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MĀTARIŚVAN, HEAVEN, UNDERWORLD

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Kuiper (1971) put forward an interesting problem for us. Up to that time, Mātariśvan was thought to bring Agni only from heaven. He noticed that the word *parāvataḥ* “from afar” denotes the underworld,¹ and indicated that some of the Rigvedic Mātariśvan passages describe the derivation of fire from the underworld, not from heaven. The passages cited by him can indeed most naturally be interpreted as he does, and so he seems to be right. However, this new interpretation revealed a certain inconsistency in the Rigvedic Mātariśvan myth: There are some Rigvedic passages which explicitly say that Agni is brought by Mātariśvan from heaven.

Kuiper (1971:94) mentions this problem, but his explanation sounds somewhat ambiguous: “It remains one of the unsolved problems of Vedic mythology why terms for ‘nether world’ and ‘primeval world’ can alternate with ‘heaven’, ‘the highest heaven’, ‘the third heaven’. Possibly these terms primarily denoted the mysterious world of the totality of the dualistic cosmos, Viṣṇu’s third step, and were then also used in application to the undivided primeval world. Be that as it may, this much is obvious that the *parāvāt*, which could be identified with *Nīrṛti*-, was not a dwelling-place of the Devas.” He seems to be hesitating to apply his own theory to this problem, and just says: “The same equivalence of the distant region (*parāvāt*-) and heaven is found in the myth of Mātariśvan. On the one hand Mātariśvan is said to have brought Agni for Manu from afar: 1.128.2 *yám mātariśvā mánave parāváto, devám bhāḥ parāvataḥ*, while on the other hand Mātariśvan brought Agni from heaven (*divó*), in contrast with Soma who is said to have come from the rock.”

Although Kuiper’s work has a great significance in that he corrected the mistake of earlier studies, the above point must still be answered. Why are there

Acknowledgements: A prototype of this paper was written in 1996. I received some constructive criticism to it from prof. H.W. Bodewitz. After some corrections, the prototype was exposed on my personal Internet webpage in 1998 with the title *Unit 5: Hymn to Jātavedas*. This paper is a thoroughly revised, second version.

1 See Kuiper 1960:226 and Kuiper 1964:107.

two different types of statements concerning from whence Mātariśvan brought fire?

1. Chronological Scan

The first approach we could try might be a chronological one. Following Converse (1971) and Bodewitz (1994), I assume 5 layers in the Rigveda²: I. Books 2-7, II. 1.51-191, III. Book 8 and 1.1-50, IV. Book 9, V. Book 10. We will examine the relevant material in each layer.

In Stratum I, Mātariśvan appears in 3.2.13, 3.5.9, 3.5.10, 3.9.5, 3.26.2, 3.29.11, and 6.8.4. Among these, Mātariśvan is said to bring Agni “from afar” in 3.9.5 and 6.8.4:

RV 3.9.5 Mātariśvan led Agni, who has, so to say, run away by himself, who was hidden thus, who was kindled, *from afar* for the gods.³

RV 6.8.4 In the lap of the waters, the buffaloes seized [him]. The kinsmen have worshipped the praiseworthy king. The messenger of Vivasvat brought Agni. Mātariśvan [brought] Vaiśvānara *from afar*.⁴

3.2.13 gives us different information:

RV 3.2.13 Mātariśvan took the regular, sacrifice-worthy, inspired, praiseworthy one, *who dwelt in heaven*. We beg Agni, who has conspicuous way, who has golden hair, who shines well, for a new good advance.⁵

“Who dwelt in heaven” (*divi kṣāyam*)⁶ implies the derivation of Agni from heaven.

2 Witzel 1997, following Oldenberg, discerns the following layers: I. Books 2-7, II. 1.51-191 and 8.1-66, III. 1.1-50 and 8.67-103, IV. Book 9, V. Book 10. However I have formally synchronized this paper with Bodewitz’ discussion.

