Kuru kings, Tura Kāvaśeya, and the -tvāya gerund

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1. Non-Rgvedic verse mantras in the Śrauta rites and the -tvāya gerund

It is well known that the metrical texts employed in the liturgies of the śrauta rites are nearly always ultimately derived from the Rksamhitā. This holds true for those verse mantras recited by the Śāma vedic and Yajurvedic priests just as well as for those recited by the Rgvedic priests. This suggests either that only the lines of poetic tradition that had been brought together in the RV corpus were known to the later liturgical editors, or that these were the only lines of tradition deemed eligible by the editors for inclusion in the newly constituted composite text.

However, on some occasions in certain rites of the śrauta complex we find verse mantras that have no parallels in the Rgveda. Some of these are contained in the RV Khilas, but others are to be found in other Samhitās. A small number of Śāma vedic verses are absent from the RV, and a larger number of non-Rgvedic verse mantras are contained among the Yajurveda mantras. Ritualy important verse mantras are contained in the Aitareya Aranyaka, and others in the YV Śrauta Sūtras. Finally, we have evidence that verse mantras existed which are not contained in any extant text. Such are the Āprī verses for the Purusamedha, quoted by their pratika (agnir mṛtyuḥ) at ŚSS 16.12.18.

Regarding the chronological provenance of this liturgical material there are two possibilities; either it was in existence at the time the RV collections were made and yet not included, or it was produced after the closure of the RV canon. Determining the relative chronology of such non-Rgvedic verse material is difficult. On linguistic as well as stylistic and thematic grounds, much of it could plausibly be taken for RV-period productions. However, the Yajurvedic verse portions intended for the ukhāsambhāraṇa section of the Agnicayana rite do present us with a linguistic feature that is chronologically diagnostic, namely the gerund in -tvāya.

1 On the transition from the Rgvedic to the Śrauta liturgies, see Bergaigne (1889) Proferes (forthcoming 1 and 2).
2 The role of the brahmān priest is unique, and the incorporation of his verse material into the śrauta complex is still in need of examination.
3 The Aitṛavaveda contains a large number of verses which by their style and contents are positively identified as liturgical. However, I am here concerned with the formation of the classical śrauta liturgies and the AV seems to have been included in the śrauta framework only later. Nevertheless, some of the non-RV YV verses are also contained in the AV.
4 The Mahānāmini verses, AA 4.
5 The commentator states evamādikāḥ sākhāntaroktaḥ āprīyah (Bloomfield (1906: 116); Caland (1953: 455)), but it cannot be determined whether these verses had really been preserved within the various sākhus by the time of the commentator, or whether this statement is a conjecture.
6 In those instances where the verses are delivered by the uādikā or uādvarvas in the śrauta rites, it may be suggested that their omission from the RV was due to the fact that they did not belong to the hotar’s repertoire. However, this argument is undermined by the fact that the non-Rgvedic Āprī hymns preserved in full only in the Yajurveda Sāṁhitās are recited by hotar priests and quoted by pratika in the Rgvedic Śrāuta Sūtras.
8 Whitney (1889: 357, §993b); Macdonell (1910: 413§589Ac); ĀGr II 2, §484b. The formation of the rare -tvāya gerund appears to be the result of adding the -ya suffix, commonly used to form gerunds to roots with preverbs, to gerunds ending in -tvā.
The verses in question are the following:

TS 4.1.1.1.a; MS 2.7.1:73.8; KS 15.11:217.4; VS 11.1 [SB 6.3.1.12–13]

yunjānḥ prathamāṁ mānas tatvāya savitā dhīyāḥ* /
agnim** jyōṭir nicāya prthivyā ādhi ābharat //
*VS = dhīyām. **VS = agnēr

Savitā, putting his thought under yoke first, having stretched his worshipful thoughts, brought the fire from the earth, having perceived the light.

TS 4.1.1.1b; MS 2.7.1:73.12; KS 15.11:217.8; VS 11.3 [SB 6.3.1.15]

yuktva ya savita* deva* nt suvār yato dhīyam /
dīvam //
kris yataḥ savita pra suvati ta n //
*TS = dhīyam. **MS, KS, VS svar

Having put the gods under yoke, Savitar instigates those going in thought to the sun, the sky, (those) intending to make the great light.

