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**VEDIC PRĀKĀŚĀ- = PRĀVEPĀ-:
‘METAL MIRROR’ OR ‘EAR-DROP’ —
OR RATHER ‘WHIP’?**

The paper collects, as exhaustively as possible, all passages where the Vedic words *prākāśā-* and *prāvepā-* occur, together with all the explanations provided by medieval commentators and all the translations and exegeses of modern scholars. A new alternative etymology and meaning is offered for *prākāśa-*; it is supported by the *prākāśā-*'s being a part of the chariot equipment and a gift in the *daśapeya* rite to the two *adhvaryu* priests, who represent the *Aśvins*.

Keywords: *prākāśā-*, mirror, whip, chariot, *daśapeya*.

1. The problem

Böhtlingk & Roth's St. Petersburg dictionary of Sanskrit (1865: IV,1116) has the following entry:

“*prākāśá* (von *prakāśa*) m. *Metallspiegel*, nach einigen Comm. ein *Schmuckgegenstand* TBr. 1,8,2,3 (*pra*^o gedr.), Pañcav. Br. 18,9,10. Lāṭy. 9,2,13. Śat. Br. 5,4,5,22. Āśv. Śr. 9.4.”

A colleague studying ancient Indian mirrors, Toke Lindegaard Knudsen of Copenhagen, quoting the above lines, asked me recently: “Is there a consensus at present regarding whether *prākāśa* means ‘mirror’ or ‘ornament’ in this Vedic context?” I could not reply to him immediately, but studied the matter in depth. Thus I came to write this paper, which I am happy to dedicate to my old friend Yaroslav Vassilkov on the occasion of his 75th birthday. Among many other things, he has studied Indian metal mirrors excavated in the Eurasian steppes (Vassilkov 2010).

All the generally used Sanskrit dictionaries are in agreement with Böhtlingk and Roth's interpretation:

- Böhtlingk (1886: II,179c): “*prākāśá*, m. *Metallspiegel* oder ein anderer glänzender *Schmuckgegenstand*.”
- Monier Williams (1899: 701c): “*prākāśá*, m. a metallic mirror (others ‘a kind of ornament’), Br.; ŚrS.”
- Apte (1912: 677b): “*prākāśaḥ* Vedic 1 A metallic mirror. — 2 A kind of ornament.”
- Macdonell (1924: 184a): “*prākāś-á*, m. metal mirror”
- Suryakanta (1981: 476a): “*prā-kāś-á* m. *sauvarṇa ādarśa*, *darpaṇa*; metallic mirror *Satyāśāḍha Śrautasūtra* xiii.7; *Sāyaṇa* on *Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brahmaṇa* [= PB] xviii.9.10 ‘*ābharaṇaviśeṣaḥ*.”

The same applies also to the *Vedic Index* of Macdonell & Keith (1912):

“*Prā-kāśa* is found several times in the *Brāhmaṇas* (note 1: *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, i.8,2,3; *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, xviii.9,10; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, v.4,5,22, etc.) denoting an ornament of metal or a metal mirror. According to Geldner (note 2: *Rigveda, Glossar*, 120), *Prāvepa* has the same sense in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* (note 3: iv.4,8)” (II,44); “*prākāśa*, ‘metal ornament.’” (II, 547)

In this paper I quote all the texts where this word and its apparent synonym *prāvepā-* are attested, together with their commentaries and translations (the translations without references are mine), thus summing up how Vedic scholars have interpreted them, and finally present my own, quite different alternative for the understanding of *prākāśa-* = *prāvepā-*, namely that it denotes 'horse-whip'.

2. The only context of the word *prākāśa-*:

The sacrificial gifts (*dakṣiṇā*) to the (two) *adhvaryu* priest(s)
at the *daśapeya* rite of the royal consecration (*rājasūya*)
(a) *Texts of the Taittiriya school of Black Yajurveda*

TS 1,8,18,1

sadyó dīkṣayanti sadyáh sómaṃ krīṇanti /
punḍarisrajām prá yachati /
daśábhīr vatsataraíḥ sómaṃ krīṇāti /
daśapéyo bhavati /
śatám brāmaṇāḥ pibanti /
saptadaśám stotrám bhavati /
prākāśāv adhvaryáve dadāti
srájam udgātré
rukmaṃ hótré
śvam prastotrpratihartr̥bhyām
dvādaśa paṣṭhauhīr brahmaṇe
vaśám maitrāvaruṇāya
rṣabhám brāhmaṇāchamsīne
vāsasī neṣṭāpotr̥bhyām
sthūri yavācitám achāvākāya-
anaḍvāham agnīdhe /
bhārgavó hótā bhavati /
śrāyantīyam brahmasāmám bhavati
vāravantīyam agniṣṭomasāmám /
sārasvatīr apó gr̥hṇāti //

A. B. Keith (1914: I,128-129) translates this passage as follows, introducing it with the following note (p. 128 note 4):

“Cf. the Brāhmaṇas (the Saṅhitās have no parallel passages [excepting MS 4,4,8, see below]), TB i.8.2; ŚB v.4.5.22; PB xviii.9.2-20. This section gives

the characteristics of the Daśapeya Soma rite as distinct from the normal rite; see ĀpŚS xviii.11—21.7; and cf. BŚS xii.17,18; KŚS xv.8.22-27; Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* i.124; *Rituallitteratur*, p. 146; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* x.85.”

“i.8.18. On the same day they consecrate, on the same day they buy the Soma. He presents a lotus wreath. [Note 5: Or of the ‘*Hibiscus mutabilis*’, the sense of *punḍarin* in the Lexx.] He buys the Soma with calves. There is a drink for ten. [Note 1: The comm. gives the alternative between a ‘drink by ten’ or a ‘drink in ten cups’: there are ten cups and ten Brahmans drink of each.]. A hundred Brahmans drink. The Stotra is the Saptadaśa. [Note 2: i.e. the Stotra is made to take the Saptadaśa form (*stoma*), whatever it is.] The two ornaments [note 3: Perhaps ‘mirror’ is meant: cf. ŚB v.4.5,22; Eggeling, SBE. xli.119] he gives to the Adhvaryu, the garland to the Udgātṛ, the round ornament to the Hotṛ, a horse to the Prastotṛ and Pratiharṛ, twelve heifers [note 4: *paṣṭhauhī* probably means (female) draught cow, as a by-form of *prṣṭhavāh*. Cf. *Vedic Index*, i.511; Pet. Lex. s.v. *praṣṭhavāh*] to the Brahman, a cow to the Maitrāvaruṇa, a bull to the Brahmaṇacchaṅsin, garments to the Neṣṭṛ and Potṛ, a wagon drawn by one ox laden with barley to the Achāvāka, a draught ox to the Agnīdh. The Hotṛ is a Bhārgava; the Sāman of the Brahman is the Śrāyantīya; the Agniṣṭoma Sāman is the Vāravantīya. He takes water of the Sarasvatī.” (Keith 1914: I,128-129)

“For the adhvaryu (and the pratiprasthātṛ, PB., JB) two (golden Wh[ite] Y[ajur-]V[eda]) mirrors (two *prāvepa*-? MS.)” (Heesterman 1957: 185)

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra’s commentary: *prākāśāv* ityādi / sauvarṇaṃ darpaṇadvayam adhvaryave dadāti / prakāśante ’tra rūpāṇīti prakāśaḥ /

“*prākāśau*, etc. He gives to the adhvaryu two golden mirrors: *prākāśa* is so called because forms (or shapes) become visible in it.”

