup>2)</sup> A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders, New York 1964, p. 312.

"When a girl reaches puberty the natives think of her as having blossomed as it were, the later ripening being the birth of her children, and so she, like the plants of the jungle, is under the influence of the same natural forces that produce the successive blossoming and fruiting of the different species. Therefore, when a girl reaches her blossoming time she is given for a name, to be used until she bears her fruit, the name of that particular odoriferous<sup>3)</sup> plant that is in flower at the time . . ."

The man who knows the name of a being is able to exercise power over it. This belief may explain a stanza of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā (2, 7, 12: 92, 15 f.) quoted at ĀpŚS. 16, 18, 6 *uṣṭārayoḥ pīlvayor ātho ābandhanīyayoḥ | sārveṣāṃ vidma vo nāma vāhāḥ kīlālapesasaḥ* "Of both uṣṭāras (cows drawing a plough) and of both pīlvas which are to be bound to (the plough), of all of you we know the name, O draught-animals, which are ornamented with the kīlāla beverage". These words pronounced over the oxen which are put to the plough are no doubt to assert one's authority over the animals. As also observed elsewhere the mere knowledge of the meaning of a name of a potent being may suffice to attract to oneself some beneficial influence radiating from it: MS. 3, 3, 2 *eṣā vā agner uttaravatī nāma citir. uttarām uttarām śvaḥ śvaḥ śreyān bhavati ya evaṃ veda.*

Without indicating a special function a name may indeed by its auspicious character or its inherent powerfulness be believed to guarantee that its owner will be able and, if duly invoked, willing to achieve a definite object, to lend assistance, to act as a benefactor. Thus the plant kuṣṭha, which is used against the illness called yākṣma, is addressed: (AV. 5, 4, 9) "Highest (*uttamā-*) by name art thou, highest by name thy father; do thou efface all yākṣma . . ."

A name finds its explanation or *raison d'être* not rarely in an historical, legendary or mythological event: The Śṛṅgayas, knowing that Suplan Śārṅgaya had learnt two definite sacrificial rites for their sake said: "Verily, with the gods (*saha devaiḥ*) he has come to us who has come after studying the sacrifice" and thus he was (called) Sahadeva Śārṅgava, and even now the saying is: "Lo, Suplan has taken another name" (ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 4). JB. 1, 155 "the Kalinda (region) owes its name to the fact that they had given (the country and the people of) the Kalindas to the Kalis". There is indeed an intimate connection between name and origin: in magic practices the exact name and origin (cf. e.g. AV. 5, 21, 3) of the object dealt with must be given wherever possible; if "father and mother" can be named so much the better (cf. e.g. 4, 9, 10 "If thou art of the three-peaked (mountain), or if thou art called of the Yamunā—both thy names are excellent . . ., O ointment"; AV. 5, 4, 9 "highest by name, O kuṣṭha, art thou; highest by name thy father"; 5, 51 (addressing a medicinal plant) "Night (is thy) mother, cloud (thy) father, Aryaman

<sup>3)</sup> The scent of a plant is regarded as the manifest sign of its inherent force.

thy grandfather; silācī verily by name art thou, thou art the sister of the gods"; 3, 9, 1; 5, 5, 8; 6, 16, 2; 6, 46, 1.

For the sake of a complete identification of a divine being the name of a power may combine not only with those of his parents but also with its place of birth, functions and qualities: AV. 6, 46, 1 f. "Varuṇāni is thy mother, Yama thy father, Araru by name art thou". This is, no doubt, not, or not only to determine a being more exactly in case there may be more bearers of the same name. The names or nature of the "parents" of a being or entity are rather believed to determine its character, function or effect. A herb used in a remedial rite against white leprosy (Kauśika S. 26, 22 ff.) is AV. 1, 24, 3 addressed as follows: "Uniform by name are thy parents, uniform-making art thou; (so) do thou make this (skin) uniform"; 4, 19, 5 a plant used in a ceremony to counteract hostile sorcery (Kauśika S. 39, 7) and invoked "to split or cleave asunder (*vī bhindhi*) him who assails us" is not only emphatically said to be splitting (*vibhindatī*) but also to have a father called "Splitting" (*vibhindān*).

## IV

A word pronounced by a powerful being and becoming a name may be a bearer of creative power<sup>1)</sup>. At the end of a year Prajāpati, who hitherto had been alone, tried to speak. He said "*bhūh*": this word became this earth (*sa bhūr iti vyāharat seyam pṛthivy abhavat*); — "*bhuvah*": this became the atmosphere; — "*svah*": this became yonder sky (ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 3)<sup>2)</sup>. Or both the name and the object it stands for are in this way created simultaneously: "In that in the beginning Brahman said "With these I shall obtain (*āpsyāmi*) all this, whatever (is to be obtained)", therefrom the waters (*āpaḥ*) came into existence: that is why waters have their name" (GB. 1, 1, 2). A variant is GB. 1, 1, 4 "Brahman said to him, Atharvan: 'Having created the beings of Prajāpati, protect them', from that Prajāpati came into being; that is why Prajāpati is (called) Prajāpati". Purifying himself Soma generates the name, i.e. the personality, of Trita, whatever the exact nature and function of this figure<sup>3)</sup>: RV. 9, 86, 20 . . . *tritāsya nāma janāyan mādhu kṣarad indrasya vāyoh sakhyāya kārtave* "engendrant le nom de Trita, il se répand (en) miel, afin de faire alliance avec Indra (et) Vāyu"<sup>4)</sup>. The ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead (17) states that the sun-god created his names. This is explained as meaning that he named the parts of his body and that "thus arose these gods who are in his following". From these statements it may be learnt

<sup>1)</sup> See e.g. L. Dürr, Die Wertung des göttlichen Wortes, Mitt. d. Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft 42 (1938), I.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. also GB. 1, 1, 1.

<sup>3)</sup> I refer to Renou, E.V.P. VIII, p. 76 and 79.

<sup>4)</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 33.

that the parts of the god's body were believed to have separate existence and an individual character, so that they may have relation to, or may be regarded as, separate deities. The act of speaking a new name—which is a thing of individuality and of power—is indeed an act of creation<sup>5)</sup>.

"A word has some power over a thing . . . It participates in the nature of a thing, that it is akin or even identical in its contained 'meaning' with the thing or with its prototype . . . The word gives power, allows one to exercise an influence over an object or an action"<sup>6)</sup>. Representing its owner the name makes him, whether he be a god or a human being, present<sup>7)</sup>. The invocation of a mighty name may therefore be said to demand the presence of its bearer. "In der apostolischen Dämonenaustreibung wird die Nennung des Namens Jesu zum wichtigsten Hilfsmittel der Bannung; der Name macht den Genannten gegenwärtig und verleiht der Beschwörung unfehlbare Kraft"<sup>8)</sup>. Hence also in RV. 7, 22: "I always proclaim (mention: *vivakmi*) thy (Indra's) name" (st. 5); "the bearer of the inspired thought invokes thee frequently" (st. 6) etc. and "do not delay far from us, O benevolent (bountiful) one" (st. 6). An illustrative, though naive, comment is furnished by Mahīdhara on VS. 1, 10 in connection with ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 18 (an oblation should be announced to the god for whom it is intended, for when the adhvaryu is about to make an oblation, all the gods draw near to him, thinking: 'My name he will choose; my name he will choose', thereby he establishes concord among them; similarly, ŚB. 3, 8, 3, 14): "without calling out the names quarrels would arise among the deities". The passage ŚB. 1, 5, 1, 23 f. is illustrative of the supposed possibility of transference of supernormal power by means of names: formerly there were hotars, called Parāvasu (lit. "Keeping off wealth") and Arvāvasu (lit. "Hither-wealth"), the former acting for the asuras, the latter for the gods; by using formulas in which these words occur and by casting, in the former case, a stalk of reed grass away and by sitting down in the latter case, one achieves what is implied in the names. The true name should indeed have an efficacy or power which—in this brahmanical ritual and Buddhist mantric practice are in perfect agreement—evokes the thing when the name is uttered. There is more evidence of this belief. The author of MS. 4, 1, 1:

<sup>5)</sup> J. A. Wilson, in H. Frankfort and others, Before Philosophy, Harmondsworth 1949, p. 62: "That is delightfully primitive and has a consistency of its own". To injure a person a Maori struck the ground a succession of blows and as he did so he named one after another various parts of that person's body (H. Webster, Magic, Stanford Cal. 1948, p. 102): a magical application of the belief that the enumeration of the names of one's limbs, that is of the parts of a whole, may lead to the composition or construction of that whole.

<sup>6)</sup> B. Malinowski, Magic, science, and religion, Boston 1948, p. 225.

<sup>7)</sup> One is also reminded of Genesis 2, 19: When God had created various animals he brought them to Adam, that he might see how he would name them.

<sup>8)</sup> Heiler, o.c., p. 315 f.

1, 8 states that the man "who knows (and understands)" the name Suśravas ("Famous", but also "Hearing well") belonging to a potency will not become deaf.

It is therefore warranted to suppose that the texts of the Ṛgveda in which the vision and inspiration of the poets are realized as an actuality<sup>9)</sup> and which are ṚV. 9, 99, 4 described as bearing the names of the gods (. . . *dhītāyo devānām nāma bibhratīh*) were regarded as conveying more than mere names: the inspired poets have come into touch with the sphere of the gods; the names occurring in the stanzas make the gods present, fill the poem with their very nature and substance. What it means, that a god fills something with his name, is quite clear in the praise and prayer addressed to Anumati ("Goodwill, Approval")<sup>10)</sup> AV. 7, 20. After imploring the goddess to give her permission for the sacrifice to reach the gods so that the wishes of the sacrificers will be complied with, the poet requests her (st. 4) "to fill our sacrifice with the easily invoked, "approved" (or rather "beloved": *ānumatam*), generous name that is thine", stating in the next stanza that she (indeed) has come to "this act of sacrificial worship", and adding the assertion that she will favour this sacrifice; (6) "for, O Anumati, thou wilt bestow thy goodwill upon us" (*ānu hi māmsase nah*).

The divine name pronounced in an adjuration or incantation puts the power of its bearer at the command of the man who knowingly pronounces it<sup>11)</sup>. From many phrases referring to this coercion of the power of gods etc. by the *śakti*—or, in Muslim circles, the *kudrat*—of a 'saint' it may be inferred that at least at a former time the population at large was conscious of this 'technique' and its underlying 'theory': in Marāṭhī a god can "be placed in a dilemma" or "a weight can be imposed on him"; he may be coerced through his name, because this is stronger than the god himself<sup>12)</sup>.

Pronouncing, in ritual contexts, the names of divine powers, calling these by their names, is also a means of dealing with them, of bringing them into a definite position. In discussing the ritual use of VS. 17, 80 in which the seven names are contained that are to accompany seven rice-cakes to the Maruts ŚB. 9, 3, 1, 26 states that the officiant bestows the rays on the disk of the sun by calling them by these names ("the Clear-lighted one etc.")<sup>13)</sup>. By pronouncing the names of aspects of fire (Heat, Flame etc.) the officiant "places them on the fire place", that is he makes them present, he establishes them (cf. ŚB. 9, 4, 2, 19 ff.) and

<sup>9)</sup> For the process of inspiration etc. see The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963 and for the idea expressed by the term *dhīti*- ch. III of that publication.

<sup>10)</sup> For Anumati see Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 28; 163.

<sup>11)</sup> See also G. Foote Moore, Judaism, Cambridge 1946, I, p. 426.

<sup>12)</sup> J. Abbott, The keys of power, London 1932, p. 465.

<sup>13)</sup> The brilliance of the Maruts is constantly referred to (cf. A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 78).

by offering to them he makes them a deity, for only that one is a deity, to whom an oblation is offered (ŚB. 9, 4, 2, 25).

The question as to why the author of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1, 3, 3, 17 expressly affirms that the titles attributed to Agni at VS. 2, 2, which is quoted, viz. "Lord of the earth etc.", really are the names of the god may be answered by a reference to ŚB. 13, 8, 3, 3 implying that the mention of a name in a formula is obligatory, no doubt because it otherwise does not produce the required effect. Compare also ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 11. A god may however possess more names than that which is commonly used. It may therefore, in order to achieve the result desired, be advisable to choose the right name or the one which is flawless and above suspicion. This consideration may have contributed to the use of formulas such as VS. 5, 9 *yāt té 'nādhr̥ṣṭam nāma yajñīyam téna tvādadhe* "I lay you down with your inviolate (unimpaired) name, (which is) worthy of worship" (cf. ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 32).

In expatiating upon the modifications of the Buddhist practice of "thinking of the Buddha" in Amida Buddhism Rosenkranz<sup>14)</sup> argues that "uralte Wortmagie" led people to replace the Buddha by his name which manifests the nature of its bearer. "Der Ruf: 'Anbetung dem Buddha Amitābha!' ist dem Schicksal, zur magischen Formel zu werden, nicht entgangen". Thus the name of the Buddha has, in a definite school of Amida Buddhism, become an objectively effective power, no matter who pronounces it. This name being considered a cosmic principle and excluding all that exists, is held to ignite the Buddha nature in those men who use it<sup>15)</sup>.

That is also why not only the names of the gods concerned but also exact indications of those men for the benefit or to the detriment of whom these ritual formulas are pronounced should occur in prayers, benedictions, imprecations and so on. Thus it reads TS. 1, 7, 6, 5. "This prayer I utter, which brings light to N.N.", he should say who has a son born"; cf. MS. 1, 4, 7. Bhār̥SS. 4, 14, 4: "He should follow (the rite called) the Upāmsuyāja—which in accordance with its name is to be performed silently or with muttered prayers—with the formula: 'Thou art the injurer; may I be uninjured; may I injure N.N.' He should pronounce, instead of the word 'N.N.', the name of the person whom he hates". In order to injure one's enemy one may pronounce, in the framework of a definite rite, the formulas "Śaṇḍa (or Marka)—these are the purohitas of the asuras—is vanished together with N.N." (ibid. 13, 23, 14 f.). Bhār̥SS. 3, 6, 5 "When he hears the hotar uttering the words: 'This sacrificer, N.N., asks for benediction', he should . . . say . . ." (cf. 4, 18, 3). Ibidem 4, 21, 7 f. "He should pronounce the name of his son . . . : 'I invoke this blessing bringing light for N.N.' " "If he has many sons, he should mention

<sup>14)</sup> G. Rosenkranz, Der Weg des Buddha, Stuttgart 1960, p. 268.

<sup>15)</sup> Rosenkranz, o.c., p. 280.

the names of all of them". Similarly, *ibid.* 6, 3, 5. Elsewhere it is the object of one's desire which—i.e. the 'name' of which—should be substituted for the N.N. in the formula: *BhārṢS.* 4, 18, 7 "... the formula . . . : 'May N.N. come to me'. He should mention the object of his desire in place of the word N.N." (*yat kāmāyate tasya nāma gṛhṇāti*). Similarly, *ibid.* 4, 19, 2; 14, 15, 8. Another place of interest is *Kauś.* 33, 9<sup>16</sup>).

The purpose of the insertion of the name of the sacrificer in a ritual formula is explained *ŚB.* 1, 9, 1, 12: "May he prosper in this sacrifice which goes to the gods . . ." "Thus prays this sacrificer, N.N.' Here he gives the name, and thereby makes him directly (perceptibly, actually) successful with (in) his prayer". *ĀsvṢS.* 1, 9, 5 reads twice "N.N.", the commentator observing that the priest has to pronounce both the ordinary name and the nakṣatra name (i.e. the secret name given to the sacrificer for the duration of the ceremonies, and derived from his lunar mansion, i.e. tutelary deity). Compare also *ŚB.* 5, 2, 2, 14 "... (in pronouncing the formula) 'I consecrate you, N.N., with the supreme rulership of Bṛhaspati' he mentions the (sacrificer's) name; he thus makes him attain to the fellowship of Bṛhaspati and to co-existence in his world", and see *ŚB.* 1, 9, 3, 21<sup>17</sup>). It is however interesting to observe that the name might even be thought to be the main and most essential element in the utterances prescribed for definite occasions. Uttering, in a definite ritual context, the name of one's son one makes him an eater of food (*TS.* 1, 5, 8, 5 *putrasya nāma gṛhṇāty annādam evainam karoti*). From the following formula it becomes evident that this mention is intended to be a blessing: the man who has no son born should instead of the name say: "This blessing I invoke bringing light for the line of (my) descendants".

The commentators on *VS.* 17, 90 "Let us proclaim (declare) the name of the ghee . . ." observe that the utterance of a name is agreeable to the gods and that is why the poet (the reciter) proceeds to do so. Whether the authors were conscious of all the implications of their statement or not, so much seems clear that formulas or addresses or other formal speech lacking the proper names required were regarded as imperfect or incomplete and so disagreeable to the gods. As is well known the use of magic on a false name is likewise believed to be ineffective.

Just as the ancient Egyptians felt that real harm was done to their enemies by the destruction of their names which were inscribed on pottery intended to be solemnly smashed at a ritual<sup>18</sup>), just as the Malayan

<sup>16</sup>) See W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam Acad. 1900, p. 109 f. For other instances see the same, *Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche*, Amsterdam Acad. 1896, p. 77 and cf. e.g. *Viṣṇu-Smṛti*, 67, 23; *GaruḍaP.*, Pr. 10, 60; 11, 28.

<sup>17</sup>) For the use of the names of a sacrificer's ancestors which, though becoming more extensive in the course of time, was already early a well-established element in the ritual see J. Brough, *The early brahmanical system of gotra and pravara*, Cambridge 1953, p. 8 ff.

<sup>18</sup>) H. and H. A. Frankfort, *Before Philosophy*, p. 21 f.

inhabitants of Selangor ceremoniously identified, for malevolent purposes, the soil taken from someone's footprint with his heart, mentioning his name<sup>19</sup>), or others added the names to the figures scratched on tabulae defixionum lest the demons should miss the right person<sup>20</sup>), so the ancient Indians shot at images of human beings with which they identified their enemies<sup>21</sup>). Or they split with a wooden sword—which was identified with Indra's vajra—a cake which was placed on sacrificial grass while pronouncing the formula "Here I split . . . the head of So-and-so, the son of So-and-so" (*MS.* 2, 1, 9: 11, 5 ff.; *MSS.* 5, 1, 7, 24 ff.)<sup>22</sup>). An exact parallel of the antique custom of adding the name of the enemy to his figure occurs in *AV. Par.* 36, 8, 1: one of the witchcraft performances modified according to the sex and the social rank of the victim consists in making his image of flour etc., scratching his name (on it), pinching it in the framework of a definite rite. A ball of beef with the name of the person concerned will under definite circumstances suffice to reduce a headman of a village to poverty (*AV. Par.* 36, 17, 1). In certain milieus similar customs have survived: the 'primitive' Nagas bewitch a man by calling a stone or a bit of wood by his name and cursing it<sup>23</sup>).

It is convenient here to summarize a curious rite referred to in some *brāhmaṇas*. According to *ŚB.* 9, 1, 2, 4 ff. one should, in a definite ritual context, sprinkle a stone in which one has by means of the formula "In the rock is thy hunger" "placed" hunger, and throw it in Nirṛti's region (the South-West): thus one consigns one's pain, one's evil, to the region and the goddess of perdition (and frees oneself from it). If however one throws the stone southwards (the South is the realm of Death) pronouncing the words "Let thy pain enter him whom we hate!", naming that person ("Let the pain enter So-and-so") he causes the evil to do so. The author significantly adds that the stone<sup>24</sup>) should be broken lest the effect intended fails to happen. Cf. also *TS.* 5, 4, 4, 2 and *MS.* 3, 3, 5; the author of the text mentioned last has a water-jar destroyed, an act resulting in continual calamities; the solemn pronouncement of the antagonist's name will bring about the annihilation of his "support" (*yan nāma gṛhṇāty āyatanam evāsya chinatti*)<sup>25</sup>).

Interestingly enough not only names (including and meaning their bearers) but also such 'ideas' as all detrimental thought, talk, dreams, plans, strife could be destroyed and averted by smashing the objects on which these terms, after the names of hostile men, were inscribed

<sup>19</sup>) W. W. Skeat, *Malay magic*, London 1902, p. 568.

<sup>20</sup>) Wolters, *Notes on antique folklore*, p. 46.

<sup>21</sup>) W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam Acad. 1900, p. 189 s.v. *Abbild.*

<sup>22</sup>) Caland, *Altindische Zauberei*, Amsterdam Acad. 1908, p. 47.

<sup>23</sup>) J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, London 1922, p. 169.

<sup>24</sup>) See J. Eggeling, in *S.B.E.* XLIII, p. 171. Cf. also Bhaṭṭik. 8, 91.

<sup>25</sup>) See my publication *Āyatana*, (Adyar) Madras 1969.

so that their actual power to hurt the one who performed the rite or his patron was diminished <sup>26</sup>).

## V

A correlation between "state of divinity" (*devatvām*) and a divine and immortal (*amṛtam*) name is RV. 1, 68, 4 said to have fallen to the share of those who apply themselves earnestly to Truth-and-Order: *bhājanta viśve devatvām nāma ṛtām sūpanto amṛtam évaiḥ* "tous ont eu part à la fonction divine, au nom immortel <sup>1</sup>), cultivant l'Ordre-sacré selon leurs voies (propres)" <sup>2</sup>). It may be true that *nāma* . . . *amṛtam* may come to the same idea as "immortality" <sup>3</sup>), the coupling of the term "name" with *devatvām* which expresses a function or quality is worth noticing.

The name of a thing indeed indicates its nature and function: PB. 8, 3, 3 by means of a stoma (ritual eulogy) called *tara-* ("surpassing") the gods took away the sacrifice of the asuras. Hence also such implications as PB. 16, 4, 8 f. "These stomas were "the work of art" (*śilpam*) by name. He who knows this sees in his house a work of art". The man who knows the name of "this deity here" (Rudra) contains (the word) Bhūta ("being": *bhū-* "to come into being, prosper") is, in a similar way, said to prosper (AiB. 3, 33, 1 f. *bhavati*; cf. also 3 f.). See also ŚB. 1, 7, 2, 6; AiB. 3, 44, 1 and TS. 4, 2, 6, 2; MS. 2, 7, 13: 93, 13; KS. 16, 13 *niṣkṛtīr nāma vo mātā* "Remover by name is your mother": that means that the "mother" represents the power or ability indicated by her name and that her "children" are able to show signs of possessing that power and to act accordingly. For the unity or indissoluble connection between name and function brāhmaṇa passages such as GB. 2, 6, 16 are highly illustrative: *tām ardharcasāḥ śaṃsati . . . pāvamānīḥ śaṃsati. pavitraṃ vai pāvamānya. iyaṃ vāg āhanasyāṃ vācam avādīt. tat pāvamānībhīr eva vācam punīte* "He recites it (the Āhanasyā stanza) by half verses . . . (then) he recites (the stanzas) belonging to (Soma) Pavamāna (i.e. Soma who purifies himself); (the verses) belonging to (Soma) Pavamāna are indeed a means of purification (a strainer); this speech has uttered the Āhanasyā speech (i.e. stanza); thus by means of the stanzas belonging to (Soma) Pavamāna he purifies speech". Compare also TS. 4, 6, 6, 3 etc. *rathavāhanam havīr āsya nāma* "Chariot-driver is his oblation by name", this mantra being used for the placing of a chariot on its stand.

One of the sun's rays is called "Rain-winner" (ŚB. 14, 2, 1, 21: *vṛṣṭivanīr nāma*), whereby he (the sun, Sūrya) supports all these creatures. Therefore one says: "Hail to Sūrya's ray, the Rain-winner". Dadhyañc Ātharva-

<sup>26</sup>) For ancient Egypt see Frankfort, o.c., p. 22.

<sup>1</sup>) See also Geldner, o.c., I, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup>) Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>) See Geldner, l.c.

ṇa knew the pure sacrificial essence (*madhu-*: ŚB. 14, 1, 1, 18); he told the Aśvins the brāhmaṇa called *madhu* (*madhu nāma brāhmaṇam* 14, 1, 4, 13) which is now their *priyaṃ dhāma* ("favourite resort") <sup>4</sup>). Obviously the Aśvins discharge part of their duties by means of the honey in which their power becomes manifest, and a 'text' of the name of *madhu* serves as a means to transmit their specific ability to them. It was its function to do so. TS. 5, 3, 5, 2 "The name of these bricks is the "Unrivalled"; no rival is his for whom they are put down"; KKS. 31, 17; TS. 5, 4, 10, 4; 5, 7, 4, 1; 7, 1, 12, 1. Revealing his identity Agni is made to say: "I am Agni, Jātavedas by birth . . .; I am the triple hymn of praise <sup>5</sup>), the one who traverses space, inexhaustible heat, oblation (that is my) name" (. . . *havīr asmi nāma*: RV. 3, 26, 7). Enumerating some important sides of his personality the god does not forget to mention his name(s) which correspond to them <sup>6</sup>). When "Agni Angiras who is in this earth" is invited to "come with the name of Āyus" ("a complete duration of life") it is of course hoped that the god will grant this good (TS. 1, 2, 12, 1; MS. 1, 2, 8).

The conviction that a name reveals the nature or function of its owner led commentators also to invent fantastic explanations of more or less obscure proper names. Thus Bokurā in PB. 1, 3, 1, which may mean some variety of the idea expressed by *vāc-* ("voice, sound, speech") <sup>7</sup>), is derived by the commentator from a root *vik-* meaning "pervading, penetration" (*vyāpana-*), because this is the function of the bearer of the name.

If appearances are not deceptive RV. 1, 108, 3 may be considered to illustrate the belief in a co-ordination of name and deed: addressing Indra and Agni the poet states *cakrāthe hī sadhrīyaṃ nāma bhadraṃ sadhrī-cīnā vṛtrahaṇā utā sthaḥ* "Oui, vous vous êtes fait pour un but-commun un nom heureux (or, excellent) et pour un but-commun vous êtes les deux Vṛtrahan" <sup>8</sup>). The gods may bear the name Vṛtrahan, corresponding to a definite important feat, only because that feat is theirs. It may also be said that in mythopoeic thought — which is often satisfied with establishing fundamental traits of character — a name is a force within a person propelling him in a certain direction.

Not rarely a divine function fulfilled by a so-called Sondergott essentially is a characteristic name, or, to express myself otherwise, these Sondergötter often are nothing, or only a little, more than names for functions

<sup>4</sup>) J. Gonda, The meaning of the Sanskrit term *dhāman-*, Amsterdam Acad. 1967, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup>) See J. Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 279 f.

<sup>6</sup>) For a survey of Agni's names in the Rgveda see K. F. Geldner-J. Nobel, Der Rig-Veda, IV, Cambridge Mass. 1957, p. 3 f.

<sup>7</sup>) Cf. also PB. 6, 7, 6 and see A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, Vedic index of names and subjects, London 1912, II, p. 73; M. Mayrhofer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, II, Heidelberg 1963, p. 448 f.

<sup>8</sup>) Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 50.

which are assumed to manifest themselves or to be fulfilled where and when something important takes place through no action or intervention of man<sup>9)</sup>. Cf. e.g. AV. 4, 12, 2 "What is torn, let Dhātā (the god who sets, places, puts) put that together (*saṃ dadhat*) again". See also AV. 3, 24, 2, to be used in rites for prosperity of the crop of grain: "he has made the grain much, the god who is "Collector" (*sambhītvān-*) by name, him do we call". This deity is not known from elsewhere. That is not to say that these names are always clear: AV. 10, 8, 31 "the deity, Avi by name . . . by her form these trees are green". Does *avi-* here mean "sheep" or should it be connected with *av-* "to aid, favour?"

The epithet *purūṇāman-* "many-named" is given to Indra in ṚV. 8, 93, 17 and AV. 6, 99, 1. The combination with *pūruṣṭuta-* "praised by many" or "much praised" (ṚV.) might point to the god's being praised with many names (remember the sahasranāmastotras of later times) and would match some other epithets beginning with *puru-* expressing aspects of his nature which are applied to the same god (*puruḥkṛt-* "doing much"; *puru-kṣū-* "rich in food"; *purugūrtā-* "much praised"; *puru-niḥśīdh-* "repelling many"; *purunṛmṇā-* "displaying great valour"; *purumāyā-* "possessing much incomprehensible creative power"; *pururūpa-* "multiform"; *puruvārpa-* "with many forms"; *puruhātā-* "much invoked, invoked by many"; *purūvāsu-* "abounding in goods"). A god who has so many multiform and multifarious aspects may be expected to have also many names. Whether the same epithet is in the AV. deliberately associated with *ekajām* "sole-born"<sup>10)</sup> is difficult to say. If so, the implication might be that a unique god manifests himself in many names, i.e. aspects.

I cannot subscribe to Geldner's interpretation of ṚV. 3, 38, 4 c d *mahāt tād vṣṇo āsurasya nāmā viśvārūpo amṛtāni tasthau* "dies ist der grosse Name des Bullen Asura: als Viśvarūpa hat er unsterbliche (Namen) angenommen". Lanman's<sup>11)</sup> note on the identical line AV. 4, 8, 3: "*āsurasya nāma* a simple periphrasis of *asurijam*" is worth considering. A great divinity may be supposed to have many forms and to "be in" manifestations of immortality.

A very good instance of efficacy which is believed to be in harmony with the name which in its turn suits the bearer perfectly occurs in AV. 7, 81, 3 ". . . not-deficient verily art thou by name (*ānāno nāma vā asi*); make me, O first visible crescent of the new moon, not-deficient (i.e. whole, complete) in wealth and progeny": according to the commentator Keśava on Kausika.S. 24, 18 "some mutter this hymn on first sight of the new moon, for the sake of prosperity". It is in any case clear that the (new) moon,

<sup>9)</sup> J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 26 f.

<sup>10)</sup> The explanation *eka eva jāyate yuddheṣu prādur bhavātī ekajāḥ* (comm.) is to be rejected.

<sup>11)</sup> Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 157.

which is widely regarded as a representative and guarantor of the process of growing, its waxing being a 'symbol' of regeneration and resurrection<sup>12)</sup>, is here also invoked to bestow its characteristic prosperity which is expressed by its name Anūna upon those who pronounce the stanza.

That there is a relation between a god's names and his exploits, that his names are even congruous in number with his achievements may be inferred from ṚV. 10, 54, 4 where Indra is said to know all his four names by (with) which he had accomplished his heroic tasks (*catvāri te . . . nāmādābhjāni . . . | tvām aṅgā tāni viśvāni vitse yēbhīḥ kāmāni . . . cakārtha*). There is even room for the remark that the instrumental *yēbhīḥ* expressing concomitancy or instrumentality points so to say to the names' indispensable collaboration in performing his deeds. Geldner<sup>13)</sup> was no doubt right in observing that names such as Vṛtrahan are meant. This interpretation is corroborated by ṚV. 10, 73, 8 stating that Indra has "fulfilled" his names, that is, has performed adequate deeds (*tvām etāni papriṣe vi nāma*), every deed of the god being correlated with a definite name, and by 10, 74, 6 (*ā vṛtrahēndro nāmāny aprāḥ*). Mention of the fourth name is made ṚV. 8, 80, 9 where it is said to be worthy of (ritual) and to be used in worship (*yajñīyam*). If the god bears this one he is the acknowledged lord (*patiḥ*) of those speaking. The conclusion seems obvious: that fourth name is Lord.

Hence also ŚB. 5, 3, 3, 13 "These gods have the power of quickening (*sava-*), whence their name *devasū*" and places such as ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 5 ff. explaining the words quoted from VS. 15, 10 "Agni is the repeller of shafts" by "Agni indeed, is here the repeller of shafts" and other quotations in a similar way and ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 9 stating, in explanation of VS. 4, 3 *mahēnām pāyo 'si* "thou art the milk of the great ones", that "the great ones is one of the names of those cows and their milk indeed it is . . .". ṚV. 1, 57, 3 *yāsya . . . nāmendriyām jyōtir ākāri* "whose (Indra's) name of (as) Indra has been made (created) as (to be) light", likewise referring to the god's very essence. "Indrisches Wesen" might be a more adequate German explanation of the sense of this phrase. Whatever the exact significance and implications of ṚV. 10, 123, 4 d *vidād gandharvō amṛtāni nāma*<sup>14)</sup>, so much is clear that the gandharva is said to know or to reveal a divine mystery; cf. 10, 139, 6.

