

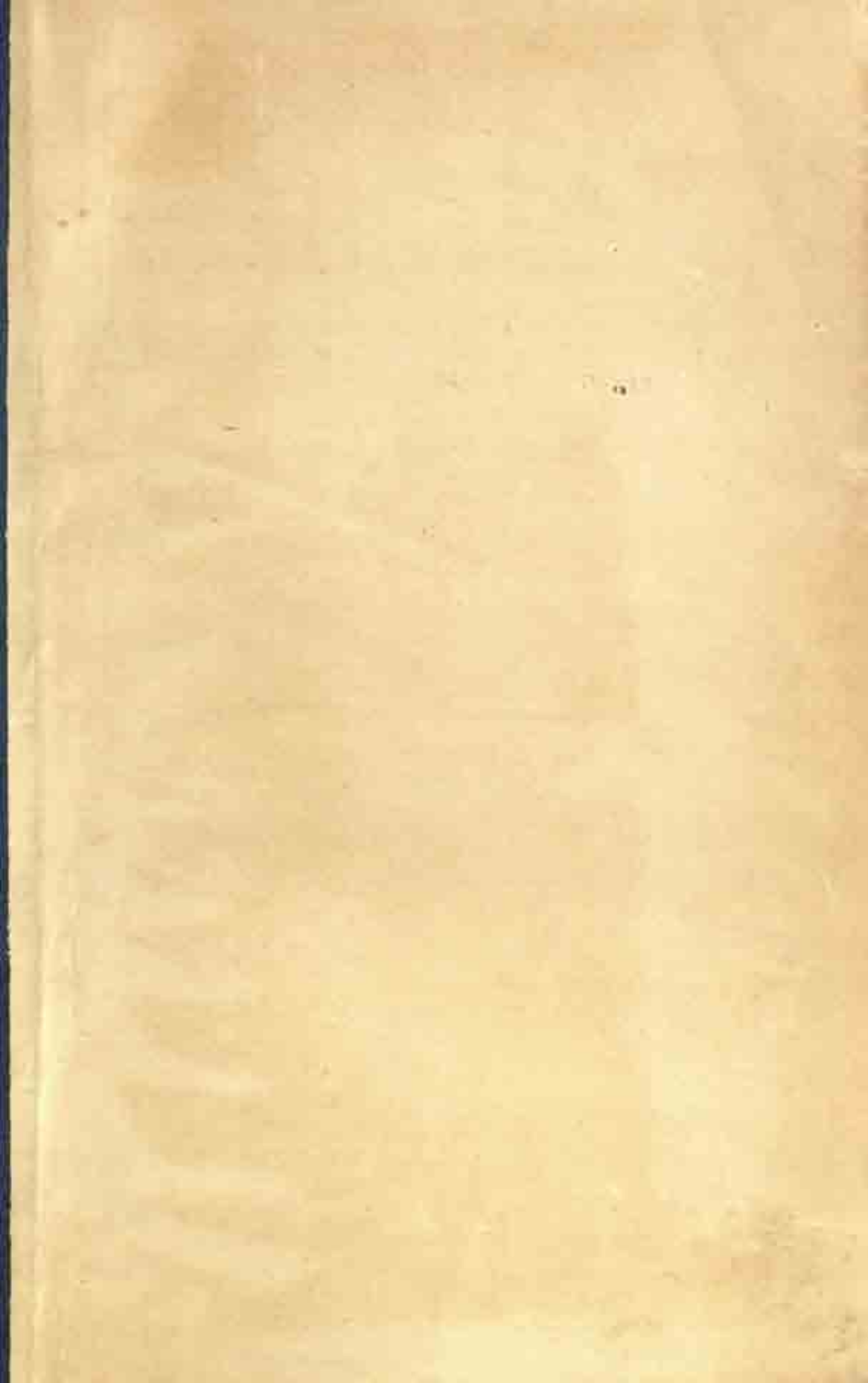
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VEDIC STUDIES

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

Vol. 1

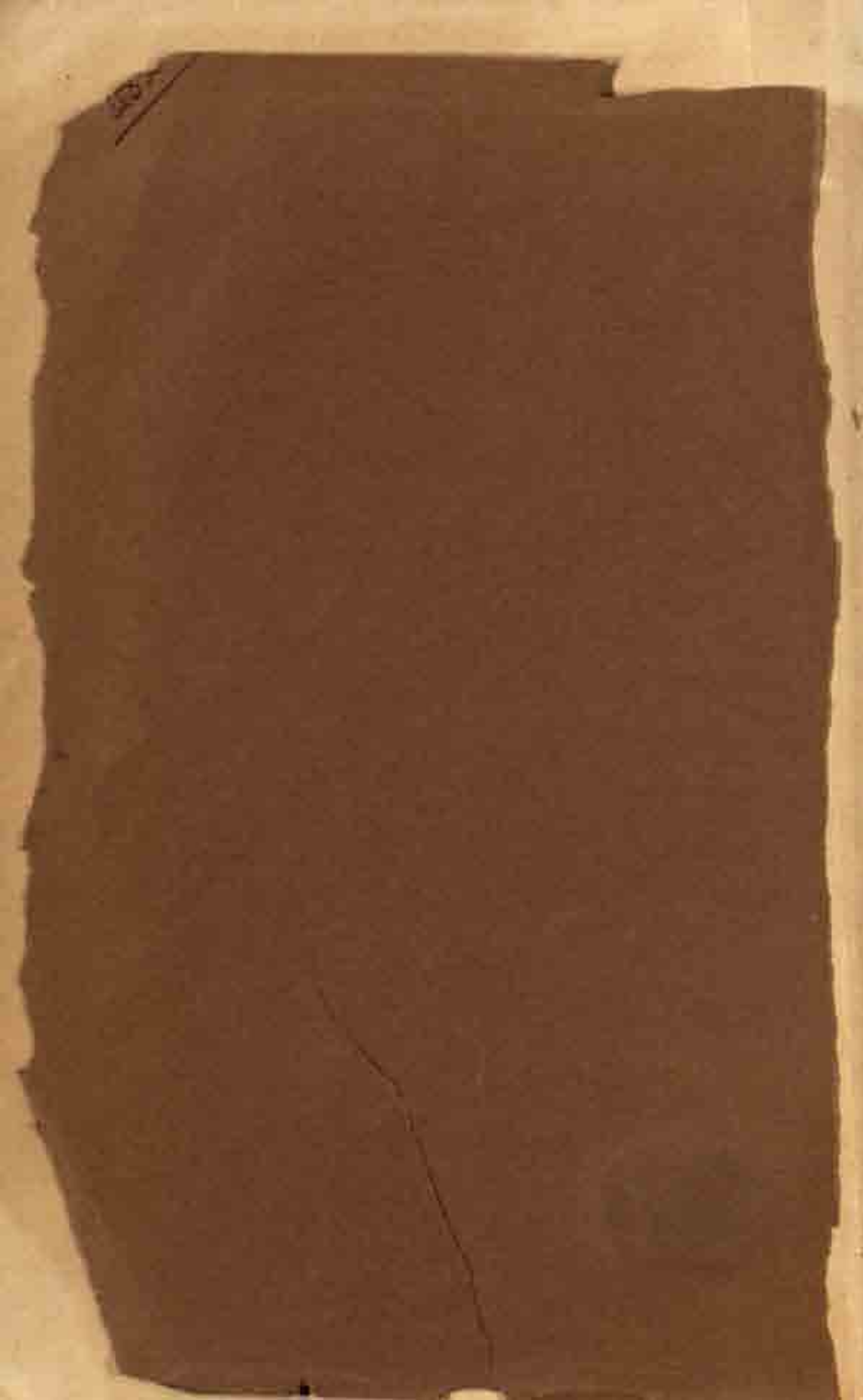
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BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

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Om

*nāmo vācē yā coditā yā cānuditā tāsyaī vācē nāmo
nāmo vācē nāmo vācuspātaye nāma ṛṣibhyo mantrakṛdibhyo
māntrapatibhyo mā mām ṛṣayo mantrakṛto mantrapātayah
pārā dur mā 'hām ṛṣin mantrakṛto mantrapātini pārā
dām ||*

TA. 4.1





~~A. N.~~
~~11467~~

PREFACE

In the years 1926-1929, there were published by me in the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* some articles under the general title of 'Vedic Studies.' As it has been thought that it would be more convenient to students if these articles were collected together and printed in the form of a book, I have done so here with the kind permission of the editors of those journals. Four articles however are new, and slight alterations have been made here and there in some of the others.

Owing to unexpected delays, the printing had to be done at a time when I was unable to read the proofs with the care which such work demands. In consequence, there is a fairly large number of typographical errors in the book; and their number would undoubtedly have been larger had it not been for the kindness of Mr. S. Sitaramayya and some other friends who obligingly took on themselves the task of reading some of the proofs. Such of the errors as I have noticed are corrected in the *Errata* given on the next page: some of them are due to the diacritical marks breaking off in the course of printing, and may not be found in all copies.

As is indicated by the title itself, I am in this book following the path trodden by the eminent German scholars Pischel and Geldner in their *Vedische Studien* which consists of articles devoted to the interpretation of obscure or misunderstood Vedic words. Like them (see op. cit., I, xxx), I have endeavoured to avoid reading un-Indian meanings into the Rgveda, and, as far as possible, to elucidate the meaning of Rgvedic passages by means of other RV passages. I venture to believe that I have adhered to this principle more closely than the above-named scholars; and this, as also the difference of personal outlook, will perhaps explain why my interpretations of some words (e.g. *dān*, *padbhīh*, *admasād*, *nīrekhā*) differ from those given by them.

The abbreviations used to denote Vedic texts are the same as, or very similar to, those used by Bloomfield in his *Vedic Concordance* and explained on pp. xvi—xxii of the Introduction of that book.

Mysore,
March 1932

A. Venkatasubbiah

Errata

Read in 2, 28: *vacyāmāna*; 3, 34: Grassmann;
 9, 26: *śatāṭī*; 15, 26: with; 16, 3: *tanvāḥ*; 16, 11:
dhenūm; 30, 18: *śocīṣā*; 32, 1: *adartī*; 63, 30: *Nālā-*
yanī; 88, 1: *śiṣum*; 103, 31: *evānena havīṣā yakṣi*
devān; 124, 2: *devīḥ*; 131, 27: referred; 139, 25:
dēvyā; 145, 12: *āśāvó*; 149, 12: *sanīśyāvah*; 174, 32:
 (after Śvet. Up. 5, 18): *navadvāre pure dehī haṁso*
leśyate bahīḥ; Brh. Up. 2, 5, 18; 196, 28: Āpastamba;
 211, 4: 8, 15, 8 (instead of 1, 15, 1); 236, 11: *smād-*
disti; 249, 13: *pīḥa*; 272, 23: 3, 12, 1 (instead of
 3, 11, 1).

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VEDIC STUDIES

§ 1

nitya

This is a very familiar word that occurs about thirty-eight times in the RV and very frequently in the other Vedic texts and in later literature. The commentators, Indian as well as European, are at one in interpreting this word as (1) *svīya*, *sahaja*, own, and (2) *dhruva*, lasting, constant, perpetual, uninterrupted, imperishable, eternal, etc. In assuming the second of the above two meanings for this word in the RV, the commentators have been no doubt guided by the circumstance that the word *nitya* has that meaning in later texts. But as a matter of fact, this latter meaning is not appropriate and does not yield good sense in a number of passages—for instance, in 1, 66, 1 : *āyūr nā prāṇo nityo nā sūnūh* and 1, 185, 2 : *nityam nā sūnūm pitrōr upāsthe dyāvā rākṣatam prthivī no ābhvāt* where *nityah sūnūh* is explained by Sāyaṇa as *dhruvah ātmajah*, and by Ludwig as 'ein überlebender Sohn' (1, 66, 1) and 'lebender Sohn'; in 1, 166, 2 : *nityam nā sūnūm mādhu bibhrata ūpa kṛīṇanti kṛīṇa vidūthesu ghṛīṣvayah* where *nityam sūnūm* is translated by Ludwig as 'einen nicht absterbenden Sohn'; in AV. 7, 109 : *kāh pṛṣnīm dhenūm vāruṇena dattām ātharvane sudūghām nityavatsām*, Śāṅkh. GS. 3, 2, 5 : *enām śiśuḥ kraudaty ā kumāra enām dhenuḥ kraudatu nitya-vatsā* and ibid. 3, 2, 8 : *āsyandantam dhenavo nitya-vatsāh* where the expression *nitya-vatsā dhenuḥ* is explained as 'cow with constant calf' by Whitney (*AV. Translation*) and 'unceasingly fertile cow' (SBE. 29, 93) and 'immer fruchtbare Kuh' and 'beständig fruchtbare Kuh' by Oldenberg (*Jud. Stud.* 15, 71); and in 10, 39, 14 : *ny āmrksāma yōṣaṇām nā mārye nityam nā sūnūm tūnayanā dādhanāh* where *nitya* is found as the tertium comparationis in a simile.

The other meaning 'own' is still less appropriate here; and it therefore becomes clear that in these and other similar passages the word *nitya* has a meaning different from the two mentioned above.

What this meaning is, can be found out with the help of 1, 66, 1; 1, 166, 2 and 10, 39, 14, all which verses contain similes with *nitya* as tertium comparationis. In the first of these verses it is said that Agni is *nitya* as a son (*sūnú*); in the second, that honey (*mádhu*) is *nitya* as a son (*sūnú*); and in the third, that a hymn of praise (*stóma*) is *nitya* as a son (*sūnú*). A comparison therefore of the adjectives which these words—*sūnú*, *mádhu*, *stóma* and *agni*—receive in the RV, will show what characteristics are common to the things denoted by them and will thus determine the sense of *nitya*.

Of these words, *sūnú* receives the following adjectives,—*trayayāya*, *priyá*, *mārjya*, *vijāvan*, *śúci*, *suśéva*, *hṛdya* and *nitya*; and *mádhu*, the following.—*ádhiḡartya*, *āśnāpinaddha*, *kāmya*, *gōrjika*, *ghṛtā*, *cāru*, *tridhātu*, *divyā*, *daivya*, *pakvā*, *pāriśikta*, *pūškare* *nīśikta*, *prātibhṛta*, *priyā*, *madirā*, *vāraṇā*, *sāraghā*, *sukṣāya*, *sutā*, *soniyā*, *spārḥā* and *nitya*; while *stóma* has the following adjectives—*ākṣīloti*, *agriyā*, *āntama*, *āntara*, *āpūrva*, *āmanda*, *amṛta*, *uruvyāc*, *ētaśa*, *ēva*, *kāmya*, *krátumān*, *giyāmāna*, *gīr* (?), *dṛśika*, *dyutādyāman*, *dyumnin*, *dhanasā*, *nāmasvān*, *nāvajāta*, *nāvya*, *nūtana*, *purutāma*, *pūtā*, *pūrvyā*, *prēṣṭha*, *mādhumatama*, *madhyamā*, *mānasā* *va-yāmāna*, *mandin*, *mahāt*, *ratnadhātama*, *rudrīya*, (?), *vānivan*, *vājāyan*, *vāhīṣṭha*, *vidūṣā* *ārdhya*, *śāmtama*, *śasyāmāna*, *śukrá*, *śúci*, *śūśā*, *śūṣyā*, *satrajit*, *sādhū*, *sidhrū*, *suvṛktī* (?), *haviṣmān*, *hṛdā* *taṣṭā*, *hṛdispṛk*, and also *nitya*.

It will be seen that the only adjective (besides *nitya*) common to the three words *sūnú*, *mádhu* and *stóma* is *priyā* (in the case of *stóma*, we find instead of *priyā* its superlative form *prēṣṭha*) and the only characteristic that is common to the things denoted by these words is

priyatva. *priyā* is used as an epithet of *agnī* also in 1, 143, 1; 5, 23, 3; and 6, 1, 6, while *Agni*, further, is called *priyānām prēṣṭhaḥ* once and *purupriyāḥ* many times. Thus the only adjective (beside *nitya* whose meaning we are engaged in finding out) and the only characteristic that are common to the above-mentioned four words and the things denoted by them, are *priya* and *priyatva*¹; which makes it probable that *nitya* means *priyā* in the above passages. The probability, in this instance, is converted into certainty by the parallelism of *priyā* and *nitya* in 1, 91, 6c: *priyāstotro vānaspatīḥ* and and 9, 12, 7a: *nityastotro vānaspatīḥ*.

nitya thus means *priya*, dear, pleasing, beloved, favourite. It has this meaning in the following passages:

1, 75, 4: *tām tvā nāro dāma ā nityam iddhām*
āgne śacanta kṣitīṣu dhruvāsu |
ādhi dyumnām nī dadhur bhūry asmin
bhāvā viśvāyur dharūno rayinām ||

"Men have worshipped in their stable dwellings, O *Agni*, thee that art dear and flaming: they have placed much splendour in him. Do thou become the bearer of riches, the vivifier of all." Compare the many passages where *Agni* is called *priyā*, namely, 1, 26, 7; 1, 75, 4; 1, 91, 3; 1, 128, 7-8; 1, 143, 1; 2, 4, 3; 5, 1, 9; 5, 23, 3; 6, 1, 6; 6, 2, 7; 6, 16, 42; 6, 48, 1; 7, 16, 1; 8, 84, 1; and also 6, 15, 6 (*priyām-priyam*): 1, 186, 3 and 8, 84, 1 (*prēṣṭham*) and 8, 103, 10 (*priyānām prēṣṭham*): compare also the passages where he receives the epithet *purupriyā* (see Grassmann, s.v.) and *mandrā* (see *ibid.*, s.v.).

7, 1, 2: *tām agnīm āste vāsavo ny ĩnoan*
supratīcākṣam āvase kṛtāś cit |
dakṣāyyo yō dāma āsa nityaḥ ||

¹ This seems to have been felt by Grassman also who in 1, 66, 1, has translated *nityo nā sūnūḥ* as 'wie eigener Sohn, lieb.' Sāyana too, similarly explains *nityam nā sūnūm* in 1, 166, 2, as *nityam aurasam priyam putram iva*.

"The bright ones, for their protection from everything, set him down in the dwelling, Agni, beautiful to look at, who sat down in the house, dear and capable." The verse occurs in the first hymn of the seventh Maṇḍala whose authorship is ascribed to the Vasiṣṭhas; and as the word *vāsiṣṭha* is the superlative of the word *vāsu*, Śaṅkara is perhaps right in saying that the word *vāsavah* here refers to the Vasiṣṭhas.

3, 25, 5: *āgne apām sām idhryase duroṇé*
nītyah sūno sahaso jātavedah |
sadhūsthāni mahāyamāna ūti ||

"Thou, the glorifier of dwelling-houses with thy protection, the beloved, art kindled in the abode of the waters, O Agni Jātavedas, son of strength."

5, 1, 7: *prā nū tyām āpram adhvareṣu sādhum*
agnim hōtāram īlate nāmobliḥ |
ā yās tatāna rōdasi ṛtēna
nītyam mṛjanti vājīnam ghr̥tēna ||

"They worship him with adorations, Agni, the wise, the hotṛ, the ornament of the sacrifices, who extended the two worlds according to divine ordinance. They adorn (him), the beloved (like a) race-horse, with ghee."

10, 12, 2: *devō devān paribhūṛ ṛtēna*
vāhā no havyām prathamāś cikivān |
dhūmāketuh samīdhā bhārjiko
mandrō hōtā nītyo vācā yājīyān ||

"The god (*sc.* Agni) encompasses the gods; bear thou, (O Agni), our offering (to the gods) according to divine ordinance, thou that art knowing, the first, smoke-bannered and with brightness as thy ornament (when kindled) with fuel, the pleasing beloved hotṛ that worshipping (the gods) better (than human hotṛs) with thy voice." Compare 6, 1, 6: *saparyēnyah sā priyō vikṣv*
agnir hōtā mandrō nī śasādā yājīyān | tām tvā vayām
dāma ā didivāmsam ūpa jñubādho nāmasā sadema and

1, 26, 7: *priyó no astu viśpátir hótā mandró vārenyah* where the expression *priyó mandró hótā* corresponds to *nītyo mandró hótā* in this verse. Compare also 1, 44, 3: *adyā dūtām vṛjūmahe vāsum agnīm purupriyām | dhūmāketum bhārjikaṁ vyūṣṭiṣu yajñānām adhvareśriyam ||*

1, 66, 1: *rayir nā citrā sūro nā saṁdṛg
āyūr nā prāṇo nītyo nā sūnūh ||*

"(Agni), brilliant like wealth, (effulgent) like the sun in appearance, vivifier like the *prāṇa* (the life-breath), dear like a son." Compare 1, 69, 5: *putrā nā jātō ranvō duronē* "pleasing in the house like a son that is born."

3, 15, 2: *tvām no asyā uśāso vyūṣṭau
tvām sūra údite bodhi gopāh |
jānmeva nītyam tānayaṁ juṣasva
stōmam me agne tanvā sujāta ||*

"Become our protector when this dawn dawns and the sun rises; cherish, O Agni well-born of thy own self, this (dear) praise of mine as a father (cherishes) his dear son." I follow Sāyaṇa in understanding *jānman* as father in spite of its being accented on the root-syllable; compare 7, 54, 2: *pitēva putrān prāti no juṣasva* and 10, 22, 3: *pitā putrām iva priyām*. Compare also 5, 42, 2 and 10, 119, 4 *putrām iva priyām*. To *nītyam stōmam* here corresponds *priyām brāhma* in 1, 75, 2; 5, 42, 2; 5, 85, 1; *priyām mānma* in 6, 68, 9; 10, 54, 6; 10, 96, 11; 2, 41, 18; *priyā manīṣā* in 6, 67, 2; *prēsthā matih* in 7, 88, 1; *prēsthā suṣṭuṭih* in 4, 43, 1; *prēsthān nāmaḥ* in 7, 36, 5; and *prēsthah stōmah* in 7, 34, 14; *mandrā gīh* in 7, 18, 3 and *mandrā hṛdāh* in 8, 43, 31.

10, 39, 14: *etām vām stōmam aśvinav akarmā-
takṣāma bhṛgavo nā rātham |
ny āmṛkṣāma yōṣaṇām nā mārye
nītyam nā sūnūm tānayaṁ dādhanāh ||*

"We have made this praise for you, O Aśvins; we have cut them (into shape) as Bhṛguś a chariot,

Holding it (carefully) as (parents do) a dear son, we have polished and embellished it as (one adorns) a woman for a young man."

1, 185, 2: *bhūrim dvē ācaranti cārantam
padāntam gārbham apādi dadhāte |
nītyam nā sūnūm pitrōr upāsthe
dyāvā rākṣatam pṛthivī no ābhvāt ||*

"The two, unmoving and footless, bear much offspring that has feet and moves. Like a dear son in the lap of his parents—protect us, O Heaven and Earth, from the evil being." There is an anacoluthon in the second half-verse; the meaning is, 'O Heaven and Earth, protect us from the evil being and give us shelter as parents shelter a dear son in their lap and ward off from him all harm.' Compare 6, 75, 4: *māteva putrām bibhṛtām upāsthe | āpa sātrūn vidhyatām samvidānē.*

7, 1, 21: *tvām agne suhāvo rayvāsamdyk
sudīti sūno sahaso didihi |
mā tvē sácā tánaye nītya ā dhanē
mā virō asmān náryo ví dāsit ||*

"Thou, O Agni, art easy to invoke and of pleasing appearance; shine with bright gleams, O son of strength. Let not evil befall our dear son (when he is) with thee; may we not want a valorous son."

1, 166, 2 *nītyam nā sūnūm mādhu lābhrata ūpa
kṛīṇanti kṛīṇā vidátheṣu ghṛṣṣvayah |
nákṣanti rudrá āvasā namasvīnam
nā mardhanti svátavaso haviṣkṛtam ||*

"Carrying honey that is dear as a son, the swift terrible (Maruts) bound forward in battles. The sons of Rudra come with protection to the adorer; they, strong of themselves, do not injure him that offers oblations (to them)." The 'honey' (*mādhu*) that the Maruts are here represented as carrying is without doubt the same with which they besprinkle the earth; compare 5, 54, 8:

*pinvanty ūtsam yād ināso āścāran vy āndanti prthivīm
mādhvo āndhasā. madhu receives the epithet priyā in
eight passages; see Grassmann, s. v. priyām (n.); cp.
also kāmyaṁ mādhv in 9, 72, 2. With the first pāda,
nityaṁ nā sūnūṁ mādhv bībhṛata ūpa, compare nityaṁ nā
sūnūṁ tānayaṁ dādhanāḥ in 10, 39, 14 explained above.*

7, 1, 12: *yām aśvī nityam upayāti yajñām
prajāvantaṁ svapatyām kṣāyam naḥ |
svājanmanā śéśasā vāvṛdhānām ||*

This verse is obscure; I understand it as a continuation of the preceding verse¹, 'May we not sit down in the empty dwelling of men: may we not sit round thee without son, without offspring: (may we sit) in houses full of children, O thou that makest houses to prosper' and translate: "(May we sit down in) our dear dwelling with good offspring, with children, which is prospering with issue born of us, which is the seat of sacrifices, and to which (Agni), who has horses, goes." I follow Sāyaṇa in taking *yajñām* as an adjective of *kṣāyam* and meaning *yajñāśraya*. There seems to be no doubt that *yajñā* is an adjective here of *kṣāya*, and that being so, it can be best interpreted here as *yajñāśraya* or *yajanīya*. The words *yajñā* and *kṣāya* occur together again in 1, 132, 3, which, too, is obscure. As regards *aśvī*, Oldenberg's observations (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 4) that it refers to a human and not to a god do not seem to me to be convincing; and I still think that it refers to a god, to wit, Agni. Compare 5, 6, 1 (explained below) which describes Agni as 'the home to which the swift horses go,' that is, as the treasure-house of horses; compare also 5, 6, 2.

8, 31, 5: *yā dāmpatī sāmanasā sunutā ā ca dhāvataḥ |
dēvaso nityayāśirā ||*

¹ *mā śūne agne nī śadāma nṛṇām
māśéśaso 'viratā pāri tvā |
prajāvatiṣu dāryāsu durya .*

"The husband and wife, O gods, who thinking alike, press and wash (Soma and mix) with pleasing admixture." The admixture referred to is that of milk, sour milk (*dadhī*) or barley; compare 9, 101, 8: *sām u priyā anūṣata gāvo mādāya ghṛṣvayaḥ* where the admixture of milk, *gāvah*, receives the epithet *priyā*.

4, 4, 7: *sēd agne astu subhāgaḥ sudānuḥ*
yās tvā nityena haviṣā yā ukthaiḥ |
pīpriṣati svā āyuṣi duronē
viśvād asmai sudīnā sāsad iṣṭiḥ ||

"May he, O Agni, be fortunate and rich who wishes to sacrifice to thee with pleasing oblations and hymns in his house through his life. Let all (days) be fortunate days for him—such is the prayer." The meaning of *sudānu* is not clear: Oldenberg translates it (*SBE.*, 46, p. 331) as 'blessed with good rain,' Grassmann (*Ueber.*) as 'reich an Gut' and Geldner (*Glossar*) as 'reich-beschenkt.' There is no doubt that the two last-mentioned meanings express very nearly what the poet must have had in his mind; and I have therefore, in default of a more accurate knowledge of the meaning of the word, here rendered it as 'rich.' With regard to *nityena haviṣā*, compare *priyām haviḥ* in 10, 86, 12-13, *priyātamaḥ haviḥ* in 9, 34, 5 and *jūṣṭam haviḥ* in 3, 59, 5.

1, 66, 5: *durókaśociḥ krātur nā nityo*
jāyēva yonāv āraṁ viśvasmai ||

"(Agni), of unaccustomed brilliance, dear like the ideal, like a wife in the house, ready for everything."

8, 75, 6: *tāsmā nūnām abhidyave vācā virūpa nityayā |*
vṛṣṇe codasva suṣṭutīm ||

"Send forth now, O Virūpa, a well-made (hymn of) praise with thy dear pleasing voice towards the strong (Agni), the heavenly (?)." Regarding *nityā vāk* here, compare *mandrā vāk* in 8, 100, 11.

9, 12, 7: *nityastotro vānaspātir*
dhinām antāḥ sabardūghaḥ |
hinvāno mānuṣā yugā ||

"(Soma), the lord of the forest, fond of praises, who milks nectar amidst the praise-hymns and stimulates the generations of men." As mentioned above, to *nityastotro vānaspātīḥ* here corresponds *priyāstotro vānaspātīḥ* in 1, 91, 6.

5, 6, 1: *agnīm lāḥ manye yō vāsuv*
āstam yām yānti dhenāvah |
āstam ārvanta āśuvōstam nityāso vājina
iṣam stotṛbhya ā bhara ||

"I praise that Agni who is a Vasu, to whom the milch-cows go home, the swift horses go home, the dear patrons go home: bring food (nourishment) to thy praisers." The word *vājinaḥ* in the fourth pāda which I have translated as 'patrons' denotes the rich men who institute sacrifices, the *yajamānaḥ* as Sāyaṇa has correctly explained and not priests (Grassmann, *RV. Ueber*) or race-horses as Ludwig and Oldenberg (*SBE.*, 46, p. 379) think. This is shown clearly by the following verse, *sō agnir yō vāsuv gṛṇe sām yām āyānti dhenāvah | sām ārvanto raghudrūvah sām sujātāsaḥ sūrāya iṣam stotṛbhya ā bhara* which is parallel to the preceding one and where the fourth pāda mentions explicitly the *sujātāsaḥ sūrāyaḥ*.

1, 71, 1: *ūpa prā jinvann uśatir uśāntam*
pātīm nā nityam jānayaḥ sānīṣāḥ |
svāsāraḥ śyāvīm āruṣīm ajuṣraṇ
citrām ucchāntīm uśāsam nā gāvah ||

"The loving (women) have stimulated (to activity) their lover as wives in the same bed (literally, in the same nest) stimulate (to amorous activity) their dear husband. The sisters have cherished the Dark and the Bright as the cows have cherished the brightly dawning Dawn." The 'loving women,' *uśatīḥ*, denote in all probability, the prayers that are addressed to Agni—

who is referred to here by the word *uśāntam*—and that are supposed to arouse him to activity, so that Agni will bring the gods to the sacrifice, carry offerings to them, etc.; see Bergaigne II, p. 68. The import of the second half-verse is obscure; see however Oldenberg, *SBE.*, 46, p. 75 f. and *RV. Notes* I, p. 73. With regard to *nītyam pātīm* compare *jūṣṭam pātīm* in 9, 97, 22: *ād im āyan vāram ā vāvaśānā jūṣṭam pātīm kalūṣe gāva indum* where I believe, differing from Grassmann (s.v. *vāś*), that the word *vāvaśānāḥ* should be derived from the root *vaś* (to wish, to desire: *vaśa kāntau*) and be interpreted in the same sense as *uśatīḥ* in this passage and in 1, 62, 11. Compare also 1, 62, 11 and the verse that follows here, 1, 140, 7.

1, 140, 7: *sā samstīro viṣṭīrah sām grhāyati*
jānūn evā janatīr nītya ā śaye |
pūnar vardhante āpi yanti devyām
anyād vārpah pitrōḥ kṛvate sūcā ||

"He (sc. Agni) clasps (the plants, etc.) that have been laid together and have been laid out. Being intimate with them that are intimate with him, and being their dear (lover), he lies with them. They grow up again and attain to godhead; they together give another form to their parents (that is, to Heaven and Earth)."

1, 141, 2: *prkṣó vāpuḥ pītumān nītya ā śaye*
dvītiyam ā sapṭāśivāsu mātṛṣu |
trītiyam asya vṛṣabhāśya dohāse
dāśa pramatiḥ janayanta yōsanah ||

"The beloved (Agni), strong, rich in food, rests in the brilliant (sun); secondly, in the seven auspicious mothers; thirdly the ten women (that is, the ten fingers) have engendered him who looks after (us), in order to milk this bull." I have followed here the suggestion of Grassmann and PW. about reading *sapṭā śivāsu* and *dāśa pramatiḥ* in the text though the text as it stands—*sapṭāśivāsu* (seven-fold auspicious) and *dāśapramatiḥ*

(having ten to care for him; cared for by ten)—is not unintelligible. The words *dvītiyam* and *trītiyam* seem to indicate that the first *pāda* refers to the first 'birth' of Agni as the sun that shines in the sky. It is therefore possible to understand *vāpuh*, brilliant, as referring to the bright sky (*dyoh*) and to translate "The beloved Agni, strong, rich in food, entered in the brilliant sky." With reference to the sun being 'rich in food,' compare Chān. Up. 3, 1, 1: *asau vā ādityo devamadhū* and also the first ten *khandas* of that chapter. In the first *pāda*, the author of the *Padapāṭha* has decomposed *nitya ā śaye* into *nityaḥ ā śaye*: and the translation given above follows this view. But the words *dvītiyam ā saptaśivāsu mātṛṣu* that follow seem to indicate that *nitya* too should be regarded as a locative so that the *padaccheda* would be *nitye ā śaye*. The meaning in this case would be: "The brilliant (Agni), strong, rich in food, has entered in his own (place), that is, is in the sky": see Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 92 and the passages referred to therein.

10, 31, 4: *nityaś cākanyāt svāpatir dāmūnā*
yāsmā u devāḥ savitā jajāna |
bhāgo vā gōbhīr aryamēm anajyāt
sō asmai cārūś chadaryad utā syāt ||

"May the friend of the house, lord of his self, the beloved, for whom god Savitr has begotten, be pleased; may Bhaga or Aryaman ornament him with kine (or, anoint him with butter); may he shine beautifully, may he be our shelter."

4, 41, 10: *āśvyasya tmānā rāthyasya puṣṭēr*
nityasya rāyāḥ pātayāḥ syāma |
tā cakrānā ūtibhir nāvyaśibhir
asmatrā rāyo nityūtaḥ sacantām ||

"May we be lords of prosperity in horse-herds and chariots and of beloved wealth. The two, (Indra and Varuṇa) helping us newly with their protection—may

riches come to us (together, like) a team of horses." There is an anacoluthon in the second half-verse where the nominative dual *tā* has no predicate. With respect to *nityasya rāvāḥ*, compare *priyām vāsu* in 4, 8, 3 and 7, 32, 15, etc., *vāmām vāsu* in 6, 19, 5 and *spārhām vāsu* in 2, 23, 9, etc., *spṛhayāyyo rayiḥ* and *purusprīhām rayīm* (see Grassmann, s. v. *spṛhayāyya* and *purusprīh*).

8, 4, 18: *pūrō gāvo yāvasam kacc cid āghnye*
nityam rēkṇo amartya |
asmākaṁ pūṣan avitā śivō bhava
māmhigṣho vājasātaye ||

"O Pūṣan, brilliant, immortal, our dear wealth (namely), our kine, has gone away somewhere, to some meadow; be our gracious helper and most liberal in the winning of the wealth (that is, graciously recover them for us)." The prayer is addressed to Pūṣan, who is the recoverer of lost goods; see Macdonell's *Ved. Mythology*, p. 36. With *nityam rēkṇaḥ* here, compare *priyām rēkṇaḥ* in 10, 132, 3.

7, 1, 17: *tvē agna ūhāvanāni bhūri-*
lānāsa ā juhuyāma nityā |
ubhā kruvānto vahaṭū miyēdhe ||

"We, O Agni, being prosperous, offer to thee many pleasing oblations, bringing (to thee) both kinds of offerings." The meaning of the last pāda is obscure; see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, II, p. 4. Regarding *nityā ūhāvanāni*, compare *nityena havīsa* in 4, 4, 7 explained above.

2, 27, 12: *yō rājābhyā rājanibhyo dadāśa*
yām vardhāyanti puṣṭāyaś ca nityān |
sā revān yāti prathamō rāthena
vasulāvā vidātṛeṣu praśastāḥ ||

"Who offers to the kings, the leaders of *rta* (sc. the *Ādityas*), whom wished-for prosperities cause to thrive, he being rich and the giver of riches goes first in his chariot and is praised in the assemblies."

1, 148, 5: *nā yām ripāvo nā viṣanyāvo
gārbhe sántam resanā resāyanti |
andhā apaśyā nā dabhan abhikhyā
nityāsa im preṭāro arakṣan ||*

"Whom, while in the womb, enemies that want to injure and can injure, do not injure. The blind, not seeing, did not harm; his dear well-wishers protected him with watchfulness." *preṭārah*, which I have rendered as 'well-wishers,' literally means 'lovers, pleasers.' It is preferable to construe *abhikhyā*, literally, with sight, that is, with forethought, with watchfulness, with *arakṣan* rather than with *andhā apaśyā nā dabhan* (as Grassmann in *RV. Ueber*, Ludwig and Oldenberg, *SBE* 46, p. 173 have done); for the translation 'The blind, not seeing, did not injure him with their look' hardly yields good sense. *nityāh preṭārah* means the dear well-wishers of Agni (who is the deity of this verse), that is, the priests who are dear to Agni and to whom Agni is dear. Compare 1, 26, 7: *priyō no astu viśpātir hōtā mandrō vārenyah | priyāh svagnāyo vayām*.

10, 7, 4: *siddhā agne dhīyo asmē sānutrīr
yām trāyase dāma ā nityahotā |
rtāvā sō rohidaśvah puruṣsūr
dyūbhir asmā ālabhir vāmām astu ||*

"Efficacious, O Agni, and winners (of wealth) are the prayers of us¹ whom thou, the dear hotṛ in the house protectest. He, the red-horsed, is holy and has much food: may everything pleasing happen to him (the sacrificer, *yajamāna*) every day." In the light of the foregoing, I have taken *nityahotā* (with accent on *nitya*)

¹Is it possible, however, that there is a word *asme* derived from the radix *a*—meaning this (*idam*)? The correlation of *yat* in this verse and in verse 8, 63, 12 would seem to show that this is the case with the word *asme* in these verses. Likewise, the *asme* in verses 1, 24, 7; 1, 71, 2; 1, 102, 2; 8, 31, 10 and 10, 61, 25 seems to be of this character.

as a *karmadhāraya* compound; it is, however, also possible to regard it as a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning 'he to whom the priest, *hotṛ*, is dear'; compare *priyāh svagnāyo yayām* in 1, 26, 7 cited above; compare also the following passage:

Maitr. Sam. 1, 1, 12: *nityahotāram tvā kave dyumantaḥ sām idhimahi* |

The corresponding passage in the other *Yajus-saṁhitās* reads *vitihotram tvā kave dyumāntam sām idhimahi* | *agne brhāntam adhvare* where *vitihotram* means 'to whom the *hotra*, the office of the *hotṛ*, is dear'; compare Uvāta on VS. 2, 4: *vitih abhiśāṣaḥ hotṛ-karman yasya saḥ vitihotraḥ*. I therefore take *nityahotāram* here as a *bahuvrīhi* and translate: "We, the bright, kindle, O wise one, thee to whom the *hotṛ* is dear." Or is the word *hotṛ* here used in the abstract sense of *hotra* or *hotṛtva*—*bhāva-pradhāno nirdeśaḥ*? If so, *nityahotāram* would be the exact equivalent of *vitihotram*.

Śaṅkh. GS. 3, 2, 5: *enām śiśuḥ krandaty ā kumāra enām dhenuḥ krandatu nitya-vatsā* |

"The child, the young one, cries near it; may the milch-cow to whom the calf is dear, low near it." The milch-cow lowing to her calf is a familiar figure of comparison even in the RV: compare 9, 12, 2: *abhi viprā anūṣata gāvo vatsām nā mātaraḥ* | *īndram* 'the priests call out to Indra as mother-cows low to their calves'; 2, 2, 2: *abhi tvā nāktir uśāso vavāśirēgne vatsām nā svāsareṣu dhenāvah* 'to thee, O Agni, they called out at nights and at dawns as the milch-cows low to their calves in evenings'; 8, 88, 1: *abhi vatsām nā svāsareṣu dhenūva īndram gīrbhīr navāmahe* 'we call out to Indra with our hymns of praise as milch-cows low to their calves in evenings'; 6, 45, 25; 8, 95, 1; etc.

Ibid., 5, 2, 8: *enām śiśuḥ krandaty ā kumāra āsyandantām dhenavo nitya-vatsāḥ* |

"The child, the young one cries to it; may milch-cows to whom the calf is dear, pour forth (milk from their udders) near it." Oldenberg has here interpreted the verb *syandantām* in the sense of 'flocking' (*SBE.*, 29, p. 93); but the reference here is to the return home of milch-cows after grazing in the pastures, eager to rejoin their calves and therefore lowing to them (this idea is expressed in *Sāṅkh. GS.* 3, 2, 5, explained above, by the word *brandatu*), and, as the Indian poets express it, with udders oozing milk; compare *Raghuvamśa*, 1, 84: (*avindyā Nandini nāma dhenur āvavṛte vanā*) *bhuvan koṣṇena kuṇḍodhuz medhyenāvabhṛthād api | prasravenabhivarṣanti vatsālōka-pravartina ||* and *Harsacarita* (*Nirṇayasāgara* edition, p. 80): *divasa-vihṛti-pratyāgatām prasnuta-stanaṁ dhenu-vargam udgata-kṣtram*. Compare also 2, 34, 8: *dhenūr nā śīṣe svāsareṣu pinvale jānāya rātāhaviṣe mahim iṣam* 'they (se. the Maruts) ooze with copious food for every man who has offered them oblations as a milch-cow oozes milk for her calf in evenings'; 10, 75, 4: *abhi tvā sindho śīṣum in nā mātāro vāsrā arṣanti pāyaseva dhenāvah* 'they (the rivers) run towards thee, O Sindhu, as milch-cows, lowing, and with (oozing) milk, run to their calves'; 9, 94, 2: *dhiyaḥ pinvānāḥ svāsare nā gāva pṛayāntir abhi vāvasra indum* 'the hymns of praise, following *pṛta*, lowed to Soma as cows overflowing (with milk) low (to their calves) in the evening'; 9, 68, 1: *āsiṣyadanta gāva ā nā dhenāvah | barhiśādo vacanāvanta udhabhiḥ parisrūtam usṛīya nirṇijam dhire*; and 9, 77, 1: *abhim pṛāṣya sudūghā ghṛtācūto vāsrā arṣanti pāyaseva dhenāvah*; and 10, 31, 11: *prā kṛṣṇāya rūṣud apīvatōdhaḥ*.