Sāyaṇa’s commentary: *prākāśāv* iti / vidhatte *prākāśāv* adhvaryave dadāti- iti / prakāśau suvarṇadarpaṇau / praśaṃsati *prākāśāv* adhvaryave dadāti / prakāśam evainaṃ gamayati- (TB 1,8,2) iti //

“*prākāśau*: He prescribes: ‘He gives to the Adhvaryu two *prākāśas*.’ Two *prākāśas* (means) two golden mirrors. (In TB 1,8,2) (the author)

proclaims: ‘He gives to the Adhvaryu two *prākāśas*. He (thereby) causes him to go into illumination / appearance / renown (*prakāśa*).’”

TB 1,8,2,3 *prākāśāv adhvaryave dadāti / prakāśām evainam gamayati*

See above, Sāyaṇa on TS 1,8,18.

BŚS 12,18: 114,7 *prākāśāv adhvaryave dadāti*

“the sacrificer gives two mirrors to the Adhvaryu” (Kashikar 2003: II,783)

Bhavasvāmin’s commentary: *dakṣiṇākāle hiraṇmayau prakāśau ādau*

“At the time of the sacrificial gifts, in the beginning two golden *prākāśas*”

VadhŚS 10,9,20 [*prākā*]śāv adhvaryave [*dadāti*]

(The BhārŚS does not describe the *rājasūya*, though the Bhāradvāja Pariśeṣasūtra has an isolated *dvaidhasūtra* 131 on whether the hundred priests of the *daśapeya* rite include the regular officiating priests or not.)

ĀpŚS 18,21,6 *dakṣiṇākāle hiraṇyaprākāśāv adhvaryave dadāti / hiraṇyasrajam udgātre / rukmaṃ hotra iti yathāsamāmnātam*

“Wenn die Zeit da ist, die Dakṣiṇās zu geben, so gibt er dem Adhvaryu zwei goldne Spiegel, dem Udgātṛ den goldenen Kranz, dem Hotṛ die Goldplatte ...” (Caland 1928: III,157), continuing with the rest of TS 1,8,18,1, as implied by *yathāsamāmnātam*, “as handed down (in the holy tradition)”. Caland notes, however, that the prescription concerning gold is based on ŚB 5,4,5,22 (see below), everything else on TS 1,8,18,1.

“At the time of giving sacrificial gifts [note 1: See XIII.5.1] (the sacrificer) gives two golden mirrors to the Adhvaryu [note 2: Cf. ŚB V.4.5.22], the golden garland to the Udgātṛ, a golden plate to the Hotṛ (and the other things to the other priests) as is said (in the sacred text) [note 3: For this see TS I.8.18.1. Thus a horse to the Prastotṛ and Pratihartṛ...].” (Thite 2004: II,1092.)

Kapardisvāmin's commentary: hiraṇyaprākāśau dīpavṛkṣau sauvarṇāv iti / bahvṛcānāṃ tu candrasūryaprakṛtī ity ete prākāśau dīpikau / prakāśante 'tra rūpāṇīti ke cit //

“The two golden *prākāśas* (are) golden lamp-trees. According to the Ṛgvedins, however, these two *prākāśas* are lamps having as their models the sun and the moon. Some people say that “in this, forms (or shapes) become visible (or manifest)”.

HŚS 13,7,15 dakṣiṇākāle hiraṇyaprākāśāv adhvaryave dadātīti yathāmnātam ...

Hiraṇyakeśin (Satyāśāḍha) begins in the same way as, but is shorter than, Āpastamba, who for the sake of clarity has made the TS quotation a little longer.

Mahādeva Śāstrī's commentary: prākāśau suvarṇadarpaṇau / ... / nanu rājasūye śrūyate prākāśāv adhvaryave dadāti- (TS 1,8,18,1) iti / prākāśau dīpastambāv ity eke / darpaṇāv ity apare / ...

“The two *prākāśas* (are) two golden mirrors ... Is it not so that in connection with the royal consecration one hears (in the holy tradition) “he gives two *prākāśas* to the Adhvaryu” (TS 1,8,18,1). According to some, the two *prākāśas* are two lamp-stands, according to others, they are two mirrors.”

b) Texts of the White Yajurveda

ŚB(M) 5,4,5,22 ... hiraṇmāyau prakāśāv adhvaryúbhyām ...

“He gives ... to the two Adhvarjus two golden mirrors ...” (Eggeling 1894: III, 119)

Sāyaṇa's commentary: prākāśau dīpastambhāv ity eke svarṇamayadarpaṇāv ity apare

“the two *prākāśas* (are) two lampstands according to some (authorities), two golden mirrors according to others.”

ŚBK 7,4,1,21 hiraṇmāyān prakāśān adhvaryúbhyām

“he gives golden *prākāśas* [plural!] to the two Adhvarjus”

KŚS 15,8,25 *hiraṇmayau prākāśāv adhvaryubhyām*

“zwei goldene Spiegel den beiden *adhvaryu*” (Weber 1893: 81)

“Als Opferlohn (empfangen) ... die zwei *Adhvaryu*’s zwei goldene Spiegel” (Hillebrandt 1897: 147)

“two golden mirrors to the *Adhvaryus* [note 1: *Adhvaryu* and *Pratiprasthātr̥*]” (Thite 2006: I,537)

Anonymous abbreviation (*Samkṣiptasāra*) of *Yājñikadeva*’s commentary: *prākāśau darpaṇau ādarśau / karṇaveṣṭakāv ity apare*

“The two *prākāśas* (are) two mirrors (*darpaṇa* = *ādarśa*); according to others, (they are) two ear-rings.”

c) *Texts of the Maitrāyaṇiya school of Black Yajurveda*

MS 4,4,8: 59,1-3

*rukmo hōtur āgneyó vai hōtā
ná vá etásmai vyūchati 3 vy evásmai vāsayati
srág udgatúḥ sauryó vá udgatá-
átho amúm evásmā ādityám āptvónnayati
prāvepá adhvaryvòr yamá iva hy àdhvaryū //*

(emended Caland 1918: 11; 1931: 495; also Rau 1974: 52; Mittwede 1986: 168)

“Two *prāvepas* to the two *Adhvaryus*; for the two *Adhvaryus* are as if twins”

MŚS 9,1,5,26 *rukmo hotur* [MS 4,4,8: 59,1] *itiprabhṛti yathāmnātam apākaroti*

“He ... (gives) the (gold) plate to the *hotṛ*, (a wreath to the *udgātr̥*, the easily rolling (dice?) to the *adhvaryu*...) as is mentioned [note 11: MS IV.4.8]” (van Gelder 1963: 257, who in note 10 with regard to *prāvepau* refers to “RV 10.34.1.”)