In connection with the technical term *graha-* ("a ladleful") the author of ŚB. 4, 6, 5, 3 expatiates as follows upon its significance and on the function of a name: "Graha, forsooth, is the name, for everything is here (in this world) held (*grhītam*) by a name . . . We know the names of many; are these then<sup>15)</sup> not thereby held by us?" Although this

<sup>12)</sup> J. Gonda, *Change and continuity in Indian religion*, The Hague 1965, p. 40 ff.

<sup>13)</sup> Geldner, o.c., III, p. 217.

<sup>14)</sup> Cf. H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, Göttingen 1951-1959, p. 540, n. 2. Geldner, o.c., III, p. 352.

<sup>15)</sup> It is not properly speaking *atha* that conveys the interrogative force as is supposed by Eggeling, in S.B.E. XXVI, p. 432, n. 5.



passage is a quasi-etymological argument based on various meanings of *graha-* ("seizer, holder" and "libation, ladleful") the author no doubt intends to say that (the knowledge of) a name "holds", fixes, and enables to exert influence.

Places are not wanting in which there is no clear distinction made between a proper name and a qualification which may be added to it. Thus ŚB. I, 1, 4, 7 it is in connection with the expression "wooden stone" (*adrīḥ . . . vānaspatyah*) observed that "stones" is one (*ekam*) name of the objects under discussion and obviously the designation of their nature, and that they are called "wooden" because they really are made of wood.

Also of significance in the question of how the ancient authors valued the possibilities contained in names is the attribution of an epithet or, in general, a qualification to an object in order to deprive it of an evil quality and, by bestowing an auspicious name on it, to endow it with beneficent power. A very illustrative instance is VS. 3, 63: the razor with which the head and beard of the sacrificer are shaved is addressed: "Gracious (friendly, benevolent) is thy name . . ., do not harm me", the term *śiva-* being explained by *śānta-* "pacified, friendly". Passages such as ŚB. I, 7, 3, 8 are interesting as showing, not only a tendency to identify different gods<sup>16)</sup>, but also a preference for a particular name because it is regarded as the most auspicious (*śānta-*): "The name Agni is the most *śānta-* (i.e. free from any evil aspect; also faustus), and his other names are *aśānta-*. Hence it is offered to (him under the name of) Agni"<sup>17)</sup>.

## VI

It is a remarkable fact that many communities were accustomed to take their time in giving a name to a new-born child<sup>1)</sup>. "In Finland durfte man 'nicht ohne Zähne auf die Namensuche' gehen, d.h. für ein zahnloses Kind durfte noch kein Name gewählt werden"<sup>2)</sup>. Parallels may

<sup>16)</sup> See Eggeling, in S.B.E. XII, p. 201, n. 2.

<sup>17)</sup> For *śānta-* etc. see D. J. Hoens, *Śānti*, Thesis Utrecht 1951.

<sup>1)</sup> I cannot enter here into a discussion of the various beliefs and customs connected with the naming of children. A few notes may suffice. Among the Kondhs of Gumsar it is a custom to leave the decision about the name of the child to the higher powers. The ceremony occurs six months after birth in the presence of figures which are to represent the household images of the gods and the child's ancestors. As the names of these are mentioned, the moving of a sickle which is tied to a cord is observed. The name at which this object moves is chosen (A. Miles, *The land of the lingam*, London 1933, p. 86). A man belonging to the weaver caste of the Kurubas goes, on the twelfth day after the birth of a child, to market, and asks anyone he happens to meet what he shall name the new arrival (*ibidem*, p. 120). Members of the nomad Bonthuk caste name their children after anything they happen to see (*ibidem*, p. 162).

<sup>2)</sup> I. Paulson, in I. Paulson, Å. Hultkrantz, K. Jettmar, *Die Religionen Nord-*

be found in 'primitive' India: the Lakhers and Kols wait ten days before they give a name to a baby<sup>3)</sup>, others do not proceed to name-giving before the twelfth<sup>4)</sup> or the eighth day, without however putting it off over three weeks<sup>5)</sup>; the Kuttia Kond children may remain without a name for a long time<sup>6)</sup>. Other peoples have no fixed time for name-giving<sup>7)</sup>.

Among the ancient Indian authorities there was much difference of opinion on this point which did not fail to bewilder the commentators of later times<sup>8)</sup>. Whereas some authors took the view that a child ought to be named on the day of birth, others prescribed the tenth, eleventh or twelfth day after that, or even on any day after ten nights, one hundred nights, or a year from birth<sup>9)</sup>. It is true that among the factors determining the date was the desire to wait for an auspicious moment or for the mother's rising from childbed; the fact that according to many authorities it was usual or even essential that the ceremony was not performed before the tenth day<sup>10)</sup>—to be delayed to the twelfth day in modern times<sup>11)</sup>—shows that a nameless baby was, and is, far from being an anomaly. Such a child could not be the object of the evil intentions of demons and sorcerers. It should however be observed that in the opinion of some ancient authorities (ŚākhGS. I, 24, 6; ĀpGS. 15, 2 f. and 8; GobhGS. 2, 7, 14 f.; KhādGS. 2, 2, 31 f.) these usages and prescriptions concern the name for common use, not the so-called secret name<sup>12)</sup> which should be given on the day

eurasiens und der amerikanischen Arktis, Stuttgart 1962, p. 264. See also W. Aly, in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, VI, 954 f.; 962.

<sup>3)</sup> N. E. Parry, *The Lakhers*, London 1932, p. 386; W. G. Griffiths, *The Kol tribe of Central India*, Calcutta 1946, p. 63.

<sup>4)</sup> Chapekar, *Thakurs*, l.c.

<sup>5)</sup> S. Ch. Roy, *The Hill Bhūiyās of Īṛissā*, Ranchi 1935, p. 183.

<sup>6)</sup> H. Niggemeyer, *Kuttia Kond. Dschungel-Bauern in Orissa*, Frankfurt M. 1964, p. 56. According to Russell, *Tribes and castes*, II, p. 468 Khond children are not named before their fifth or sixth year.

<sup>7)</sup> See e.g. A. K. Das and M. K. Raha, *The Orāons of Sunderban*, Calcutta 1963, p. 166. There may be complications. Says Russell, o.c., II, p. 500 discussing Dhanwar customs: "Children are named on the *chathi* or sixth day after birth, and the parents always ascertain from a wise man whether the soul of any dead relative has been born again in the child so that they may name it after him. It is also thought that the sex may change in transmigration, for male children are sometimes named after women relatives and female after men."

<sup>8)</sup> For more particulars: P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, Poona 1941, p. 238 ff.; for name-giving in general see also R. Gopal, *India in Vedic kalpasūtras*, Delhi 1959, p. 272 ff.

<sup>9)</sup> As to modern India, Masani, o.c. p. 146 recalling that also the recognized Muslim authorities require that the child should be given a name on the seventh day after birth, observes that there are, however, opinions amongst them according to which there is danger in delaying the performance of this duty. In another publication, *Folk culture reflected in names*, Bombay 1966, p. 22 ff. the same author furnishes us with some interesting information on this point.

<sup>10)</sup> See also *Medhātithi*, on *Manu* 2, 30.

<sup>11)</sup> Kane, o.c., p. 240.

<sup>12)</sup> See further on.

of birth. The conclusion seems to be warranted that it was a widespread social custom to deny, by implication, a child for the first ten days—that is practically as long as the mother was in childbed<sup>13</sup>—the socio-ritual state of distinct and complete personality<sup>14</sup>. This view may perhaps be corroborated by places such as Manu 5, 69 f.: “(The relatives) shall not burn a child (which has died) with fire . . . ; leaving it like a log of wood in the forest, they will remain impure for three days only. The relatives shall not offer libations to (a child) which (at the moment of death) has not reached the third year; but if it had teeth, or the ceremony of naming it had been performed, (the offering of water is) optional”. The general background of the relevant customs is, in all probability, the belief that a nameless child was, it is true, ritually impure (“not free from evil”, see further on), but could on the other hand be more easily be secured from the attacks of spirits. That is why up to the present day even in Europe people are reluctant to mention the name of a newborn child before it has been fortified with the sacrament of baptism<sup>15</sup>. Interestingly enough a child is in definite communities not given a name before it has fallen ill<sup>16</sup>. The ritual to exorcise the evil spirits is obviously not effective as long as the patient remains nameless. Or the real name of a child is not given till some days later, and the evil powers which may be listening are deceived by means of another temporary name given after birth<sup>17</sup>. Up to the present day a name is, e.g. among the Hyderabad Muslims, changed with a view to eluding or deceiving malignant spirits, especially when a child falls ill<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> In Jaina milieus the name-giving and the getting up and purification of the mother seem usually to coincide (H. von Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, Berlin 1925, p. 411; V. A. Sangave, *Jaina community*, Bombay 1959, p. 259; 265). About the Chamars Russell, *Tribes and castes*, II, p. 414 informs us: “Infants are named on the Chathi or sixth day, or sometimes on the twelfth day after birth. The child’s head is shaved, and the hair, known as *jhālar*, thrown away, the mother and child are washed and the males of the family are shaved. The mother is given her first regular meal of grain and pulse cooked with pumpkins”.

<sup>14</sup> Aly, o.c., VI, p. 962: “Durch den Namen bekommt das Kind erst Recht auf Leben”. With the Chinese the personal name (*min*) was not only the symbol of individuality, but was also supposed to bring this about, “denn die kleinen Kinder waren vor der Zeremonie des Namensgebens noch als ‘unpersönlicher’, noch nicht unterschiedener Nachwuchs angesehen, waren noch irgendwie ungeschiedene, noch nicht differenzierte Substanz der Sippe. Und ähnlich wie die Kinder *noch* namenlos waren, so wurden die toten Glieder der Sippe *wieder* namenlos, um unterzutauchen in die Substanz der Sippe . . .” (H. Köster, *Symbolik des chinesischen Universismus*, Stuttgart 1958, p. 57).

<sup>15</sup> I refer to Aly, o.c., VI, p. 954 f. In Tirol and elsewhere nameless means “unbaptized”.

<sup>16</sup> Niggemeyer, l.c.

<sup>17</sup> J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, London 1922, p. 145.

<sup>18</sup> Masani, o.c., p. 147. “One (Mahar) boy was called *Mulua* or “Sold” (*mol-dena*). His mother had no other children, so sold him for one pie (farthing) to a Gond woman. After five or six months, as he did not get fat, his name was changed to

“One should give a name to the boy who is born, for thereby one frees him from evil (*pāpmānam*); even a second, even a third (name), for thereby one frees him from evil time after time” (ŚB. 6, 1, 3, 9). “To Agni (the great place for the ritual fire) when built up one gives a name; thereby one keeps away evil from him (it)” (ŚB. 6, 1, 3, 20). From those places it may be inferred that the anomaly of being, or at least remaining nameless was on the other hand considered a state or situation opposed to well-being or a good or right condition. “Namenloses Elend ist eines, das nicht wie eine gewöhnliche Krankheit, die einen Namen hat, beeinflusst werden kann”<sup>19</sup>). The Dutch *nameloos* may be equivalent to Latin *inglorius*, denoting that which is too mean or insignificant to be known by name. This interpretation would not be contradicted by ŚB. 9, 5, 1, 52 “for when anyone has been born safe and sound, they give a name to him” (*yadā vai sarvaḥ kṛtsno jāto bhavati . . .*) from which the conclusion may probably be drawn that the ceremony of naming a child after birth was, or at least could be, omitted, if the new arrival was misshapen.

The remarks made by Radcliffe-Brown<sup>20</sup> in connection with the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands may no doubt be generalized. As there is a very important relation between a person’s name and his ‘social personality’ the avoidance of his name on definite occasions may be explained from his being prevented from taking his usual place in the life of the society. “At such times the social personality is as it were suppressed, and the name which represents it is therefore also suppressed”. ŚB. 1, 8, 1, 29 may probably be viewed in the light of this belief: on a definite occasion (invocation of, and benediction on, the *idā*<sup>21</sup>) the name of the sacrificer is not mentioned, because, “were he . . . to mention the name, he would do what is human, and the human certainly is unsuccessful at the sacrifice” (*mānuṣaṃ ha kuryād yan nāma gṛhṇīyād, vyṛddham vai tad yajñasya yan mānuṣam*). That means that on the said occasion the sacrificer is no normal social personality, he is sacred, and therefore any reference to his normal condition should be omitted.

Among the occasions when the name of a man or woman is temporarily avoided not rarely is the initiation ceremony through which every boy must pass<sup>22</sup>). The explanation of this custom no doubt is that—as appears also from various other taboos—the initiate is in an abnormal position and is not permitted to take an ordinary part in social life. There is an interesting passage in the KB. (7, 3) which while dealing with the *dīkṣita* (the sacrificer who is consecrating himself) informs us that in this situation

*Jhuma* or “lean”, probably as an additional means of averting ill-luck” (Russell, o.c., III, p. 137).

<sup>19</sup> Aly, in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, VI, 962.

<sup>20</sup> A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, New York 1964, p. 294 f. See also J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abr. ed., London 1957, p. 334.

<sup>21</sup> The *idā* is a holy libation partially consumed by the officiants and the sacrificer; I refer to my book *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 106.

<sup>22</sup> Radcliffe-Brown, o.c., p. 121; cf. p. 93; 95; 101; 295.

the sacrificer's name should not be pronounced by others and the names of others not pronounced by the sacrificer. The motivation of this temporary taboo must lie in the fact that the *dikṣita* acquires a superhuman power and belongs to another sphere: he must also be silent lest his sacral power should be lost<sup>23</sup>; "he becomes one of the deities and the gods do not converse with every one". He is considered an embryo—cf. also ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 16 "he then wraps up (his head), for he who is consecrated becomes an embryo, and embryos are enveloped by the amnion and the outer membrane"<sup>24</sup>—and embryos have no name. According to G.B. 1, 3, 19 those who eat his food, eat his evil (sin) and those who mention his name throw the evil (sin) of his name off (from him upon themselves)<sup>25</sup>. The KB. (l.c.) provides us with another explanation which is not however essentially different: the man who is consecrating himself consecrates himself as Agni, and that is why the names should not be pronounced lest the others should be burnt. If however, the text continues, the sacrificer hates a man, he should, in this situation, (swallow) mumble (*graseta*) his name; having become Agni, he burns him. If however he longs for a man he should utter his name with a clear audible voice. This exclamation, the author adds, is the speech of the consecrated and it is verily 'truth' (i.e. in accordance with truth and reality). Very complicated modalities indeed! As soon as the *dikṣita* has freed himself visibly from Agni and sacrifices with a person (body) now his own, one may partake of his food and use his name, "for he is a man (again)": ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 21. The man "who is (re)born of the brahman (neuter), of the sacrifice, is truly born and should be addressed as a brahman (masc.) even if he be a *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya* (ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 40)<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> J. Gonda, Change and continuity, The Hague 1965, p. 338 (with bibliographical references).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 29. Cf. also ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 11; 40; 4, 4, 2, 9; MS. 3, 6, 7: 68, 14 ff. and other places.

<sup>25</sup> This seems to be the sense of *te 'sya nāmaḥ pāpmānam apāghnate*. — To Mrs. C. Breuning-Williamson, Lower Slaughter, Glos., England I owe the following interesting parallels: 'Sin Eating' was a primitive custom formerly prevalent in Wales and adjacent English shires. The sin eater repaired to the house of death receiving over the dead body a loaf, a bowl of ale or milk and a small coin, thereby taking over the corpse's sins. This Mrs. B. heard of in her childhood (about 60 years ago) from her mother's Welsh maidservants. Compare also Charles Reade, The Cloister and the Hearth, chapter 55: "I am poorest of the poor". 'Alack!' said the wench, '... being poor, you are our man: so come wi' me'... She took me to a fine house hard by, and into a noble dining-hall hung with black; and there was set a table with many dishes, and but one plate and one chair. 'Fall to!' she said, in a whisper. 'What, alone?' said I. 'Alone? And which of us, think ye, would eat out of the same dish with ye? Are we robbers of the dead?'... So I behoved to sit down... She made me eat of every dish. 'Twas unlucky to pass one. Nought was here but her master's daily dinner'. ... So I did eat as a bird, nibbling of every dish.' (This scene takes place in Burgundy and it is mentioned that the custom is unknown in the Netherlands.)

<sup>26</sup> See also M. Eliade, Birth and rebirth, New York 1958, p. 30 ff.

The reason for not mentioning the name of the sacrificer in definite formulas is KB. 5, 7 said to be the wish to save him from being burnt in the sacrificial fire (*yat sūktavāke yajamānasya nāma na grhṇāti ned yajamānam pravṛṇajāni*). The underlying belief seems to be that a person whose name remains unpronounced is not really present<sup>27</sup>.

KB. 7, 2, after informing us that in the case of a consecrated sacrificer one does not mention his name, because the consecrated is an embryo of a deity observes: "they give no name to an embryo unborn" (. . . *devagarbho vā eṣa yad dikṣito, na vā ajātasya garbhasya nāma kurvanti tasmād asya nāma na grhṇāti*)<sup>28</sup>. The reason seems to be that an unborn child has no individual existence or personal identity, and cannot therefore bear a name.

KB. 3, 8 is in a sense a counterpart of this passage: "In that in the *Sūktavāka* (the name of definite formulas)<sup>29</sup> he mentions the name of the sacrificer, it is because it is the divine Self (*daiva ātmā*) of the sacrificer which the officiants 'make ready' (i.e. consecrate, fortify in order to be equal to what will await him: *saṃskurvanti*); therefore he mentions his name (*tasmād asya nāma grhṇāty*); for there is he born (*jāyate*). That means that when the "divine Self" is born it ought to receive a name, which therefore forms an essential part of the consecratory formulas. These explanations are in harmony with the fact that a refusal to call an acquaintance by his name was obviously interpreted as an ungracious or inimical act. It obviously was so much ignoring him, considering him non-existent. This seems to be the implication of ŚB. 13, 1, 6, 1 " . . . whence even if the sons of two enemies, on meeting, address one another by name, they get on amicably together". A person, or even a thing, without a name does not indeed answer questions, react to a call etc.: ŚB. 9, 1, 2, 19 "(when the brick being called approached) the 'space-fillers' (definite bricks used in building the sacred fire place) alone stood with averted faces discharging water, having no names applied to them".

There can be little doubt that the name of the ring-finger<sup>30</sup>, *anāmikā* "the nameless one"—which is not foreign to other languages<sup>31</sup>—has something to do with some popular belief with regard to that minor limb. It obviously was subject to a taboo. According to Aulus Gellius (10, 10) the ancient Greeks and Romans wore a ring on the fourth finger of the left hand, and Apion explained that from that one finger a thin

<sup>27</sup> Compare Eliade, l.c. on forgetting names, the past etc.

<sup>28</sup> Other peoples may have other rules and customs. The Andaman Islanders for instance name a baby some time before it is born, and from that time the parents are not addressed or spoken of by name; cf. p. 117 f.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. A. Hillebrandt, Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, Jena 1880, p. 142 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Not, with Eggeling, in S.B.E. XLI, p. 221, n. 2 "little finger".

<sup>31</sup> See Petrograd Dict., I, 186, s.v.

nervus extended to the heart. The same opinion was expressed by ancient English authorities<sup>32</sup>). The Romans called it *digitus medicinalis* "the finger pertaining to medicine"<sup>33</sup>), which is in curious agreement with ŚB. 6, 8, 2, 6 "with that (finger) medicine is prepared". The ring-finger was held to be impure because Śiva had with that member of his hand cut off Brahmā's head. In order to purify it kuśa grass – which is always pure (cf. ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 8) – is worn in performing ritual acts<sup>34</sup>). This finger is also prescribed when one has to push some of the loose soil into a hole in order ritually to join together the quarters of the universe (ŚB. 6, 4, 3, 5; cf. KŚS. 16, 3, 4); to stir the honey-mixture (*madhuparka-*) to be offered to a respected guest (ĀśvGS. 1, 24, 15<sup>35</sup>); to take semen that has been spilt (BĀU. 6, 4, 5), etc.

## VII

According to Grassmann<sup>1</sup>) *nāman-* may appear with the adjective (or genitive) of a word denoting a complete group or race: ṚV. 5, 33, 4 and 10, 23, 2 *dāsasya nāma*; 7, 57, 1 *nāma mārutam*; 10, 49, 3 *āryaṃ nāma*; 10, 77, 8 *ādityēna nāmnā*. Translations and explanations such as Geldner's "dem āditischen Namen"<sup>2</sup>), "ein aditischer oder āditya-artiger Name, d.h. Charakter" are not adequate. The phrase corresponds to, and may be identical in origin with, the Latin *nomen romanum* "whatever is (called) Roman, i.e. the Roman nation, power or *dominium*"; *nomen latinum*, *Atheniensium*. The gods should receive the oblations after they have been praised and invoked and after their names have been mentioned, or while these names are, at least, known. Thus the Maruts, whilst invited collectively (ṚV. 7, 57, 1 *nāma mārutam*), are supposed to enjoy the offerings "with all (their) names" (*viśvebhīr nāma-bhīr*) which must mean "appearing as a group of individuals, recognizable by their names"<sup>3</sup>). Cf. ṚV. 7, 56, 10 and also 4, 39, 4; 6, 66, 5.

<sup>32</sup>) "The Hereford, York, and Salisbury Missals explain that in that finger is a vein going to the heart" (R. B. Onians, *The origin of European thought*, Cambridge 1954, p. 449).

<sup>33</sup>) Macr. Sat. 7, 13, 7; cf. O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder*, Giessen 1909, p. 45.

<sup>34</sup>) P. K. Gode and C. G. Karve, *The practical Sanskrit-English dictionary*, I, Poona 1957, p. 82.

<sup>35</sup>) The *madhuparka* is to be taken into the left hand (see *The Savayajñas*, p. 215).

<sup>1</sup>) Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 725. Cf. also A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, III, Paris 1963, p. 211 n.

<sup>2</sup>) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 259. In R. Pischel-K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III, Stuttgart 1901, p. 150 the same scholar translated: "(Bewusstsein ihres) Ranges oder ihrer Macht". On ṚV. 10, 23, 2 (ibid. III, p. 160) however: "alles, was Dasyu heisst".

<sup>3</sup>) Otherwise Geldner, o.c., II, p. 233.

That the Maruts who form a troop should be given many names and that these names should relate to their behaviour and activity is no matter for surprise. ṚV. 5, 52, 10 reads: "Those who travel hither, Those who go in different direction(s), Those who are on the way, Those who follow the way, with these names they (the Maruts) attend, as a far spread host, to my act of worship". "Nach vedischem Sprachgebrauch werden dies ihre verschiedenen Namen d.h. Bezeichnungen oder Einzelnamen"<sup>4</sup>) and we need not offer an opinion on the question as to how far these names are invented *ad hoc*<sup>5</sup>). A large number of (other) names of the same gods occurs VS. 17, 80 ff. where they constitute formulas pronounced whilst offering rice-cakes to them: Purely-Bright, All-Luminous, Safe-from-Ill, Host-Conquering, Fierce, Victorious etc. etc. Anyhow, the importance of names in sacrificing is here again, and also in this form, attested to. See also ṚV. 5, 43, 10; 7, 57, 6.

## VIII

It is worth while to consider some adjectives which, in the Veda, occur to qualify the noun under consideration. The adjective *ādābhya-* "not to be deceived or trifled with, trusty, reliable" occurs VS. 7, 2; TS. 1, 4, 1, 2 to qualify the name of Soma, which is at the same time said to be "attentive, watchful or active" (*jāgrvi*); from the context it appears that the very name Soma is meant (... *yāt te somādābhyam nāma jāgrvi tasmai te soma sōmāya svāhā*, i.e. ... *tasmai tannāmavate tubhyam sōmāya svāhā dattam astu*, Mahīdhara). The same phrase recurs VS. 8, 49 among the formulas for drawing the *adābhya-graha-* which ŚB. 11, 5, 9, 1 is identified with Speech (*Vāc*), which is "unimpaired, pure, reliable" (*adābdhā*, ibid. 5); hence (ibid. 10): "Speech (*Vāc*) is Soma's *ādābhyam nāma*. According to TS. 6, 6, 9, 1 f. the man who knows the mythical origin of the *adābhya* cup and for whom this cup is drawn will prosper and his enemy will be defeated.

One of the formulas accompanying the scattering of loose dug earth for a special ritual purpose runs as follows: "Thou whom this earth contains, I lay down thee with each unassailable name, worthy of sacrificial worship, thou bearest (that is, a name by which to worship and invoke them at sacrificial rites)" (VS. 5, 9), ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 32 explaining "... unassailable (*anādhr̥ṣtam*) by the rakṣas (demoniac powers)". The double implication no doubt is that the act becomes effective and consecrated by the formula which intimates the name and that a *yajñīyaṃ nāma*, duly pronounced, is a protection against thwarting influences. Cf. KŚS. 6, 4; TS. 1, 2, 12; MS. 1, 2, 8. The phrase *nāmāni ... yajñīyāni* combining ṚV. 6, 1, 4

<sup>4</sup>) Geldner, o.c., II, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup>) As they are in Renou's view, E.V.P. X, p. 80.

with *śrāvāḥ . . . amṛkṭam* "unhurt renown" no doubt refers to the mention of names, and hence the presence of their owners, at sacrifices, to a position among those divine beings which are invited to and invoked at the sacrificial rites. The phrase occurs also ṚV. 1, 87, 5 stating that the Maruts *nāmāni yajñīyāni dadhīre* "ils ont obtenu dès lors des noms appropriés-au-sacrifice" <sup>1)</sup>, because they had as reciters come to Indra.

At ṚV. 6, 48, 21 the Maruts are described as having taken a name "which is worthy of worship", that is a sacrificial name, and impetuous (awful) and victorious heroic power. This means that, while being acknowledged as heroic champions, they secured a position among those deities whose names are worth invoking. Here again it is not a human being or a divine compeer who gives the name. The bearers of the name possess it or have taken it together or in combination with a characteristic quality, ability or feat.

The stanza AV. 5, 1, 3 is, like the entire 'hymn' 5, 1, rather obscure, but so much is clear that two anonymous beings are said to assume immortal names: *ātrā dadhete amṛtāni nāma*. This must in any case mean names that are free from the insufficiencies and shortcomings of the normal wordly existence. This interpretation is not contradicted by the Ṛgvedic occurrences of the same expression. At ṚV. 5, 57, 5 the Maruts are said to have received, or obtained as their share, "an immortal name" (*amṛtam nāma bhejire*). For all practical purposes this means "immortality", but the preference for this expression is of course not without significance. A similar remark applies to ṚV. 6, 18, 7 *sā majmānā jānīma mānuṣānām āmartyena nāmnāti prā sarsre* "mit seiner Mächtigkeit, seinem unsterblichen Namen überdauert er (Indra) der Menschen Geschlechter" <sup>2)</sup>.

The phrase *priyām nāma*, which, in the Ṛgveda, occurs four times—7, 56, 10: Maruts, 9, 75, 1: Soma <sup>3)</sup>, 10, 84, 5: Manyu, 10, 123, 7: Gandharva—may be judged like the combinations of *priyām*—which in this connection expresses some idea between "beloved, dear" and "one's own" <sup>4)</sup>—with names of one's body, limbs, relatives, and foot-print, i.e. with names of inalienable entities <sup>5)</sup>. There is however no ground for believing that this phrase denoted the "real" name or the secret name of its owner <sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Renou, E.V.P. X, p. 20.

<sup>2)</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 115. For this place see also p. 42 f.

<sup>3)</sup> A. Ludwig's translation (Der Rigveda, V, Prag 1883, p. 362) "zu lieblichen Namen . . . läutert (er) sich" should be rejected.

<sup>4)</sup> Compare, in a later text, Lakṣmī T. 31, 31 *ātharvaṇī mahāśaktiḥ kriyāśakteḥ priyā tanuḥ*.

<sup>5)</sup> I refer to M. Scheller, Vedisch *priyā-* und die Wortsippe *frei, freien, Freund*, Göttingen 1959, p. 16; 69 f.; 74 ff., to whose expositions nothing essential need be added. The different meaning of the phonetically identical Old English *frēo(-)noma* "surname, cognomen" may, however, lead us to doubt the existence of this phrase in the Orig. I. E. period.

<sup>6)</sup> See also Scheller, o.c., p. 75.

In ṚV. 7, 56, 10 the poet invokes the *priyā nāma* of the Maruts when inviting them to the Soma oblations (cf. 10, 84, 5); in 10, 123, 7 the Gandharva is described as generating or producing his dear names (*nāma janata priyāni*); at 9, 75, 1 "Soma purifies himself towards (into) his dear names" (*abhī priyāni pavate . . . nāmāni*) the "Erscheinungsformen" <sup>7)</sup> of the god are meant. Compare also the formula MS. 1, 1, 12 *vasūnām . . . sado 'si, srucām yonir, dyaur asi janmanā, juhūr nāma priyā devānām priyeṇa nāmnā dhruve sadasi sīda*; TS. 1, 1, 11 . . . *juhūr upabhrd dhruvāsi ghṛtācī nāmnā priyeṇa nāmnā priye sadasi sīda* <sup>8)</sup>; MS. 4, 1, 13; 18, 9 *etad vā āsām priyaṇ nāma yad ghṛtavat*.

The phrase *cāru nāma* cannot be considered synonymous <sup>9)</sup>. In order to make this statement plausible we must for a moment digress on the use of the adjective *cāru-*. In connection with the names of gods who are invoked or invited to the sacrifice it expresses the sense of "dear", that is "beloved, engaging the affections, inspiring sympathy, esteemed, precious". Thus Agni is ṚV. 2, 2, 8 described as an *ātithiś cāruḥ* "lieb" <sup>10)</sup> for those who are concerned in the ceremony ("gern gesehen", Geldner; "précieux", Renou). At 1, 94, 13 the same god is called *cārur adhvare* ("Liebling bei dem Gottesdienst", Geldner; "précieux pour le rite", Renou). I would prefer: "welcome to the sacrificial rite" <sup>11)</sup>, comparing the use of the related Latin *cārus* "dear, precious, valued, esteemed" in the sense of *gratus, acceptus*. At ṚV. 1, 95, 5 he is briefly described as the *cāru-* one ("der Liebling", Geldner; "(le dieu) précieux", Renou). In an invitation to assist and guide those speaking in their ritual undertakings Indra will be *cāru-* which likewise must be "welcome, esteemed" (ṚV. 5, 33, 5) and in ṚV. 3, 49, 3 this god has the same quality in common with a father (in Latin, *cārus pater* etc.; cf., in German, *mein teurer Vater* etc.). In ṚV. 4, 6, 6 it is the sight ("vue", Renou) of the "well-faced" (*svanīka*) Agni which is stated to be *bhadra* "auspicious, gracious, fair, pleasant" and *cāruḥ* even if he shows his terrible aspect as the destructive fire of a conflagration. In ṚV. 4, 2, 19 the adjective qualifies Agni's eye ("gracieux, Renou) which is "embellished" by those speaking. In a similar way the greatness (*mahitvām*) of the Āditya is said to be "great" and "dear" (ṚV. 2, 27, 8); the *ṛta* at 9, 97, 24 <sup>12)</sup>; the draught (or representative)

<sup>7)</sup> Lüders, o.c., p. 526; cf. Geldner, o.c., III, p. 70, n. 1; "Nom" comme partie essentielle de l'être" (Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 87).

<sup>8)</sup> See also Keith, Veda of the Black Yajus School, p. 13.

<sup>9)</sup> As seems to be Scheller's opinion (o.c., p. 16).

<sup>10)</sup> P. Thieme, Der Fremdling im Ṛgveda, Leipzig 1938, p. 19.

<sup>11)</sup> For *adhvarā-* see Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, 3 (1965), p. 163 ff.

<sup>12)</sup> Here Lüders (o.c., p. 602 and n. 1) remarks: "Das Beiwort *cāru* . . . ist charakteristisch für das kosmische *ṛta*. (Es) spricht für die Beziehung auf die kosmische Wahrheit". He obviously intended to say that the adjective, which is often used to characterize gods and the powerful sacrificial rite etc. brings to the fore an aspect of *ṛta* which it has in common with these figures and entities. It is however to be doubted if "cosmic" is the most felicitous term. It is moreover hazardous to conclude

of immortality at RV. 9, 110, 4, which 7, 22, 2 is said to be *cāru-* to Indra, and 9, 61, 9 to Varuṇa and Mitra, and 10, 160, 3 is said to be *cāru-* as well as *praśastā-* "praised, considered good or excellent". The "sacrifice" (*adhvarā-*) itself is *cāru-* at 1, 19, 1 and 9, 44, 4 ("angenehm", Geldner; "agréable", Renou, viz. to the gods invited; cf. in Latin *carus cordi meo; dis cari* etc.); 7, 84, 3 and 10, 100, 6 the "act of worship" (*yajñā-*<sup>13</sup>). A product of the poet's mind, i.e. a 'hymn' is *cāru-* for Agni at RV. 6, 8, 1. The poet of RV. 1, 72, 10 speaks of *śrīyam . . . cārum* given to Agni ("schöne Pracht", Geldner; "beauté gracieuse", Renou).