3 *sasṛvāmsam iva tmānūgnīm itthā tiróhitam / aīnaṃ nayan mātariśvā parāvāto devēbhyo mathitām pári.*

4 *apām upāsthe mahiṣā agrbhñata viśo rājānam úpa tasthur ṛgmīyam / ā dūtó agnīm abharad vivásvato vaiśvānarām mātariśvā parāvātaḥ //*

5 *ṛtāvānaṃ yajniyaṃ vipram ukthyām ā yām dadhé mātariśvā divi kṣāyam / táṃ citráyāmaṃ hārikeśam īmahe sudītīm agnīm suvitāya návyase //*

3.5.9 and 10 do not mention the place from whence Agni is brought: RV 3.5.9 “Being praised, the youngest one has glared up with the fire-wood towards the hight of heaven at the navel of earth. Agni should be invoked as Mitra, Mātariśvan, the messenger, carries the gods for the offering.”⁷ RV 3.5.10 “Agni, [flaming] high with the fire-wood, being the highest of the lights, has propped up the firmament, when Mātariśvan has kindled him, who was hidden for the the Bhrgus as an oblation-carrier.”⁸

3.26.2 and 3.29.11 does not seem to be concerned with the bringing of Agni: RV 3.26.2 “We call him, the bright Agni, for help. [We call] Vaiśvānara, Mātariśvan, who is praiseworthy. [We call] Bṛhaspati for the divine service of human. [We call] the inspired hearer, the guest who runs rapidly.”⁹ RV 3.29.11 “The asuric embryo is called Tanūnapāt. When he is born, he becomes Narāśansa. [He is] Mātariśvan, when he is formed in [his] mother. He became the gust of wind at [his] advance.”¹⁰

Stratum II. The following verses explicitly state that Mātariśvan brings Agni from heaven.

RV 1.93.6 Mātariśvan brought one *from heaven*, the eagle stole the other from the rock. O Agni and Soma, being strengthened by the prayer, you have made a wide world for the sacrifice.¹¹

RV1.143.2 *Being born in the highest heaven, Agni became manifest for Mātariśvan.* When he was kindled by the magical power and might, his flame illuminated Heaven and Earth.¹²

In the following verse, Agni is brought “from afar”:

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- 6 Geldner notes: “*divi kṣāyam* ist unfertiges Bahuvrīhikompositum, vgl. 10.63.5, 8.64.4 und 8.15.9,” and he translates it “da er im Himmel wohnte”.
- 7 *úd u ṣṭutāḥ samīdhā yahvó adyaud várṣman divó ádhi nābhā pṛthivyāḥ / mitró agnir íḍyo mātariśvā dūtó vakṣad yajáthāya devān //*
- 8 *úd astambhūt samīdhā nákam ṛṣvó ‘gnir bhávann uttamó rocanānām / yádī bhṛgubhyaḥ pári mātariśvā gūhā sántaṃ havyavāhaṃ samīdhé //*
- 9 *tāṃ śubhrám agním ávase havāmahe vaiśvānarám mātariśvānam ukthyām / bṛhaspátim mánuṣo devátūtaye vípraṃ śrótāram átitiṃ raghusyádam //*
- 10 *tānūnapād ucyate gárbha āsuró nárāśaṃso bhavati yád vijáyate / mātariśvā yád ámimīta mātari vātasya sárgo abhavat sárīmaṇi //*
- 11 *ányām divó mātariśvā jabhārāmathnūd anyām pári śyenó ádreḥ / ágnīṣomā bráhmanā vāvṛdhānórūṃ yajñāya cakrathur u lokám //*
- 12 *sá jāyamānaḥ paramé vyòmany āvir agnir abhavan mātariśvane / asyá krátvā samīdhānāsya majmánā prā dyāvā sóciḥ pṛthiví arocayat //*

RV 1.128.2 We make the accomplisher of sacrifice intimate with us by the way of the Ṛta with the salutation accompanied with offering, with the divine service accompanied with offering. By the offering of our tonic, he does not become old in the appearance. [We make intimate with us] the god whom Mātariśvan brought *from afar* to Manu, *from afar*.¹³

The following verse mentions “the shaker of mead” (*mādhva ādhavé*):

RV 1.141.3 When the ruling lords liberate him from the depth, from the form of a buffalo with power, when Mātariśvan steals him, who was hidden in *the shaker of mead* since a long time.¹⁴

If “the shaker of mead” denotes the underworld where the subterranean water is, Agni is here also brought from the underworld.