VārŚS 3,3,4,20 dakṣiṇākāle rukmo hotuḥ srag udgātuḥ prāvepā adhvaryu[v]or (MS 4,4,8) iti brāhmaṇavyākhyātam

“At the time of the sacrificial gifts (he does) what is told in the Brāhmaṇa: ‘He gives a (gold) plate to the hotar, a wreath to the udgātar, the two *prāvepas* to the [two] adhvaryu[s] ...’ (MS 4,4,8).”

d) Texts of the Sāmaveda

PB 18,9,10 prākāśāv adhvaryvor yamāv iva hi adhvaryū / atho cakṣuṣi evāsmin dadhāti

“Two mirrors to the two Adhvaryus (the Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthātṛ); the two Adhvaryus are as much as twins. Besides, he brings eye-sight into him (into each of them)” (Caland 1931: 495, with two notes:

1 (on “twins”): “And, therefore, they get the same *dakṣiṇā*.”

2: “Maitr. S.: *prāvepā adhvaryvor, yamā iva hy adhvaryū* [so to be read!]; *prāvepa* must be the same as *prākāśa*.”)

Sāyaṇa’s commentary: prākāśāv ābharaṇaviśeṣāv iti ke cit / sauvarṇadarpaṇāv ity anye / adhvaryupratiprasthātros tāv ubhau bhavatām / ekasminn udare yugapad utpannau bhrātarau yamau / tadvad etāv ubhāv adhvaryuviśeṣau / tasmāt tayoḥ sāmyena prākāśadānaṃ yuktaṃ / prākāśayor dānanenāsmin yajamāne pratigrahītari vā dṛṣṭipāṭavaṃ bhavati //

“According to some (authorities), the two *prākāśas* are two particular ornaments, according to others, two golden mirrors. These two both belong to the Adhvaryu and the Pratiprasthātṛ. Two twins are two brothers simultaneously born from one womb. Like that are both these two specific Adhvaryus. Therefore it is proper to give these two equally a *prākāśa*. Through the giving of the two *prākāśas*, the precipitation of sight comes about in this sacrificer or in the receiver (of the gift).”

LŚS 9,2,13 = DŚS 25,2,13 *prākāśāv adhvaryvor* (PB 18,9,10) iti sauvarṇo dhvaryor dakṣiṇataḥ syād rājataḥ pratiprasthātuḥ savyataḥ

“The statement of the *Brāhmaṇa* (PB 18.9.15) ‘*prākāśau adhvaryvoḥ*’ means the two mirrors are the priestly fee for the two *Adhvaryus*: the

one made of gold, to be given to the *Adhvaryu*, is to the right and the one made of silver, to be given away to the *Pratiprasthātṛ*, is to the left.” (Ranade 1998: III, 901)

Agnisvāmin’s commentary on the LŚS: *sauvarṇaḥ prākāśo ’dhvaryor dakṣiṇe pradeśe śirasā ābaddhaḥ syāt / prākāśa ādarśaḥ / prakāśakaraḥ prākāśaḥ / apare bruvate karṇotsānū prākāśāv iti / pratiprasthātuḥ raupyaparakāśaḥ savye pārśve syād ābaddhaḥ //*

“A golden *prākāśa* is to be attached to the right side of the *adhvaryu* with / by (its) head, and a silvery *prākāśa* is to be attached to the left side of the *pratiprasthātṛ*. *Prākāśa* (is) mirror: *prākāśa* is what causes *prakāśa* ‘lustre, splendour, manifestation’. Others say that the two *prākāśas* (are) two ear decorations.”

Neither *karṇotsānu-* nor *utsānu-* is to be found in dictionaries.

Dhanvin’s commentary on the DŚS: *sauvarṇaḥ prākāśakuṇḍalo karṇe ’dhvaryor deyaḥ / rājataḥ kuṇḍalaḥ pratiprasthātuḥ savye karṇe / adhvaryvor iti brāhmaṇagataṃ dvivacanam pratiprasthātāram abhipretyeti mantavyam //*

“A golden *prākāśa*-(ear)ring is to be given to the (right) ear of the *adhvaryu*, a silvery (ear)ring to the left ear of the *pratiprasthātṛ*.”

JB 2,202: 247,32-33 *tasminn etā yathārūpaṃ dakṣiṇā nīyante srag udgātū rukmo hotuḥ prākāśāv adhvaryor ... 2,203: 248,9-10 atha yat prākāśāv adhvaryor bhavato rūpeṇāntatām āhvayantīti vā āhuḥ / atho yad eva tau prakāśaiva caratas tat tatsalakṣma kriyate /*

“In that (daśapeya rite) these sacrificial gifts conforming as to their appearance are brought: a wreath to the *hotar*, a (golden) plate to the *udgātṛ*, two *prākāśas* to the *adhvaryu* ... Then in that two *prākāśas* are for the *adhvaryu*, thereby by means of (their) appearance they call (him) into being at the end, so they say. Then in that the two (*prākāśas*) have to do with illumination [emending: *prakāśayaiva*], thereby their having the same characteristic is done.”

e) *Texts of the Ṛgveda*

(The last part of the AB, 7,13 - 8,28, deals with the *rājasūya*, but not with the *daśapeya*.)

ĀśvŚS 9,4,12-13 hiraṇyaprākāśāv adhvaryoḥ / rājatau pratiprasthātuḥ

“The two earrings made of gold are for the Adhvaryu. The two earrings made of silver are given away to the Pratiprasthātṛ.” (Ranade 1986: II,73)

“Zwei goldene Ohrhänge (sind) für den *adhvaryu*. Zwei silberne (Ohrhänge sind) für den *pratiprasthātṛ*” (Mylius 1994: 392, with note 99: “Zum terminus *prākāśa* vgl. H. Falk: *Bruderschaft und Würfelspiel* [Freiburg 1986], S. 184, Anm. 523.”)