TS 4.1.2.3.m; MS 2.7.2:75.13; KS 16.2:222.1; VS 11.19 [SB 6.3.3.11]

a: krama va: jin prthivyā m agṇim icha ruca tvaṁ /

bhu: vr tvā ya no bru: hi ya’tah khaṇa: ma** taṁ vayaṁ //
*S′B vr ttvā ya.

Having trodden the earth, O prize-winner, seek the fire by (its) glow! Having selected (the spot) of ground, tell us where we should dig (for) it!

TS 4.1.5.4.q; MS 2.7.6:81.5; KS 16.5:226.5; VS 11.57 [SB 6.5.1.111]

kṛtvāya sā mahīṁ ukhāṁ mnmmāyīṁ yónim aṃgye /
tāṁ putrebhyah sāṁ* prāyachad āditiḥ śrāpyān idit //
*Omitted by MS.

Having fashioned the great ukhā-pot, the earthenware womb for the fire, Aditi presented it to her sons, (thinking to herself) ‘they will bake it’.

The occurrences of gerunds in -tvāya are extremely limited in the Vedic texts. In the RV there are nine examples, all but one in Book 10. Within Book 10, the pattern of their distribution is further restricted to hymns of a decidedly late and predominantly ‘non-sʿrauta’ character. Thus: hirvāya RV 10.14.8 (funeral); dṛṣtvāya RV 10.34.11 (dicing); hatvāya RV 10.84.2 (battle fury); dattvāya, RV 10.85.33 (wedding); yuktvāya, RV 10.93.14; bhaktvāya, RV 10.109.7 (a brahmin’s wife); jagdhvāya, RV 10.146.5 (forest spirit); hatvāya, RV 10.157.4 (with reference to the late theme of the devas’ defeat of the asuras). The single occurrence of this form outside of Book 10 is in a hymn from Book 8: gatvāya RV 8.100.8.11 On metrical grounds Arnold assigned this hymn to the very latest phase of RV poetry.12

The three occurrences of the -tvāya gerund in the AV are limited to passages contained in hymns paralleled either in one of the above hymns from RV 10 (AVS 4.31.2 = RV 10.84.2; AVS 20.63.2 and AVS 20.124.5 = RV 10.157.4) or, in one instance, in the Kuntāpa portion of the RV Khilas: gatvāya, RV Khila 5.12.5 = AVS 20.128.5. Book 20 of the AVS is itself something of a Khila,

9 Except for TS, the texts agree on savitā, though the repetition of the word in d is awkward. TS has replaced it with mānasā in order to make it fit the pattern of the first, third and fourth verses, which all contain variants of √yuj mānas-.

10 Keith (1914) translates bhāmya vṛtvāya by ‘turning from earth’, apparently understanding √vṛt.

11 Ikari (1981: 73) translates ‘Having selected (Agni’s abode) from the earth...’.

12 Analysis of the hymn given by Oldenberg (1885: 54ff.).
containing material paralleled in RV 10, the RV Khilas, as well as late compositions that do not appear elsewhere, which are recited by the hotrakas in the classical rites.13

The only other occurrences of the gerund in -tvāya are those that occur in the non-Rgvedic YV verses for the Agnicayana in the verses above: 1. tatvāya, 2. yuktvāya, 3. vṛtvāya, 4. kṛtvāya.14

Thus, it appears warranted to conclude that the -tvāya gerund is a dialectal feature belonging to the very latest phase of the RV composition period represented by Book 10. The appearance of the form in the Kuntāpā section of the RV Khilas is one indication that the Kuntāpā texts were chronologically proximate to the late RV. Furthermore, the high concentration of this morphological feature in the ukhāsambhāraṇa portion of the Agnicayana suggests that at least the verses in which the form appears belong to generally the same period as both the late RV 10 and the Kuntāpas. Since the content of the verses themselves leaves no doubt that they were expressly composed to accompany the discrete ritual actions that constitute the ukhāsambhāraṇa, we may conclude that the rite itself was either already known at the time these verses were created, or was in the process of being created.15