The other verses do not mention the place Agni is brought from: 1.60.1 “Mātariśvan brought for Bhṛgu Agni, who is the famous carrier, the banner of distribution, the mindful messenger, who reaches object immediately, who has twofold birth, who is praised like wealth, as a present,”¹⁵ 1.96.4 “Mātariśvan, who has rich welfare, the procurer of the heavenly light, found the way for the offspring. He is the herdsman of the settlements, the begetter of both worlds. The gods hold Agni, the treasure-impeller,”¹⁶ 1.148.1 “When Mātariśvan churned out the Hotṛ, who has every form, who belongs to all the gods, whom they put down in the human settlements like the sun, who shines forth brightly for wonder,”¹⁷ 1.164.46 “They call [him] Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa [and] Agni. And he is the heavenly bird Garutmat. The inspired ones speak variously about it, which is unique. They call [it] Agni, Yama, [and] Mātariśvan,”¹⁸ 1.190.2 “The speeches regularly strive for him, who were discharged like an emission of those who worship gods, because Bṛhaspati, who quickly extends over the wide

13 *tām yajñasādham āpi vātayāmasy ṛtasya pathā nāmasā haviṣmatā devātātā haviṣmatā / sā na ūrjām upābhṛty ayā kṛpā nā jūryati / yām mātariśvā mánave parāvāto devām bhāḥ parāvātaḥ //*

14 *nīr yād īm budhnān mahiṣasya vārpasa īśānāsaḥ śāvasū krānta sūrāyaḥ / yād īm ānu pradīvo mādhva ādhavé gūhā sāntam mātariśvā mathāyāti //*

15 *vāhniṃ yaśāsam vidāthasya ketūṃ supṛāvyāṃ dūtāṃ sadyóartham / dvijānmūnaṃ rayim iva praśastāṃ rātim bharad bhṛgave mātariśvā //*

16 *sā mātariśvā puruvārapuṣṭir vidād gātūṃ tánayāya svarvīt / viśāṃ gopā janitā ródasyor devā agniṃ dhārayan draviṇodām //*

17 *māthīd yād īm viṣṭó mātariśvā hótāraṃ viśvāpsum viśvādevyam / ní yām dadhūr manuṣyāsu vikṣú svār nā citrām vāpuṣe vibhāvam //* I cannot translate the word *viṣṭā-* here.

18 *īndram mitrāṃ vāruṇam agniṃ āhur ātho divyāḥ sā suparṇó garutmān / ékaṃ sād viprā bahudhā vadanty agniṃ yamām mātariśvānam āhuḥ //*

spaces, became equal to Mātariśvan at the Ṛta,”¹⁹ RV 1.71.4 “When Mātariśvan, [as the fire was] distributed, churned it, and he became white and noble in every house, then Bhṛgavāna followed his duty as a messenger, just like being in attendance on a more powerful king.”²⁰

Stratum III contains two verses:

RV 1.31.3 O Agni, be first manifest for Mātariśvan with the good magical power for Vivasvat. Heaven and Earth trembled at the Hotṛ-selection. You became a match for the burden. You sacrificed to the great, o Vasu.²¹

1.31.3 is parallel to 1.143.2 “Being born in the highest heaven, Agni became manifest for Mātariśvan.” This can also be regarded as the derivation of Agni from heaven. 8.52.2 does not indicate the place: “O Indra, [just as] you were intoxicated with the pressed [Soma] at Pṛṣadra, Medhya, [and] Mātariśvan, just as [you drank] Soma at Daśaśipra, Daśoṇya, Syūmaraśmi [and] Ṛjūnas.”²²

Stratum IV contains one verse: 9.67.31 “The one who learns the Pavamāna-verses by heart eats the essence which was brought together by the Ṛṣis, the all which is purified, which was made sweet by Mātariśvan.”²³ This also does not specify the place.

Stratum V. RV 10.46.9 “[They have put] Agni, whom heaven and earth begot, whom the waters, Tvaṣṭṛ, [and] the Bhṛgus [begot] with power. Mātariśvan [and] the gods have formed the sacrifice-worthy one, who is to be invoked first, for Manu.”²⁴ 10.105.6: “He praised by the lofty power with the lofty ones. The brave one, Mātariśvan, has formed [the club] with power just as Ṛbhu [forms it] with the magical power.”²⁵ 10.85.47: “Let all the gods and waters melt the heart of us two together. Let Mātariśvan, the creator and

19 *tām ṛtvīyā ūpa vācaḥ sacante sārgo nā yó devayatām ásarji / bṛhaspátīḥ sá hy āñjo várāṃsi víbhuvābhavat sám ṛté mātariśvā //*

20 *māthīd yád īṃ víbhṛto mātariśvā grhé-grhe śyetó jényo bhūt / úd īṃ rájñe ná sáhīyase sácū sánn ū dūtyām bhṛgavāṇo vivāya //*

21 *tvám agne prathamó mātariśvana āvir bhava sukratūyā vivásvate / árejetām ródasī hotṛ-vūryé 'saghnor bhūrám áyajo mahó vaso //*