Gārgya Nārāyaṇa’s commentary: *prākāśau pradīptakuṇḍale iti ke cit / tau suvarṇamayau dātavyau / adhvaryor adhvaryava ity arthaḥ / evam atra sarvatra caturthye ṣaṣṭhī // rajatamayau prākāśāv ity arthaḥ //*

“According to some (authorities), the two *prākāśas* (are) shining (ear)rings. These two are to be given as made of gold to the *adhvaryu*, *adhvaryoḥ* having the sense of *adhvaryave*: here (in this context) the genitive is everywhere used in the sense of the dative. “The two silvery ones”, (namely) *prākāśas*, this is the meaning.”

Devatrāta’s commentary: *hiraṇyena kṛtau prākāśau pradīptau dvāv adhvaryor dakṣiṇā // pratiprasthātuḥ / rājatam rūpyam / rajatena kṛtau prākāśau pradīptau rājatau dvau pratiprasthātur dakṣiṇā //* (The editors propose, with a query, emending *pradīptau* into *pradīpau*.)

“The *adhvaryu*’s sacrificial gift (consists of) two *prākāśas*, i.e. luminous ones (*pradīptau*, or: lamps, *pradīpau*) made with gold. The *pratiprasthātṛ*’s: *rājatam* ‘silver’ (means the same as) *rūpyam* ‘silver’. The *pratiprasthātṛ*’s sacrificial gift (consists of) two silvery *prākāśas*, i.e. luminous ones (*pradīptau*, or: lamps, *pradīpau*).”

While in the LŚS-DŚS the two *prākāśas* are divided between the *adhvaryu* and the *pratiprasthātṛ*, ĀśvŚS 9,4,12-13 assigns two *prākāśas*

to both of them. In either case, the *adhvaryu*'s gift is golden, the *pratiprasthātar*'s silvery. This division into golden and silvery *prākāśas* reminds one of Kapardisvāmin's commentary on the *ĀpŚS*, according to which the *Ṛgvedins* interpret the two *prākāśas* as two lamps that have the sun and the moon as their models.

(The KB does not deal with the *rājasūya*.)

(ŚŚS 15,14,5-13 deals with the *daśapeya*, but not with its *dakṣiṇās*)

In sum, the only context in which the word *prākāśa-* is attested in the Vedic and Sanskrit literature, is the *daśapeya* rite, in which two *prākāśas* are given as sacrificial gifts to the two *adhvaryus*, i.e., the *adhvaryu* and the *pratiprasthātar* priests, who are like twins, and therefore should receive a similar gift. Like all the modern scholars and lexicographers, the medieval commentators derive the word *prākāśa-* from *pra + kāś- kāśate* 'to shine, become manifest', causative 'illumine, make visible'. From this derivation stem the assigned alternative meanings '(metal) mirror', 'lamp(-stand)' and 'ear-ring'. While '(metal) mirror' used to be the favoured translation (thus Weber, Hillebrandt, Eggeling, Keith, Caland, Heesterman, Thite, Kashikar and Ranade [in his *LŚS* translation]), recently 'ear-decoration' or rather 'ear-drop' has gained precedence (thus Mylius and Ranade [in his *ĀśvŚS* translation]). This is due to the consideration of the term *prāvepā-*, which is used instead of *prākāśa-* in the oldest text dealing with the sacrificial gifts of the *daśapeya* rite, the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*.

3. *prāvepā-* in *Ṛgveda* 10,34,1 and its implications

Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā 4,4,8 has *prāvepau* instead of *prākāśau*. The word *prāvepā-* is derived from *pra + vip- vepate* 'shiver, quiver, quake', causative 'cause to quake, shake'. The word *prāvepā-* occurs once in the *Ṛgveda*, in the first verse of the gambling hymn 10,34, where it qualifies the nuts used as 'dice': *prāvepā mā brhatō mādayanti pravātejā iriṇe vārvṛtānāḥ*, rendered by Jamison & Brereton (2014, III: 1430) as follows: "The dangling (nuts) of the lofty (tree) exhilarate me, the ones born in a windy place, constantly whirling in the gaming hollow."

Karl F. Geldner (1951: III,183) translates: "Die Ohrenbommeln des hohen (Baumes), die im Sturmwind geborenen, berauschen mich, wenn sie in der Rinne trudeln", adding the following commentary:

“1a. *prāvepāḥ*: ‘zitternd’ Nir[ukta] Sāy[āṇa], ‘am zitternden Baume entstanden’, Dur[ga] zu Nir[ukta] 9,8. *prāvepá* Du[al] in MS. 4 p. 59,3 ist = *prākāśá* Du[al] in TBr. 1,8,2,3 (s[iehe] mein *Glossar*), das nach dem Komm. zu Āś.Śr. 9,4,12 ‘Ohrringe’ bedeutet. So auch Oldenberg. Der Vergleich ist treffend.”

Indeed, Hermann Oldenberg (1912: II,239) had already noted: “1. *prāvepau* Ms. IV p. 59,3 nicht von *prākāśau* der Parallelstellen (Weber Rājasūya 81 mit A. 6, B[öhntlingk-]R[oth] unter *prākāśa*) trennbar. Ist Erklärung von *prāk[āśa]* ‘Ohrring’ richtig, wäre hier wohl zu verstehen: ‘die Ohrhänge des hohen (Baumes)’. Auch anderer Schmuckgegenstand, der schwankend (*vip-*) herabhängt, entspräche dem Zusammenhang.”

Paul Thieme’s (1964:72) version of RV 10,34,1ab is: “Die Perlen des Hohen (= des Baumes) berauschen mich, wenn sie, die geboren sind an der Stätte des Windes, in die Mulde rollen.” Thieme (1964: 74 n. 1) justifies rendering *prāvepāḥ* with ‘pearls’ as follows: “Der Ausdruck besagt wörtlich: ‘aus dem Zittern, Zucken geboren’. Nach alter Anschauung entsteht die Perle aus dem zuckenden Blitz. Es ist an Perlen gedacht, die als [Ohr-]Gehänge getragen werden.”

Harry Falk deals with the Vedic game of ‘dice’ comprehensively in his book *Bruderschaft und Würfelspiel*. Preferring Geldner’s neutral “Ohrenbommeln” to Thieme’s “Perlen”, Falk (1986: 184) translates this Ṛgvedic verse as follows: “Die Ohrenschmuckstücke des Hohen berauschen mich, die an windiger Stelle geboren (jetzt) in der Senke rollen.” In the long footnote 523 on *prāvepá* Falk points out that the *dakṣiṇā* list of MS 4,4,8 stresses the dual *prāvepau* as a pair (*yama*); in the parallel *dakṣiṇā* lists speaking of *prākāśau*, the commentaries offer two interpretations, either ‘mirror’ or ‘ear ornament’. Falk suggests that these two possibilities might go back to an ornament sharing both features, ‘an ear-mirror’, which he finds in the following compounds recorded [from lexicographers] by Böhtlingk & Roth [1858: II,123, 126]: *karnadarpaṇa*, *karnamukura*, and *karnādeśa* for *karnādarśa* [thus Böhtlingk 1880: II,27]. In Falk’s opinion it is certain that both *prāvepa* and *prākāśa* denote kinds of ear ornaments, though he very much doubts their identity: *pra-kāś-* points to a (flat) ear-mirror, while *pravep-* is likely to resemble the egg-shaped *vibhītaka* nut used in gambling. He suggests that the *vibhītaka* is likely to be the “green-haired” tree, a form of the god Rudra (cf. Falk 1986: 102), who is wearing these dangling nuts as ear ornaments.