AV. 7, 109 (104), 1: *kāḥ pṛṣṇim dhenūṁ vāruṇena dattām ātharvane sudūgham nītyavatsam | bṛhaspātinaḥ sakhyām juṣāṇō yathāvatsām tanvāḥ kalpayāti ||*

"Who, enjoying companionship with Bṛhaspati shall at his will make use of the spotted milch-cow,

well-milking, fond of her calf, given by Varuṇa to Atharvan?" I understand *tanvāh* here as equivalent to *ātmanah* so that *tanvāh kalpayati* means *ātmana upakalpayati*, 'makes ready for one's own use, that is, makes use of.' Whitney translates "Who, enjoying companionship with Bṛhaspati, shall shape its body at his will—the spotted milch-cow, well-milking." etc., which is unintelligible to me.

AV. 9, 4, 21 : *ayām pīṇā indra id*
rayīm dadhātu cetanīm |
ayām dhēnūm sudūghām nītyavatsām
vāsam duhām vipascītām parō divāh ||

"Let this burlly one, a very Indra, bestow conspicuous wealth; let this (one) (bestow) a well-milking cow, fond of (her) calf; let him yield inspired will from beyond the sky."

This closes the list of passages where *nītya* has the meaning *prīya*: it has the meaning *svīya*, *sahaja*, 'own,' in the passages that follow:

RV 7, 4, 7 : *pariśadyam hy āraṇasya rēkvo*
nītyasya rāyāh pātayah syāma |
nā śēṣo agne anyājatam asty
ācētānasya mā pathō vi dukṣah ||

This verse is not quite clear: but I believe that Yāska's interpretation of it (*Nirukta*, 3, 2) and of the verse that follows, is on the whole correct. I therefore translate, following him, "The wealth left by a stranger is to be avoided: may we be lords of our own wealth. There is no (such thing as) offspring that is begot by another. Do not foul the paths for me that am ignorant." As pointed out by Yāska, the 'wealth' mentioned in the first half-verse means 'son': compare *śeṣah* in the second half-verse and in the verses that precede and follow this. The last pāda means, "Do not, hiding the right path, point out a wrong path to me who am already ignorant; do not misguide me by saying that another's son can be *my* son."

8, 56, 2: *dāsa māhyam pautakratāh
sahāsrā dāsyave vṛkah |
nityād rāyo amāhata ||*

"Pautakrata, the Cutter of the Foe, has given me ten thousand from his own wealth."

9, 92, 3: *prā sumedhā gatuvīd viśvādevah
sōmah punānāh sūda eti nityam |
bhūvad viśvesu kāvyesu rātā
nu jānan yatate pāṇca dhirah ||*

"Soma, the wise, the knower of ways, used (?) of all gods, being purified goes to his own seat; he takes pleasure in all praises; the wise one stimulates the five folks."

1, 148, 3: *nitye cin nū yām sādane jagrbhrē
prāstibhir dadhrē yajñīyāṣah |
prā sū nayanta grbhāyanta iṣṭāv
āśvāso nā rathyō rarahāṇāh ||*

"Whom the worshipful (gods) caught hold of in his own place, carried with praises, and holding him and speeding like the horses of a chariot led him in the sacrifice." The reference here is to the original carrying off of Agni from his place in the highest heavens by Mātariśvan, Vivasvat, Bhṛgu, the devas, etc.; compare 10, 46, 9: *dyāvā yām agnīm pythivī jāniṣṭam āpas
tvāstā bhṛgavo yām sāhobhiḥ | iṣṇyam prathamam
mātariśvā devās tātakṣur mānave yājatram* and also Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 71. The word *yajñīyāḥ* refers to the deities above-named.

1, 140, 12: *rāthāya nāvam utā no grhāya
nityāritrām padvātīm rāsy agne |
asmākaṁ virāṇ utā no maghono
jānāṁś ca yā pārāyāc chārma yā ca ||*

"Give us for chariot and for house, O Agni, a ship that has its own oars (that is to say, that is propelled of itself) and (moves on its own) feet, that will carry over

our sons and our patrons and our people, and that is a shelter."

5, 85, 7: *aryamyām varuṇa mitryām vā*
sākhāyam vā sādām id bhrātaram vā |
veśām vā nītyam varunāraṇam vā
yāt sim āgaś cakrma śiśvāthas tāt ||

"Free us from the sin, O Varuṇa, that we have at all times committed against our companion, friend, acquaintance, or brother or our own neighbour or stranger."

7, 88, 6: *yā āpīr nītyo varuṇa priyāḥ sāt*
tvām āgāmsi kṛṇāvat sākha te !
mā ta énasvanto yakṣin bhujema
yaudhī smā vipra stuvaśé vārūtham ||

"He, O Varuṇa, who being thy own dear friend and comrade, has committed evil towards you,—may we not, being sinful feel (thy might), O mighty one. Grant, O thou that art wise, protection (literally, cover) to thy praiser." The *yāḥ* beginning the first half-verse has apparently no antecedent in correlation with it; but there does not seem to be any doubt that in reality it has for antecedent the plural *vayam* that is to be supplied in the third pada; the meaning therefore is: "Though, O Varuṇa, I, being thy own dear friend and comrade, have sinned against thee, do not, O mighty one, make me suffer for it, but graciously become, thou that art wise (and therefore knowest that I am not solely responsible for such sins) the shelter and protector of me that am now praying to you." Compare in this connection the following two verses likewise addressed by Vasiṣṭha to Varuṇa—7, 87, 7: *yō mṛḍyāti cakruśe cid āgaś* 'who (Varuṇa) is beneficent and gracious even to one that has committed sins against him' and 7, 86, 6: *nā sā svō dākṣo varuṇa dhṛūtīḥ sâ sūvâ manyūr vibhīdako ācūtīḥ | āsti jyāyān kāmīyasa upārē svāpnaś canēd ānṛtasya prayotâ* "It is not my own impulse, O Varuṇa; it is

predestination, drink, anger, dice, or ignorance (that has led me to sin); there is the elder close to the younger (who has to bear the responsibility, either for having prompted the sin or for not having prevented its commission); even sleep is the promoter of acts against the Law (*ṛta*)."

3, 53, 24: *imā indra bharatāsya putrā-
apapitvām cikītur nā prapitvām |
hinvānty āśvam āraṇam nā nityam
jyāvājam pārī nayanty ājān ||*

This verse is the last of a quartet of verses known as *vasiṣṭhadveṣinyah* as they have been written, it is said, in disparagement of the Vasiṣṭhas. It is clear that the verse speaks of the stupidity of the Bharatas; but, for the rest, its exact sense has not yet been made out: see Oldenberg, *RI. Noten* I, p. 256. I translate tentatively as follows: "These sons of Bharata, O Indra, know neither the time for resting nor that for going. They ride their own horse as if it were another's; in battle, they carry round ceremoniously the (bow) strengthened with bow-string." "Riding their own horse as if it were another's" means, not so much 'so ungeschickt und dem Tier ungewohnt wie ein fremder Jockey' (Geldner in *Ved. St.* 2, p. 160, n. 5) as 'using the horse unsparingly as if it were another's; not taking proper care of the horse'; for, it is natural on the part of the owner of the horse to use it carefully and not to beat it cruelly or make it strain its powers and go beyond its strength, while it is as natural for one who is not the owner to pay no attention to the horse or its capacity but to make it go as fast as it can be made by blows and other similar means to go. Compare the saying current in the Kannaḍa country, *bittī kudure āvarike tabbe*, 'another's horse, and a rod cut from the āvarike (*cassia auriculata*, Lin.; a shrub that is found almost everywhere; the rods cut from it are regarded as unusually tough) shrub

(to beat it with so as to make it go faster)' and the English proverb 'Set a beggar on horseback and he will ride it to death'. In the fourth pāda, the European interpreters have understood the word *jyātvāja* as referring to a horse and meaning 'strong (swift) as bow-string. This may perhaps be looked upon as an ordinary figure of speech in European languages in which things or persons are commonly described as being as tough or as strong as 'whipcord' or 'wire', as being 'wiry', etc.; but, I do not know of any instance in Indian literature where the horse is described to be as strong (or as swift) as bow-string. The idea in fact is, I believe, quite unknown and wholly foreign not only to Sanskrit literature but to other Indian literatures as well. I believe therefore that Sāyaṇa is right in regarding the word as an epithet of *dhanus* understood here. The verb *pari-ñi* does not mean simply 'to lead round; to carry round' a thing or person but to do so ceremoniously (hence, *pari-ñi* means also 'to marry' as in the ceremony the bride is led by hand thrice ceremoniously round the fire). The sense therefore of the fourth pāda is 'These stupid Bharatas, instead of using a bow, that is strung and ready for use, in battle to shoot arrows with, carry it ceremoniously in procession'! Compare the first pāda of the preceding verse, *nā śāyakasya cikite janāsaḥ* 'an arrow was not thought of, O men (by these Bharatas when they brought the strung bow to the battle-field).'

This closes the list of passages in the RV in which the word *nitya* occurs. It will have been noticed that I have interpreted this word either as (1) *svīya*, *sahaja*, 'own' or as (2) *priya*, 'dear' and that such interpretation has everywhere yielded good sense. It is however true that the meaning (3) *dhrūva* also (which the word *nitya* has in the Brāhmaṇas and in later literature) is not inappropriate in some of the above passages, for instance, in 4, 4, 7; 4, 41, 10; 9, 12, 7; 1, 73, 4 and 7, 1, 2; but I have felt it unnecessary to

adopt that meaning for the RV inasmuch as it is quite necessary to make use of the first two meanings in the RV and these two meanings are enough to explain all the passages (in the RV) in which the word *nitya* occurs. The assumption of the third meaning *dhr̥uva* also for the RV would, in these circumstances, mean a needless multiplication of meanings.

As regards the first two meanings, too, it must be observed that in some passages it is difficult to choose between the two as either will do equally well in them. Thus, for instance, one can also interpret *nityam kṣāyam nah* in 7, 1, 12 as 'our own house', *nityena haviṣā* in 4, 4, 7 as 'by (his) own oblation', *nityayā vācā* in 8, 75, 6 as 'with (thy) own voice', *nityād rāyāḥ* in 5, 8, 2 as 'from (his) desirable wealth' and *nityam śadaḥ* in 9, 92, 3 as 'beloved seat'. In such passages, I have preferred one of them to the other and chosen what seemed to me, considering the context, to be the better of the two meanings. I believe, however, that the poet must have had both meanings in his mind when he 'wrote' such passages, and that the more correct course to follow would be to make use of both of them together in the explanation—a course that is occasionally followed by Indian commentators.³

I can not say how the (third) meaning *dhr̥uva* came to attach itself to the word *nitya*⁴; but it is easy to

³I cite here some instances of this kind from Śāyana's *Uḍabhāṣya*. *pūriṣam*=*udakam*, 5, 55, 5; *pūriṣāt*=*pārakāl maṇḍalāt*, 10, 27, 21; *pūriṣāt*=*sarvakāmānām pārakāl udakāt*, 1, 163, 1; (Ved. St. 1, p. vi); *ātkah*=*vyāptah*, 8, 41, 7; *ātkam*=*rapam*, 1, 122, 2; *ātkam*=*vyāptarūpam*, 10, 123, 7; (*Ibid.* 2, p. 193); *īriṇam*=*āsarapṛodeṣam*, 1, 186, 9; *īriṇam*=*nistṛṇam tatākadeṣam*, 8, 4, 3; *īriṇam*=*nistṛṇam āsarasthānam Śatap. Br.*, 7, 2, 68; (*Ibid.* 2, p. 223); *drapsām*=*drutagāminam*, 8, 96, 14; *drapsāḥ*=*rasāḥ* 10, 17, 13; *drapsāḥ*=*drutagāmino rasāḥ*, 9, 106, 8; *arvāt*=*vistṛtāt*, 4, 12, 5; *arvāḥ*=*badabānalah*, 3, 30, 19; *arva*=*vistṛtāgne*, *TS.* 5, 10, 6 (*Ibid.* 2, p. 269).

understand how the (second) meaning *priya* has developed from that of *sviya*, *sahaja*. What is one's 'own', is, in this world, generally, 'dear' to one, which explains how *nitya* originally meaning *sviya*, *sahaja* came to have the secondary meaning *priya* also.

It is remarkable that the converse also is true: what is 'dear' to one will generally be acquired and made one's 'own' or at least, will be the object of endeavours to acquire and make one's 'own'. Hence it has also come about that the word *priya* itself which primarily means 'dear, pleasing, agreeable,' etc., has the secondary meaning 'own'.

The number of passages in the Vedas where *priya* has the sense 'own' is indeed considerable; but, so far, in two or three passages only have the Vedic interpreters recognised that *priya*=own. One such passage is 1, 82, 2: *ākṣaṇṇ āmimadanta hy āva priyā adhūṣata*

⁴It is however of interest to note in this connection the analogy of the words *rata* and *nirata*. Both these words signify 'fond of, taking pleasure in' primarily, but they have also the secondary meaning 'engaged in; always or incessantly engaged in'. *tapo-rata* or *tapo-nirata* thus means 'fond of tapas, taking pleasure in performing tapas' and also 'engaged in tapas, always or incessantly engaged in performing tapas'; similarly *dharma-nirata*, *dhyāna-nirata*, *yajñādhyana-nirata* mean 'fond of dharma, of dhyāna, of yajña and adhyayana' and also 'unceasingly or always engaged in the practice of dharma, of dhyāna, of sacrifice and study.' These words are thus synonyms of *tapo-nitya*, *dharma-nitya*, *dhyāna-nitya* and *yajñādhyayana-nitya* which too have the above two meanings.

It seems to me therefore that, as in the case of *rata* and *nirata*, so in the case of *nitya* also, the meaning 'always, unceasing' is a secondary meaning derived from that of 'dear'. One to whom the practice of *tapas* or the performance of sacrifice is pleasing will naturally endeavour to devote as much time as possible to such pleasing work; and hence the development of the secondary meaning 'always, unceasingly' from that of 'dear'.

Max Müller, in SBE. 32, p. 215, gives another explanation of how *nitya* came to signify 'always, unceasingly'; this explanation however seems to me to be unsatisfactory.

where Sāyaṇa explains *priyāḥ* as *svakīyās tanūḥ avadhūṣata akampayan*; Ludwig, too, translates *priyāḥ* here as 'sich' while Grassmann (*RV. Ueber.*) and Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, I, p. 83) adhere to the meaning 'dear'. Another passage is 1, 114, 7: *mā naḥ priyās tanvō rudra ririṣaḥ* (with which should be compared the parallel passage from AV. 11, 2, 29: *svām tanvām rudra mā ririṣo naḥ*) where Sāyaṇa adheres to the meaning 'dear', but which has been correctly explained by Bergaigne (III, 152) as 'nos propres corps', by Ludwig as 'unsere eigenen leiber' and by Max Müller (*SBE.* 32, p. 423) as 'our own bodies'. Max Müller has also (*op. cit.*, p. 425) added the following note: "Priya, dear, used like Gk. philos, in the sense of our own. See Bergaigne III, 152". With these exceptions,⁵ the word *priya* is everywhere explained as 'dear', 'agreeable', 'pleasant,' etc., by the exegetists, though, as said above, in a considerable number of passages, the word *priya* is used, not in that sense at all, but in that of 'own'. This is specially the case in the passages which contain compounds with *priya* as a component word:

8, 27, 19: *yād adyā sūrya udyatī*
priyakṣatrā ṛtām dadhā |
yān nimrūci prabūdhi viśvavedaso
yād vā madhyāmdine divāḥ ||

"Whether you uphold ṛta, O ye that are independent, when the sun rises to-day, or when he goes down, or at midday or at daybreak (literally, at the time of awaking from sleep), O ye that possess all wealth." The hymn in which this verse occurs is addressed to the *Viśve*

⁵ Further, Oldenberg has suggested (*SBE.*, 46, p. 62) that *priyā* may have the sense 'own', in 1, 67, 6. Not only in 1, 67, 6 but in 3, 5, 5; 3, 7, 7 and 4, 5, 8 does *priyā* in my opinion, mean 'own.' The sense of these passages, however, is obscure and I have therefore been unable to include them in those that follow, where *priyā* = 'own'.

devāḥ or All-Gods to whom therefore the vocatives *priyakṣatrāḥ* and *viśvavedasaḥ* refer. *priyakṣatrāḥ* here does not mean 'whose rule is agreeable (freundlich herrschend; PW, Grassmann, Ludwig)'; but *priya* here = own, *sva*, and *priyakṣatrāḥ* = *svakṣatrāḥ*, 'ruling themselves, independent'. Compare 5, 48, 1: *kūd u priyāya dhāmnē manāmahe svākṣatrāya svāyaśase mahē vayām* which is likewise addressed to the *Viśve devāḥ* who are here called *svākṣatrāḥ*; compare also 1, 165, 5 where the Maruts are described as *svākṣatrāḥ*. *priyakṣatra* is thus a synonym of *svākṣatra*, *svarāj*, *svāpati*.

8, 71, 2: *naḥ manyūḥ paūruṣeya īše hī vaḥ priyajāta |
tvām id asi kṣāpāvan ||*

"The anger of man, O (Agni) born of thyself, has no power over you; thou indeed art the ruler of the earth." *priyajāta* here does not mean 'als freund geborener' (Ludwig) or 'erwünscht geboren' (Grassmann), but is equivalent to *svajāta*, 'born of his own self', an epithet that is frequently applied to Agni; compare *agne tanvā sujāta* in 3, 15, 2; compare also the epithet *tanūnapāt*, 'son of self' used of Agni.

10, 150, 3: *tvām u jātavedasaḥ viśvāvaram grṇe dhiyā |
agne devān ā vaha naḥ priyāvratān
mr̥ṣikāya priyāvratān ||*

"I praise thee, Jātavedas, that hast all desirable things, with hymn. Bring to us, O Agni, the gods, whose are the ordinances—for grace, (those) whose are the ordinances." *priyāvratān* = *svavratān*, those whose are the ordinances; that is, either (1) those who follow their own ordinances (cp. 3, 7, 7: *devā devānām ānu hī vratā gūḥ* 'the gods followed the ordinances of the gods') and not those of others; that is to say, those who are independent, sovereign; or what comes to the same thing, (2) those from whom come the divine ordinances which are followed in the universe; compare

1, 164, 50: *yajñēna yajñām ayajanta devās tāni dhārmāṇi prathamāny āsau*; 3, 56, 1: *nā iā minanti māyino nā dhīrā vratā devānām prathamā dhruvāni*; 1, 36, 5: *tvé iśvā sūmṣatāni vratā dhruvā yāni devā ākṛvata*, and the expression *daivyaṇi vratāni* (see Grassmann, s.v. *vrata*).

1, 140, 1: *vediśāde priyādhāmāya sudyūte
dhāsim iva prābharā yonim agnāye |
vāstreveva vāsaya mānmanā śucim
jyotīrathan śukrāvaruṇam tamohānam ||*

"Offer, like food, a place for Agni, who sits on the altar, whose are the laws and who shines well. Adorn with the hymn, as if with an ornament, (Agni), the bright, the destroyer of darkness, the brilliant-coloured, who has a chariot of splendour": *priyādhāmāya* = *svādhāmne* = *svavratāya* in either of the meanings given above. Compare 3, 21, 2 where Agni is addressed as *svādharmān* 'following his own laws'; regarding the second sense, compare the epithet *vratapāh* (see Grassmann, s. v.) that is applied to Agni; compare also 7, 6, 2: *agnér vratāni pūrvyā mahāni*; 2, 8, 3: *yāsyā (sc. agner) vratāni nā miyate*; 1, 69, 7: *nōkiṣ ta (agneḥ) etā vratā minanti*; and 6, 7, 5: *vaśvānara tāva tāni vratāni mahāny agne nōkir ā dadharṣa*. In the second pāda the word *iva* has really the force of *ca* and *dhāsim iva yonim prabhara* means *dhāsim yonim ca prabhara*.

There can be no doubt that the word *priyādhāman* has this same meaning in AV. 17, 1, 10 also: *tvām na indrotibhiḥ śivābhiḥ śāntamo bhava | ārōhamḥ tridivām divo grnūnāḥ sōmapitaye priyādhāmā svastāye . . .*
"Do thou, O Indra, be most beneficent to us with propitious aids—(thou) ascending to the triple heaven of the heaven, praised (that is, invoked) for drinking the Soma and for well-being, sovereign . . ."

TS. 1, 3, 8, 1: *rēvatīr yajñāpatim priyadhā viśata* |
The Maitr. Saṁ. (1, 2, 15: p. 25, l. 7) and the Kāth. Saṁ. (3, 6; p. 25, l. 13) read *revatī predhā yajñāpatim*

āviśa, while the Vāj. Sam. (6, 11) reads *rēvati yājamāne priyām dhā āviśa*. It seems clear therefore that *priya* has become shortened to *pre* in *predhā* and that the *amusvāra* in *priyamidhā* is an intruder.* The word itself is formed from *priya* with the suffix *dhā* (see Whitney's *Grammar*, § 1104). *priyadhā* here is equivalent to *svadhā*, and I translate: "O ye that have riches, enter into the sacrificer according to your wont". The commentator Bhattabhāskara takes *rēvatiḥ* as an epithet of *paścavaya-vāk* while Uvāta and Mahidhara interpret *revati* as referring to *vāk*.

priya, uncompounded, has the meaning *sva*, 'own', in the following passages:—

- 1, 114, 7: *mā no mahāntam utā mā no arbhakām
mā na ūkṣantam utā mā na ukṣitām |
mā no vadhiḥ pitāraṁ mōtā mātāraṁ
priyā mā naś tanvō rudra ririṣaḥ ||*

"Do not injure our great or our small ones, our growing or our grown ones, our father or our mother, or our own selves, O Rudra".

- 1, 154, 5: *tāt asya priyām abhī pātho aśyām
nāro yātra devayāvo mādanti |
nrukramāsyā sā hi bāndhur itthā
viṣṇoḥ padē paramē mādhta ūtsaḥ ||*

"May I attain the abode, where pious people rejoice, of him whose steps are broad. He is thus our relation; there is a spring of honey in the supreme abode of Viṣṇu". *priyām pāthah* here has the same meaning as

*The accent on *-dhā* in the Vāj. Sam. causes difficulties; and Uvāta and Mahidhara hence regard *priyāmdhā* (*ā viśa*) as two words, *priyām* and *dhāh* (= *dhehi*). But the Padapāṭha of the Maitr. Sam., too, (see Schröder's footnote 8 on p. 25) has *predhāh | priyāmdhā iti priyam—dhāh*; and there is thus no doubt that *priyāmdhā* (not *-dhāh*; the author of the Padapāṭha is wrong in reading *-dhāh*) is one word and that it is accented on the last syllable.

priyam dhāma in the passages given below; it means the own abode of Viṣṇu, *viṣṇoḥ paramām padām* as the fourth pāda expresses it, the Viṣṇuloka of later times.

1, 162, 2 : *yān nirñijā rēkṇasā prāvṛtasyā
rātīm gybhītām mukhatō nūyanti |
sūprān ajō mēmyad viśvārūpa
indrāpūṣṇōḥ priyām āpy eti pāthah ||*

"When they lead (it) in front of the offering covered with wealth and jewels (that is, of the sacrificial horse), the goat of all forms, bleating, goes directly forward to the own abode of Indra and Pūṣan".

10, 15, 5 : *ūpahūtāḥ pītārah somyāso
barhiṣyēṣu nidhīṣu priyēṣu |
tā ā gamantu tā ihā śruvantu
ādhi bruvantu tē'vantu asmāu ||*

"The Soma-deserving fathers are called (to appear and seat themselves) in their own seats on the barhis. May they come here, hear us, speak assuringly to us and protect us." This verse, as also the two preceding verses are addressed to the *barhiṣadaḥ pītārah*, the 'pitṛs that sit on the barhis'; hence the prayer to them to take their own seats on the barhis.

9, 55, 2 : *indo yāthā tāva stāvo yāthā te jātām āndhasaḥ |
nī barhiṣi priyē sadah ||*

"O Indu, according to the praise addressed to thee (that is, the prayer) and to what has happened to thy juice, seat thyself on thy own barhis (that is, on thy own seat on the barhis)".

8, 13, 24 : *tām tmahe puruṣtutām
yathām pratnābhīr ūtibhīh |
nī barhiṣi priyē sadad ādha dvitā ||*

"We pray to him who is often-praised, who is active with protection extending from old time; may he seat himself on his own seat on the barhis".

- 1, 85, 7: *tē'vardhanta svátavaso mahitvanā
nākaṁ tasthūr urú cakrire sūdaḥ |
viṣṇur yād dhāvat vṛṣaṇaṁ madacyūtaṁ
vāyo nā sudann ādhi barhiṣi priyē ||*

"They that are naturally mighty grew with their might; they went to heaven and made a large seat. When Viṣṇu ran to the strong, intoxicating (Soma), they seated themselves in their own barhis like birds (in their nests)."

- 1, 189, 4: *pāhī no agne pāyūbhir ājasrair
utā priyē sūdana ā śuśukvān |
mā te bhayāṁ jaritāraṁ yaviṣṭha
nūnām vidan mā parām sahasvaḥ ||*

"O Agni, do thou, shining in thy own abode, protect us with unwearied protections; O thou that art strong, the youngest, may not (thy) praiser suffer from any fear of thee or from any other fear." The expression *priyē sūdana ā śuśukvān* here corresponds exactly to *didivāmsam svē dāme*, 2, 2, 11; *didivim (vārdhamānam) svē dāme*, 1, 1, 8; *gopā rtāsya didihī svē dāme*, 3, 10, 2; *svā ā yās tūbhyaṁ dāma ā vibhātī*, 1, 71, 6; *yō didāya sāmiddhaḥ svē duroṇē*, 7, 12, 1; and *didyan mārtyeṣv ā | svē ksāye śucivrata* in 10, 118, 1.

- 10, 13, 4: *devēbhyaḥ kām avṛṇita mṛtyūn
prajāyai kām amṛtaṁ nāvṛṇita |
bṛhaspātīm yajñām akṛṇvata ṛṣīm
priyām yamās tanvām prārirecit ||*

"He held back death from the gods; he did not hold back immortality from men; he made Bṛhaspati the sacrifice and the ṛṣi; Yama let our own body (or self) remain".

- 9, 73, 2: *samyāk samyāñco mahiṣā aheṣata
sīndhor ūrmāḥ ādhi venā avivipan |
mādhora dhārābhir janāyanio arkām īt
priyām indrasya tanvām avivṛdhan ||*

"The beautiful strong ones have moved well forward; the loving ones have moved in the wave of the sea; with the streams of mead producing a song, they have made Indra's own body grow."

10, 132, 5: *asmin sv êtác chûkapûta éno
hitê mitrê nigatân hanti vîrân |
avôr vâ yâd dhât tanûşv
âvah priyâsu yajñîyâsv ârvâ ||*

"Śakapûta kills the brave men that have committed this sin in respect of this well-disposed Mitra when the courser placed his strength in the own worshipful bodies of these two (sc. of Mitra and Varuṇa)". The meaning of this verse is not clear and widely-divergent explanations are given of it by Sāyaṇa and Ludwig. It is difficult to say who is denoted by the term *arvā* (courser) in pāda d and if the word *śakapûta* is really a proper name.

2, 20, 6: *sâ ha śrutâ indro nâma devâ
ûrdhvo bhuvan mânuşe dasmâtamah |
âva priyâm arśasânâsya sâhvân
chîro bharad dâsâsya scadhâvân ||*

"He, the god known by the name of Indra, of most wonderful might, raised himself aloft high over man; he, the mighty conqueror, brought down the own head of the evil-doing dâsa."

8, 12, 32: *yâd asya dhâmani priyê samicînâso âşvaran |
nâbhâ yajñâsya dolânâ prâdhvarê ||*

"When the united ones (priests?) made a sound (song?) in his own abode, in the navel of the sacrifice, by milking in the sacrifice."

6, 67, 9: *prâ yâd vâm mitrâvaruṇâ spûrdhân
priyâ dhâma yuvâdhîtâ minânti |
nâ yê devâsa ôhasâ nâ mûrtâ
âyajñasâco âpyo nâ putrâh ||*

"When they, O Mitra and Varuṇa, become jealous of you and violate the own ordinances laid down by you—they, who are by repute no gods and no mortals, who, like the sons of Api, are no performers of sacrifice." The second half-verse is not clear; in the first half-verse, the expression *priyā dhāma yuvādhītā* 'the own ordinances laid down by you,' is equivalent to 'your own ordinances; the ordinances laid down by you in person'.

3, 55, 10 : *viṣṇur gopāḥ paramām pāti pāthah
priyā-dhāmāny amṛtā dūdhānah |
agniḥ tā viśvā bhūvanāni veda
mahād devānām asuratvām ekam ||*

"Viṣṇu, the protector, rules over the supreme realm, supporting his own immortal abodes; Agni knows all those worlds. The asura-hood (might?) of the gods is alone great."

4, 5, 4 : *prā tān agnir babhasat tigmājambhāḥ
tāpiṣṭhena śociṣā yāḥ surādhaḥ |
prā yē minānti vārunasya dhāma
priyā mitrāsya cētato dhruvāni ||*

"May Agni, who has sharp jaws and who makes good gifts, eat up with his hottest flames those who violate the own immutable ordinances of Varuṇa and of Mitra who observes (or, who knows)."

1, 87, 6 : *śriyāse kām bhānūbhiḥ sām mimikṣire
tē raśmibhis tā kvabhiḥ sukhādāyah |
tē vāśimanta iṣmīṇo ābhīravo
vidrē priyāsya mārutasya dhāmanah ||*

"For their glory, they (*sc.* the Maruts) united themselves with bright reins and brilliant (ornaments); they, with beautiful khadis and axes, impetuous, fearless, knew of their own Marut troop". The meaning of the fourth pāda is not clear as the word *dhāma* used in it is ambiguous.

9, 12, 8 : *abhi priyā divās padā sōmo hinwānō arṣati |*
vāprasya dhārāyā kavīḥ ||

"The wise Soma being impelled flows swiftly with (his) stream (and with the hymn of praise) of the priest to his own places in heaven".

9, 38, 6 : *eṣā syā pitāye suto hāvīr arṣati dharmasīḥ |*
krāndan yōnim abhi priyām ||

"This strong, yellow (Soma), that is expressed for being drunk, rushes crying to his own place."

4, 45, 3 : *mādhvaḥ pibatām madhupēbhir āsābhir*
utā priyām mādhune yuñjāthām rātham |
ā vartanīm mādhunā jinvathaḥ pathō
dētīm vahethe mādhumantām āsvinā ||

"Drink, O ye Aśvins, of mead with your mead-drinking mouths; yoke your own chariot for the purpose of (drinking) mead; you stimulate with mead the course of the path; you carry a leather-bag of mead".

6, 51, 1 : *ūd u tyāc cākṣur māhi mitrāyor ān*
ēti priyām vāruṇayor ādabdhām |
ṛtāsya śuci darśatām ānikām
rukṃō nā divā ūditā vy ādyant ||

"This great own eye of Mitra and Varuṇa, which cannot be deceived, arises; the pure and beautiful face of ṛta has blazed forth in rising like a brilliant jewel in the sky".

4, 52, 7 : *ā dyām tanoṣi raśmibhir*
āntarikṣam urū priyām |
uśaḥ śukrēṇa śociṣā ||

"Thou extendest the heaven with thy rays and also thy own broad sky with thy radiant effulgence, O Uśas". The sky, *antarikṣa*, is called "Uśas' own" probably because Uśas is an *antarikṣa-sthāniya-devatā* and the *antarikṣa* thus belongs to her.

1, 124, 4 : *ūpo aharṣi sundhyūvo nā vākṣo*
nodhā ivāvīr akṛta priyāni |
admasāu nā sasatō bodhāyanti
śaśvattamāgāt pūnar cyūṣinām ||

"The breast (that is, the upper body) of Uṣas has come to view like that of a resplendent (young) woman; she has made manifest her own (greatness) like *nodhas*; waking the sleepers like the hotṛ, she has come again, the most frequent comer of those that come again". After *priyāni*, own, I supply the word *mahimnaḥ* following 7, 75, 1 : *vy ūṣā āvo divijā rtēnāviṣkrutānā mahimānam āgāt*. The same word, or, if a neuter noun be deemed necessary, the word *mahitvam* or *mahitvanam*, it seems to me, should be supplied also in 4, 4, 5 : *āviṣ kṛṇuṣva daivyāny agne (daivyāni=daivyāni mahitvāni; daivyāni vīryāni; Sāyaṇa supplies tejāmsi)* and 2, 23, 14 : *āviṣ tāt kṛṣva yād āsat ta ukṛthyām (yat=yat mahitvam; yad vīryam; Sāyaṇa has yad vīryam)*, *nodhas* still remains an obscure word and its meaning is unknown.

priya means 'own' in the following passages also : TS. 5, 1, 5, 2 : *chāndānsi khālu vā agnēḥ priyā tanūḥ | priyāyaivainam tanūvā pāridadlāti* "the *chandāmsi*, indeed, are the own body (self) of Agni; he covers him with his own body (self)"; *ibid.*, 5, 1, 6, 2 : *ṣā vā agnēḥ priyā tanūr yād ajā priyāyaivainam tanūvā sāṁsṛjati* "this namely, the she-goat, is verily the own body (self) of Agni; he unites him with his own body (self)"; *ibid.*, 5, 7, 3, 4 : *ṣā khālu vā agnēḥ priyā tanūr yād vaiśvānarāḥ | priyāyam evainam tanūvām prātiṣṭhāpayati* "this, namely, Vaiśvānara, is verily Agni's own body; he establishes him in his own body" (compare *vaiśvānara iti vā agnēḥ priyam dhāma* "Vaiśvānara is Agni's own body" in Tāṇḍya Br. 14, 2, 3; and Ait. Br. 3, 8, 6-7); TS. 5, 3, 10, 3 : *etād vā agnēḥ priyām dhāma yād ghytām priyēyaivainam dhāmuā sāmardhayati* "this namely, ghee, is verily the own form of Agni; he makes him thrive with his own

form"; KS. 20, 1: *agner vā eṣā vaiśvānarasya priyā tanūr yat śikatāḥ* "this, namely, sand, is verily the own body of Agni"; *ibid.*, 21, 3: *priyayaivatinam tanvā samardhayati* "he makes him thrive with his own body (form)".

Likewise, it means 'own' in VS. 2, 17: *agnēḥ priyām pātho 'pītam* "Go to the own abode of Agni"; in VS. 8, 50: *agneḥ, indrasya, viśveṣāṃ devānām, priyam pātho 'pīhi* "Go to the own abode of Agni, Indra, Viśvedevas" (compare *svam pātho apītha* 'go to your own abode' in ĀŚS. 1, 11, 8); and AV. 2, 34, 2: *pramuñcānto bhūvanasya réto gātūm dhatta yājamānāya devāḥ | upākṛtaṃ śaśamānam yād āsthāt priyām devānām āpy etu pāthah* "Do ye, releasing the seed of being, show the way to the sacrificer, O gods; what, brought hither and immolated, stood up, living, let it go to the own abode of the gods (compare TS. 3, 1, 4, 3: *upākṛtaṃ śaśamānām yād āsthāḥ jīvām devānām āpy etu pāthah* and TS. 5, 1, 11, 4: *āśvo ghytēna tmānyā sāmakta ūpa devān ṛtuśāḥ pātha etu*). And similarly *priya* means 'own' in TS. 1, 5, 3, 2-3: *saptā te agne samidhaḥ saptā jihvāḥ saptā śṣayaḥ saptā dhāma priyāṇi* and in *ibid.*, 1, 5, 4, 4: *saptā sapta vai sapta dhāgnēḥ priyās tanuvāḥ*.

In the same way there can be no doubt that *priya* generally means 'own' in the expression *priyam dhāma* which occurs fairly frequently in the Yajus-samhitās and Brāhmaṇas and is interpreted by Böhtlingk and Roth (s.v. *dhāma*) as 'gewohnte Heimath, Lieblingsstätte, Lieblingssache, Liebhaberei, Lieblings-name, -preise, -person' and by Geldner (*Glossar*, s.v. *dhāma*) as 'das liebe Wesen, die liebe Persönlichkeit, Lieblingsname, die liebe Person,' etc.; thus:

Kauṣ. Up. 3, 1: *pratardano ha daivodāśir indrasya priyam dhāmapajagāma yuddhena pauruṣeṇa ca | tam hendra uvāca pratardana varam te dadāniti* ||

"Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, went to Indra's own abode by means of battle and valour. Indra said to him,

'Pratardana, I grant thee a boon.' " *Indrasya priyam dhāma* here does not mean 'Freundschaft, Gunst, Liebe' of Indra (as Geldner would have it) or 'gewöhnliche Heimath' of Indra (PW), but 'Indra's own abode', the domain that he rules over and that is known as Indraloka or *svarga* in later literature which Pratardana won through his valour in battle (see Macdonell in *Vedic Index*, s.v. *Pratardana*). The allusion here is to the well-known belief of the Indian writers that those who die in battle fighting valiantly go to heaven; compare Manu, 7, 89: *āhaveṣu mitho 'nyonyam jighāmsanto mahīkṣitah | yudhyamānāḥ param śaktyā svargam yānti aparāṇmukhāḥ*, and Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, 10, 3 (p. 365): *vedeṣv apy anuśrūyate—samāpta-dakṣiṇānām yajñānām avabhertheṣu sā te gatiḥ yā śūrāṇām iti yān yajñasaṅghais tapasā ca viprāḥ svargaiṣiṇaḥ pātracayaś ca yānti | kṣaṇena tān apy apiyānti śūrāḥ prāṇān suyuddheṣu parityajantaḥ*.

Ait. Br. 6, 20, 9-10: *etena vai vasiṣṭha indrasya priyam dhāmopāgacchat | sa paramam lokam ajayat | upendrasya priyam dhāma* (Aufrecht's edition reads *lokam* here which is incorrect) *gacchat | jayati paramam lokam ya evam veda ||*

"By means of this (*sūkta*; hymn of praise), verily, Vasiṣṭha attained the own abode of Indra, he won the highest world; he who knows this goes to Indra's own abode, wins the highest world."

And similarly, in *ibid.*, 5, 2, 5: *etena vai grtsamada indrasya priyam dhāmopāgacchat*; 5, 2, 12: *gayah plāto viśveṣām devānām priyam dhāmopāgacchat*; 1, 21, 6: *etābhir kāśvinoh kakṣivān priyam dhāmopāgacchat*; TS. 5, 2, 1, 6: *etena vai vatsaprīr bhālandanō 'gneḥ priyam dhāmāvārundaha*; *ibid.* 5, 2, 3, 4: *etena vai viśvāmitro 'gneḥ priyam dhāmāvārundha*; and in *ibid.*, 5, 3, 11, 3: *agnēḥ priyam dhāma, ṛtūnām priyam dhāma*, I take *priya* in the sense of 'own' and *dhāma* in the sense of 'abode.' With regard to the latter word, the meaning of

'Persönlichkeit, Wesen, Form', suggested by Geldner is however not unsuitable in these passages which can be translated as "By means of this (hymn of praise) Gr̥tsamada attained verily the own-personality of Indra", etc.; for, in similar passages in later literature that describe the virtue of hymns of praise (*stotra*) or of mantras, we read not only that the author of the hymn of praise and the others that made use of the *stotra* or mantra in question (compare *upa aguch, indrasya, priyam dhāma gacchati ya evam veda* in the above passages) attain the world of the particular deity (*sāyujyam gacchati, salokatām āpnoti*) that is addressed by the *stotra* or mantra but also that they become such deity itself (*sarūpatām āpnoti*). Compare for instance, Lalitāsahasra-nāmastotra (Nirṇaya-sāgara ed., v. 289 ff.): *pratimāsaṁ paurṇamāsyām ebhīr nāmasahasrakaiḥ | rātran yaś cakra-rājasthām arcayet paradevatām || sa eva lalitārūpas tad rūpā lalitā svayam | na tayoṛ vidyate bhedo bhedakṛt pāpakṛt bhavet ||*; Avyaktopaniṣat, Kh. 7: *ya imāṁ vidyām adhīte dehānte tamasaḥ param dhāma prāpnuyāt | yatra virāt nṛsiṃho'vabhāsate tatsvarūpa-dhyānaparā munaya ākalpānte tasminn eva tyante*; Tripurātāpini Upaniṣat, 4: *om namaś śivāyeti yājuṣamantropāsako rudratvaṁ prāpnoti*; and Rāmarahasyopaniṣat, Ch. 5: *rāmamantrānām kṛtapuraścaraṇo rāmacandro bhavati*.

priya means 'own' in the other passages too given in PW. Thus, VS. 1, 31: *dhāma nāmāsi priyam devānām* "Thou art the gods' own form and name"; *ibid.*, 2, 6: *priyeṇa dhāmnā priyam sāda āsida* "Sit in thy own seat in thy own form"; *priyā dhāmāni* and *priyā pāthāmāni* in VS. 21, 46 ff. mean 'own abodes, own domains'; Śata. Br. 3, 4, 2, 5: *te devā juṣṭās tanūḥ priyāni dhāmāni sārddham samavadadire* "The gods took together portions from their own selves, from their own powers"; *ibid.*, 10, 1, 3, 11: *etad dhāsyā priyam dhāma yad yaviṣṭha iti* "This is indeed his own name, that of 'youngest'"; and *ibid.*, 2, 3, 4, 24: *āhutayo vā asya priyam dhāma* "The

oblations are indeed the own essence of him"; *priyenai-vainam dhāmnā samardhayati, saṁsparśayati, pratyeti*, etc.) "With his own body (or form, or nature, etc.) he makes him thrive (covers him, etc.)."