22 *pṛṣadhre médhye mātariśvanīndra suvāné ámandathāḥ / yáthā sómaṃ dáśaśipre dásoṇye syūmaraśmāv ṛjūnāsi //*

23 *yáḥ pāvamānīr adhyéty ṛṣibhiḥ sámabhṛtaṃ rásam / sárvaṃ sá pūtām ásnāti svaditām mātariśvanā.*

24 *dyāvā yám agním pṛthivī jāniṣṭām ápas tváṣṭā bhṛgavo yám sáhobhiḥ / ṛlénym prathamám mātariśvā devās tataḥsur mánave yájatram //*

25 *prástaud ṛṣvaújā ṛṣvébhis tataḥṣa súraḥ sávasū / ṛbhūr ná krátubhir mātariśvā //*

directress, put us together.”²⁶ 10.48.2: “I am Indra, the wall [and] breast-[plate] of the Atharvans. For Trita, I released cows from the Dragon. I took manly power from the Dasyus, directing the cowherds to Dadhyañc [and] Mātariśvan.”²⁷ 10.88.19: “Before the winged one wears the face of Uṣas, o Mātariśvan, the Brahmin puts [him], coming to the sacrifice, sitting down against the Hotṛ.”²⁸ 10.109.1 “They, [namely] the limitless ocean, Mātariśvan, the heat which has strong flame, the terrible, benevolent one, the goddesses waters, the one who was first born with the Ṛta, spoke first about the offence against a Brahmin,”²⁹ and 10.114.1 “The two heats, which are next to each other, have filled the threefold [world]. Mātariśvan has enjoyed them. They, desiring to obtain the heavenly milk, flew. The gods know the song of priase which is accompanied by a melody.”³⁰

In the later Saṃhitās, Mātariśvan is not often mentioned as the carrier of Agni. MS 4.14.15 is the same verse as RV 1.148.1, which we have already seen. RV 1.93.6, in which Mātariśvan is said to bring Agni from heaven, appears also in MS 4.14.18, and KS 4.16.

As the above material shows, both of the motifs “Mātariśvan brings Agni from the underworld” and “Mātariśvan brings Agni from heaven” appear in Stratum I and II. In Stratum III, we see one instance of the motif “Mātariśvan brings Agni from heaven”. We cannot find back these motifs in Strata IV and V. These facts mean: (1) We cannot chronologically differentiate these two motifs. As far as our existing material is concerned, we cannot say that one motif is a later development of the other. (2) Current discussion on the Vedic concept of “life after death” makes it clear that the other alternations indicated by Kuiper are observed in the latest layers of the Rgveda.³¹ In contrast, the alternation of the place from whence Mātariśvan brings Agni can be observed in the first three layers. Therefore Mātariśvan should be treated separately from the alternation of

26 *sam añjantu viśve devāḥ sām āpo hṛdayāni nau / sām mātariśvā sam dhātā sām u deṣṭrī dadhātu nau //*

27 *ahām indro ródho vākṣo átharvaṇas tritáya gā ajanayam áher ádhi / ahām dásyubhyaḥ pári nṛmṇám ā dade gotrá śíkṣan dadhīcé mātariśvane //*

28 *yāvanmātrām uṣāso ná prátikaṃ suparṇyò vásate mātariśvaḥ / távad dadhāty úpa yajñám āyán brāhmaṇó hótur ávaro niśīdan //*

29 *tē ‘vadan prathamā brahmakilbiṣe ‘kūpāraḥ saliló mātariśvā / vilūharās tāpa ugró mayo-bhūr āpo devīḥ prathamajā ṛtēna //*

30 *gharmā sāmantā trivṛtaṃ vy āpatas táyor jūṣṭim mātariśvā jagāma / divás páyo dídhīṣāṇā aveṣan vidūr devāḥ sahásāmānam arkām //*

31 See Bodewitz 1994 and Butzenberger 1996.

the Pitṛs, Yama, and Varuṇa. (3) These motifs become much less important in the newer strata.

2. Conceptual Scheme

Let us approach our motifs from a different angle. In which context are these motifs related?

It is conspicuous that the motif “Mātariśvan brings Agni from heaven” is related in the context of Agni’s birth in heaven and the establishment of Agni as the sacrificial fire on earth:

RV 1.143.1 I present a powerful new hymn, a hymn of the speech to Agni, the son of strength, the dear son of water who sat down with the Vasus on earth as a pleasant Hotṛ, the regular one.³²

RV 1.143.2 *Being born in the highest heaven, Agni became manifest for Mātariśvan.* When he was kindled by the magical power and might, his flame illuminated Heaven and Earth.