There can therefore be no doubt whatever that a *cāru nāma* is not "one's own, dear name". As the word is always used with reference to a person (or to persons) to whom the entity qualified is dear, it is much nearer to the German "wert" or "teuer". Thus RV. 1, 24, 1 and 2 *cāru devāsya nāma* as the object of the poet's meditative thought; at 2, 35, 11 the face and the "dear name" of the kindled sacrificial fire are said to be increasing (cf. above, 2, 2, 8; 4, 6, 6); at 3, 5, 6 the god made himself or assumed the dear name, worth invoking, of Ṛbhhu; at 3, 56, 4 the *cāru nāma* of the Ādityas is invoked, The name represents the god himself. Hence als 9, 109, 14 "He bears the *cāru nāma* of Indra with which he has slain all (inimical) powers of obstruction". At RV. 3, 54, 17 the phrase was misunderstood by Geldner: "Das ist ein grosses, schönes Wort von euch . . ." (*mahāt tād vaḥ kavayaś cāru nāma yād dha devā bhāvatha viśva indre*): the beloved and dear name of the Ṛbhhus is great because these deified beings are "in Indra", they have a share in Indra's nature<sup>14</sup>. Relationship is, like a name, a form of (partial) identity; consanguinity with the Aśvins can therefore 3, 54, 16 be held a *cāru nāma*, the more so as patronymics and partial identical proper names of father and son, brothers etc. were much in use. RV. 9, 96, 16 is interesting in that it combines *cāru* with *gūhyam* "secret", both adjectives referring to Soma's "name" as *amṛta-* which at RV. 9, 70, 2; 4; 9, 108, 4; 9, 110, 4 is qualified as *cāru*<sup>15</sup>. At RV. 1, 55, 4 *cāru . . . indriyam* the noun *nāma* is no doubt to be supplied.

## IX

From the instructive co-ordination of "majesty" (*majmānā*) and "immortal name" (*āmartyena nāmnā*) at RV. 6, 18, 7—with both of them Indra surpasses the races of men—it appears that these two aspects of Indra's divinity were regarded as similar and equivalent 'concepts', to use this inadequate term. The poet continues: *sā dyumnēna*

on the strength of this single place that the adjective is "gern" added to *ṛta* as a cosmic potency.

<sup>13</sup>) "Opfergebet", Geldner, ?

<sup>14</sup>) See also Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 49.

<sup>15</sup>) Cf. also RV. 2, 35, 11.

*sā śavasotā rāyā sā vīrjēṇa nītamah śāmokāḥ* "Er ist mit Glanz, mit Kraft und Reichtum, er mit Heldenmut gepaart, der Mannhafteste"<sup>1</sup>). The adjective *śāmokas-* "dwelling together, closely united with" may be taken to indicate that the god himself and the qualities mentioned including his majesty and his name form so to say a coherent and almost indissoluble whole. Extolling the domestic fire of king Vadhryaśva the poet of RV. 10, 69 expresses (st. 5 d) his intention to proclaim the name of this Vadhryaśva fire<sup>2</sup>) (*prā nū vocam vādhryaśvasya nāma*), or rather the name of Agni as Vādhryaśva. In the next stanzas he accordingly commemorates how the god in his quality as Vadhryaśva's domestic fire has conquered enemies and seized much booty in wars and he implores him to continue his assistance. In st. 9 the poet mentions the fact that even the gods proclaimed the greatness (*mahimānam*) of this manifestation of Agni. "Name" and "greatness" are therefore to be considered variant expressions of the same idea, viz. of the superior power and influence for good felt to be characteristic of the divine actuality known as Agni.

It is difficult not to believe that the two parts of RV. 7, 56, 14 ab are closely related to one another. Here the "greatnesses"<sup>3</sup>) (*māhāṃsi*, explained as *tejāṃsi*, Sāyaṇa) of the Maruts, which are characterized as belonging to or coming from the depths, appear or arise and the gods are invited to extend their names. Both processes are no doubt parallel or, rather, they are two aspects of one and the same phenomenon. As soon as the gods, whose origin is unknown (st. 2; 4), have manifested themselves in the phenomenal world, the exhibition of their characteristic qualities as well as the "extension" of their names become actualities, the former being objects of praise (e.g. st. 7), the latter inducing the poet to invocation (st. 10).

At RV. 10, 28, 12 d *divi śrāvo dadhiṣe nāma vīrāḥ* "in heaven thou hast earned a good reputation, (assumed) the name of hero" "fame" and a honourable name are put on a par.

At AV. 10, 2, 12 the question is posed as to who placed form (*vāpām*), greatness (bulk: *mahmānam*), name, progress (*gātām*), particular shape (*ketām*), behaviour (*caritrāṇi*) in man: one of those texts which give us an insight into the 'conceptual category and relations' of the term under discussion. See also AV. 12, 5, 9 enumerating a considerable number of power-substances<sup>4</sup>), among which are inaugurative or creative power (*śajāḥ*), brilliant energy (*tējaḥ*), speech, nobility, a complete life-time, form, name, renown, breath, sight, truth etc., and which are said to depart from a nobleman who lays violent hands upon the cow of a brahman. At AV. 19, 53, 7 mind (*manah*), breath and name are said to have been

<sup>1</sup>) Geldner, o.c., II, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup>) Not, with Geldner, o.c., III, p. 246 "child of V."

<sup>3</sup>) Not "Standeszeichen" (Geldner, o.c., II, p. 231).

<sup>4</sup>) For this term (German Daseinsmächte) see H. von Glasenapp, Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens, Halle S. 1940, p. 9 ff.

"placed" in time. "In primitive thought . . . a man's name is as much himself as are his bodily members" <sup>5)</sup>. At RV. 8, 20, 13 the name, being awful or causing fear (*veśám*), goes together with the Marut's predominant power (*sahas*) which they have inherited from their father. Elsewhere it is a god's many incomprehensible creative abilities (*māyāh*) which are co-ordinated with his many names: thus RV. 3, 20, 3 in connection with Agni.

There is therefore no difficulty in assuming that *nāman-* was regarded, in many ancient milieus, as a special Daseinsmacht <sup>6)</sup>, that is a potency, a 'power-substance' which empirically, or within some form of experience, is supposed to be present in persons, things and phenomena, and by virtue of which these are more or less powerful, effective, or endowed with something which is beyond man's control and understanding. In attempting progressively to classify a number of such potencies the author of ChāndU. 7 enumerates fifteen of them beginning with *nāman-*; the nature of the following Daseinsmächte may give us an idea of what sort of 'concept' or 'entity' "name" in his opinion was or rather, with what other potencies it could be associated: *vāc-* "speech", *manas-* "mind" <sup>7)</sup>, *saṃkalpa-* "will, intention", *citta-* "thought", *dhyāna-* "contemplation", *viññāna-* "understanding", *bala-* "strength", *anna-* "food", *āpah* "water", *tejas-* "fiery energy", *ākāśa-* "space", *smara-* "memory", *āśā-* "hope" and *prāṇa-* "life-breath". It is therefore not surprising to see that, to mention only this, among the forms of karma matter or karmic forces which attach to the soul are, according to the Jaina doctrine of a later period, the *āyu(s)*, which determines the span of a being's empirical existence, and the *nāma*, which gives it its particular structure and determines the individual differences of the souls <sup>8)</sup>. These theories are ultimately based on the ancient and widespread conviction that names are as essential a part of man's personality as his physical strength, his organs, his life-breath, ritual power etc. This conviction was, for instance, shared by the ancient Egyptians: "the real name of the god Ra, with which his power was inextricably bound up, was supposed to be lodged, in an almost physical sense, somewhere in his breast, from which Isis extracted it by a sort of surgical operation . . ." <sup>9)</sup>. In Egypt the names of the gods were their limbs, created by the Sun-god, one deity affirming: "I am this name, which the sole lord created when as yet there were not two things on earth" <sup>10)</sup>.

Here we should recall places such as JUB. 3, 5, 1, 5 (3, 20, 5): "My

<sup>5)</sup> H. Webster, *Magic*, Stanford Cal. 1948, p. 101.

<sup>6)</sup> Von Glasenapp, *Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens*, p. 9 ff.

<sup>7)</sup> Many translations, though usual, are only approximate.

<sup>8)</sup> H. Bhattacharyya, *The Jaina prayer*, Calcutta 1964, p. 71; H. von Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, Berlin 1925, p. 161 ff.

<sup>9)</sup> Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abr. ed., p. 344.

<sup>10)</sup> P. Lacau, *Textes religieux égyptiens*, I, Paris 1910, nr. 78.

name, my body, my foundation (*nāma me śarīram me pratiṣṭhā* <sup>11)</sup> me), that of me is in thee. Do not take that of me unto thee" and in 7 f. ". . . give that back to me" (the earth is addressed).

God reveals himself and his essence in his names <sup>12)</sup>. "Gott bekommt nicht Namen, sondern Er hat Namen von Ewigkeit her, die nur offenbar gemacht werden, und diese Namen sind identisch mit Ihm" <sup>13)</sup>. It is therefore clear that Indra's "birth" entails the spread of his famous name over a far distance as well as the terror he inspired into the other gods (RV. 5, 30, 5). As soon as the god is "born" his name becomes manifest and must be taken into account by his colleagues and antagonists, who may consider it a source of terror and danger, as well as the inhabitants of the universe in general for whom it may become an object of reverence. The gandharva mentioned in RV. 10, 123, 7 is in a similar way described as producing his dear names like the sun, no doubt at the very moment of his visible or at least physical appearance.

Those interesting Rgvedic places which exhibit the term *rūpā-* beside the word under consideration <sup>14)</sup> should not detain us here because much has, on the one hand, been said already by others in elucidation of the *nāma-rūpa* concept <sup>15)</sup> and a study of this use of *nāma* would on the other hand lie beyond the scope of this publication. It has been observed that at RV. 10, 123, 4 *rūpām* is "der Gegensatz zu dem nachher genannten *nāma*" <sup>16)</sup>; I would prefer the term "complement" (cf. e.g. ŚB. 11, 2, 3, 3 ff.), notwithstanding Renou's <sup>17)</sup> remark: "*Nāman* est la caractéristique essentielle de l'identité, par opposition à *rūpa*". Cf. RV. 5, 43, 10 <sup>18)</sup>; 3, 38, 7; 7, 103, 6; 10, 169, 2 <sup>19)</sup>; AV. 10, 2, 12; 11, 7, 1 <sup>20)</sup>; 12, 5, 9; MuU.

<sup>11)</sup> See my observations on *Pratiṣṭhā*, in *Studia Indol. Intern.*, Poona-Paris 1954.

<sup>12)</sup> F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 276; S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, Stuttgart 1960, p. 32.

<sup>13)</sup> W. Eidlitz, *Der Glaube und die heiligen Schriften der Inder*, Olten 1957, p. 290.

<sup>14)</sup> For name and *tanū-* "body" RV. 1, 181, 4.

<sup>15)</sup> See also p. 70 and H. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*, p. 102 f. with n. 2; the same, *Rgveda, Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, I, Berlin 1909, p. 248 (on RV. 3, 38, 7); II, p. 68 (on 7, 103, 6) and p. 362 (on 10, 169, 2); S. K. Belvalkar and R. D. Ranade, *History of Indian philosophy*, II, Poona 1927, p. 63 ff.; S. Dasgupta, *A history of Indian philosophy*, II, Cambridge 1932, p. 498; P. Hacker, *Eigentümlichkeiten der Lehre und Terminologie Śāṅkaras*, in *Z.D.M.G.* 100 (1950), p. 246 ff.; E. Frauwallner, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, I, Salzburg 1953, p. 89 etc.; L. Silburn, *Instant et cause*, Paris 1955, p. 53 etc.

<sup>16)</sup> Lüders, o.c., p. 540, n. 2.

<sup>17)</sup> Renou, *E.V.P.* III, p. 57.

<sup>18)</sup> See Lüders, o.c., p. 525 (for the relevant RV. and AV. places ibidem, n. 3); Renou, *E.V.P.* IV, p. 68: "La juxtaposition *nāman/rūpā*, qui évoque le *nāmarūpa* des textes ultérieurs donne un sens équivalent à "tous et avec toutes leurs qualités".

<sup>19)</sup> See Lüders, o.c. p. 644, n. 1.

<sup>20)</sup> See J. Gonda, *Atharvaveda* 11, 7, in *Mélanges d'Indianisme-L. Renou*, Paris 1968, p. 301 ff., esp. p. 331, n. 2: "*nāma-rūpa-*, i.e. wordly reality" or "empirical existence".

1, 1, 9 etc. As is well known, the phrase plays, without a breach of continuity in the development of the idea from the upaniṣads up to later philosophers<sup>21</sup>), an important part in Buddhist thought<sup>22</sup>), but also in Tantrism<sup>23</sup>).

An interesting instance of co-ordination of 'concepts' and categorial systematization occurs KB. 20, 2 ff. The component elements are, as is very often the case, the tripartite universe, some gods and man's organs of sense. The performance of a definite rite, it is said, results in the officiants' moving up to, or obtaining, with the first day of the ritual, Agni the god, the name which is qualified as *adhībhūtam*, i.e. the supreme essence, spiritual all-penetrating substratum of the deities and for themselves speech (. . . *agnim devaṃ devatānāṃ nāmādhībhūtāṃ vācam ātman dadhate*). With the second day they obtain the space between heaven and earth, Indra, force (the term used is *ojah*) which is described as *adhībhūtam*, and confer life-breath upon themselves; with the third day they win heavens, Āditya, form (*rūpam*), sight.

Whatever the real character of Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa<sup>24</sup>) this name of the god is R.V. 7, 100, 5 proclaimed or extolled and the god is (st. 6) implored not to conceal "this aspect" (*vārpaḥ*) of his. If appearances are not deceptive the *vārpaḥ* corresponds to the *nāma*. The former term often denotes an assumed form or alteration in form (R.V. 1, 117, 9; 1, 140, 7; 3, 58, 9; 6, 3, 4; 6, 44, 14; 10, 3, 2; 10, 99, 3; 11; cf. 1, 39, 1; 7, 68, 6) or a produced form (1, 140, 5).

I need not repeat the remarks made in another publication<sup>25</sup>) on the association of *nāman*- with the term *dhāman*- "the sphere, phenomenon etc. in which a divine power is located; its presenee, etc." It may suffice to recall that the experience "here power manifests itself; here there is something numinous" obviously induced Vedic man to assign a name to the in itself incomprehensible. To every aspect of a numen belongs, generally speaking, a name<sup>26</sup>). Relevant places are R.V. 1, 57, 3 "the

<sup>21</sup>) See also G. Ch. Pande, *Studies in the origin of Buddhism*, Allahabad 1957, p. 438.

<sup>22</sup>) See e.g. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1921, p. 256 ff. (translating "Namen und Gestalt, Namen und Körperlichkeit"); P. Oltramare, *L'histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, II, Paris 1923, p. 188 ("l'existence séparée de l'individu"); Th. Steherbatsky, *The central conception of Buddhism*, Calcutta 1956 (London 1923), p. 6; K. W. Morgan, *The path of the Buddha*, New York 1956, p. 155 f.; Frauwallner, o.c., I, p. 205 ff. ("Name und Form").

<sup>23</sup>) See e.g. J. Woodroffe and P. N. Mukhyopādhyāya, *Mahāmāyā*, Madras 1954, p. 1 ff. A comparative study of (semi-) primitive complementary dichotomies and trichotomies would be of interest: the Polar Eskimos for instance distinguish, in discussing man's nature, body, soul and name (K. Rasmussen, *In der Heimat der Polarmenschen*, Leipzig 1923, p. 40).

<sup>24</sup>) I refer to Geldner, o.c., II, p. 270 and to my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht 1954, p. 106. The identity between Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa is not always complete (VS. 22, 20).

<sup>25</sup>) Gonda, *Dhāman*, p. 21 etc.

<sup>26</sup>) For *numen* and *nomen* in Latin see H. Wagenvoort, *Roman dynamism*, Oxford 1947, p. 78.

display (presence: *dhāma*) of whose (Indra's) divine power, whose name of (as) Indra . . ."; 10, 45, 2 "We know thy *dhāmāni*, O Agni, which are distributed in many places; we know thy highest name, which is secret"; 3, 37, 3 and 4; and the formula occurring in some brāhmaṇas etc. (TS. 2, 4, 3, 2; MS. 2, 1, 11: 13, 13; KS. 10, 7: 133, 13 etc.) *devānāṃ dhāma nāmāsi*; the translation "thou art by name the home of the gods" (Keith<sup>27</sup>) is incorrect. These observations lead us also to a discussion of MS. 1, 3, 9: 33, 7 f. *dīteḥ putrāṇām āditer akāriṣam urūsarmanāṃ bṛhatāṃ varūthīnām/ yēṣāṃ nāmāni vīhitāni dhāmaśās cittaṭr yajanti bhūvanāya jīvāse*<sup>28</sup>) illustrating again the close connection between both terms: "I have commemorated the sons of Diti, of Aditi, (those) of wide refuge, the firm ones, who afford protection, whose names which are distributed in accordance with their 'locations' they (people) revere with intentions that (people in) the world may live". It is clear that here every name of (a) divine power(s) corresponds to a location or manifestation of his 'personality', to a presenee of that divinity. Indra's worshippers approach the names of this god of thousandfold resourcefulness with words of praise when they are desirous of subduing their enemies (R.V. 3, 37, 3). In the next stanza they are said to delight in the hundred residences of his power (*dhāmabhīḥ . . . mahayāmasi*), that is, to enjoy remembering and magnifying his manifold presenee<sup>29</sup>). Interestingly enough stanza 4 of the same hymn *puruṣtutāsyā dhāmabhīḥ śatēna mahayāmasi* "we delight in the hundred 'residences' of the power of the highly praised one . . ." is at MS. 4, 12, 3: 148, 5 replaced by *p. nāmabhīḥ ś. m.*; this may point to a certain interchangeability of both terms.

It may finally be recalled that one obviously could "enjoy" names in the same manner as objects of desire: MS. 4, 2, 12: 35, 20 at the end of a passage in which names play a part: . . . *etāni vā āsām nāmāni. sarvair evāsām nāmabhīḥ sarvair kāmair bhūṅkte ya evaṃ veda*.

## X

If a name is intimately associated with its owner and constitutes part of his personality it may not only express his nature, character and achievement but on the other hand also be a sort of 'regulative principle' casting its bearer in a definite mould and forcing him so to say to conform to the ideal qualities expressed by his appellation. This is one of the roots of the widespread custom of giving a child an auspicious name. With regard to the ancient Greek proper names it has even been said that the large majority express something good, praise, glory, renown:

<sup>27</sup>) Keith, *The Veda of Black Yajus School*, p. 178; cf. *Dhāman*, p. 64.

<sup>28</sup>) See also Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 394.

<sup>29</sup>) Cf. also Geldner, o.c., I, p. 378 (note on st. 4).



“(Sie) geben ein glückverheissendes Omen für die Zukunft des Kindes”<sup>1)</sup>. “Mit der Benennung der Neugeborenen konnte man einen Wunsch oder eine Hoffnung ausdrücken, und das Nomen zu Omen machen”<sup>2)</sup>.

From ŚB. 6, 1, 3, 10<sup>3)</sup> the conclusion may be drawn that in Vedic times also a definite name might be believed to determine the character of its owner: Prajāpati giving, on his request, the new-born boy a name said to him “Thou art Rudra” and “because”, the text continues, “he gave him that name, Agni (the god with whom the boy is identified) became suchlike” (*tad yad asya tan nāmākarod agnis tad rūpam abhavat*). Although the name Rudra was chosen because the boy cried (*rud-*) it is on the other hand said to determine the *rūpa* of the owner. Similarly, *ibidem*, § 11 “He said to him: ‘Thou art Sarva’. And because he gave him that (second) name, the waters became suchlike, for Sarva is the waters, inasmuch as from the water all things (*sarva-*) here are produced”; § 12 etc.

We may indeed accept as a strong probability that the belief in what may be called the efficacy of a name was widespread. That is to say, an object was supposed to act and react in accordance with its name. Definite bricks used in erecting the sacred fire place are for instance said to be made “wish-milking”—i.e. “granting every wish” and “never-failing” by addressing them with VS. 17, 3 in which these words (*kāmadughā akṣīyamānāḥ*) occur (ŚB. 9, 1, 2, 19). They are moreover addressed as “widely-shining by name” (*ibid.*: *virājo nāma*) and “thereby made widely-shining”. Developing this aspect somewhat further one may draw attention to ŚB. 13, 3, 7, 1-12 where twelve names are in succession attributed to a sacrificial rite, with the addition that “wherever they worship with this rite, everything indeed becomes what is expressed by these names”: “This is the rite called the Mighty (abundant: *prabhūḥ*) . . . everything becomes abundant (*prabhūtam*)”, and so on. Prescriptions such as given by Manu, 2, 33 “names of women should . . . not imply anything dreadful (*akrūrām*), possess a plain meaning, be pleasing and auspicious (*maṅgalyam . . . āśīrvādābhīdhānavat*)” may be assumed ultimately to result from the same basal axiom.

No attempt at comprehending the ideas and beliefs connected with names should omit studying also statements such as ŚB. 6, 7, 2, 5 f.: “By means of the modificatory (formula) he modifies (fashions) him out of that (matter) . . . (Pronouncing VS. 12, 4) ‘A well-winged bird art thou’ he thus forms him so as to be (endowed with) manly vigour, since

<sup>1)</sup> F. Solmsen, *Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte*, Heidelberg 1922, p. 113.

<sup>2)</sup> F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, p. 5. We should not, however, follow E. Schröder, *Die deutschen Personennamen*, Göttingen 1907, p. 12 “Ursprünglich war jede Namengebung Namensschöpfung gewesen, erwachsen aus einem Akt erhöhter Phantasie: der Name selbst war ein konzentrierter poetischer Heilwunsch”.

<sup>3)</sup> See also p. 35.

the well-winged bird means manly vigour”: the well-known force inherent in a consecratory formula.

This brings us to lucky and unlucky or inauspicious names. In ancient India also a “good”, “lucky” or “auspicious” name obviously was much appreciated and noticed by other people. In JB. 1, 163 the name Sumitra (“Good-friend”) is explicitly qualified as *kalyāṇam*, an adjective expressing the above meanings. This aversion to inauspicious names is only one aspect of the widespread taboo on negative, inauspicious and ominous utterances and statements in general. Authors of dharmasāstras warn against naming, or speaking about, something unlucky or mischievous straight out. “One shall call (a cow which is) not a milch-cow a cow that will become a milch-cow; (an event) which is not lucky, lucky (*abhadram bhadram iti*: GautDhS. 9, 19 f.; cf. also BaudhDhS. 2, 3, 29; ĀpastDh. 1, 11, 31, 11 f.). One should avoid pronouncing the word *indrāhanuḥ* “rainbow” lit. “Indra’s bow” (ĀpastDh. 1, 11, 31, 18) and saying, in company, “This person is my rival (enemy)”, for “if one says so, one will raise for oneself a rival, who will show hatred” (ĀpastDh. 1, 11, 31, 17 *yady asau me sapatna iti brūyād dviṣantaṃ bhrātṛvyam janayet*<sup>4)</sup>. “Nein sagen, Böses glauben und aussprechen beschwört das Negative, das Böse herauf. Sei ein Jasager, einer, der Gutes, Positives denkt und spricht”<sup>5)</sup>. For similar reasons reviling speech should in performing rites etc. be avoided (PB. 15, 7, 3) and destructive criticism, inclusive of disbelieving in the Veda (*vedanindā*, see e.g. Manu 4, 163; 11, 56; Vāmp. 2, 26, 43), be considered dangerous because it is the reverse of that ‘praise’ and confirmation by which the power with which man finds himself confronted is consolidated<sup>6)</sup>.

In some communities a man must have a lucky name in order to sacrifice successfully<sup>7)</sup>. In Roman antiquity much value was attached to *prospera nomina*<sup>8)</sup>, no doubt because the name, being intimately connected with the very nature of its owner—“der Name deckt sich mit dem Wesen und ist die Offenbarung des Wesens”<sup>9)</sup>—was supposed to coerce its bearer so to say into a definite character, behaviour, circumstances in life etc.

<sup>4)</sup> For more details see J. J. Meyer, *Ueber das Wesen der altindischen Rechtschriften*, Leipzig 1927, p. 14 f., and see also p. 118.

<sup>5)</sup> Meyer, *ibidem*, p. 202.

<sup>6)</sup> J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 35.

<sup>7)</sup> N. E. Parry, *The Lakhers*, London 1932, p. 367.

<sup>8)</sup> See e.g. Cicero, *De divinatione* 1, 102; Plinius, N.H. 28, 22; Tacitus, *Hist.* 4, 53 and compare Wolters, *o.c.*, p. 27 f.

<sup>9)</sup> W. Schulze, in (Kuhn’s) *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung* 40 (1907), p. 411, n. 1. Hence also the custom described by Russell, *Tribes and castes*, II, p. 302: “At the betrothal the Joshi or astrologer is consulted to see whether the names of the couple make an auspicious conjunction. He asks for the names of the bride and bridegroom, and if these are found to be inimical another set of names is given, and the experiment is continued until a union is obtained which is astrologically auspicious. In order to provide for this contingency some Bhojars give their children

It is significant that Manu 2, 31 ff. and PārGS. 1, 17 prescribe that the names of the members of the four varṇas should suggest respectively auspiciousness, vigour, wealth and lowness (or contempt) and that the names of brahmans etc. should have an addition suggestive of happiness, protection, prosperity and servitude<sup>10</sup>). As to the names of girls Manu 2, 33 ordains that they should be easy to pronounce, should not suggest any harsh acts, should be perspicuous and pleasing to ear and mind (*manoharam*), auspicious (*maṅgalyam*) and convey some blessing (*āśīrvāda*). It is clear that a girl named after a snake, a slave or something terrible (Manu 3, 9) is objectionable, but the question arises as to why one should not marry a girl named after asterisms, trees and rivers (Manu 3, 9; ĀpGS. 3, 12), and why these girls should be contemptible, vile or forbidden (*garhitāḥ*, ĀpGS.). The dislike of river names does not seem to be shared by the majority of modern Indians who frequently name their daughters after the Yamunā, Narmadā, Kṛṣṇā or other great rivers of their country<sup>11</sup>).

Persons and objects bearing an auspicious name were obviously presumed to radiate some beneficial influence. Varāhamihira, BS. 48, 48 f. describing a royal ceremony provides us with the following details: "Having placed gold (on the throne: gold represents imperishableness), the king should sit on it with a cheerful mind (that is, of course, a positive state of mind promotive of good), in company with his ministers, court-chaplain, astrologers, citizens and those having auspicious names (*kalyāṇanāman*-), and with eulogists . . . and brahmans shouting and chanting the Puṇyāḥa (texts promoting the auspicious character of the day) . . .; all evils are warded off through the auspicious sounds (*maṅgalaśabdaiḥ*) of . . . musical instruments". Among the objects, persons etc. required for a king who is about to set forth on a military expedition is also an elephant with "a good or lucky name": AVPar. 1, 31, 7 *kalyāṇanāmadheyam ca gajam avyāṅgadarśanam*: the requirement expressed by the second adjective "offering the sight of a sound (entire) body"<sup>12</sup> was no doubt felt to belong

ten or twelve names at birth. If all the names fail, the Joshi invents new ones of his own, and in some way brings about the auspicious union to the satisfaction of both parties, who consider it no business of theirs to pry into the Joshi's calculations or to question his methods."

<sup>10</sup>) For particulars see Kane, o.c., II, p. 250 f.

<sup>11</sup>) Kane, o.c., II, p. 250. "A (Mahar) child is named on the seventh or twelfth day after its birth, the name being chosen by the Mohtūria or caste headman. The ordinary Hindu names of deities for men and sacred rivers or pious and faithful wives for women are employed; instances of the latter being *Gaṅga*, *Godāvari*, *Jamuna*, *Sīta*, *Laxmi* and *Rādha*" (Russell, Tribes and castes, III, p. 136).

"(Joshi) women are also named after the sacred rivers as: *Gaṅga*, *Jamni* or *Yamuni* (*Jumna*); *Gomti*, the river on which Lucknow stands; *Godha* or *Gautam*, after the *Godāvari* river; and *Bhagirathi*, another name for the *Ganges*. The river *Nerbudda* is commonly found as a man's name, especially in places situated on its banks" (The same, ibidem, III, p. 278).

<sup>12</sup>) See e.g. Jagaddeva, Svapnac., 2, 50 f.; 110.

to the same order of ideas: only an animal which is completely free from defects could be considered for this function. One might recall the similar and well-known belief in connection with victims which when for instance "pithless" (*utkrāntamedhāḥ*) were regarded as unfit for sacrifice (e.g. ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 37) and officiants. Bodily defects are ill-omened. A reference to MS. 4, 4, 6: 57, 16 should therefore not be omitted. One of the ritual prescriptions given there was as follows: *maṅgalyanāmno hvayati yāt pūrvam vyāhāraṃ tān nēn mōgham asad iti* "He calls (upon) (persons, beings) with auspicious names, saying "What I uttered formerly will (can, shall) not be unsuccessful (vain, fruitless)".

In a text prescribed to guard a pregnant woman from demons (see e.g. Kauś. 35, 20) the wish is expressed: "Let not the ill-named one be greedy" (AV. 8, 6, 1 *durṇāmā . . . mā gṛdhat*). Since the text contains numerous, for the greater part untranslatable names of evil beings<sup>13</sup>), one might suppose this qualification to refer to another manifestation of evil whose name must for reasons of taboo remain unmentioned. At st. 4 the ill-named is coupled with the well-named (*sundāmā*), who is said to seek what is woman's (*sundāmā strīṇam icchatāt*): this probably means, in a vague and general way, "what belongs to the woman".

Hence the practical equivalence of "ill-named (one)" (*durṇāman*-) and "evil power, wretch": AV. 2, 25, 2, the commentary explaining this term as indicating varieties of leprosy (cf. the comm. on AV. 19, 36, 1). The reluctance to mention the names of much dreaded diseases and the custom of ('euphemistically') replacing their names by substitutes is as well known as the practice of giving opprobrious names to children in the hope of saving them from the influence of the evil eye<sup>14</sup>). The same fear seems to have led to the application of the same compound to collective manifestations of evil such as demons, evil dreams and other instruments of hostile sorcery (AV. 4, 17, 5). Cf. also AV. 11, 10, 5; 16, 6, 7; 19, 36, 1; 4; 5; 6.

The intimate relation between a name and its bearer helps also to explain the widespread fear of a bad name, or "the evil odour of one's reputation"<sup>15</sup>). This fear is closely related to the aversion to destructive criticism which is—not only in India—regarded as dangerous<sup>16</sup>). Therefore one should not at a definite moment, while performing a ritual act, "speak revilingly"<sup>17</sup>), for "when a person of high rank is being served with food, blame or reviling speech is an impediment" (PB. 15, 7, 3). This aversion may also have something to do with Manu's prescription

<sup>13</sup>) Cf. also V. Henry, La magie dans l'Inde antique, Paris 1904, p. 139 f.

<sup>14</sup>) See e.g. Masani, o.c., p. 146.

<sup>15</sup>) J. A. Wilson, in H. Frankfort . . ., Before philosophy, Harmondsworth 1949, p. 113. — Compare the English proverb Give a dog a bad name and hang him.

<sup>16</sup>) See above, n. 6.

<sup>17</sup>) This verb is no doubt meant in W. Caland, Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, Calcutta 1931, p. 410.