The word *svā*, which, like *nitya*, primarily means 'own,' seems likewise to be used in the sense of *priya* in some passages. Instances of such usage are:

2, 5, 7: *svāḥ svāya dhāyase*
kṛṇutām rtvīg rtvījam |
stōman yajñām cād āram
vanēmā rarimā vayām ||

"May the beloved (Agni), the priest, for the sake of dear food, make ready the (human) priest; may he then control the praise and sacrifice; we have offered (oblations)". The sense of this verse is obscure and 1, 31, 13 where the words *dhāyase*, *vanōṣi* and *mantram* occur, scarcely helps here. But *sva* seems to mean 'dear, beloved' here; compare the passages given above where Agni is called 'dear'. Regarding *svam dhāyah* compare 10, 112, 4: *priyēbhir yāhi priyām ānum āccha* and note the repetition of the word *priya* here similar to that of *sva* in the above verse. Compare also 1, 58, 2: *ā svām ādma yuvāmāno ajārah . . atasēṣu liṣṭhati* where too perhaps *sva* means 'dear'.

3, 31, 21: *ādediṣṭa vṛtrahā gōpatir gā*
antāḥ kṛṣṇān aruṣair dhāmabhir gāt |
prā sūnṛtā diśāmāna rtēna
dūraś ca vāśvā avṛṇod āpa svāḥ ||

"The destroyer of Vṛtra, the lord of cows, has given cows; with his bright troops he penetrated into the dark ones. Bestowing riches rightly, he has opened all the dear doors." To interpret the last pāda as 'he has opened all his own doors' hardly yields any sense; I therefore take *svāḥ* here as equivalent to *priyāḥ*. Compare 1, 142, 6: *pāvakāsaḥ puruṣpīho dvāro devir asaścātah*; 7, 17, 2: *utā dvāra nṣatir vi śrayantām* and

10, 70, 5: *vī śrayadhvam uśatīr dvārāḥ* where the doors are called 'much-beloved, dear'. The 'dear' doors are, evidently, those that give access to the chamber or other receptacle that contains wealth (compare, *rāyo durāḥ* in 1, 68, 10: *vī rāya aurnod dūrah purukṣūḥ*); and the epithet 'dear' seems to be transferred to the doors from the wealth which as we know is often described in the RV. as being 'dear'; compare 4, 41, 10 given above and the passages cited in connection therewith.

10, 120, 8: *imā brāhma brhāddivo vivakt-
īndrāya śūśām agriyāḥ svarṣāḥ |
mahō gotrāsya kṣayati svarājo
dūraś ca vīśvā aurnod āpa svāḥ ||*

"These mighty hymns Brhaddiva speaks out for Indra. He, the foremost, the winner of light, is the lord of the mighty and independent stone; he has opened all the dear doors". By the 'mighty and independent stone' is here meant the Vajra or thunderbolt of Indra with which he opens the doors of the receptacle containing riches and which is elsewhere called *adri*, *parvata* and *aśman*: compare 4, 22, 1: *yō (sc. indrah) āśmānam śāvasā bibhrad ēti*; 6, 22, 6: *manojuvā svatacaḥ pārvataena | ācyutā cid viṣitā svojo rujāḥ*; and 1, 51, 3: *saśēna cid vimadāyāvaho vāsv ājāv ādriṁ vāvasānāsya nartāyan*. The epithet *svarāj*, 'independent,' indicates perhaps that the Vajra is irresistible and overcomes all.

8, 70, 11: *anyāvratam āmānuṣam
āyajvānam ādevayum |
āva svāḥ sākḥā dudhuvīta pārvataḥ
sughuāya dāsyum pārvataḥ ||*

"May the dear friend Parvata shake off him who follows another's ordinance, who is not human, who does not sacrifice, who is impious; and may Parvata (shake off) the Dasyu for swift death (?)".

3, 31, 10: *saṁpāśyamānā amadann abhi svām
pāyah prasnāsyā rētasō dūghānāḥ |
vī rōdasi atapad ghōṣa aśām
jātē niṣṭhām ādadhur gōṣu virāu ||*

"Seeing and milking the milk of the old one's semen, they (the Aṅgirasas) gladdened the dear (Indra). Their shout warmed the two worlds; they placed him the foremost in what is born (that is, in the creation); they placed heroes amidst the kine (or, in the kine)". I understand this verse as referring to the winning of the sun which also is one of the exploits of Indra in association with the Aṅgirasas; see Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 61 and 143. The 'old one,' *pratna*, is Dyaus or Heaven and his 'seed,' *retah*, is the sun; compare 8, 6, 30: *ād it prasnāsyā rētasō jyōtiṣ paśyanti vāsarām*; 1, 100, 3: *divō nā yāsya rētasō dūghānāḥ*; 5, 17, 3: *divō nā yāsya rētasā brhāt chōcanti arcāyah*; and 10, 37, 1: *divās putrāya sūryāya śamsata*. The second pāda therefore means, 'making the sun appear'. In the first pāda, the word *svam* has been interpreted by Geldner (*Kommentar*, p. 51), following Sayana, as *svakiyaṁ godhanam* and the verb *abhi amadan* in the sense of 'rejoicing' (*Glossar*; sich freuen über). The combination *abhi mad* is however met with in another verse of the RV, namely, in 1, 51, 1: *abhi tyām meṣām puruhūtām rgmīyam indram gīrbhīr madata* where it has the sense, not of 'rejoicing' but of 'gladdening'. I believe that this is the sense here also, and that *amadann abhi svam* means 'they gladdened the dear (Indra),' that is to say, that they praised him; compare 1, 62, 5: *grānānō āngirobhīr dasma vī var uśāsā sūryeṇa gōbhīr āudhah*. Compare also 1, 142, 4; 5, 5, 3; 8, 50, 3; and 8, 98, 4 where the epithet *priya* is used of Indra. In the last pāda, the expression 'they placed heroes in the kine (or, amidst the kine)' is not very intelligible to me; Oldenberg (*RV. Noten* 1, p. 241) suggests that it

means that 'they exerted themselves in such a way that the heroes were no more cut off from the possession of cows.'

AV. 6, 83, 4: *vīhi svām āhutiṁ juṣāyō mānasā
svāhā mānasā yād idām juhōmi |*

"Consume the dear oblation, enjoying with the mind, hail, as now I make oblation with the mind."

AV. 3, 19, 3: *nīcāiḥ padyantām ādhare bhavantu
ye nah sūrim maghāvānam prtanuyāu |
kṣīnāmi brāhmaṇāmītran
ūn nayāmi svām ahām ||*

"Downward let them fall, let them become inferior, who may fight against our liberal patron. With my incantation, I destroy the enemies; I raise those that are dear (to me)." Though the interpretation of *svām* as '(my) own people' is not unsuited here, the contrast between *amītran* and *svām* shows that the latter word has here the sense of 'those that are dear to me; those whom I like; friends.'

AV. 7, 77, 5: *taptō vām gharmō nakṣatu svāhotā
prā vām adhvaryūḥ caratu pāyasvām |
mādhvā dugdhāsyāśvinā tanāyā
vītam pātām pāyasa usriyāyāḥ ||*

"The *gharma* is heated for you; let the dear hotṛ approach; let the adhvaryu, rich in milk, move forward. Eat ye, O Aśvins, of this milked sweet; drink ye of this cow's milk." The word *tanāyāḥ* is obscure and I have followed Ludwig here in translating it as 'this.' Regarding *svāhotā*, compare what has been said above under *nītyahotā*. Compare also 7, 73, 2: *ny ū priyō mānuṣaḥ sādī
hōtā nāsatyā yō yājate vāndate ca | aśnītām mādhvo aśvinā
upākū ā vām voce vītātheṣu prāyasvām* where the expressions *priyō hotā*, *aśnītām mādhvo aśvinā*, and *prāyasvām* are parallel to *svāhotā*, *mādhvā aśvinā vītam*, and *prāyasvām* (for, this is the correct reading, found, as is noted by

Whitney in his *Translation*, in the Kauśika-sūtra and the Vaitāna-sūtra and also in Śaṅkara's commentary, and not *payasvān*) in the above verse.

10, 21, 1: *āgnim nā svāvṛktibhir hōtāram tvā vṛṇīmahe |
yajñāya stīrṇābarhiṣe vi vo mādē
śīrām pāvakaśociṣam vivakṣase ||*

"As Agni, we, with pleasingly-cut (hymns of praise), choose thee hotṛ for the sacrifice where the *barhiṣ* is spread—thee that art burning and that hast clear light." Compare *priyā taṣṭāni*, pleasingly-cut, pleasingly-fashioned (limbs) in 10, 86, 5 and the verses 1, 130, 6; 5, 2, 11; 5, 29, 15; 5, 73, 10; etc., which speak of hymns being 'cut' or 'fashioned' into shape. Concerning the refrain, *vi vo mādē . . . vivakṣase*, which is not here translated, see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* II, p. 221 and the literature referred to therein.

8, 32, 20: *pāṇa svādhainavānām utā yās tūgrye sácā |
ulāyām indra yās tāva ||*

"Drink of these (Somas that are mixed) with pleasing milk; and what is with Tugrya and that which is here, O Indra, are thine." *svādhainavānām* is equivalent to *priyadhainavānām*: the reference is to the milk which is added to the Soma juice. Compare 9, 101, 8: *sām u priyā anūṣata gāvo mādāya ghṛṣvayah | sōmāsaḥ kṛṇvate pathāḥ pāvamānāsa indavah*; compare also 9, 32, 5: *abhi gāvo anūṣata yōṣā jārām iva priyām*; 9, 1, 9: *abhi mām āghnyā utā śrīyānti dhenāvah śīsum | sōmam indrāya pātave*; 9, 9, 1: *pāri priyā divāḥ kavīr vāyāmsi naptyōr hitāḥ | suvānō yāti kavīkratuḥ*.

VS. 22, 19: *iḥā dhṛtīr iḥā svādhṛtīḥ svāhā |*

"Here steadiness; here pleasing steadiness, hail."

In the above translations, I have assumed that the words *svāvṛkti*, *svādhainava* and *svādhṛti* have really the word *sva* as a component, in which case *priyavṛkti*, *priyadhainava* and *priyadhṛti* are the best equivalents

for them. I do not however feel certain that this assumption is correct; or rather, I feel inclined to believe that the word *sva* is not really a component of these words at all. We know that in Sanskrit there exist a number of words beginning really with *su-* but having a variant form beginning with *sva-*. As examples of such, I may cite the following from PW—*svagupta*, *svagr̥hītanāman*, *svadhā*, *svadhita*, *svadhiti*, *svastha*, *svabrahmanyā*, *svabhadra*, *svavāsini*, and *svarāstra* (proper name of a people), *svapura* (name of a town), *svabhūmi* (proper name), and *svareṇu* (proper name) all which have also forms beginning with *su-* instead of *sva-*. The word *sujana* occurs in the form *svajana* in *Ind. Spr.* (II), 6672, *svajana-durjanyoḥ*, and it is remarked in PW 'nicht selten werden *svajana* und *sujana* mit einander verwechselt.' Similarly, the PW gives references to passages where the word *svaprakāśa* has the meaning 'clear,' that is, of *suprakāśa*. In the RV itself, we have the form *svadhā*, nectar, instead of *sudhā* and the form *svāyaśastaram* in 8, 60, 11 where the SV reads *suvaśastaram*. I am inclined to think that the words *svāvṛkti*, *svādhainava*, and *svādhyti* also belong to this class and that they are but variants of the words *suṛkti*, *sudhainava* and *sudhyti*. Of these latter, the word *suṛkti* occurs frequently in the RV. It is derived from the root *ṛc* in PW but I believe that it really comes from the root *vrj* 'to cut' (compare the word *vr̥kta-barhis*) and that the meaning is 'well cut, well-fashioned'; see what has been said above under 10, 21, 1. I would therefore translate the passages 10, 21, 1; 8, 32, 20; and VS. 22, 19 as follows: "As Agni, we with well-fashioned (hymns) choose thee hot for the sacrifice," etc.; "Drink of these Somas that are well mixed with good milk," etc.; and "Here steadiness; here good steadiness, hail!". With regard to the VS passage, the commentator Uvaṭa, I may here observe, has paraphrased *svādhyti* by *sādhu-dhyti* which seems to show that he too regarded it as a variant of *sudhyti*.

Wackernagel, in his *Altindische Grammatik* II, § 33b (p. 81), refers to the frequently-expressed opinion, the best exposition of which is by Zubaty' in KZ, 31, p. 52ff., that *su-* in compounds has, in addition to itself, an *ablaut* form *sva-*, and observes that the examples adduced by Zubaty' namely, *svadhā-sudhā*, *svadhiti-sudhiti*, and *svadhita-sudhita* are too few in number to justify such an opinion. The number of examples, however, is not, as he thinks, restricted to the three mentioned here; for we have already met with two more examples above—*svāvrkti-suvrkti*, *svāyaśastara-suyaśastara* and we shall meet with some more presently. And, secondly, the statement that '*su-* has in addition to itself an *ablaut* form *sva-* in compounds' gives but a partial and incorrect representation of the real fact, namely, that in Sanskrit, and in the Vedic language also, there occur a certain number of words beginning with *su-* that have got variant forms beginning with *sva-* or, alternatively, that there occur a certain number of words beginning with *sva-* that have got variant forms beginning with *su-*. This does not mean that the first word in all such compounds is in reality *su* and that the form beginning with *sva-* is a variant of this; for there occur some compounds in which the first word is really *sva* and in whose case the form beginning with *su-* is a variant of such original form with *sva-*. Compare Tait. Up. 2, 7: *asad vā idam agra āsit | tato vai sad ajāyata | tad ātmānaṁ svayam akuruta | tasmāt tat sukr̥tam ucyata iti*; the word *sukr̥ta* here stands patently for *svakr̥ta* and is thus a variant of it; compare Śaṅkara's commentary thereon: *sukr̥tam svayam-kartr ucyate* and Śaṅkarānanda's scholium, *sukr̥tam svārthe 'yam soḥ prayogaḥ | svena saṁskṛtavat svakr̥tam*. Compare also Muṇḍ. Up. 1, 2, 1: *eṣa vāḥ panthāḥ sukr̥tasya loke* (Śaṅkara: *sukr̥tasya svayam nirvartitasya karmaṇo loke*); ibid., 1, 2, 6: *eṣa vāḥ puṇyah sukr̥to brahmalokaḥ* and also ibid., 1, 2, 10: *nākasya pṛsthe te sukr̥te 'nubhūtā imam lokam kinataram vā viśanti* where too in all

probability *sukṛtaḥ* = *svakṛtaḥ*: and Kātha Up. 1, 3, 1: *ṛtaṁ pibantau sukṛtasya loke chāyām praviṣṭau parame parārdhe* where Śaṅkara has explained *sukṛtasya* as *svayam kṛtasya karmanah*. It must therefore be understood that in the case of compounds that occur in two forms, one beginning with *su-* and the other with *sva-*, the original form may be either the one beginning with *su-* or the one beginning with *sva-*. And as a corollary, it has also to be admitted that in the case of compounds that occur in one form only, either beginning with *su-* or beginning with *sva-*, it is possible that such form beginning with *su-* or *sva-* may not be the original form of the word at all, but only a variant of the original form beginning with *sva-* or *su-* as the case may be.

In other words, when we meet with compounds with *su-* or *sva-*, it is desirable to investigate first if such compound occurs in both forms or in one form only. In the latter case, one should further find out which of the two words, *su* and *sva*, gives the better meaning for the compound in connection with the passage where it occurs and determine accordingly the original form of the word and its meaning and also whether the word occurs in the given passage in its original form or in a variant form. The same thing has to be done in the former case also; but if, as sometimes happens, both the words *su* and *sva* are found to give the better meaning, each in its own context, one should postulate two original forms, beginning with *su* and *sva* respectively, and interpret the words accordingly: if, on the other hand, one only of the two words, *su* and *sva*, is found to give a good meaning (or the better meaning) in all the passages (where the compound occurs in either form), one should postulate one original form (beginning with *su-* or *sva-* as the case may be) and regard the other form (beginning with *sva-* or *su-* as the case may be) as a variant of it and interpret the passages accordingly.

The bearing of the foregoing remarks may perhaps be better understood from a consideration of some

compounds beginning with *sva-* and *su-*. The words *svākṣatra-sukṣatrā* both occur in the RV; and the originality of the form *svākṣatra* is proved by the occurrence of the parallel word *priyakṣatra*; see above. One has therefore to consider if the word *sukṣatrā*, in the passages where it occurs, gives a better meaning when one regards it as occurring in its original form and therefore interprets it as 'having excellent dominion' (*śobhanam kṣatram yasya*) or when it is regarded as a variant of the word *svakṣatra* and therefore interpreted as 'whose is dominion' (*svam kṣatram yasya*), that is, 'ruling over others; sovereign.' Considering that the word *sukṣatrā* is used almost exclusively as an epithet of various gods, and that in their case, the meaning 'sovereign; ruling over others' is more appropriate and forceful than that of 'having excellent dominion,' I feel inclined to give preference to the latter of the above meanings and thus to regard *sukṣatrā* as a variant of the original form *svākṣatra*, which, too, be it noted, is used almost exclusively as an epithet of various gods. On the other hand, in the case of the words *suścandrā-svāścandra* both occurring in the RV, I consider that the interpretation 'well-shining' is, in every passage, to be preferred to that of 'shining of itself,' 'self-shining'; and I therefore regard *svāścandra* in 1, 52, 9, the only passage where it occurs, as equivalent to *suścandrā* and as meaning 'well-shining.' As regards the words *suhōtr* (RV)—*svāhōtr* (AV), the occurrence of the word *nītyahōtr* (see p. 14 above) seems to show that the latter form (in AV, 7, 77, 5) is original and should be interpreted in the same way as *nītyahōtr*, while the juxtaposition of the word *svadhvarā* in 8, 103, 12: *yāh suhōtā svadhvarāh* seems to show that here the interpretation "good *hōtr*" gives the better meaning. I therefore regard both words as being in their original forms. Of the pair *svāyaśastara*, 'renowned of one's self' (RV)—*sūyaśastara* 'having much renown' (SV), it is obvious

that the latter is the better meaning. I believe therefore that *svāyaśastara* in the RV is a variant of *sūyaśastara* and means the same as that word, and likewise that the word *svāyaśas* occurring frequently in the RV, is a variant of, and has the same meaning as, *sūyaśas*. Similarly, of the pair *sugopā* (having a good protector; well-protected)—*svāgopā* (protected by one's self; self-protected), both occurring in the RV, the former meaning seems to be obviously better than the latter; and I therefore think it preferable to interpret *svāgopā* in 10, 31, 10 (the only passage where the word occurs): *vyāthir avyathīh kṛṇutā svāgopā*, as 'well-protected' and to regard it as a variant of the word *sugopā*; while, of the pair *suyūj* ('well-yoked') *-svayūj* ('yoking itself; yoked of its own self') both occurring in the RV, it is equally obvious that the latter meaning suits the context better than the former which is, when compared with it, a weak and colourless epithet. I therefore look upon the word *suyūj* (in the RV passages where it occurs) as a variant of, and having the same meaning as, *svayūj*. Compare the epithet *manoyūj*, which, like *suyūj*, is applied to hymns, horses, and chariots; and compare specially 1, 121, 12: *tvām indra nāryo yāu āvo nṛṇ tīṣṭhā vātasya suyūjo vāhiṣṭhān* | *yām te kāvyā usānā mandinam dād vṛtrahānam pāryam tatākṣa vājram* (with 1, 51, 10: *tākṣad yāt ta usānā sāhasā sāho vā rōdasī majmānā bādhatē śāvah* | *ā tvā vātasya nṛmaṇo manoyūjo ā pūryamānam avahann abhī śrāvah* and 5, 31, 10: *vātasya yuktān suyūjaś cid āśvān* with 4, 48, 4: *vāhantu tvā manoyūjo yuktāso navatīr nāva vāyo* . . . where the word *suyūj* in the former pair of verses is obviously parallel to the word *manoyūj* in the latter pair thus indicating clearly that *suyūj* is equivalent to *svayūj*. Compare also the verse 3, 58, 3: *suyūgbhir āśvaih suvṛtā rūthēna dāsrāv imām śṛṇutam ślōkam ādreh* with the verse 5, 75, 6: *ā vām narā manoyūjō 'śvāsah prusitāpsavah* | *vāyo vahantu pitāye sahā sumnēbhīr āśvīnā* and with the verse 1, 119, 4:

yuvām bhujyām bhurāmānam vibhir gatām svayuktibhir nivāhantā pitṛbhya ā and note that the epithets *svayūj*, *manoyūj* and *svayukti* are parallelly applied to the bird-horses of the Aśvins indicating that they express the same idea. The horses (birds) of Vāyu (Vāta) and of the Aśvins yoke themselves to the chariot when their masters think ⁷ of setting forth in it, and are hence *manoyūjah* as well as *svayūjah*.

This is not however the occasion for investigating exhaustively the nature and meaning of all the Vedic compounds beginning with *sva-* and *su-*. The foregoing observations will, I believe, have shown the necessity of such an investigation; and I therefore close this digression and return to our subject.

svā has the sense of *priyā* in the derivative *svadhā* also which in the instrumental case means not only 'according to one's own nature or wont' but also 'willingly, with gladness, with pleasure,' *nach eigenem Gefallen, gern, aus eigener Lust* (Grassmann), *Neigung* (Geldner, *Glossar*).

Like *nityā* and *svā*, the word *nijā*, too, means primarily 'own'; and like these two words, it too seems to have the meaning *priyā* in the following passage: AV. 3, 5, 2: *māyi kṣatrah parṇamaṇe māyi dhārayatād rayīm | ahām rāṣṭrāsyābhivargé nijó bhūyāsam uttamóh* "In me maintain dominion, *parṇa* amulet, in me maintain wealth; may I, in the sphere of (my) kingdom, be beloved, supreme".

jūṣṭa like *priyā*, originally means 'pleasing, agreeable, dear' and like *priyā*, has, seemingly, the meaning 'own' in the following passages:

Śata. Br. 3, 4, 2, 5: *te devā jūṣṭās tanūh priyāni dhāmāni sārddham samavadadire* | This passage has already

⁷ According to another conception, these horses yoke themselves to the chariot when their masters express their intention of setting forth in it *in words*; they are hence also called *vacoyūjah*. They are thus at the same time *manoyūjah* or *vacoyūjah* and *svayūjah*.

been cited above (see p. 35) and explained as "The gods put together portions from their own selves, from their own powers". Note the parallelism of the word *jūṣṭāh* with the word *priyāṇi* that follows.

1, 33, 2 : *ūpēd ahām dhanadām āpratītam*
jūṣṭām nā śyenō vasatīm patāmi |
indraṁ namasyānu upamēbhīr arkaīr
yāh stotṛbhyo havyo āsti yāman ||

"I fly (for protection), like the hawk to its own nest, to the giver of wealth, the irresistible, adoring with the best chants Indra who in battle is to be invoked by his praisers." *jūṣṭā vasatīh* is here equivalent to *svā vasatīh*; compare 1, 25, 4 : *pārā hi me vimanyavaḥ pātanti vāsya-iṣṭaye | vāyo nā vasatīr ūpa*; 9, 71, 6 : *śyenō nā yonīm sādhanam . . . eṣati*.

4, 29, 3 : *śravāyēd asya kārṇā vājayādhyai*
jūṣṭām ānu prā dīśam mandayādhyai |
udvārṣāṇō rādhase tūviṣmān
kāran na indraḥ sutīrthābhayaṁ ca ||

"Quicken his ears for hearing; make him find pleasure in (our) own direction; may Indra the mighty, showering gifts, make for us good crossings and safety." The expression 'make him find pleasure in our own direction,' means, probably, 'make him find pleasure with us, in our sacrifice'; compare 8, 12, 17 : *yād vā śakra parāvāti samudrē údhi mūdase | asmākam it sutē raṇā sām indubhiḥ*. The 'good crossings' desired are no doubt across evils, *duritā*, and enemies, *dviṣaḥ*. Instead of *prā dīśam*, I read *pradīśam*: see Oldenberg, *Vedaforschung*, p. 110.

1, 182, 6 : *āvaviddham taugryām apsv āntār*
anārambhaṇē tāmasi prāviddham |
cātasro nāvo jāthasasya jūṣṭā
ūd aśvibhyām iṣitāḥ parayanti ||

"The four own ships of Jāthala impelled by the Aśvins, bring over safely the son of Tugra who was

abandoned in the midst of the waters and who was stuck in bottomless darkness." I take *jāthala* here as a proper name: the person referred to is perhaps the same as the Jāthara mentioned in 1, 112, 17, in a hymn likewise addressed to the Aśvins. The four ships that brought over Tugra's son to safety are perhaps the same as the four birds that are said to have carried him in 8, 74, 14: *mām catvāra āśvāḥ śaviṣṭhasya dravitnāvaḥ | surāthāso abhī prāyo vākṣan vāyo nā tūgryam.*

Likewise, *jūṣṭa* seems to have this meaning of 'own' in the formula *amuṣmai tvā jūṣṭam prokṣāmi (nirvapāmi,* etc.; see *Concordance*); the meaning seems to be "I sprinkle thee that art the own (portion) of such-and-such."

Similarly, the word *vāmā* also, meaning primarily 'dear, pleasing', etc., seems to have the meaning 'own' in the following passages:

10, 140, 3: *ūrjo napāj jātavedaḥ suśastibhir
māndasva dhitibhir hitāḥ |
tvē iṣaḥ sām dadhur bhūrivarpaś
citrōtayo vāmājātāḥ ||*

"O Jātavedas son of vigour, rejoice thou, beneficent, with the hymns containing fine praises. They put in you manifold nourishments, they whose help is wonderful, who are born of own self". *vāmājātāḥ* here, like *priyājāta* in 8, 71, 2 above, seems to be equivalent to *svājātāḥ*.

T.S. 1, 5, 1, 1: *devāsurāḥ sāmyattā āsan | tē devā
vijayām upayānto 'gnāu vāmām vāsu sām nyadadhata |
idām u no bhaviṣyati | yādi no jesyāntīti |*

"The gods and asuras prepared to fight. The gods, setting out for the battle, deposited their own wealth with Agni (thinking), 'this will be ours in case they vanquish us'".

Tait. Br. 1, 1, 2, 3: *yāḥ purā bhadrāḥ sām pāpiyān
syāt | śa pūnarvasvor agnim ādadhita | pūnar evainam
vāmām vāsūpāvartate | bhadro bhavati |*

" He who having been formerly prosperous (literally, splendid or glorious) is now worse off, should establish the fires in Punarvasu (*nakṣatra*). (His) own glory (*i.e.*, wealth) will again come back to him and he will become glorious (prosperous)." *vāmaṁ vasu* here seems clearly to be equivalent to *svakiyaṁ vasu*.

In the case of these words also, *priyā*, *svā*, *jūṣṭa* and *vāmā*, I have to repeat the observation made above with regard to *nitya*—namely, that in some passages, either of the meanings, 'dear' and 'own', is suitable, and that, though in the translations given above, I have chosen in such instances what seemed to me the better of the two, a combination of the two meanings would perhaps better represent the idea which the poet had in his mind when he used these words.

The use of the word *nitya* in the sense of 'dear' (*priya*) is not confined to Vedic literature but is occasionally met with in later literature also. Thus, it is said in the *Mahābhārata* (1, 169, 14) of Ghaṭotkaca—

anuraktaś ca tān āsīt Pāṇḍavān sa Ghaṭotkacāḥ |
teṣāṁ ca dayito nityam ātmanityo babhūva ha ||

" That Ghaṭotkaca loved the sons of Pāṇḍu and he was always dear to them, as dear as their own self". *nitya* in *ātmanitya* signifies, it seems to me, 'dear' and the word *ātmanitya* means therefore 'dear as the *ātmā* or own self' and not 'im Selbst haftend, an's Herz gewachsen' as suggested in the PW (*s.v.*); for the word *nitya* has no connection with 'haften' or 'wachsen.'

Similarly it is not unlikely that the word *nitya* at the end of some compounds (like *aranya-nitya*, *dharma-nitya*, *tapo-nitya*, *satya-nitya*, *adhyātmajñāna-nityatvam* in *Bh. Gītā* 13, 11) has the signification 'dear'. In *Bh. Gītā* 13, 11 especially (*adhyātmajñānanityatvaṁ tattva-jñānārthadarśanam | etaj jñānam iti proktam*) the words *etaj jñānam* in the third pāda make it very probable that *nitya* here means 'dear'.

Likewise there is no doubt that *nītya* means 'dear' in the compound *strīnītya* that occurs in Kathāsaritsāgara 45. 183: *nissuchena kim etena sva-priyās tyajātā bahih | itīva nidrā strīnītyasyaikasyāpy asya nāyayau ||* "As if thinking, 'Of what use to me is this (Sūryaprabha) who is without love and has left his wives outside'. Sleep did not visit him who was fond of women, though he was alone'. Compare in this connection the epithet *strī-lampāṣa* that is applied to Sūryaprabha in *ibid.* 47. 101-102.

§ 2

śunām

Amongst the words *nītya*, *svā*, *nijā*, *vāmā*, and *jūṣṭa* that have been mentioned in the preceding article as signifying both (1) own, *svīya*, and (2) dear, pleasing, etc., *priya*, should be included the word *śunā* also.

This word is enumerated by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* amongst the synonyms of *sukha*, happiness; and this meaning *sukha* or the derived meaning *sukhakara* is repeated by Sāyaṇa in the course of his commentary on all the RV passages where the word occurs. In 3, 30, 22, however, he has in addition explained *śunam* as *śunam utsāhena pravṛddham*, thus connecting the word with the verb *śū* or *śvay*, 'to swell.' This derivation is given in the PW by Roth who explains the word as (adv.) glücklich, mit Erfolg, zum Gedeihen; (n.) Erfolg, Gedeihen' and by Grassmann who explains it as '(1) Wachsthum, Gedeihen; (2) Gedeihen, Wohlergehen, Glück, Segen; (3) (adv.) zum Gedeihen, zum Wohlergehen, zum Segen.' Geldner, on the other hand, has suggested (*RV. Glossar*) that the word is related to *śivam*, and has explained it as 'Heil, zum Heil (*svastaye*).' And this suggestion seems to have found favour with Hillebrandt who has translated *śunam* as 'zum Heil' in

Lieder des Rgveda, p. 106. Later, however, Geldner himself has translated (*RV. Uebersetzung*) the word in this passage by 'gedeihlich, zum Gedeihen' and in 3, 30, 22 by 'mit Erfolg' and seems therefore to have abandoned his suggestion and gone back to the meanings proposed by Roth.

None of the above-mentioned meanings, however, suits the context in a passage of the Maitr. Sañ. (1, 4, 11 ; p. 60, l. 3f.) which reads as follows :

na vai tad vidma yadi brāhmaṇā vā smo 'brāhmaṇā vā | yadi tasya va ṛṣeḥ smo 'nyasya vā yasya brūmahe | yasya ha tv eva bruvāṇo yajate tam tad iṣṭam āgacchati netaram upanamati | tat pravare pravaryamāṇe brūyāt | devāḥ pitarah pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje | yo 'smi sa san karomi | śunām mā iṣṭam śunām śāntam śunām kṛtam bhūyāt | iti tad ya eva kaś ca sa san yajate tam tad iṣṭam āgacchati netaram upanamati ||

The mantra *devāḥ pitarah* occurring in this passage is found in the Ait. Br., Tait. Br., and Kāthaka-saṁhitā also, but in a slightly different form, namely, as *devāḥ pitarah pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje yasyāsmi na tam antar emi svam mā iṣṭam svam dattam svam pūrtam svam śrāntam svam hutam* in Tait. Br. 3, 7, 5, 4 and Āp. Śr. Sūtra 4, 9, 6 and as *devāḥ pitarah pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje tad vaḥ prabravimi tasya me vitta svam mā iṣṭam astu śunām śāntam svam kṛtam* in KS. 4, 14. The word *śunām* in the MS reading of the mantra is thus parallel to the word *svam* in the TB reading of it, and is obviously equivalent to it. The above passage from the MS therefore means: "We do not know whether we are Brāhmaṇas or not Brāhmaṇas, whether we are (the descendants) of the ṛṣi whom we name or of another. But (the fruit of) the sacrifice goes to (the descendant of) him who is named and to no other. Therefore when the lineage (*pravara*) is being proclaimed (?), he should recite: 'O Gods, O Fathers, O Fathers,

O Gods, it is I, whoever I may be (that is, whosoever descendant I may be), that sacrifice; it is I, whoever I may be, that perform. Let (this) sacrifice of mine be (my) own, (this) work (my) own, (this) act (my) own." In this way, whoever he be who sacrifices, (the fruit of) the sacrifice goes to him and to no other."

Similarly, it is equally obvious that *śunām* = *svām* (with which it is parallelly used) in the KS reading of the mantra: *devāḥ pitarah pitaro devā yo 'smi sa san yaje tad vah prabravāmi tasya me vitta svām ma iṣṭam astu śunām śāntam svām kṛtam* "O Gods, O Fathers, O Fathers, O Gods, it is I, whoever I may be, that sacrifice; this I declare unto you; bear witness to this on my behalf. Let (this) sacrifice be (my) own, (this) performance (my) own, (this) work (my) own."

On the other hand, this meaning *svām*, 'own' is unsuited to the word *śunām* in the passages of the RV and other texts where the word occurs. And I therefore infer, from the analogy of the words *priyā*, *vāmā* and *jūṣṭā* or *nītya*, *svā* and *nijā*, that mean both 'dear' and 'own,' that *śunā*, too, has these two meanings, and that it has, in the passages referred to, the meaning *priya*, 'dear, pleasing, agreeable.' This meaning *priya*, as I shall now show, suits the context well and yields good sense in these passages.

Śāṅkh. GS. 2, 10, 6: *agnih śraddhām ca medhām cā
'vinipātām smṛtīm ca me |
iṣṭo jātavedā ayam
śunām nah samprayacchatu ||*

"May Agni bestow faith and intelligence, not falling off (unforgetfulness?) and memory on me. May this Agni Jātavedas, praised (by us) bestow pleasing things on us." Compare the similar use of *priya* and *vāmā* in TS. 4, 7, 3, 1: *priyām ca me 'nukāmāś ca me . . . (yajūṇa kalpantām)*; RV. 4, 30, 24: *vāmām-vāmām ta ādure devā dadātu aryamā | vāmām pūṣā vāmām*

bhāgo vāmām devāḥ kārūlati; 10, 56, 2: *vāmām asmā-
bhyam dhātu sūrma tūbhyam*,

RV. Khila 10, 128, 4: *śunam aham hiraṇyasya
pitur nāmeva jagrabha |
tena mām sūryatvacam
akaram pūruṣu priyam ||*

"I have invoked the dear name of *hiraṇya* (gold) that is as dear as that of the father. I have therewith made myself sun-skinned (*i.e.*, bright as the sun to look at) and pleasing to men." Compare 7, 56, 10: *priyā vo nāma huve turāṇām*; 10, 84, 5: *priyām te nāma sahure gr̥nimasi* where the epithet *priya* is applied to *nāman*. Compare also, with regard to the invoking of the father. 2, 10, 1: *johūtro agniḥ prathamāḥ pitēva*; 8, 21, 14: *ād it pitēva hūyase*; 6, 52, 6: *agniḥ suśāmsaḥ suhāvaḥ pitēva*; 1, 104, 9: *pitēva naḥ śṛṇuhi hūyāmānaḥ*; 10, 39, 1: *pitūr nā nāma suhāvam havāmahe*, etc.

10, 160, 5: *aśvāyānto gavyānto vājāyānto
hāvāmahe tvōpaganavā u |
ābhūśantas te sumatai nāvāyām
vayām indra tvā śunām huvema ||*

"Desiring horses, cows, and riches, we call on thee to come here. Desiring to be in thy new (*i.e.*, latest) favour, O Indra, we invoke thee that art dear." Compare the verses 8, 98, 4: *ēndra no gadhi priyāḥ* and 1, 142, 4: *īndram citrām ihā priyām* where the epithet *priya* is applied to Indra.

3, 30, 22: *śunām huvema maghāvānam indram
asmin bhāre nṛtamaḥ vājasātau |
śṛṇvāntam ugrām utāye samātsu
ghnāntam vṛtrāṇi samjītaḥ dhānānām ||*

"We invoke in this battle, in the winning of booty, dear Indra, liberal, most valiant, fierce, who hears (our cry) for protection, kills enemies in fights, and is the winner of wealth."

6, 16, 4: *tvām iṣe údha dvitā*
bharatō vājībhīḥ śunām |
ījē yajñēṣu yajñīyam ||

"Bharata again, also, with the sacrificers has praised thee (sc. Agni) that art dear; he has offered worship to thee that art worthy of worship in sacrifices." Compare 1, 128, 8: *agnīm hótāram īṣate vāsudhitīm priyām cētiṣṭham*; 1, 128, 7: *agnir yajñēṣu jēnyo nā viṣpātīḥ priyō yajñēṣu viṣpātīḥ* and the other passages referred to on p. 3 above where Agni is called *priya*, *purupriya*, *preṣṭha*, etc.,

10, 126, 7: *śunām asmābhyam ūtāye*
vāruno mitrō aryamā |
sārma yacchantu saprātha
ādityāso yād īmahe āti dvīṣaḥ ||

"May the Ādityas Varuna, Mitra and Aryamā grant us for our protection (their) dear wide-extended shelter which we pray for (and carry us) across enemies." Compare 10, 126, 4: *yusmākaṁ sārmani priyē syāma*; 7, 95, 5: *tāva sārman priyātame dādūhānā ūpa stheyāma śaraṇām nā vrkṣām* in which the epithet *priya* is applied to *sarman*.

1, 117, 18: *śunām andhāya bhāram ahvayat sā*
vrkīr aśvinā vṛṣaṇā nārēti |
jārāḥ kaṇina iva cakṣadānā
ṛjṛāśvaḥ śatām ēkaṁ ca meṣān ||

"(May) that which is pleasing (*i.e.*, favourable) (happen) to the blind man, O ye bulls, valiant Aśvins, cried the she-wolf, 'like a youthful lover has Ṛjṛāśva cut up a hundred and one goats.'"

Maitr. Saṁ., 2, 7, 12:

śunām naro lāṅgalenānaḍudbhīr
bhagaḥ phālaih śīrapatīr marudbhīḥ |
parjanyaḥ bijam īrayāno dhinotu
śunāsīrā kṛnutam dhānyam naḥ ||

" May the men (give) pleasure with the plough and oxen; may Bhaga with the ploughshares and the lord of the plough with the Maruts (give) pleasure. May Parjanya, impelling the seed (to sprout and grow) delight us; may Śuna and Sira confer grain on us." One has to supply the word *kṛnotu*, *dadātu* or similar word after *śunam* in the first half-verse. Note the parallelism of *dhinotu* in the second half-verse with *śunam* (*kṛnotu* or *dadātu*) in the second.

Kauśika-sūtra, 46, 54: *śunam vada dakṣiṇataḥ*
śunam uttarato vada |
śunam purastān no vada
śunam paścāt kapiñjala ||

" Say what is pleasing to the right; say what is pleasing to the north; say what is pleasing in front; say, O partridge, what is pleasing behind." That is to say, whether you cry to our right or to our left, in front of us or behind us, O partridge, may such cry portend and bring to us what is pleasing or favourable.

RV. 4, 57, 8: *śunām naḥ phālā vā kṛṣantu bhūmim*
śunām kināśā abhi yantu vāhaiḥ |
śunām parjanya mādhumā pāyobhiḥ
śunāsirā śunām asmāsu dhattam ||

" May our ploughshares plough the land pleasingly; may the ploughers proceed pleasingly with the draught-animals. May Parjanya with waters and honey do us favour; may Śuna and Sira confer pleasing things (favours) on us." The word *śunam* in the first half-verse is used adverbially and denotes 'pleasingly; in a pleasing manner; well,' while in the second half-verse, it is a substantive as in the above passages. In the third pāda one has to supply a word like *kṛnotu* or *dadātu* on the analogy of the fourth pāda. Compare also 4, 2, 8: *priyām vā tvā kṛnāvate havīsmān* and the phrase *rānaḥ dhāḥ* and *rānaḥ kṛdhi* in 8, 96, 16: *vibhumādhōhyo bhūvancōhyo rānaḥ dhāḥ* and 10, 112, 10: *rānaḥ kṛdhi ranakṛt satyaśuṣma*.

4, 57, 4: *śunām vāhāḥ śunām nāraḥ*
śunām kṛṣatu lāṅgalam |
śunām varatrā badhyantām
śunām aṣṭrām úd iṅgaya ||

"Pleasingly (*i.e.*, well) may the draught-animals, the men, (and) the plough plough; may the straps be tied well; well may the goad be applied (*i.e.*, may the ploughing of the draught-animals, men and the plough, the tying of the straps, and the application of the goad, all bring pleasing results to us)."