As noted above, Mylius (1994: 392) translates *prākāśau* of ĀśvŚS 9,4,12 ‘Ohrhänge’ with reference to this interpretation of Falk’s, which thus seems to represent the current understanding of the term *prākāśa-*. Personally, I am not satisfied with it. For one thing, *karṇa-* in the compounds *karṇadarpaṇa* etc. does not in my opinion denote ‘ear’ but ‘handle’ (which is among the meanings recorded in the dictionaries for *karṇa-*; similarly Finnish *korva* ‘ear’ also means ‘handle’ of a vessel). For instance the traditional metal mirrors used in Vedic and Hindu rituals in Kerala consist of a round part with a handle-extension on one side.

Falk (who does not mention Rau) appears to have independently come to conclusions very similar to those drawn by Wilhelm Rau (1974: 52 and 1983: 30) with regard to the decorations (Schmuckstücke) of gold or silver given to the *adhvaryu* or the two *adhvaryus* as sacrificial gifts at the *rājasūya*. “Sie heissen teils *prākāśau* m. teils *prāvepau* m. Gelegentlich erscheinen letztere auch an einem Wagen. Die Scholiasten schwanken bei der Erklärung und verstehen auf Grund der Etymologie *prākāśa* meist als ‘Spiegel’. Da sie uns aber die Freiheit lassen, daneben auch an Lampenständer oder an Ohrschmuck zu denken, möchte ich mich für die Bedeutung ‘pfaunenförmige Gehänge’ entscheiden, die von den Menschen in den Ohren getragen wurden, beim Gefährt wahrscheinlich rechts und links am oberen Rande (gr. *ántyx*) des Wagenkastens angebracht waren. Denn wo fänden sich in Indien Spiegel oder Lampenständer paarweise?” (Rau 1974: 52), adding in note 54:

“‘Pfaunenförmig’, weil RV 10,34[860],1 die Früchte der *Terminalia Belerica* Roxb. *prāvepāḥ* nennt. ‘The rather small, velvety fruit varies in shape from nearly spherical to egg-shaped or pearl-shaped, and contains a single seed’, A. P. Benthall, *The Trees of Calcutta and its Neighbourhood*, Calcutta/London 1946, p. 230.” (Rau documents his account with exact references to the original sources, omitted here because they are all quoted in full in this paper.)

“*prāvepin* heisst JB 2.103 (= ĀpŚS 22.12.6) ein Wagen, der mit allerlei Schmucksachen ausgestattet ist”, observes Falk (1986: 184 n. 523). Rau, too, bypasses this reference rather lightly in the above cited passage, suggesting that the ear-drops were kept fixed to both sides of the upper border of the chariot box during the ride. The connection of *prāvepá-* with the chariot has not raised any doubt on its interpretation as ‘ear-drop’.

4. *prāvepā-* as part of the chariot equipment

In Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 2,103, *prāvepī*, ‘provided with a *prāvepa* (or with *prāvepas*)’ is an attribute of an elaborately furnished war-chariot, given as a sacrificial gift (*dakṣiṇā*) at the one-day soma sacrifice called *apaciti*, ‘veneration, respect’.

JB 2,103: 203,2-8 tasyāśvarathāś caturyug dakṣiṇā bhavati / sarve śatakriyo ’śvāḥ / sa rukmī **prāvepī** sarvābharāṇy aṁśumān bhavati / tasya vaiyāghraḥ parivāro bhavati dvaipo dhanvadhīr ārkṣa upāsaṅgaḥ / khāḍgākavaco ’dhyāsthātā bhavati saṁnaddhas saṁnaddhasārathīr āvṛtaḥ pratihitābhyām / niṣkī sragvī saṁgrahītā bhavati / etad vai tviṣo (v.l. dviṣo) rūpam etad apaciteḥ / tasminn etad apacitaṁ dhanam dadāti / apacitā evāpacitaṁ dhanam dadānīti / stomam eva tadrūpeṇa samardhayanti (v.l. samṛddhayanti) /

“Der Opferlohn bei diesem (Opfer) ist ein mit vier Rossen bespannter Streitwagen; dessen Rosse sind all um hundert Stück (Kühe) erkaufte worden. Der (Wagen) ist mit goldnen Platten, **mit metallnen Spiegeln** (?) und allerhand Schmuck versehen und strahlend. Seine Decke ist von Tigerfell, sein Bogenbehälter von Panterfell, sein Köcher von Bärenhaut. Der einen Panzer von Rhinoceroshaut tragende auf dem Wagen stehende (Kämpfer) ist zum Kampfe gerüstet, er hat bei sich einen (ebenfalls) gerüsteten Wagenlenker und ist durch zwei auf (den Bogen) gelegte (Pfeile) geschützt. Eine goldne Platte (d.h. einen am Halse getragenen Zierat) tragend und mit einem Kranze versehen ist der Saṁgrahīṭṛ (der schon oben erwähnte Wagenlenker). Dies ist die Eigenart des Feindes (?), dieses des Respekts. So gibt er mit diesem (Wagen) respektierten Besitz, erwägend: ‘Bei der Apaciti [‘Respekts-ekāḥa’] will ich respektierte Habe geben.’ Den Stoma bringt man durch deren Eigenart zum Gelingen.” (Caland 1919: 156-157, noting the parallels in ĀpŚS 22,12,4-9; ŚŚS 14,33,20 and KŚS 22,10,30-33, and commenting: “*prāvepī* von *prāvepa*, das nach Maitr. Saṁh. IV.4.8: 59.3 = *prākāśa* ist.”)

Jan Gonda (1957: 99) has pointed out that Caland’s reading *dviṣo* ‘of the enemy’ is to be rejected: the golden plate carried on the neck or breast is a manifestation or representation (*rūpa*) ‘of brilliance’ (*tviṣo*).

(PB 19,8-9 describes two *apaciti* sacrifices, but not their *dakṣiṇās*.)