2. The -tvāya gerund as a feature of the Kuru dialect

The connection between the Kuntāpas, the liturgy for the ukhāsambhāraṇa, and one of the hymns of RV 10 that contains the -tvāya gerund does not depend solely on the shared appearance of this dialectal feature. It is strengthened by the fact that all of these texts can be linked to the dynasty of Kuru kings, as I will presently demonstrate. This, in turn, may indicate that the -tvāya gerund is a feature of the Kuru dialect.16

The most straightforward case is that of the Kuntāpā hymns, which are associated with the Kurus in two ways. First, they refer explicitly to the ‘Kuru lord’ (kauravyah pāthi, RV Khila 5.10.1–4).17 Second, they locate the matters presented in the verses as taking place ‘in the reign/realm of King Pariksīt’ (rāstrē rājīnāḥ parikṣītah), who is a figure identified in all later Vedic and Epic legend as a Kuru. As we have just seen, the Kuntāpā hymns are also associated with the use of the gerund in -tvāya, as such a form is attested at RV Khila 5.12.5. If we assume a compositional integrity for the Kuntāpas, which I think we can, then it follows that the use of the -tvāya gerund is to be associated with the Kurus.

The evidence tying together the Agnicayana ukhāsambhāraṇa liturgy with the Kuru dynasty is less direct. According to certain Vedic texts (AB, SB), a man named Tura Kāvaśeṣya was both court priest of a Kuru king, and a figure closely linked to the origins of the Agnicayana rite. Furthermore, a separate tradition, preserved in the VSS, credits the Kurus with the creation of the Agnicayana.18 Thus, the Vedic tradition relates that a rite which has a high

13 Renou (1947: 12).
14 The occurrences of this form in the Sanhitī prose are merely direct quotations of the mantras. In the single case where a composer of an exegetical prose text produces a new -tvāya form, SB 6.3.11, spāśayitvāya, the word is fashioned to gloss -tvāya of the Agnicayana mantra: ...bhāmyaḥ vṛtvāyaḥ...iti bhāmes tāt spāśayitvāya, ‘having pointed out that (spot) of ground’.
15 On the ritual context in which the mantras are used, see Ikari (1981).
16 On the Kurs see Witzel (1997a; 1997b).
17 See also kauravya in RV Khila 5.8.5 for which see K. Hoffmann (1975: 6–7). On the Kuntāpas and the Kurus, see also Witzel (1997b: 283–284).
18 The Agnicayana is not the only rite which later Vedic exegetes trace back to the Kurus. The Śrāuta Sūtras preserve the memory of a kuṟuvājapeya, e.g. a ‘Vājapeya rite practiced among the Kurus’ (SSS 15.3.15; LSS 8.11.18). Sāṅkhāyana contrasts this with the aztto vājapeyaḥ, the ‘received Vājapeya rite’.
concentration of -śvāya gerunds in its liturgy was first performed by a priest of the Kuru court, once again associating the gerund with the Kuru dynasty.

The specific evidence is as follows. According to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (AB 4.27.9; AB 7.34.9; AB 8.21), Tura Kāvaseya was the court priest (purohiṣṭa) of Janamejaya, a king of the Kuru dynasty. In the lineage of teachers (vamsa) at the end of its Agnicayana section, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ŚB 10.6.5.9) lists Tura Kāvaseya as the first teacher after ‘Brāhmaṇ’ and ‘Prajāpati’. The Brāhmaṇa connected with this rite was, in other words, purportedly divinely revealed to Tura, which can plausibly be interpreted to mean that a priest of that name was involved in the origins of the Agnicayana rite. Another passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ŚB 9.5.2.1–17) confirms this interpretation, when it suggests that Tura Kāvaseya was one of the first to perform the Agnicayana rite, before it had become generally accepted by the custodians of Vedic orthopraxis.²¹

That a court priest of the Kurus had a hand in developing the Agnicayana is in agreement with the testimony of the Vadhūla Srauta Sūtra, which links the origins of the Agnicayana rite with a Kuru king. In its anvakhyāna on the Agnicayana, Vadhūla records that ‘Agni declared to a certain Kura king the doctrine concerning the head of the sacrificial victim’ (kururājya haikasmā agnīti pāśuśṛṣṭavidyāṃ provāca).²² It is then recorded that the brahmins of the Kurupāṇcālas sought to acquire this knowledge from the Kuru king. In the context of the exegesis of the Agnicayana rite, the ‘doctrine concerning the head of the sacrificial victim’ must refer to the head of the human victim which, in the rite, was deposited beneath the first layer of bricks used in the construction of the fire altar. The text thus refers to the rite by reference to a characteristic aspect of it. According to this interpretation of the Vadhūla text, the Agnicayana rite was first known to the Kuru kings. This corroborates the claim of the SB that a poet in the service of the Kurus had a hand in developing the rite, and supports the validity of the tradition linking Tura Kāvaseya with the Agnicayana.