(9, 81) that a quarrelsome wife (or rather, one who speaks unkindly: *apriyavādīnī*) may be superseded without delay. According to the commentator Medhātithi she may however be forgiven! The fear of a bad name is up to the present day widespread. Even among untouchables "the shortage of money and their debts (as results of the cost of a marriage and ceremonial entertainments of many guests)" is no cause for anxiety, "because their name in the community means far more to them than all the gold in the world"<sup>18</sup>).

Not only human beings may enjoy a good name or be infamous in their community<sup>19</sup>). ŚB. 13, 8, 1, 16 enumerates a number of trees which are to be avoided: "... (trees) of evil name", to be eschewed "from a desire of good luck" (*pāpanāmāno maṅgalopepsayā nāmnam eva parihārāya*). Kauśika 47, 32 makes mention of a river with an evil name: in a definite magic rite a stone is required which has been taken from a river that is qualified as "infamous" (*nadyā anāmasaṃ pannaṅyā aśmānaṃ prāsyati*).

The above facts and inferences may probably help us also in understanding ŚB. 13, 1, 6, 1 where a series of names and qualifications whispered in the right ear of the horse which is to become the victim of the *aśvamedha* ends in: "Thou art called Speedy; thou art called Child", the author observing that this is the "dear name" (*priyaṃ nāmadheyam*<sup>20</sup>) of the horse "and one addresses the animal thus by its 'dear name'".

Whatever the implications of the expression "the name of the day-born one" (*āharjātasya yān nāma*) which occurs AV. 7, 14, 1 and 5, 28, 12 there is no reason for preferring one of the translations proposed by others<sup>21</sup>) to the literal rendering. A "day-born one" may be a being which does not belong to night or to the spirits of darkness<sup>22</sup>) and the statement: "we unite you with (fasten . . . on you) the name of the day-born one", which suits both occurrences, may be taken to mean: "we bring you in contact (fill you) with the power inherent in that name and hence with its owner".

This is a convenient place to recall the widespread preference for theophoric names which, it is true, are of more frequent occurrence in the epic and purānic texts than in Vedic literature. The child bearing such a name was considered to have been given or to be protected by a definite god: cf. Mbh. 3, 277, 24 *sāvītryā prītayā dattā sāvītryā hutayā hy api | sāvītrīty eva nāmāsyāś cakrur viprās tathā pitā*; MārkaP. 124 (127), 35 f. "Because the preceptor uttered these words *Marut tava* (sc. *śivāyāstu*, which is added in the preceding invocation: 33), "The Wind be propitious to you" this (boy) shall be famous on earth as Marutta". It would serve

<sup>18</sup>) Hazari, Untouchable, New York 1969, p. 139.

<sup>19</sup>) Compare also A. Wuttke, Deutscher Volksaberglaube, Berlin 1869; V. Henry, La magie dans l'Inde antique, Paris 1904, passim.

<sup>20</sup>) See p. 40 f.

<sup>21</sup>) See Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 109.

<sup>22</sup>) Petr. Dict., I, 572.

no useful purpose to mention other places, but it is worth observing that definite religious communities ordain that their initiated members should be given names connected with their god and that these names should convey such ideas as "lordship" or "ownership". See e.g. the Viṣṇuite Jayākhyā Samhitā, 5, 127. These persons obviously were supposed to have acquired superhuman power and to have come into intimate contact with their god.

## XI

Various peoples consider it quite common to have more than one name or nickname<sup>1</sup>). These so-called nicknames, which may refer to an occasion, a locality, a form of behaviour, a personal idiosyncrasy and are not rarely given in affection, or derision, or as a familiar or descriptive appellation, may nevertheless fulfil an important social function because they enable people to avoid, when necessary or desirable, for instance because of fear of sorcery and witchcraft, the 'real' name of a person, that is the one bestowed ceremonially. About the Gond it is, for instance, reported that the personal name of a human being may be used only by officials; all others, such as relatives, caste fellows and fellow villagers use only the nicknames which may be pronounced even by such relatives who on no account would be permitted to use the personal names. Nicknames are also preferred at night for fear that the true name may be overheard by evil spirits<sup>2</sup>). These customs are however not restricted to the aboriginal tribes of definite districts<sup>3</sup>). Since, however, 'nicknames', often used by people of low culture as a means of evading taboos, not rarely refer to some personal peculiarity<sup>4</sup>), they are not always readily uttered instead of the real names, because speakers may hesitate to make these personal peculiarities known to outsiders<sup>5</sup>).

<sup>1</sup>) See e.g. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders, New York 1964, p. 118. For modern Indians (Hindus as well as Muslims) see Masani, Customs, p. 146 and Folk Culture, p. 36 ff.; Thurston, Ethnographic notes in Southern India, p. 536 ff.; Das and Raha, o.c., p. 166.

<sup>2</sup>) S. Fuchs, The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla, London 1960, p. 253. It is interesting to notice that in modern times public authorities come to take the place of the traditional gods and demons: sometimes the secret name, not used in daily life, is only meant for the police (Fuchs, o.c., p. 252).

<sup>3</sup>) It may be expected that the 'social component' of these customs will expand with the spread of modern influences. Even nowadays a new burgomaster of some Dutch villages may need a list of nicknames to identify a good number of the inhabitants.

<sup>4</sup>) Among the Baiga (Central India) children who appear to be physically defective are given names accordingly, such as *Langra* (lame), or *Bahira* (deaf); see Russell, o.c., II, p. 83. See e.g. S. Ch. Roy, The Hill Bhūiyās of Orissa, Ranchi 1935, p. 186: "Besides the name . . . some children get pet names or nicknames".

<sup>5</sup>) Cf. W. H. R. Rivers, The Todas, London 1906, p. 624.

ŚB. 3, 6, 2, 24, after explaining that the hearths on the sacrificial ground, at their own request, received two names, because "they had not prospered (were not successful) with their first names (*na vā ebhir nāmabhir arātsma*), since Soma had been taken away from them", informs us that because of this exemplary event a brahman, if he is not successful, should take a second name, "for verily he prospers, whosoever, knowing this, takes a second name" (*tasmād brāhmaṇo 'ṛdhyaṃāne dvitīyaṃ nāma kurvīta. rādhnōti haiva ya evaṃ vidvān dvitīyaṃ nāma kurute*)<sup>6</sup>). This place is an exact counterpart of a Finnish custom: the ceremonies in connection with the naming of a child were primarily intended to give it the right and proper name through which it could prosper and develop. In case the name proved unsuccessful it was often replaced by another name which it was hoped would guarantee the success wished for<sup>7</sup>). The Eskimos believe that a name strengthens a child's 'soul' and if the child is sickly its name may be changed to one which will make it stronger<sup>8</sup>). Hence no doubt the belief underlying the statement TS. 6, 3, 1, 3 "therefore a brahman who has two names is likely to prosper" (*tasmād dvināmā brāhmaṇo 'rdhukāḥ*), words quoted in some gr̥hyasūtras, e.g. BhārGS. 1, 26.

This leads to the observation made by the author of ŚB. 5, 3, 3, 14: "They (a definite class of gods) are double-named, for a coupling means strength (*vīryam*): 'May the strong quicken (him)', thus he thinks, and therefore they are double-named". The addition of a second name is obviously intended to fortify the bearer. Another reference to a second name occurs in the same brāhmaṇa at 9, 4, 3, 13, directing that it should be derived from a religious ceremony performed by the person in question<sup>9</sup>), or rather: "the very rite of consecration (*sava-*) . . . by which he is consecrated is his second name", a formulation which places the identity of a name and the object or event denoted by it in strong relief. Compare also TB. 2, 7, 17, 1 *dvināmāni dīkṣāvāsinī hy ugrā*. It is difficult to decide

<sup>6</sup>) Compare also KS. 26, 1; KKS. 40, 4 *amuṣmin vai loke soma āsīt. taṃ dhiṣṇyā agopāyan. taṃ gāyatry āharat. neṣṭrāpotroḥ prati gopītham. tasmād ete hotre vyṛddhe vyṛddhasomapīthe. tasmān na neṣṭrā na potrā bhavitavyam. tasmād etau saṃsacantāv iva yajataḥ. tam ete 'nvāyan dvitīyāni nāmāni kṛtvā. tasmād brāhmaṇo dvināmārdhukāḥ*, and see MS. 3, 8, 10: 109, 10 ff. (do the words *ta etāni dvitīyāni nāmāny adhattam aṅgalechāyāi* (v.l. *dhatamaṅgalechāyāi; dhattamaṅgachāyāi*), the last part of which is incomprehensible, constitute a reference to the name's being a reflection or image (*chāyā-*) of one's body (*aṅga-*) ? ?).

<sup>7</sup>) A. Vilkkuna, Das Verhalten der Finnen in 'heiligen' Situationen, Folklore Fellows Comm. 164, Helsinki 1956, p. 39 ff.; I. Paulson, Die Religionen Nord-asiens, Stuttgart 1962, p. 264.

<sup>8</sup>) F. Boas, The Central Eskimo, Washington 1888, p. 612.

<sup>9</sup>) For a fourth name (of a god) see RV. 8, 80, 9; however, Kane, o.c., II, p. 240 errs in believing this to derive from the performance of a sacrifice and in arguing that this statement about Indra's *yajñīya* name has any demonstrative force in connection with the present case.

how far these causes and motives dominated, in practical life, the desire to adopt another name for purposes of distinction. In my opinion it is here also not possible to draw a hard and fast line between religious and social motives<sup>10</sup>).

RV. 1, 161, 5 is an instance of a change of name for reasons of safety, that is for concealing one's identity and becoming untraceable. When Tvaṣṭar, on seeing the four cups made by the Ṛbhhus, desired to kill them for desecrating the drinking vessel of the gods<sup>11</sup>) they assumed other names and were under these other names put in safety. Although this expedient is put into practice up to the present day Vedic man was no doubt convinced that the Ṛbhhus took great pains to conceal their real names and, in so doing, their identity<sup>12</sup>), lest these should give their enemy a handle by which to injure them.

One of the features of the retirement period which boys in primitive societies have to undergo is the assumption of a new name<sup>13</sup>), which no doubt is to mark, or rather to begin a new stage of life. This custom survives in a prescription given in Gobhila's Gr̥hyasūtra, 2, 10, 23 f.: *abhivādānīyaṃ nāmadheyam kalpayitvā* "after he (the teacher, *ācārya*) has determined upon his (his pupil's) name used for salutation". This name given to a boy by his spiritual teacher was to be derived from the nakṣatra under which the former was born etc. or from his gotra (family)<sup>14</sup>). It is worth noticing not only that a new name was often given when a child reached puberty<sup>15</sup>), that is a new stage of life, but also that this new name derived from personal characteristics of its owner<sup>16</sup>). Girls belonging to the hunter caste of the Kadirs give themselves a name as soon as they reach puberty. Before this time they answer to a number or a nickname<sup>17</sup>). That the moment of marrying was, and

<sup>10</sup>) As is suggested by Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, I, p. 444.

<sup>11</sup>) A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 133.

<sup>12</sup>) "Der Namenwechsel bedeutet ein Aufgeben der früheren Persönlichkeit", R. Thurnwald, Des Menschengestirbes Erwachen, Wachsen und Irren, Berlin 1951, p. 169.

<sup>13</sup>) See e.g. G. A. Reichard, Social life, in F. Boas, General anthropology, Boston 1938, p. 476.

<sup>14</sup>) For particulars see Kane, o.c., II, p. 246 f. "The higher castes of the Joshi (Central India) have two names, one given by the Joshi (astrologer), which is called *rāshi-ka-nām* or the ceremonial name, *rāshi* meaning the Nakshatra or moon's daily mansion under which the child was born. This is kept secret and only used in marriage and other ceremonies though the practice is now tending to decay. The other is the *chaltu* or current name, and may either be a second ordinary name, such as those already given, or it may be taken from some peculiarity of the child" (Russell, Tribes and castes, III, p. 278).

<sup>15</sup>) T. N. Madan and G. Śarana, Indian anthropology, London 1962, p. 343; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders, New York 1964, p. 119.

<sup>16</sup>) L. P. Vidyarthi, The Maler, Calcutta 1963, p. 120; S. Endle, The Kachāris, London 1911, p. 42 f.

<sup>17</sup>) A. Miles, The land of the lingam, London 1933, p. 102.

is, also in India, an opportunity to receive a name may be presumed to be well known<sup>18</sup>). The giving of a new name may be considered the mark of the change of social personality brought about by a socio-religious ceremony. One, so to say, receives an addition to, or experiences a modification of, one's personality and therefore receives an additional or another name. Thus the African Zulus usually assumed another name when they reached puberty<sup>19</sup>). When a Joshi girl (Central India) is married and goes to her husband's house her name is always changed there. The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills in Southern India change their name after an illness or other misfortune<sup>20</sup>). When, in China, a layman renounced lay life, he gave up his lay names. From that day on he used the surname Shih, which, being the first syllable of Śākyamuni, indicated that he now was "a son of the Buddha". His master moreover chose two personal names for him by which he would thereafter be known, viz. a tonsure name and a name by which he would be known to outsiders<sup>21</sup>). There is no need to recall the monastic names assumed, in other religions, after consecration or ordination<sup>22</sup>).

Renou<sup>23</sup>) was right in observing, in connection with R.V. 7, 56, 14 where names are said to be extended, that there cannot be question of "fame" or "renown" in the proper sense of the term, this semantic development being— notwithstanding 6, 1, 4 (see further on)—foreign to the language of the Vedic mantras. The question however arises as to the meaning of statements such as R.V. 1, 6, 4: those—in all probability the Aṅgiras, "the patriarchs"—who have achieved the daily birth of the sun have taken a name which is used in and is worthy of sacrificial worship, that is "a sacrificial name"<sup>24</sup>) (*dādhānā nāma yajñīyam*). It seems clear that the achievement resulted in a name and, so to say, remained attached to them in the form of a name. In a similar passage, R.V. 1, 72, 3, the poet adds "they brought themselves to (greater) perfection" (or something of the same tenor: *āsūdayanta tanvāḥ sūjātāḥ*<sup>25</sup>)). See also R.V. 6, 1, 4 where the Aṅgiras are said to have earned a good reputation (*śrāva āpan*) and taken a name which is worthy of sacrificial worship, after they had traced Agni. I would venture the hypothesis that these places reflect the well-known custom of taking a new name when, or after, entering upon a new stage of one's career, for instance—as

<sup>18</sup>) Thurston, Ethnographic notes, p. 533.

<sup>19</sup>) H. Webster, *Le tabou*, Paris 1952, p. 286.

<sup>20</sup>) Russell, o.c., III, p. 278; W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London 1906, p. 626.

<sup>21</sup>) For particulars: H. Welch, *The practice of Chinese Buddhism*, Cambridge Mass. 1967, p. 279 ff.

<sup>22</sup>) For Jainism see Sh. Bh. Deo, *History of Jaina monachism*, Poona 1956, p. 442.

<sup>23</sup>) Renou, *Études sur le vocabulaire du R̥gveda*, p. 11.

<sup>24</sup>) Cf. Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 35 (translating R.V. 6, 1, 4) "nom sacrificiel".

<sup>25</sup>) Less probable, with Geldner, o.c., I, p. 95 "... ihre Leiber vervollkommnet", notwithstanding st. 5.

already observed—after undergoing puberty rites, in being initiated, after becoming a schoolboy (China) or father of a son etc.<sup>26</sup>). After a feat of heroism or sagacity the performer is not the same as before and this means that he may, or should, take a new name. Thus educated Chinese people used to assume, after the completion of their studies, a title-name which they retained until the end of their lives. "Es ist nicht ungewöhnlich, dass ein Mann selber einen Namen nach einem denkwürdigen Ereignis annimmt, die kriegerischen Sioux- und Pawni-Indianer z.B. nach einer tapferen Tat, die sippenstolzen und geldliebenden (amerikanischen) Nordwest-stämme nach der sagenhaften Geschichte ihres Geschlechtes in Zusammenhang mit den grossen Geschenkfesten. Einige Namen darf man also am ehesten mit Titeln vergleichen"<sup>27</sup>). "Es ist . . . üblich, dass der Kindername bei der Mannbarkeitsweihe weggeworfen wird, während der die Jungen als 'neue Menschen' auferstehen, und dass man sich unter gewissen Formen des Kannibalismus den Namen des Opfers aneignet"<sup>28</sup>).

A similar custom was *mutatis mutandis* known to the Vedic Indians who, whilst assuming a new dignity could also take a new name. Just as the light gods, to whom special oblations are made are called the *devasū-*<sup>29</sup>) and so come to have two names, the man who is consecrated obtains a second name; "for the very rite of consecration is his second name" (ŚB. 9, 4, 3, 13), the commentator adding that he who has, for example, performed the Vājapeya is called a *Vājapeyayājīn*. Other such titles or qualifications are *Darśapūrnāmāsayājīn* "One who has performed the sacrificial rites of Full and New Moon" (TS. 2, 2, 2, 1) and *Somayājīn* (KŚS. 4, 2, 45)<sup>30</sup>).

Hence also the statement that Agni, the god who knows all ritual ways<sup>31</sup>), made himself, or took, the name R̥bhu which is worth invoking (R.V. 3, 5, 6): the same name is applied to this god at 2, 1, 10 "Thou, Agni, art R̥bhu", this sūkta identifying Agni with a number of divinities and attributing him various functions.

## XII

There can be no doubt that already at an early date and also in comparatively simple formulas and supplications an extended succession of

<sup>26</sup>) See e.g. K. Birket-Smith, *Geschichte der Kultur*, Zürich 1946, p. 334; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abr. ed., London 1957, p. 327 (with too one-sided an interpretation).

<sup>27</sup>) Birket-Smith, o.c., p. 333.

<sup>28</sup>) Birket-Smith, o.c., p. 334.

<sup>29</sup>) See J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 69 ff.

<sup>30</sup>) Cf. e.g. also Mbh. 13, 69, 7.

<sup>31</sup>) This translation of *vayināni* seems for the time being least improbable (see also Renou, in *Die Sprache*, I, Festschrift—W. Havers, Vienna 1949, p. 11 ff.).

names was much desired in order to enhance their efficacy. Prayers to be muttered "in the morning after rising, at noon and at the end of the day" and expected to give peace and prosperity to those who pronounce them may practically consist of a series of names and epithets, introduced by one of the formulas "I bow to . . .", "I seek the shelter of . . .", "I seek refuge with . . ." or some words of a similar meaning and followed by the entreaty to destroy "the sins or evil of the speaker" (see e.g. VāmanaP. 2, 59, 65 ff.). The extremely frequent *namah* formulas were, however, already known in Vedic ritual: (KapKS. 4, 6; ĀpŚS. 6, 11, 3) *rudra mṛḍānārbhava dhūrte namas te 'stu, paśupate trāyasvainam* "O Rudra, be gracious, Anārbhava be gracious, O Injury (Injurer), homage to thee, O Paśupati, protect him". We can readily agree with the author of the Kapiṣṭhalakāṭhasaṃhitā that the names mentioned before 'homage' are the god's formidable or inauspicious (*krūrāṇi*) names.

Already in the earliest documents this polyonymy did not only exist, but also attracted the attention of authors. The poets of ṚV. 3, 20, 3 and 8, 11, 5 make mention of the many names of Agni: ṚV. 8, 11, 5 (this may refer to the god's aspects or manifestations) whereas the author of ŚB. 1, 7, 3, 8 provides us with a specification: the peoples of the eastern regions call him Śarva; the Bāhikas, Bhava, other names being Paśūnām pati ("Lord of cattle or animals"), Rudra, Agni. As already observed by my predecessors<sup>1)</sup> this passage is of considerable interest as showing the tendency towards identifying originally distinct and (probably also) apparently local Vedic gods. The same god is VS. 2, 2; ŚB. 1, 3, 3, 17 given three names, viz. Lord of the Earth, Lord of the World, and Lord of Beings (*bhūtapataye svāhā, bhuvanapataye svāhā, bhūtānām pataye svāhā*). That is to say, the text speaks of three Agnis and Mahīdhara on VS. 2, 2 of his three brothers. The otherwise anonymous three-named<sup>2)</sup> god who at AV. 6, 74, 3 is invoked together with the Vasus and the Maruts may, according to the commentary and modern interpreters, be Agni, who is present in the three regions of the universe; ṚV. 3, 20, 2, where this god is said to have three faculties gaining the vegetative power, three abodes, three tongues and three bodies, lends probability to this supposition. At AV. 19, 39, 2 the plant *kuṣṭha* is said to have three 'names', two of which seem to be "By-no-means-killing" and "By-no-means-harming"<sup>3)</sup>. So much seems clear that this medicinal plant is said to have three—and this is the number of totality—wholesome properties.

The interpretation given by the commentary of AV. 6, 82, 1 is no doubt correct, especially if the reading of AV. Paipp. 19, 7, 4 is preferred: this text, which was to be recited in a rite to obtain a wife, opens with a mention of the name of Indra in his quality as Vṛtrahan etc.: *āgacchata*

<sup>1)</sup> See e.g. J. Eggeling, in Sacred Books of the East, XII, Oxford 1882, p. 201, n. 2.

<sup>2)</sup> For the significance of the number "three" see also Viṣṇuism and Śivaism, p. 8.

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 959.

. . . *nāma gṛhṇāmi . . . | indrasya vṛtraghno rājño . . .* (i.e. *vartamānāga-manasya . . . | indrasya prītikaram vṛtrahādīnāmādheyam uccārayāmi*, comm.). As to the epithet Vṛtrahan: the god who is able to destroy the most terrible demon can also avert danger and mishap from a single individual<sup>4)</sup>. "Vṛtra is evil. With the help of Indra, the slayer of Vṛtra, he thus slays evil, Vṛtra, who ever keeps him from well-being (*bhūti*-), from what is good and salutary (*kalyāṇa*-), and from meritorious work" (ŚB. 11, 1, 5, 7).

When Agni is requested to go with the name of Āyu this means "in his capacity of Āyu", or simply "as (Agni) Āyu" (VS. 5, 9). The term *āyu* stands for "(a full) life(-time)". In connection with these words ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 32 says "The life they passed away from" (or, rather, with the Kāṇva rec. "the life which passed away"), "that he bestows on him, with that he re-animates him" (*yat prādhānvat tad asminn āyur dadhāti, tad enam samīrayati*). Another example of one or more 'names' mentioned to characterize a being or entity or to give an idea of one or more aspects of its nature occurs ṚV. 10, 181, 1.

In this connection a reference may be inserted to the well-known story of the origin of Rudra-Śiva's many names: as an infant he cried (*rud-*) and was therefore called Rudra, crying seven times more he was given seven other names (cf. ŚB. 6, 1, 3, 10; KB. 6, 2-9; ViṣṇuP. 1, 8, 2 ff.; MārK. 52, 2 ff. etc.). The question may arise as to whether this mythical tale had not been somehow concocted under the influence of definite socio-religious customs prevalent in part of the Indian subcontinent. "After a birth among the Kois of the Godāvarī district, the child is well washed on the seventh day, and all the neighbours and near relations assemble together to name it. Having placed the child on a cot they . . . pronounce some name which they think suitable for it. If the child cries, they take it as a sign that they must choose another name and so they . . . substitute another name, until the child shows its approbation by ceasing to cry". Among the Jhadi Telenga "a child is named on the seventh or eighth day after birth by the old women. If it is much given to crying they consider the name unsuitable and change it, repeating those of deceased relatives. When the child stops crying at the mention of a particular name, they consider that the relative mentioned has been born again in the child and name it after him."<sup>5)</sup>

Indian authors have a sort of natural bent for classification and system-

<sup>4)</sup> J. Gonda, Epithets in the Ṛgveda, The Hague 1959, p. 52.

<sup>5)</sup> E. Thurston, Ethnographic notes in Southern India, Madras 1906, p. 543 f. and B.V. Russell, Tribes and castes, III, p. 241. In illustration of the occurrence of names derived from an event at the moment of a person's birth such mythical motifs may be adduced as the well-known purāṇic passage: "When the ṛṣi used friction upon the left hand of Vena, a creature of short stature sprang from it. They said to him: 'Please, be seated (*niṣīdatu bhavān*)'. From it sprang up the Niṣādas..." (e.g. BmḍP. 1, 36, 143 ff.; BhāgP. 4, 14, 45).

atization and so the use, in religious practice, of the names of one and the same god may be found distributed over a plurality of beings. "O lord, the gods speak about you as Śiva, the Siddhas as Hara, the great ṛṣis as Sthāṇu, the yakṣas as Bhīma, men as Maheśvara, the Bhūtas as Bhūtādhipa; the Nisācaras (Night-walkers, rākṣasas) praise thee as Ugra, the holy Fathers bow before you as Bhava . . ." (VāmanaP. 2, 44, 54 f.). Even if they are not based on genuine tradition the interest of these lists is not inconsiderable, because they may, to a certain extent, attest to a belief, on the part of the authors, of a certain meaningful correspondence between the god's names and the character of his worshippers. The Highest Being of the rākṣasas is, of course, the "Terribly powerful One"; the ṛṣis obviously are ascetic saints who revere him as the "Immovable pillarlike god"; for men he simply is the Great Lord.

There is on the other hand the well-known tendency to identify divine beings while regarding their names as denoting their different aspects or manifestations. Even in the present century the Balinese consider Śrī identical with Umā, Durgā, Giriputrī, Mother Pṛthivī etc., believing these names to correspond with the aspect or capacity in which the goddess appears or makes her presence felt.<sup>6)</sup>

Whatever the correct interpretation of AV. 8, 9, 15, so much is clear that the number of the names of a being may correspond to, or be correlated with, the same number of other entities or events: a cow with five names is associated with five milkings, five dawns, five seasons and five regions (of the universe). See also AV. 9, 9, 2.

## XIII

The name and the thing named being in so-called primitive<sup>1)</sup> and archaic thought one and the same or at least much more intimately associated than we are accustomed to accept, the knowledge or utterance of a name is widely assumed to be a potent means of exerting influence upon, or through, the person or thing denoted by it, of securing control of the march of events, of anticipating inimical attacks, of procuring oneself safety<sup>2)</sup>. Names are therefore an important feature in prayers as well as magical formulas. ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 12 "whosoever knows *samvatsara-* ("year") to be the same as *sarvatsara-* (a form invented for the sake of an 'etymological explanation') is not overcome by any evil which, by

<sup>6)</sup> See C. J. Grader, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 83 (Batavia-Djakarta 1949), p. 403.

<sup>1)</sup> For this term see e.g. G. van der Leeuw, *La structure de la mentalité primitive*, Paris 1928 and J. Gonda, *The character of the Indo-European moods*, Wiesbaden 1928, p. 23 ff.

<sup>2)</sup> See e.g. V. Henry, *La magie dans l'Inde antique*, Paris 1904, passim; H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn 1929, p. 335 f.

*māyā* (incomprehensible and supernormal creative power), steals upon him (*tsar-*) and who knows thus overcomes the one at whom he is aiming". ŚB. 4, 6, 7, 20 the man who knows the sense of the name *paraścaraṇam* ("preparation") applied to the adhvaryu who walks, as it were, in front, stands, as it were, in front through prosperity and glory (*para iva ha vai śriyā yaśasā bhavati*).

The name indeed furnishes the clue to an understanding of facts and events. The man who knows something which belongs to the past, *in casu* the earth which existed previous to this worldly reality, by name may think himself a knower of ancient things: AV. 11, 8, 7 *yétā āsīd bhūmih pūrṇvā . . . | yó vai tāṃ vidyān namāthā sā manyeta purānavit*. As long as that former earth remains nameless it cannot be identified so as to become an object of knowledge. At RV. 1, 156, 3, enjoining the eulogists to pronounce Viṣṇu's name, the addition "with full knowledge" ("knowing (it well)": *jānāntah*) is not senseless. Pronouncing the name without knowing its meaning does not bring about the result intended. The next quarter of the stanza is no doubt a reference to this result: "we hope to enjoy (receive) thy benevolence". As is well known the effective power of knowledge—i.e. of mental identification—is often said to be indispensable in performing a rite<sup>3)</sup>. The statement "Uṣas knows the name of the first day" at RV. 1, 123, 9 therefore means, not only that (the goddess of) dawn was there at the time of the first day—that is, that she arose then already<sup>4)</sup>—, but also that she fully understood what was its nature and essence with the implication that it was dependent on her, that she could exert a certain influence upon it.

The mere ritual pronouncement or 'imposition'<sup>5)</sup> of a name suffices to make the bearer of the name present just as an (other) important element of a mantra may suffice to convert a wish or an intention into an actual accomplished fact: ŚB. 4, 5, 2, 4 "... even though it is not ten months old, he makes it one of ten months by means of the sacred formula (containing the words "of ten months")". ŚB. 2, 2, 4, 13 f. it reads: "Auspicious (*bhadram*), indeed, is what we have produced here, who have produced the cow (*go-*); for, verily, she is sacrificial worship, for without the cow, verily, no sacrificial worship is performed; she indeed, is also food, whatever (it is). That (the word *go-*), then, is a name of these (cows), and so it is of sacrificial worship: let him, therefore, repeat<sup>6)</sup> it,

<sup>3)</sup> I refer to H. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*, Göttingen 1919, p. 5.

<sup>4)</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 171 referring to RV. 10, 10, 6.

<sup>5)</sup> "... nous verrons par exemple la seule imposition du nom conférer à la statue une vie magique" (B. Ph. Groslier, *Angkor*, Paris 1956, p. 9). If a king, and even a god is not "proclaimed" "he cannot display his special power" (AiB. 8, 12, 5).

<sup>6)</sup> Thus also Eggeling, in S.B.E. XII, p. 326. The meaning "avoid" would perhaps be possible here (*viz.* in daily, or 'profane' use?), but not in the second

(as it were) saying "Good, right!" and verily, whosoever, knowing this, repeats it, (as it were) saying: "Good, right!" with him these (cows) multiply, and the sacrifice will incline to him" 7).

So much is clear from AV. 6, 82, 1 8) that the name of the god Indra—and the commentator is no doubt right that this in the first place means his name Vṛtrahan (occurring in pāda c), which "causes pleasure (to the god)" 9)—is pronounced in order to eite him and to make an appeal to him for help.

The belief in the efficacy of this knowledge has, it is well known, developed also into a motif in popular tales. It may for instance be conjectured that the Pāli Jātaka no 380 about a king who was not allowed to marry a girl before he could guess or find out her name reflects the common belief that knowledge of a name gives access or enables the knower to take possession of the entity it stands for.

It even was expedient to know the name of an assembly or place for meetings if one would strive for victory in debate or deliberations: AV. 7, 12, 2 and AVP. 20, 21, 3, the name(s) being different in both recensions; *subhadṛāsi sarasvatī* in AVP. "thou art very auspicious, O Sarasvatī (the goddess Speech or Eloquence)" is quite apposite; AVŚ. has "joking" (*narīṣṭā*).

The knowledge of, and insight into, the hidden meaning of a name entitles the knower also to the sympathy etc. of his fellow-beings: JUB. 4, 10, 4, 6 (4, 21, 6) *tad dha tadvanaṃ nāma. tadvanam ity upāsītavyam. sa ya etad evaṃ vedābhi hainam sarvāṇi bhūtāni saṃvāṅchanti* "verily it is *tadvana-* by name. As *tadvana-* it is to be worshipped. Who knows this thus, for him all beings long (they want or desire him)". A more complicated case of the beneficial influence of a name is told JB. 3, 169: As soon as they saw Asamāti's fire, they knew that it was the fire called Varūthya (i.e. "Affording protection"). Agni, you should know, had revealed his name to Asamāti: "I am Varūthya by name; whoever satisfies you with this name, for him you should do whatever he wishes". They turned to the fire, implored Agni and so they caused Asamāti to ask what was their desire.

Thus the formal recital of personal names to secure control over their owners was also in Vedic times a feature of magical procedures. The statement that the ninety-nine names of the female destroyers—or some expression of similar purport—of the poison have been enumerated is no doubt to declare that the magical operator had succeeded in rousing

occurrence. Eggeling's supposition that there may be a "play on the words" *upanāmuka-* "inclining to him" and *upanāman-* "a by-name" (which is not in the text) is not convincing.

7) The commentator observes: *tāsāṃ gavāṃ yajñasya ca sādharmaṇam ekaṃ nāmopadiśya praśamsati tad vā iti.*

8) See Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 342.