(HŚS 17,5,16-17 is short about the two *apacitis* of PB 19,8-9:
apacitikāmo 'pacitibhyām / ubhayasāmānau bhavataḥ)

ĀpŚS 22,12,2-9: *apacitikāmo 'pacitibhyām / ubhayasāmānau bhavataḥ / tayor aśvarathas caturyug dakṣiṇā / sarve śatakriyo 'śvāḥ / sa rukmī prāvepī sarvābharaṇy aṁśumān / tasya vaiyāghraḥ parivāro dvaipo dhanvahir ārkṣaḥ kavacaḥ / adhyāsthātā saṁnaddhaḥ saṁnaddhasārathir āvṛtaḥ pratihitābhyām / niṣkī sragvī saṁgrahītā bhavati- iti vijñāyate /*

“Die beiden Apacitis [note: PB 19,8-9] verrichte wer Ehrenweisung zu erlangen wünscht. An beiden treten die beiden Singweisen, sowohl Rathantara als Bṛhat auf [note: cf. PB 19,8,3]. ‘Bei beiden ist ein mit vier Rossen bespannter Kriegswagen der Opferlohn; alle Rosse sind für hundert Kühe gekauft; der Wagen ist mit goldenen Platten, metallnem Beschlag (?) und allerhand Schmuck ausgestattet und strahlend; seine Decke ist ein Tigerfell, sein Bogenbehälter ist von Panterfell, sein Panzer von Bärenhaut; der auf ihm stehende Kämpfer ist zum Kampfe gerüstet, der Wagenlenker ebenfalls zum Kampfe gerüstet und durch zwei auf den (Bogen) gelegte (Pfeile) geschützt; eine goldne Platte tragend und mit einem Kranze versehen ist der Saṁgrahīṭṛ’, so wird in der heiligen Überlieferung gelehrt [note: nämlich im Jaim. br. II.103 (Auswahl no. 134), von Āp. etwas gekürzt].” (Caland 1928: III,330)

“(A sacrificer) desirous of worship should perform the two Apaciti(-sacrifices). [Note: Cf. PB 19,8,1; 9,1.] In both these sacrifices both the Sāmans (viz. Bṛhat and Rathantara) are used. [Note: Cf. PB 19,8,3.] In both of these a chariot yoked with four horses is the sacrificial gift. All the horses should be purchased with one hundred cows. That (chariot should be furnished) with a golden plate, metal cover, all the ornaments, and should be lustrous. Its jacket should be made out of tiger skin; the bow-cover out of leopard-skin, the armour out of bear skin. (The charioteer) sitting on it should be armoured; the chariot-driver (also should be) armoured. He should be covered with two (arrows) kept on (the bow). The saṁgrahīṭṛ (rein-holder) should be possessing a gold plate, and a garland — this is known (from a Brāhmaṇa text) [See JB 2,103].” (Thite 2004: II,1328-9.)

‘Charioteer’ is synonymous with ‘chariot-driver’ (who is here also called ‘rein-holder’): In Thite’s translation, ‘charioteer’ should here be replaced with ‘chariot-warrior’, who moreover stands rather than sits in the chariot (he is actually called here *adhyāsthātā*).

Caland (*Auswahl* 1919 p. 156) translated *prāvepin* of JB 2,103 ‘mit metallnen Spiegeln (?)’ and later (1928: III, 330) in the version of ĀpŚS 22,12,6 with ‘mit metallnem Beschlag (?)’, whence Thite’s ‘metal cover’.

ŚŚS 14,33,1. indro hāpacitikāmas tapas taptvaitaṃ yajñakratum apaśyad apacitim / teneṣṭvāpacitim āpnot / tenāpacitikāmo yajeta. ...

20. aśvarathaḥ khāḍgakavaco vaiyāghraparicchada ārkṣopasaṅgo dvaipadhanvadhīḥ śyāvāśvo dakṣiṇā /

21. apacitimatā rūpeṇāpacitim āpnavānīti /

“1. Indra being desirous of honour (*apaciti*) performed asceticism and thereupon beheld that (one-day-)rite called ‘honour’ (*apaciti*). By its performance he got honour. One who is desirous of honour should perform this (rite). ...

20. The sacrificial fee is a horse-chariot, coated with rhinoceros hide, covered with tiger fell, with a quiver [of] boar-[read: bear-]hide, with a bow-case of panther-hide, drawn by brown horses.

21. ‘By a characteristic [of] honour may I reach honour’ (thus thinking he gives the fee).” (Caland 1953: 394-395)

5. *prākāśā-* = *prāvepā-* as part of the chariot equipment

The war chariot’s epithet *sarvābharaṇī* ‘having all sorts of decorations’ in JB 2,203 can be understood in the light of the wonderful decorative plates having animal and other motifs with which the chariots and horse furniture of the Eurasian nomads of the early Iron Age were covered (see Schiltz 1994).

The chariot rider’s ‘ear-drops’ temporarily dangling from the front of the chariot box hardly can be counted as an essential part of chariot gear as implied by the epithet *prāvepī*.

If *prākāśā-* is derived from *pra* + *kāś-* and means ‘metal mirror’, its synonym *prāvepā-* might also denote a dangling mirror suspended from a war-chariot. Would this make better sense than a dangling ear-drop as a part of chariot-gear? If the mirror was used for flash signaling, it would have been a great asset for chariot warriors:

“With the sun as light source, a mirror can be used to signal by variations in the orientation of the mirror. The signal can be used over long distances, possibly up to 60 km on a clear day. This technique was used by Native American tribes and numerous militaries [of the modern period in the form of the heliograph] to transmit information between distant outposts.” (*Wikipedia* s.v. Mirror)

However, while smoke signaling by natives of Florida was recorded as early as 1539 (Beers 2014: 23), mirror signaling by the Sioux is known only from the 19th century (Humfreville 1903: 171). There is no evidence for mirror signaling in Eurasia from the pre-modern period.

Both handled mirrors and especially ones without a handle (but with a pierced knob on the reverse for suspension) have been discovered in great numbers in graves of early Iron Age nomadic peoples all over the Eurasian steppe, from Ukraine to the borders of China. The mirrors have been buried with male and females almost equally, and there is clear evidence of their being used both as articles of toiletry and as auspicious amulets and apotropaic instruments in shamanistic rituals and as essential parts of burial rites, where even wooden substitutes have been used. (Rubinson 2002; Litvinskii 1987.) The connotations of the mirrors are elucidated by the Chinese inscriptions of the Han mirrors adopted by the Sarmatians: “By the light of the sun, may you not be forgotten”, and “Smelt the copper to be pure and radiant. Let it become a mirror with form. May it prolong life and avert misfortunes” (Yao 2012: 63). Many handled mirrors and ones without a handle have been found also in the graves of the Bactria and Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC) of southern Central Asia, but in archaeological contexts exclusively from female burials (Kaniuth 2006: 65-73).