RV 1.143.3 The glaring, ageless rays of Agni, who has beautiful appearance, who has a beautiful face, who shines beautifully, who has the power of the light, trembles without sleeping, without aging, just like rivers at night^{33,34}

RV 1.143.4 Send forth with songs in [your] own house Agni, the all-knowing, *whom Bhṛguś have put down on the navel of the earth* with the power of the world, who, as a unique one, rules over wealth like Varuṇa^{35,36}

32 *prā tāvyasīm nāvyaśīm dhītīm agnāye vācō matīm sāhasaḥ sūnāve bhare / apām nāpād yō vāsubhiḥ sahā priyō hōtā pṛthivyāṁ ny āśīdad ṛtvīyaḥ //*

33 *āty aktūr*: Oldenberg and Geldner take it as adnominal. This seems more natural than the interpretation by Grassmann, who takes it as adverbial (see his *Wörterbuch* under *āti*). But *aktūr* is the nominative form. Oldenberg conjectures *āty aktūmr* > *āty aktūr*. Geldner thinks that it is a haplology of *āty aktūm aktūr* “die Nacht über gleich dem Farbenspiel”. Renou notes: “peut-être un ancien *aktūn nā sindhavaḥ* a-t-il été remplacé par *aktūh* sous l’influence du type *sindhur nā kṣōdaḥ*” (EVP 12, p.105), and translates “par delà (les nuits) comme la surface-ointe”. There are no decisive grounds to adopt one of these.

34 *asyā tveṣṭā ajārā asyā bhūnāvaḥ susaṁdṛśaḥ supratīkasya sudyūtaḥ / bhātvakṣaso āty aktūr nā sindhavo ‘gné rejante āsanto ajārāḥ //*

35 *yām eriré bhṛgavo viśvāvedasaṁ nābhā pṛthivyā bhūvanasya majmānā / agnīm tāṁ gīrbhīr hinuhi svā ā dāme yā ēko vāsvo vāruṇo nā rājati //*

1.143.2 and 4ab refer to the events in the past. In these verses, Agni's birth, Mātariśvan's deed, and the Bhṛgu's establishment of the sacrificial fire can be interpreted as sequential events. RV 3.2 gives another instance:

- RV 3.2.10 The human tonics made the seer of the settlements, the chief of the settlements, sharp like an axe. He goes upwards and downwards, while working. He puts the embryo in these beings.³⁷
- RV 3.2.11 The procreating seed bull incites himself into the conspicuous wombs, while roaring like a lion. Vaiśvānara, who has a wide surface, the immortal one, who distributes the treasure and wealth for a pious one.³⁸
- RV 3.2.12 Vaiśvānara has ascended heaven as in the ancient time. Being honoured by singers, he [ascends] the top of heaven. Producing the wealth for people as before, the watchful one goes round the same course.³⁹
- RV 3.2.13 *Mātariśvan put the regular, sacrifice-worthy, inspired, praiseworthy one, who dwelt in heaven. We beg Agni, who has a conspicuous way, who has golden hair, who shines well, for a new good advance.*

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- 36 The rest of the hymn: RV 1.143.5 *ná yó várāya marútām iva svanáḥ séneva sṛṣṭhā divyā yāthāśāniḥ / agnir jāmbhais tigitair atti bhārvati yodhó ná śātrūnt sá vānā ny ṛñjate //* “Agni, who cannot be braked just like the noise of Maruts, like a discharged army, like the heavenly lightning, eats and devours with sharp teeth. He overpowers woods just as a warrior [overpowers] enemies,” RV 1.143.6 *kuvín no agnir ucáthasya vír ásad vásuḥ kuvíd vásubhiḥ kāmam āvárat / codāḥ kuvít tutujyāt sātāye dhíyaḥ śúcipratikam tám ayā dhiyā grṇe //* “I wonder whether Agni is eager for the verse of us, whether the good one fulfils [our] desire with good ones, whether the impeller would urge our hymns for the booty. I praise with this hymn the one who has shining face.” RV 1.143.7 *ghṛtápratikam va ṛtāsyā dhūrśadam agnim mitráṃ ná samidhāná ṛñjate / índhāno akró vidátheṣu dídyac chukrávarṇām úd u no yaṃsate dhíyam //* “The kindling one launches your Agni, whose face is Ghṛta, who sits on the shaft of the Ṛta, like a friend. Let the kindled race-horse, shining at the distributions, raise our bright-coloured hymn.” RV 1.143.8 *áprayuchann áprayuchadbhir agne śívēbhir naḥ pāyúbhiḥ pāhi śagmaiḥ / ádabdhebhīr áḍṛpitebhīr iṣṭé ‘nimiśadbhiḥ pári pāhi no jāḥ //* “O Agni, protect us, being attentive, with the attentive, friendly, powerful protectors. O Iṣṭi, protect our offsprings with the undeceivable, uncheatable, vigilant [protectors].”
- 37 *viśám kavim viśpátim mánuṣīr iṣaḥ sám sīm akrṇvan svádhitim ná téjase / sá udváto niváto yāti véviṣat sá gárbbham eṣú bhúvaneṣu díddharat //*
- 38 *sá jinvate jaṭhāreṣu prajajñivān vṛṣā citreṣu nānadan ná simhāḥ / vaiśvānarāḥ pṛthupājā ámartyo vásu rátnā dáyamāno ví dāsúṣe //*
- 39 *vaiśvānarāḥ pratnáthā nákam áruhad divás pṛṣṭhām bhándamānaḥ sumánmabhiḥ / sá pūrvaváj janāyañ jantāve dhānam samānám ájnam páry eti jāgrviḥ //*