9) We may add Vāsava and Śatakratu of pāda d.

them to action (RV. 1, 191, 13). A study of African ritual used for exorcising revealed that as soon as a demon or evil spirit who is supposed to cause a person's illness mentions his name his power is broken and the patient is recovering 10). The man who wishes to have complete power over a demon should know his complete name 11). Is this, as suggested already by Victor Henry 12), the clue to an understanding of AV. 1, 7, 1?: *stuvānām agne ā vaha yātudhānam* . . . "Bring hither, O Agni (whose help is implored for discovering evil-doers), the evil-doer while 'praising himself' . . ."; ancient Indian praising indeed comprises mention of names and characteristics of the person concerned. If, also in ancient India, some malign influence or other, or some form of evil is to be counteracted successfully, it must be determined, its name must be known and formally pronounced. Hence AV. 6, 83, 2, a text which was used to remove the disease called *apacit* 13): "One is spotted, one whitish . . .; of all have I mentioned the name; go away, not slaying (our men)". It was indeed imperative that one should know the name of the evil power which brought about a disease. AV. 1, 25, 2 f.—a text against fever, prescribed in a remedial rite (KauśikaS. 26, 25)—"If thou art flame, or if glow . . ., *hrūdu* 14) by name art thou, O god of the yellow one . . .". The text is to accompany and to consecrate a magical rite consisting in the heating of an axe which has to warm the water for sprinkling the patient.

A formal mention of a personal name and its inclusion in a magical formula secures control over its owner. It is therefore a constant feature of magical procedures in many countries. Cf. e.g. ŚB. 5, 2, 4, 20 "In whatever direction from there his evil-wisher is looking back thither he offers . . .; let him indicate the name of that one, saying: 'We have slain so-and-so! So-and-so has been killed!' Thus he kills the powers of destruction".

The belief that naming the person against whom witchcraft is directed is a condition sine qua non seems also to underlie the thought expressed in the difficult line AV. 10, 1, 11 (= AVPaipp. 16, 36, 1) *yāt te pitṛbhyo dādato yajñe vā nāma jagrhūh | saṃdeśyāt sarvasmāt pāpāt* . . . which may mean "In that they (definite persons) have mentioned thy name whilst offering to the Fathers or (while being engaged in) sacrificing (to the gods), let the plants free thee from all evil which was done on purpose (*saṃdeśyāt*)". As the text is directed against witchcraft and those who

10) E. Dammann, Die Religionen Afrikas, Stuttgart 1963, p. 114. Remember the fairy tale of Rumpelstiltskin.

11) See e.g. R. Hirzel, Der Name, Abh. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., Leipzig 1921, p. 17.

12) V. Henry, La magie dans l'Inde antique, Paris 1904, p. 168: ". . . fais qu'il se nomme avec emphase" < "il se vantera".

13) ". . . apacit désigne le mal connu dans la médecine classique sous le nom d'apacit . . . Il s'agit . . . d'adénopathies se présentant d'abord sous la forme de nodules isolés, puis devenant confluentes et qui . . . peuvent supprimer" (J. Fillozat, La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne, Paris 1949, p. 91).

14) The form of this name is quite uncertain, the readings of the manuscripts varying considerably.



practise it, "mentioning one's name" may in this connection be an indication of sinister designs.

There are some places in the Atharvaveda which attest to the belief that a god's protection or co-operation may be secured by pronouncing his name. Thus it reads in a text to be recited for a kṣatriya's security from death (6, 76, 4): "They who are aiming at him<sup>15</sup>) do not kill the kṣatriya who, knowing, pronounces the name of Agni in order to (secure) length of life". In AV. 19, 49, 7 a the reading of the manuscripts may be retained: *samyā ha nāma dadhiṣé*<sup>16</sup>). That in invoking Night for protection against thieves etc. the poet addresses this goddess by an appropriate name is quite intelligible and that this name should be "Pin, Stick"—perhaps as an adaptation, by way of popular etymology, of a derivative of *sam-* "to be calm or quiet"—is not completely incredible; the explanation of the commentary *samyā: śatruśamanasamarthā* may be a felicitous guess rather than an absurdity<sup>17</sup>). At AV. 19, 48, 6 Night, implored for protection, is called "ghee-dripping"—a reference to the beneficial morning-dew—and the addition "as such Bharadvāja knows thee" creates the impression that this name was only known to such initiated authorities as that reputed ṛṣi. The belief in a close connection between name and (place of) origin accounts for the occurrence of a variant formulation such as AV. 4, 9, 10 "If thou (an ointment employed for protection) art of the three-peaked (mountain), or if thou art called 'the one of the Yamunā', both thy names are auspicious; by them protect us, O ointment"<sup>18</sup>).

It is at first sight surprising that the awful (*tveṣām*) name of the terrible and much dreaded god Rudra should be praised (RV. 2, 33, 8) as Geldner's<sup>19</sup>) translation (of *grṇīmāsi*) has it, because praise is a form of strengthening and adding to a god's power<sup>20</sup>). The purport of the poem is however to request the god for help (st. 2; 3 etc.), to avert his wrath, to rouse him to action in the interest of those speaking and their patrons. Making formal mention of a god's name is on the other hand also a means of exerting influence upon the god whose identity is revealed and whose true nature is known to the speaker. Said the Egyptian god Rā: "My parents gave me my name, and it remained hidden in my body since my birth, that no magician might have magic power over me"<sup>21</sup>). A companion passage is RV. 10, 84, 5: "We make ceremonious mention of thy name, O overpowering one; we know the source where thou origi-

<sup>15</sup>) For *paryāyin-* compare RV. 1, 27, 8 etc. *paryetar-*.

<sup>16</sup>) I refer to Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 981.

<sup>17</sup>) Otherwise: Whitney-Lanman, l.c. The translation may be: "If thou bearest the name Ś. . . ." (accent).

<sup>18</sup>) For this place see also p. 15 etc.

<sup>19</sup>) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 317.

<sup>20</sup>) Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 24; 41.

<sup>21</sup>) J. G. Frazer, Golden bough, abr. ed., London 1957, p. 343.

natest". Here Manyu, Fury, is implored to protect those speaking and to enable them to conquer their enemies. Knowledge of a being's origin and antecedents—which in daily life may even lead to downright blackmail—is another method of influencing or manipulating a person.

The name of a god is a source of help, strength and encouragement. AV. 4, 9, 10 it reads: "If thou art So-and-so, or if thou art called So-and-so, both thy names are excellent; by them protect us, O ointment (-amulet)". RV. 7, 32, 17 should not be translated: "Deinen Namen fleht jeder schutzbedürftige Erdenbewohner hier an, du Vielgerufener"<sup>22</sup>), but: ". . . desires, begs, wishes for" (*bhikṣate*), and the epithet "much invoked one" (*puruhūta*) is no redundancy. It would be superfluous to recall here the numerous parallels from other countries: cf. e.g. N.T., Ev. Mar. 16, 17 *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου δαίμόνια ἐκβαλοῦσι*, and Acta Ap. 3, 6 *εἶπε δὲ Πέτρος . . . ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου περιπάτει*<sup>23</sup>). For a similar reason the names of those men who proved themselves to be liberal patrons are intentionally and explicitly praised at RV. 1, 48, 4 (. . . *nāma grṇāti nrṇām*).

That the uttering of the name of a god may make that god present<sup>24</sup>) and stimulate him into a display of helpfulness appears also from ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 31 ff.: "He (the officiant) flings (the wooden sword) while mentioning the names of the Agnis . . . It is really with this one (the Agni who entered into the earth) that he now flings". The text continues to say that after having dug up loose soil he puts it down with the words VS. 5, 9 "Whatever inviolable sacrificial name of thine, therewith I lay thee down". From the next paragraph it appears that the ceremony is "to worst one's enemies".

A very interesting place is RV. 3, 37, 3 *nāmāni te śatakrate viśvābhir gīrbhīr imāhe | indrābhīmātīṣḍhaye* "we approach thy names, O thou of a hundredfold resourcefulness, with all laudatory invocations, in order, O Indra, to conquer (the) insidious (wiles of our antagonists)". In the next stanza it is the manifestations and localizations of his power, his presence through which the god is extolled and in which the poet cum suis delight (. . . *dhāmabhiḥ . . . mahayāmasi | indrasya . . .*)<sup>25</sup>). Invoking the god Indra Śatakrate, in order to display his strength and superior power (st. 1; 9) the priests direct his eyes and attention to the interests of their patrons (st. 2), whose plans and hopes the god is expected to further. It is not surprising that the poet should attempt to gain access to the god by various ways and methods. The explicit appeal made to the names however proves that they represented his power and essence. Just as mantras, expressing the intention of a ritual act, consecrate it, so mentioning names has in definite circumstances a consecratory force:

<sup>22</sup>) Geldner, o.c., II, p. 209.

<sup>23</sup>) W. Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu, Göttingen 1903.

<sup>24</sup>) See e.g. Heiler, o.c. p. 275 ff. and the bibliography p. 275, n. 28.

<sup>25</sup>) Cf. Gonda, Dhāman, p. 40.

ŚB. 9, 3, 3, 9 "As to why he offers while mentioning names, — it is thus in mentioning his (in casu, Agni's) names that he consecrates him" (*yad veva nāmagrāhaṃ juhōti nāmagrāham evainam etad abhiṣiñcati*).

The name of a god pronounced for consecratory purposes may also bring about the effectiveness of a potent, though mechanical, means of protecting oneself against ill-luck, misfortune etc. Those who bind on an amulet made of wood of the *jaṅgiḍa* tree used, according to the commentary on AV. 19, 35, 1 to pronounce the name of Indra. The text of AV. 19, 35 itself ascribes this custom to the seers (of yore) when the gods in the beginning made the *jaṅgiḍa* a remedy.

An interesting instance of the creative, inaugurative and consecratory force of the solemn utterance of a name occurs ŚB. 9, 2, 1, 9 describing one of the propitiatory ceremonies in connection with Agni and the great fire-place: "... By means of the oblation he makes them (a number of names of Agni) a deity: for whatever deity the oblation is prepared that deity (they are), not that deity for whom it is not prepared. And, in calling them by their names, he also thereby places those fires along with this fire". Making something powerful the object of a sacrificial ceremony while mentioning its name or giving it a name one establishes it among the deities.

There is no reason why other powers such as potent plants, incense etc. should be excluded from these invocations: AV. 19, 38, 2 "If, O *guggulu* (bdellium, used as a perfume, medicament etc.; the text is to counteract the causes of disease), thou art from the river, or if also from the ocean, the name of both have I mentioned, that this man may be uninjured".

This belief seems also to furnish the clue to a better understanding of AV. 4, 38, 7 which probably belonged to an invocation of divine powers for the sake of young cattle<sup>26</sup>): "Here we bind the calf (or, probably, "calves", with some mss. and the comm.). According to name (*yathānāmā*) we have power over you (plur.)". It is difficult to discover the significance of the compound *viśvānāmnīh* which AV. 7, 75, 2 qualifies cows. The general impression made by this short text is that of a charm or prayer to bring about the safe and sound return home of these animals; so in the context "... united, come unto me ... to this stall" the meaning may simply be "let no name (individual) be missing". The reference to some head of cattle which know their names when summoned by the Voice at PB. 10, 3, 13 may probably be explained also from the custom of giving a cow a name (ŚB. 14, 2, 1, 7; KS. 34, 12: 45, 6).

It may be asked whether the difficult stanza AV. 10, 7, 31 refers to a similar, or even creative, force of naming or mentioning the real name: *nāma nāmnā jōhavīti purā sūryāt purōśasaḥ | yād ajāh prathamāṃ saṃ-*

<sup>26</sup>) Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, p. 301. For the text see Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 215 f.

*babhāva sā ha tāt svarājyam iyāya | yāsmān nānyāt pāram asti bhūlām*. The text dealing with the skambha or "frame of creation"<sup>27</sup>), the subject of the first line is in any case some representative of the idea of a primeval being. This being is said to have called aloud before (the phenomenal existence of dawn and sun) "name with name", that is "more than one appellative word, many such words"; and (no doubt as a result of this activity) the *aja-*, whom we know to be the object of speculations on the basis of the homonymity of "unborn" and "goat"<sup>28</sup>) came into being; this "creature" became the universal sovereign.

Attention may finally be drawn also to the ritual prescription to mention the names of definite objects used in performing sacred acts while handling them. While laying down the so-called regional bricks (Agnicayana<sup>29</sup>)) one addresses them with the formulas mentioned VS. 14, 13 "Thou art the Queen, the Eastern region" etc., the ŚB. (8, 3, 1, 14) observing that these are their names: "he thus lays them down while naming them"; an act obviously important enough to require special mention. The commentator Mahīdhara says in explanation: "... *vaiśvadevīvad iti pratidiśam ... pañca diśyāsaujñakā iṣṭakā upadadhāti pañcamīṃ dakṣiṇām. uttareneti sūtrārthaḥ. dikṣabdopetatvān mantrāṇāṃ diśyā iṣṭakāḥ. digdevatyāni pañca yajñāsi* ... Compare ŚB. 7, 4, 2, 29; 8, 2, 1, 16; 8, 3, 2, 5; 6; 8, 4, 2, 14; 8, 7, 1, 5 and see also ŚB. 9, 2, 1, 9 from which it likewise appears that in doing as is prescribed one "pleases" the names and achieves what is intended. The mention of the name is on the one hand to identify the object handled or the deity dealt with ("for whatever deity the oblation is prepared, that deity (they are), not that deity for whom it is not prepared") and on the other hand to execute the ritual act without failures and so as to bend the right powers to one's will.

## XIV

As is well known the so-called stotra literature and especially the *nāmastotras*<sup>1</sup>) ("praise of names") based on the names of God became in the course of time a peculiar feature of Hinduism. Thus the Lakṣmī-Tantra, a Viṣṇuite text of the Pāñcarātra school, enjoins (34, 125 f.) the devotee ritually to satisfy the gods by pronouncing the mantra consisting of the names of the relevant deities preceded by the *praṇava* (= the sacred syllable *Om*) and ending in *namah* "homage". The names of the Lord, strung together 108, 300, a thousand, or 1008 times and constituting a hymn were learnt by heart and regularly repeated. This type of "praise"

<sup>27</sup>) See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 33; 181.

<sup>28</sup>) I refer to *The Savayajñas*, p. 64; 253, and to Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 593.

<sup>29</sup>) See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 191 ff.

<sup>1</sup>) See also my book *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism, a comparison*, London 1970, ch. I, p. 15 ff. and Maheswar Neog, *Śaṅkaradeva and his times*, Gauhati 1965, p. 348.

developing on a large scale into a literary and liturgical form of praise, adoration and magnification is based on the doctrine of the divine name as a means of protection or salvation. As such it is the easiest and best suited to the present age. Becoming usual especially in Viṣṇuite and other more or less monotheistic milieus<sup>2)</sup> the recitation of the names was considered a device for meditatively identifying oneself with aspects of the god's nature, the easiest method of promoting one's spiritual welfare and best suited for the present age in which higher spiritual qualifications are generally speaking difficult of attainment. Thus famous saints living in different regions of India have not only left songs in the local languages in praise of God, but also shorter formulae expressing faith, devotion, surrender and obeisance added to a brief string of divine names<sup>3)</sup>. One example may suffice here: in the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century the Bengal poet Ramprasad Sen made the following verses: "I shall not be reborn in this world; I shall not be reborn in the womb of a mother, O Bhavānī (= Kālī), Bhairavī, Śyāma. . . Śiva alone has understood thy greatness, O Tārā. While singing the name of my Mother, all sins have been taken from me. Deign to show me, O Mother, mount Kailāsa, the City of the gods"<sup>4)</sup>.

Not infrequently these addresses or harangues assume the character of a mixture of eulogies, identifications, statements of the deity's qualities and manifestations<sup>5)</sup>, his nature and identity, names and epithets, indications of his functions, references to his great exploits and to the position he occupies in the religious life of his adorers. Thus it reads VāmanaPur. 1, 8, 48 ff.: "(Prahāda said:) 'O lord (Nārāyaṇa is addressed); who is able to conquer thee? Which person can excel thee? For thou art Nārāyaṇa, Ananta, Pītavāsas (the One dressed in yellow), Janārdana; thou (art) god Puṇḍarikākṣa (the Lotus-eyed One), thou (art) Viṣṇu, the Holder of the Śārṅga bow. Thou art the imperishable Great Lord, ever-existing and the Highest of Persons. On thee the yogins meditate, the inspired seers praise thee, the absolved students of the Veda mutter thy name (*jananti snātakās tvām ca*) and those versed in sacrificial ritual worship thee by means of rites (*yajanti tvām ca yājñikāḥ*). Thou art Acyuta<sup>6)</sup>, Hṛṣīkeśa, Cakrapāṇi (the Discus-holder), Dharādharma (the Sustainer of

<sup>2)</sup> For Tantrism see e.g. A. Avalon, *The Great Liberation*, Madras 1953, passim.

<sup>3)</sup> V. Raghavan, *The Indian heritage*, Bangalore 1956, p. LXXV.

<sup>4)</sup> M. Lupsa, *Chants à Kālī*, Pondichéry 1967, p. 133.

<sup>5)</sup> The observation made in connection with a deity's names and his identity with the divine bearers of names: "it is not possible to describe his qualities (*guṇāḥ*) even in a hundred years" (Mbh. 13, 160, 44 Bo.) shows that the author was conscious of a close connection between names and qualities. At Mbh. 12, 284, 165 Bo. it reads, in connection with a sahasranāmastotra, not only that neither Brahmā or Govinda (Kṛṣṇa - Viṣṇu) nor the ṛṣis of yore are able to know the majesty or peculiar virtue or efficacy (of the names) and that the very subtle or minute embodiments (*mūrtayah*) of the god remain hidden from view.

<sup>6)</sup> For this name see a paper which is to appear elsewhere.

the earth), the Great Fish (i.e. Viṣṇu's first avatāra), Hayaśīras (the One with the Horse-head<sup>7)</sup>), the Supreme Tortoise (the second avatāra), the enemy of Hiranyākṣa, the Illustrious One, Bhagavān, the Boar (the third avatāra); thou art also the destroyer of my (Prahāda's) father, the Man-lion, (thou art) Brahmā, the Three-eyed god (Śiva), Agni, Yama, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Sūrya, the Moon, the movable and the stationary, O omnipresent Lord; thou art the earth, light, space, water . . . , omnipresent and imperishable; the only way of satisfying and winning thee is bhakti, O guru of the world!" See also *ibid.* 2, 26, 62 ff. (Śiva).

Hence the frequent difficulty in translating hymns, addresses and similar passages. Should we use capital letters, may we leave words untranslated? Names, common nouns used as proper nouns, so-called personifications, and what would seem to us to be abstract ideas are often used indiscriminately to characterize a divine being. Compare e.g. MārkaPur. 78, 53 ff. Brahmā praising (the) Yoganidrā (Viṣṇu's Sleep): "Thou art Svāhā, thou art Svadhā; . . . thou hast sound for thy soul . . . thou art (the) Sāvitrī . . . ; thou art the Great Knowledge . . . , the Night of the world's destruction . . . , Shame, Nourishment, Contentment . . ." In Pargiter's translation<sup>8)</sup> Ambikā, the Great Mother, is also styled Good Fortune, Intelligence, Modesty and so on (*ibid.* a. 84)<sup>9)</sup>.

However, here also a common and widespread Hinduist practice is rooted in the Vedic past. It is true that in many Ṛgvedic hymns the same name of the god addressed is several times repeated—thus Agni's name occurs eight times in the nine stanzas of ṚV. 1, 1—, this does not alter the fact that there are various exceptions: in his aspect as Vaiśvānara the same god is alternately praised as Agni and as Vaiśvānara, Agni Vaiśvānara and Jātavedas Vaiśvānara (ṚV. 1, 59); the invocation ṚV. 8, 5, 32 is addressed to the Aśvins, Nāsatyas; or a name is immediately followed by a number of epithets: ṚV. 3, 11, 4 *agnim sūnam sānasrutam sāhaso jātavedasam | vāhniṃ devā akravata*<sup>10)</sup>. The alternation of names and frequent epithets in the same stanza is already in the Ṛgveda far from rare, oft recurring epithets appropriated to a definite god being preferred to a repeated mention of his name e.g. 1, 63, 4 *indra . . . sūra* "O hero"; 7, 84, 4 Indra and Varuṇa, followed by Āditya (= V.) and hero (= I.)<sup>11)</sup>. Compare e.g. also VS. 12, 8; 16; 18; 20; 22 where Agni figures also as Aṅgiras, Jātavedas, the Manly-souled One, Son of victorious power etc. It must therefore be conceded that notwithstanding the length, the context and the often stereotyped character of many Hinduist stotras of the type "He who is the . . . Soul of all, the destroyer of the sacrifice of Dakṣa, Śaṅkara, the Trident-holder, Śarva, the Three-eyed One,

<sup>7)</sup> See R. H. van Gulik, *Hayagrīva*, Thesis Utrecht 1935.

<sup>8)</sup> F. E. Pargiter, *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Calcutta 1904, p. 482 ff.

<sup>9)</sup> See also B. K. Kakati, *The Mother goddess Kāmākhyā*, Gauhati 1940.

<sup>10)</sup> For other instances see *Epithets in the Ṛgveda*, p. 169.

<sup>11)</sup> For many other instances *ibidem*, p. 167 f.

whose mount is a bull, whose banner is a cloud, the killer of enemies, whom some people call the Lord (Īśvara), Śiva, Sthāṇu, Bhava, Hara . . ." (VāmanaP. 2, 26, 35; see also *ibid.* 2, 27, 32; 2, 44, 92) they impress us as a development of simpler and shorter forms such as: "O Rudra, thou of appeasing remedies, of dark crests, performer of deeds, smite the dispute of (my) opponent" (AV. 2, 27, 6); the 5<sup>th</sup> stanza of the Viṣṇu hymn RV. 7, 100 may be called an unpretentious miniature nāmastotra: "Today I extol (proclaim: *prā . . . śamsāmi*), O Śipiviṣṭa<sup>12)</sup>, this name of thine, . . . I, the weak one, praise thee, the strong one who dwellest beyond this space". Another Rgvedic text worth recalling in this connection is 10, 63, 2 *viśvā hi vo namasyāni vāndyā nāmāni devā utā yajñīyāni vaḥ* "Denn all eure Namen sind ehrwürdig, lobwürdig, ihr Götter, und anbetungswert" (Geldner)<sup>13)</sup>; "Car tous vos noms sont dignes d'hommage, dignes de louange, dieux, vos (noms sont) aussi dignes du sacrifice" (Renou)<sup>14)</sup>. It is hardly necessary to point out that the milieu which produced and received these stanzas, were, more or less consciously, inclined to think that the gods could be praised and adored through their names, these being a medium through which man is able to communicate with them, a sort of addresses where the unseen is supposed to have taken up, at least with part of its being, its residence. This interpretation is not contradicted by places such as the following. Among the formulas to be pronounced in fashioning the embryonic Agni (ŚB. 6, 7, 2, 5 ff.) is VS. 12, 4 "the yajus formulas are thy name"; that means "these (formulas) are his name Agni by which they call him" (ŚB. 6, 7, 2, 6). At ŚB. 11, 2, 3, 4 ff. name (*nāma*) and form (*rūpam*) are explicitly said to be brahman's two great *abhve*<sup>15)</sup> and *yakṣe*: both terms are difficult to translate, but the former may be taken to refer to "alles Gewaltige"<sup>16)</sup> and as to the latter "manifestation of some divine power" does not seem to miss at least one essential aspect.

The Śatarudriya litany of VS. 16 which, consisting of 66 stanzas, is to accompany no less than 425 oblations and is addressed to the hundred Rudras or hundred aspects, forms, powers of the great god Rudra—there are also other versions<sup>17)</sup>—has all characteristics of a full-fledged stotra: the opening formula "Homage to . . ." is often repeated, the god's wrath is deprecated, his favour implored, prayers and references to his aspects, weapons, outward appearance, deeds and kindness shown are inserted,

<sup>12)</sup> For this name see J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, The Hague 1954, p. 106.

<sup>13)</sup> For *yajñīyā*—see however p. 39 f.; 56 f.

<sup>14)</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 53.

<sup>15)</sup> Not, with Monier-Williams, *Dictionary*, p. 80, s.v. *abhva*—"monstrosity, monster" ("immense power" is worth considering); "force", Eggeling, S.B.E. XLIV, p. 28; "un principe de mal, la contre-partie de la lumière et un aura mystérieuse des divinités", Renou, in J.A. 241, p. 167 ff. (or it may refer to a "masse indéfinissable", Renou, E.V.P. X, p. 63).

<sup>16)</sup> W. Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda*, I, Leipzig 1924, p. 74.

<sup>17)</sup> See Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 353.

the hymn itself is said to be auspicious, names and epithets such as Kapardin, Bhava, Nilagrīva, Mountain-haunter, Lord of food, Lord of cattle etc. are not wanting.

A fine specimen of a Vedic prayer is addressed to the red cow which is led up to the sacrificial enclosure to complete the full number of a thousand head of cattle. "Rising up he mutters in her ear: 'O Iḍā, Ranti, Aditi, Sarasvatī, Priyā, Preyasī, Mahī, Viśruti, these, O inviolable one, are thy names; proclaim me among the gods as a performer of meritorious ideas'"<sup>18)</sup> (TS. 7, 1, 6, 8; cf. VS. 47, 43; ŚB. 4, 5, 8, 10; PB. 20, 15, 15 etc.). The fact that part of the names are translatable (Dear One etc.) is irrelevant. The author of the Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa adds that "these are her names with the gods".

We need not adduce more examples or enter into a more detailed analysis of these texts, For our purpose it should however be emphasized that the theorists were conscious of their characteristics and possibilities. Says Yāska, Nirukta 7, 5: "Of these (gods, viz. Agni, Vāyu or Indra, Sūrya, that is, those gods who so to say represent the three parts of the universe, earth, atmosphere, heavens and thus constitute a triad) each receives many appellations on account of his supereminence, or the diversity of his function, just as a priest, although he is one, is called hotar, adhvaryu, brahman, udgātar". Śaṅkara, on BṛhadārUp. 3, 9, 9 was to repeat the same idea in his own words: "The one God has different names, forms, activities, attributes and powers owing to differences of function". The epic and purāṇic belief that God is pleased by eulogies containing some of his names, epithets and identities (VāmanaP. 2, 44, 67 "being thus praised (*stutah*)" by the lord of the demons Śiva became pleased (*prītiyuktaḥ*")) is anticipated in the brāhmaṇas: the author of ŚB. 9, 1, 1, 24, quoting one of the stanzas of the Śatarudriya litany (VS. 16, 47) "Chaser, Lord of the (Soma plant), thou cleaver, coloured blue and red . . ." observes that these (words) are names and forms (*nāmāni ca . . . rūpāni ca*) of him (Rudra): "he thus gratifies him by calling him by his names (*nāmagrāham evainam etat prīṇāti*)". The same work, 9, 3, 3, 8 making mention of the offering of a set of thirteen libations to the months, which here are apparently regarded as manifestations of Agni, states: "He then offers whilst mentioning names . . . these are his (Agni's) names: it is by mentioning his names that he thus gratifies him" (the same expression is used). A somewhat different formulation occurs ŚB. 9, 2, 1, 9 "And as to why he says: 'To the man-seated one, *veḥ*; to the water-seated one, *veḥ* etc.', these are names of this Agni: these names he thereby pleases (. . . *asyaivaitāny agner nāmāni tāny etat prīṇāti*)". The line of thought may also be somewhat complicated: ŚB. 14, 2, 2, 12 "These are twelve names (which included in mantras have been solemnly pronounced); there are twelve months in a year, and the year is the sun . . . ; thus it is him (the sun) he thereby pleases, and therefore there are twelve (names)".

<sup>18)</sup> See The Savayajñas, p. 193.

In view of the well-known bent of Indian authors for classificatory systems it was inevitable that part of Viṣṇu's names came to be distributed over the twelve months of the year: Mbh. 13, a. 109 Bo. informs the reader about the merit of worshipping Viṣṇu Kṛṣṇa under twelve names in the successive months.

In many milieus these "prayers of names" came to be one of the most characteristic expressions of devotion, however much their recitation was apt to degenerate into verbal magic. Says the author of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (2, 3, 24): "That heart (of a man) is really made of stone, which does not become different by the mention of Hari's names, when tears well up in the eyes and the hairs of the body stand erect". That a long enumeration of the names of a god may be an effective means of influencing him and so constitute an element of a *captatio benevolentiae* is for instance also clear from Mbh. 14, 8, 12 ff.: on Saṃvartta's advice, Marutta propitiates Śiva on mount Muñjavat by invoking the god with his many names in order to come into possession of definite treasures: *tasmai bhagavate kṛtvā namaḥ śarvāya vedhase | rudrāya śitikanṭhāya surūpāya suvarcase || kapardīne karālāya haryakṣṇe varadāya ca . . .* The names representing aspects of the god's nature, the one who knows all or most of them wields power over him, gets on one of his weak sides and so succeeds in persuading him. The author of Mbh. 13, 17, 29 ff. does not fail to emphasize that hearing all 1008 names of Śarva (Śiva) enables a man to obtain the fulfilment of all his desires. To us these names and their choice, frequency and combinations are valuable means of understanding the ideas fostered by the worshippers and the qualities attributed by them to the object of their adoration.

As already observed by the editor of the Anuśāsanaparvan, Professor Dandekar<sup>19)</sup>, there are various types of nāmastotras, some Śivasahasranāmastotras (VāP. 1, 30, 79 ff.; BrahmaP. 38, 40 ff. etc.) giving the names of the god mostly in the dative case, and often containing general descriptions rather than specific names of Śiva. In the Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra of Mbh. 13, 17, 30 ff. the names are mentioned invariably in the nominative, several names being repeated in order to bring their total number to 1008 or 1000.

In this connection Nilakaṇṭha's comment on Mbh. 13, 17, 30 ff. is worth quoting: Although in an enumeration of God's 1008 names for eulogistic purposes there may, at first sight, be tautology and repetition with regard to the form as well as the meaning of the names, this impression proves, on second thoughts, to be incorrect because the so-called *apūrva*, i.e. the positive force or virtue left or produced by a ritual act by which the desired object is, in a mysterious manner, achieved, is not the same in case one pronounces the words *viśvātman-* and *sarvātman-* which at

<sup>19)</sup> R. N. Dandekar, The Mahābhārata, critically edited, XVII, Poona 1966, p. 123 f.

first sight might be regarded as synonymous. In a ritual formula directed to Agni one cannot indeed substitute another name of the god, for instance Vahni, if the word Agni expressing a specific meaning is the traditional and prescribed mode of address.

The inherent power of these stotras is sometimes enhanced by special devices such as the accumulation of definite meaningful initial sounds. One of the many good instances is the Hymn of the hundred names contained in the Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra (7, 8 ff.). "By the reciting of, or listening to, this unsurpassed hymn — which is divulged by Sadāśiva himself acting as a ṛṣi — one becomes the Lord of all the siddhis (supernormal powers and abilities); it allays evil fortune, increases happiness and prosperity, destroys untimely death . . . and is the cause of the happy approach to the gracious Ādyā Kālikā". In this stotra all the names of the goddess begin with a K: Kālī, Karālī, Kamalā etc. Hence its name Kādīstotra. The syllable *Ka* is elsewhere said to be "in Devī's form" (Lalitāsahasranāma, 13)<sup>20)</sup>. It may be recalled that in the language of magic and religion — and also in that of the Veda — alliteration often plays an important part: prayers, formulas, oracles, incantations etc. are not only frequently alliterative, but also claim to derive their efficacy largely from this sort of sound repetition<sup>21)</sup>. In an enumeration of names of divine powers, AV. 8, 5, 10 Prajāpati and Parameṣṭhin, Virāj and Vaiśvānara are coupled together and the predilection for compounds beginning, like God's name, with *vi-* is an interesting linguistic particular to be noticed in connection with early Viṣṇuism<sup>22)</sup>. In the Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra Mbh. 13, a. 135 we find lines and combinations such as *viśvaṃ viṣṇur . . . ; vijitātmā vidheyātma; vṛṣāhī vṛṣabho viṣṇur vṛṣaparvā vṛṣodarah* and in general a tendency to couple together alliterative or rhyming names and epithets.