The horse-drawn chariot seems to have been invented in the Sintashta culture of the southern Urals around 2100 BCE and to have spread from there with Proto-Indo-Aryan speakers to the Eurasiatic steppes and via the BMAC to ancient West and South Asia between 2100 and 1900 BCE (Parpola 2005; 2015: 58-91; Novozhenov 2012). Theoretically one might suppose that mirrors were suspended from the chariot to avert misfortune, but neither archaeological or textual evidence nor detailed pictorial illustrations of chariots or riders from the Eurasian steppes, ancient Egypt, West Asia, Greece, China and classical India suggest that the mirror was part of the chariot or riding gear (Littauer & Crowel 1979; Novozhenov 2012; Sparreboom 1983).

I am suggesting a new alternative interpretation for *prākāśá-*, namely ‘whip’, which has ample pictorial, textual and ethnographic support for being an essential part of the chariot and riding gear. In my opinion, *prākāśá-* is not derived from *pra* + *kāś-*, but from *prakaśá-*, ‘the front part of the whip (*kásā-*)’, i.e. the ‘whip-lash’. This word is attested just once in the Vedic literature, and seems to have become obsolete early on like *prākāśá-*: it seems to me that its meaning was clear only to the author(s) of the TS, but later Vedic authors — as indeed the medieval commentators and modern scholars — have understood it to be derived from *pra* + *kāś-*.

The Atharvavedic hymn 9,1 addressed to the “honey-whip” of the *Aśvins* contains the following prose verse, where the five parts of the whip are correlated with cosmic counterparts:

AVŚ 9,1,21 pṛthivī daṇḍo3 ’ntárikṣaṃ gárbho dyaúḥ kásā vidyút
prakaśó hiraṇyáyo bindúḥ //

“The earth is the staff, the atmosphere is the embryo, the heaven the whip (itself?), the lightning the whip-cord; of gold is the tip (of the whip?).” (Bloomfield 1897: 231-2)

“Earth [is] the staff, atmosphere the embryo, sky the whip, lightning the snapper (? *prakaśá*), of gold the globule (*bindú*).” (Whitney 1905: II,521)

The parallel passage of AVP 16,34,1 is identical with the following differences: The initial *a-* of *antárikṣaṃ* is not elided; instead of *prakaśó* the Kashmir manuscript reads *prakāmā*, and after this word is inserted the superfluous phrase *madhoḥ kaśāsi ghr̥tācī* “you are the whip of honey dripping of ghee” (cf. AVŚ 9,1,5a *mádhoḥ kásām ajanayanta devāḥ* “the gods generated the whip of honey”; 9,1,4c *hiraṇyavarṇā madhukaśá ghr̥tācī* “the gold-coloured honey-whip dripping of ghee”).

Here the whip consists of five parts: the staff, the ‘embryo’ (apparently the part where the staff and the lash are tied together, both covered under the binding cord, see the Mongolian whips illustrated in Braae 2017: 384), the thong or lash of the whip, and a globule (*bindu*) at the end of the lash. The folding lash with a globule at its end is a good match for the *prāvepá-* in the above discussed *Ṛgvedic* gambler’s *sūkta* (10,34,1): the ‘dangling’ nut of the *vibhītaka* tree, glossed already

by Böhlingk (1883: IV,190c) with ‘eine hängende, sich schaukelnde Baumfrucht’. *Prāvepá-* is derived from *pravepa-* m., ‘trembling, quivering’, for which Böhlingk & Roth (1865: IV,1081) quote from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (2,96,3 ed. Gorresio 105,3, not in the crit. ed.) the phrase *sukhapravepais tarubhiḥ*, ‘with pleasantly shaking trees’.

Why are the *prākāśau* = *prāvepau* given to the two Adhvaryus? Because these priests represent the two *Aśvins*, the divinized pair of the chariot warrior and the charioteer: *aśvinādhvaryū* “the two Adhvaryus [are] the two *Aśvins*” (TĀ 3,3; Parpola 2005; 2015: 88, 109-116). “Two *prāvepas* to the two Adhvaryus; for the two Adhvaryus are as if twins”, says MS 4,4,8, while PB 18,9,10 says “Two *prākāśas* to the two Adhvaryus; for the two Adhvaryus are as if twins”, which *Sāyaṇa* comments thus: “Two twins are two brothers simultaneously born from one womb. Like that are both these two specific Adhvaryus. Therefore it is proper to give these two equally a *prākāśa*.” Thus the texts do not emphasize that the *prākāśau* = *prāvepau* form a pair like two ear-drops, but they emphasize that the two adhvaryus are like twins, and therefore should be given an equal gift. The “honey-whip” is a special attribute of both the *Aśvins* in the oldest Vedic texts, the RV and the AV, although actually the whip is used only by the charioteer and not by the chariot warrior; this may be compared with the elliptic dual *nāsatyau* used of both the *Aśvins*, though actually the word *nāsatya-* refers only to the charioteer among them (Parpola 2015: 117).

What was the “honey-whip” of the *Aśvins*? Bloomfield comments: “The drink called *mādhu*, ‘honey’, is associated from earliest times with the cult of the *Aśvins*, and a more specific conception endows them with a honey-lash (*mādhumatī kāsā* or *madhukaśā*), which instils sweetness, food, and strength into the sacrifice and into men. ... Henry, *Les livres VIII et IX de l’Atharva-véda* [1894], p. 115, assumes ‘an evident allegory of the lightning which whips the clouds and produces rain.’ ... At RV. V,83,3 Parjanya sends his rain-messengers, as a charioteer who whips his horses with the lash. The patter and the streaming down of the rain (honey) may have suggested the comparison with the lash. Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique* [1878-97], II, 433, has collected a sufficient number of passages in which the *Aśvins* set the waters in motion, and cause the heavenly rivers to flow...” (Bloomfield 1897: 587-9)

In AVŚ 9,1,21, the lash of the whip is equated with the lightning; and it is natural to associate the snap of the lash with thunder, which

accompanies lightning and which is mentioned twice as the voice of Prajāpati in this same hymn to the “honey-whip”.

6. Speculation about the original function of the *daśapeya*

I have argued at length that the invention of the chariot by Proto-Indo-Aryan speakers led to the creation of a “dual kingship”, where the ‘mundane king’ was flanked by the ‘spiritual king’ alias the royal priest, *purohita*. The model of this “dual kingship” was the pair of the chariot warrior (the king) and his crafty and wise charioteer, divinized as the Aśvin twins. From the Sintashta culture of the southern Urals this new ideology spread with the chariot to the Proto-Baltic speakers and to the Dorian Greeks, who worshipped the Dioskouroi as the models of their dual kings. When the Proto-Indo-Aryan speakers had taken over power in the BMAC of southern Central Asia, trade relations brought them into contact with the Assyrians. The Assyrian conceptions of kingship, with social virtues divinized as attributes of the divine king, influenced Proto-Indo-Aryan religion and led to the creation of similar abstract divinities representing social virtues, Mitra-and-Varuṇa now becoming doubles of the Aśvins and taking over from them the “dual kingship”.