This tradition may find further support in the earliest explicit reference to Tura Kāvaseya in Vedic literature, which occurs in RV Khila 1.9.6. In the context in which he is mentioned, the recurring motif is Indra’s severing of the head of Dadhyanèc, and the Aśvin’s reparation. In verse 6, the Aśvins are asked to protect the composer and his people by means of the powers by which they urge on Dadhyanèc and Tura Kāvaseya. In light of the Vadhūla text that we noted above, in which the term pāśuśṛṣṭavidyā, ‘knowledge of the head of the sacrificial victim’, refers to the knowledge of the Agnicayana rite, the mention in the Khila of Tura within the context of severed heads is noteworthy. Even more intriguing is Tura’s association with the term makhā in the same verse:

²¹ Ms. of RV Khila 1.9.6 read palatal -s, whereas the name appears as kāvaseya, with retroflex -t, in all other Vedic sources. See Scheffelowitz (1906: 65).

²² On the post-RV date of Tura Kāvaseya, and his association with the Kurus, see already Oldenberg (1888: 239; 1907: 229); See also Weber (1850: vol. 1, 202–03); Eggeling (1882–1900: vol. 1, 314). The Vedic and Epic traditions record that Janamejaya succeeded his father, Pariṅkit, on the Kuru throne, and as we have already seen Pariṅkit is known to the composer of the Kumāpa hymns who uses the -śvāya gerund.

²³ Given Tura’s connection with the Kurus, it is significant that the Agnicayana portion of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ŚBM 6–10 = SBK 8–12) belongs to a separate tradition from that of this text and that it was imported from the west—specifically, from Kurukṣetra, the land of the Kurus. See Witzel (1997a: 315).


²⁵ RV Khila 1.9.3–4, 6.
yābhis śacibhir vṛṣaṇā dadhičam yābhis tāram kāvaseyām makhāṣya /
yābhis dhiyam jinvaṭhākē nīpūnā tābhīr no ’vataṁ vīdāthe gaḥbhṛā //
RV Khila 1.9.6.

Assist us in the offering ceremony. O profound [Asvins], with the powers by which [you urged on] Dadhyane, O bulls, by which [you urged on] makhā’s Tura Kāvaseya, by which you urged on poetic inspiration, O you two who grant protection close by.24

With the mention of makhā we stumble upon a subject that has puzzled Indologists in the past.25 I will not enter into the question here, but will merely point out the reference to ‘the head of makhā’ (makhāṣya śīraḥ) among the yajuh formulas belonging to the same portion of the Agnicayana liturgy which we have linked, via the tvāya gerunds, to Tura Kāvaseya.26 It is by no means clear what ‘makhā’s Tura Kāvaseya’ means in the present Khila verse. Perhaps it reflects a mythical connection between Tura and Dadhyane on the grounds that both possessed an esoteric ‘knowledge of the head of the sacrificial victim’, amounting to a knowledge of how to find a proper substitute for it.27 The important point here is that the Khila verse associates Tura with this makhā whose head plays a role in the Agnicayana liturgy, while according to Vadhula the Kuru lords—in whose service Tura composed, according to AB—were renowned for their Agnicayana rite since they possessed ‘the knowledge of the head of the sacrificial victim’.

In short, the RV Khila verse connects Tura Kāvaseya once again with an important element of the Agnicayana, corroborating the testimony of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Hence, Tura Kāvaseya is not only consistently associated with the Kuru, but also with the rite which presents a liturgy characterized by the use of -tvāya gerunds.