These stotras may, in religious practice, serve a variety of purposes. The term Viṣṇupañjara, literally "Viṣṇu's cage", was applied to a special kind of nāmastotra which as "a kind of mystical prayer or charm"<sup>23)</sup> is muttered to secure Viṣṇu's favour and protection. An "auspicious" (*śubham*) specimen occurs in the VāmanaP. 1, 18, 25 ff. Its beginning runs as follows: "Homage, homage to thee, O Govinda! Protect me in the East holding the discus Sudarśana. I take refuge with thee, O Viṣṇu. O Viṣṇu, O Padmanābha of unbounded glory! Protect me in the South, holding the mace Kaumodakī. I take refuge with thee. Homage to thee, O Puruṣottama! Protect me in the West, holding the plough Saunanda . . . etc." At 1, 20, 44 the same purāṇa is quite explicit on the inherent power of such a series of formulas: "Endowed with such majestic power (*evamprabhāva-*) the Viṣṇupañjara . . . is praised as the most excellent

<sup>20)</sup> For an explanation see A. Avalon, Tantrarāja Tantra, I, London n.d., p. 1 ff.

<sup>21)</sup> See J. Gonda, Stylistic repetition in the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1959, p. 189 ff.; 384.

<sup>22)</sup> Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, p. 61 ff.; 66.

<sup>23)</sup> Monier-Williams, Dictionary, s.v.

among all (other) devices for protection (*rakṣā*-, the term referring also to amulets, bracelets etc.). From the addition: "Who can humble the pride (*darpa*-) of one who has the discus-holding Viṣṇu in his heart" the inference may be drawn that the invocation of the god was supposed to result in his condescending temporarily to dwell in his adorer for saving and protecting him from danger and injury. And so the man who has recited such a charm may "sit at ease" (ibid. 2, 59, 22).

The man who is dangerously ill should remember and hear the names of the great gods Viṣṇu and Śiva (see e.g. GaruḍaP., Pr. 8, 8) which in Hinduism have tended to replace the recitation of Veda texts<sup>24</sup>, the Vedic school of the Āśvalāyānīyas being, possibly already at an early moment, accustomed to add these names after the recitation as long as life is not yet extinct. The authors were no Indians if they had not motivated this custom by means of a (pseudo-)etymology: "As soon as Hari's name is heard it will take away (*haret*) all sins" (GaruḍaP., l. c.). That is why they sometimes express their amazement, because people do not utter these names which are so easy to pronounce and so run the risk of going to Hell (ibid., 1, 11; GaruḍaP. 220, 9). The devotee who is on the verge of death would indeed be wise to pronounce the names of the great Viṣṇu who annihilates a flow of sins and recite or hear the Bhagavadgītā and God's thousand names (GaruḍaP., Pr. 8, 25)<sup>25</sup>. In connection with the eulogistic enumeration of Śiva's names these are (Mbh. 13, 17, 153) described as *puṣṭivardhana*-, i.e. "promoting prosperity". Those who hear the names and praise of the god, who pronounce them, speak of them, are happy and satisfied (st. 157); the praise destroys all evil and leads to heaven and final emancipation (st. 161). Viṣṇu is even supposed to grant final emancipation to him who mentally recites his names (PadmaP. 6, 265, 50). According to the *śravaṇaphala* (the good result of the hearing or study, in casu of the names) at the end of Mbh. 7, a. 173 the preceding passage in which some of Śiva's names are mentioned and explained brings wealth, fame and a long term of life; it is meritorious, furthers all undertakings, destroys all sins, allays all evil; after conquering all enemies the hearer is magnified in Śiva's heaven. In reply to Yudhiṣṭhira who asked what is the supreme path, by praising and worshipping whom will man obtain well-being, and by reciting which a being born here will be released, Bhīṣma argues that if a man, with constant endeavour, praises the lord of the universe, the unlimited Supreme Being, with His thousand names, worships Him daily, meditates on Him, praises Him, bows to Him, makes offerings to Him etc. he will overcome all misfortune (Viṣṇusahasranāman in Mbh. 13, 17)<sup>26</sup>. The adherents of definite schools of thought whilst incorporating this widespread, popular belief, were

<sup>24</sup> For particulars about these see W. Caland, Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche, Amsterdam Aead. 1896, p. 9 ff.

<sup>25</sup> E. Abegg, Der Pretakalpa des Garuḍa-Purāṇa, Berlin 1956, p. 112.

<sup>26</sup> See also V. Raghavan, The Indian heritage, Bangalore India 1958, p. 421 ff.

inclined to hold extreme views on the power of these stotras. The theory of salvation of the Nāmasiddhānta is, to mention only this, based on texts such as the story of Ajāmīla in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (6, 1, 20 ff.), who was at the very hour of death saved because he uttered the name of his beloved son Nārāyaṇa.

The sin destroying power of God's name (see e.g. GaruḍaP., Pr. 8, 12; SauraP. 53, 10 ff.; ŚivaGītā 1, 4) is in purāṇic Hinduism indeed illustrated in many tales and legends. Whether it is celebrated or pronounced consciously or unconsciously God's name destroys sin like fire destroys a piece of fire-wood (BhāgP. 6, 2, 18; cf. SauraP. 3, 42). Even to hardened offenders Śiva accords final emancipation if they remember his name unwittingly (SauraP. 3, 12 f.). Sinners uttering it unintentionally or while dreaming are sure of the remission of all their evil deeds (GaruḍaP. 220, 12). Even imperatives meaning "take away!" and "hit" or "attack", uttered by a robber are in the opinion of Yama's attendant Citragupta (the recorder of every man's good and evil deeds) a ground for forgiveness because they coincide with vocatives of Śiva's name (SauraP. 3, 32 ff. *idaṃ puṇyam iti jñātvā kṛtaṃ nānena yady api | āhara praharetyādi nāmasaṃkīrtanaṃ ca yat || karoti tena puṇyena duṣkṛtaṃ bhasmasātīkṛtam | pāpaleṣo 'pi nāsyāsti iti me niścītā matiḥ*). These places may partly be attributed to a tendency to exaggeration, partly evidence the belief in the automatic effectiveness of the name of a powerful being.<sup>27</sup> Not rarely it is a god who, as an originator or a sort of mythical example, is described as praising one of his colleagues who in the eyes of the author is higher in rank: "Then Brahmā, the Grandfather of the world, began to praise Śiva, the first god of the gods, the boon-conferring Lord of the threefold world: 'Homage to thee, Ananta, Varada, Pinākin . . .' etc." (VāmanaP. 2, 23, 4; cf. 23, 35 ff.). Similarly, ibid. 2, 28, 10 ff.

Starting from the twofold assumption that a word and the object which it represents are in a sense one<sup>28</sup> and that even meaningless sounds have meaning the Sahajiyās believed that the repetition of the name has the power of salvation because it assists the worshipper to realize the svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa within himself, "to bring the experience of Him within". The name has the power to transform the senses and to conquer desire, anger and lust<sup>29</sup>. It can even achieve the salvation of the whole world<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Their occurrence is not very surprising, notwithstanding the remark recently made by A. Gail, Bhakti im Bhāgavatapurāṇa, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 77: "Dass die Namensnennung Viṣṇus, gebunden an Bhaktigesinnung, der Erlösung förderlich ist, scheint natürlich und überzeugend. Befremdlich aber ist der Gedanke, dass ein Nachsprechen Seiner Namen, von einem Unglücklichen ohne Grund oder von einem "outeast" (*patita*) aus Spottlust betrieben, jeden Frevel restlos tilgen soll (BhāgP. 5, 25, 11)".

<sup>28</sup> Cf. e.g. Locanadāsa, Durlabhasāra, p. 123.

<sup>29</sup> For some particulars see E. C. Dimock, The place of the Hidden Moon, Chicago and London 1966, p. 225 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Caitanya-caritāmṛta, Ādi 17, 19.

According to a widespread belief of bhaktas the chant or repetition of God's holy and eternal names with the help of the sacred rosary is better than every other act of religious life. It is viewed as the culmination and very essence of worship. Being used in connection with God's names the rosary<sup>31)</sup> becomes an instrument through which to enter into contact with Him, a vehicle of His being. God cannot resist the call made through it and will come to the rescue of his worshipper<sup>32)</sup>.

There is however still another, and easier, way to celebrate God's names. It is to listen to it, to attend kīrtans and to listen to narratives containing God's names. Giving kīrtans being, according to Tukārām<sup>33)</sup>, the holiest of a santa's (holy man's) duties, God will himself come to the house of a saint in order to make his presence felt to his devotees who listen to his names.

It should in connection with these nāmastotras finally be remembered that the prescription of a fixed and auspicious number, for instance "a thousand" or 1008<sup>34)</sup>, does not imply that the god had no other names. These names constitute, as observed e.g. by Nīlakaṇṭha on Mbh. 13, 17, 150, a choice; in reality the god has more names, but for practical purposes those mentioned are the most important ones.

I cannot resist the temptation to recall that there is an exact parallel of this nāmastotra in the Avesta<sup>35)</sup>. In Yašt 1, 1 ff. Ahura Mazdāh in reply to a question posed by Zarathustra explains that the most powerful, victorious, effective and beneficial thing in the holy mantra is his Name, which is the mightiest conquerer of the inimical *daēvas* and human beings. As Zarathustra wishes to know that name in order to overcome these difficulties not to be subdued by the *daēvas* and inimical men Ahura Mazdāh enumerates a considerable number of 'names' and recommends his prophet to mutter these names continually, adding that whoever pronounces, in a low voice, these names by day and in the night will be safe from every attack.

## XV

From the direction that the name of the *yajamāna* for whom the Sūktavāka is pronounced<sup>1)</sup> should be mentioned aloud, even if he be a teacher, in order to prevent him from falling into ruin (KB. 3, 8 *uccair gṛhṇīyād yady apy ācāryaḥ syāt tathā ha yajamāno 'pracyāvuko bhavati*) it may be inferred that under normal circumstances the name of the

<sup>31)</sup> W. Kirfel, *Der Rosenkranz*, Walldorf-Hessen 1949.

<sup>32)</sup> Bh. K. Goswami, *The Bhakti cult in ancient India*, Varanasi 1965, p. 302 f.

<sup>33)</sup> G. A. Deleury, *The cult of Viṭhobā*, Poona 1960, p. 123.

<sup>34)</sup> The number eight is auspicious: the surplus may also serve to make good any omissions and to guarantee that the full number of names (100, 1000) is recited.

<sup>35)</sup> See also H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, Tübingen 1930, p. 13.

<sup>1)</sup> See p. 37.

much respected teacher should not be pronounced loudly. Loud or harsh speech is, in general, impolite and might easily be supposed to draw the attention of the evil spirits to the person addressed. The *guru* was moreover among those persons to whom that special reverence was due, which was mixed with, and sustained by, that vague reluctance which is due to fear of evil powers and inimical beings who might injure the person concerned through his name. There is undoubtedly a popular tradition behind the taboo on the name of the guru who, like a priest, is a bearer of a power that is superior to himself and hence surrounded by various taboos<sup>2)</sup> which should contribute to the preservation of that power<sup>3)</sup>. Thus in tantrist circles the name of the spiritual guide—"who is not to be looked upon as a mortal"—, should not be spoken except at the time of *japa* (muttering of prayers)<sup>4)</sup>. The ancient Indian student was not allowed to pronounce the name of his teacher, even when the latter was absent, without prefixing or affixing a honorific addition<sup>5)</sup>. Even after returning home an absolved student should avoid calling his (former) teacher out loudly (*udāmantraṇam*) or pronouncing his name (*nāmadhe-yagrahaṇam*: ĀpDhS. 1, 2, 8, 15). Among these persons who, according to an authoritative tradition<sup>6)</sup>, should not be mentioned by name is not only one's own spiritual guide but also any other teacher. Another person whose name should not be uttered by others is the sacrificer who is consecrating himself, the *dīkṣita*: KB. 7, 3: such a man temporarily retires from normal 'profane' life.

The name, being a very important part of one's personality, "a sacred portion of one's being", should not be exposed to any kind of misuse on the part of strangers or enemies, because this would imperil the health and life of its bearer<sup>7)</sup>. To ensure that it may not be communicated to somebody malevolent another name is given which is to be kept secret. This name is often whispered in the child's ear, and nobody dares to use it<sup>8)</sup>. Some brahmans believe that, if they mention their name or age, they run the risk of shortening their life. That is why an orthodox brahman, when asked his name, will not always give it in a direct manner. The same belief explains why up to the present day wives are not willing to

<sup>2)</sup> See e.g. also E. Dammann, *Die Religionen Afrikas*, Stuttgart 1963, p. 147 f. and Masani, *Folk culture*, p. 103 ff.

<sup>3)</sup> It may be recalled that even in modern times persons discharging official duties (judges etc.) appreciate anonymity, confessedly to maintain their impartiality.

<sup>4)</sup> A. Avalon, *Kulārṇava Tantra*, Madras, p. 75.

<sup>5)</sup> See e.g. GautDhS. 2, 18; ĀpDhS. 1, 2, 8, 15. For particulars etc. see J. J. Meyer, *Über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften*, Leipzig 1927, p. 258; Kane, o.c., II, p. 333 f.

<sup>6)</sup> Haradatta, on GautamaS. 2, 29 and Smṛticandrikā, I, p. 45.

<sup>7)</sup> See also Masani, *Customs*, p. 147 and further on, XVI, n. 2.

<sup>8)</sup> See e.g. W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India*, London 1907, p. 199; A. Kumar Das and M. Kumar Raha, *The Orāons of Sunderban*, Calcutta 1963, p. 166; L. P. Vidyarthi, *The Maler*, Calcutta 1963, p. 120.

tell their husband's name, why children named after their grandparents are temporarily given another name so long as these are alive<sup>9</sup>), and in all probability to a certain extent also the tendency to avoid in addressing the real name (e.g. ŚB. 10, 6, 1, 4 ff.) and the preference for answers such as ("What is your name, revered sir?" : :) "Sire, I am known as Nāgasena; fellow students address me as Nāgasena" (Milindap. 25) or such as ("Who are you?" : :) "I am a demon, O lord, a companion of Mahiṣa, well-known as Raktabīja" (*raktabījeti vikhyātaḥ*, VāmanaP. 2, 29, 17) or "I am the son of Danu . . . known as Śambha" (ibid. 29, 20).

With various peoples it is, no doubt originally for the same reason, bad form to ask a person his name(s)<sup>10</sup>. If in definite communities two or more people are near a place which is believed to be the abode of evil spirits, they do not call each other by their names lest the spirits should seize the man whose name they have learnt. Vedic man does not however appear to have shown this reluctance always: the author of JB. 2, 285 speaks about the very numerous descendants of a certain Ūrva who, not knowing each other, used to ask: "Who are you, who are you?" Hence, I suppose, a prayer such as AV. 10, 1, 12 in which a plant used in a ceremony against hostile witchcraft (KauśikaS. 39, 7) is requested to free by its energy a person from sin against the gods and against the Fathers as well as the sin of mentioning a name in a designed and devised way (*nāmagrāhāt saṁdeśyād abhinīskṛtāt*).

In a text which was to be pronounced in a charm for getting the better of a rival wife (KauśikaS. 36, 19 ff.), viz. AV. 3, 18, 3 it reads: "Since he has not mentioned your name, you also did not stay with him as husband; unto distant distance make we (our, i.e. my) rival go" (*nahī te nāma jagrāha nō asmīn ramase pātau pārām evā parāvātāṁ sapātñiṅ gamayāmasi*). The corresponding stanza RV. 10, 145, 4 (*nahī asyā nāma grbhñāmi nō asmīn ramate jāne* / etc.) has a different version, viz. (in the translation proposed by Whitney-Lanman<sup>11</sup>) "Since I do not name her (its?) name, she (it?) also does not stay with (find pleasure in) this person (people?)". These places elicited some controversial discussion<sup>12</sup>. A commentator

<sup>9</sup> E. Thurston, Ethnographic notes in Southern India, Madras 1906, p. 532 f. See e.g. also Russell, Tribes and castes, II, p. 12: "(Aghora) women do not name their husbands, their elderly relations, nor the sons of their husband's eldest brother. A man does not name his wife, as he thinks that to do so would tend to shorten his life in accordance with the Sanskrit saying, "He who is desirous of long life should not name himself, his guru, a miser, his eldest son, or his wife". A Dhanwar man "will not mention the names of his wife, his son's wife or his sister's son's wife, and a woman will not name her husband or his elder brother or parents. As already stated, a woman saying her husband's name aloud is temporarily put out of caste, the Hindu custom being thus carried to extremes as is often the case among the lower castes". (The same, ibidem, II, p. 500).

<sup>10</sup> Parry, The Lakhers, p. 239.

<sup>11</sup> Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 118.

<sup>12</sup> For details see Whitney-Lanman, l.c.

on Āpast. GS. 3, 9, 6 proposed to take *asmīn . . . jāne* in the later sense of "me"; this had the approval of Winternitz<sup>13</sup>), but was rejected as "wholly unsatisfactory" by Whitney-Lanman, who are on the other hand right in observing that in pāda a the metre calls for *jagrāha* "I have named". Since the text was to "drive off" a rival wife and to "win completely one's own husband" and forms of the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular often recur in the other stanzas the above words may indeed be attributed to the person ("I") who is to pronounce the whole text. The statement "I have mentioned her (or your) name" cannot on the other hand be taken to refer to an attempt at injuring the rival wife by this charm, because, as observed elsewhere<sup>14</sup>), the name of the person against whom the rite is directed was to be mentioned rather than suppressed. There may be another possibility of explanation. With definite peoples the belief obtains that God may forget a person's name and hence his existence; to avoid this danger everybody should have two names because God may at least remember one of them<sup>15</sup>). Not mentioning a name<sup>16</sup>) may therefore mean pretending that one has forgotten it; this means ignoring its owner. That, on the other hand, addressing a person by name excludes enmity is also apparent from the above-quoted place ŚB. 13, 1, 6, 1: ". . . even if two inimical persons (persons related to inimical groups: *āmitrau*), on meeting together, address one another by name, they get on amicably together". The person pronouncing the text AV. 3, 18 may therefore have intended to ignore her rival i.e. to exclude her from society. By "sending her to Coventry" she makes her go "to the distant distance" (pāda cd). It may be remembered that with various peoples the names of the dead should not be pronounced, not only because these names are tabooed<sup>17</sup>), but also lest the rest of their owners should be disturbed and these might be inclined to come back. Names of spirits and witches are for the latter reason often left unuttered<sup>18</sup>). The ancient Romans resorted to a *damnatio memoriae*, an extirpation of the name, if they would destroy the last remains of an unesteemed dead person.

## XVI

There is indeed no need to adduce many instances of the widespread custom to keep one's name or the name of a divinity etc. from general

<sup>13</sup> M. Winternitz, Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell, Vienna Acad. 1892, p. 98.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 27; 63.

<sup>15</sup> Parry, o.c., p. 390.

<sup>16</sup> It may be recalled that being silent is a magical means of warding off hatred, jealousy and the evil eye (Hdwtb. d. deutschen Abergl. VII, 1470).

<sup>17</sup> See e.g. Frazer, Golden bough, abridged edition, p. 331 ff.; Masani, Folk culture, p. 111 ff.

<sup>18</sup> See also Aly, o.c., 955.



knowledge, a secrecy arising largely from the belief that others (enemies, outsiders, unqualified people) may have in the name something which they can use to one's detriment. This belief cannot be dissociated from the conviction that the secret name is the real name. It follows that the secret name is the powerful name. "Je unverständlicher und geheimnisvoller manche Namen und Worte sind, um so wirksamer scheint oftmals die ihnen inwohnende Macht zu sein"<sup>1)</sup>. This explains why among people of low culture there is often much reluctance in uttering personal names. The Indian Todas for instance dislike uttering their own names<sup>2)</sup>.

It is in accordance with these convictions that in many primitive societies the personal name is not used as a term of designation, because it has a 'religious significance'<sup>3)</sup> or is considered a sort of charm which may drive off evil and should not be used except in emergencies lest its power should wear out<sup>4)</sup>. From ethnographic literature it may indeed be learned that the secret name is among many peoples and under various circumstances never mentioned except upon the most solemn occasions<sup>5)</sup>. Even nowadays a brahman keeps the "other" name with which he is endowed secret, mentioning it only in praying and in performing similar religious acts<sup>6)</sup>. Names of other bearers of special power, e.g. kings or gods, do not make the exception. The true name of the king of Dahomey was always kept secret lest some criminal or other person of evil designs should injure its owner. The king is generally known by a title, a "nom fort", qui, à la différence de son nom de naissance, ne fait pas partie intégrante de sa personnalité et par conséquent peut être prononcé sans danger"<sup>7)</sup>. "L'énonciation du nom d'un être surnaturel, dans la conversation ordinaire, peut être considérée comme souillant sa sainteté, ou comme donnant sur lui un contrôle magique; aussi suppose-t-on qu'il ressent pareille conduite et la punit"<sup>8)</sup>. That is why the name of the Supreme Being of the Makahs (Washington, U.S.A.) is only pronounced by those who are initiated in secret ceremonies<sup>9)</sup>. "When God has 'a name' he is no more the Master"; to have 'a name' for him is to negate himself<sup>10)</sup>. These ideas can be mixed with feelings of regard and reverence and result in the fear of blasphemy. An ancient Egyptian source speaks of a secret name of the sun-god Re, which is his true name; "nur im besonderen Notfall (wird er) ausnahmsweise einmal

<sup>1)</sup> E. Dammann, *Dio Religionen Afrikas*, Stuttgart 1963, p. 8.

<sup>2)</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London 1906, p. 627. See XV, n. 7.

<sup>3)</sup> G. A. Reichard, in F. Boas, *General Anthropology*, Boston 1938, p. 450.

<sup>4)</sup> Reichard, *Social life of the Navajo Indians*, Columbia Univ. Contributions to Anthropology, 7 (1928), p. 96.

<sup>5)</sup> Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abr. ed., p. 322.

<sup>6)</sup> Masani, *Customs*, p. 146.

<sup>7)</sup> H. Webster, *Le tabou*, Paris 1952, p. 286, mentioning also other instances.

<sup>8)</sup> Webster, *ibidem*.

<sup>9)</sup> Webster, o.c., p. 287.

<sup>10)</sup> D. T. Suzuki, *Studies in Zen*, London 1955, p. 192.

seiner Tochter Isis mitgeteilt"<sup>11)</sup>. "Namengebung bedeutet Festlegung und ist nach der ägyptischen Anschauung von der engen Verbindung des Namens mit dem eigentlichen Wesen, daher auch der zwischen Namen und göttlichem Ka, ausschlaggebend für die Machtbefugnisse des Gottes. Darum wird gerade in den Zeiten des ausgebildeten theologischen Denkens der Name des höchsten Gottes verheimlicht oder andeutend umschrieben: 'der mit verborgenem Namen' oder 'der mit geheimer Gestalt', 'mit geheimem Wesen' usw.". "Amun (ist) zu geheimnisvoll, als dass man sein Wirken aufdecken kann". "Aus diesen Gründen vermeiden ganze Gruppen die Zuerkennung eines bestimmten Namens . . . Man wählte aus dem natürlichen Herkunftsbereich des Gottes einen dominanten Zug und prägte daraus einen Kultnamen (Beinamen). Nicht zufällig trifft es gerade die grossen Göttergestalten, denen geschichtliche Gunst einen Platz einzunehmen gestattete, für den der alte Kultname fast ein Hindernis war"<sup>12)</sup>.

Passing reference may be made here to the well-known complementary belief that the gods like the "mystic" or "esoteric", as is a common translation of the term *parokṣa-* ("beyond the range of sight, unintelligible") occurring in etymologizing passages such as ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 2 . . . *yad vinddha tasmād indha, indho ha vai tam indra ity ācakṣate parokṣam. parokṣakāmā hi devās . . .*, translated by Eggeling<sup>13)</sup> as follows: "... inasmuch as he kindled (*indh-*), he is the "kindler" (*indh-*); the "Kindler" indeed, — him they call 'Indra' mystically (esoterically), for the gods love the mystic . . ."; ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 9; BĀU. 4, 2, 2 etc.; GB. 1, 1, 1 *taṃ vā etaṃ suvedaṃ santam sveda ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇa. parokṣapriyā iva hi devā bhavanti pratyakṣadvīṣaḥ* "that which in reality is "good knowledge" they unintelligibly (for men, secretly) call it "sweet". Gods are fond of the secret (presentation as it were) and haters of the intelligible (direct presentation)". This statement implies that gods like to use, among themselves, a vocabulary which is not intelligible to (most) men. They wish to keep the names of important beings and objects secret. A striking characteristic of so-called secret languages, intended not to be understood by outsiders, indeed is the substitution, insertion or change of one or more sounds<sup>14)</sup>. Hence also statements such as MS. 4, 2, 1: 21, 12 *tato yā yonir udaśiṣyata sā gaur abhavad yonir vai nāmaṣaitad vā asyāḥ pratyakṣam nāmātho āhuḥ parokṣam iti* and KS. 33, 4: 30, 6 *tasya pratyakṣam nāma na grahitavai*<sup>15)</sup>.

<sup>11)</sup> Morenz, o.c., p. 22.

<sup>12)</sup> H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, Berlin 1956, p. 171 ff.

<sup>13)</sup> J. Eggeling, in S.B.E. XLI, p. 143 f.

<sup>14)</sup> See e.g. O. Jespersen, *Language*, London 1934, p. 149 f.

<sup>15)</sup> The difference between secret (*guhyanī*) and explicit (*niruktāni*) names is made Mbh. 12, 330, 67 as follows: *nāmāni caiva guhyanī niruktāni ca bhārata / ṛṣibhiḥ kathitānīha yāni samkīrtitāni te*. The author of Mbh. 12, 284, 73 (trad.) speaks of *guhyanī prakāśāni ca* "secret names and those the meaning of which is clear and evident", Nilakantha observing that the names of the former category are hidden from those who are afflicted by unbelief etc.

It follows that knowledge of the secret language of the divine (and demoniac) powers furnishes a method of dealing with them and the key, not only to an understanding of their intentions but also to the many mysteries by which man feels himself surrounded. Hence the necessity of 'etymological explanations' <sup>16</sup>). Hence also the well-known preference, in the language of magic, for names of a, to the general, inexplicable and perhaps esoteric character—such as e.g. *hrūdu*, applied at AV. 1, 25, 2 f. to fever—“in accordance with the well-known rule that in magic a mysterious name is the most potent of all” <sup>17</sup>).

In this light we should view the rule laid down by some authors of *gr̥hasūtras* <sup>18</sup>). Gobhila furnishes us with the interesting detail that, at the very moment of birth, when the child is appearing, the father should pronounce the formula: “A male he will be born, N.N. by name”; this name however is secret (2, 7, 14 f.). Obviously this important ritual act admitted of no delay. Cf. also Khādira, GS. 2, 2, 31 f., who like Gobhila distinguishes this naming quite unequivocally from the endowment with a name for common use which is to take place at a later moment (after ten or a hundred days or after a year). Śāṅkhāyana is of the opinion that for this secret name, which is given immediately after birth and should be known only to the parents, some elaborate rules should be observed; on the tenth day a name for common use should be added “which pleases the brahmans” (1, 24, 4 ff.). Cf. also ĀpGS. 15, 2 f.; 8. Hiraṇyakeśin, 2, 4, 12 ff. is quite explicit: “He (the father) should give him (a new-born son) two names. For it is understood (TS. 6, 3, 1, 3): ‘A brahman who has two names will have success’ <sup>19</sup>). The second name should be a *nakṣatra* <sup>20</sup>) name. The one name should be secret (*guhya*); by the other they should call him . . .”. In explanation of this passage the commentator Mātrdatta observes *inter alia* that the secret name is only known to the boy's parents, adding that some authorities are of the opinion that the boy himself should know it from the moment of his upanayana. From an other remark of the same commentator it appears that the use of the secret name for ritual purposes was restricted. A somewhat different custom is attested to by Āśvalāyana, GS. 1, 15, 8 <sup>21</sup>) “and let him (the father) also think out a name to be used at respectful salutations <sup>22</sup>), which his father and mother (alone) should know till his initiation”. Here the commentator Nārāyaṇa informs us that this so-called *abhivā-*

<sup>16</sup>) J. Gonda, The etymologies in the ancient Indian brāhmaṇas, *Lingua*, 5, p. 61 ff.

<sup>17</sup>) A. B. Keith, The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 394.

<sup>18</sup>) A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg 1897, p. 46 f.; Kane, o.c., II, p. 234.

<sup>19</sup>) See above, p. 54.

<sup>20</sup>) In sacrificing the sacrificer is to bear a name derived from that of the presiding deity of his *nakṣatra*, i.e. of the ‘asterism’ under which he has been born.

<sup>21</sup>) Cf. A. F. Stenzler, *Indische Hausregeln*, I, Leipzig 1864, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup>) “Such as that due to the *ācārya* at the ceremony of the initiation” (H. Oldenberg, in S.B.E. XXIX, p. 183).

*danīyaṃ nāma* was, from the upanayana, pronounced by the boy himself in saluting an elder (“I, N.N. salute you”; cf. e.g. Manu, 2, 122 <sup>23</sup>)).

The unwillingness to pronounce the real or secret name of a god is also attested to by the author of ŚB. 2, 1, 2, 11: “He overtly calls them (an asterism, also called Arjunīś which is identical with Indra's secret name Arjuna) Phalgunīś, for who dares to use his (the god's) secret name?” (*ko hy etasyārhati guhyaṃ nāma grahītum*).

ṚV. 4, 58, 1 very instructively states that the water in which the soma is pressed out assumed the nature of the amṛta which is the secret name of ghee (clarified butter): *ūpāṃśūnā sām amṛtatvām ānaḥ*. That means that the mixture of the water and the expressed juice of the plant becomes the draught called *amṛta* (secret name, *ghṛtāsya nāma guhyaṃ yād āsti*) or also “ghee” which is another name for the same because this contains milk and has properties in common with the clarified butter <sup>24</sup>). There cannot be doubt that in this connection *amṛta-* is a more noble name.

This place may be coupled with ṚV. 9, 96, 6 where Soma being purified is invited to flow to meet its dear secret name (*abhī arṣa guhyaṃ cāru nāma*) which again is the name of amṛta <sup>25</sup>). That this secret name is identical with Soma's ‘secret phase’ or secret stage of development, mentioned at 9, 102, 2 (*ābhakta yād gūha padām*) seems a plausible supposition. At 9, 75, 1 *abhī priyāni pavate cānohito nāmāni yāvō ādhi yēsu vārdhate* the same idea is alluded to. Observing that “nom” is, here also, to be understood “comme partie essentielle de l'être” Renou translated “(Le soma) . . . se clarifie pour (atteindre ses) noms aimés, en lesquels il s'accroît, (ce dieu) juvénile” <sup>26</sup>).

The secret or hidden name of the ghee is referred to at TS. 1, 8, 22, 1: “O Agni and Viṣṇu, great is your greatness. Rejoice ye in the secret names of the ghee”, and 3 “. . . Ye taste the ghee, rejoicing in its secrets (*vīthō ghṛtāsya guhyā juṣāṇā*)”. There is a variant in ŚSS. 2, 4, 3 “Protect ye the secret names . . .”. The stanzas are to accompany ritual acts forming part of the initiatory ceremony (preceding the performance of the sacrifices on the days of full and new moon: ŚSS. 2, 4, 1); a cake is offered to the two gods invited who, being great, are apparently supposed to know (and guard) the secret names, which are concealed from the general, and to ‘enjoy’ them.

Of the various interpretations proposed of ṚV. 5, 3, 2 ab that suggested by Renou <sup>27</sup>) seems most acceptable. While dilating upon the many-sided-

<sup>23</sup>) See also G. Bühler, in S.B.E. XXV, p. 52.

<sup>24</sup>) I refer to Geldner, o.c., I, p. 488.

<sup>25</sup>) Not, with H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, Göttingen 1951–1959, p. 526 sūra.

<sup>26</sup>) Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 87; 24.

<sup>27</sup>) Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 20; cf. p. 106. Geldner, o.c., II, p. 5 regards ab as a whole, translating: “Du bist A., wenn du (der Vertraute) der Mädchen bist, du führst (diesen) Geheimnamen . . .”, but “diesen” has to be inserted and there is no

ness of the god Agni (cf. ṚV. 2, 1) the poet, after saying in st. 1 that Agni when being born is Varuṇa, when inflamed Mitra, that all the gods are in him and that he is Indra for the mortal man who honours him, identifies him in st. 2 with Aryaman when (he is the god of, or interested in, or adored by) the girls; (in addition to these impersonations and names) the god has also a secret name which remains unexpressed (*tvām aryamā bhavasi yāt kanīnām nāma svadhāvan gūhyam bibharṣi*). I do not however see why we should read in the second quarter of this stanza a "retour à Varuṇa"<sup>28</sup>).