10, 102, 8: *śunām aṣṭrāvya ācarat kapardī*
varatrāyām dārvā nāhyamānaḥ |
nṛmṇāni kṛvān bahāve jānāya
gāḥ paspaśānās tāviṣir adhatta ||

"Being goaded, he (*i.e.*, the bull), who was wearing cowries and who was hitched in the strap (*i.e.*, harness) with the wood, moved pleasingly (*i.e.*, well). Performing valiant deeds before many people, he put on mettle when he saw the bulls."

The hymn to which this verse belongs has been much discussed by the exegetists and been interpreted in many ways; for literature connected with it, see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten* II, p. 318. I agree with him and Geldner (*Ved. Studien* 2) in their opinion that it deals with the story of a Brāhmaṇa couple and a chariot-race.

The subject of *acarat* in pāda a above is the bull, *vṛṣabha*, that is mentioned in the previous verse as running—*āramhata pādyābhiḥ kakūdmān*. And hence I interpret *kapardī* as 'wearing cowries' instead of as 'wearing a braid, *zottig*' (Roth, Geldner, Oldenberg, etc.) as this latter epithet is unintelligible to me in connection with a bull. The custom, on the other hand, of ornamenting bulls and oxen with strings of cowries fastened round the neck is fairly wide-spread in India, and I conceive that this must have been the case with

Mudgala's bull also. *dāru* in the second pāda refers, of course, to the *drughaṇa* or block of wood mentioned in the next verse.

It has been suggested by Oldenberg (*l.c.*), perhaps with a view to get over the difficulty caused by the word *kapardī* (which he interprets as 'wearing a braid, *zottig*'), that the subject of *acarat* is not the bull but Mudgala. This does not seem to be correct; for I believe with Geldner that Mudgala was too old to take part in a chariot-race and that the chariot was in fact ridden by Indrasenā with Keśinī as charioteer; see the article on *Indrasenā* that follows below.

4, 3, 11 : *ṛtēnādrīm vy āsan bhidāntaḥ*
sām āngīraso navanta góbhiḥ |
śunām nāraḥ pāri śadann uśāsam
āviḥ svār abhavaj jātē agnau ||

" Properly did they burst open the rock, shattering it. The Āngirases lowed with the cows. Pleasingly (*i.e.*, with pleasing results; well) did the men worship the Dawn; the sun made himself manifest when Agni was born." The explanation of *pariśadan* as 'umlagerten' by Roth, Grassmann and Geldner (*RV. Uebersetzung*) seems to me to be hardly satisfactory; and I prefer to follow Bhaṭṭabhaṣkara who has paraphrased *pariśadyam* in TB. 3, 1, 2, 9 as *paritā upāsyam* (*cf.* also Mahidhara on VS. 5, 32) and regard *pariśadan* here as equivalent to *paryupāsāṃcakrīre*. Compare 7, 76, 6 : *prāti tvā stōmair īṣate vāsiṣṭhā uśarbūdhaḥ subhage tuṣṭuvāṃsaḥ | gāvām netri vājapatni na ucchōṣaḥ sujāte prathamā jarasva*; 7, 78, 2 : *prāti śim agnīr jarate sāmiddhaḥ prāti viprāso matibhir gṛhāntaḥ | uśā yāti jyōtiṣā bādhamānā vīśvā tāmāṃsi duritāpa devī*; 7, 80, 1 : *prāti stōmebhir uśāsam vāsiṣṭhā gīrbhīr viprāsaḥ prathamā abudhran*. The expression 'the men worshipped the Dawn' indicates that the Dawn showed herself at that time when Agni was born, that is, was kindled

before daybreak. The kindling of Agni, the coming of the Dawn and the rising of the sun are referred to in other verses also of the RV, for instance in 7, 72, 4: *vā cēd uccānty aśvinā uśāsah prā vām brāhmāṇi kārāvo bharante | ūrdhvām bhānūm savitā devā aśred brhād agnāyah samīdhā jarante*; 7, 77, 1-3: *ūpo ruruce yuvatir nā yōsā viśvam jivām prasuvānti carāyai | ābhūd agnih samīdhe mānuṣāṇām ākar jyōtir bādhamānā tāmāmsi || viśvam prati cī saprāthā ūd asthād rūśad vāso bibhrati śukrām aśvait | hiraṇyavarṇā sudṣṣīkasamdyg gāvām mātā netry āhnām aroci || devānām cākṣuh subhūgā vāhanti śvetām nāyanti sudṣṣīkam āśvam | uśā adarśi*; 7, 78, 2-3: *prāti śīm agnir jarate samīddhah prāti vipraso matibhir gṛhāntāḥ | uśā yāti jyōtiṣā bādhamānā viśvā tāmāmsi duritāpa devī || etā u tyāḥ prāty adṛśvan purāstāj jyōtir yāucchantir uśāso vibhātīḥ | ājijnan sūryam yaññām agnīm apācīnam tāmo agād ājuṣṭam*; 1, 113, 9: *īṣo yād agnīm samīdhe cakārtha vi yād āvas cākṣasā sūryasya*. But while these passages represent Agni as showing himself (as being born) after the Dawn, the verse 4, 3, 11 makes out that Agni was born first and the Dawn afterwards; compare also 7, 9, 3: *citrā-bhānur uśāsām bhāty āgre*.

AV. 3, 15, 4: *imām agne śarāṇīm mīmṛṣo no yām ādhvānam āgāma dūrām | śunām no astu prapaṇō vikrayās ca pratipaṇāḥ phalīnam mā kṛṇotu | idām havyām samvidānāḥ juṣethām śunām no astu caritām ūtthitam ca ||*

'Sprinkle, O Agni, this our path, this road which we have followed from a distance. May our bargain and sale be pleasing (*i.e.*, turn out favourable); may the barter make me abounding in fruit (*i.e.*, may the barter be fruitful to me). Do ye two enjoy this oblation in concord. May our transaction and trading be pleasing (*i.e.*, favourable)." *śarāṇi*=road, path, and not *himsā*,

offence or *Verdruss*; see Apte. Accordingly I take the verb *mṛṣ* in the sense of 'to sprinkle,' a meaning which the author of the *Dhātupāṭha* assigns to it, but of its use in which no example has been up to now met with. The expression 'sprinkle this our path' means probably 'make our path smooth and easy to travel'; compare the expressions *tānūnapāt pathā rtāsyā yānān mādhvā samāñjān svadayaḥ sujihva* in RV. 10, 110, 2; *ā no dadhikrāḥ pathyām anaktu* in 7, 44, 5; and *madhvādya devo devebhyo devayānān patho anaktu* in TB. 3, 6, 2, 1.

RV. 7, 70, 1: *ā viśvavārā 'śvinā gataṁ naḥ*

prā tāt sthānam avāci vām prthivyām |

āśvo nā vāji śunāprsthā asthād

ā yāt sedāthur dhruvāse nā yōnim ||

"Come, O ye *Āśvins* that have all desirable things; this your place in the earth has been praised. Like a powerful horse, it stood up with pleasing (*i.e.* pleasure-giving; comfortable) back on which you sat as if settling permanently in a house." *śunāprsthāḥ* = *priyapṛsthāḥ* or *vītapṛsthāḥ* which is used many times in the RV as an epithet of *āśva*, *atya*, *hari*, etc.; see Grassmann *s.v.* This word does not signify 'schlichten Rücken habend' (Roth in P.W.) or, 'dessen Rücken eben ist' (Grassmann) but means 'having a pleasing (*i.e.*, comfortable) back'; compare the word *suśadaḥ* 'easy or comfortable to sit upon' that is used as an epithet of *arvan* in VS. 11, 44; *āśūr bhava vājy arvan prthūr bhava suśādas tvām*. Compare also *śagmāso āśvāḥ* in RV. 7, 97, 6; *tām śagmāso aruṣāso āśvā bṛhaspātim saha vāho vahanti* and *śagmā hari* in 8, 2, 27: *ēhā hari brahmayūjā śagmā vakṣataḥ sākhāyam*.

2, 18, 6: *āśītyā navatyā yāhy arvān*

ā śatēna hāribhīr nhyāmānaḥ |

ayām hi te śunāhotreṣu sōma

indra tvāyā pāriṣikto mādāya ||

"Come here drawn by eighty, by ninety, by hundred horses. This Soma-juice, O *Indra*, has been poured out

for thy pleasure, by (the priests) who have pleasure in offering sacrifices."

2, 41, 14 : *tivrô vo mādhumān ayām*
śunāhotreṣu matsarāḥ |
etām pibata kām̐yam ||

"For you is this exhilarating, sweet, and sharp (Soma-juice) with the (priests) who have pleasure in offering sacrifices; drink this beloved (drink)."

2, 41, 17 : *tvé viśvā sarasvatī*
śritāyūm̐si devyām |
śunāhotreṣu matsva
prajāṁ devī dididdhi naḥ ||

"On thee, O goddess Sarasvatī, depends all longevity. Delight thou with (the priests) who have pleasure in offering sacrifices; confer children on us."

The exegetists have explained the word *śunāhotreṣu* in all the above three verses¹ as a proper noun (Sāyaṇa does so in 2, 41, 14 and 2, 41, 17 only; in 2, 18, 6 he interprets *śunāhotreṣu* as *sukhena hūyate somo yebhir iti śunāhotrāḥ pātraviśeṣāḥ*)—an explanation for which there does not seem to be any necessity. For, just as the word *śunapṛṣṭha* is equivalent to *vitapṛṣṭha*, in the same way does the word *śunāhotra* (*śunam hotre yasya*) seem to be equivalent to the word *vitihotra* (*vitih hotre yasya*) 'he who has pleasure in sacrifices,' i.e., 'he who takes delight in offering sacrifices to the gods,' which occurs in 1, 84, 18 : *kô mānsate vitihotraḥ sudevāḥ* and 2, 38, 1 : *āthābhajad vitihotram svastau* with the signification of 'priest'. This meaning, 'priest' suits *śunāhotra* also in the above verses, and there is thus no necessity to regard it as a proper name.

The word *śuna* occurs further in the compound *ducchunā* which means 'unpleasantness,' *vipriya* or *duḥkha*, and in the denominative verb *ducchunāy*, formed

¹ The word *śunāhotra* does not occur elsewhere.

from the above, meaning 'to cause unpleasantness or discomfort.'

The word *śuna* that forms part of *abhiśunatarā* in T. Br. 1, 7, 1, 6: *tau samalabhetām | so 'smād abhiśunataro bhavat* means, as explained by the commentator Bhaṭṭa-bhāskara, *balena abhivṛddhaḥ* and is clearly derived from the root *śū*, *śvay* 'to swell.' It is thus quite a different word and unconnected with *śuna* meaning 'dear; own.'

śuna thus signifies originally, as I hope is clear from the foregoing, *priya*, 'dear, agreeable,' etc., and secondarily, 'own'. The meaning *sukha* assigned to it by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* seems to be but an approximate equivalent of the original *priya*, and, like all approximations, not quite accurate.

§ 3

indrasenâ

The word *indrasenâ* occurs in one place only, in stanza 3 (*ūt sma vāto vahati vāso asyā ābhīratham yād ājayat sahāśram | rathir abhūn mudgalāni gāvīṣṭau bhare kṛtām vy aced indrasenâ*) of RV. 10, 102. This hymn is obscure and the most diverse views have been held about it. According to Yāska (*Nirukta* 9. 23-24,) the hymn refers to a battle or race, while according to Śaṅkara (p. 158 of the *Sarvānukramāṇi*, Macdonell's edition), it refers to the pursuit by Mudgala of some thieves who had stolen his oxen.

Bergaigne (II. 280 ff.), however, thought that the hymn depicts liturgical symbolism, Henry, (JA. 1895, II, 516 ff.), that it describes the phenomena that occur on

earth and in the sky during a thunder-storm, and Bloomfield (ZDMG. 48, 541 ff.), that it refers to heavenly, that is, meteorological events. This is the opinion of Profs. Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, II, 167) and Keith (JRAS. 1911, 1905, n. 1) also. Geldner (*Ved. St.* 2. 1 ff.), Pischel (ibid., 1, 124), von Bradke (ZDMG. 46, 445 ff.), Schröder (*Mysterium und Minus* 347), and Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, II, 318), on the other hand, opined that it is an ākhyāna or itihāsa hymn, and that it describes a chariot-race in which Mudgala's wife took prominent part. For literature connected therewith see Oldenberg, l.c.

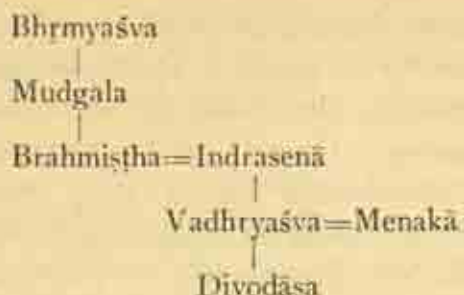
According to the last-named scholars (Geldner and others), *indrasedā* is a proper name denoting the wife of a human being, of Mudgala, and is the equivalent of the word *Mudgalāni* that is used in stanzas 2 and 6 of the hymn. According to the first-named scholars (Bergaigne and others), on the other hand, *indrasedā* denotes the wife of Indra. This 'wife' is, in the opinion of Bergaigne, the prayer addressed to Indra ('*la prière à Indra dans son union avec Soma*'), and in the opinion of Bloomfield,¹ Macdonell and Keith,² his bolt (vajra).³

In JRAS. 1910, 1328 ff., the late Mr. F. E. Pargiter attempted to throw some light on this hymn with the help of certain details contained in the Purāṇas about Mudgala, who is, according to the *Nirukta* (9. 2. 3. 3.) and the *Sarvānukramanī*, the son of Bhṛmyaśva and the author of this hymn. With the help of these details, Mr. Pargiter constructed the following genealogy:

¹ *mudgala* (= *mudgara*, hammer) denotes, according to Henry (p. 518 l. c.), Indra, and according to Bloomfield, Indra's vajra.

² This is the opinion of Sāyaṇa also.

³ Referring to Vaitāna-sūtra 15. 3; Gop. Br. 2. 2. 9; Āpa. ŚS. 11. 3. 14; and TA. 3. 9.1; *sēnēndrasya dhēnā Bṛhaspāteḥ* Bloomfield has shown at length, in pp. 549-552 l. c., that Sena is the wife of Indra and that the Indrasenā of stanza 3 is the same as this Sena.



And from this genealogy, he arrived at the following conclusions respecting the persons named in the hymn:

1. Mudgala was a rāja of the North Pañcāla dynasty and yet might also be regarded as a ṛṣi.
2. Mudgalāni, whose name is not mentioned, was obviously Mudgala's wife, as is generally agreed.
3. Indrasenā was the daughter-in-law of Mudgala, being the wife or rather the queen of his son Brahmiṣṭha.
4. Vadhri, in stanza 12, seems to refer to Indrasenā's son and Mudgala's grandson Vadhryaśva.
5. Keśi, mentioned in stanza 6, was the sārathi or charioteer who drove Mudgalāni in the race.

Mr. Pargiter was therefore disposed to interpret the hymn in accordance with the above conclusions.

In the note referred to above, Mr. Pargiter collected the information given by the Purāṇas about Mudgala only and did not bring out anything new about Indrasenā, although Geldner had long ago pointed out that her name occurred in the Mahābhārata (Calcutta ed., 3, 113. 22; 4, 21, 11) where she is described as Nārāyaṇī and as the wife of Mudgala. In the Kumbakonam edition of the Mahābhārata, these stanzas are found on p. 186 of the Vanaparvan (Ch. 114; 23, 24) and p. 47 of the Virāṭaparvan (Ch. 24; 19-22). In both these places, this text has *Nālāyaṇī* instead of its doublet form *Nārāyaṇī*; and it thus indicates that Indrasenā the wife of Mudgala was the daughter of Nala. She must therefore be

identified with the Indrasenā who, we read in the *Nalopākhyāna*,⁴ was born to Nala of Damayanti.

This inference is confirmed by the following story found in chapters 212 and 213 of the *Ādiparvan* (p. 359 ff.), where it is related by Vyāsa to King Drupada with the object of overcoming his repugnance to the marriage of his daughter with five men (the five Pāṇḍava brothers):

"Kṛṣṇā, the daughter of Drupada, was, in her former birth, known as Indrasenā. She was then the daughter of Nala and was married to the ṛṣi Maudgalya⁵ who was old and mere skin and bones, who was reeking with a smell which was other than pleasant, whose hair had become white and the skin furrowed with wrinkles, who was afflicted with leprosy, whose skin and nails were peeling off, who was repulsive to look at and who was extremely irritable, harsh, jealous and fanciful.⁶ The blameless Indrasenā used to serve her husband faithfully and to eat what was left of his food (*uc-chiṣṭa*) after he had eaten. One day, the thumb of Maudgalya came off when he was eating his food; and Indrasenā, when she sat down to the remnants, unconcernedly threw it away and consumed the food left without any feeling of disgust. Her husband was much pleased at this act of wifely devotion, said that he would grant her a boon, and asked

⁴ *Damayantī sāha Nalo vijahurā 'maropamaḥ ||*
janayāmāsa ca tato Damayantīṃ mahāmanāḥ ||
Indrasenāṃ sutāṃ cāpi Indrasenāṃ ca kanyakāṃ ||

Mahābhārata, 3, 54, 48-9.

⁵ The husband of Indrasenā is represented in Mahābhārata, 4, 24, 21 as being aged more than one thousand years.

⁶ *esā Nālāyau pūrvam Maudgalyam sthaviram patim |*
ārādhayāmāsa tadā kuṣṭhinam tam anūdītā ||
tvag-asthi-bhūtaṃ kaṭukam lolam iryūṃ sukopanam |
sugandhetara-gandhādhyam valī-palīta-mūrdhajaṃ ||
sthaviram vikṛtākāram śīryamūṣa-nakha-tracaṃ |
ucchiṣṭam upabhuñjānā paryupāste mahā-manuṃ ||

Ādiparvan, Ch. 212; 4-6.

her often what she desired. Indrasenā, being thus frequently urged, begged of the ṛṣi that he should sport with her, first dividing himself into five persons, and later becoming one again.

"The ṛṣi, owing to the power of his austerities and his yoga, accordingly sported with Indrasenā for many years, now making himself into five men and again as one man, in Indraloka, Meru and other places. Indrasenā thus came to the forefront of pativrātās in the same way as Arundhati and Sītā; and she attained a greater distinction in this respect *than even her mother Damayanti*.⁷

"While the ṛṣi Maudgalya thus played with Indrasenā, many years elapsed and he became weary of sensual pleasures. He therefore resolved to abandon this luxurious course of life and to practise austerities in a retired place. On this resolve being communicated to Indrasenā, she prostrated herself before the ṛṣi and earnestly besought him not to leave her as her craving for sensual pleasures was still unsatisfied. The ṛṣi grew wroth at this bold and impudent request and uttered a curse that she should be born as the daughter of Drupada, the king of the Pañcālas, and have five husbands.

"Grieving at this curse, and with her craving for sensual pleasure unsatisfied, Indrasenā, too, repaired to a forest and practised austerities in order to please Śiva. That god, being pleased with the austerities, showed himself to Indrasenā and conferred a boon on her that she would, in her next birth, have five husbands."

It should be noted that the wording of the text, *Damayantiyāś ca mātus sāvīṣaṃ yayau*, informs us in an unmistakable way that Indrasenā,⁸ who is described as

⁷ *eka-patni tathā bhūtvā sadāivāgre yaśasvint ||*

Arundhatiṣa Sītēva bahuvātī-pativratā |

Damayantiyāś ca mātus sāvīṣaṃ adhikam yayau ||

Ibid; Ch. 212; 25.

⁸ The text, I may here note, calls Maudgalya's wife Mahendrasenā in one place (I. 212. 17),

Nalāyani and as the wife of Maudgalya, was the daughter of Damayantī.

This story is very interesting and confirms the correctness of Geldner's interpretation of RV. X. 102 in several respects:

1. Thus, it is clear from the above story that Indrasenā, mentioned in stanza 2, is the same as the Mudgalānī mentioned in stanzas 2 and 6, and that she is the wife of the Mudgala mentioned in stanzas 5 and 9 and not his daughter-in-law as Mr. Pargiter would believe.

Mr. Pargiter seems to have been misled here by the use of the word Mudgala instead of the more correct form Maudgalya. Such laxity however in the matter of adding patronymic suffixes is fairly common not only in the epics and Purāṇas, but in the RV also. See for example, ZDMG. 42, p. 204 ff. where Oldenberg has shown that the word *vasiṣṭha* is used in the RV to denote not only the original Vasiṣṭha but his descendant as well.

As regards the word Mudgala itself, we have already seen above that the Mahābharata in one place (III. 114. 24) uses that word to denote Mudgala's son (who, in 1. 212, 213 is called Maudgalya). Similarly, it relates in the Vanaparvan (Ch. 261) the story of a Mudgala (whether the same as Indrasenā's husband or a different person, there is no means of saying) who was offered, because of his zeal in giving gifts, the privilege of going to heaven in his mortal body (*saśarīra-svarga*) but refused to avail himself of it. In this story, the hero is called Mudgala (in III. 260. 38; 261. 3, 11, 14, etc.) and Maudgalya (in III. 261. 6, 14, 25, 33 etc.) indifferently. And in the *Bhāgavata*, X. 21. 34, the word Mudgala is used of the father of Divodāsa, i.e., to denote Vadhryaśva, the grandson of the original Mudgala.

There is thus no doubt that the Mudgala mentioned in stanzas 5 and 9 of RV. X. 102 is identical with the

Mudgala of Mahābhārata III. 114. 24, with the Maudgalya of ibid. I. 212-213 and with the Brahmistha* (son of Mudgala) of Mr. Pargiter's genealogical table.

2. The story also supports the opinion of Geldner (p. 1) and Oldenberg (p. 318; n. 2) that Mudgala was a Brāhmaṇa against those of Henry and Pargiter who believed that he was a king.

3. The story gives, as can be seen above, a graphic description of the decrepitude of Indrasenā's husband Mudgala, a point about which Bloomfield and Oldenberg were inclined to be sceptical.

Mudgala's decrepitude is thus well-attested and may be regarded as a certain fact. It is not however quite so certain that it was this decrepitude which, as Geldner would believe, prevented him from riding the chariot himself in the race and led him to substitute his wife Indrasenā in his stead. A passage¹⁰ of the Kāthaka-saṁhitā (X. 5; Vol. 1, p. 130) which relates the story of a chariot-race between Vāmadeva and Kusidāyī shows that it was not unusual for women to take part in such

* I am, however, very doubtful that Mudgala's son was named Brahmistha. From the footnotes given by Mr. Pargiter on p. 1329 loc. cit., it can be seen that, out of eight Purāṇas which he has used to construct the genealogy in question, only two contain the word brahmistha. In both these places, it is preferable to look upon this term as a common noun (=the best of Brāhmaṇas; a brahmarṣi) rather than as a proper name. The corrupt text of the Harivamśa, too, which uses the word *brahmarṣi* in this context favours this view.

Ludwig has, in his *Rgveda-übersetzung* (III, 171), set down a table where he has shown Vadhryaśva, the father of Divodāsa, as the son of Devavān, - a view accepted by Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, I, 376). Though there is not much evidence in favour of this view, too, I have here provisionally adopted it for lack of a better-attested genealogy.

¹⁰ Vāmadevaś ca vai Kusidāyī cātmanor ājñā ayātām | tasya Kusidāyī pūrvasyātidrutasya kūbarah ny amṛtāt | sā dvitīyam upa paryā vartata | iṣāṁ vā . . . akṣāṁ vā chetsyāmīti | sa Vāmadeva ukhyam agnim atibhaḥ . . . ||

races. Indrasenā too, who was the daughter of Nala, a noted charioteer,¹¹ must naturally have known more of chariots and their driving and of races than her husband the Brāhmaṇa ṛṣi. These facts offer, in my opinion, sufficient explanation as to why Mudgala did not himself ride in the race but sent his wife Indrasenā instead as rider.

4. In interpreting stanza 6 of the hymn, Geldner has followed Sāyaṇa in thinking that Mudgalānī (i.e., the wife of Mudgala; Indrasenā) was both the rider (*rathīh*) as well as the charioteer (*sārathīh*) in the race. He has therefore accepted (p. 8) Sāyaṇa's dictum¹² that the word *keśi* in that stanza stands really for the feminine form *keśinī* and means 'having beautiful hair'. Further on, however, Sāyaṇa has given another explanation¹³ according to which Keśinī was the charioteer. I am disposed to think that this last explanation is correct and that this Keśinī is, perhaps, identical with the Keśinī who, in the *Nalopākhyāna*,¹⁴ was employed by Damayantī to observe and report to her the actions of Bāhuka (i.e., Nala), and to carry messages to him.

5. Regarding Geldner's interpretation of stanza 11 of the hymn, an interpretation which is not acceptable to Bloomfield, Oldenberg and Pargiter, the story related above shows that the sense which Geldner attached to the first half of that stanza is quite correct, so correct as to be surprising when one bears in mind that Geldner did not know of the above Mahābhārata story. He has there rightly interpreted the sentence *parivṛkteva patividyam ānaṭ* and has remarked that after winning the race and thus pleasing the old Mudgala, the net advantage gained by Indrasenā was not much to speak of, and that, on the whole, she was rather disappointed

¹¹ Mahābhārata, Vanaparvan, 64, 2; 69, 28-31; 70, 18, etc.

¹² *keśitī sārathyabhiprāveṇa pullīngatā* |

¹³ *athavā keśi keśinī sārathīr aśya* |

¹⁴ Mahābhārata, III. Ch. 72, 73.

than otherwise. The correctness of this opinion is fully borne out by the above story which relates, as we have already seen, how Maudgalya was pleased with his wife, offered her a boon, sported with her as she desired, but left her before her desires were satisfied and thus disappointed her.

6. In the light of what has been said above, Mr. Pargiter's opinion that *vādhri* in stanza 12 refers to Indrasenā's son seems to be untenable.

The above story is not found in Ganapat Krishnaji's edition of the Mahābhārata, with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary, published in Bombay, but seems to occur in some editions of Northern India. It is followed in the Kumbakonam edition (Ch. 214) by another story,¹⁸ known as *Pañcendropākhyāna* ('Story of the five Indras') which is found in the Bombay edition (Ch. 197) and is as follows :

The gods (*devāḥ*) were once engaged in celebrating a sacrifice of many years' duration in the Naimiṣa forest. Once they saw a golden lotus floating in the Gaṅgā river ; and Indra, being curious about its origin, went up the bank of the river until he came to a place where a most beautiful and radiant woman was standing in the water weeping and letting fall tears into the river which at once turned into golden lotuses. Seeing this, Indra was struck with wonder and asked her who she was and why she was weeping. She replied, " If you follow unfortunate me, you will know who I am and why I am weeping." She then led the way, Indra following, to the summit of a mountain where Indra saw a handsome youth playing a game with a radiantly beautiful woman. As this youth took no notice of Indra but continued to play, Indra became angry and said, " Know, O man, that I am Indra and that this universe is mine and obeys my will." The youth who was no other than Śiva, then made Indra enter into a cave where he saw four others like himself

¹⁸ This story is, in parts, reminiscent of that related in Keno-paniṣat (khaṇḍa III).

who had all formerly been Indras. Śiva then said, "You will all five be born human beings and do work on behalf of the gods; this woman too will be born one and will be your wife." The former Indras then prayed that in that case their fathers should be gods while Indra entreated that a son born to him may be allowed to take his place, and work with the other four, on the earth.

This story, too, was related by Vyāsa to Drupada; and Vyāsa, after relating the story, added that the five sons of Pāṇdu were the five Indras and his daughter Kṛṣṇā, that woman.¹⁶

This story corroborates, though in a very unexpected way, the opinion expressed by Bergaigne and Bloomfield that the word *indrasenā* denotes the wife of Indra, while the *Indrasenopākhyāna* that precedes it in the Kumbakonam edition shows that the opinion of Geldner (and others), that *indrasenā* denotes Mudgala's wife, is justified. The two Mahābhārata stories together thus show that Bergaigne (partially) and Geldner were both correct in the views that they held regarding the word *indrasenā*.

* * * *

In the course of the above discussion, we have met with the names of two women, Damayantī and Indrasenā, who were regarded as patterns of pativrataś. Compare Mahābhārata, III. 114, 22-24:

*Śāntā caivam paryacaran narendra
khe Rohiṇī Somam ivānukūlā ||*

*Arundhatī vā subhagā Vasiṣṭham
Lopāmudrā vā yathā hy Agastyam |
Nalasya vai Damayantī yathābhūd
yathā Śaci Vajradharasya caiva ||*

¹⁶ The Kumbakonam edition contains some more stanzas in which it is said that this woman was the daughter of Nala.

*Nālāyani cendrasenā babhūva
 vaśyā nityaṁ Mudgalasyājamidha |
 yathā Sitā Dāśarathī mahātmano
 yathā tava Draupadī Pāṇḍu-putra |
 tathā Śāntā R̥ṣyaśr̥ṅgaṁ vanastham
 pr̥t̥yā yuktaṁ paryacaran narendra ||*

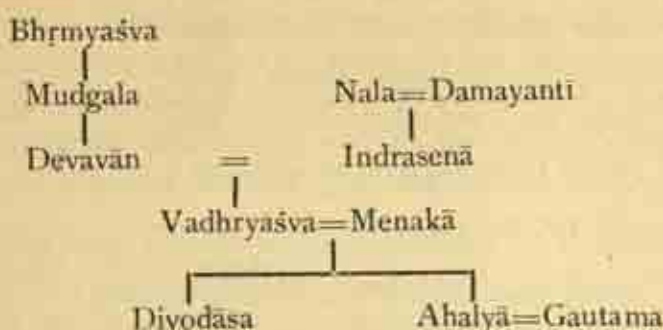
and *ibid.* IV, 24. 17-23 :

*duhitā Janakasyāsīd Vaidēhī yadi te śrutā |
 patim anvacarat Sitā mahāranya-nivāsinaṁ ||
 vasantī ca mahāranya Rāmasya mahiṣī priyā |
 Rāvaṇena hṛtā Sitā rākṣasibhiḥ ca tarjitā |
 sā kliṣyamānā suśroṇī Rāmam evānvapadyata ||
 Lopāmudrā tathā bhīru bhartāram ṛṣisattamaṁ |
 bhagavantam Agastyam sā vanāyaivānvapadyata ||
 Sukanyā nāma Śaryāter Bhārgava-cyavanam vane |
 valmīka-bhūtaṁ sādhiṁ tam anvacadyata bhāmini ||
 Nālāyani cendrasenā rūpenāpratimā bhuvī |
 patim anvacarad vṛddham purā varṣa-sahasriṇam ||
 Nalam rājānam evātha Damayantī vanāntare |
 anvagacchat purā Kṛṣṇe tathā bhartṛm tvam anvagāḥ
 yathaitāḥ kīrtitā nāryo rūpavatyaḥ pativrataḥ |
 tathā tvam api kalyāṇi sarvaṇi samuditā guṇaiḥ ||*

These two were related to each other as mother and daughter. It is therefore interesting to find in this connection that Ahalyā (wife of Gautama and mother of Śātānanda and others) who is regarded as a pattern of chastity,¹⁷ was the daughter of Vadhryaśva son of Indrasenā (Bhāgavata, IX. 21. 34).

¹⁷ See Apte's Dictionary, s.v. *ahalyā*.

We can now rewrite Pargiter's genealogical table as follows:



Of these names, all except Bhṛmyaśva, Nala, Damayanti and Menakā are found in the RV.

§ 4

śagmā

This is an infrequently used word that occurs in about ten passages in the RV and in about the same number of passages in other Vedic texts. It is enumerated by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* amongst *sukha-nāmāni* (3, 6) along with *śiva*, *syona*, *śam* and other words. Sāyaṇa, in his RV commentary explains it mostly as *sukha* or *sukha-kara*, but in two places (7, 97, 6; 8, 2, 27) gives the alternative explanation of *śakta*; Bhaṭṭa-bhāskara explains it as *sukha* or *samartha* and as *śakti-viśeṣa* in his commentary on TS. 1. 8. 22. 2. and TB. 1. 5. 5. 1, while Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara know nothing of *śakta* or *samartha* and explain the word as *sukha* or *sukha-kara* in their commentaries on VS. 3, 43; 4, 2 and 29, 45.

Roth, in the PW, points out that the word is derived from the root *śak* 'to be able' and explains it as 'hilfreich, mittheilsam, entgegenkommend, gütig, fromm' while Grassmann has assigned to it the meanings

'vermögend, stark, kräftig.' Similarly, Ludwig too translates the word as 'kräftig, helfend, wirksam, stark' in his *RV. Ueber.*, while Oldenberg translates it as 'mighty' in 1, 143, 8 (SBE. 46), but as 'Glück' in *Ind. St.* 15, 74. Likewise, Geldner, in his *RV. Glossar*, explains it as 'Glück bringend, heilsam, erfolgreich, günstig'; but in his *RV. Ueber.*, he has given up this view and, following Grassmann and others, translated the word as 'tüchtig.'

Now it seems to be plain that the word *śagmā* is derived from the root *śak* 'to be able'; but it is also equally plain that the meaning 'mighty, kräftig,' or 'tüchtig' does not fit into the context in *RV.* 7, 54, 3: *śagmāyā saṃśādā te sakṣimūhī raṇvāyā gātumātyā* while the meaning *śiva* or *sukha-kara* does. Hence it is not probable that *śagmā* means 'stark, tüchtig, kräftig or mighty' as Grassmann and the other scholars mentioned above think. On the other hand, the juxtaposition of the words *śiva*, *syona* and *saṃyoh* in *VS.* 3, 43: *kṣēmāya vah śāntyai prāpadye śivān śagmān saṃyoh saṃyoh*; 4, 2: *dikṣātapāsoḥ tanūr asi tām tvā śivān śagmān paridadhe*; *AV.* 19, 8, 2: *aṣṭāvimsāni śivāni śagmāni sahā yōgam bhajantu me*; 14, 2, 17: *āghoracakṣur āpatighnī syonā śagmā susēvā*; 4, 27, 3: *śagmā bhavantu marūto naḥ syonāh*; and *Śāṅkh. GS.* 3, 5, 1: *śagman śagman śivān śivān kṣēmāya vah śāntyai prāpadye* points to the conclusion that *śagmā* is a synonym of *śiva*. The *Brāhmaṇa* passage, *tām tvā śivān śāntām śagmān sasukhām sādhvīm vā*, too, cited by Uvaṭa in his commentary¹ on *VS.* 4, 2 shows that the word was so understood in the time of the *Brāhmaṇas*; and since this meaning fits well into the context in all the passages

¹ Uvaṭa merely calls it *śruti*; but one can understand clearly from the way in which the passage is cited, that he is citing from a recension of the *Śata. Br.* The corresponding passage of the *Ajmere* edition reads as *tām tvā śivān śagmān paridadha itī tām tvā śivān sādhvīm paridadha itī evaitad ūha*.

in which it is used (as will be shown presently), there is no doubt that the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* as also Uvāta and Mahidhara are right in explaining the word as *śiva*, *sukha*, or *sukhakara*.

1, 130, 10 : *sā no nāvyebhīr vṛṣakarmann ukthaiḥ*
pūrām dartaḥ pāyūbhīḥ pāhi śagmaiḥ |
divodāsēbhīr indra stāvāno
vāvṛdhithā āhobhir iva dyaūḥ ||

"O thou of strong deeds (praised) with new hymns, protect us with thy auspicious protections, O shatterer of forts. Praised by the Divodāsas (i. e., the descendants of Divodāsa) do thou, O Indra, wax mighty day by day like Dyaus".

After *ukthaiḥ* in pāda a, I supply the word *stāvānaḥ* from c; compare Sāyaṇa and Geldner, *RV. Ueber.* The import of pāda d is not clear. Grassmann, Ludwig and Geldner construe *āhobhir iva* with *dyaūḥ* and translate the expression as 'durch Strahlen wie der Himmel', 'wie mit [in] den tagen der himel', and 'wie der Tag mit der Tageszeiten'; so does Sāyaṇa also who explains it as *dyaūḥ dyotana-sīla ādityaḥ ahobhiḥ prasiddhaiḥ yathā pravṛddho bhavati*. This is not very satisfactory, and I therefore think that it is preferable to construe *āhobhiḥ* with *vāvṛdhithā* and regard *dyaūr iva* only as forming the upamāna. The meaning of the pāda therefore is, 'O Indra, may thy might increase day by day (so as to equal or surpass) that of Dyaus'. Compare in this connection 4, 21, 1 : *ā yātv indraḥ . . vāvṛdhānāḥ tāviṣīr yāsyā pūrvīr dyaūr nā kṣatrām abhībhūti puṣyāt* "May Indra come who, developing his many strengths, increase, like Dyaus, in might overcoming those of others."

The expression *śagmaiḥ pāyūbhīḥ* in b is equivalent to *śivaiḥ pāyūbhīḥ* used in 8, 60, 8 : *śivēbhīḥ pāhi pāyūbhīḥ*; compare also 1, 143, 8 : *śivēbhīr naḥ pāyūbhīḥ pāhi śagmaiḥ* and 6, 71, 3 : *ādabdiēbhīḥ savitaḥ pāyūbhīḥ*

tvām śivēbhīr adyā pāri pāhi. Compare also the word *saūbhagebhīh* in 1, 112, 25: *dyubhīr aktūbhīh pāri pātam asmān āriṣṭebhīr āsvinā saūbhagebhīh*.

1, 143, 8: *āprayucchann āprayucchadbhīr agne
śivēbhīr naḥ pāyūbhīh pāhi śagmāh |
ādadbhebhīr ādrpītebhīr iṣṭē
'nimiṣadbhīh pāri pāhi no jāh ||*

"Protect us, O Agni, never failing, with watchful, auspicious, beneficent protections. O thou sacrifice, protect our children with unwinking [i.e., always watchful] undeceived heedful (protections)." The meaning of *iṣṭē* (so, without accent according to the Padapāṭha) in pāda c is not clear. Being unaccented, it must be a vocative of *iṣṭi* and mean either 'O thou our wish' (this is how Oldenberg understands it, SBE. 46, 158; see also Sāyana) or 'O sacrifice.' I am inclined to think that neither of these two meanings is correct and that the RV poet had something quite different in his mind. *iṣṭa* is found similarly used in 6, 8, 7 also, *ādadbhebhīr tāva gopābīr iṣṭe 'smākaṁ pāhi triṣadhaṣṭha sūrīn*. In both places, Geldner (*RV. Ueber.* 1, 183) is inclined to think that the word used is *iṣṭē*, short for *iṣṭēbhīh*, and that it means 'dear' and is an attribute of *pāyūbhīh* or *gopābhīh*.

5, 43, 11: *ā no divō brhatōh pārvatād ā
sārasvatī yajatā gantu yajñām |
hāvaṁ devī juṣṣāṇā ghrīṭācī
śagmām no vācam usatī śṛnotu ||*

"May the adorable Sarasvatī come to our sacrifice from the high heaven, from the mountain. May she, rich in ghee, and showing favour to our invocation, listen lovingly to our auspicious hymn". Regarding *śagmām vācam* in pāda d, compare *sāmtamāni vācāmsi* and *sāmtamā gīh* etc. in 6, 32, 1: *sāmtamāni vācāmsy āsā sthāvīrāya takṣam*; 5, 42, 1: *prā sāmtamā vāruṇam dīdhiti gīr mitrām bhāgam āditiṁ nūnām āśyāh*; 5, 43,

8: *ácchā mahī bṛhatī śāmtamā gīr dūtō nā gantu*; 1, 76, 1: *bhūvad agne śāmtamā ká maniṣā* and 8, 74, 7: *sā* [sc. *matīh*] *te agne śāmtamā cāniṣṭhā bhavatu priyā*.

6, 44, 2: *yāh śagmās tuciṣagma te*
rāyō dāmā malinām |
sōmah sutūh sū indra tē
'sti svadhāpate mādah ||

"O thou most beneficent, the beneficent intoxicating Soma, giver of riches and hymns, is pressed for thee, O Indra, lord of strength". Compare the epithet *śāmtamah* applied to *mādah* in 9, 104, 3 and to Indra in 8, 53, 5: *ā śāmtama śāmtamābhīr abhiṣṭibhiḥ*; compare also 1, 171, 3: *utā stutō maghāvā śāmbhaviṣṭah*.

6, 75, 8: *rathavāhanam havīr asya nāma*
yātrāyudham nīhitam asya vārma |
tātrā rātham ūpa śagmām sadema
viśvāhā vayām sumanasyāmānāh ||

"*havir* (—*dhāna*) is the name of this chariot-carrier (i.e., of the waggon which carries the chariot) in which is placed the weapon and coat of mail of this (warrior). May we with well-disposed mind always place in it the beneficent chariot." I follow Uvāṭa and Mahidhara (VS. 29, 45) in regarding *havīr* in pāda a as a contraction of *havir-dhāna*; see also Geldner, *Ved. St.*, 2, 275. *havir-dhāna* denotes the waggon which carries the *havis* or oblation; and the chariot-waggon is so called here because the chariot itself as also the weapon and armour are regarded by the RV poet as forming the oblation which the warrior-sacrificer uses in the battle-sacrifice.