Finally, the relation of RV 10.34, together with its -tvāya gerund, to the Kuru may be inferred from the following. The Kuru are mentioned in the RV in only two hymns, RV 10.32.9 and RV 10.33.4.28 Both of these hymns refer to a king Kurusāraṇa, a name which means ‘he who spreads the fame of the Kuru’. The Sarvanukramani attributes both of these hymns to the poet Kavaśa Ailūsya. The same poet is credited with RV 10.34, one of the handful of RV hymns to contain an example of the -tvāya gerund. Thus, the -tvāya gerund is here associated with the Kuru kings by association with the figure of Kavaśa.

An objection might be raised against this reasoning. The name Kavaśa does not appear in the texts of the hymns in question but only in the Sarvanukramani. Oldenberg demonstrated that the Sarvanukramani is not always reliable in its attributions of hymns to individuals.29 Therefore, it might be warned, one should not rely on the testimony of the Sarvanukramani to provide the link between the Kuru and the -tvāya gerund in RV 10.34. I would counter, however, that this link in the argument does not require that the Sarvanukramani accurately attribute the hymns to a specific or even to the same poet, but only that it be correct in assigning them to poets of the same clan tradition. And this is rendered likely by the fact that the hymns were collected and preserved in immediate sequence, and in conformity with RV

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24 With ākē nipūnā- compare ākenipa- at RV 4.45.6.
26 makhāṣya śīraḥ sā. MS 2.7.6 = KS 16.5 = TS 4.1.5.1 = VS 11.57.
29 Oldenberg (1888).
usage, according to which ‘Kavaśa’ could as well be a clan appellation as an individual’s name.30

If we are inclined to accept that the two hymns referring to the Kurus and the one that attests to the use of the -tvāya gerund were produced within the same clan tradition on the grounds that they are all indexed under the same name, then it becomes interesting that the name under which they are indexed is ‘Kavaśa’. This is of course, because ‘Kavaśa’ is to be related onomastically to the derivative ‘Kāvaśeya’.31 As we have already seen, the figure of Tura Kāvaśeya is associated in the later Vedic texts with both the Kurus and with liturgical verses containing the -tvāya gerund. The fact that separate lines of tradition link members of the same lineage to the Kurus and the -tvāya gerund reinforces the separate assertions concerning each.

There remains the issue of how or whether the ‘Kavaśa’ who composed RV 10.30–34 is related to the ‘Kavaśa’ who is referred to within the text of the Rksamhitā at RV 7.18.12. This hymn celebrates the victory of Vasiṣṭha and the Bharatas over the Pūrus and their allied tribes in the ‘Ten-Kings Battle’. In this verse the ‘famous, old Kavaśa’ is drowned in the water by Indra on behalf of the Bharatas. Therefore, Kavaśa belonged to the confederation supporting the Pūrus. Now, in verse 4 of RV 10.33 ascribed to Kavaśa Ailuśa, Kuruśrāvana is called trāsadasavyu, indicating that the Kuru kings considered themselves in some way connected to an early chieftain of the Pūru tribe. Trāsadasyu (on whom see Macdonell and Keith (1912)). It appears, therefore, that the political affiliations of the Kavaśa of RV 7.18 and the composer of the hymns credited to Kavaśa by the Anukramana are in agreement. Here again, this does not necessarily mean that the same individual is being referred to in both cases, but suggests that members of a Kavaśa clan were associated with the Pūru confederacy, and later with the Kurus who claimed some connection to the Pūru line.

In summary, then, we may say that the available evidence strongly indicates that the -tvāya gerund was a feature of a dialect spoken in the early Kuru realm during a limited period of time extending from the late hymns of RV 10 to the composition of the Kuntāpas of the RV Khilas and the ukhāsambharana portion of the Agnicayana liturgy. This would place the composition of the verses for the ukhāsambharana at the end of the RV composition period at the very earliest, but more probably a generation or two after the close of the RV canon. This is because we have linked the ukhāsambharana liturgy to Tura Kāvaśeya, whose name suggests that he is descended from the same line as the ‘Kavaśa’ of the late RV. An additional reason to believe that Tura Kāvaśeya (and with him the ukhāsambharana liturgy) belonged to the post-RV period is Tura’s association with King Janamejaya. As we saw, Janamejaya’s father Parikṣit seems to be closely associated with the post-RV Kuntāpa texts.