This passage was discussed in Hayakawa (2001:305-306) as an instance of “Agni’s birth in heaven” = Heaven’s ejaculation. In 3.2.10-12, Agni Vaiśvānara releases the sperm. The sperm is infused into “these beings” (3.2.11) or “the conspicuous wombs” (3.2.11), which seems to be the plant from which the churning sticks are taken.⁴⁰ 3.2.13ab can be interpreted as the establishment of the sacrificial fire.

As discussed in Hayakawa (2001:301-302), RV 1.31 contrasts Agni’s birth on earth with Agni’s birth in heaven:

RV 1.31.3 O Agni, be first manifest for Mātariśvan with the good magical power for Vivasvat. *Heaven and Earth* trembled at the Hotṛ-selection. You became a match for the burden. You sacrificed to the great, o Vasu.

RV 1.31.4 O Agni, you caused Heaven to roar for a man. For the benevolent Purūravas, a more benevolent one [caused Heaven to roar]. When you are released at the *parents* with the power, they lead you around forward and again backward.⁴¹

In 1.31.4, Agni is born from the parents = the churning sticks, through the movement “forward and again backward”. As already mentioned above, 3ab is parallel to 1.143.2, which explicitly relates Agni’s birth in heaven. “Heaven and Earth” in 1.31.3 corresponds to the “parents” in 1.31.4, and implies the churning out of Agni through the union of Heaven and Earth.⁴²

The above Rigvedic passages associate Agni’s birth in heaven with the establishment of the sacrificial fire. Mātariśvan appears as a figure who combines these two elements.

As to the other motif, RV 3.9 gives a comprehensive picture of it:

RV 3.9.4 After he has escaped the faults and many droughts, the attentive, undeceivable ones have found him, *who abided in the waters* just like a lion.⁴³

RV 3.9.5 *Mātariśvan led Agni, who has, so to say, run away by himself, who was hidden thus, who was kindled, from afar for the gods.*

40 See Hayakawa 2001, section “Agni’s Birth in the Highest Heaven”.

41 *tvām agne mánave dyām avāśayaḥ purūrāvase sukṛte sukṛttaraḥ / śvātrēṇa yāt pitrór mūcyase páry á tvā pūrvam anayann āparam pūnaḥ //*

42 See Hayakawa 2001, section “Agni’s Birth in the Highest Heaven”.

43 *īyivāṃsam áti sridhaḥ śásvatīr áti saścātaḥ / ánv īm avindan nicirāso adrúho apsú simhám iva śrítam //*

- RV 3.9.6 The mortals seized you, o oblation-carrier for the gods, so that you watch all the sacrifices, o humanly one, with your magical power, o the youngest one.⁴⁴
- RV 3.9.9 The three thousand and three hundred thirty nine gods honoured Agni. They sprinkled Ghṛta and scattered Barhis for him. And then they put him down as the Hotṛ.⁴⁵

Agni is found abiding “in the waters” in 3.9.4, and Mātariśvan brings him “from afar” = the underworld. Obviously, these two places are identical. As was discussed in Hayakawa (2001:313ff), the underworld is associated with “Agni’s birth in the waters” in the Rigveda. In other words, this passage, which relates the derivation of Agni from the underworld, can be interpreted as a variant of “Agni’s birth in the waters”. Agni is received by people in 3.9.6, and his presence at the sacrifices is mentioned. And 3.9.9 states that Agni is put down as the Hotṛ. As far as this hymn is concerned, Agni’s stay in the waters, Mātariśvan’s bringing of Agni, and the establishment of the sacrificial fire, are three successive events. And Mātariśvan’s deed can be interpreted as combining “Agni’s birth in the waters” and “establishment of the sacrificial fire on earth”.