* Regarding the expression *śagmām rātham* in c, compare the epithets *sukhā* and *sukhātama* that are applied to *rātha* in many RV verses (for references see Grassmann, s. v. *sukha*), and also the epithet *sacanās* that is applied to it in 1, 116, 18: *revād uvāha sacanō rātho vām*. Compare also the epithet *vāhiṣṭha* 'most

comfortable' in 4, 14, 4: *ā vām vāliṣṭhā ihā té vahantu
rāthā āśvāsah.*

7, 54, 3: *vāstoṣ pate śāgmāyā saṁsādā te
sakṣīmāhi raṇvāyā gātumātyā |
pāhi kṣēma utā yōge vāraṁ no
yūyām pāta svastībhīḥ sādā naḥ ||*

"May we, Vāstoṣpatī, be joined with thy company that is beneficent, pleasant and continuing. Protect us well when we are quietly enjoying or acquiring property. Do ye protect us always with (your) blessings."

7, 60, 5: *imé cetāro ānṛtasya bhūter
mitrō aryamā vāruṇo hī sánti |
imā ṛtāsya vāvrdhur duroṇē
śāgmāsah putrā āditer ādabdhāḥ ||*

"These are the avengers of great wrong, Mitra, Aryamā and Varuṇa. These undeceivable beneficent sons of Aditi grew up in the house of ṛta (Law)". With the expression *śāgmāsah putrā āditeḥ* in pāda d, compare 10, 77, 8: *yajñtyāsa ūmā ādityēna nāmnā śāmbhaviṣṭhāḥ* and 1, 106, 2: *tā ādityā ā gataṁ sarvātātaye bhūtā devā
vrtratūryeṣu śāmbhūvāḥ.*

7, 97, 6: *tām śāgmāso aruṣāso āśvā
bṛhaspātīm sahaṇāho vahanti |
sāhaś cit yāsya nīlavat sadhāstham
nābho nā rūpām aruṣām vāsānāḥ ||*

"Him, Bṛhaspatī, whose blue place draw good bright horses that draw together and that, like the sky, wear brilliant jewels".

Instead of *nīlavat*, the reading *nīlavat* is found in many MSS in the third pāda, whose import, with either reading, is obscure. Sāyaṇa explains pādas cd as *yasya Bṛhaspatēḥ sahaś cit balaṁ ca bhavati | nīlaṁ nīlayo nivāsah | tad-yuktaṁ sadhastham saha-sthānam ca yasya tam Bṛhaspatim ity anvayaḥ | kidṛṣā āśvāḥ | nabho na ādityam iva aruṣam ārocamānam rūpam vāsānā dhārayantaḥ*. Grassmann translates them as 'dessen

Kraft erstarkt ist, ihn fahren hin zum dunkeln Sitz die Hengste . . . mit rothem Glanz umkleidet, wie mit Wolkem', and Ludwig as 'des sigeskraft wie ein nestartiger [zufluchts] ort, die wie der wolkenhimmel in rote farbe gehüllet'.

śagmāso āśvāḥ = horses that draw the chariot comfortably, i. e., good carriage-horses; compare *āśvān* . . . *vāhiyasah* in 1, 104, 1 and *vāhiṣṭhā āśvāḥ* in 4, 14, 4 cited above and other verses (for references see Grassmann s. v. *vāhiṣṭha*). Compare also *suṣṭhuvāho āśvāḥ* in 10, 107, 11: *bhojūm āśvāḥ suṣṭhuvāho vahanti*.

8, 2, 27: *ēhā hārī brahmayūjā*
śagmā vakṣataḥ sākḥāyam |
gīrbhīḥ śrutām gīrvanāsam ||

"May the two good horses that are yoked by the hymn, draw here friend (Indra), fond of praises, who is famous because of hymns of praise".

10, 31, 5: *iyām sâ bhūyā uśāsām iva kṣā*
yād dha kṣumāntaḥ śāvasā samāyan |
asyā stutīm jaritūr bhīkṣamāṇā
ā nah śagmāsa ūpa yantu vājāḥ ||

"May this be the abode, as of the Dawns, where (Riches) come together with food and strength. May the beneficent Riches come to us, eagerly longing for the hymn of this singer". Regarding *śagmāsaḥ vājāḥ*, compare 10, 53, 8: *ātrā jahāma yē āsann āśvāḥ śivān vayām ūt tarcamābhī vājān*.

VS. 3, 43: *ūpahūtā ihā gāva*
ūpahūtā ājāvayaḥ |
ātho ānnasya kilāla
ūpahūto gṛhṣu nah |
kṣēmāya vah śāntyai prāpadye
śivān śagmān śamyóḥ śamyóḥ ||

"Here invoked are cows; invoked, sheep and goats. Then invoked in this our house is the sweetness of food

(i. e., sweet food). I implore you for peace and prosperity ; good fortune, good fortune, happiness, happiness."

VS. 4, 2: *āpo asmān mātāraḥ śundhayantu ghr̥tēna no
ghr̥tapvāḥ punantu | viśvañ hī riṣrām prava-
hanti devīr úd id ābhyah śúcir ā pūtā emi |
dikṣātapāso tanūr asi tām tvā śivān śagmām
pāri dadhe bhadram vārṇam pūṣyan ||*

"May the Waters, mothers, cleanse us ; may they who are clear like ghee, cleanse us with ghr̥ta. The bright ones indeed wash off all filth and I shall get up from them clean and pure. Thou art the body of dikṣā and tapas, and I put on thee, auspicious, beneficent, glorying in a resplendent appearance."

AV. 4, 27, 3: *pāyo dhenūnām rāsam oṣadhīnām
javām ārvatām kavayo yā invatha |
śagmā bhavantu marūto naḥ syonās
tē no muñcantv āmhasaḥ ||*

"O ye poets, who impel milk in cows, sap in herbs, swiftness in coursers, may the Maruts be beneficent, propitious, to us ; may they free us from distress."

AV. 14, 2, 17: *āghoracakṣur āpatighnī syonā
śagmā suśēvā suyāmā ghr̥lēbhyah |
vīrasūr devīkāmā sām tvāyai-
dhiṣīmahi sumanasyāmānā ||*

"With eye not terrible, not husband-slaying, happiness-conferring, beneficent, propitious, of easy control to the house, bearing male children, loving brothers-in-law, with well-disposed mind, — may we thrive together with thee."

AV. 18, 2, 21: *lvāyāmi te mānasā māna itē-
mān ghr̥hān ūpa jujuṣānā chi |
sām gacchasva pitṛbhiḥ sām yamēna
syonās tvā vātā ūpa vāntu śagmāḥ ||*

"I call thy mind here with mind ; come to this house, liking ; unite thyself with the Fathers, with Yama ; let happy auspicious winds waft thee (to them)."

AV. 18. 4, 8: *āṅgīrasām āyanam pūrvo agnir
ādityānām āyanam gārhapatyo
dakṣiṇānām āyanam dakṣiṇāgniḥ |
mahimānam agnēr vihitasya brāhmaṇā
sāmaṅgaḥ sārva ūpa yāhi saṅmāḥ ||*

"The path of the Āṅgīrases is the eastern fire; the path of the Ādityas is the Gārhapatya fire (i. e., householder's fire); the track of the sacrificial gifts is the southern fire; do thou, with thy limbs, whole, happy, attain to the greatness of Agnī who has been created by Brahman".

AV. 19, 8, 2: *aṣṭāvimsāni śivāni saṅmāni
sahā yōgam bhajantu me |
yōgam prā padye kṣēmam ca
kṣēmam prā padye yōgam ca
nāmo 'horātrābhyām astu ||*

"The twenty-eight (asterisms) that are beneficent, helpful, may they be brought into association with me. I take refuge with Yoga (acquisition of property) and Kṣema (enjoyment of property); with Kṣema and Yoga I take refuge. I bow to Day and Night".

Pādas ab mean, 'O ye twenty-eight asterisms, may I be brought into your association, which is auspicious, beneficent'; compare with them RV. 7, 54, 3: *vāstoḥ
patē saṅmāyā saṁśūdā te sakṣimāhi ranvāyā gātumātyā* explained above.

saṅmā further occurs in TB. 1, 5, 5: *vaiśvānarasya
tejasā | rtenāsya nivartaye | satyena parivartay: | tapasā
'syānuvartaye | śivenā 'syopavartaye | saṅmenā 'syābhivartaye* in a mantra that is recited by the priest when shaving the yajamāna. It is not known exactly what the operations are that are denoted by the words *nivartana*, *parivartana*, *anuvartana*, *upavartana* and *abhivartana* here; but there is no doubt that *saṅmā* like *śiva* denotes 'beneficence' or 'auspiciousness' here.

Śāṅkh. GS. 3, 5, 1: *śagmāṁ śagmāṁ śivam śivam kṣe-
māya vah śāntyai prapadye 'bhayaṁ no
astu grāmo ma 'ranyaya paridadātu viśva-
mahāya mā paridehi* |

"Good fortune, good fortune, happiness, happiness;
I take refuge with you for well-being and peace. May
there be security for us; let the village give me over to
the forest. Give me over to the all-great (forest)."

From *śagmā* is derived the word *śagmiya* or
śagmya, which too denotes 'beneficent, auspicious' and
occurs in the two following verses:

RV. 3, 31, 1: *śāśad vāhnir duhitūr naptyām gād
vidvāṁ ṛtāsyā didhitim saparyān |
pitā yātra duhitūh sēkam rñjān
sām śagmyēna mānasā dadhanvé* ||

The import of this verse is obscure. See Sāyaṇa's
commentary, Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, and Geldner,
RV. Ueber. I translate mechanically: "To the grand-
daughter went, instructing, the leader of the sacrifice
knowing ṛta (Law), honouring pious thought, where the
father, passing semen to the daughter, together ran with
beneficent thought."

AV. 5, 1, 9: *ardhām ardhēna pāyasā prahasy
ardhēna śusma vardhase amūra |
āvim vrdhāma śagmiyam sākhāyam
vārunam putrām ādityā īśṛām |
kaviśastāny asmai vāpūṁśy
avocāma rōdasi satyavācā* ||

This verse too, as also the other verses of this hymn, is
obscure; compare Whitney's observation (*AV. Trans.*,
p. 200), "This hymn is intentionally and most successfully
obscure". I reproduce here his (mechanical) translation
with some alterations:

"Half with half milk thou mixest; with half, O
unovercome strength, thou growest. May we magnify

the beneficent friend, Varuṇa the vigorous son of Aditi, the sheep. We have spoken for him brilliant (hymns) praised by poets; the two firmaments of true speech".

§ 5

svāsara

The attempts so far made to elucidate the meaning of this word are not satisfactory. The author of the Vedic *Nighaṇṭu* has mentioned this word three times—once (1, 9) as a synonym of *ahas*, day, once, (3, 4) as a synonym of *grha*, dwelling, and once (4, 3) without mentioning any meaning. The deficiency in this last instance is made good by Yāska who has interpreted it as *ahas*. This meaning *ahas* is repeated by Uvāta and Mahidhara in their commentaries on VS. 26, 11 and by Devarāja in his commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu*. Śāyana, on the other hand, has, in his RV commentary, made use not only of the meaning *ahas* and *grha* (with suitable modifications, as for instance, *yāgāhan* 9, 94, 2; *kuḷāya* 2, 19, 2; *goṣṭha* 2, 2, 2, etc.) but has in addition interpreted the word as *āditya* in 5, 62, 2, as *mārga* in 6, 68, 10, and as *śarīra* in 1, 34, 7; see Geldner, *Ved. Studien*, 3, 111.

Roth has assigned to this word the meanings (1) Hürde, Stall; (2) Gewohnter Ort, Wohnplatz, Wohnung, Nistplatz der Vögel; that is to say, he has confined himself to the meaning *grha* and rejected the meaning *ahas*. This meaning, however, hardly yields good sense in many of the passages where the word occurs; and Geldner has, therefore, in his article on this word (*Ved. Studien*, 3, 110 ff.), investigated anew its meaning, and starting with the assumption that it means both a place and a time of day (as declared by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu*), has come to the conclusion that *svāsara*

means (1) Frühtrieb, Morgenweide; the time before *saṃgava* when the cows graze freely on the pasture; (2) Frühausflug aus dem Nest, die Morgenatzung with regard to birds; and (3) die Frühmesse, Frühlibation, and, *upalakṣaṇa*, all the three *savanāni* or libations'. This interpretation is approved of by Macdonell (see his *Vedic Index*, s. v. *ahan*, *go*, *svāsara*) and apparently by Oldenberg also who translates (*RV. Noten* I, 260) 3, 60, 6c as 'Diese Weiden bieten sich dir dar.' Hillebrandt, on the other hand, translates (*Lieder des RV.*, p. 80) 5, 62, 2c as 'Ihr macht alle Milchströme des (himmlischen) Stalles strotzen' and seems therefore still to follow Roth in his interpretation of the word.

It seems to me that the translations given above of 3, 60, 6 and 5, 62, 2 by Oldenberg and Hillebrandt are hardly satisfactory. Nor are Geldner's translations (given in his *RV. Uebersetzung*) of 1, 34, 7cd ('Drei Entfernungen kommt ihr Wagenlenker Aśvin her zu Frühmesse wie der Windhauch zur Frühweide'), 2, 19, 2cd ('dass die Labsale der Flüsse forteilten wie Vögel zu den Futterplätzen') and 3, 60, 6cd ('Dir stehen diese [Soma-] weiden zur Verfügung auf Geheiss der Götter und nach den Satzungen des Menschen') any better: they indicate that the meanings proposed by Geldner for the word *svāsara* are not correct and that they need to be revised.

The reason for such incorrectness, too, is not far to seek. Geldner has begun his exposition (*Ved. Studien*, 3, 111) with the observations (1) that the verses 2, 34, 8: *dhenūr nā śīṣve svāsareṣu pinvate*; 2, 2, 2: *abhi tvā naktīr uśāso vavāśiré* 'gñe vatsām nā svāsareṣu dhenāvah'; 8, 88,

¹ In his *RV. Glossar*, Geldner gives two meanings only, 'Frühweide, Frühatzung, fig. für die Morgenlibation 1, 3, 8; 2, 34, 5; 8, 90, 1' for this word. It is uncertain whether he has given up the other meanings or merely abstained from reproducing them here as being (in his opinion) inappropriate in the verses referred to.

1: *abhi vatsām nā svāsareṣu dhenāva indram gīrbhīr navāmahe*; 9, 94, 2: *dhīyaḥ pinvānāḥ svāsare nā gāva rīāyāntir abhi vāvaśra indum* show that the cows ooze with milk and low for their calves at the time or place of *svāsara*, and (2) that the the verses 1, 186, 5: *śiṣum nā pīpyūṣīva veti sindhuḥ* and 2, 16, 8: *dhenūr nā vatsām yāvasasya pīpyūṣī* show that the milch-cow longs for and returns to her calf when she is *pīpyuṣī* or *yāvasasya pīpyuṣī*. These observations are unexceptionable², and when taken into consideration along with the statement in Tait. Br. 1, 4, 9, 2: (*tasmāt trir ahnaḥ paśavaḥ prerate | prātaḥ saṁgave sāyam*) that the cows went out to graze thrice a day, *prātaḥ*, *saṁgave* and *sāyam*, they point to the conclusion that the cows returned home from the pasture thrice a day oozing with milk and longing and lowing for their calves. Similarly, Geldner's further observation (p. 113) that *svasara* denotes the time when the cows roam about and freely graze on the pastures (*sva-sara*), supposing that it is correct, points, when taken in conjunction with the above statement of the Tait. Br., to the conclusion that there are three periods of time in each day which can be denoted by the word *svasara* and not one period only, that preceding the *saṁgava* time, as stated by Geldner.

² Except that, as regards the second observation, the word *pīpyūṣī* in 2, 16, 8 has no connection with the word *yāvasasya* which precedes it and which is to be construed with the verb *abhi ā vavṛtsa*. The cow moreover does not long for her calf when she is *pīpyuṣī* but becomes *pīpyuṣī* [i.e., oozing with milk] when she remembers and longs for her calf or sees it; compare Kirātārjuniya 4, 10: *uparataḥ paścimarātrigocarād apārayantah patitum jātena gām | tam utsukāḥ cakrur avekṣayatsukam gavām gaṇāḥ prasnuṭapīvaraudhasaḥ* and the commentator's explanation *utsukā vatsukāḥ kanṣhitāḥ, prasnuṭapīvaraudhaso vatsasmaranāt sravatpīnāpīnāḥ*; Raghuvamśa 1, 84: *bhuvam koṣṇena kunḍodhū medhyenāvabhṛtād apī | prasravanābhivarṣanti vatsūlokapravartinā*; Yaśastilakacampū, 2, 184: *kvacid vatsukjāna-kṣāna-kṣarat-stana-dhenu-dugdha-dhārā-dhāvayamāna-dharāpītham*.

Now, what are the three times of the day when the cows were driven out to graze? It has been remarked, in this connection, by Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, s. v. *go*, note 4) that the exact sense of the above-mentioned passage of the Tait. Br. (1, 4, 9, 2) is obscure and that 'strictly speaking, the cows were driven out from the cattleshed in the morning, spent the heat of the day in the Saṃgavinī, were then driven out during the evening to graze and finally came or were driven home.' That is to say, the cows were, according to him, driven out to graze twice only in the day—in the morning before *saṃgava*, and in the afternoon after *saṃgava*, and not thrice. This view seems to me to be untenable, and I am disposed to think that the statement of the Tait. Br. is correct and that the cows were driven out to graze thrice a day—in the morning (*prātaḥ*), in the *saṃgava* time (*saṃgave*), and in the evening (*sāyam*), that is to say, in the latter part of the night (*paścimarātra*) before the morning-milking, in the late morning after the morning-milking, and in the afternoon some time after the *saṃgava*-milking, and that they returned or were driven home from the pasture before the morning-milking, before the *saṃgava*-milking, and before the evening-milking respectively. Compare also Bhaṭṭabhāskara's comment (p. 235) *tasmād aḥnas triḥ prerate paśavaś caranārthaṃ pratiṣṭhante prātaḥ saṃgave sāyam ca* on this passage.

The return home of the milch-cows has been described frequently by the later Sanskrit classical writers from whose writings I reproduce here some passages on this subject :

1. *upārataḥ paścimarātrigocarād*
apārayantaḥ palitum javena gām |
taṃ utsukāś cakrur avekṣaṇotsukam
gavāṃ gaṇāḥ prasnutapīvaraudhasaḥ ||

2. *nirvāṭi vāsare astūcala-kūṣa- kirīṭe niculamañjari-
bhāmśi tejāmsi muñcati viyan-muṭi marici-māleni
divasa-vihṛti-pratyūgatam prasuta-stanam sta-
nam-dhaye dhayati dhenuvargam udgata-kṣiram
kṣudhita-taryaka-vrāte*

Harsacarita (Nirṇayasāgara ed., p. 80).

3. *amindya Nandini nāma dhenur āvarte vanāt ||*

*bhuvam koṣṇena kundoḍhū medhyenāvabhṛthād aṇi
prusravenābhivarṣanti vatsālokapravartinā ||*

Raghuvamśa (1. 82-84)

4. *sa naicikih pratyaham ātapānte
pratyuktaghoṣā iva vatsanādaiḥ |
madhūmī vamsadhvanibhiḥ prayacchan
utnāya bhūyo 'pi nivāsabhūmim ||*

Yādevābhyudaya 4, 89.

5. *sāyam gato yāmayamena Mādhavah ||
gāvas tato goṣṭham upetya satvaram
huṅkāraghoṣaiḥ parihūtasamgatān |
svakān svakān vatsatarān apāyayan
muhur lihantyaḥ sravad audhasam payah ||*

Śrīmad-Bhāgavata 10. 13. 23-24.

6. *vimucyamāneṣu sandhyopāsanāñjali-mukuleṣu
vighaṭamāneṣu cakravāka-mithuneṣu
mukharibhacatsu mathyamāneṣu
arṇavārṇasv iva abhyarṇa-tarṇaka-svanākur-
nanodirṇena dhenusyāñām dirgha-rambhitāra-
vena gopuramukheṣu*

Yāśastilaka-campū 2, p. 10.

The first of these passages describes the return home of the cows from the *paścimarātri-gocara*, longing (*utsuka*) for their calves and with their udders oozing milk. *paścimarātri-gocara* means the pasture in which the cows graze in the last part of the night; and hence this verse describes the return home of the cows before

the *prātardoha*.² The other passages refer to the return home of the milch-cows in the evening and likewise represent these cows as eager to rejoin their calves, lowing to them, and hastening to them (*goṣṭham upetya satvaram*) with their udders oozing milk (*prasnutastanam*; *prasravaṇa*; *sravad audhasam payah*).

This eagerness of the cows to join their calves, their lowing to them and their hastening to them with udders oozing milk are features that figure also in innumerable verses of the RV that contain comparisons. Compare for instance 10, 149, 4: *vāsrēva vatsām sumānā dūhānā pātir iva jāyām abhi no ny ētu*; 10, 75, 4: *abhi tvā sindho śisum in nā mātāro vāsrā arṣanti pāyaseva dhenāvah*; 1, 38, 8: *vāsrēva vidyūn mimāti vatsām nā mātā śiṣakti*; 1, 32, 2: *vāsrā iva dhenāvah syāndamānā āñjah samudrām āva jagmur āpah*; 1, 164, 28: *gaūr amimed ānu vatsām miśāntam mūrdhānam hīnā akr̥ṇon mātavā u | śk̥vānam gharmām abhi vāvasānā mīmāti māyūm pāyate pāyobhūh*; 9, 86, 2: *āsr̥kṣata vāthyāso yāthā p̥f̥thak | dhenūr nā vatsām pāyasābhi vajrānam*. In the same way, the lowing of the calves for their mother-cows and the licking of the calves by the cows (see Bhāgavata, 10, 13, 24 cited above) are likewise referred to in many RV verses; compare, in respect of the former, 1, 164, 9: *āmimed vatsō ānu gām apaśyat*; 9, 94, 4: *tām vāvasānām mātāyah sacante*; 10, 1, 2: *prā māt̥ybh̥yo ādhi kōnikradad gāh* and in respect of the latter, 3, 41, 5: *rihānti sāvasas pātīm | indram vatsām uā mātārah*; 3, 55, 13: *anyāsyā vatsām rihātī mīmāya*;

² The *prātardoha* takes place in the morning and the cows are immediately after driven out again to the pasture. This pasture can not be denoted by the word *pāstīmarātri-gocara* which means the pasture in which the cows graze in the last part of the night. In the Kāmaṇḍa country, it is known as *ibbaṇi mevū* 'pasture on which dew is falling or has just fallen'; and in the Tamil country it is known as *śiru vidu*; see *Tiruppāvai* translated in Indian Antiquary, Vol. 55, p. 163, stanza 8, and also *ibid*, 56, 107, n. 10.

1, 186, 7: *sīsum nā gāvas tārūṇam rihanti*; 3, 33, 3: *vatsām iva mātārā samrihāntē*.

The passages cited above describe the return home of the milch-cows in the early morning (before the *prātar-doha*) and in the evening (before the *sāyam-doha*) only. I do not know of any which describes their return home at the *saṃgava* time⁴ (before the *saṃgava* milking)⁵; but it can not be doubted that, at that time too, the milch-cows would be eager to rejoin their calves and would hasten to them, lowing and with their udders oozing milk. The oozing of milk from the cows' udders is thus not the characteristic of a place, but of a **time**—the time when the milch-cows return home⁶ from the pasture and are milked. This, as we have seen above, takes place three times a day—*prātah*,

⁴ That they did return home before the *saṃgava* time is clearly indicated by Tait. Br., 1, 5, 3, 1: *mītrasya saṃgavaḥ | tat punyam tejasvy ahaḥ | tasmāt tarhi paśavaḥ samāyanti* and Bhaṭṭabhaṣkara's comment *diganteṣu caritvā vrajam samāgacchanti* thereon.

⁵ This is perhaps due to the fact that while the *prātar-doha* and *sāyam-doha* are universal, the *saṃgava-doha* as well as the return home of the cows at that time, is not. Compare for instance the passage in the Raghuvamśa beginning with 2, 1: *atha brajānām adhipaḥ prabhāte jāyāpratigrāhitagandhamālyām | vanāya pita-pratibaddha-vatsām yaśodhano dhenum eṣer mumoca* which states that the king let loose the cow in order to go and graze in the forest at daybreak after the morning milking, and ending with 2, 15: *saṃcārapātāni digantarāni kṛtvā dinānte nilayāya gantum | pracakrame pallavarāgatāmivā prabhā patangasya munē ca dhenuḥ* which says that the milch-cow turned her face home in the evening after having roamed about all the day. It is obvious from this passage that Vasiṣṭha's *homodhenu* did not return home, and was not milked, at *saṃgava* time. Compare also the epithet *divasa-vihṛti-pratyā-gatam* that is applied to *dhenuvargam* in the Harṣacarita passage cited above.

⁶ And hence I would derive the word *svasara* as *svayam svakiyam sthānam saranti* pratyā gacchanti yasmin kāle gāvas tat svasaram.

samgave and *sāyam* or roughly, in the three *sandhyā* or *savana* times. It is these three times of the day that are denoted by the word *svāsara*.

svāsara is thus approximately equivalent to *sandhyā*, and in the plural, may be said to be a synonym of the word *trisanthyā* or *triṣavāṇa*. It is a *kālavācakaśabda* or word denoting time; and as such, it can be used in sentences to denote the time "when" not only in the locative case, but in the accusative and genitive cases also; see Whitney, §§274c, 300a, and 302b. Compare also Gaedicke (p. 178): "Der Accusativ von Zeitbegriffen besagt, dass der Vorgang während ihrer Dauer, der Genitiv, dass er während eines Theils derselben, der Locativ, dass er zwischen ihren Grenzen, der Instrumental, dass er mit ihrem Eintritt und Verlauf stattfindet. Daher kann die Frage 'wie lange' nur durch den Accusative beantwortet werden, während das 'wann' durch alle vier Casus bestimmt werden kann."

Like the word *sandhyā* which, though denoting the three *sandhyā* times, morning, noon and evening, is sometimes used in the sense of 'evening' only (see Apte), the word *svāsara* too, seems frequently to be used in the sense of 'evening.' This seems to be the case in the verses which refer to the cows oozing milk for their calves or lowing to them. And likewise there seems to be no doubt that *svāsara* means 'evening' in verses 2, 19, 2 and 2, 34, 5, where it is mentioned in connection with birds (*vayaḥ*; *hamsāḥ*); for it is well-known that birds return to their nests in the evening and this fact is referred to in many passages in the later classical literature also. Compare for instance:

ākulaś cala-patātri-kulānām
āravair anudītauśasa-rāgaḥ |
āyayāu aharidaśva-vipāṇḍus
tulyatām dīna-mukhena dīnāntaḥ ||

Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra (1911, p. 308, v. 27)

*paripatati payonidhau patāṅgaḥ
sarasiruhām udareṣu matta-bhṛṅgaḥ |
upavana-taru-koṭare vihaṅgas
taruṇi-janeṣu sanaiṣṣanair anaṅgaḥ ||*

Ibid. (v. 45)

*āvāsotsuka-pakṣiṇaḥ kalarutām krāmanti vṛkṣālayān
.....
dhatte cārunatām gato ravir asāv astāvalam cumbati |*

Ibid. (p. 309, v. 68)

*aparāhṇa-śitalatareṇa sanair
anilena lolita-latāṅgulaye |
nilayāya śākhina ivākvayate
dadur ākulāḥ khagakulāni girah ||*

Māgha (9, 4)

*vihāya dharapitalam unmucya kamalīni-vanāni śakunaya
iva divasāvasāne tapovana-taru-śikhareṣu parvatāgreṣu
ca ravi-kirāṇaḥ sthitim akurvata |*

Kādambarī (B.S.S, ed., p. 47)

*lokāntaram upagalavaty anurāgaśeṣe jāte tejasām adhiṣṭe
.... avataratas tridaśavimāna-kīṅkiṇi-kvaṇita iva śrūya-
māne śākhī-śikhara-kulāya-līyamāna-śakuni-kula-kūjite |*

Harsacarita (p. 170)

*śubhetarālāpa-saṁvaraya-pareva vistāritānibaddha-
kolāhalāni śakuni-kulāni taru-kulāya-koṭareṣu asūṣu
(so!) upavana-rājih krameṇa cātikrānte
pradoṣa-samaye*

Tilakamañjarī (p. 160)

I have no doubt that it is this home-coming of the birds in the evening that is referred to by the above-mentioned RV verses (2, 19, 2; and 2, 34, 5). And similarly, it is my belief that the word *svāsara* denotes 'evening' in verses 1, 3, 8; 2, 2, 2; etc., where it is mentioned in connection with cows. It is true that (in the language of the poets) the cows return home with milk-oozing udders and low to their calves not only in the

evening, but in the other two *svāsara* times also, namely, in the morning and forenoon. But the paucity of references in the later classical literature to the home-coming of the cows in these two *svāsara* times, combined with the many references to their home-coming in the evening, makes me think that the RV poets too had this home-coming of the cows at evening in their mind when they used the word *svāsara* in connection with cows in 1, 3, 8; 2, 2, 2; etc.⁷

I shall now show that the above-mentioned meaning, namely, *sandhyā* time or evening, fits into the context and yields good sense in all the passages where the word *svāsara* occurs. I begin with

1, 3, 8: *vāśve devāso aptūrah sūtām ā ganta tūrṇayah |*
usrā iva svāsarāṇi ||

"O ye All-Gods, come ye here, conquering the waters (in respect of rapid motion), quick, to the Soma juice, as cows in the evening." *svāsarāṇi*=*svasareṣu*. The comparison *usrā iva svāsarāṇi* means *yathā usrāḥ svasareṣu vatsān prāṇi satvaram gacchanti tathā*. This idea of swiftness is expressed, besides, by the epithets *tūrṇayah* and *aptūrah*. The *savana* time that is proper to the Viśvedevas is the third or evening *savana*: compare Ch. Up. 2, 24, 1: *ādityānām ca viśveṣām ca devānām tṛtīyasavanam*; and though this verse is, in the ritual, (Āś. Śr. Sūtra, 5, 10, 5) prescribed for recitation in connection with the Vaiśvadevagraha of the *prātasavana*, it is not improbable that it was originally recited in connection with the evening *savana* and that the word *svāsarāṇi* is to be construed with the verb *āganta* also.

1, 34, 7: *trīr no aśvinā yajatā divē-divē*
pāri tridhātu prthivīm aśāyatam |
īśrō nāsatyā rathyā parāvāta
ātmēva vātaḥ svāsarāṇi gacchatam ||

⁷I have, therefore, in what follows, translated *svāsara* as 'evening' in these verses. It is, however, open to those who do not share my above-expressed belief to translate the word as '*sandhyā* time.'

"Thrice every day, O ye worshipful Aśvins, do ye come to the threefold earth, to us. O ye Aśvins that ride on chariots, ye go (*i.e.*, pass) through the three distant places at the *sandhyā* times (as swiftly) as the swift-moving wind." With regard to the last pāda, compare 1, 79, 1: *vāta iva dhrājimān*; 1, 163, 11: *tāva cillām vāta iva dhrājimān*; 10, 95, 2: *durāpanā vāta ivāhām asmi*; 4, 38, 3: *ratnatūram vātam iva dhrājantam*; 7, 33, 8: *vātasyeva prajāvo nānyēna*; 10, 78, 3: *vātāso nā yē dhūnayo jigatuāvah*, etc., all which contain comparisons referring to the swiftness of the wind.

2, 2, 2: *abhī tvā nāktīr uśāso vavāśīre*
'gne vatsām nā svāsareṣu dhenāvah |
divā ivēd aratīr mānuṣā yugā
kṣāpo bhāsi puruvāra saṃyātah ||

"For thee, O Agni, did they low, in the nights and in the mornings, as milch-cows do for their calf in the *sandhyā* times. Being bright, thou shinest, as in day so in the nights, successively, throughout man's life, O thou that hast many desirable things."

It is the opinion of Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, I, 189) that the words *nāktīh* and *uśāsaḥ* are in the nominative case and should be regarded as the subject of the verb *vavāśīre*, the verse being translated as: 'dir haben Nächte und Morgenröten zugebrüllt.' This is the opinion of Bloomfield also (*RV. Repetitions* I, p. 162) who refers to 9, 94, 2 (in which I find nothing bearing on this point) in this connection; and Sāyaṇa too has given this as an alternative explanation.

There is however no verse elsewhere in the RV in which the Nights and Dawns are represented as crying after Agni. I prefer therefore to regard *nāktīh* and *uśāsaḥ* as being in the accusative case and used here in adverbial sense. This is the view of Sāyaṇa also in his first explanation and of Geldner. As subject of the verb *vavāśīre* we have to understand either the priests or the

prayers; compare 10, 64, 15: *grāvā yātra madhuśūda*
ucyāte brhād āvivaśanta matibhir maniṣṇaḥ and 1, 62, 3:
sām usrīyābhir vāvaśanta nāraḥ where the priests are
 said to have lowed for the gods and for Indra; and also
 8, 44, 25: *āgne dhrtāvatāya te samudrāyeva sindhavaḥ |*
gīro vātrāsa irate and 7, 5, 5: *tvām agne harito vāvaśanā*
gīraḥ sacante dhūmayo ghrīāciḥ where the prayers
 (*gīraḥ*) are said to low after Agni and run to him.
 Compare also 9, 63, 21: *matī vāprāḥ sām asvarau* where
 the priests are said to cry after Soma with prayers.

2, 19, 2: *asyā maudānō mādho vājrahastō*
'him indro aruovṛtam ā vr̥scat |
prā yād vāyo nā svāsarāṇy ācchā
prāyāmsi ca nadīnām cākramanta ||

"Exhilarated with this sweet juice, Indra, who carries the Vajra in his hand, cut off the dragon who had confined the waters, so that, like birds in the evening, the pleasing (*i.e.*, refreshing) waters of the rivers, too, moved swiftly towards (the sea)."

The reference here is to Indra's well-known exploit of the liberation of the Waters and Cows after slaying the dragon; and I therefore agree with Sāyaṇa in his opinion that the word *samudram* is to be supplied after *ācchā* in the second half-verse. Compare the next verse: *indro ārṇo apām prārayat alihācchā samudrām*; see also Geldner, *Ved. Studien*, 3, 115, who, in his *RV. Uebersetzung*, however, construes *ācchā* with the word *svāsarāṇi* and translates: 'die Labsale der Flüsse forteilten wie Vögel zu den Futterplätzen.'⁸

It is hard to explain why the word *ca* has been used in pāda 4. Its use implies that something else, besides the *prāyāmsi*, moved swiftly; and what this something

⁸He has similarly construed *ācchā* with *svāsarāṇi* in *Ved. Studien*, 3, 52 also where he has translated: 'wie Vögel zur Morgenatzung, (die Fluten) und der Wonnetränk der Flüsse davoneilten.'

else is, it is difficult to determine; see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, I, 203. Perhaps it is the *arṇāṁsi*, torrents, referred to by the word *arṇavāṁ* in pāda b (compare also the words *arṇo apām* in the next verse). This is the view of Geldner in *Ved. Studien*, 3, 52, though in this case, it is difficult to make a distinction between the *arṇāṁsi* and *prayāṁsi*. Or perhaps, it is the cows that Indra sets free with the waters or rivers (compare 1, 32, 12: *ājayo gā ājayaḥ sūra sōmam āvāsraḥ sārtaṁ sapta sāndhūm* and 2, 23, 18: *tāva śriyē vy ājihīta pārvato gāvāṁ goṭrām udāsrjo yād aṅgiraḥ | indreṇa yujā tāmasā pārvataṁ bṛhaspate nṛ apām aubjo arṇavām*) and that are likewise mentioned in the next verse: *indro arṇo apām prairayaṁ alihācchā samudrām | ājanayāt sūryam vidāt gā aktūnāhuām vayūnāṁ sādhat*. Compare also 1, 61, 10: *indrah | gā nā vrāṇā avānir amuñcat* 'Indra set free, like the cows, the rivers that were confined.'

Here too, *svāsarāṇi*—*svāsareṣu*. The point of comparison in the simile *vāyo nā svāsarāṇi* 'like birds in the evening,' is swiftness which, though not mentioned, is to be understood here; compare in this respect the verse 1, 3, 8 (explained above) where too the *sāmānyadharma* is not mentioned.

I have cited above many passages from classical Sanskrit writers which describe the return of birds to their nests in the evening. One only of these, namely, *ācāśotsukapakṣiṇaḥ kalarutam krāmanti vṛkṣālayān* . . . mentions that the birds are 'eager,' i.e., hurrying, to return to their nests: the other passages make no mention of this feature. To compensate for this, there are many RV verses that make no mention of evening-time, but refer, expressly or implicitly, to the swift movement of the birds when returning to their nests. Compare, for instance, 6, 3, 5: *citrādhrajaṭir avatir yō aktōr vīr nā druṣādvā raghupātmajamhāḥ* 'of wonderful speed, shining at night, with swift-flying wings like a bird

that is going to sit on a tree (i.e., that is going to its nest; compare particularly the words *āvāsa* and *apksālaya* in the passage *āvāsotsukapakṣīnah kalarutam* . . . cited above): 1, 25, 4: *pārā hi me vimanyavaḥ pātanti vāsya-īṣṭaye | vāyo nā vasatir āpa*, 'like birds to their nests, my prayers fly swift, seeking good fortune'; 1, 30, 4: *ayām u te sām atasī kapotā iva garbhadhīm* 'this (Soma juice) is for thee; thou fliest to it as swiftly as a dove does to its nest'; 1, 33, 2: *ūpēd ahām dhanadām āpratitam jūṣṭam nā śyenō vasatim patāmi* 'I fly swiftly to him, the giver of riches, the irresistible, as the falcon flies to its own dwelling-place'; 1, 183, 1: *tām yuñjāthām mānaso yō jāviyān trivandhurō vṛṣanā yās tricakrāḥ | yēnopayāthāḥ sukṛto dūronām tridhātunā patatho vir nā pārvaḥ* 'yoke, ye two bulls, that (chariot), which is swifter than thought, has three seats, three wheels and three parts, and on which ye come, ye fly swiftly, to the dwelling of the pious person like a bird that flies with its wings to its dwelling-place'; 10, 115, 3: *tām vo vim nā druṣādām . . . mūhivratam nā sarājan-tam ādhvaṇah* 'him (sc. Agni), who moves (as swiftly) as a bird that is going to sit on a tree (i.e., that is going to its nest) . . . raising dust over paths like a mighty person.'* Compare also 9, 72, 5: *āprāḥ krātūn sām ajair adhvarē matir vēr nā druṣāc camvōr āśadat dhārīḥ*; 9, 61, 21: *sāmmiṣṭo aruṣō bhava sūpasthābhir nā dhenūbhiḥ | sīdañc chycnō nā yōnim ā*; 9, 62, 4: *āsāvy amśūr mādāyāpsū dākṣo girīsthāḥ | śyenō nā yōnim āśadat*; 9, 71, 6: *śyenō nā yōnim sātanaṁ dhiyā kṛtām hiraṇyāyaṁ āśadam devā ēṣati | ē riṇanti barhiṣi priyām girā* 'so nā devān āpy eti yajñīyah'; 9, 82, 1: *āśavi sōmo*

* *sarājanam*, I conceive, is the participle of a denominative verb formed from *saraja* (*sa* + *raja* which is another form of *rajas*; see PW, s.v., *raja* and *saraja*) and meaning 'to make dusty; to raise dust.' Regarding the simile *mūhivratam nā sarājanam ādhvaṇah*, cf. 10, 40, 3: *kāśya dhvasrā bhavathāḥ kāśya vā narā rājaputrēva sāvanāva gacchathāḥ*.

aruṣō vṛṣā hārī rājeva dasmō abhī gā acikradat | *punānō vāram pāry ety avyāyam syenō nā yōnīm ghṛtāvantaṁ āśadam*; 9, 86, 35: *iṣam ūrjam pavamānābhy ūrṣasi syenō nā vāmsu kalāṣeṣu śidasi*; 10, 43, 4: *vāyo nā vṛkṣām supalāśām āśadan sōmāsa indram mandināṁ camūśādah* where the idea of swiftness is implied by the comparison with the bird or falcon 'sitting,' i.e., going to sit, in its nest.¹⁰

The comparison *vāyo nā svāsarāṇi* therefore in the above half-verse (*prā yād vāyo nā svāsarāṇy ācchā prāyaṁsi ca nadīnāṁ cākramanta*) means 'as swiftly as birds (fly to their dwelling-places) in the evening.' The idea of swiftness is referred to clearly in other passages also that describe the running forth of the Waters or rivers after their liberation by Indra: compare 3, 32, 6: *tvām apo yād dha vṛtrām jaghanvān ātyān iva prāsrjah sārtaṁvājau*; 1, 32, 2: *āhann āhim pāroate śisṛiyānām . . vāsrā iva dhenūvaḥ syāudamānā āñjah samudrām āva jagmur āpah*; 1, 130, 5: *tvām vṛthā nadyā indra sārtaṁvēcchā samudrām asṛjo rāthān iva vājayatō rāthān iva*; 2, 15, 3: *vājrena khāny atṛṇan nadīnām | vṛthā 'srjat pathībhir dīrghayāthaiḥ*; 4, 17, 3: *vādhid vṛtrām vājrena mandasānūḥ sārann āpo jāvasā hatāvṛṣniḥ*; 10, 111, 9-10: *srjāḥ sindhūr āhim jagrasānān ād id etāḥ prā vivijre jāveṇa | mīmukṣamānā utā yā mūmucrē 'dhēd etā nā ramante nītiklāḥ || sadhrīcīḥ sindhum usatīr ivāyan.*

2, 34, 5: *indhanvābhir dhenūbhiḥ rapśādūdhabhir adhvasmābhiḥ pathībhir bhrājadṛṣṭayah* |

¹⁰ This idea of swiftness is expressed clearly in other verses and similes; cf., for instance, 9, 62, 8: *sō arṣēndrāya pītāye tīrō rāmāny avyāyā | śidan yōnā vāneṣv ā*; 9, 62, 16: *pāvamānāḥ sūtō nībhīḥ sōmo vājam ivāsarāt | camūzu lākmanāsādam*; 9, 62, 19: *āśīdān kalāśam sūtō vṛṣā arṣam abhī ūrīyah | śūro nā gōyū tiṣṭhātī*; 9, 64, 20: *ā yād yōnīm hīranyāyam āśūr rāśyo śidatī*; 9, 87, 1: *prā tā dvāva pāri kōṣam nī śīda nībhīḥ punānō abhī vājam arṣa.*

*ā hamsāso nā svāsarāṇi gantana
mādhora mādāya marutaḥ samanyavaḥ ||*

"With the flaming (?) cows whose udders are full, come, O ye Maruts that are of the same mind, and that have bright spears, by dustless roads for the delight of the sweet (drink), (as swiftly) as swans in the evening."