It is not surprising that it is Soma, the clear-sighted mediator and imparter of inspiration, who at ṚV. 9, 95, 2 is said to have revealed the secret names of the gods, who according to 9, 92, 4 are "in his mystery", i.e. kept secret by him, probably in a secret place which then must be Soma's heavenly residence where all the gods meet<sup>29</sup>). At ṚV. 9, 87, 3 the same divine Soma is described as the one who has discovered what (of the cows) was kept hidden, namely the secret name of the cows (*sā cid viveda nihitam yād āsām apīcyaṃ gūhyam nāma gōnām*). This secret name may, with Renou<sup>30</sup>) be identified with Dawn. In the same stanza the wisdom and ability of Soma are praised.

A very important illustration of the belief that the secret name of a divine being is his true name which expresses his nature and essence—and, accordingly, his function and peculiar ability—occurs ṚV. 10, 55, 1 and 2. Here Indra's secret name, which is, intelligibly enough, said to have been in a remote distance, is intimately associated with the god's most characteristic deed: in combating and defeating the demonized

reason for considering Aryaman the secret name of Agni. Even if the words ĀśvGS. 1, 7, 13 which Geldner quotes in substantiation of his view (*aryamaṇam nu devaṃ kanyā agnīm ayakṣata*) should mean "den Gott A. haben die Mädchen in Agni verehrt" (and not, with H. Oldenberg, *The Gṛhya-sūtras*, I, S.B.E. XXIX, p. 168 f. and others "to god A. the girls have made sacrifice" (rather: "they have worshipped A.")), — this interpretation is in itself not improbable — it does not follow that Aryaman is Agni's secret name, because in the two parallel mantras which come after this formula the name of Aryaman is replaced by Varuṇa and Pūṣan, who like Aryaman are invoked to set the bride free from her father's house, but not from that of the bridegroom. It is hardly imaginable that Agni is given three secret names. Still less convincing are Lüders' (o.c., p. 38) interpretation: "Du bist A., wenn du der Mädchen geheimen Namen trägst" (does the secret name belong to the girls, or should the god, as Aryaman, be given a, or his, secret name by the girls?) and P. Thieme's (*Mitra and Aryaman*, New Haven Conn. 1957, p. 85) view of this line: "Thou (Fire) art the hospitality (*aryaman*) which is [that] of the girls (= the fire on which the girls prepare the meal for the guests)", or: "Thou (Fire) art [God] Hospitality when [thou art the fire] of the girls [who prepare the meal for the guests]". It is not the hospitality extended by the girls but their marriage which is Agni's concern (cf. ṚV. 10, 40, 12; 68, 2; 85, 23; 43; AV. 14, 1, 39).

<sup>28</sup>) Renou, E.V.P., XIII, p. 106.

<sup>29</sup>) Lüders, o.c., p. 241 f. Not "the secret name, viz. the name *amṛta*" (cf. Geldner, o.c., III, p. 89).

<sup>30</sup>) Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 100.

power of obstruction (Vṛtra) he established a well-ordered and habitable world—which had invoked him to display his energy<sup>31</sup>)—separating and upholding (*ūd astabhñāh*) heaven and earth (st. 1 c), so that the light of heaven could become visible (st. 2 c)<sup>32</sup>). "That is the great much desired (or desired by many: *puruspīh-*) secret (*gūhyam*) name, with which thou createdst what had come into existence and what was to exist" (st. 2 ab). The adjective *puruspīh-* after *gūhyam* shows that the knowledge of this powerful name would be highly appreciated and was eagerly sought for. According to ŚB. 4, 5, 8, 10 one should mutter in the ear of a particular *dakṣiṇā* cow<sup>33</sup>) a number of names which are said to be her names with the gods; this means, the text continues, that whatever are the cow's names with the gods, therewith she should tell the gods of that man as a performer of merit(orious ritual deeds: *sukṛtam*). We may understand that the cow was believed to have various aspects and qualities, that the names corresponding with these were known to the gods, and that knowledge of these names was a means of coming, through the intermediary of this animal, into contact with the gods. The ten names are: Idā (name of a special important portion of the sacrificial substance, 'personified' in the cow), Delight (*ranti-*), the One who is to be invoked, the Lovable one, the Bright one, the Shining one, Aditi, Sarasvatī, the Great one, the Renowned one.

AiB. 5, 23, 7f. "The Four Hotars (*Caturhotr*, name of definite formulas containing esoteric names of officiants) are the sacrificial, secret name of the gods. In that the hotar recites the Four Hotars he reveals the sacrificial, secret name of the gods. That revealed reveals him (i.e. makes him renowned). He is revealed (i.e. becomes renowned) who knows thus". The formulas themselves are enumerated AiB. 5, 25, 13 ff., the first of them being: *vācaspate vidhe nāman; vidhema te nāma; vidhes tvam asmākaṃ nāmnā dyām gacha; yaṃ devāḥ prajāpatigṛhapataya ṛddhim arādhnuvaṃs tāṃ ṛddhim rātsyāmaḥ* (ĀśvŚS. 8, 13, 10; KS. 9, 9 . . . *asmākaṃ nāma, mā devānām tantuś chedi, mā manusyaṇām*); TĀ. 3, 1, 1 . . . *asmākaṃ nāma. vācaspate somam pibatu. asmāsu nṛmṇan dhāt svāhā*. Vācaspate "the Lord of Speech" is a name of the divine figure who represents, supervises and assigns speech. His relations with other divine persons can be left undiscussed here. The term *vidhi-* was rendered by "worshipper"<sup>34</sup>) but left untranslated by Caland<sup>35</sup>). It is difficult to suppose the author to have disconnected it etymologically and semantically from the verb form *vidhema* etc. occurring in the next lines, and—according

<sup>31</sup>) I doubt the correctness of Lüders' translation, p. 526 (*yāt* like *tvā* an accusative depending on the verb *āhvayetaṃ*).

<sup>32</sup>) W. Norman Brown, in J.A.O.S. 62, p. 85 ff; Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 56 f.

<sup>33</sup>) For the rite see J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, II, S.B.E. 26, p. 414, n. 1.

<sup>34</sup>) A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, Cambridge Mass. 1920, p. 250.

<sup>35</sup>) W. Caland, *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra*, Nagpur 1953, p. 285.

to the traditional interpretation<sup>36</sup>) – meaning: “to worship, honour, be gracious”. There is in itself no compulsive reason to assume the existence of *vidhi-* “worshipper” beside the well-known *vidhi-* “rule, precept, direction” etc., and if the verb should rather be translated by “to assign, allot” etc.<sup>37</sup>) the above words, as they occur in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa may, after a threefold invocation, be an exhortation to go to heaven “with our name” and a prayer for prosperity, the name obviously being an object for reciprocity. The words “May the continuity of (the) gods, nor the continuity of men be cut off” in other texts (KS. 9, 9; MS. 1, 9, 1: 131, 13; ŚSS. 10, 18, 6) point the same direction.

It is parenthetically worth noticing that the word *nāma* is also otherwise accompanied by a term for “secret, hidden”. AV. 7, 29, 1 “O Agni and Viṣṇu, great is that greatness of yours; ye drink of the ghee that is called secret” (... *ghṛtāsya gūhṛāsya nāma*). AV. 10, 8, 6 must, in my opinion, be taken to state that “this All, though manifest, rests on (something) secret (*gūhā*) which is the great “place” (*padām*) “aged” (*jārat-*) by name”<sup>38</sup>). See also RV. 2, 35, 11.

The secret names are also the highest or best names: RV. 10, 5, 2 the inspired poets are said to guard the “place of *ṛta*” – that is the ‘place’ where their inspiration originates<sup>39</sup>) – and to have “placed the(ir) highest names in (a) secret (place)” (*gūhā nāmāni dadhīre pāraṇi*). This must mean that they localize the highest names in the secret sphere of transcendent reality. Another place attesting to the practical identity of these concepts is RV. 4, 1, 16. This is not to contend that every reference to the highest name(s) of a concept or entity is to be understood in the same way. The plant *kuṣṭha*, being AV. 5, 4, 8 described as born in the North on the Snowy (mountain) and brought to people in the East, had “highest names” (*nāmāny uttamāni*) which were shared out. Whitney-Lanman<sup>40</sup>) may be right in explaining this place as meaning something like “the chief sorts or kinds”. Compare also AV. 4, 9, 10 “If thou art of the three-peaked (mountain), or if thou art called of the Yamunā – both thy names are excellent; protect us by them, O ointment”. The “highest name” is hidden: at MS. 4, 14, 14: 239, 8 it reads: *ādityo deva udagāt purāstād viśvā bhūtāni prāti modāmāṇaḥ. tāsyā devāḥ prasavāṇi yanti sārve yātrāsya nāma paramāṇi gūhā vidūḥ* “God Āditya (the sun) has risen in the East being glad to see all creatures; all the gods are on their way to set him in motion where is his highest name in secret (in a hidden place)”.

<sup>36</sup>) See also J. M. van Gelder, *The Mānava Śrautasūtra translated*, New Delhi 1963, p. 62 (2, 1, 1, 15).

<sup>37</sup>) P. Thieme, *Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rigveda*, Halle S. 1949, p. 36 f.

<sup>38</sup>) The punctuation in the translation of Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 596 is incorrect.

<sup>39</sup>) Lüders, o.c., p. 610 ff.

<sup>40</sup>) Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 228.

One of the most interesting relations recognized by the ancient authors is that between the name and the highest pada of Viṣṇu<sup>41</sup>). Says the poet of RV. 1, 155, 3 according to too literal a translation<sup>42</sup>): “The son places the lower (nearer, being on this side) (name), the high(er) (distant, ulterior) name of the Father—who has been regarded as identical with the Heavens—he places the third name on (in) the luminous sphere of heaven” (*dādāhāti putrō varam páram pitúr nāma tṛtīyam ādhi rocané diváh*). Since the son is Viṣṇu, to whom the hymn is addressed, there can be no doubt that the three steps are alluded to<sup>43</sup>), although it does not seem necessary to assume that both ideas, names and steps, are completely identified. As however the names, unlike the strides, are (or are to be) the Father’s—strictly speaking, only the second name might belong to him—, not Viṣṇu’s, and as the phrase *nāma dhā-* means “to give a name”<sup>44</sup>) we had better translate: “The son gives, fixes the names ...”. The purport of this sentence may then be that Viṣṇu, who represents that pervasiveness and spatial extensiveness which are essential to the establishment and maintenance of our cosmos, gives in striding names to the whole<sup>45</sup>) expansion of the universe. That means that he makes it and its components distinguishable and imparts individuality to them. It has been said<sup>46</sup>) that the Father is heaven (*dyaus*). In itself this is possible, but (if, what is syntactically probable, the genitive *pitúr* does not belong exclusively to *páram ... nāma*) one might rather be tempted to think of the Universal or Primeval Father of RV. 1, 164, 12 and 22—both poems are ascribed to the same author Dīrghatamas—who, if not the creator of the universe<sup>47</sup>), may be regarded as its representative or hypostatization. It would indeed be difficult to maintain that Viṣṇu’s threefold activity is limited to the celestial regions and the text moreover is explicit in localizing only the third name to the luminous sphere of heaven. This interpretation is, as far as I am able to see, in harmony with RV. 9, 75, 2 where the third name is in the same way the highest: “the son (who here must be Soma) gives a secret name to his parents (i.e. Heaven and Earth<sup>48</sup>)), a (the) third name in the luminous sphere of heaven” (*dādāhāti putrāḥ pitrór apicīyaṇ nāma tṛtīyam ādhi rocané diváh*).

I cannot therefore subscribe to Geldner’s<sup>49</sup>) explanation of RV. 5, 5, 10 inviting the sacrificial post to convey the oblations there “where thou

<sup>41</sup>) For Viṣṇu’s three strides and their ‘localization’ or significance now see my book *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism, a comparison*, London 1970, chapter I.

<sup>42</sup>) Cf. Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 36.

<sup>43</sup>) Cf. also Renou, o.c., p. 37, observing “pouvoir caractéristique de l’être doté d’un nom”.

<sup>44</sup>) Cf. ŚB. 6, 1, 3, 9; RV. 10, 71, 1.

<sup>45</sup>) For “three” and the idea of totality see *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism*, ch. I, p. 8.

<sup>46</sup>) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 213.

<sup>47</sup>) Cf. BĀU. 1, 5, 1 f.

<sup>48</sup>) Cf. RV. 3, 54, 7.

<sup>49</sup>) Geldner, o.c., II, p. 8.

knowest the secret names of the gods": the poet does not refer to "the forms under which the gods hide themselves" but to their unmanifest transcendence. The sacrificial stake is indeed the path which leads to the upper regions<sup>50</sup>).

Another way of formulating the transcendence of the (highest) name of a divine power occurs in the difficult hymn R.V. 5, 44 in which the gods addressed remain unexpressed (*anirukta*-). The name of the god who in st. 2 cd is said to be a good herdsman, not to be deceived and resourceful, is described to have (always) been in (the sphere of) the universal Truth-and-Order and beyond the manifestations of the incomprehensible creative power operating in the universe (. . . *paró māyābhir ṛtā āsa nāma te*)<sup>51</sup>). As to the term *anirukta*- this obviously was applied to an entity (deity etc.) referred to only 'cryptically', and whose presence at the rites was ardently wished for<sup>52</sup>). Thus Prajāpati who is identified with a group of gods who surpass all definition (TB. 1, 2, 2, 5) is the supreme *anirukta*-.

There can be no doubt that the line R.V. 5, 3, 3 *padām yād viṣṇor upamām nidhāyi tēna pāsi gūhayaṃ nāma gōnām* was in the main rightly translated: "Le pas suprême de Viṣṇu qui se posa (en un point caché), tu surveilles grâce à lui le nom secret des vaches"<sup>53</sup>). Yet the question arises as to whether this statement is comprehensible without any explanation or whether Geldner<sup>54</sup>) is right in assuming a play upon the word *padām* which may also mean "Word" or an occasional combination of the secret of Viṣṇu's "highest 'abode'" and that of the name of the cows. One might rather suppose the poet to have localized so to say the secret names of the cows in the transcendent sphere of Viṣṇu's highest 'place'. Whether Agni is here described as fulfilling Viṣṇu's duties<sup>55</sup>) or acts in his own right is difficult to decide. In the latter case we might remember that Agni often figures as a mediator and at R.V. 3, 26, 3 as vigilant among the immortal ones.

According to a formula occurring VS. 10, 20; TS. 1, 8, 14, 2<sup>56</sup>); ŚB. 5, 4, 2, 10 etc. and the explanation furnished by the commentators an oblation consisting of the residue of the sacrificial material is offered in

<sup>50</sup>) For particulars see J. Auboyer, *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris 1949, p. 49; 83 ff. and Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 148.

<sup>51</sup>) Not, with Geldner, o.c., II, p. 47 "dein Name war bei dem wahrhaften Werk über Zaubereien erhaben", or, with Lüders, o.c., p. 418 "fern von Trug . . .". For *māyā* see my publication in *Four studies in the language of the Veda*, The Hague 1959, ch. IV.

<sup>52</sup>) See L. Renou and L. Silburn, *Nirukta and anirukta in Vedic*, in *Sarūpa-bhāratī* (L. Sarup Mem. Vol.), Hoshiarpur 1954, p. 68 ff.

<sup>53</sup>) Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 20; cf. p. 106.

<sup>54</sup>) Geldner, o.c., II, p. 5.

<sup>55</sup>) Geldner, l.c.; Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 113.

<sup>56</sup>) TB. 1, 7, 8, 6 *rūdra yāt te krāyīpāraṃ* (read two words) *nāma* (cf. TS. 1, 8, 14, 12).

(or rather, on account of) the active (?)<sup>57</sup>) highest name of Rudra (*rūdra yāt te krāyī pāraṃ nāma tāsmīn hutām asy ameṣṭām* (or, *yameṣṭām*) *asi svāhā*). This may be taken to mean that the recipient of the oblation is the real, 'transcendent' god.

A clear distinction between the many phenomenal manifestations of a divine being and its "highest" secret name is made by the poet of R.V. 10, 45. In addressing Agni he prides himself on knowing the god's *dhāmāni* which are distributed in many places (st. 2: *vidmā te dhāma vibhṛtā purutrā*: cf. VS. 12, 19; KS. 9, 19; 16, 9 etc.), that is the various 'places', 'locations' or modes of the god's presence, where his power "resides" or where it manifests or projects itself<sup>58</sup>). The poet continues: *vidmā te nāma paramām gūhā yād vidmā tām ūtsam yāta ājagāntha* "we know thy highest name which is (kept) secret, we know that source from which thou hast come". If I am not mistaken the meaning and implication of this twofold statement is this: thy source or origin, i.e. thy transcendent existence which is also indicated by the phrase "thy highest name", is hidden from common knowledge, but known or revealed to the poet *cum suis*; from this source thou derivest thy phenomenal existence in which thou bearest other, non-secret names. A similar twofold statement is R.V. 10, 84, 5 cd made in connection with Manyu: *priyām te nāma saḥure gr̥ṇīmāsi vidmā tām ūtsam yāta ābabhūtha* "we praise thy dear (beloved) name, O mighty one; we know the source, from which thou originatest". If appearances are not deceptive here also the secret name is meant which coincides with the source, or to express myself otherwise, which represents a view of the god which may also be called the source from which proceed his phenomenal manifestations.

If the interpretation of R.V. 1, 84, 15 proposed by Geldner<sup>59</sup>) is in the main right this place is another piece of evidence of an intimate connection, verging on identity, between a secret name and a 'source'. In a reference to the legend of Dadhyañc<sup>60</sup>) the poet says that "they directed their attention to<sup>61</sup>) the hidden name of Tvaṣṭar's cow, there in the house of the moon" (*ātrāha gōr amanvata nāma tvāṣṭur apīcīyam / itthā candrāmaso gr̥hē*). This cow is the celestial source of the soma draught<sup>62</sup>). Knowledge of this secret, that is access to this draught, bestows such advantages as power and continuance of life upon a god.

R.V. 10, 68, 7 is remarkable in that it shows first that a secret name —

<sup>57</sup>) Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 126.

<sup>58</sup>) I refer to my book *The meaning of the Sanskrit term dhāman-*, Amsterdam Academy 1967; for this place p. 21; 23. Renou's formulation, E.V.P. XVI, Paris 1965, p. 86: "here the *dhāmāni* are the god's constituent elements" is not very felicitous.

<sup>59</sup>) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 108.

<sup>60</sup>) A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 141 f.

<sup>61</sup>) Or, "they set their mind on" (rather than "recollected", Geldner).

<sup>62</sup>) Cf. R.V. 1, 117, 22; 3, 48, 3; 10, 116, 3; 10, 85, 3 ff.; AV. 8, 9, 24 etc.

and consequently its bearer(s)—could in the opinion of the Vedic poets be kept concealed in a definite place and in the second place that the one who remembered it, made it the object of his directed thought and concentrated reflections which are hoped to achieve a definite purpose (*amata*)<sup>63</sup>—and who must therefore know it—is able to exert influence upon the bearer of that name. Thus Bṛhaspati succeeded in releasing the cows which were imprisoned by Vala.

In a mantra which is peculiar to the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā (4, 4, 7, 2; 5, 3, 11, 3; cf. ĀpŚS. 17, 5, 14), viz. *agne yāt te páraṃ hṛn nāma tāv éhi sām rabhāvahai . . .* “O Agni, thy highest, the heart by name<sup>64</sup>), come let us join together (grasp each other) . . .” the “highest name” is identified with the heart — a term (*hṛdaya-*) which in the Atharvaveda and later texts is used, not only for the centre or (hidden) interior, but also for the best, dearest or most secret part of anything (cf. e.g. AV. 3, 13, 7; 12, 1, 8; VS. 18, 55; TB. 1, 1, 3, 12). TS. 5, 3, 11, 3 adds in explanation: *etad vā agneḥ priyaṃ dhāma* “this is the dear presence of Agni”, that is the ‘place’ where his divine essence is most likely to be found in its most ‘genuine’ or ‘concentrated’ form. I need not recall here the significance acquired by the ‘heart’ as the abode of the Puruṣa and the centre of meditation and ‘place’ of contact with the Supreme in yogic and tantric circles.

Another instance of the belief that the real name may be a “Zauberwort, ein *Sesam-tu-dich-auf*”<sup>65</sup>) has been supposed to occur ṚV. 10, 139, 6 where in connection with the cows it reads *prāsāṃ gandharvó amṛtāni vocat* “(the) Gandharva made mention of (or praised) their names” and *nāmāni* is in all probability to be supplied to *amṛtāni*. In view of ṚV. 10, 123, 4<sup>66</sup>) we may however prefer to regard (the) Gandharva to be a knower and promulgator of that which is kept secret (cf. also ṚV. 10, 177, 2): there he is explicitly said to have found the immortal names (*vidād gandharvó amṛtāni nāma*) and so we may ascribe to him at 10, 139, 6, not so much the use of the names for magical purposes, but their promulgation. Cf. AV. 2, 1, 2 *prá tād voced amṛtasya vidvān gandharvó dhāma paramāṃ gūhā yāt* “May (the) Gandharva, knowing of the immortal, proclaim that highest presence of divine power that is in secret”<sup>67</sup>). It is not clear whose names are meant at ṚV. 10, 139, 6<sup>68</sup>).

<sup>63</sup>) I would avoid Lüders’ translation (o.c., p. 522): “(the name) came into his mind”.

<sup>64</sup>) Cf. also W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, III, Amsterdam Acad. 1928, p. 74.

<sup>65</sup>) Lüders, o.c., p. 540.

<sup>66</sup>) I refer to Lüders, o.c., p. 537 ff.

<sup>67</sup>) Cf. Gonda, *Dhāman*, p. 77.

<sup>68</sup>) I refer to Geldner, o.c., III, p. 373; Lüders, o.c., p. 540; Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 32.

## XVII

The phrase *nāma man-* does not simply mean “remember a (the) name”<sup>1</sup>). As also observed by Renou<sup>2</sup>) the verb *man-* has already in Vedic usage also the sense of “evoking, calling up” — one might add “by concentrated thought”<sup>3</sup>). A mantra is ṚV. 1, 31, 13 a product of the inspired mind of a seer which when duly recited by one who knows its meaning is, as to its effect, put on a par with an oblation. The man who duly directs his concentrated thought towards the name of a god evokes the god. Thus it reads ṚV. 4, 39, 4 “. . . we have directed our concentrated thought towards the auspicious (gracious) name of the Maruts, while being intent on coming into mental contact with them” (*yād āmanmahi marūtāṃ nāma bhadrām*). Similarly, ṚV. 8, 11, 5; 10, 64, 1 where the name is said to be *sumāntu*, i.e. “right or appropriate to invoke in this way” (cf. 10, 12, 6; 6, 18, 8 and 1, 129, 7), the phrase *durmāntu nāma* expressing the opposite sense: ṚV. 10, 12, 6<sup>4</sup>) (= AV. 18, 1, 34) the name of the god Yama who was suspected of incest should not be invoked.

Lüders<sup>5</sup>), while no doubt right in criticizing Geldner’s interpretation of ṚV. 4, 1, 16<sup>6</sup>) which deals with the opening of Vala’s hole and the release of the cows, did not however essentially correct the latter’s translation of pāda a (*té ’manvata prathamāṃ nāma dhenóḥ*) “Sie erinnerten sich an den ersten Namen der Kuh”. The words do not exactly mean: “Denen fiel ein der erste Name . . .”, but “they concentrated their thoughts on . . . and consequently exerted influence upon the owners of that name”, with the result that the cows answered and made their appearance. In ṚV. 10, 64, 1 this effect of the mental concentration on the name seems almost explicit: “Of which god shall we evoke the name . . .?; who will be gracious?; who will approach with his assistance?”. The “first name” — like the “three times seven highest names” in pāda b — is in ṚV. 4, 1, 16 no doubt the real (secret) name (Lüders), not a call name as borne by cattle in daily practice (Geldner). This interpretation is corroborated by ṚV. 10, 68, 7<sup>7</sup>). The “three times seven names” of the cow recur at ṚV. 7, 87, 4 where the man who knows (the mysteries of) words is enjoined to teach them as secret (names) for the benefit of the generations to come. The sense of these words can hardly be that the word “cow” has

<sup>1</sup>) Cf. e.g. Geldner’s translation of ṚV. 1, 24, 1 “. . . der Gott, an dessen . . . Namen wir jetzt gedenken”.

<sup>2</sup>) Renou, *Vocabulaire*, p. 11 n.; E.V.P. IV, p. 79; 118 (“invoker mentalement”); VII, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup>) For a longer exposition see my paper *The Indian mantra*, in *Oriens*, 16 (Leiden 1963), p. 244 ff., esp. p. 250 f.

<sup>4</sup>) Not, with Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, 616 “schwer zu begreifen”, but “funeste à évoquer” (Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 9 and compare *ibid.*, p. 73).

<sup>5</sup>) Lüders, o.c., p. 521 f.

<sup>6</sup>) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 415.

<sup>7</sup>) Lüders, o.c., p. 522.

twenty-one meanings<sup>8)</sup>; "three" as well as "seven" indicate totality<sup>9)</sup>, ṚV. 1, 164, 3 speaking in this connection of seven names only. Nor do these passages refer to the "metapherreiche Sprache der Dichter"<sup>10)</sup>. Like Agni in ṚV. 1, 72, 6—"Quand (les dieux) dignes du sacrifice eurent (ainsi) découvert les trois fois sept mots secrets cachés en toi (ô Agni), grâce à ces (mots) ils veillent (sur le principe) immortel. . ." <sup>11)</sup>—the Cow is believed to possess this totality—hyperbolically denoted by the phrase "three times seven"—of secret names or words (cf. ṚV. 5, 3, 10), knowledge of which means power over their owner. It is not surprising that Varuṇa, the supporter of the (inhabited) worlds—whose well-known omniscience is extended to the whole universe<sup>12)</sup>—is at ṚV. 8, 41, 5 said to know the hidden secret names (*apīcīyā veda nāmāni gūhṛyā*) of the cows. This knowledge is no doubt to be regarded as being one of his *kāvṛyā*, i.e. of his abilities as a *kavi*, that is of one who by means of supernormal and supersensual knowledge has obtained the possibility of mental contact with the transcendent as well as certain abilities in the sacred and sacral sphere derived from this. ṚV. 10, 169, 2 it is Agni who through or by (means of) the sacrifice (oblations of butter etc.) knows the names of the cows. It may be recalled that the names of the cows to be milked for ritual purposes play a part in the ceremonies of the Full- and New-Moon<sup>13)</sup>. One of the officiants, the *adhvaryu*, has on this occasion to learn these names by inquiring about them; that means by eliciting the truth and actualizing the names and the power inherent in them<sup>14)</sup>, viz.—as indicated by the *adhvaryu* after hearing the names—length of life<sup>15)</sup>.

AV. 7, 1, 1 *trītyena brāhmaṇā vāvṛdhānās turītyeṇāmanvata nāma dhenōh*<sup>16)</sup> must be interpreted in a similar way: "after having been strengthened or fortified by the third manifestation of brahman, i.e. mantra or ritually potent words, with the fourth they (successfully) concentrated their thoughts on the name of the cow".

While looking<sup>17)</sup> at the large wooden soma reservoir the sacrificer should pronounce the words "... Thou on whose name we have meditated

<sup>8)</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 258.

<sup>9)</sup> I refer to my book *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 139; 142 f. etc.

<sup>10)</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 228; p. 415 and comparo p. 95.

<sup>11)</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 18.

<sup>12)</sup> R. Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god*, London 1956, p. 118 ff.

<sup>13)</sup> For particulars see A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, Jena 1880, p. 12 and compare A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 319. — Cf. also TB. 3, 2, 3, 7.

<sup>14)</sup> See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 171.

<sup>15)</sup> Cf. also Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 3. — For AV. 7, 75, 2 *viśvānāman*—see p. 66.

<sup>16)</sup> See also Lüders, o.c., p. 543.

<sup>17)</sup> I refer to my publication *Eye and gaze*, Amsterdam Acad. 1969, p. 48 and elsewhere.

... " (VS. 7, 29 *yāsya te nāmāmanmahī*; cf. ŚB. 4, 5, 6, 4); the commentators, explaining *man-* as *jñā-* "to know", probably—and rightly—thought of the identificatory knowledge which is the result of meditation. At another place exhibiting the phrase *nāma man-*, ṚV. 8, 11, 5: "We mortal men contemplate (i.e. evoke by contemplating<sup>18)</sup>) thy (Agni's) many names" Sāyana already explained: "we know" (*jānīmah*). It is characteristic of the archaic attitude of mind that knowledge of the sense of a name may indeed enable a person to attract to himself the idea expressed or to identify himself with the power or entity the name stands for: ŚB. 3, 9, 2, 16 "It is a desirable object (*vara-*) to the dwellers (*vasat-*); hence the name *Vasatīvarī* (of water which has been left standing overnight and is carried round for protection), and verily he who knows this becomes a desirable object to the dwellers". Needless to say that this is a piece of popular etymology invented *ad hoc*. — Another formula of some interest is MS. 2, 6, 12: 71, 7; KS. 15, 8 *amanmahī mahad ṛtasya nāma*.

However, the study of these archaic lines of thought is most profitable to gaining an insight into the history of the theory and practice of Indian meditation. Nāmdev (± 1425) for instance expressed the conviction that God may it is true remain concealed but cannot conceal His name; "when we have once uttered His name, He cannot escape from us"<sup>19)</sup>. "If we only utter the name of God, He will stand before us; in that way should we meditate on Him" (Tukārām). It may also be worth recalling a doctrine of the Jainas who made it their custom systematically to view everything, with the inclusion of the *tīrthaṅkaras*, from definite angles: *nāma* "name", *sthāpanā* "visible representation", *dravya* "substance", *bhāva* "accidence"<sup>20)</sup>. Thus a Nāma-tīrthaṅkara is that which is given the name of, or called a, *tīrthaṅkara*. "Dadurch, dass der Name eines Tīrthaṅkara ausgesprochen oder gehört wird, erscheint die Gestalt des Propheten vor dem geistigen Auge des Gläubigen, und es werden Gefühle der Ehrfurcht, Heiligkeit usw. in letzterem hervorgerufen"<sup>21)</sup>.

### XVIII

It stands to reason that the devotees prefer that name which in their denomination is most usual or appreciated to denote God. Thus the

<sup>18)</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 64 "... nous évoquons les nombreux noms..."

<sup>19)</sup> Indu Prakāsh edition of Tukārām, 2794.

<sup>20)</sup> "Eine Seele (Jīva) z.B. wird unter den folgenden Gesichtspunkten angesehen: Nāmajīva ist das, was als Seele benannt wird, Sthāpanā-jīva ist das, was als Seele figürlich dargestellt oder nachgebildet wird, Dravya-jīva ist die Seele an sich, ohne Rücksicht auf ihre veränderlichen Zustände, Bhāva-jīva ist die Seele im Hinblick auf ihren jeweiligen Zustand" (H. von Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, Berlin 1925, p. 149; cf. also W. Schubring, *Die Lehro des Jainas*, Berlin-Leipzig 1935, p. 106 f.).

<sup>21)</sup> Von Glasenapp, o.c., p. 365.

Vārkarīs generally use by preference the name of Viṭṭhala, although the names Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Gopāla and any other of Viṣṇu's thousand names are, however, also frequently repeated. It is on the other hand no less intelligible that convinced adherents of one religion often had their scruples about pronouncing the favourite name of another denomination. For instance, exclusive Vaiṣṇavas often evince an aversion to pronouncing the most representative name, Śiva, of their God's rival. Using such a name or a basic mantra (containing the name) of another religion would mean dissociating oneself from the tradition of one's group, withdrawing from the presence of one's own god, entering into intimate communication with a strange deity and starting the realization of one's identity with him. All this implies a serious infraction of the dharma.