3. The non-Rgvedic Āprī hymns and Tura Kāvaśeya

It may be that the opening of the Agnicayana is not the only non-RV verse liturgy associated with the name Tura Kāvaśeya. Included in the Yajurveda Samhitās are metrical Āprī hymns for the Āsvamedha and Sautrāmaṇī rites that are not paralleled in the RV.32 A standard formula in the RV Āprī refers

30 On the use of underived patronyms see Oldenberg (1888).
31 ĀitGr ii 2, §340a5.
32 Sautrāmanī: (1) VS 20.36–46; KS 38.6; MS 3.11.1; TB 2.6.8. (2) VS 20.55–66; KS 38.8; MS 3.11.3; TB 2.6.12; (3) VS 21.12–22; KS 38.10; MS 3.11.11; TB 2.6.18. Āsvamedha: (4) VS 29.1–11; KĀ 6.2; MS 3.16; TS 5.1.11.
to the ‘divine doors’ (dvīh dvāraḥ) that are called upon to open. In the YV Āpri hymns this standard idea is expressed by the phrase dūrah kavāṣyāh (MS 3.1.1.1), kavāṣyāḥ... dūraḥ (MS 3.11.3), and kavāṣaḥ... dūraḥ (MS 3.16.2). The formula does not appear in any of the RV Āpri hymns. This is not surprising if the expression dūraḥ kavāṣyāḥ is recognized as an anagram34 of a post-RV figure, Tūravāṇa.35 The Vedic tradition actually leaves a trace of its association of the words dūras and tūras: RV 10.120.8d and AVP 6.1.8d read dūras, while the corresponding passage of AVS 5.2.8d has tūras.36 Furthermore, in one YV Āpri that does not contain the phrase in the verse to the divine doors, the author may have left a subtler mark in the word turyavāḥ (MS 3.11.11) within the same verse. In short, it is possible to argue that a poet Tūra, a descendant of Kavāṣya, has cryptically signified these compositions. It must be noted, however, that the YV Saṃhitās also contain a non-RV Āpri hymn for the Angricayana rite,37 but that this hymn does not reveal any connection to Tūra.38

If ‘Tūra’ was a poet active under the Kuru kings, the YV Āpri hymns, composed along the lines of the RV compositional tradition but post-dating all Āpri hymns actually contained within the RV Saṃhitā, may well have been composed for a member of this dynasty, extending the liturgies for the Aṣvamedha and the Sautrāmaṇi that are reflected already in the RV Saṃhitā in RV 1.162–3 and RV 10.131 respectively.

4. Conclusion

Bergaigne suggested over a century ago that the development of the śrauta ‘Ur-liturgies’ is to be placed between the completed collection of the Rksaṃhitā and the earliest of the other Vedic śrauta texts.39 This period corresponds precisely to what M. Witzel has identified as a formative phase in the early history of the sub-continent. According to Witzel, it is during the ‘... gap’ between the Rgveda and the other Vedic texts...that the social ‘raw material’ present in Rgvedic time was intentionally transformed into what became the core and pattern of Vedic and, later on, of Hindu culture.40 Witzel links this period with the rise of Kuru hegemony over the central areas of Vedic cultural influence, the region known to later generations as Kurukṣetra, ‘land of the Kurus’. Further, he proposes that the aforementioned reformation