The exact meaning of *indhanvabhīḥ*, which occurs in this one passage only, is not known. The sense of *pāda* a too, is somewhat obscure.

svāsarāṇi in this verse too is equivalent to *svāsareṣu*. The comparison *hamsāso nā svāsarāṇi* refers, not to the genus bird, like 6, 3, 5; 1, 25, 4; 1, 183, 1; etc., cited above, but to a particular species of birds; it resembles in this respect the verses 1, 30, 4: *ayām u te sām atasi kapotā iva garbhadhīm* and 1, 33, 2: *jūṣṭām nā śyenō vasatīm patāmi* (also cited above) which likewise refer to particular species of birds. The *sāmānyadharmā*, however, is the same, to wit, swiftness, in all these verses.

2, 34, 8: *yād yuñjāte marūto rukmāvakṣasō
'śvān rātheṣu bhāga ā sudānavah |
dhenūr nā śīṣve svāsareṣu pinvate
jānāya rātāhaviṣe mahīm iṣam ||*

"When the liberal Maruts, with ornaments on their breasts, yoke their horses in the chariots for the purpose of blessing, they ooze copious refreshments for him who has offered oblations as the milch-cow (does) to her calf in the evenings."

3, 60, 6: *indra r̥bhumān vājavān matsvchā no
'smīn sāvane śācyā puruṣtuta |
imāni tūbhyaṁ svāsarāṇi yemire
vratā devānām mānuṣā ca dhārmabhīḥ ||*

"Indra, delight thou now here ardently with the Rbhus and Vāja in this our oblation of the Soma juice, O thou that art much praised. These *savane* times are set apart for thee according to the ordinance of the gods

and the customs of man." Note the juxtaposition of the sentences, *asmitā sāvaṇe matsva* and *imāni tūbhyāṁ svāsaraṇi yemire* which too points to the conclusion that *svāsara* denotes the time of *savana*.

3, 61, 4: *āva syūmeva cinvatī maghōny
uṣā yāti svāsarasya pātni |
svār jānanti subhāgā sutāmsā
āntād divāḥ papratha ā prthivyāḥ ||*

"Gathering rays, as it were, comes the liberal Dawn, the ruler of *sandhyā*. Bringing out the sun, she who is beautiful and has great might, has spread to the end of heaven and of earth."

The meaning of the expression *āva syūmeva cinvatī* is obscure. The epithet *svāsarasya pātni* is appropriate to *Uṣas*, because she is the deity that presides over the *sandhyā* time.

5, 62, 2: *tāt sū vām mitrāvaruṇā mahitvām
irmā tasthūṣir ūhabhir duduhre |
viśvāḥ pinvathah svāsarasya dhēnā
ānu vām ēkaḥ pavir ā vavarta ||*

"This, O Mitra and Varuṇa, is your greatness, (namely), that those who are here were milked day by day. You make all the prayers ooze (i.e., yield favourable results) at *sandhyā* time; the felly alone revolved after you."

The signification of *irmā* in pāda b is obscure. Regarding pāda c compare 5, 71, 12: *viśvasya hī pracetasā
varuṇa mitra rājathah | isānā pipyatam dhīyah*; 9, 19, 2: *yuvām hī sthāḥ svarpatī indraś ca soma gōpatī | isānā
pipyatam dhīyah*; 10, 64, 12: *tām (dhīyam) pipayata
pāyaseva dhenūm*.

6, 68, 10: *indrāvaruṇā sutapāv imām sutām
sōmam pibatam mādyaṁ dhrtavratā |
yuvō rātho adhvaram devāritaye
prāti svāsaram ūpa yāti pītāye ||*

"O Indra and Varuṇa who uphold the ordinances, drink, ye Soma-drinkers, this exhilarating Soma-juice that has been pressed. Your chariot comes towards evening to the sacrifice for the meal of the gods, that you may drink." This verse is one of those that are prescribed to be recited in the course of the third or evening *savana* (see Āś. Śr. Sūtra, 5, 5, 19); and hence it is likely that *svāsara* is used here in the sense of 'evening.'

8, 88, 1: *tām vo dasmām ṛtīśāham*
vāsoṛ mandāwām āndhasah |
abhi vatsām nā svāsareṣu dhenāva
īndram girblīr navāmahe ||

"We cry with our hymns for mighty Indra, the conqueror in battles, who takes delight in the bright food (*i.e.*, the Soma juice), as milch-cows do for their calves in the evenings."

8, 99, 1: *tvām idā hyō nārō 'pīpyan vajrin bhūrṇayah |*
sū indra stōmavāhasām
ihā śrudhy ūpa svāsaram ā gahi ||

"The zealous men (*i.e.*, the priests), O Vajra-bearer, have made thee drink now and yesterday. Hear now, O Indra, the (priests) who bring forward (thy) praises; come towards the evening."

9, 94, 2: *dvitā vyūrvānu amṛtasya dhāma*
svarāde bhūvanāni prathanta |
dhīyah pinvānāḥ svāsare nā gāva
ṛtāyāntir abhi vāvastra indum ||

"Opening again widely the abode of immortality, they spread the worlds for the finding of the sun. Oozing milk like cows in the evenings, the holy hymns lowed for Soma."

AV, 7, 23, 2: *bradhnāḥ samicitṛ uśāsah sām airayan |*
arepāsah śācetasah
svāsare manyumāttamāś citē gōh ||

The import of this verse is obscure. I translate, following Whitney: "The bright one, sending out in *sandhyā* time the beautiful dawns, faultless, like-minded, most furious, in the gathering of the cow."

Śata. Br. 4, 3, 5, 20: *ādityebhyaḥ . . . maha svasarasya patibhyaḥ* |

"For the Ādityas who are the lords (*i.e.*, presiding deities) of the advanced (*i.e.*, the latest or third) *sandhyā* time," *maha svasarasya* means the 'advanced *svasara*' or 'third *svasara*'; compare the similar use of *mahā* in *mahārātra*. With regard to the third *savana*, compare Ch. Up. 2, 34, 1: *ādityānām ca viśveṣām ca devānām tṛtīyasavanam* (cited above), according to which this *savana* belongs to the Ādityas and Viśvedevas; compare also Śata. Br. 4, 3, 5, 1: *ādityānām tṛtīya-savanam*. The Ādityas are therefore here represented as presiding over the third *savana*, that is, over the third *svasara*.

§ 6

arati

The word *arati* which I have above (p. 92) interpreted as 'bright' occurs in about thirty RV verses and has been differently explained by exegetists. Sāyaṇa has explained it variously as *svāmin* or *iśvara* (1, 59, 2; 1, 128, 6; 1, 128, 8; 2, 4, 2; 2, 2, 3; 6, 15, 4; 7, 10, 3; etc.); *vyāpta*, *vistrta* (2, 2, 2; 2, 2, 3); *prāpāyitr* (1, 58, 7); *gantr* or *abhigantṛ* (6, 3, 5; 6, 7, 1; etc.) and *apriti* or *aramaṇa* (3, 17, 4; 4, 38, 4). Uvata and Mahīdhara have interpreted the word as *alamati*, *paryāptamati* in VS. 7, 24 and 15, 32; and the latter has besides suggested the meanings *pūrakam*, *ratir uparatir tadrahitam* and *ratir uparamas tadrahitam*, *sadodyamayutam ity arthah* for the word *aratim*. Simi-

larly, Bhaṭṭabhāskara too has paraphrased *arati* by *uparativahita* in his commentary on Tait. Br. 2, 5, 4, 4, as does also Sāyaṇa in *ibid.*, 2, 8, 2, 4.

Roth (in PW) has interpreted the word as *Dieuer, Gehülfe, Verwalter, Ordner, administrierender* while Grassmann, differing from him, has said that the word means 'der das Opfer zurechtet, zu Stande bringt.' Oldenberg, in SBE, 45, has explained the word as 'steward.' Bergaigne (*Quarante Hymnes, V*) translates it as 'ministre' and Ludwig and Griffiths as 'messenger.' Geldner, in his *Glossar* gives the meaning 'Herr' (which Hillebrandt also approves of; *Lieder des RV*, p. 22), but in his *Üebersetzung*, has translated the word as 'Lenker,' and 'Rosselenker.' He has also added the following explanatory note (p. 68): "Agni ist der *arati* der Götter (2, 4, 2), von Himmel und Erde (1, 59, 2; 2, 2, 3; 6, 49, 2; 10, 3, 7), des himmels (2, 2, 2; 10, 3, 2), der Erde (6, 7, 1). In Verbindung mit den Vasu's auch 10, 3, 2; *arati* ursprünglich wohl der Rosse- und Wagenlenker (der 'hyppelata') and dann der Lenker überhaupt. Für die Bedeutung 'Rosselenker' spricht bes. 4, 38, 4; 8, 19, 1 (*devāso devām aratīm dadhanvire*) und 2, 4, 2 (*aratir jirāśvak*). Als Bezeichnung des Agni verbindet sich *ar-* gern mit *dūtā* und *havyavāh* (3, 17, 4; 6, 15, 4; 7, 10, 3; 8, 19, 21; 10, 46, 4)."

None of these interpretations fits into the context in, for instance, 6, 3, 5: *citrādhrājatir aratir yó aktōr vēr nā druśādvā raghupātmajamhāk*; and hence it is my belief that none of them is correct.

The terms *īśvara* (Herr), *vyāpta*, *gauri*, *gopāh*, etc., refer to characteristics that are common to almost all RV deities and can be used as epithets of all such deities, while in fact, the word *arati* is used of Agni only. This in itself is enough to raise doubts in my mind as to whether *arati* means *īśvara*, (Herr), *vyāpta*, or *gauri*, etc. On the other hand, I believe that the correct signification of the

word *arati* is, in all probability, one that has specific reference to Agni, that in fact, *arati* means 'he who shines; the bright one; *śukra*; *pāvaka*.' I give here below the reasons for such belief.

I. The verse 10, 45, 7: *uśik pāvako aratih sumedhā mārteṣu agnir amṛto nī dhāyi* is in most respects parallel to the verse 1, 60, 4: *uśik pāvako vāsuv mānuṣānām vārenyo hōtā dhāyi vikṣu*; and it seems therefore (since *aratih* cannot mean *vārenyah*¹ and *sumedhāh* cannot mean *vāsuḥ*) that *aratih* is equivalent to *vāsuḥ* or bright.

II. Again, five out of the thirty passages in which the word *arati* occurs, namely 1, 59, 2 (*arati vōdasyoh*); 2, 2, 3 (*divās prthivyor aratim uy ērivc*); 6, 49, 2 (*ādyptakratum aratim yuvatyoh*); 7, 5, 1 (*divo arataye prthivyāh*); and 10, 3, 7 (*divās-prthivyor aratir yuvatyoh*) say that Agni is the *arati* of Heaven and Earth. Now what exactly is the relation between Agni on the one hand, and Heaven and Earth on the other, that is referred to by the word *arati* in these passages? An examination of the RV hymns addressed to Agni discloses that the following relations are mentioned therein:

1. Agni is the generator of Heaven and Earth (1, 96, 4: *viśām gopā janitā vōdasyoh*).
2. He is the son of Heaven and Earth (3, 5, 2: *sā mātrōr abhavat putrā idyah*; cf. also 10, 1, 7; 10, 140, 2).
3. He 'glorified' his parents, Heaven and Earth, when he was born (3, 3, 11: *ubhā pitārā mahāyann ajāyātāgnir dyāvāprthivi*).
4. He 'renovated' his parents (*mātārā*), i.e., Heaven and Earth, again and again (3, 5, 7: *pūnah-punar mātārā nūvyasi kah*).

¹ This becomes clear from the context of the other verses where the word *arati* occurs, and where the meaning *vārenyah* does not give good sense.

5. He 'saw' Heaven and Earth (3, 26, 8: *ād id dyāvāprthivī pūry apasyat*).
6. He follows, i.e., is like to, Heaven and Earth in point of *prkṣa* or strength (2, 1, 15: *prkṣō yād ātra mahinā vī te bhūvad ānu dyāvāprthivī rōdasī ubhē*).
7. He supported Heaven and Earth (6, 8, 3: *vy āstabhūād rōdasī mitrō ādbhutaḥ*).
8. He is prayed to make Heaven and Earth well-inclined (2, 2, 7: *prāci dyāvāprthivī brāhmaṇā krdhī*).
9. He moves in Heaven and Earth as *dūta* (3, 3, 2); *antār dūtō rōdasī dasmā iyate*; cp. also 4, 7, 8; 7, 2, 3).
10. He enters into Heaven and Earth (10, 80, 2: *agnīr mahī rōdasī ā vivṛṣa*; see also 3, 3, 4; 3, 7, 4; 3, 61, 7) or moves in them (10, 80, 1: *agnī rōdasī vī carat smamañjān*), adorning them.
11. He extends Heaven and Earth with his light (6, 1, 11: *ā yās tatāntha rōdasī vī bhāsā*; see also 10, 1, 7; 5, 1, 7; 6, 4, 6; 7, 5, 4; 10, 88, 3).
12. He brings Heaven and Earth to the sacrifice and offers oblations to them (6, 16, 24: *vāso yakṣihā rōdasī* and 3, 7, 9: *mahō devān rōdasī thā vakṣi*; see also 6, 12, 1; 6, 11, 4; 6, 15, 15; 3, 15, 5; 10, 11, 9); he offers oblations to them as *hotṛ* (3, 17, 2: *yāthā 'yajō hotṛām agne prthivyā yāthā divō jātavedas cikītvān | evānuena havīṣā yakṣi devān*) or invokes them as *hotṛ* (7, 7, 3: *hōtā | ā mātārā viśvāvāre huvānāḥ*).
13. He fills Heaven and Earth with light (6, 48, 6: *ā yāḥ paprau bhānūnā rōdasī ubhē*; see also

1, 69, 1; 1, 73, 8; 3, 2, 7; 3, 3, 10; 3, 6, 2;
7, 13, 2; 10, 140, 2).

14. He surpasses Heaven and Earth in greatness (3, 6, 2; *rôdasi . . utâ prâ rikthâ âdha nû prayajyo*).
15. He rolls up Heaven and Earth like two skins (6, 8, 3; *vî cârmanîva dhişânî avartayat*).
16. He roars at Heaven and Earth (10, 8, 1; *â rôdasi vrşabhô voravîti*).
17. He gladdens Heaven and Earth with his friendship (10, 88, 2; *tâsya devâh prthivî dyaür utâpô 'rayayann ôşadhîh sakhyê asya*).
18. He is known to Heaven and Earth (10, 88, 8; *tâm dyaür veda tâm prthivî tâm âpah*).
19. He sits in the lap of Heaven and Earth (7, 6, 6; *vaişvânarô vâram â rôdasyor âgnîh sasâda pitrôr upâstham*).
20. He is the ruler of Heaven and Earth (7, 6, 2; *hinvânti sâh râjyâm rôdasyoh*).
21. He shines upon or illumines Heaven and Earth (3, 15, 3; *agnîr dyāvāprthivî vişvajanyê â bhâtî devî amṛtê amūrah*; see also 1, 143, 2; 3, 2, 2; 1, 96, 5; 2, 2, 5; 10, 45, 4; 7, 12, 1; 6, 3, 7).

The word *arati*, in all probability, refers to one of these twenty-one kinds of relations, and that being so, it becomes obvious that the first-mentioned twenty cannot be denoted by it (for none of these fits into the context in the other passages where the word *arati* occurs), and that it can refer to the twenty-first only.

arati thus means 'one who shines or illumines, bright, brilliant, radiant.' It is therefore derived from the same root *r* or *ar* 'to shine' (and not from *r* or *ar* 'to go' as Sāyaṇa has suggested) as the words *arunâ* and *aruṣâ* and is practically synonymous with these two words and also with *pāvakâ*, *śukrâ*, *śuci*, *viśhāvan*,

rukṃā, etc., all which words mean 'bright, resplendent, radiant,' and are, like the word *arati*, used most often as epithets of Agni or Sūrya.

I shall now show that this meaning 'bright, brilliant, radiant' suits the context in all the verses in which *arati* occurs. Of these 2, 2, 2: *abhi tvā naktīr uṣāso ravāśiré 'gne vatsām ná svāsareṣu dhendvāḥ | divā vved aratīr mānuṣā yugā kṣāpo bhāsi puruṣara saṃyūtaḥ* has already been explained above (p. 92).

1, 59, 2: *mūrdhā divo nābhīr agnīḥ pṛthivyā āthābhavad aratī rōdasyoh | tāṃ tvā devāso 'janayanta devām vaiśvānara jyōtir il āryāya ||*

"The head of Heaven and the navel of Earth, Agni became the illuminator of (i.e., shone upon) Heaven and Earth. The gods have engendered thee, the god, as light for the Ārya, O Vaiśvānara."

Regarding the expression *aratī rōdasyoh*, compare 1, 143, 2: *prā dyāvā soāḥ pṛthivī arocayat*; 10, 45, 4: *ā rōdasi bhanūnā bhāty antāḥ*; 1, 96, 5: *dyāvā kṣāmā rukmō antār vā bhāti* and other similar verses in which Agni is said to have illuminated Heaven and Earth with his light.

2, 2, 5: *tām devā budhnē rājasah sudāmsasam divāspṛthivyōr aratīm ny ètīre | rātham iva vēdyam sukṛāsoctṣam agnīm mitrām ná kṣitṛsu praśāmsyam ||*

"The gods set up at the bottom of space (i.e., on the earth) him, Agni, with bright light, who illuminates (i.e., shines upon) Heaven and Earth, who wins (the prize) like a chariot, who is, like a friend, worthy of being praised."

6, 7, 1: *mūrdhānam divo aratīm pṛthivyā vaiśvānarām ṛtā ā jātām agnīm | kavīm samrājām ātithīm jānānam āsān ā pātram janayanta devāḥ ||*

"The gods have engendered Agni Vaiśvānara, born in rta, the head of Heaven, the illuminator of Earth, wise, sovereign, the guest of men, the drinking-vessel (of the gods)."

Regarding the expression *āsān pātram* in d, compare the nivid (T.B. 3, 5, 3, 1) *āspātram juhūr devānām | camasō devapānah* addressed to Agni.

6, 49, 2: *viśō-viśa idyam adhvarēṣu
ādṛptakratum aratīm yuvatyōh |
divāh śiśum sāhasaḥ sūnūm agnīm
yajñāsya ketūm aruṣām yajadhyai ||*

"Offer worship to Agni, who is worthy of adoration by all peoples in sacrifices, who is not proud of his insight, who is the illuminator of the two youthful women (i.e., of Heaven and Earth), the child of Heaven, the son of strength, the beacon of the sacrifice, bright."

7, 5, 1: *prāgnāye tavāsc bharadhvam
gīraṁ divō aratāye pṛthivyāh |
yō viśveṣām amṛtānām upāsthe
vaiśvānarō vāṛdhē jāgrvadbhiḥ ||*

"Proffer the hymn to the strong Agni, illuminator of Heaven and Earth, who, (as) Vaiśvānara, was magnified in the lap of all the immortals by the watchful (priests)."

10, 3, 7: *sā ā vakṣi māhi na ā ca satsi
divāspṛthivyōr aratīr yuvatyōh |
agnih sūtūkah sūtūkebhir āsvai
rābhasvadbhiḥ rābhasvān ēhā gamyāh ||*

"The illuminator of the two youthful women, (namely) Heaven and Earth, thou carriest much to us and sittest on our barhis). May the swift impetuous Agni come here with swift impetuous horses."

1, 58, 7: *hōtāram sapṭā juhvō yājīṣṭham
yām vāgkātō vṛṇāte adhvarēṣu |
agnīm viśveṣām aratīm vāsūnām
saparyāmī prāyasā yāmi rātuum ||*

"I worship with good cheer, and pray for wealth (to), Agni brilliant amongst the Vasus, the hotṛ who sacrifices best with seven ladles (or, tongues), whom the priests choose in the rites (as hotṛ)."

The construction of *juhvō* in pāda a is not clear. Oldenberg (*SBE.* 46, p. 46) regards *saptā juhvāḥ* as nominative plural and as the subject of *vr̥ṇāte* in pāda b, and translates 'whom the seven ladles (of the priests), the worshippers choose as the hotṛ; see also his *RV. Noten* (1, p. 58). So does Geldner also in his *RV. Ueber.* On the other hand, Pischel, in *Ved. Stud.* 2, 113, has compared with pādas ab here 10, 6, 4: *mandrō hōtā sā juhvā yājīṣṭhaḥ* and says, 'Der Accusativ *saptā juhvāḥ* hängt ab von *yājīṣṭham* (Gaedicke, Accusativ im Veda p. 185)', with which opinion I am inclined to agree. Compare also in this connection 4, 7, 5: *tām im hōtāram ānuṣṭhe cikītvāmsam nī śedire | rayvām pāvakāśociṣam yājīṣṭham saptā dhāmabhiḥ* whose pādas cd convey the same meaning as the expressions *aratiṁ vāsūnam* and *juhvō yājīṣṭham* in pādas ac above.

10, 3, 2: *kṛṣṇām yād enīṁ abhī vārpaṣā bhūj
janāyan yōsām bṛhatāḥ pitūr jāṁ |
ūrdhvām bhānūm sūryasya stabhāyān
divō vāsuhīr aratīr vī bhāti ||*

"When he surpassed with his splendour the Dark and the White, bringing forth the woman born of the great father and holding firm the ray, raised high, of the sun, the brilliant one (sc. Agni) shines with the bright ones of Heaven." The import of this verse is obscure. According to Sāyaṇa, the Dark one is the Night, the great father, the sun, and the woman born of him, Uṣas.

7, 10, 3: *āchā gīro matāyo devayāntir
agnīm yanti drūviṇām bhikṣamānāḥ |
susamdrīṣāṁ supratīkām svāñcam
havyavāham aratiṁ mānuṣānam ||*

"The hymns and thoughts, pious, go begging for wealth to Agni, handsome, of beautiful countenance, swift carrier of offerings, who shines on men."

1, 128, 8: *agnim hótāram ślate vāsudhitim
priyām śliṣṭham aratim ny èrirc
havyacāham ny èrirc |
viśvāyūm viśvāvadaśam
hótāram yajatām kavām |
devāso rayvām āvase vashyāvo
gīrōhī rayvām vasūyāvah ||*

"Agni, the hotṛ, the storehouse of wealth, do they magnify; him who is dear, preeminent and brilliant, did they set up; the carrier of offerings, the hotṛ, worshipful, wise, vivifier of all and possessor of all wealth, joy-bringing, did the gods wishing for wealth, set up, for protection; wishing for wealth, with hymns, (did they set up) the joy-bringing (Agni)."

7, 16, 1: *enā vo agnīm nāma-
sorjō nāpālam ā huve |
priyām śliṣṭham aratim svadhivarām
vīśvasya dūtām amṛtam ||*

"With this adoration (i.e., hymn) do I invoke Agni the son of strength, dear, pre-eminent, immortal, the messenger of all, the accomplisher of sacrifices."

1, 128, 6: *vīśvo viśvā aratir vāsuv dadhe
hāste dākṣiṇe tarānir nā śiśrathac
chravasyāya nā śiśrathat |
vīśvasmā id īśudhyatē
devatrā havyām ōhiṣe |
vīśvasmā īd sukṛte vāram yuvaty
agnir dvārā vy jīvati ||*

"All grown out, the brilliant swift-moving one held wealth in his right hand, not letting it loose; desirous of glory, he has not let loose. For every one who desires it, thou carriest the offerings to the gods. For every righteous one, he procures his wish, (for him) Agni opens wide both folds of the door."

The meaning of *vihāyā* in pāda a is not certain; Geldner, whom I have followed, translates it (*RV. Ueber.* p. 162) as 'ausgewachsen,' Oldenberg (*SBE.* 46, p. 138) as 'far-reaching,' while Sāyaṇa, following the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* (3. 3) has explained it as *mahān*.

In pāda a, *vāsuv* in *vāsuv dadhe* seems clearly to be in the nominative case and in coordination with *aratiḥ*; and Geldner has accordingly translated (l.c.) pādas ab as 'Ganz ausgewachsen (wird er) der Wagenlenker, hält der Gott (die Güter) in seiner rechten Hand,' observing that before *dadhe* the word *vāsu* is to be supplied as shown by 9, 18, 4 and that this is an instance of haplology. On the other hand, Oldenberg (op. cit. p. 140), referring to the same 9, 18, 4 (*ā yō vīśvāni vāryā vāsūni hāstayor dadhē*) proposes to read pāda a as *vīśvā vihāyā aratiḥ vāsu dadhe*. Now I agree with Oldenberg that the word *vāsuv* should not be looked upon as a nominative and as an epithet of Agni, but that it denotes 'wealth'; but I am opposed to any emendation of the text. Compare in this connection 1, 110, 7: *ṛbhūr nā indrah śāvasā nāvīyān ṛbhūr vājebhīr vāsubhīr vāsuv dadhī*; 8, 24, 3: *sā na stāvāna ā bhara rayīm citrāśra-vastamam | nirekē cid yō harivo vāsuv dadhī*; 8, 46, 15: *dadī rēknaś tanvē dadīr vāsu dadīr vājesu puruhūta vājinam*; 8, 21, 17: *indra vā ghēd īyan maghām sārasyatī vā subbhāgā dadīr vāsu*; and 4, 24, 1: *kā suṣṭutī śāvasaḥ sūnūm indram arvacinām vādhasa ā vavartat | dadīr hī vīrō grṇatē vāsūni* where the expression *vāsuv dadhī* in the first two verses seems plainly to be equivalent to the expression *dadīr vāsu* in the third and fourth and to *dadīr vāsūni* in the fifth.

I conceive that *vāsuv* is similarly equivalent to *vāsu* (*vāsūni*) in pāda a also above² and that *vāsuv dadhe* = *dadhe*

²I am likewise inclined to think that in 10, 53, 3: *sā dyur dgāt surabhīr vāsūnah*, the word *surabhīr* is equivalent to *surabhīm*; compare 6, 29, 3: *vāsāne ākām surabhīm drśē kām*,

vāsūni. Regarding *vīśvaḥ*, compare 4, 1, 1: *vīśvam ādevam janata prācetasam* where too *vīśva* is used as an epithet of Agni.

2, 4, 2: *imām vidhānto apām sadhūsthe
dviṭā dadhur bhṛgavo vikṣv āyōh |
eśā vīśvāny abhy āstu bhūmā
devānām agnir aratīr jīrāśvaḥ ||*

"Worshipping him in the abode of the waters, the Bhṛgus have again established him among the clans of Āyu. May he surpass all worlds, Agni, who shines on the gods, who has swift horses." With regard to *devānām aratīr* in pāda d, compare 8, 60, 15: *āś id devēṣu rājasi* addressed to Agni.

3, 17, 4: *agutīm sudīpīm sudṛśam grūṇto
namasyāmas tvēḍyam jātavedaḥ |
tvām dūtām aratīm havyavāham
devā akr̥ṇvann amṛtasya nābhim ||*

"Praising Agni, handsome, of fine splendour, we adore, O Jātavedas, thee that deservest to be magnified. Thee that art brilliant, the gods have made the messenger, the carrier of offerings, the navel of immortality."

4, 1, 1: *tvām hy āgne sādām it samanyāvo
devāso devām aratīm ny őrirā
iti krātva ūyerirē |
āmartyam yajata mārtyeṣv ā
devām ādevam janata prācetasam
vīśvam ādevam janata prācetasam ||*

"O Agni, thee indeed, the brilliant God, have the gods with one mind set up; they have set (thee) up with this aim: 'adore the immortal among the mortals; engender the wise god who is godly, engender the wholly wise one who is godly.'"

4, 2, 1: *yō mārtyeṣv amṛta rtāvā
devō devēṣv aratīr nidhāyi |
hōtā yājīstho mahnā śucādhyai
havyaīr agnir mānuṣa trayādhyai ||*

"The brilliant god, pious, immortal, who was established as the best-sacrificing hotṛ among gods and mortals, may he shine greatly; may (he) Agni go (unto the gods) with the offerings of men." I construe *mārtyeṣu, devēsu* and *hōtā yājīṣṭhaḥ* together in the relative clause; compare 6, 1, 13: *agnīr hōtā grhāpatīḥ sā rājā viśvā veda jānīmā jātūvedāḥ | devānām utā yō mārtyānām yājīṣṭhaḥ* where Agni is said to be the best-sacrificing (priest) among gods and mortals, and 4, 7, 1: *ayām iḥā prathamō dhāyī dhātṛbhir hōtā yājīṣṭhaḥ* and other similar verses in which it is said that Agni was established as the 'best-sacrificing hotṛ.' It is my belief that these two ideas have been combined together by the poet in the relative clause of the above verse.

4, 38, 4: *yāḥ smārundhānō gādhyā samātsu
sānutaraś cāratī gōṣu gācchan |
āvīryjiko vidāthā nicīkyat
tīrō aratīm pāry āpa āyoh ||*

The words *gādhyā, sānutaraś*, and *ryjika* and the expression *vidāthā nicīkyat* are obscure, and it is hence difficult to make out the import of this verse which describes the running of the horse Dadhikrā. I translate mechanically: "Who, seizing great (booty) in battles, moves as the better winner (of the prize) when he goes towards the cows, with his good points apparent, understanding assemblies, surpassing the brilliant one (Agni?), more than Āyū was able to obtain".

5, 2, 1: *kumārāni mātā yuvatiḥ sāmubdham
gūhā bibharti nā dudāti pitrē |
ānikam asya nā mināj jānasah
purāḥ paśyanti nīhitam arataū ||*

The import of this verse, as also of several other verses of this hymn, is obscure; see SBE. 46, p. 368 and *RV. Notes* I, 312. I translate tentatively:

"The young mother carries hidden the bound son; she does not give him to the father. The people see his

not changing countenance (?) before them, placed in the radiant (fire) ”.

6, 3, 5: *sā id āsteva prāti dhāt astyān
chisāta tējō 'yaso nā dhārām |
citvādhravatir aratir yō aktōr
vēr nā druśādvā raghupātmajamhāh ||*

“He [Agni] has made himself ready like a shooter going to shoot and sharpened his flames like the edge of iron, (he) of marvellous speed, who shines at night and who speeds swiftly like a bird going to sit on a tree (i.e., going to its nest).”

6, 12, 3: *tējīṣṭhā yāsyāratir vanerāt
todō ādhvan nā vrdhasānō adyaut |
adroghō nā dravilā vetati tmānu
āmartyo 'vartrā āśadhiṣu ||*

“The bright one, ruling over the forest, whose (splendour) is most brilliant, shone with increasing brightness like the sun in his path; beneficent, immortal, unchecked by plants he shows himself preeminent like a swift horse ”.

The construction of the words *tējīṣṭhā yāsyāratir vanerāt* in pāda a is difficult. Ludwig has suggested that the proper reading here is *amatir*, not *aratir*, and Grassmann, that one should read *tējīṣṭhāyā yah* instead of *tējīṣṭhā yasya*, a suggestion that Oldenberg thinks (*RP. Noten*) is perhaps correct. Oldenberg has besides observed (l. c.) that 1, 127, 4 and 1, 129, 5 point to the reading *arāṇi* instead of *arati*, and also that it is possible to construe the passage without emendation as ‘dessen (Glut) die schärfste ist, der *arati*,’ though such interpretation is very artificial. He therefore proposes to interpret the passage as ‘he whose *arati* is most sharp’ without however saying what the meaning of *arati* is.

Now the verses 1, 127, 4 and 1, 129, 5 referred to in this connection by Oldenberg are obscure and it is difficult to find out what these verses themselves mean.

And, moreover, in the verse 10, 61, 20: *ádhasu mandró aratír vibhāvāva syatī dvivartanīr vaneṣāt*, the word *vaneṣāt* 'victorious in the forest,' which is almost synonymous with the word *vanerāt* ('ruling over the forest') here, is clearly coordinate with *aratīh* and *vibhāvā* which makes it probable that the word *vanerāt* too here is coordinate with *aratīh* and refers to Agni. I therefore supply here the word *ruc*³ (fem.; = *bhānu*, splendour) after *tejīsthā* on the analogy of 10, 3, 5: *tejīsthaih kṛīṣumādbhir vārṣiṣthebhīr bhānūbhīh* and translate, 'whose (splendour) is most brilliant, the bright one, ruling over the forest, . . .'

In pāda c, I regard *nā dravitā* only as forming the upamāna and look upon *adrogha* (=not injuring; i.e., favourable, beneficent) as an epithet of Agni who is the deity of this verse. Compare the epithet *adrūk* that is applied to Agni in 6, 15, 7: *vīpraiḥ hōtāraṁ puruvāram adrūkaṁ kavīm sumnāir imaḥ jātāvedasam*; 6, 5, 4: *huvē vah sūnūm sāhaso yūvānam ādroghavācam malībhir yāviṣṭham | yā invatī drāviṇāni prāceta viśvāvārāni puruvāro adhrūk* and other verses.

dravitā, runner, seems to denote race-horse; compare the word *atya*. Regarding the expression *nā dravitā*, . . . *avartrā ōṣadltṣu*, compare 6, 3, 4: *dravīr nā drāvayasi*⁴ *dāru dhākṣat* 'Consuming the wood, thou runnest like a courser' addressed to Agni. Regarding also the sentence *nā dravitā cetati tmān*, compare 10, 176, 3: *rātho nā yōr abhivṛto ghṛṇivān cetatī tmānā* that is likewise addressed to Agni.

6, 15, 4: *dyutānām vo ālithīm svāruaram
agnīm hōtāraṁ mānuṣaḥ svadhvarām |*

³ Or, if the suggestion of Oldenberg (l. c. footnote) about reading *tejīsthāh* be correct, one can supply the word *bhānavah*. Śāyana, it may be noted, interprets *aratīh* here as *jvālā* and construes it with *tejīsthā*.

⁴ *drāvayasi* = *dravasi* here, in the same way as *drāvayitūvāh* (in 9, 69, 6: *sūryasyeva rāsmāyo drāvayitūvāh*) = *dravitūvāh*.

*vipraṁ nā dyukṣāvacaśaṁ suvṛktībhir
havyavāhaṁ aratīm devān ṛñjase ||*

"I adorn with well-cut (i.e., well-fashioned) hymns your shining guest, the heaven-man, Agni, both of men, accomplisher of sacrifices, whose speech like that of an inspired seer is bright, the carrier of offerings, the brilliant god". Regarding the expression *suvṛktībhir ṛñjase*, compare Geldner in *Ved. St.* 3, p. 32f.

6, 67, 8: *tā jihvāyā sādām édām sumedhā
ā yād vām satyō aratīr ṛtē bhūt |
tād vām mahitvām ghrtānnāś astu
yuvām dāsūśe vī caviṣṭam āmhaḥ ||*

The import of pādas ab is obscure. I translate, following Oldenberg (*RV. Noten* I, 413): "The wise one [sc. Agni] (brings) here the two (sc. Mitra and Varuṇa) at all times (and offers food) with his tongue, when (he), the powerful brilliant one, is present at the sacrifice offered to you two. May that be your greatness, O ye two whose food is ghee; you remove distress from the offerer (of sacrifices)". Compare with this stanza 3, 57, 5: *yā te jihvā mādhumatī sumedhā āgne devēśūcyāta urūci | tāyehā vīśvān āvase yājatrān ā sādaya pāyāyā cā mādhūni ||*.

8, 19, 1: *tām gūrdhaya svārṇavarāṁ
devāso devām aratīm dadhanvire |
devatrā havyām ōhire ||*

"Praise him, the heaven-man. The gods have run to the brilliant god and made him carry offerings to the gods." I regard *ōhire* in pāda c as being used with the causative sense with the signification 'made him carry'.

8, 19, 21: *lle girā mānurhitam
yām devā dūtām aratīm nyeriré |
yājīṣṭham havyavāhanam ||*

"I magnify with hymn (Agni) the benefactor of men, whom, brilliant, best officiating in sacrifices, the gods set up as messenger and carrier of offerings".

10, 3, 1: *mō rājann aratīh sāmiddho*
raūdro dākṣāya suṣumān adarśi |
cikīd vā bhāti bhāsā brhatā
'sikinīm eti rūsatīm apājan ||

"O king, the chief, radiant, Rudra-like, . . . for skill, being kindled, has been seen. The wise one shines with great splendour, going to the dark one and driving away the bright one". The word *suṣumān* in pāda b which I have left untranslated, is obscure; see Oldenberg's *RV. Noten* II, 200 where several conjectural explanations are given of it. We do not know to whom the vocative *rājan* in pāda a and the words *āsikinī* and *rūsati* in pāda d refer; but it is possible that the latter two words refer to Night and Dawn.

10, 3, 6: *asyā śūsmāso dadṛśānāpaver*
jēhamānasya svanayan niyūdabhīh |
pratnēbhīr yō rūṣadbhīr devātamo
vī rēbbadhbīr aratīr bhāti vībhvā ||

"Who, bright, brilliant, most godlike, shines with (his) old gleaming, singing (flames),—the powers of him whose felly is visible, who presses swiftly forwards, rushed onward with teams".

10, 45, 7: *uśik pāvako aratīh sumedhā*
mārteṣv agnir amṛto nī dhāyi |
īyarti dhūmām aruṣām bhāribhṛad
ūc chukrēna śacīṣā dyām imakṣan ||

"The immortal Agni, loving, bright, brilliant, wise, has been established among men. Reaching the sky with bright flame he raises up, carrying, the bright smoke".

10, 46, 4: *mandrām hōtāram uśijo nāmobhīh*
prāñcam yajñām netāram adhvarāṇām |
viśām akṛṇvann aratīm pāvakām
havyavāhan dādhatō mānuṣeṣu ||

"Him, bright and radiant, who leads sacrifices rightly, the ruler of sacrifices, the Uśijs, with obeisances, made the dear hotṛ of the clans, establishing him as the carrier of sacrificial offerings among men".

Āśv. ŚS. 4, 7, 4: *samiddho agnir vṛṣaṇā'ratir divas*
tapto gharma duhyate vām iṣe madhu |
vayam hi vān puruṣamāso aśvinā
havāmahe sadhamādeṣu kāravaḥ ||

"Kindled, O ye two bulls, is Agni the illuminator of Heaven: the gharma is heated; honey is milked for your food. O ye Āśvins, we singers, most busy, invoke you in these occasions of rejoicing together".

This verse occurs in AV (7, 73, 1), with the readings *rathī divāḥ* and *puruṣamāso* in a and e, and in Śākh. ŚS. (5, 10, 8) with the reading *rayir divaḥ* in a. It is the opinion of Whitney (*AV. Trans.* p. 437) that the reading of Āśv. ŚS. is *ratir divaḥ* and that this, as also the reading of Śākh. ŚS., are corruptions of the AV reading which is correct.

This opinion seems to me to be untenable. The reading *vṛṣaṇāratir divaḥ* is found in AB. 1, 22, 2 also; and the occurrence of the expressions *divā aratīḥ*, *rōdasyor aratīḥ* and *divāsprthivyōr aratīḥ* in RV. 7, 5, 1 and other verses explained above shows that one should read *aratir divaḥ* in this AB passage also, and that this is the original reading. *rathī divāḥ* and *rayir divaḥ* in AV and Śākh. ŚS. are therefore without doubt corruptions of the reading *aratir divāḥ*.

The word *aratīḥ* occurs, further, in RV. 10, 61, 20 which will be explained in the next article.

§ 7

dān

This word *dān*, about whose interpretation there has been much dispute, occurs in but seven verses of the RV. In six of them it is found at the end of the pāda, preceded by the word *pātīḥ* in four (1, 149, 1; 153, 4; 10, 99, 6; 105, 2), and by *patis* and *śīśuḥ* in one each (1, 120, 6; 10, 61, 20); in the remaining verse (10, 115, 2), it occurs within the pāda.