To southern Central Asia the Proto-Indo-Aryan speakers arrived in two successive waves, in archaeology represented by the Petrovka/Alakul’ Andronovo and Fëdorovo Andronovo cultures. In their religion, these two groups of Proto-Indo-Aryans had somewhat differentiated from each other. The main deities of the earlier wave were the Aśvins (cultic drink *madhu*, ‘mead’ or ‘honey-beer’) and their doubles Mitra-and-Varuṇa (cultic drink *surā*, beer made of barley), while the main deity of the later wave was Indra (cultic drink *soma*). The fusion of these two waves started in southern Central Asia and continued in South Asia. The formation of the Vedic religion and ritual reflects the blending of these two religious traditions. (For all this, see Parpola 2015: chapters 7-13, pp. 51-159).

The Adhvaryu and the Pratiprasthātar are the two priests in charge of the *pravargya* = *gharma* rite, which originally belonged to the Aśvins. According to MS 4,6,2, the Aśvins were initially not drinkers of the sacred *soma* drink, but received the *āśvina* cup of *soma* in the *soma* sacrifice as a reward for their healing the *soma* sacrifice after it had lost its ‘head’; this healing they did by means of their *pravargya* rite, which became an introductory part of the *soma* sacrifice. Before the healing of the sacrifice took place, the Aśvins had learnt the secret *madhu-*

vidyā, ‘knowledge about the (reviving) honey’, from the horse-headed sage Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa. (ŚB 14,1,1; Parpola 2015: 121-9.)

Madhu is drunk especially at the *vājapeya* sacrifice, which besides the usual *soma* drink has 17 cups of *surā* and one particularly sacred cup of *madhu*. The *vājapeya* is a *soma* sacrifice uniquely characterized by a chariot race of 17 participants (for the *vājapeya*, see Weber 1892; Sparreboom 1983: 33-51; Steiner 2004). 17 is the sacred number of Prajāpati/Bṛhaspati, who here is the prototype of the priestly class of Brahmins. At the *vājapeya*, all the ritual songs (*sāman*) are to be sung on 17 verses.

The only other sacrifice where this *saptadaśa-stoma* characterizes the ritual songs is the *daśapeya* of the royal consecration (see TS 1,8,18,1 above, # 2a). There are other common features connecting the *vājapeya* and the *daśapeya*, such as the name of the sacrifice ending in *-peya* and the golden *sraja* given as a sacrificial gift at the *daśapeya*, worn by all priests in the *vājapeya* (PB 18,7,6). These common features make one suspect that the *daśapeya*, celebrated ten days after the king’s unction (Heesterman 1957: 179-195), was the original occasion for performing the *vājapeya* with its chariot race. The winner of the chariot race of the *vājapeya* became the *purohita*, the royal priest and royal charioteer, and therewith *samrāj*, ‘co-king’: it stands to reason that this second office of the “dual kingship” was filled in connection with the royal consecration.

Actually, a chariot drive partly following the pattern of the *vājapeya* does take place in the *rājasūya* a little earlier, immediately after the royal unction and the sacrifice of the remainder of the unction fluid at the home of the crown prince (Heesterman 1957: 127-139; Sparreboom 1983: 51-59). In this chariot drive, the king is the chariot warrior who raids cows, and the crown prince is his charioteer. I suspect that the old Proto-Indo-Aryan ritual of instituting a priestly ‘co-king’ was interfered by a different royal ideology inherited from the Indus Civilization, which rather paired “the old king” and “the young king”, i.e. the crown prince (cf. Parpola 2015: 231-5, 312, 317). The name *daśapeya* comes from the ten cups from each of which drink ten Brahmins each remembering an unbroken chain of ten ancestors who have all been *soma* drinkers. This clearly very archaic drinking ceremony has been interpreted by Weber (1893) and Heesterman (1957: 191) essentially as a rite of communion, through which the king and the priests establish a strong bond between themselves: this would be a fitting part of the institution of the ‘priest-king’ in his office.

References

- AB** Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa. See Aufrecht 1879; Keith 1920.
- ĀpŚS** Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra. See Garbe 1882-1902; Caland 1924-28; Thite 2004.
- ĀśvŚS** Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra. See Vidyāratna 1864-74; Ranade 1981-86; Bawa & al. 1986-96; Mylius 1994.
- AVP** Atharvaveda(-Saṃhitā) of the Paippalāda-śākhā: see Bhattacharya 1997-2016.
- AVŚ** Atharvaveda(-Saṃhitā) of the Śaunaka-śākhā: see Roth & Whitney 1924; Vishva Bandhu 1960-64; Bloomfield 1897; Whitney 1905.
- BhārŚS** Bhāradvāja-Śrautasūtra. See Kashikar 1964.
- BŚS** Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra. See Caland 1904-1923; Kashikar 2003; Dharmadhikari 2016.
- DŚS** Drāhyāyana-Śrautasūtra. See Sharma 1983.
- HŚS** Hiraṇyakeśi-Śrautasūtra – Satyāśāḍha-Śrautasūtra. See Āgāṣe & Mārūlakar 1907-32.
- JB** Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa. See Caland 1919; Raghu Vira & Lokesh Chandra 1954.
- KB** Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa. See Sarma 1968; Keith 1920.
- KŚS** Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra. See Weber 1859; 1893; Thite 2006.
- LŚS** Lāṭyāyana-Śrautasūtra. See Vedāntavāgīśa 1872; Ranade 1998.
- MS** Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā. See von Schroeder 1881-1886.
- MŚS** Mānava-Śrautasūtra. See van Gelder 1961; 1963.
- PB** Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa [= TMB]. See Chinnaswami Sastri & Paṭṭābhīrāma Śāstrī 1935-36; Caland 1931.
- RV** R̥gveda(-Saṃhitā). See Aufrecht 1861-2; Van Nooten & Holland 1994; Geldner 1951; Jamison & Brereton 2014; Oldenberg 1909-12.
- ŚB(M)** Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (Mādhyandina-śākhā). See Weber 1855; Eggeling 1882-1900.
- ŚBK** Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (Kāṇva-śākhā). See Caland 1926-39.
- ŚŚS** Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra. See Hillebrandt 1888-99; Caland 1953.
- TĀ** Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka. See Phaḍke 1897-98.
- TB** Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa. See Goḍbole 1898; Śāstrī & al. 1908-1921.
- TMB** Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brāhmaṇa = PB, q.v.
- TS** Taittirīya-Saṃhitā. See Weber 1871-72; Sontakke & Dharmadhikari 1972-2010; Keith 1914.
- VādhŚS** Vādhūla-Śrautasūtra. See Chaubey 1993.
- VārŚS** Vārāha-Śrautasūtra. See Kashikar 1988.
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