In connection with the names of African gods some interesting observations were made by Dammann<sup>1)</sup>. The Hochgott being often indicated by two or even by four names or by a term borrowed from a foreign language a distinction should in his case be made between his name in the proper sense of the term and those appellative nouns which are for eulogistic reasons or as indications of his functions applied to him. An etymological explanation of his appellations is therefore of little use. "Hier braucht der Satz, der sonst gerade für afrikanische Sprachen zutrifft, dass im Namen eine Aussage über das Wesen gemacht wird, nicht zu gelten". That means, the special name of the High God is superior to the common divine names; it constitutes an entity by itself. This fact cannot be dissociated from the belief that the name and its bearer—who is above comprehension and definition—are indissolubly connected. "The deity is often called Nameless or Anāman in the scriptures, but this usage is on a par with the employment of terms such as "birthless" (*ajanman-*), "formless" (*arūpa-*) or "actionless" (*akarṭ-*). It does not mean that he has no name but that his name . . . is not like the common names we have in the phenomenal world; it possesses a spiritual significance and efficacy. It is for this reason that the name or names which have been established in the Śāstras as bringing the Bhagavat himself instantaneously into consciousness are alone appropriate . . ." <sup>2)</sup>

However, He, Ultimate Reality, is on the other hand represented by his name. "In den deuteronomistischen Büchern tritt uns der Name Gottes als das Symbol seines Zugewesenseins entgegen" <sup>3)</sup>. With regard to this Name and beings other than the owner of the Name two relations are possible and indeed attested to. The Name may either be unknowable, absolutely secret, known only to the bearer himself, or it may be known to the initiate, to the happy few, to those who know how to come to

<sup>1)</sup> E. Dammann, *Die Religionen Afrikas*, Stuttgart 1963, p. 29.

<sup>2)</sup> S. K. De, *Early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal*, Calcutta 1961, p. 289.

<sup>3)</sup> H. Ringgren, *Israelitische Religion*, Stuttgart 1963, p. 81; O. Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes*, *Zeitschrift für alttestam. Wiss.*, Beih. 64 (1934).

some understanding with the divine and to approach it or to realize their identity with it. The mighty Egyptian Ra had many names, but the great name which gave him power over gods and men was known to none but himself. "It remained hidden in his body since his birth, that no magician might have power over him". It was Isis alone who cunningly succeeded in filching it from him. In doing so she said to him: "Tell me thy name, divine Father, for the man shall live who is called by his name" <sup>4)</sup>. From then Isis, the queen of the gods, knows Ra and his true name <sup>5)</sup>. The Indian mystic on the other hand is convinced that "the Name of God is the Form of God, and His Form is His Name. God may remain concealed, but He cannot conceal His name" <sup>6)</sup>. In an interesting passage Tukārāma says <sup>7)</sup>: "Does a lotus plant know the fragrance of its flowers?" This is quite explicit: God himself cannot know the sweetness of His Name, which only the devotees to whom it may be revealed experience. Yet, God, the absolute truth, is devoid of determinate nameables <sup>8)</sup>.

The Indian is also firmly convinced of the great possibilities which are within the reach of the man who while knowing name and nature of a deity praises, i.e. strengthens him. To such a man the deity must grant a favour, which may even consist in a more complete revelation. From R.V. 6, 44, 8 (*dādāhāno nāma mahó vácobhir vāpur dṛśāye venyó vij āvah*) I would not <sup>9)</sup> infer that the name is properly and generally speaking created by human speech. It is in this particular context the words, the hymn, of the poet which strengthen the divine draught (Soma) and in consequence make his name great with the result that the god reveals his splendour <sup>10)</sup>.

The belief in the efficacy of ritual formulas and the power of the spoken word, however central in Tantrism <sup>11)</sup> and other currents of religious thought, was—it should not be forgotten—also firmly rooted in more generally accepted systems. Basing itself on the axiom that there exists a natural and inherent association between a word and its meaning, the Pūrvamīmāṃsā proclaims the eternity and infallible authority of the Vedas, since the words (*śabda-*) of which they are composed are

<sup>4)</sup> One cannot help remembering that praising God's name means adding to his power and glory.

<sup>5)</sup> See e.g. Frazer, o.c., p. 343 f.; A. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, Berlin-Leipzig 1934, p. 300 f.

<sup>6)</sup> Nāmadeva, *Abhanga* 64; 66.

<sup>7)</sup> Tukārāma, *Abhanga* 233.

<sup>8)</sup> Cf. also Hui-yūan, quoted by R. H. Robinson, *Early Mādhyamika*, Madison and London 1967, p. 114.

<sup>9)</sup> With Renou, *Vocabulaire*, p. 10.

<sup>10)</sup> Cf. also Lüders, o.c., p. 468.

<sup>11)</sup> See e.g. J. Woodroffe, *Introduction to Tantra Shastra*, Madras <sup>2</sup>1952; A. Avalon (= J. Woodroffe), *Kulārṇava Tantra*, Madras 1965, p. 28 etc.; A. and E. Avalon, *Hymns to the goddess*, Madras 1952, Introduction.



eternal<sup>12</sup>). Mantras, "flash-lights of the eternal truth"<sup>13</sup>) and the divine Name share this character. The mantras indeed derive their character as a method of salvation from the devotee's meditative realization of their constituting the unity of God's name and God's Self or true nature. "Kṛṣṇa's name is the eternal reality itself and one with His lotus-like feet" (Caitanya). One of the interesting points in the doctrine established by Jīva Gosvāmin<sup>14</sup>) which has become "a fundamental creed of his school" is the theory of the efficacy and eternity<sup>15</sup>) of the blessed name itself. "The theory is based partly on the old doctrine of the eternity of sound, but the Bengal school goes a step further in maintaining the essential identity of the name and its possessor (*nāma-nāminor abhedah*). In other words, it believes that the name itself is the essence of the Lord (*bhagavat-svarūpam eva nāma*), so that one who utters the name with devotion attains the Lord himself. Not only the name but even the syllables or its 'symbol' (e.g. *Om*) are enough to produce the same effect<sup>16</sup>). According to a conviction of medieval mystics worded e.g. by Tukārāma<sup>17</sup>), all the Scriptures, the Veda as well as the different Śāstras and purāṇas proclaim the supremacy of the Name and teach us that this is our only salvation. He alone who knows the efficacy of the Name may be said to have grasped the inner meaning of the Veda<sup>18</sup>). Initiation into, and knowledge of, the mantra containing the Name means becoming united with God<sup>19</sup>). "Whatever is receives a name when one is conscious of it . . . The name is the word. The Name—of God, "recognized", "realized", in samādhi—is the Word . . . The Word represents God"<sup>20</sup>). These statements put the existence of historical connections and structural similarities between the Name of later times and the secret name of the ancients beyond doubt. As the mystic and saint Mira (16<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>21</sup>) saw it the soul which wants to return Home is guided by the *Śabda* (Word), that is by the *Nāman*, without which one cannot reach God. It is the guru who gives the gift of *Nāman* and thus enables the aspirant to realize his divinity<sup>22</sup>).

That does not mean that the relation between the eternal sound (the Word) and the Name did not raise difficulties or was viewed always in

<sup>12</sup>) Cf. e.g. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, London 1948 (1923), II, p. 389; M. Biardeau, *Théorie de la connaissance et philosophie de la parole*, The Hague 1964, p. 35 ff. etc.

<sup>13</sup>) J. Gonda, *The Indian mantra*, in *Oriens*, 16 (1963), p. 244 ff., esp. p. 247.

<sup>14</sup>) See W. Eidlitz, *Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya*, Stockholm 1968, p. 489 f.

<sup>15</sup>) See also the texts quoted by Eidlitz, *o.c.*, p. 238 ff.; 278 ff.

<sup>16</sup>) *De*, *o.c.*, p. 289.

<sup>17</sup>) Tukārāma, *Abhanga*, 3128.

<sup>18</sup>) *Ibidem*, 1549.

<sup>19</sup>) Cf. *Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra* 3, 140.

<sup>20</sup>) P. D. Mehta, *Early Indian religious thought*, London 1956, p. 323.

<sup>21</sup>) Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 155.

<sup>22</sup>) See also B. Behari, *The story of Mira Bai*, Gorakhpur 1941, p. 72.

the same way. The sound (*śabda-*) aspect of the Name was for instance especially emphasized by Kabir in contradistinction to Tulsīdās and others who were inclined to attach more importance to the devotional aspect. The relation between "name" and "word" (cf. also *ṚV.* 5, 44, 8) was already at an early date an intriguing problem. *AiAr.* 2, 1, 6 it reads: "Speech is his (the pronoun refers to *Prāṇa* or life-breath) rope, names the knots. So by his speech as a rope, and by names as (its) knots (or rather fetters), all this is bound. For all this is names, and by his speech he names everything"<sup>23</sup>). This passage may be taken to mean that all phenomenal reality is bound to, that is defined by, words, i.e. by the elements of speech, and that the names are those special words which "bind" or fasten these bonds<sup>24</sup>). Most of the authors mentioned in this section may, I suppose, have joined the "specialists in ancient legends and mythology" (*paūrāṇikāh*) in defining *nāman-* as "a (n especially) significant word" (*vācakaśabda-*).

For Nānak (1469–1539) and his followers, the Sikhs, who attach special importance to the Divine Name and have left us much interesting evidence of their deep insight into its nature, (the) Name (*Nām*) is for all practical purposes synonymous with (the) Word (*Śabad*), although there are places in their Holy Writ in which the latter appears as the medium of communication and the former as the object of communication. It is Truth, the revelation of God's being, His mysterious concrete embodiment, the Hidden manifest, the Unutterable uttered, "the only proper object of contemplation, the standard to which the individual's life must conform, the essential means of purification and salvation"<sup>25</sup>). The Name, which is often found in association with the "Nectar of immortality" (*amrit*), is the revelation of God's Being, the sum total of all His attributes, the total expression of all that God is, the aggregate of all that may

<sup>23</sup>) Śāyaṇa explains the metaphor from a rope for tying up cattle. The question may however be posed as to whether the use of a string with knots as a rosary — as is up to the present day customary among the Punjab Sikhs — may, also in view of the terms *sūtra-* "thread, cord, string" and *granthi-* "knot" for this device (W. Kirfel, *Der Rosenkranz*, Walldorf Hessen 1949, p. 64 f.), have inspired the author. There is on the other hand the interesting place *AiB.* 5, 32, 6 expounding the view that the *vyāhrtis*, i.e. the ritual utterances *bhūh*, *bhuvah*, *suwah* are "the internal fastenings or connections" of the Vedas; "just as one may unite one thing with another, or joint with joint, or with a cord (*śleṣmanā*) unite an object of leather or something which has come apart, so with these he unites whatever in the sacrifice has come apart".

<sup>24</sup>) We cannot enter here into a discussion of the definitions given to the terms *śabda-*, *nāman-*, *saṃjñā-* etc. in scientific works. Whereas for instance in grammar *śabda-* is restricted to phonetic units possessed of sense, *nāman-* is often given the sense of our "noun" and *saṃjñā-* that of "technical term". For a short survey of the meanings attached to *nāman-* see Bh. Jhalakikar, *Nyāyakośa*, Poona 1928, p. 406 f.; for the Tantrist view J. Woodroffe and P. N. Mukhyopādhyāya, *Mahāmāyā*, Madras 1954, p. 63 f.

<sup>25</sup>) W. H. MeLeod, *Gurū Nānak and the Sikh religion*, Oxford 1968, p. 195.

be affirmed concerning Him, and this is Truth or Reality. It is "God's nature communicated through His creation and through human experience within the creation" <sup>26</sup>). There is a radical difference between the Name of God and the names of God. Hari, Rāma etc. are all but names; none of them is essential. They may have a special significance, but do no more than express aspects of the Name. According to the Ādi Granth the True Guru, who has full knowledge of the eternal reality which is the Puruṣa and sees nothing except God gives the Word or Name—and this is nothing else than the Name of God—to his disciple. "The name of the Lord lies hidden in the words of the guru". And "the true response to the guru is that of adoring love expressed through meditation on God's name" <sup>27</sup>). Remembrance of "the nectar of the Name" is the latter's first and foremost duty. It fulfils all wishes, washes all sins away, removes the wall of illusion and giving true life leads to the state of final beatitude <sup>28</sup>): an exalted version of the ancient belief that the name of God endows a devotee with power and bliss <sup>29</sup>). *Nām* cannot be defined, but its concomitants, e.g. the production of a feeling of wonder at God and His works, can be known and experienced. There is nothing in the world to compare with *Nām*. "If I utter *Nām*, I live; if not, I die". "Thy Name, O God, is my sustenance; it has granted me peace and joy and fulfilled all my desires" <sup>30</sup>). This utterance of *Nām* which, while including also honest conduct and good behaviour, is a complete design for living, is neither knowledge nor philosophy. *Nām* reveals the presence of God both in man and in the universe. "To practice *Nām* means to practise the presence of God by keeping Him ever in our mind by permanently singing His praises or dwelling on His excellences" <sup>31</sup>). "The man of divine knowledge has conquered the world . . .; through the Name his affairs prosper. All his actions are as the Lord wills" <sup>32</sup>). Thus the Name has the charm of a mantra. However, mere lip-repetition of certain names is not *Nām*. Rosaries etc. are denounced as hypocrisy.

"As one thinks so one becomes", and therefore, God is to be dwelt upon every moment through the Name. "Man's nature is transformed when his affiliation is transferred from the world to the divine Name", but "wretched is he who is without the Name" <sup>33</sup>), and the soul which forgets the Name is led astray. Without the Name one must endure

<sup>26</sup>) McLeod, o.c., p. 150; 215.

<sup>27</sup>) McLeod, o.c., p. 150.

<sup>28</sup>) S. S. Kohli, A critical study of Ādi Granth, New Delhi 1961, p. 348 ff.; 353; 356 etc.

<sup>29</sup>) F. Heiler, Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion, Stuttgart 1961, p. 309.

<sup>30</sup>) Trilochan Singh etc., o.c., p. 127.

<sup>31</sup>) Gobind Singh Mansukhani, The quintessence of Sikhism, Amritsar 1958, p. 169 ff.

<sup>32</sup>) Trilochan Singh etc., o.c., p. 132.

<sup>33</sup>) McLeod, o.c., p. 177.

suffering and cannot be saved <sup>34</sup>). "What then is the Name? It is the qualitative expression of God's personality . . . It is the all-pervading spirit, the Bright Essence which informs all life, yea, all creation . . . It sustains, and gives meaning to, the whole creation. As Guru Nanak says: 'As much as He hath created, that much is His Name'. Once this Name, this all-pervading Spirit, is realized, one merges in the Being of God, becoming like Him" <sup>35</sup>).

God's Name being "the essence of everything" <sup>36</sup>), all religious observances are present in its utterance and hence become superfluous. It is "the God of gods". Some propitiate Durgā or Śiva or other gods, but the Guru's Sikhs worship the True Name and thus remove all obstacles to salvation <sup>37</sup>). So for all practical purposes the Name is used for God himself. The saint, God, and the Name constitute in Tukārāma's (1608–1649) view a triune whole, "a triple spiritual confluence" <sup>38</sup>). The saint is sure of God's perpetual presence, aid and favour. "God indeed loves His kīrtana as nothing else, and, for the sake of His Name, comes to the Saint's rescue at all times" <sup>39</sup>). Tukārāma is so completely satisfied with the utterance of the Name that he has no desire for anything else.

Tulsīdās (1532–1623) supplies us also with an explanation of the power and significance of the divine name: "A name may be regarded as equivalent to what is named. . . . Both name and form are the shadows of the Lord, who, rightly understood, is unspeakable and uncreated . . . The form is of less importance than the name, for without the name you cannot come to a knowledge of the form, but meditate on the name without seeing the form, and your soul is filled with devotion. The name acts as an interpreter between the material and immaterial forms of the deity, and is a guide and interpreter to both" (Rām., I, Doha 24 <sup>40</sup>)). One of Tulsīdās' fundamental propositions is that the Name may be considered a "schematizer" between the *saguṇa* and the *nirguṇa* aspect of the Highest, that is between the Highest with, and without qualities and attributes. That means that it is exalted above God with form, as well as above God without form. As such it is called an illuminator, a witness, and an interpreter of the one to the other. Sitting, so to say, "in a judicial tribunal over these aspects of the Highest, it exercises an authority over them and brings them under its control" <sup>41</sup>). For Tulsīdās

<sup>34</sup>) McLeod, o.c., p. 185; 188.

<sup>35</sup>) Gopal Singh, Sri Guru-Granth Sahib, English version, I, Delhi 1960, p. XXIX.

<sup>36</sup>) Indu Prakāsh edition of Tukārām, 2299.

<sup>37</sup>) M. A. Macauliffe, The Sikh religion, Delhi 1963, I, p. 138.

<sup>38</sup>) Tukārāma, Abhanga 989.

<sup>39</sup>) Ibidem, 1032.

<sup>40</sup>) In the English translation by F. S. Growse, The Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsī Dās, Allahabad 1937, I, p. 17.

<sup>41</sup>) See also R. D. Ranade, Pathway to God in Hindi literature, Bombay 1959, p. 312 ff.; 342.

the *nirguṇa* as well as the *saguṇa* aspect of the Highest Being are by themselves unspeakable, unfathomable and inaccessible. To make them otherwise is the aim of all *sādhanā* (spiritual endeavour). In this connection it is the divine name which of all means stands forth pre-eminent. The name of Rāma may indeed be regarded as the third level of manifestation of God for man. It is of greater glory than either aspect of God's being, because it is the key which reveals the inaccessible Brahma and makes Rāma apprehendable by the devotee<sup>42</sup>). It is his only ferry-boat across the ocean of existence, and should therefore be considered greater than either the manifested or unmanifested forms of Rāma. It is a wish-fulfilling tree and a shelter for spiritual felicity in this Kali age. "The whole of Vinayapatrikā<sup>43</sup>) can be seen as an exposition of the wonders of the name and a plea for ever deeper and fuller communion with God, for more perfect bhakti".

Some places in the works of Tulsīdās—for whom the Name is the most fundamental vehicle of meditation—may help us in deepening our insight into the 'henotheistic' view of the difference between the Name and the names of divine persons. He expressly omits reciting the names of Śiva, Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa or Sūrya because he does not regard these figures as his benefactors; Rāma's Name alone is his well-being, his way of life and vow of love (Kavitāvalī 7, 78; Vinayapatrikā 250, 2). "It is difficult to understand these verses other than as an affirmation of devotion to the unmanifested form of God in distinction to the manifested"<sup>44</sup>).

Kabīr (± 1440–1518) laid great stress upon the Name imparted by the guru as the sole means to the apprehension of the unmanifested *nirguṇa* Rāma, who for him is not the same as the epic hero and son of Daśaratha, but the unmanifested Highest Being (Granthāvalī 139). "If you do not look out for, and avail yourself of, the everlasting Name of God (*Satnāma*), you will have to repent deeply and descend by the downward ladder to the lowest rung of perdition"<sup>45</sup>). It is the Name which brings together the Self and God, for it is the oil in which the wick of the Self is to be drenched and then ignited by the fire of God. Or "it is the material cause and God the instrumental cause for bringing to fruition the qualities of the Self".

The same belief is reflected also by popular tales and practices. According to a story<sup>46</sup>) Rāma's name<sup>47</sup>) reflecting experienced Will and Power has even more power than Rāma himself<sup>48</sup>), because when Hanumān

<sup>42</sup>) F. R. Allchin, Tulsī Dās, The petition to Rām, London 1966, p. 61 f.; 66.

<sup>43</sup>) One of Tulsīdās' later writings.

<sup>44</sup>) Allchin, o.c., p. 63 f.

<sup>45</sup>) R. D. Ranade, Pathway to God, Bombay 1959, p. 34 and compare p. 144 ff.; 340 ff.

<sup>46</sup>) J. Abbott, The keys of power, London 1932, p. 40 f.

<sup>47</sup>) R. P. Masani, Folk culture reflected in names, Bombay 1968, p. 49.

<sup>48</sup>) Cf. G. van der Leeuw, Religion in essence and manifestation, London 1938,

was building a bridge whereby to cross to Laikā, the stones on which he had inscribed that name kept floating, but a stone thrown by Rāma himself sank forthwith<sup>49</sup>). In Rāmaist devotionism Rāma's name indeed is truth, and revealed truth means final liberation<sup>50</sup>). Both in the rites of initiation as performed in the Kabīr Panth and in the communion feast of this community betel-leaves are eaten, upon which has been written the secret name of God. This "eating of the God" is here also to be considered a way of assimilating His spirit<sup>51</sup>).

Since God reveals Himself in fundamental eternal sound forms in His full reality, muttering such sound forms and meditating on them is therefore a sublime form of worship<sup>52</sup>).

One of those saints and poets who insisted very much on the importance and the significance of the Name of God was, in Mahārāṣṭra, Nāmadeva (probably in the first half of the XV<sup>th</sup> century). "If there were a cessation to the utterance of the name of God in my mouth, my tongue would split a thousand-fold. If my eyes were not to see Thy beautiful form, they would come out forcibly from their sockets"<sup>53</sup>). The Name of God should always be on everybody's tongue, irrespective his social status or other circumstances. The only remedy mentioned in the purāṇas is the utterance of the Name<sup>54</sup>). Even the body of the great Śiva which was tormented by the poison Hālāhala became cool when he meditated on God, and for the same reason Hanumān could not be burnt by fire during his well-known exploits. Meditation on His Name which destroys all sin, is the only means of attaining God. If in such a condition Death comes to devour me, I will sing and dance in joy"<sup>55</sup>). The mystic Ekanātha (second half of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century) regards the utterance of the Name—the only imperishable among all evanescent things—as the only form of bhakti<sup>56</sup>). It gives that blessed contentment to a devotee's heart which may result in his mind being overcome by divine love.

Tukārāma told his audience that he had come in God's name to carry them over the sea of life. "I come as the sole bearer of the stamp of God

p. 147: "The names of things subsist before they acquire a 'personality'; and the name of God is there even before 'God' exists".

<sup>49</sup>) Words are more powerful than weapons. "A tree pierced by an arrow or hacked by an axe revives, but offensive speech is mischievous. A wound caused by words does not heal up" (VāmanaP. 2, 28, 7).

<sup>50</sup>) L. Reymond, La vie dans la vie, Genève 1969, p. 49.

<sup>51</sup>) See also N. Macnicol, Indian theism, Oxford 1915, p. 143.

<sup>52</sup>) For *japa* etc. in Hindu ritual see e.g. Pratāpachandra Ghosha, Durgā Pūjā, Calcutta 1871, p. 43 ff.; 62; 66 ff. etc.

<sup>53</sup>) Nāmadeva, Abhanga 49.

<sup>54</sup>) Ibidem 55.

<sup>55</sup>) Ibidem 80. For particulars see also R. D. Ranade, Indian mysticism. Mysticism in Maharashtra, = S. K. Belvalkar and R. D. Ranade, History of Indian philosophy, VII, Poona 1933, p. 194 ff.

<sup>56</sup>) Ekanātha, Abhanga 37. See also Ranade, o.c., p. 251.

to carry you over in God's name" 57). "Utter the name of Viṭhala, and you will be free from your sins, which have no existence before the power of God's name" 58). "Rejoice in the victorious name of God" 59). The constant repetition of this name is the sole way to the realization of God. It is an easy way, because God will spontaneously come to the house of a saint who invokes Him with love 60). The unceasing utterance of the Name enables the devotee to stay in the presence of God throughout all his life. "He who utters the name of Rāma without intermission receives liberation though living" 61). That God's name should be always in the recollection of His adorers is for instance also apparent from directions such as VāmanaP. 1, 14, 29 (the passage describes the morning benedictions etc.): ". . . standing up and uttering the name Hari should he go to evacuate". "The reciters of thy name do not, O Lord, become involved in worldly existence" (VāmanaP. 2, 28, 14 *tvannāmajāpino deva na bhavanti bhavāśrayāḥ*). The widespread belief that God's name purifies men from all sins may also be illustrated by two quotations from Tukārām: "When you utter God's name no sin can stay near you"; "Even men defiled by countless sins . . . are purified by Hari's name before a moment can pass" 62). Sinners indeed may attain Viṣṇu's highest abode by singing his name 63).

It is important to observe that the physical and mental effects of the meditation on the Name as described by Tukārāma remind us of the experiences of a successful yogin 64). The mind of the man who realizes his intimate contact with the Highest becomes composed and is coloured in God's vision. All desires are pacified. Happiness meets happiness and there is no limit to blessedness 65). The round of incarnations will cease. The whole body feels cool and becomes lustrous by the power of the Name. "Heavenly music resoundeth in the hearts where the Lord indwellet" 66). Good omens of all kinds take place 67). One's body is holy and a place of pilgrimage which is by far the most excellent of all holy places. No other means can, in the opinion of the adherents of the Caitanya movement, so lift the heart into the full experience of ecstatic feeling as the chanting of the holy name. Being equivalent to worshipping Kṛṣṇa it destroys the sin of the world, purifies the heart and initiates

57) Tukārāma, Abhanga 221.

58) Ibidem, 106.

59) Ibidem, 222.

60) Cf. ibidem, 1698.

61) Jog edition of Tukārām, 3667.

62) See G. A. Deleury, The cult of Viṭhobā, Poona 1960, p. 122.

63) Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 677.

64) See e.g. S. Lindquist, Die Methoden des Yoga, Lund 1932; M. Eliade, Le yoga, Paris 1954, p. 78 ff.

65) Cf. Tukārāma, Abhanga 830.

66) Trilochan Singh and others, Selections from the sacred writings of the Sikhs, London 1960, p. 127.

67) Cf. Tukārāma, Abhanga 1543; 3997; 3302; 830.

practice of all kinds of bhakti 68). The *nāma-kīrtanas* help the devotee completely to lose himself in the consciousness of the Lord. He is gradually filled with His presence so as to enter into a state of 'trance' in which he sees Him. Then the *rūpam* of God covers all visible objects and wherever his eyes fall there he sees the manifestation of the Deity 69). "Das, was Erlösung schenkt, ist der Ton des Kīrtana, der den vom Zentrum alles Seins ins Dunkel abgeirrten Jīvas (incarnate souls) Bhaktikraft, die Kraft der Erkenntnis und des Gottdienstes verleiht" 70). As a "logical result of the theory of the efficacy of the blessed Name" 71), that is, as a counterpart of the so-called Nāmamāhātmyas, i.e. works praising, and giving an account of the merits of, (the recitation of) the holy names there even exist Nāmāparādhas enumerating the offences against the holy names, such as unwillingness to listen to the Māhātmya of the Name, equalizing the Nāmamāhātmya to the merit of other religious acts, giving instruction in the subject to persons devoid of faith, etc.

The Vārkarīs — a Viṣṇuite denomination in Mahārāṣṭra 72) — are convinced that among the methods to be advocated for progressing in spiritual life and finally reaching complete liberation are the uttering of the name of God and the listening to the Kīrtans 73). In their hymn-books the chapter on the Name of God comes immediately after that on the Image of God and for the Vārkarīs the utterance of the Name is the most important part of bhakti: they even say that is the whole of bhakti 74). By uttering the Name the devotee is spared the trouble to toil by any other spiritual method. It is indeed already said in the Jñāneśvarī 9, 119 75): "Thus by extolling My name they remove all the pains of the world, and fill the whole universe with the joy of the Highest Bliss".

This belief makes the special emphasis laid by Vaiṣṇava devotees and others on the efficacy of the repetition of the name of God and his eternal spouse understandable. The constant fixation of the mind brought about by this repetition has, it is assumed, an automatic effect, independently

68) Cf. M. T. Kennedy, The Chaitanya movement, Calcutta 1925, p. 110.

69) B. Pal, Bengal Vaishnavism, Calcutta 1962, p. 66 f. — Compare also M. M. Bose, The post-Caitanya Sahajīā cult of Bengal, Calcutta 1930, p. 9 ff.

70) Eidlitz, Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya, p. 472, and compare also p. 490 ff. "Shree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu repudiated this dogma of *adhikarī-veda*. The highest and purest worship of the Lord consisted in the repetition of His Holy Name. This required no rituals, no offerings of flowers or leaves or edibles to the Deity, or the services of Brahmins. Every devotee could perform this worship himself. Whoever took the name of the Lord became purified in both mind and body by that one single act, and was qualified to worship the Lord" (Bipinchandra Pal, Bengal Vaishnavism, Calcutta 1962, p. 99). See e.g. also K. L. Dutt and K. M. Purkayastha, Bengal Vaishnavism and modern life, Calcutta 1963, p. 56 etc.

71) S. K. De, o.c., p. 175.

72) Die Religionen Indiens, II, p. 182 ff.

73) See n. 77.

74) Deleury, The cult of Viṭhobā, p. 121 f.

75) Translation: V. G. Pradhān, Jñāneśvarī, I, London 1967, p. 230.

of the will even of the man who pronounces them <sup>76</sup>). "By singing the name of the Glorious or Adorable One (*bhagavān*), He enters into the mind, and like the sun dispelling darkness He destroys countless dangers besetting man" (BhāgP. 12, 12, 48). Thus the repetition of God's name, either in the form of spoken 'prayers' or formulas, or in the form of singing, is up to the present day <sup>77</sup>) a favourite practice among bhaktas belonging to various denominations <sup>78</sup>).

<sup>76</sup>) Narendra Nath Law, Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Śrī Caitanya, London 1949, p. 79 f. "*Śṛavanam und kīrtanam*, Hören und Preisen, nehmen einen gewichtigen Platz in der vom Bhāgavata-Purāṇa gewiesenen Devotionspraxis ein. Gemeint ist die geistige Begegnung mit den *harikathāḥ*, i.e. den Erzählungen über Viṣṇus göttliches Walten als Avatāra zum Heil der Frommen, sowie mit Seinen Namen, deren Aussprechen eine geradezu magische Erlösungskraft zukommt. Den Formen dieser geistigen Begegnung dienen *smaraṇam*, *śravaṇam* und *kīrtanam* als Dachbegriffe (in den neun Bhaktimerkmalen), unter die im einzelnen folgende Tätigkeiten zu subsumieren sind: *gai*, singen; *gr*, anrufen; *brū*, erzählen; *paṭh* rezitieren. . . ." (A. Gail, Bhakti im Bhāgavatapurāṇa, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 75).

<sup>77</sup>) See e.g. Allchin, o.c., p. 66; H. Sh. Joshi, Origin and development of Dattatreya worship in India, Baroda 1965, p. 147.

<sup>78</sup>) Cf. also BhāgP. 7, 2, 22 f. *śravaṇam kīrtanam viṣṇoḥ smaraṇam pādasevanam / arcaṇam vandanaṁ dāsyam sakhyam ātmanivedanam // iti . . . bhaktiḥ . . . navalakṣaṇā*. — Attention may be drawn to one of those devotional pamphlets which are up to the present day published in propagation of the idea that "the ancient sages and devotees foreseeing the present pitiable condition of humanity, discovered, out of sheer compassion upon us all who are seeking unshakable, uninterrupted and everlasting happiness, a simple practice of great spiritual potency, viz. *japa*, *kīrtana*, and remembrance of the Divine Name, which can achieve results that cannot be achieved even through the performance of great sacrifices, austerities and acts of charity": Hanumanprasad Poddar, The Divine Name and Its Practice, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, 1st ed. 1940, 3rd ed. 1945. The author, who "has often been saved by the Name from falling into the abysmal depths of sin" (p. 10), emphasizes that absolute devotion to the Name develops as a result of supreme religious merit and hence is not easy to practise with absolute faith (p. 11). Practised without faith the Name "does not eradicate the stock of accumulated sins" (p. 22). "Those who take the Name with interested motives are deprived of the true benefit of *Nāmajapa*" (p. 24). "We should never seek the enjoyments of this world and the next in exchange for the Name" (p. 28). The ultimate result of the practice is the development of exclusive love for God (p. 25). Among the ten "offences against the Name" are vilification of saints and devotees; irreverence towards the guru; speaking lightly of the scriptures; treating the glory of the Name as nothing but exaggerated praise; commission of sin under cover of the Name; ranking the Name with other virtues; recommending its practice to irreverent persons (p. 27). The booklet contains also advice with regard to the "best means of God-realization" (p. 36 ff.). Compare also S. Ch. Chakravarti, Philosophical foundation of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, Calcutta 1969, p. 212: "In the spiritual plane the names, the forms, the attributes and the sports are not distinct from the Lord, but identical with Him . . . The name is a significant word capable of rousing an intuitive experience of the Lord in the worshipper" and the important article by Ch. Vaudeville, The cult of the divine name in the Haripāṭh of Dñyāndev, W.Z.K.S.A. 12-13, p. 395 ff.

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