Sāyana explains the word as *śatrūn damayati* in one verse, *damayan* in another and as *ādadānah*, *dadad abhimatam prayacchan*, *dātā*, *dhanāni prayacchan* and *yaśṭyām dhanadātā* in the others. According to him, therefore, there are two words having the form *dān*, one derived from the root *dam* and the other from the root *dā*.¹

Similarly, Roth too (in the PW) believes that there are three words of that form; *dān* in 10, 61, 20 is, according to him, a verbal form of the root *dan*, in 10, 115, 2, a shortened form of *danta*, tooth, and in the other five verses, the genitive of *dām*, house. In the latter opinion, he is followed by Bartholomae (Ar. For. 1. 70 ff.), Grassmann, and Brugmann (Grundriss I § 108, 204, 672).²

Pischel criticised this opinion in *Ved. St.* 2, 93 ff., pointing out that in 1, 120, 6 and 10, 105, 2 addressed respectively to the Aśvins and Indra, the interpretation of *dān* as 'of the house' hardly fits, since these deities are nowhere in the RV described as 'masters of the house (*grhapati*)'. He therefore opined that *dān* denotes 'richtend, bemeisternd' in 10, 105, 2; 99, 6; and 'Ausrichter (des Opfers)' in 10, 115, 2; 1, 153, 4; 149, 1. In 1, 120, 6, *dān* is, according to him, a verbal form meaning 'herrichtet,' and in 10, 61, 2, too, a verbal form meaning 'ausgerichtet' and having as its subject *śiśuh* which is slang for 'penis.'

This opinion of Pischel was, in its turn, criticised by Oldenberg (*RV. Noten* II, 267) who has observed (1) that the expression *śiśur dān*, in 10, 61, 20 is so similar to *pātir dān* that it is very questionable if it is to be construed in a different manner, and (2) that since

¹ Ludwig interprets the word mostly as 'zu geben, 'zu spenden', etc. (see Pischel, *Ved. St.* 2, 93) and thus seems to follow Sāyana in deriving the word from the root *dā* 'to give'; *dān* is an infinitive in his opinion. In 1, 120, 6 however he explains the word as 'dass ihr richtet.'

² See Pischel, *Ved. St.* 2, 93.

śīnu is a common epithet of Agni and this verse is referring to Agni, it is not proper to give it an unusual signification. He has therefore interpreted *pātir dān* as 'Herr des Hauses' in *op. cit.* II, 315, 336 and thus preferred to follow the lead of Roth and Grassmann. So also do Wackernagel who explains *dān* as 'des Hauses' (*Alt. Gr.* I, pp. 196, 258) and Macdonell who explains *dān* as the genitive of *dām* (*Ved. Gr.* pp. 37, 60; see also p. 218 and n. 5 there). Similarly, Geldner too translates *pātir dān* and *pati dān* in I, 140, 1; 153, 1; 120, 6 as 'Hausgebieter', 'Herr dieses Hauses' and 'Hausmeister' in his *RV. Ueber.*

Now, the criticisms urged by Pischel against the interpretation proposed by Roth, and by Oldenberg³ against that proposed by Pischel, are, it seems to me, quite valid. At the same time, it also seems to be beyond dispute that *dān* in the combination *pātir dān* and *śīsur dān*, is the genitive form of a word like *dans* or *dams*, as observed by Wackernagel (*l. c.*). This *dans* or *dams* cannot, for the reasons mentioned above, signify 'house'; and I therefore believe that it is identical with the word of that form which is cognate with the words *dāmsas* *dāmsanā*, etc., and is derived from the root *dams* 'to be strong'. This is the opinion of Pischel also, except that he thinks that the root *dams* signifies 'zu richten'. Compare his observations in *l. c.*, p. 103: "Es ergibt sich also, dass *dān* zu *dams* gehört, dessen Grund-

³ There are other objections, too, that can be urged against Pischel's interpretation. His separation of *pātiś* and *dān* (in his opinion, both are nominatives) in the combination *pātir dān* cannot be correct. For, except in the cases pointed out by Grassmann (*i. e.* *pati* 8, 9), the word *pati* by itself (*i. e.*, when not used in association with genitives like *vājasya*, *vāsanah*, *śubhah*, *śavasaḥ* etc.) is never used in the RV as an epithet of gods. Again, Pischel's interpretations of 10, 99, 6 and 10, 115, 2 seem to be forced and indicate that his explanation of the word *dān* is not correct.

bedeutung 'richten' ist. - Zur gleichen Wurzel gehören *dāmsānā*, *dāmsānā*, *dāmsas* 'Meisterschaft', 'Macht', *dāmsānāvānt* 'mächtig', *purudāmsa*, *purudāmsas*, *sudāmsas* 'sehr mächtig', *dāmsiṣṭha* 'sehr mächtig', *dāmsu* 'mächtig' im Sinne von 'gewaltig', 'weit', 'hoch' u. dgl., *dāmsuṣṭa* 'in gewaltiger Eile' (so auch Ved. Stud. 1, 220 zu lesen; sonst weiss ich auch heut keine bessere Erklärung von 1, 122, 10), *dāsmā* und *dasrā* 'mächtig', 'Meister'."

Compare also his observations on pp. 104-5 in continuation of the above.

In other words, *dān* in the combination *śīsur dān* and *pātir dān*, is the genitive form of *dāms* which, like *tavās* and *sāhas*, signifies 'strong, powerful, great' and also 'strength, power, greatness.' The epithet *śīsur dān*, in 10, 61, 20 addressed to Agni, thus means 'child of strength' and is synonymous with the epithets *sahasā sūnu* and *sahasas putra* that are applied to him in many verses, (see Grassmann, s. v. *sahas*); and the epithet *pātir dān* used in 10, 99, 6 and 10, 105, 2 that are both addressed to Indra is similarly synonymous with the epithet *śavasas pati* that is applied to him in many verses (see Grassmann, s. v. *śavas*).

I shall now show that this meaning suits the context in all the verses in which the word *dān* occurs.

1, 120, 6: *śrutām gāyatrām tākavānasyā-*
hām cid dhī virēbhāsvinā vām |
ākṣi śubhas patir dān ||

"Hear the hymn of Takavāna: I have indeed, O Aśvins, sung your praise. O ye lords of splendour, that are great, turn your eyes."

In pāda c, 1 supply the word *adhattam* after *ā* on the analogy of 1, 116, 16: *tāsmā* (sc. *rjraśvāya*) *ākṣi nāsatya vicākṣa ā dhattam dasrā bhīṣajā anarvān* and 1, 117, 17: *ākṣi rjraśve aśvināv adhattam*. Śaṅkara explains *tākavānasya* in a as *skhalad-galer andhasya Rjraśvasya*,

an explanation which is perhaps correct; * compare 1, 116, 16 cited above. *dān*=great, *dasyā*; compare the many passages in which this epithet or its equivalents *dānēstīṣṭhā*, *purudānīśasā*, *śacīpati*, *śakrā*, *tuviṣṭamā*, etc., are applied to the Aśvins, *ākṣī adhattam* in c means 'cast your eyes on the *dakṣiṇā* that is now offered to me'; see Geldner, *RV. Ueber.*, p. 148.

10, 99, 6: *sā id dāsaṁ tuvirāvaṁ pātir dān*
śaḥakṣām trīśīrṣāṇām damanyat |
asyā tritō nu ōjasā vṛdhānō
vīpā varāhām āyo-agrayā han ||

"He, (Indra) lord of strength, overcame the loudly roaring *dāsa* with three heads and six eyes. Trita, waxing strong with his (sc. Indra's) strength, killed the boar with iron-tipped arrow." The fighting of Indra and Trita with the *dāsa* of three heads is referred to in 10, 8, 8-9 also: *sā pītryāny āyudhāni vidoān indreṣita*
āptyō abhy āyudhyat | trīśīrṣāṇām sapṭārāsmiṁ jaghanvān
tvāṣṭrāśya cin niḥ sasṛje tritō gāh || bhūrīd indra udī-
nakṣantam ōjō 'vābhīnat sūtpatir mānyamānam | tvāṣṭrāśya
cīd viśvārūpasya gōnām ācakrānās trīṇi śīrṣā pārā varh.

10, 105, 2: *hārī yāsya suyūjā śūratā vēr*
ārzanā 'nu śēpā |
ubhā rajī nā keśīnā pātir dān ||

The construction of this verse is difficult. Grassmann has translated it as "Du, dessen goldfarbenes Rossepaar schön angeschirrt, auf beiden Seiten vorwärts strebt, laufend längs den beiden Schwänzen des Vogels wie ein Hausherr zwischen den beiden behaarten Linien", Ludwig as "Des falbenpaar leicht angespannt verschiedenen seiten zustrebend anrief der vogel die renner, zwei Raji's gleich die mähigen, der ist herr zu geben" and Pischel (l. c. p. 95) as "Dessen störrige Falben fromm

* In this case, it would be better to interpret *śrutām* as 'you have heard', and *pāda c* as 'O ye lords of splendour, ye that are great have given two eyes (to Rjraśva)'.

sind, wenn er, der Herr, die beiden mähnigen Rosse, die wie zwei Ruten steigen, gezügelt hat, sie bemeisternd". I translate as follows: "Whose two bay horses are self-yoking, difficult of control, (these) two swift runners, having like two rajis (long) hair in the tails, the lord of strength drives."

vēh=drives, sets in motion; compare 1, 63, 2: *ā yād dhāri indra vivratā vē ā te vājraim jaritā bāhvōr dhāt*; 1, 177, 2: *yē te vṣṣaṇo vṣṣabhāso indra brahmayūjo vṣṣarathāso ātyāh | tāū ā tiṣṭha*; and 10, 105, 5: *ādhi yās tasthaū kēsavantā. suyūjā=svayujā*, self-yoking; see p. 45 above. Compare also the epithets *brahmayūjā* and *vacoyūjā*² applied to Indra's horses in the following verses, 8, 1, 24: *ā tvā sahāsrām ā satām yuktā rāthe hīrayāye | brahmayūjo hārāya indra keśīno vāhantu sōmapitāye*; 8, 17, 2: *ā tvā brahmayūjā hārī vāhatām indra keśīnā*; 8, 45, 39: *ā ta stā vacoyūjā hārī grbhne sumādrathā*; 8, 98, 9: *yuñjānti hārī iṣirāsyā gāthāyoran rātha urūyuge | indravāhā vacoyūjā. vivratā=difficult to control, unruly, refractory, 'widerspenstig' (Roth in PW; Geldner, *RV, Ueber.*, 1, 63, 2), and not 'nach verschiedenen Seiten strebend' (Grassmann). *ānu śēpā=* in the two tails; compare 10, 97, 19: *yā ōsadhiḥ sōmarājñīr viṣṭhitāh prthivīm ānu* 'the plants, whose king is Soma, that are spread in the earth'; 8, 10, 6: *yād antārikṣe pātathah purubhujā yād vemé vōdasi ānu* 'whether ye fly in the atmosphere (*antarikṣa*), O ye two that possess*

² It seems to me now that it is preferable to interpret *vacoyūjā* and *manoyūjā āśvā* as 'the two horses that are yoked by the hymn or praise recited by the priest'; that is, 'the two horses that yoke themselves to the chariot as soon as the priest recites hymns invoking and praising the deities that are their masters' instead of as 'the two horses that yoke themselves to the chariot as soon as their master thinks of setting forth or expresses in words his intention to set forth' (see p. 46 above and n. 7 there). Compare in this connection 3, 35, 4: *brāhmaṇā te brahmayūjā yunajmi hārī sākhyā sathamāsa āśvā* and 7, 36, 4: *gīrā yā eld yunājā dhāri tu indra priyā surāthā taru dhāyū*.

much, or in these two worlds, namely, Heaven and Earth"; 1, 80, 1: *ārcann ānu svarājyam* 'may they sing in thy own sovereignty'.

The meaning of *raji* is unknown. Grassmann suggests* that it denotes an animal like an antelope or buffalo; and it is clear from the above comparison that it has very long hair. Perhaps, it denotes the *camara-mrga* or Tibetan yak which has long silken hair all over the body. With regard to pāda c, compare 8, 1, 25: *ā tvā rāthe hiraṇyāye hārī mayūraśeṣyā | śitiprsthā vahatām* "O Indra, may the two steeds with white backs and tails as long as those of the peacock carry thee in the golden chariot."

Or, should one interpret *ānu śēpā* as 'proceeding from, i.e., beginning with, the two tails'? In this case, the two steeds of Indra would have long hair all over the body like the above-mentioned yak. Compare 3, 45, 1: *ā maudrair indra hāribhīr yāhī mayūraromabhiḥ* 'come, O Indra, with beautiful steeds that have on their bodies hair (long) like the peacock ('s tail)'. The *sāmānyadharmā* in the comparison contained in the epithets *mayūraśeṣyā* and *mayūraromabhiḥ*, as in the comparisons contained in many passages of later classical writers, is length. Compare, for instance, Subhāsitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra, pp 269 f.: *asyā maṇoharākāra-kabari-bhāra-nirjitāḥ | lajjayeva vane vāsam cakruḥ camara-barhiṇaḥ*;⁷ *asyāḥ sapakṣaika-vidhoḥ kaccughāḥ sthāne mukhasyopari vāsam āpa | pakṣastha-tāvad-bahu-camtrako 'pi kalāpinām yena jitaḥ*

* Pischel interprets *raji* as 'sich aufrichtend,' 'gerade' (l.c., p. 95), while Sāyana explains it as *dyāvāprthivyau | yad vā mahāntau ranjakau sūryācandramasan*.

⁷ It will be seen that this stanza mentions, besides the peacock, the *camara* or yak also. Its hair or *cāmara* is likewise mentioned in a similar connection on p. 270 op. cit. in the following verse: *cikura-prakasā jayanti te viduḥ mūrdhani yān bibharti sā | paśunā py apuraskṛtena tattulanām icchatī cāmareṇa kak*. These verses thus lend support to the view expressed above that *raji* = *camara* or yak.

*kalāpah; asyāḥ kacānām śikhinaś ca kim nu vidhiṃ kalāpan
vimater agātām | tenāyam ebhiḥ kim apūḥi puṣpair abhartsi
datvā sa kim ardhaacandram; na jīmūta-chedaḥ sa hi
gagana-cārī nā ca tamo na tasyendro maitrī na ca madhu-
karās te hi mukharāḥ | na picchaṃ tat kekiny ucitam
asito 'yam na ca manir mṛdutaḥ ā jñātam ghana-cikura-
pāso mṛgadṛśaḥ; and Raghuvamśa 9, 67: api turaga-
samipād utpatantaṃ mayūraṃ na sa rucira-kalāpam bāna-
lakṣi-cakāra | sapadi gata-manaskaś citra-mālyānukirne
rati-vigalita-bandhe keśa-pāśe priyāyāḥ.*

Oldenberg (op. cit. II, 325) suggests ^a with hesitation that *ānu śēpā* in b should be emended into *tanuśēpā* and refers in support thereof to the observation of Gunther (Beurteilungslehre des Pferdes, p. 298) that 'edle Hengste haben dünneren und kürzeren Penis, gemeine haben längeren und dickeren.' This is not very convincing, and, for my part, I do not feel that there is any need for emendation.

1, 149, 1: *mahāḥ sá rāyā éśate pátir dānu
inā ināsyā vāsunaḥ padā ā |
ūpa dhṛājantam ādrayo vidhānn it ||*

"This lord of strength advances to great wealth, the mighty one in the abode of mighty wealth. May the stones honour him as he speeds near."

This verse is, according to the *Sarvānukramanī*, addressed to Agni; but, as observed by Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*), his name is not mentioned in the hymn, and the word *ādrayaḥ* in v. 1 and *sargaḥ* and *śīrīta* in v. 2 seem to point to Soma as the deity. In either case, *pátir dān* means 'lord of strength.' Compare 5, 6, 9: *utó na út pupūryā ukthēsu śavasaḥ pata śam stotṛbhya ā bhara* and 9, 36, 6: *ā divās prsthām āsvayūr gavyayūḥ soma rohasi | vīrayūḥ śavasaḥ pata* in which the epithet *śavasaḥ patī* is applied to Agni and Soma.

^a He has perhaps allowed himself to be influenced by Śāyana who explains *śēpā* here as *śēpantam praśasta-puṃstṛvā* ity arthah.

1, 153, 4: *utā vām vikṣū mādyaśv āndho*
gāva āpaś ca pīpayanta devāḥ |
utō no asyā pūrvyāḥ pātir dān
vitām pātām pāyasa usriyāyāḥ ||

"And in clans with plenty of Soma, the cows and divine waters have made the plant to swell. And of this your cow's milk, drink with relish, O ye (Mitra and Varuṇa)—(and) first, the lord of strength (Agni)."

mādyaśv vikṣū means 'in clans having plenty of Soma' in the same way as *somyāt sādasaḥ* in 1, 182, 8 (*asmād adyā sādasaḥ somyād ā*) means 'from a seat rich in Soma'; see Geldner, *RV. Ueber.*, I, pp. 192, 237. According to Geldner (l.c.), the sense of the verse is: "O ye Mitra and Varuṇa, the Soma juice is ready for your drinking in many houses; do ye however rather drink with relish this cow's milk of ours." As observed by Śaṅkara, *pātir dān*, 'lord of strength' in pāda c denotes Agni; see also Pischel, l.c., p. 98.

10, 61, 20: *ādihāsu mandrō aratīr vibhāvā-*
va syati dvivartanīr vaneṣāt |
ūrdhvā yāc chrēpīr nā śīśur dān
makṣū sthīrām sevadhām sūta mātā ||

Pāda c of this verse is obscure. Roth, in the PW, emends *śīśur* into *śīśnah*, while Pischel (op. cit., p. 94) believes that *śīśur* itself is, like the German 'der Kleine,' slang for *śīśna*. According to him, pādas cd are parallel to 5, 7, 8: *suśūr asūta mātā krānā yād ānaś bhūgam* and other similar verses and says that the mother gave birth to Agni immediately after copulation.

This explanation does not seem satisfactory to me (see p. 117 above); and I am inclined to believe that the verse as a whole says that Agni grew up as soon as he was born and consumed the plants, and that it is parallel to 7, 4, 2: *sā gṛīso agnis tārūṇaś cid astu yāto yāvīṣṭho*
ājaniṣṭa mātūḥ | sām yō vānā yuvāte śūcidan bhūri cid
ānnā sām id atti sadyāḥ; 10, 115, 1-2: citrā ic chīso

*tārunasya vakṣātho nā yō mātārāu apy ēti dhātave |
anūdhā yādi jījanad ādhā ca nū vavākṣa sadyo māhi
dūtyān cāran || agnir ha nāma dhāyi dānn apāstamaḥ
sām yō vānā yuvāte bhāsmanā datā | abhipramūrā juhvā
svadhvarā ino nū prōthamāno yāvase vṛṣā* and other
similar passages. I therefore translate the verse as
follows: "Then the dear (Agni), bright, radiant, two-
wayed, ruling over the forest, lets himself loose in these
(plants), when (he), the child of strength becomes upright
like a straight line; the mother soon gave birth to the
strong one, the enhancer of happiness."

Pādas d and c, in which it is said that the mother
gave birth to the strong one and that the child of
strength became upright like a straight line, that is,
grew up and set himself into activity, should be read
first; and pādas ab, which describe that Agni let himself
loose in the plants (and consumed them) should be
read thereafter.

āsu in a refers to *śśadhiṣu*; compare 6, 12, 3 (ex-
plained above on p. 112): *tējīṣṭhā yāsyāratir vauerāt
todō ādhvan nā vṛdhasānō adyaut . . . avartrā śśadhiṣu*
which is in many respects parallel to this. *divvartanīh*
in b refers perhaps to the two paths upward and
forwards, which Agni follows in the forest when consum-
ing plants.

(*ūrdhvō bhavati*) 'becomes upright' in pāda c means
'stands up (does not sit); sets himself into activity;
bestirs himself'; compare 4, 4, 5: *ūrdhvō bhava prāti
vidhyādhy asmāt* 'get up (bestir thyself) and shoot them
away from us' where the expression *ūrdhvō bhava* is used
of Agni in this sense; 5, 1, 2: *ūrdhvō agnīh sumānāh
prātār asthāt* 'Agni, well-disposed, has put himself into
activity in the morning'; 6, 63, 4: *ūrdhvō vām agnir
adhvarēṣu asthāt* and other passages where the word
ut-tiṣṭha (= *ūrdhvo bhava*) is used of Agni. Compare
also the expression *todō ādhvan nā vṛdhasānāh* in 6, 12, 3
cited above which too has the same sense.

As already observed above, *śitur dán* = child of strength.

10, 115, 2: *agnir ha nāma dhāyi dānu apāstamah*
sām yó vānā yuvāte bhāsmanā datā |
abhipramūrā juhvā svadhvarā
inó ná próthamāno yāvase vṣā ||

"The strong one, most efficient, named Agni, was established, who consumes woods with pulverising (i. e., destroying) tooth, the accomplisher of sacrifices with (his) growing tongue (i. e., flame), snorting like a great bull in a field of grass."

After *dhāyi* in a, we have to understand *vikṣu*, *mārteṣu*, *duronē*, *sādane* or other similar word; compare 1, 148, 2-3: *nītye cin nū yām sādane jagrbhrē prāśastibhir*
dadhirē yajñīyāsah | prā sū nayanta grbhāyanta iṣṭāv
āsvāso ná rathyo rārahānāh || purūṇi dasmō nī rināti
jāmbhair āś rocate vāna ā vibhāvā | āś asya vāto ānu vāti
śocih.

The expression *abhipramūrā juhvā* in c means, according to Pischel (l.c., p. 98), 'strengthening ladle' and according to Oldenberg (*op. cit.* II, 336), 'with destroying tongue.' Compare however 1, 127, 1: *yā ūrdhvāyā svadhvarā devō devācyā kṛpā* 'the god who, with his upright flame turned towards the gods, accomplishes the sacrifice' addressed to Agni; the expression *ūrdhvāyā svadhvarāh kṛpā* in this verse is exactly parallel to *abhipramūrā juhvā svadhvarāh* in pāda c above. The word *abhipramūrā* is derived from the root *murch* 'to grow, to increase, to become strong,' as pointed out by Pischel (l.c., p. 112).

I have interpreted *dān* as 'strong' here as I have done in 10, 105, 2 above. Compare the epithet *dasmā* applied to Agni in 1, 148, 3 cited above and in other passages. It is possible to regard *dān* here as equivalent to *dāne* (compare the word *sādane* in 1, 148, 2 cited above) and to interpret it as 'in the house.' There is however

no necessity to assume two words of the form *dān*, and it seems to me preferable to look upon it as a derivative of *dams* 'strong,' in this verse also.

In the opinion of Pischel (l.c., p. 100), the word *dān* occurs, further, in the RV in the two following stanzas also:

5, 3, 7: *divō nā yāsya vidhatō nāvīnod*
vṛṣā rukṣā śyadhīṣu nūnat |
ghṛṇā nā yō dhrājasā pātmanā yānu
ā rōdasi vāsunā dām supātni ||

According to Pischel, the above word *dān* occurs in pāda d as *dām*, and is a verbal form; *ā dām* = ausrichtete, i.e., ausstattete, and pādas cd mean, 'der wie (der Durstige) in der Hitze im Zug und Flug gehend, Himmel und Erde, die trefflichen Gatten, mit Gut ausstattete.' I do not feel so certain that the word used in this verse is *dān*; but, granting that Pischel's opinion is right, I would translate the verse as 'Whose (flame), when he worships (the gods), roars like (the thunder) of Heaven, he, the strong bright one, has roared in the plants; going with flying speed like one (seeking shelter) from the heat, the strong one has extended with light Heaven and Earth, the excellent husband and wife.'

In pāda b, the word used is, according to Roth (Ueber gewisse Kürzungen des Wortendes in Veda, p. 3) and Pischel (l.c.), *rukṣē* which is short for *rukṣēṣu* and means 'in the trees.' According to the Padapātha, however, the word used is *rukṣāh* which probably means 'bright'; see Grassmann and Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, I, 371.

I have followed Pischel in the interpretation of pāda a; but I do not feel certain that this is what the poet had in his mind. Regarding the simile however, compare 7, 3, 6: *divō nā te tanayātūr eti śūsmāh* and 4, 10, 4: *prā te divō nā stanayanti śūsmāh*.

The comparison in c is, according to Pischel, concerned with one who, feeling thirsty in the heat, runs to procure some drink to quench his thirst. I am inclined to believe that it concerns one who flies for shelter from the heat; compare 6, 16, 38: *ûpa châyâm iva ghñer âganma sârma te vayâm* and 1, 158, 3: *ûpa vâm âvah sarañâm gameyam sûro nâjma patâyadbhir évaiḥ*.

In d, I interpret *vâsu* as 'light' and supply after *â* the word *tatâna* on the analogy of 6, 4, 6: *â sūryo nâ bhānumadbhir arkatr âgne tatāntha rôdasî vî bhāsâ | citrô nayat pâri tāmāmsy aklāḥ śociṣā pātman auṣijô nâ dīyan*.

The reading *dām supātñi* is, though not unintelligible, suspicious; for, as I have already observed above, the word *pāti* by itself (i. e., not accompanied by genitives) is not used in the RV as an epithet of any deity; nor are Heaven and Earth described anywhere in the RV as 'excellent husband and wife (treffliche Gaten).' I would therefore emend *dām supātñi* into *dāmsupatni* (i. e., *dāmsu-patni*; compare *dāmsu-jūtaḥ*, *rāmsu-jihvaḥ*) and interpret pāda d as 'he extended Heaven and Earth, lords of greatness, with his light.' *dāmsupatni*=great lords or lords of greatness; it is the equivalent of the epithet *sudāmsasā* that is applied to Heaven and Earth in 6, 70, 7: *ūrjam no dyaús ca pṛthivî ca pīvatām pitā mātā viśvavidā sudāmsasā* and 1, 159, 1: *devēbhir yé devāputre sudāmsasā*. Roth, too, in the PW, suggests the emendation *dāmsupatni*; he would however interpret this word as 'einen wunderkräftigen Herrn habend.' Oldenberg (ZDMG. 55, 290) suggests the emendation *tān supātñi*, *tān* being a verbal form (= *tatāna*) of the root *tan*.

4, 19, 7: *prāgrūvo nabhanvô nâ vākvā
dhvasrâ apinvad yuvatîr ṛtajñāḥ |
dhānvāny âjṛān aprnak trṣānān
ādhog indrah staryô dāmsupatniḥ ||*

Here Roth would retain the reading *dāmsupatniḥ* and interpret the word as 'whose lord is wonderfully strong'; but against this Pischel (l. c., p. 102) urges that 'sterile women whose lord is wonderfully strong' are, though conceivable, hardly within the realm of probability. He would therefore emend *dāmsupatniḥ* into *dām supātniḥ* and interpret pāda d as 'es melkte Indra die unfruchtbaren (Kühe), er machte die Frauen, die einen tüchtigen Gatten haben, schwanger' d. h. "Indra bewirkt, dass die unfruchtbaren Kühe Milch geben, also fruchtbar werden, und dass die Frauen Kinder bekommen, ein Hauptwunsch des Inders." Here too *dām* or *dān* is a verbal form of the root *dāms* 'richten' and means 'er machte schwanger.' The stanza signifies, according to him, "Er füllte an die seichten Flüsse die (dabei) wie Mädchen (bei der Vergewaltigung) schrienen. Wüsten und Gefilde, die düsteten, tränkte er; Indra schaffte Milch den unfruchtbaren (Kühen), er machte die Ehefrauen schwanger." Geldner translates pāda d⁹ as 'Indra melkte die Gelbkühe die einen tüchtigen Hausgemahl (in ihm) haben' in his *RV. Ueber.* and therefore looks upon *dām* as the genitive of *dām* or *dāms* meaning 'house.' Grassmann translates the pāda as 'Indra molk des Dämon's gelbe Kühe' and Ludwig as 'er gewann milch von den [bisz dahin] unfruchtbaren gattinnen des wunder [tieres].'

Hillebrandt (*Lieder des RV.*, p. 46) translates the stanza as: "Er schwängerte die Mädchen, die wie hervorbrechende Quellen tobten, er schwängerte die jungen, rechtschaffenen Frauen, welche verkummerten. Die düstenden Triften und Felder sättigte er. Er verschaffte Milch den Unfruchtbaren, die einen wunderkräftigen Gatten hatten," and observes: "Die gewaltige,

⁹ The other three pādās he has translated as: "Er schwängerte die Unvermählten, die wie die Quellwasser glucksten, er schwängerte die sittsamen jungen Frauen, die schmachtenden. Er tränkte die verdursteten Steppen und Ebenen."

befruchtende Kraft Indra's wird geschildert. Es wird immer übersehen, dass es sich um eine Steigerung handelt. I. schwängert 1. die *agravo*, die unvermählten, 2. die jungen Frauen, die aber *dhvasrá* sind, 3. die, die unfruchtbar sind, obwohl sie einen kräftigen Mann haben. Unter *dhvasrá* sind die zu verstehen, die einen unfruchtbaren oder sie vernachlässigenden Mann haben. Die Bedeutung von *dāmsu* . . ist in dem Zusammenhang ganz klar: trotzdem die Frauen einen sehr kräftigen Gatten haben, bleiben sie unfruchtbar, und Indra hilft."

Similarly, it is the opinion of Grassmann and Ludwig (and of Geldner) also that the first two pādas too of the stanza are concerned with Indra's impregnation of maidens, and that *uabhanvāḥ* in pāda 1 is the *upamāna* and not the *upameya*.

This opinion seems to me to be incorrect; and I believe that the stanza as a whole refers to Indra's release of the Waters or Rivers. For, on the one hand, nowhere else in the RV is Indra described as making maidens or married women fruitful. 6, 44, 21: *vṛṣāsi divo vṛṣabhāḥ prthivyā vṛṣā sindhūnām vṛṣabhāḥ stīyānām | vṛṣṇe ta indur vṛṣabha pīpāya* and other similar verses which describe him as 'bull of the earth, sky,' etc., signify only that Indra is the chief person in the earth, sky, etc., (see Grassmann s. v. *vṛṣabha* 8) and are parallel in that respect to 1, 59, 2: *mūrdhā divo nābhīr agnīḥ prthivyāḥ*; 8, 44, 16: *agnīr mūrdhā divāḥ kakūt pātīḥ prthivyā ayām* and other similar verses that describe Agni as such. And, on the other hand, Indra is described in many RV verses as the liberator of the Waters or Rivers that had been confined by Vṛtra, and as having made it easy for them to flow freely to the sea. Compare the passages cited by Hillebrandt in his *Ved. Myth.*, 3, 174-5; compare also 1, 32, 2: *āham āhim pārvate śīśriyānām tvāṣṭāsmāi vājraṁ svaryām tataḥśa | vāstrā iva dhenāvāḥ syāndamānā āñjaḥ samudrām*

āva jagmur āpah; 2, 19, 3: *sá māhina indro āryo apām prairayad ahīhācchā samudrām*; 6, 30, 4: *āhann āhim pariśāyānam āryō 'vāsryo apō ācchā samudrām*; 1, 130, 5: *tvām vṛthā nadyō indra sártavē 'cchā samudrām asryo ráthān iva vājayatō ráthān iva*; 6, 17, 12: *ā kṣódo máhi vṛtām nadinām páriśṭhitam asrya ūrmim apām | lāsām ānu pravāta indra pānthām prārdayo nīcīr apāsah samudrām*. These Waters or Rivers, it is easy to understand, made fruitful all the lands they passed through on their way to the sea. Their water is hence called *pāyas* 'milk,' in the RV, and the rivers themselves are described as overflowing with milk, *pāyasā pinvamānāh*, in 3, 33, 4: *enā vayām pāyasā pinvamānā ānu yōnim devákṛtaṁ cārantīh . . kimyūr vāpro nadyō jōhaviṭi* and 7, 51, 4: *tā asmābhyaṁ pāyasā pinvamānāh śivā devīr asīpadā bhavantu sārva nadyō asimidā bhavantu* and as easy to milk, *sudúghāh*, in 7, 36, 6: *yāh suśvāyanta sudúghāh sudhārā abhī svēna pāyasā pīpyānāh*. 1, 33, 1: *gāveva subhrē mātārā rihāṇē vipāt chutudrī pāyasā javete* describes the rivers Vipās and Śutudri as 'running (overflowing) with milk like two milch-cows (hastening to their calves)'.

These Waters are described as *dāsāpatnīh* 'wives of the dāsa,' in 1, 32, 11: *dāsāpatnīr āhigopā atīṣṭhan nīrudhā āpah paṇīveva gāvaḥ*, in 5, 30, 5: *vīśvā apō ajayad dāsāpatnīh* and also in 8, 96, 18: *tvām apō ajayo dāsāpatnīh*. The dāsa referred to here is Vṛtra, who, in 8, 93, 2: *tām indram vājayāmasi mahē vṛtrāya hāntave* is called 'great (strong).' Hence the Waters or Rivers themselves are called *vṛṣāpatnīh* and *vṛṣṇah pātñīh* 'wives of the strong one' in 8, 15, 6: *vṛṣāpatnīr apō jāyā divē-divē* and 5, 42, 12: *vṛṣṇah pātñīr nadyō vibhvataṣṭāh*; and in 4, 17, 3: *vādhiḍ vṛtrām vājreṇa mandasāudh sārann āpo jāvasā hatāvṛṣṇīh*, the Waters, after the killing of Vṛtra, are called *hatāvṛṣṇīh* 'they whose strong husband had been killed.'

It is these Waters that are referred to as *dāṁsu-patnīh* in pāda d of the above verse. I therefore translate

the verse as : " He caused to swell the rivers that cried out like maidens, that were covered with dust, youthful, knowers of the law. He filled the thirsty plains and deserts ; Indra milked the sterile wives of the strong one (i. e. made fruit-bearing the wives of the strong one that had been sterile)."

nabhanvāḥ in a signifies 'rivers' as stated in the *Nighaṇṭu*, and denotes the Rivers that were liberated by Indra. I follow Pischel (l.c.) in looking upon *nabhanvāḥ* as the *upameya* and *agrūvāḥ* as the *upamāna*. Regarding the separation of the particle *ná* from *agrūvāḥ*, compare Pischel's observation in *Ved. St.*, 1, 6 : "*ná* steht auch sonst zuweilen nicht direkt hinter dem Worte, zu dem es gehört. So z. B. 5, 36, 2 : *rūhat sōma ná párvatasya prsthé* für *rūhat sōmah prsthé ná párvatasya*. Auch hier war das Metrum die Ursache der Umstellung."

The epithets *dhvasráḥ*, *yuvatīḥ* and *ṛtajñāḥ* should be construed with both *nabhanvāḥ* and *agrūvāḥ*. *dhvasrá*,¹⁰ I conceive, is a synonym of the cognate word *dlūsara* 'dusty, covered with dust ;' and *dhvasráḥ* denotes, in the case of the Rivers, that they are dusty, i. e., that their beds have little or no water and are for the most part covered with dust, i. e., that the rivers are dried up, and in the case of the *agrūvāḥ*, that they are *rajasvalāḥ* (and therefore fit for impregnation.) *ṛtajñāḥ* denotes, in the case of the *agrūvāḥ*, that they knew the *ṛtu*¹¹ or proper time for intercourse (see in this connection R. Schmidt's *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*,² p. 285f., 295f.), and, in

¹⁰ Roth, in the PW, explains this word as *spritzend, stiebend ; austreuend* so v. n. *freigebig* ; so also does Grassmann. Pischel, in *Ved. St.*, 2, 102, explains it as 'finster,' 'verstimmt' 'missmutig,' 'gloomy' (but, as epithet of the Rivers, he interprets it as 'wasserlos,' 'seicht'). As we have seen above, Geldner interprets it as 'languishing' and Hillebrandt as 'a woman that (is sterile or has a husband who neglects her and) is pining away.'

¹¹ Compare 1, 164, 8 : *mātā pitāram ṛtā ā babhāja* where too the word *ṛtā* seems to be used in the sense of *ṛtu*.

the case of the Rivers, that they knew that, after the death of their husband Vṛtra, they have become the property (wives) of his conqueror Indra.

adhog 'milked,' in d, signifies that Indra made the Waters (Rivers) bear fruit, that is, that he released them so that they may quench the thirst of the plains and make the land fruitful. Compare in this connection the words *dhātvāny ājṛān aprnak tṛṣṇān* of pāda c and pāda b of AV. 6, 22, 3 that is cited below; compare also what has been said above about *pāyas*. The Waters (Rivers) are called *staryāḥ* because, when confined by Vṛtra, they were pent up in the mountains and could not reach the plains and make them fruitful.

Regarding the simile *agrūvo nā vākvāḥ*, compare pāda c of TS. 3, 1, 11, 7-8: *udaprūto marutas tān iyarta vṛṣṭim yē viśve marūto junānti | krōṣāti gārdā kanyēva tunnā pēruṁ tuñjānā pātyeva jāyā* and AV. 6, 22, 8: *udaprūto marūtas tān iyarta vṛṣṭir yā viśvā nivātas prṇāti | ējāti glāhā kanyēva tunnā ēruṁ tundānā pātyeva jāyā*. The latter stanza is plainly corrupt (see Whitney, *AV. Trans.*) while the meaning of the former too is not clear. There is no doubt however that in both verses the Maruts are entreated to send down rain; that is to say, the situation is much the same as that referred to in RV 4, 19, 7. According to pāda c of the TS verse,¹² this rain 'roars, i. e., cries like a . . . maiden that is pricked'; and the expression *krōṣāti kanyēva tunnā* in it is exactly equivalent to the expression *agrūvo nā vākvāḥ* of the RV verse.

The word *dāmsu* that is employed in this verse (4, 19, 7) and, in my opinion, in 6, 3, 7 also explained above, is derived from the above-mentioned root *damś* 'to be strong' by the addition of the suffix *su*; compare

¹² *gardā* in this pāda is obscure. Pischel (*Ved. St.*, 1, 85) says that it denotes 'geil,' but I am not convinced that this interpretation is correct.

dakṣu from *dah* 'to burn' and *makṣu* from *mah* 'to be great (strong, vigorous, etc.)'. It is explained variously by Sāyaṇa as *dāntair aśvair* (in 1, 122, 10), *danteṣu madhye* (in 1, 141, 4) and as *dāmsu karmavatsu | yad vā grhanā-maitat | antya-lopaś chāndasaś | grhavad ācchādakeṣu . . yad vā dāmsu yāga-grheṣu devayajaneṣu* (in 1, 134, 4). Roth and Grassmann interpret it as 'wunderkräftig, auf wunderbare Weise, erstaunlich,' while Geldner, in his *RV. Ueber.* (I, 170, 179) has declared that the word is obscure and that the meaning 'in the house' does not suit. Pischel, in *Ved. St.*, 2, 103, has explained this word as 'mächtig,' i. e., mighty, great, powerful; and there is no doubt that this interpretation is correct, for, as observed above, it is derived from the root *dah* 'to be strong.' The word therefore signifies primarily 'strong, great, mighty, powerful,' and secondarily, 'swift, quick, rapid.' Regarding the transition of meaning, compare *Ved. St.*, 1, 16: 96f.; compare also the above-cited word *makṣu* which signifies primarily 'great, powerful' and secondarily (and most frequently) 'quick, swift, rapid.'

dāmsu seems, like *makṣu*, to be an indeclinable, and occurs in the following three verses also of the RV :

1, 122, 10: *sā vrādhato nāhuṣo dāmsujūtaḥ*
śardhastaro narām gūrtāśravāḥ |
vīsr̥ṣtarātir yāti bālhas̥tvā
vīśvāsu pṛtsu śādam ic chūrah ||

"He is more swiftly-speeding, stronger, than the powerful Nahus; his fame is praised by men. Giving away gifts, he, the swift-goer, goes in all fights, always a hero." *dāmsujūtaḥ* = swiftly-speeding or 'in gewaltiger Eile' (Pischel; *Ved. St.*, 2, 103); it is an equivalent of the word *bālhas̥tvā* that occurs in pāda c, and means 'irresistible; difficult to check.' *sāh* in a refers to the person who worships Mitra and Varuṇa who are the deities of this verse (see Sāyaṇa's commentary); and *dāmsujūtaḥ* even without the suffix *tara*, seems to have the meaning of a comparative here. Or, should we construe the suffix *tara* of *śardhastara* with *dāmsujūta* also?

Geldner, in *RV. Ueber.*, I, 353, has pointed out the similarity of 6, 24, 8: *ná víṣāve námate ná sthirāya ná sārđhate dāsyujūṭāya stavān | āvrā indrasya girāyaś cul ryoā gambhīrē cid bhavati gādhām asmai* with this verse. The words *dāmsujūta* and *dāsyujūta* in these two verses seem clearly to be parallel to each other. Similarly, as we have observed above, the word *dāmsupatniḥ* in 4, 19, 7 is parallel to the word *dāsāpatniḥ* in 1, 32, 11. Is it possible then that the words *dāsa* and *dasyu* are derived from the same root *dāms* 'to be strong' from which *dāmsu* is derived, with loss of the nasal as in the cognate words *dasma* and *dasra*?

1, 134, 4: *tūbhyam uṣāsaḥ śūcayāḥ parāvātī
bhadrā vāstrā tanvate dāmsu raśmīṣu
citrā nāvyeṣu raśmīṣu |
tūbhyam dhenūḥ sabardūghā
vīśvā vāsūni dohate |
ājanāyo marūto vakṣāṇābhyo
divā ā vakṣāṇābhyah ||*

"For thee [O Vāyu], the bright Dawns weave beautiful garments (i.e., make beautiful ornaments) in the swift rays, marvellous (garments) in the new rays. For thee does the milch-cow Sabardughā milk all riches. Thou hast engendered the Maruts from the wombs, from the wombs of Heaven." Regarding the epithet *dāmsu* 'swift' applied to *raśmīṣu*, compare 1, 63, 1: *girāyaḥ . . . bhīyā dylhāsaḥ kirānā nājan* 'the firm mountains through fear, moved (as swiftly) as rays,' and 9, 69, 6: *śūryasyeva raśmāyo drāvayitūdvah* 'speeding swiftly like the rays of the sun.' Or, should we interpret *dāmsu raśmīṣu* as 'bright rays?' Regarding the transition of meaning from 'strong, swift' to 'bright,' see *Ved. St.*, I, 96f.