RV 1.128 gives another instance of this motif:

- RV 1.128.1 This one is born in the fire-holder of Manu. The Hotṛ who sacrifices the best [is born] according to the obedience of Uśijes. Agni [is born] according to [his] own obedience. [He is] the one who listens to everything for the one who attends as a friend. [He is] like treasure for the one who seeks for fame. *The undeceivable Hotṛ sits down at the place of libation, being covered at the place of libation.*⁴⁶
- RV 1.128.2 We make the accomplisher of sacrifice intimate with us by the way of the Ṛta with the salutation accompanied with offering, with the divine service accompanied with offering. By the offering of our tonic, he does not become old in the appearance. [We make intimate with us] the god whom Mātariśvan brought from afar to Manu, from afar.
- RV 1.128.3 He surrounds the earth with the speedy [movement] at once. Raising voice suddenly, *the seed bull [puts] sperm while roaring*, putting sperm while roaring.

44 *tām tvā mártū agrbhṇata devébhyo havyavāhana / víśvān yád yajñām abhipási mānuṣa táva krátvā yaviṣṭhya //*

45 *trīṇi śatā trī sahasrāṇy agniṃ trimśac ca devā náva cāsaparyan / aúkṣan ghṛtair āstrṇan barhīr asmā ād id dhótāraṃ ny āsādayanta //*

46 *ayām jāyata mānuṣo dhārīmaṇi hótū yajīṣṭha uśījām ānu vratām agniḥ svām ānu vratām / víśváśruṣṭiḥ sakhīyaté rayīr iva śravasyaté / ādabdho hótū ni śadad ilās padé párivīta ilās padé //*

Seeing with hundred eyes, the god is victorious in the woods. *Putting the seat in the lower summits, Agni, in the higher summits.*⁴⁷

- RV 1.128.4 Agni, the Purohita who has good magical power, gives consideration to the sacrifice and Soma sacrifice at every house. He gives consideration to the sacrifice with the magical power. With magical power, Vedhas for the one who shoots arrows has seen all the creatures, *as soon as the guest, being beautiful with Ghṛta, was born, [namely when] the draught animal, Vedhas, was born.*⁴⁸

1.128.1 “The undeceivable Hotṛ sits down at the place of libation, being covered at the place of libation” implies the establishment of the sacrificial fire. Agni’s birth, which is mentioned in the same verse, can be interpreted as its birth on earth. 1.128.2 “the god whom Mātariśvan brings from a distance to Manu” mentions the derivation of Agni from the underworld. 1.128.3 “the seed bull [puts] sperm while roaring” and “putting the seat in the higher summits” seem to imply Heaven’s ejaculation = Agni’s birth in heaven.⁴⁹ 1.128.4 “when the guest, being beautiful with Ghṛta, was born” is again concerned with Agni’s birth on earth. As is already clear, Agni’s threefold birth is related in this passage. The following passage also mentions two of the Agni’s births:

- RV 6.8.1 Now, I praise the strength and wisdom of Jātavedas, [namely] the strong, reddish bull. For Vaiśvānara the new hymn purifies himself, just like the pure soma which is dear to Agni.⁵⁰
- RV 6.8.2 *Being born in the highest heaven*, Agni, the lord of obedience, protected the obedience. Vaiśvānara, who has good magical power, measured out the Antarikṣa, and touched the vault with greatness.⁵¹
- RV 6.8.3 As the wonderful Mitra, he supported the two worlds apart. He made the darkness in-between splitted with light. He rolled up both Dhiṣaṇās just like hides. Vaiśvānara obtained the whole strength.⁵²

47 *évena sadyāḥ páry eti pāṛthivam muhurgí réto vṛṣabhāḥ kánikradad dádhad rétaḥ káni-kradat / śatám cákṣāṇo akṣābhīr devó váneṣu turváṇiḥ / sádo dádhdāna úpareṣu sūnuṣv agniḥ páreṣu sūnuṣu //*

48 *sá sukrátuḥ puróhito dāme-dame ‘gnīr yajñāsya dhvarāsya cetati krátvā yajñāsya cetati / krátvā vedhá īṣūyaté víśvā jātāni paspaṣe / yáto ghṛtaśrīr átithir ájāyata váhnir vedhá ájāyata //*