33 See van den Bosch (1985: 104–06).
34 As Elizarenkova writes (1995: 148), this kind of ‘word-painting’ in RV poetry ‘sometimes symbolizes the name of the Rṣi who has created the hymn’. On anagrams in RV poetry, see Elizarenkova (1995: 132ff.). An excellent summary and bibliography on the literature of anagrams in Old Indic and Indo-European poetry is given by Matasovic (1996: 14ff.).
35 On the stem forms kavaśa√(a)- /kavaśa√- which appear in these non-RV Āpri hymns, see AiGr π 2, 386 and κ 323. The precise meaning of the term is not established, although as Mayrhofer says, it is used as an epithet of the wings of double doors (EWA t, 327; KEWA t, 187), and may be connected to later forms, such as epic kavaśa√-, kapātā. Needless to say, for my present argument it is not necessary to establish the meaning of the term, but only that it can serve as an anagram for ‘Kavāṣya’, which I think should be obvious.
36 I thank Arlo Grinfeld for pointing this out to me.
37 MS 2.12.6; KS 18.17; TS 4.18; VS 27.11–12.
38 It may be noted here that if we accept that the non-RV Āpri hymns were composed by, or at least presuppose knowledge of, a figure called Tūravāṇa, and if Tūra’s association with Janamejaya, together with his generational separation from the RV figure Kavāṣya, which is suggested by the derivation of his name, is sufficient to show that he is linked to post-RV generations, then we have yet another reason to conclude that the praiṣas are, in their present form, of post-Rgvedic date. This is because Praiṣāḥya 6 (= RVKh 5.7.11f) contains an occurrence of the formula dūraḥ... kavāṣyāḥ. This may be taken as an indication that the composer of the praiṣas was familiar with those post-RV Āpri hymns that contained an anagram of the name Tūravāṇa (< Kavāṣya), and thus was himself operating in the post-RV period.
39 Bergaigne (1889: 7–8).
of RV-period social and ritual institutions was promoted by the newly ascendant kings of the Kuru dynasty. As part of their programme to consolidate power, the Kuru kings sought to overcome the divisive tendencies inherent in the clan-based organization of their priestly elite by encouraging the development of what we might call an ‘ecumenical’ ritual system, one which did not rely upon or perpetuate the clan divisions characteristic of the RV-period. 41

This theory fits well with the conclusions of the present paper, and helps to explain why new liturgical poetry was commissioned for certain rites when the general trend from the late RV was towards the cessation of the production of new liturgical poetry and the editorial rearrangement and adaptation of pre-existing material. In the case of the non-RV Āpṛi hymns, the prayāja offerings in which they are recited are the one place in the śrāuta liturgies where the particular text used depends upon the clan affiliations of the patron or his officiating priest. 42 This must have presented a problem for a king who sought to consolidate his territories through a performance of the Aśvamedha rite for, should he employ a clan-centred Āpṛi hymn, other clans would certainly have been offended, and the political goal of the performance would have been jeopardized. It may not be unreasonable to imagine that to solve this problem a poet was commissioned to produce a new Āpṛi, specific to the Aśvamedha rite, which had no traditional connection to any particular clan. A similar explanation may also apply to the Āpṛis of the Sautrāmaṇī, a rite which, judging by its focus on the figure of Indra, may well also have been originally a royal rite.

The unction ceremony for the sacrificer (abhiseka) that is performed in the Agnicayana connects this rite, too, with the most powerful of leaders. If, as it seems, the Agnicayana was created only after the close of the RV canon 43 to glorify a particularly powerful leader, then it is not surprising that newly introduced ritual features which did not have older liturgical material associated with them would be embellished with new mantra material. 44

The connections between the liturgies and/or ritual actions of the Agnicayana, the Aśvamedha, and the Sautrāmaṇī which have been pointed out by other scholars support the suggestion that the elaboration of each of these ritual complexes was closely related to the others. 45 If this is so, it may provide further support to the theory that the non-RV verse mantras were produced by priests carrying out a reform to the older ritual system under the impulse of the Kuru leadership.

ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABORI</td>
<td>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AiGr</td>
<td>Altindische Grammatik. Wackernagel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>Acta Orientalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIJ</td>
<td>Indo-Iranian Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>Journal Asiatique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAOS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Oriental Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KEWA</td>
<td>Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen. Mayrhofer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GGA</td>
<td>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</td>
</tr>
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41 See also Proferes (forthcoming, 1 and 2).
42 For details, see Minkowski (1991: 46).
43 However, the phrase in RV 3.22.4a purisyoṣa agṇāyabha ‘Fires dwelling in the soil’, should be compared with the same motif and phrasing—and the ritual actions that reflect it—in the Agnicayana liturgy. See Ikari (1981: 173) and Renou (1960: 104–10).
44 On the Agnicayana as a synthesis of ‘orthodox and nonorthodox cultures’ and on its relationship with the Pravargya rite, see Ikari (1981: 18–19, 160–76).
45 Rönnow (1929); Kolhatkar (1986); Ikari (1981).