49 See Hayakawa 2001, section “Agni’s Birth in the Highest Heaven”.

50 *prkṣāsya vṛṣṇo aruśāsya nú sáhaḥ prá nú vocam vidáthā jātávedasaḥ / vaiśvānarāya matír návyasī súciḥ sóma iva pavate cārur agnáye //*

51 *sá jāyamānaḥ paramé vyòmani vratāny agnīr vratapā arakṣata / vy àntárikṣam amimīta sukrátur vaiśvānaró mahinā nákam asprṣat //*

RV 6.8.4 *In the lap of the waters*, the buffaloes seized [him]. The kinsmen have worshipped the praiseworthy king. The messenger of Vivasvat brought Agni. *Mātariśvan* [brought] *Vaiśvānara* from afar.

“The highest heaven” (6.8.2) and “the lap of the waters” (6.8.4) denote Agni’s birth in heaven and in the waters, respectively.

The above instances of the motifs “Mātariśvan brings Agni from heaven / underworld” show that these motifs are directly connected with “Agni’s birth in heaven/in the waters”. And, as some of the above passages show, these motifs are connected with the establishment of the sacrificial fire. This means that the motifs of Mātariśvan had the function to integrate the threefold birth of Agni into the sacrificial fire. Through the stories of Mātariśvan, the sacrificial fire is identified with the Agnis born in heaven and in the waters.

If we understand the meaning of the motifs “Mātariśvan brings Agni from heaven / the waters” as above, we can explain the reason why there are two different motifs concerning Mātariśvan: inasmuch as there are three births for Agni, the sacrificial fire must be associated with all the three births to guarantee the conceptual completeness and consistency of Agni. Agni’s birth on earth is implicitly associated with the sacrificial fire. The other two births must also be associated with it in some way. The motifs of Mātariśvan must have been created from this need. If we think of it like this, the “alternation” of the place from whence Mātariśvan brings Agni is not a peculiar phenomenon at all, but it is a logical consequence of the concept “Agni’s threefold birth”.

Although Mātariśvan becomes less important in the later Rigvedic period, the conceptual scheme of “Agni’s completeness” remained in the thought of Vedic ritualists, and was implemented in the classical Agnyādheya ritual.⁵³ See Krick (1982:118-188) for the image of the primordial water which is associated with almost each Sambhāra-item, and especially MS 3.2.3 (Krick 1982:119): “Die Wasser sind der Mutterschoß (*yonih*) des Feuers; somit wird das Feuer auf seiner eigenen Geburtsstätte geschichtet.” See also the motif “Agni’s sperm” which appears in connection with Araṇī (Krick 1982:188-203) and the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī (Krick 1982:203-223), and especially MS 1.6.12 (Krick

52 *vy āstabhnād rōdasī mitrō ādbhuto ‘ntarvāvad akṛṇoj jyōtiṣā tāmaḥ / vi cārmaṇīva dhiṣāne avarṭayad vaiśvānarō vīśvam adhatta vṛṣṇyam //*

53 The reason why these motifs became less important is unknown. Possibly the formation of the standard Agnyādheya procedure (i.e. the Sambhāra and the churning out) might have something to do with it. Once the standard procedure was formed, they did not have to create new Mātariśvan hymns, because now the completeness and the consistency of the fire was guaranteed by the ritual procedure.

1982:205), which identifies Agni's sperm with Aśvattha Āroha, which are used as the churning sticks. She further says: "Die himmlische Abstammung des Feuers wird durch das Material der Reibhölzer (Araṇī) sowie die Gesänge, die die Feuerreibung begleiten, garantiert; die Vollkommenheit des Feuerleibes (der 'Gesamtperson Agni') wird dadurch erreicht, daß die einzelnen Teilkörper Agnis bzw. seine ihm eigenen Wohnstätten gesammelt und im Altar vereint werden."⁵⁴ She could have answered Kuiper's question from the viewpoint of the classical ritual. The sacrificial fire in the classical Agnyādheya is established with the material associated with the water, in which Agni was hidden. The fire is churned out with the churning sticks of Aśvattha, which is identified with Agni's sperm. Therefore, the sacrificial fire on earth is the unification of the fires born on earth, in the waters, and in heaven. All of them are necessary for the conceptual completeness and consistency of the sacrificial fire.

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RV	Rigveda Saṃhitā
TS	Taittirīya Saṃhitā

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