Sabardughā (literally, 'Amṛta-milker' according to Sāyaṇa) is a cow that milks all desired things and is therefore a prototype of the Kāmadhenu of the later Purāṇas and Epics.

1, 141, 4: *prá yát pitúh paramān nīyāte páry
 ā prkṣúdhō virúdhō dāmsu rohati |
 ubhā yād asya janūṣān yād invata
 ād id yāviṣṭhō abhavad ghrṇā śucih ||*

"When he (sc. Agni) is brought down from the highest father, he quickly climbs the . . plants. When the two promote his birth, he, the youngest, glowed with heat."

'The highest father,' mentioned in a is perhaps Dyaus or Heaven; see Geldner's *RV. Ueber.*, I, 179, *pra+ni* however is a technical term used in the Śrauta-sūtras for the transportation of fire from the Āhavaniya-hearth to the Uttaravedi (see Caland-Henry, *L'Agni-ṣṭoma*, p. 78); and hence Sāyaṇa understands *paramāt pitúh* as referring to this Āhavaniya fire which thereafter comes to be known as the Gārhapatya fire. *prkṣúdhak* is a hap. leg. whose meaning is not known; it signifies perhaps 'strength-giving'. The 'two' mentioned in *pāda c* are, in all probability, the two araṇis. *dāmsu* = vigorously, swiftly; and *dāmsu ā rohati* refers perhaps to the rapid spread of Agni when consuming the plants; compare in this connection the expression *avartrā oṣadhīṣu* in 6, 12, 3 explained above (p. 112).

§ 8

pṛthak

This is a word well-known in later literature where it has the meaning *nānā*, 'diversely, variously, separately, individually, in different ways'; and it has been assumed by the commentators, Indian as well as European, that this is the meaning in the Veda also. This assumption is indeed correct as regards 1, 131, 2; 1, 157, 1, and some other verses; but it is otherwise with regard to 10, 91, 7: *vātopadhūta iṣitō vāsān ānu tṛṣū yād ānuā vēviṣad vitiṣṭhase | ā te yatante ratihyò yāthā pṛthak śārdhāmsy*

agne ajārāṇi dhākṣataḥ; 9, 86, 2: *prā te mādāso madirāsa āśāvó 'sr̥kṣata rāthyāso yāthā pr̥thak | dhenúr nā vatsām pāyasābhī vajrīṇam indram īdavo mādhumanta ūrmāyah*; and 10, 142, 4: *yád utvāto nivāto yāsi bāpsat pr̥thag eṣi pragardhāniva sēnā | yadā te vāto anuvāti śocir vāpteva śmāśru vapasi prā bhūma* all which verses contain similes with *pr̥thak* as the *tertium comparationis*. In 10, 142, 4 it is said that Agni goes, *pr̥thak*, like a swift missile; in 10, 91, 7, that the flames of Agni press forward, *pr̥thak*, like the horses of a chariot; and in 9, 86, 2, that the swift gladdening streams of Soma rush forward, *pr̥thak*, like the horses of a chariot. It is obvious that the meaning 'diversely, variously, separately, in different ways', is inappropriate here; for the horses of a chariot can not be said to press forward 'diversely' or 'in different ways.' On the contrary, it is their community of action and community of goal that is the point of comparison elsewhere in the RV. Compare, for instance, 3, 33, 2: *ācchā samudrām rathyēva yāthah* 'you, Vipāt and Śutudri, go to the sea (together) like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. *anyā vām anyām āpy eti subhre* in the same verse and *samānām yónini dnu samcāranti* in the next verse); 2, 39, 3: *arvāñcā yātam rathyēva sakrā* 'come, O ye two mighty (Aśvins) towards us (together) like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. 10, 106, 1: *sadhricinā yātave prēm ajīgaḥ*); and 3, 36, 6: *āpah samudrām rathyēva jagmuḥ* 'the waters went (together) to the sea like the two horses of a chariot' (comp. 5, 60, 3: *āpa iva sadhryāñco dhavadhve*). Compare also the epithet *sahavāhaḥ*, drawing together, used of the horses which draw the chariot of Bṛhaspati in 7, 97, 6: *tām sagmāso aruṣāso āśvā bṛhaspātīm sahavāho vahanti | sāhaś cid yāsyā niḥavat sadhāstham nābho nā rūpām aruṣām vāsānāḥ*. *pr̥thak* therefore cannot mean 'diversely,' 'variously,' 'separately,' 'in different ways,' here; it must have some other signification that can yield good sense in these passages.

What this other signification is, can be determined from these passages themselves. As we have seen, *prthag-gamana* is a common characteristic of Agni, of Agni's flames, of the horses of a chariot, and of a swift missile—that is, of a weapon that has been hurled against the foe. If we find out therefore from other passages of the RV an answer to the question 'What attribute is it that is characteristic of the movement of the above-named things?', we shall in all likelihood have found out the meaning of *prthak* in these passages.

The answer to the above question is not difficult to find; for, the only attribute that characterises commonly the movement of Agni, Agni's flames, etc., is 'swiftness,' 'rapidity,' 'quickness,' 'impetuousness,' etc. Compare respectively the following passages: (a) 3, 26, 2: *tām śubhrām agnim āvase havāmahe . . . ātithim raghuśyādam* 'we invoke him for protection, Agni, the bright, the swift-moving, the guest'; 10, 6, 4: *devān ācchā raghupātvā jigāti* 'he (Agni), the swift-mover, goes to the gods'; 1, 140, 9: *tuvigrebhīḥ sātvabhīr yāti vi jrayah* 'he moves swiftly with his much-devouring flames'; 1, 79, 1: *āhir dhūnir vāta iva dhrājimān* '[Agni] swift (like) Ahi, flying like the wind'; 4, 4, 4: *prāti spāso vā sṛja tūrṇitamah* 'send forth thy spies, (O Agni,) thou that art the swiftest'; (b) 4, 4, 2: *tāva bhramāsa āśuyā patanti* 'thy flames go swiftly'; 6, 66, 10: *trṣu-cyāvaso juhvō nāgnēḥ* 'moving swiftly like the tongues (i.e., flames) of Agni'; 9, 22, 2: *agnēr iva bhramā vṛthā* 'impetuous like the flames of Agni'; 4, 6, 10: *tveṣāso agne arcāyaś cārauti śyenāso nā duvasāuāso ārtham* 'thy bright flames, O Agni, move (swiftly) like hawks coursing to their goal'; 4, 6, 5: *drāvanty asya vājīno nā śókāḥ* 'his flames run like racing horses'; (c) 1, 148, 3: *āśvāso nā rathyo rārahānāḥ* 'coursing like the horses of a chariot'; 10, 119, 3: *ūn mā pitā ayamsata rātham āśvā ivāśāvah* 'the streams (of Soma) drunk (by me) have roused me (as quickly) as swift horses (draw) a chariot'

(cf. preceding verse, *prá vātā iva dōdhata ún mā pītā ayaṁsata*); 4, 1, 3: *sákhe sakhāyam abhy ā vavrtsvāśūm ná cakrām ráthyeva rámhya* 'carry the friend to us, O friend, with speed, as the two horses of a chariot roll the swift wheel'; 2, 4, 6: *vār nō pathā ráthyeva svānt* 'who, (Agni,) rushed forth (as swiftly) as water on its path, as the two horses of a chariot'; (d) 9, 69, 6: *sūryasyeva raśmāyo drāvayitnāvo matsarāśah prasūpah sākām irate* 'the torpid (?), intoxicating (streams of Soma) move together, swift like the rays of the sun'; 9, 69, 7: *sīndhor iva pravaṇe nimnā āśāvo vṣacyutā mādāso gātūm āśata* 'the streams of Soma, falling from (the hands of) the priest proceed on their way, swift like the currents of a river down an incline'; 9, 86, 1: *prá ta āśāvah pavamāna dhījāvo mādā arṣanti raghujā iva tmānā* 'thy swift, thought-inspiring, intoxicating streams, O Pavamāna, rush forward of themselves like horses born of fleet (sires and dams)'; 1, 5, 7: *ā tvā viśantv āśāvah sōmāsa-indra girvaṇah* 'let the swift streams of Soma enter into you, O Indra fond of praise'; 9, 22, 1: *etē sōmāsa āśāvo ráthā iva prá vāṇinah | sárgāh sṛṣṭā aheṣata* 'these swift streams of Soma have moved (as swiftly) as racing chariots, (as) horses unloosed'; (e) 1, 143, 5: *ná yó vārāya marūtām iva svanāḥ sēneva sṛṣṭā dīvyā yāthāśānih* 'that, like the rush of the Maruts, like a missile sent on its way, like the thunderbolt of heaven, can not be stopped'; 6, 6, 5: *ādha jīhvā pāpatiti prá vṣṣno goṣuyūdho nāśānih sṛjānā* 'then speeds the flame of the bull (sc. Agni) like the missile hurled by the fighter for cows'; 1, 116, 1: *yāv árbhagāya vimádāya jāyām senājūvā nyūhātū ráthena* 'who (two) brought a wife to the young Vimada in a chariot that is as swift as a missile.'

prthak therefore signifies in 10, 91, 7 and similar verses 'swiftly', 'rapidly', 'quickly', 'impetuously', etc., a meaning which suits the context. It has this meaning in the following passages:

2, 17, 3: *ādihākṛnoḥ prathamām vīryām mahād
yād asyāgre brāhmaṇā śūzmaṁ airayaḥ |
ratheṣṭhēna hāryasvena vīcyutāḥ
prā jīrāyaḥ sisrate saultryāk pṛthak ||*

"Then didst thou, (O Bṛhaspati) perform (thy) first valiant deed when thou, before this (Indra), didst shatter the powerful (Vala) with thy spell. The swift (Waters) released by (Indra), who was in his chariot (and) who has tawny horses, rush forward together impetuously."

There are some difficulties in the first half of this verse. The release of the Waters mentioned in the second half-verse indicates that the valiant deed (*mahād vīryām*) of the first half-verse refers to the overthrow of the demon that had imprisoned them; compare 2, 22, 1: *sā im mamāda māhi kārma kṛtavi mahām urūm sainam saścad devō devām satyām indram satyā induḥ*; 2, 24, 14: *brāhmaṇas pāter abhavat yathāvaśām satyō manyūr. māhi karmā karisyatāḥ* where also the phrase *māhi kārma* refers to such overthrow; cf. also 3, 33, 7: *pravācyam saśvadhā vīryām tād indrasya kārma yād āhim vīryśāt | vī vājrena pariśādo jaghānāyann āpōyanam icchāmānāḥ*. I therefore take *śūzma* as referring to the demon that imprisoned the Waters, and *airayaḥ* in the sense of shattering, destroying—a sense which the word has in the preceding verse but one, *vīśrā yād gotrā sāhasā pāriṣṛtā mādē sōmasya dīmhitāny airayat*. The mention of *brāhmaṇas* as the instrument used for shattering shows (comp. 2, 24, 3 *ūt gā ājad ābhivad brāhmaṇā valām*) that the first half-verse is addressed to Bṛhaspati who is known as *brahmaṇas pati* or 'lord of spells.' It is indeed possible to interpret, as Oldenberg has in fact done (*RV. Noten* 1, p. 201), the first half-verse also as being addressed to Indra. But this seems to me however to be a somewhat forced interpretation, and I prefer to regard this verse as belonging to the type of verses (cf. 1, 62, 4) whose two halves refer to Indra and Bṛhaspati respectively, and to interpret it as above.

The word *asya* in the second pāda seems to refer to Indra and the words *asya agre* to be equivalent to *asya purah*. Brhaspati is, as we know from 2, 24, 9 and the Yajus texts (TS. 6, 4, 10; MS. 4, 6, 3; KS. 27, 8) the purohita of the gods (*devāḥ*) and therefore of their chief, Indra, also. Now, the chief function of the king's purohita is, as laid down by Indian writers, the removal, by means of magical spells, of all evils whether caused by human or by extrahuman agency. These writers therefore lay particular stress on the necessity of having as purohita one that is well-versed in Atharvaṇic spells; see, for instance, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra 1, 8, 5 (p. 15): *purohitam uditoditakulaśīlam śaḍaṅge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanītyām ca abhivinitam, āpadām daivamānuṣīnām atharvabhīr upāyaś ca pratikartāram kurvīta*; Mahābhārata 12, 73, 30-31: *bhārgavāṅgirasām vede kṛtavidyah śaḍaṅgavit || yajñakarmavidhijñas tu vidhijñah paustikeṣu ca | aṣṭādaśavikalpānām vidhijñah sāntikarmaṇām || sarvarogavilīnaś ca saṁyutaś saṁyatendriyah | (purohitah kāryah)*; Yājñavalkyasmṛti 1, 313: *purohitam prakurvīta daivajñam uditoditam | daṇḍanītyām ca kuśalam atharvāṅgirase tathā*; see also ch. II of the Brhatsaṁhitā. An efficient purohita therefore was able to destroy all evils and enemies that threatened the king; compare the following śloka: ¹ *upapañnam nanu śivam saptaśv aṅgeṣu yasya me | daivīnām mānuṣīnām ca pratikartā tvam āpadām ||60|| tava mantrakṛto mantrair dūrāt praśamitāribhīḥ | pratyādiśyanta iva me dṛṣṭalakṣyabhīdah śarāḥ* addressed by king Dilīpa to his purohita Vasiṣṭha in the Raghuvamśa (L. 60, 61). In the light of these passages we can now understand better the role played by Brhaspati in the incidents referred to by the RV. The

¹ It is likewise useful to compare the preceding śloka also:

*athātharvanidhes tasya vijitāripurah purah |
arthyām arthapatir vācam ādāde vadatām varah ||59||*

Note also the close agreement in word as well as in meaning of these verses with the passage from Kauṭilya given above.

chant or shout (*arka*, *brahman*, *rāva*, *virava*, *kṛanda*, *stanita*, etc.) with which he destroyed the demon and set free the cows and waters (see Bergaigne I, 302; Boyer, *J.A.*, 1906, I, p. 401ff.) represents the magical spell or *mantra* which he, as *purohita*, used in favour of his patron Indra against his foes. His comparison too, with a 'lion roaring in his den' in 10, 67, 9 (*siṃhām iva nāmadatam sadhasthe*) is one that is pregnant with meaning. The lion, it is believed, kills other animals by its mere roar; compare the Jātaka stories No. 152² and 241³ and the following sentences in Müller's translation of the first six stories of the *Pisācaprakaraṇam* which is without doubt derived from an Indian original (ZDMG., 48, pp. 198 ff.):

(Pages 205, 206) "Jener Löwen-König besass ungeheure Stärke. Er pflegte in den Wald zu gehen und die Thiere durch sein Gebrüll zu tödten";

(Page 206) "Denn jener Löwen-König pflegt, wenn er sein Gebrüll ausgestossen hat, und irgend ein Thier gestorben ist";

(Page 216) "Da ward der Löwen-König, der Grossvater jener Prinzessin, zornig. Er stiess ein Gebrüll aus, da starben Sangvathan [a jackal-king] und sein gesammtes Gefolge";

and as a *purohita* performs his *śāntika*, *paṣṭika* and *ābhicārika* ceremonies in his *yāgasālā*, and as the mantras used therein kill the enemies even though they be afar, the comparison of these mantras with

² *Sīho tikkhattum sīhanādam nadi. Paṭhaviyā saddhim āhāsam ekanādam ahoṣi. Sīgālassa phalīkaguṇāya nīpannass'eva bhūtatassitussa hadayam phalī. So tatth'eva jīvitaṭṭhayaṃ pāpunī. (p. 8)*

³ *Sīho tikkhattum appatīvattiyam sīhanādam nadi te pi hatthi sīhanādam sutvā maraṇabhayaṭṭajjilā aññamaññam onijjhittvā tatth'eva jīvitaṭṭhayaṃ pāpunimsu. Thapetvā sīhe sesāpi migasakurādayo sasabilālapariyosānā sabbe intuppadā tatth'eva jīvitaṭṭhayaṃ pāpunimsu Dvādasayojaniko mamsarāsi ahoṣi. (p. 245)*

the roar of a lion, and of the purohita Bṛhaspati with a lion roaring in his den is singularly felicitous. Another figure of speech compares these rites and ceremonies which he performs to a *ratha* or war-chariot, in 2, 23, 3, which represents Bṛhaspati as mounted on the chariot of rite (*ṛtasya ratham*) which destroys enemies, slays demons, shatters the stony enclosure imprisoning the cows and wins the light.

Sāyaṇa, who as usual takes *pṛthak* to mean 'in different ways,' has ingeniously attempted to explain away the consequent contradiction here between *sadhryāk* and *pṛthak* by saying that the 'going in different ways' was caused by fear—*vicyutāḥ svasthānūc cyāvītāḥ santāḥ sadhryāk sadhricīnāḥ parasparasamgatāḥ pṛthak bhitya vīyuktāḥ santāḥ prasivrate prakarṣeṇa dhāvanti*. It is however the nature of Waters to flow together; compare 4, 47, 2: *yuvām hi yāntīndavo nimnām āpo nā sadhryāk*; and 5, 60, 3: *āpa iva sadhryāñco dhavadhrve*; and the Waters (or Rivers) released by Indra are in many places said to have moved swiftly forward; cf. 1, 32, 2: *vāsrā iva dhenāvah syāndamānā āñjah samudrām āva jagmur āpaḥ* 'running, like lowing cows (to their calves), the waters went straight to the sea'; 1, 130, 5: *tvām vṛthā nadyā indra sártavē 'cchā samudrām asṛjo rāthān iva vājayatō rāthān iva* 'thou hast released the rivers, O Indra, to run to the sea impetuously like chariots, like racing chariots'; 2, 15, 3: *vājreṇa khāny atṛṇan nadinām | vṛthāsṛjat pathibhir dīrghayāthāḥ* 'with the Vajra he bored openings for the rivers and let them loose (to flow) in long-extended paths'; 4, 17, 3: *vādkid vṛtrām vājreṇa mandasānāḥ sārann āpo jāvasā hatāvṛṣṇih* 'exulting he killed Vṛtra with the Vajra: the waters, whose lord was killed, rushed forth swiftly'; and specially, 10, 111, 9-10: *sṛjāḥ sindhūn ūhinā jagrasnān āt id etāḥ prā vicjre javēna | mūmukṣamānā utā yā mūmucré 'dhēd etā nā ramante nitiktāḥ | sadhricīḥ sindhum usatir ivāyon* 'thou didst deliver the Rivers swallowed by the dragon

and these sped forth swiftly—those desiring to be free as well as those that were freed; the swift ones do not stop; like loving (wives) they went to the sea together.' It should be noted that both the ideas of 'going together' and 'going swiftly' are given expression to in this last-quoted passage.

8, 100, 7: *prā nūnāmi dhāvatā pṛthak*
nēhā yō vo āvāvarit |
nī śīm vṛtrāsya mārmani
vājram indro apīpatat ||

"Run forth now swiftly; he is not now who had detained you. Indra has hit Vṛtra in his vital parts with the Vajra." This is, as is evident, an address to the Waters.

3, 56, 4: *abhika āsām pudavīr abodhy*
ādityānām ahrv cāru nāma |
āpaś cūd asmā aramanta devīḥ
pṛthag vṛjantīḥ pāri śim avrñjan ||

The meaning of this verse is not quite clear; I translate tentatively: "Their leader became known in the fight; I have invoked the sweet name of the Ādityas. Even the immortal Waters stopped for him; moving swiftly, they left (him)." With regard to the third pāda, compare 2, 30, 1: *indrāyāhighnē nā ramanta āpah*. The fourth pāda seems to refer to the same situation as 7, 21, 3: *tvām indra srāvitavā apōḥ kaḥ pāriṣṭhitā ākinā sūra pūrvīḥ* | *tvād vātukre rathyo nā dhēnā rējante vīśvā kṛtrimāni bhīṣā* and 4, 22, 6: *ādihā tvād vṛṣamano bhīyānāḥ prā śūdhaso jāvasā cakramanta*.

2, 24, 14: *brāhmaṇas pāter abhavad yathāvatāṁ*
satyo manyūr māhi kārma kariṣyatāḥ |
yō gā ūd ājat sā divē vī cabhajan
mahīva rītiḥ sūvasāsarāt pṛthak ||

"The powerful spell of Brahmanaspati who was engaged in a great work had its own way (i.e., acted as desired); (he) who drove forth the cows gave it to heaven; (the herd of cows) like a great current went

forward impetuously with strong force." 'The great work' refers, as I have said above, to the overthrowing of the demon that has imprisoned the waters and cows. The *iva* in the fourth pāda, though apparently an *upamā-vācaka*, seems really to be used in the sense of *ca*, that is, as a *samuccaya-vācaka* with the force of 'and': for Brhaspati sets free, not only cows, but the waters also. Compare 2, 23, 18: *tāva śrīyē vy ājīhīta pārvato gāvām gotrām úd asṛjo yād aṅgīrah | indreṇa yujā tāmasā pārivrtaṁ bṛhaspate nūr apām aubjo arṇavām*; see also 6, 73, 3; 2, 24, 73-4.

9, 86, 2: *prā te mādāso mādīrāsa āśāvō*
'srkṣata vāthyāso yāthā pṛthak |
dhenūr nā vatsām pāyasābhī vajriṇam
īndram īndavo mādhumanta ūrmāyah ||

"Thy swift, gladdening streams (O Soma), ran forth impetuously like the horses of a chariot. The sweet-bearing streams (have run) towards Indra, the Vajra-bearer, as a cow with milk runs to its calf."

10, 44, 6: *pṛthak prāyan prathamā devāhūtayō*
'krvata śravasyāni duṣṭārā |
nā yē śekūr yajñīyām nāvam ārūham
īrmatvā tē vy āvīkanta kēpayah ||

This verse is somewhat obscure. I translate, following Yaska (*Nirukta*, 5, 25, 1): "The first invokers of the gods sped forth swiftly and performed famous (deeds) difficult to surpass; the wicked people who were unable to get upon the ship of sacrifice, stayed here only."

10, 91, 7: *vātopadhūta īṣitō vāsān ānu*
trṣū yād ānnā vēviṣad vīṣṭhase |
ā te yatante vathyō yāthā pṛthak
sārdhāmsy agne ajārāṇi dhākṣataḥ ||

"When thou, O Agni, being fanned by the wind, extendest thyself rapidly, following thy desires, and reachest forth eagerly after food, the unaging flames of thee, that art burning, move forward swiftly like the horses of a chariot."

10, 142, 4: *yād ndvāto nivāto yāsi bāpsat*
pṛthag eṣi prāgardhinīva sēnā |
yadā te vāto ann vāti śocir
cāpteva śmāśru vapasi prā bhūma ||

"When thou goest, devouring, over ups and downs, thou movest as quickly as a swift missile. When the wind is blowing behind thy flame, thou shavest the earth as a barber the moustache." *prāgardhinī* (meaning, literally, 'greedy') = swift here; compare the similar use of the words *gṛdhnū* and *gṛdhyantam* in 1, 70, 11: *sādhnū nā gṛdhnūh* 'swift like an excellent (horse)' and 4, 38, 5: *padbhīr gṛdhyantam medhayūm nā śūram* 'speeding with a will, like a valiant soldier in battle'. Regarding the transition of meaning from 'greedy' to 'swift,' compare the analogous words *trṣū* 'thirsty, swift' and *tātrṣānā* 'thirsting, swift-moving' in 6, 66, 10 cited above and 2, 4, 6: *ā yō vānā tātrṣānā nā bhāti vār nā pathā rāthyeva svānti*. Compare also in this connection 1, 143, 5 and other verses cited above (p. 139) about the swiftness of the missile and the expressions 'swift as an arrow; quick as a dart; pfeil-schnell' and other similar ones in English and German.

10, 101, 4: *sīrā yuñjanti kavāyo*
yugā vī tanvate pṛthak |
dhīrā devēṣu sumnayā ||

"The wise put the ploughs together; the clever, desiring the grace of the gods, quickly make ready the yokes."

AV. 11, 5, 13: *agnau sūrye caudrāmasi mātariśvan*
brahmācāry āpsū samūdham ā dadhāti |
tāsām arcīmṣi pṛthag abhrē caranti
tāsām ājyam pūruṣo varṣām āpah ||

"In the fire, in the sun, in the moon, in Mātariśvan, in the waters, the Vedic student puts fuel. Their gleams go quickly to the cloud; their sacrificial butter is man,

rain, waters." Compare Manusmṛti III, 76: *agnau prastakutih samyag ādityam upatiṣṭhate | ādityāḥ jāyate vṛṣṭir vṛṣṭer annam tataḥ prajāḥ*.

AV. 7, 45, 2: *agnēr ivāsya dāhato dāvāsya dāhataḥ pṛthak |
elām elāsyersyām uduāgnim ivā samaya ||*

"Extinguish, as (one does) fire with water, this man's jealousy which is burning impetuously (*i.e.*, fiercely) like fire, like forest-fire."

AV. 4, 15, 2: *sām ikṣayantu taviṣāḥ sudānava
'pām vāsū ōsadhābhīḥ sacantām |
varṣāsya sārḡ māhayantu bhūmim
pṛthag jāyantām ōsadhayo viśvārūpāḥ ||*

"Let the strong liberal ones (*sc.* the Maruts) cause to behold together; let the juices of the waters attach themselves to the herbs; let downpours of rain glorify the earth; let herbs of all forms be born quickly."

AV. 4, 15, 3: *sām ikṣayasva gāyato nūbhāmsy
apām vīgāsaḥ pṛthag ud vijantām |
varṣāsya sārḡ māhayantu bhūmim
pṛthag jāyantām ōsadhayo viśvārūpāḥ ||*

"Do thou make the singers behold the clouds together; let the swift streams of water rush out rapidly; let downpours of rain glorify the earth; let herbs of all forms be born quickly."

Whitney in his *Translation* (p. 172) renders *pṛthak* in these passages as 'here and there;' and gives a note, after verse 4, that "*pṛthak*, lit. 'severally, separately' is used in these verses rather in the sense of 'all about, everywhere'." It seems to me that it is preferable to accept here (for verses 2 and 3) the meaning, 'quickly, rapidly' established for *pṛthak* above, and that this makes it unnecessary to suggest a third meaning, 'all about, everywhere,' for it. With regard to verse 4, the meaning *nānā*, 'severally,' may be considered to suit well here and also in AV. 3, 19, 6 and 5, 20, 7, where, too, the

words *pṛthak* and *ghoṣa* (in 5, 20, 7 its synonym *dhvanayaḥ*) occur. A better sense, however, is yielded by these passages if we interpret *pṛthak* here as 'strong', a meaning which is a development from that of 'rapid, quick, impetuous'; see *Vedische Studien* I, p. 47 and 97 for numerous examples of such development. I would therefore translate these verses as follows:

AV. 4, 13, 4: *gaṇās tvōpa gāyantu mārutāḥ*
parjanya ghoṣinah pṛthak |
sārgā varṣāsyā varṣato
vārṣantu pṛthivīm ānu ||

"Let the troops of Maruts that shout strongly sing to thee, O Parjanya; let gushes of raining rain rain along the earth." Shouting strongly is a characteristic of the Maruts that is frequently mentioned in the RV; compare for instance 1, 64, 8: *simhā iva nānadati prācetasah*; 1, 85, 2: *ārcanto arbhāṃ janāyanta indriyām ūdhi śrīyo dadhire pṛṣnimātarah*; 5, 54, 12: *svārantī ghōṣam vītatam rtāyāvah*; compare also, 1, 169, 7; 3, 26, 5, and Bergaigne II, 373.

AV. 3, 19, 6: *ūd dhārṣantām maghavan vājināny*
ūd virāṇām jāyatām etu ghōṣah |
pṛthag ghōṣā ululāyah
ketumānta ūd iratām |
devā indrajyēsthā marūto yantu sēnayā ||

"Let their energies be excited, O bounteous one; let the shout of the conquering heroes arise; let strong shouts and clear jubilant cries go up; let the divine Maruts with Indra as chief go with the army." To *pṛthag ghōṣah* in this verse corresponds *dymān ghōṣah* in 10, 84, 4. *dymāntam ghōṣam vijayāya kṛmahe*.

AV. 5, 20, 7: *antarémē nābhasi ghōṣo astu*
pṛthak te dhvānayo yantu śibham |
ādhi kranda stanāyotpīpānah
ślokaḥ mīratūryāya swardhi ||

"Let there be noise between these two firmaments; let thy sounds go swift and strong; roar (at them), thunder, truculent, resounding unto the victory of our friends, a good partizan." The last half-verse is unintelligible to me and I have therefore repeated here the translation of Whitney.

pṛthak has the sense of *nānā* in the other RV passages where it occurs, namely, in 1, 131, 2; 1, 157, 1; 8, 43, 18 and 8, 43, 29.

1, 131, 2: *vāśveṣu hī tvā sāvaneṣu tuñjāte*
samāuām ékaṁ vṛṣamanyavaḥ pṛthak
svāḥ sāniṣyavaḥ pṛthak |
tām tvā nāvām ná parṣāṇīm
tūṣāśya dhurī dhīmahi |
indram ná yajñāis citāyanta āyávaḥ
stómebhīr indram āyávaḥ ||

"(They) call urgently to thee in all Soma-libations— thee that art one and common, the people with excellent hymns (of praise), desiring to attain light, (call upon) separately. We people, glorifying Indra with praises as with sacrifices, place at the head of the strong (hymn), thee, that, like a ship, carriest us across."

1, 157, 1: *ábodhy agnir jná úd eti sūryo*
vy ūśāś candrā mahy āvo arcīṣā |
āyukṣātām aśvinā yātave rātham
prāsāvid devāḥ savitā jágat pṛthak ||

"Agni has awaked; the sun rises from the earth; the bright dawn has opened heaven and earth with her light; the (two) Aśvins have yoked their chariot for going; the divine Savitr has impelled the world individually (to action)."

8, 43, 18: *tūbhyām tá aṅgīrastama*
vīśvāḥ suksītāyaḥ pṛthak |
āgne kāmāya yemire ||

"Thee, O best of Āṅgīrasas, have all those people with good dwelling-houses, attached to themselves, separately, in order to obtain their desires, O Agni."

8, 43, 29: *túbhyaṁ ghêt tē jānā imé*
viśvāḥ suksitāyaḥ pṛthak |
dhiśm hiṃvanty āttave ||

"All these people with good dwelling-houses (O Agni) have separately impelled thee to eat the food." The words *viśvāḥ suksitāyaḥ* in these two verses though literally meaning 'all (people) that have good dwelling-houses' seem to be used in the sense of 'all (people) possessed of houses, i.e., householders'; *viśvāḥ suksitāyaḥ* thus=*viśve grhapatāyaḥ*, *viśveṣu grheṣu naraḥ*, *grhe-grhe naraḥ*. Compare 5, 14, 4; 10, 91, 2; 1, 128, 4; 4, 7, 3; etc.

Thus the meaning of *pṛthak* is 1. (a) quick, rapid, impetuous; (b) strong; and 2. separately, differently, diversely, variously.

Likewise, the root *prath*, from which the word *pṛthak* is without doubt derived, and its derivative *pṛthu* seem also to signify 'to rush, to move quickly or swiftly' and 'swift' respectively. Regarding the latter word, namely *pṛthu*, it is the first member of the compound *pṛthuprajña* which is given in the *Mahāvṛyutpatti* (Mironow's ed.: 48) as a synonym of *āsuprajña*, *javanaprajña*, *tikṣṇaprajña*, *gambhīraprajña*, etc. This seems to indicate that *pṛthu* in *pṛthuprajña* means *āśu* or *javana*.

§ 9

yakṣām

yakṣā (neuter) is a somewhat difficult word that occurs about thirty times in the Vedic texts and that has not so far been satisfactorily explained by the exegetists. The explanations proposed for this word by the earlier

ones are collected by Geldner on pp. 126, 127 of the *Vedische Studien*, Vol. 3, in the beginning of the article which he has written on this word. Geldner has there, after giving expression to the opinion that none of these explanations is satisfactory, come to the conclusion (p. 143) that *yakṣá* means 1. (a) Erstaunen, Verwunderung, Neugierde; (b) Wunder, Rätsel; 2. Wunder, Kunststück, Zauber, (a) Hexerei, Zauberei; (b) Verzauberung; Verwandlung; (c) Gaukelei, Blendwerk, Illusion; (d) Wunderkraft, Wunderkur, Heilzauber; 3. Gegenstand der Bewunderung oder Neugierde, Kuriosität, (a) Wundertier; (b) Schaustück, Fest; (c) Naturwunder wie grosse Bäume u.s.w. M. Boyer who has likewise written an article on this word in the *Journal Asiatique* (1906, I, pp. 393-477), sees no necessity for the acceptance of this long array of meanings. Following the explanation of Roth (übernatürliches Wesen, geisterhafte Erscheinung) and Bergaigne (apparition surnaturelle), he thinks that *yakṣá* denotes only 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder,' *une forme (visible de fait ou conçue comme telle) propre à étonner le regard*, and has, in his above-mentioned article, attempted to show that the meaning *fantôme, apparition, apparition merveilleuse, merveille*, fits in best with the context and is sufficient to explain every passage in which the word occurs. Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 44) agrees with M. Boyer in thinking that there is no necessity for a long series of meanings, and that one meaning is enough to explain all the passages in which the word occurs. This one meaning, however, is according to Oldenberg, 'wunderbare geheimnisvolle (darum häufig unheimliche) Wesenheit' and not 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder' as proposed by M. Boyer. And this seems now to be the opinion of Geldner also who in his latest book (*RV. Ueber.*) remarks, in connection with the verse 4, 3, 13, '*yakṣām*; Heimlichkeit oder Blendwerk. *yakṣá* ist etwas Geheimnisvolles oder

Wunderbares,¹ and thus seems to have abandoned his former suggestion in favour of that of Oldenberg. On the other hand, Hillebrandt has,² in his recently written article on this word (*Festgabe für Richard von Garbe*, pp. 17-23), explained it as 1. Zaubering, Zauberwesen (RV), unheimliches Wesen (Kauś. S); 2. übernatürliches grosses Wesen höherer Art (AV); 3. yakṣa [i. e., guhyaka or follower of Kubera] (AV. XI, 6, 10 and Gobh. G.S. 3, 4, 281).

The attempt to dispense with a long array of meanings and to make one meaning suffice for all passages is without doubt laudable; but it seems to me that in saying that this meaning is a 'wonderful, mysterious (and therefore sinister) being' or 'a form likely to create feelings of astonishment in the beholder,' the savants above-named have not quite hit the mark, and that these meanings do not, any more than those proposed by Geldner, fit in a number of passages, e.g., in RV. 10, 88, 13; AV. 8, 9, 8 and 11, 2, 24; Śat. Br. 12, 2, 3, 5. I propose therefore to investigate anew here the meaning of this word *yakṣa*.

It is necessary for me to begin first by referring to the close correspondence that exists between the words *yakṣa* and *bhūta* in post-Vedic literature. In this literature, *yakṣa* like *bhūta*, denotes a class of superhuman beings known as *devayonayah* in Sanskrit literature (cf. Amarakośa, 1, 11: *vidyādhara 'psaro-yakṣa-rakṣo-gandharva-kinnarāḥ | piśāco guhyakāḥ siddho bhūto 'mī devayonayah*), and as *vyantaraḥ* in Jaina literature (cf. Uttarādhyayana, p. 1084: *piśāya bhūyā jakkhā ya rakkhasā kinnarā ya kimpurisa | mahoragā ya gandharvā alḥhaviḥā vāṇam-antarā* and *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*, 4, 12). These beings are represented as dwelling in unoccupied houses, in

¹ He has also referred to Hertel's explanation of the word as 'Licht, Feuer' on p. 43 of his *Die Arische Feuerlehre* Vol. I, a book which is inaccessible to me.

trees, forests or woods, ponds, etc., which are then said to be possessed, *adhiṣṭhita*, by them; compare Geldner, *l.c.*, p. 143, Jātaka stories, No. 154 and 155, and Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 36, and Index, s.v. *yakṣa*. To *Yakṣas* as to *Bhūtas*², temples were built, adoration paid and *bali* offered; and festivals, *yātrāḥ* or *utsavāḥ*, were instituted in their honour. They were invoked in times of danger, and vows were taken in honour of them at such times and also when people prayed for the fulfilment of any desire. Compare for instance the following passages from the Jñātādharmakathā:—

(p. 417) *Rāyagihassa ṇayarassa bahiyā nāgāṇi ya bhūyāṇi ya jakkhāṇi ya indāṇi ya khandāṇi ya ruddāṇi ya sivāṇi ya vesāṇi ya vesamaṇāṇi ya tattha ṇaṃ bahuṇaṃ nāgapaḍimāṇi ya jāva vesamaṇapaḍimāṇi ya maharihaṃ pupphaccaṇiyāṃ karettā jaṇu-pāya-vaḍḍiyā evaṃ vayittā jai ṇaṃ ahaṃ devānuppiyā dāragāṃ vā dārigāṃ vā payāyāmi teṇaṃ ahaṃ tuṃhaṃ jāyāṃ ca dāyāṃ ca bhāyāṃ ca akkhaya-ṇihim ca anuwattemi.*

² The investigations of anthropologists have shown that belief in the existence, and worship, of evil spirits (demons) plays a prominent role in the religious speculations and practices of primitive people everywhere in the world; and the opinion has been expressed by writers on Vedic religion and mythology that such belief and worship were prevalent among the Āryans of Rgvedic times. Thus Oldenberg (*Religion des Veda*, p. 55f.) believes that the existence of such belief and practice is unmistakably indicated by certain details of the Vedic cult; and Hillebrandt (*Ved. Myth.*, III, p. X) says that the belief in the existence of evil spirits is met with to a small extent in the RV, and that the worship too of evil spirits must have been prevalent at the time though, as he thinks, no trace of such worship is to be seen in the RV. As we know from later literature that the worship of *Yakṣas* and *Bhūtas* was general and wide-spread, it is permissible to infer that the worship of evil spirits in Rgvedic times too must have, to a great extent, consisted in the worship of *Yakṣas* and *Bhūtas*, or at least, that *Yakṣas* and *Bhūtas* were included in the evil spirits that received worship in the time of the RV.

[Bhadra, wife of the caravan-leader, *sārvavāha*, Dhanya, thinks] "Outside the city of Rājagṛha are the temples of Nāgas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Indra, Skanda, Rudra, Śiva, Veśa, and Vaiśravaṇa. There after a grand worship with flowers of the images of Nāgas, etc., up to Vaiśravaṇa, and after falling on the knees, saying thus: 'If, now, O beloved of the gods, I shall give birth to a son or a daughter, I shall then establish a worship of you, make gifts to you, appoint portions for you, and shall establish a permanent fund³ for you.'"

(p. 409) *jūya-khalayāṇi ya vesāgarāṇi ya*
siṅghāḍagāṇi ya tayāṇi ya caukkāṇi ya caccarāṇi ya nāga-
gharāṇi ya bhūya-gharāṇi ya jakkha-deūlāṇi ya
 [The robber Vijaya was in the habit of visiting and wandering through] "Gambling-dens, drink-saloons, courtesans' houses, places where three, four, and more roads meet, temples of Nāgas, Bhūtas, and Yakṣas"

(p. 758) *bhūyā sañjāyabhayā aṇṇam-aṇṇa-kāyaṃ sama-*
turaṅgemāṇā bahunaṃ indāṇi ya khandāṇi ya rudda-siva-
vesamaṇa-nāgāṇam bhūyāṇa ya jakkhāṇa ya ajja-kottakiri-
yāṇa ya bahūṇi uvāiya-saāi uvāimamaṇā ciṭṭhanti [Some merchants, when threatened by an evil spirit, *mahāpiśāca*, while travelling on a ship in the midst of the sea, become anxious, and] "Feeling fear and apprehension, and embracing each other (for support) are offering many offerings to many Indras, Skandas, Rudras, Śivas, Vaiśravaṇas, Nāgas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Āryās and Kottakriyās."⁴

(p. 212, 213) *uggā uggaputtā bhogā bhogaputtā evaṃ*
rāṇṇā khattiya māhaṇā bhaḍā jhā nāyā
sirasā kaṇṭhe mālakaḍā āvuddha-maṇi-suvaṇṇā kappiya-

³ Wherewith, explains the commentator Abhayacandra, the charges for renovating the temple, etc., may be met.

⁴ The commentator explains *āryāḥ* as *prāsānta-rūpā durgāḥ* and *kottakriyāḥ* as *saiva mahāśaradha-rūpā*, that is, perhaps, fierce in aspect.

*hāradhahāra-tisaraya-palamba-palambamāṇa-kaṭṭisuttayā sukaya-sobhābharaṇā vattha-pavara-pahiriya-candanavalitta-gāya-sarirā appegaiyā haya-gayā evaṃ gaya-raha-sibiya-sandamāṇi-gayā Rāyagiha-nagarassa majjham ega-disim egāhimukhā nigacchanti*⁵ *kiṇṇam bho devā-ṇuppiyā ajja Rāyagihe ṇayare indamahe vā khandamahe vā evaṃ rudda-siva-vesamaṇa-nāga-jakkha-bhūya-ṇadī-taḷā-ya-rukkha-ceiya-pavvaya-ṇjāṇa-giri-jattāi vā jaṇṇam ugga-bhogā jāva egadisim egābhimukhā nigacchanti.*

[Prince Megha sees one day] "Ugras, ugraputras, bhogas, bhogaputras, and likewise, persons born in royal families, Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, king's servants, warriors, who had bathed, who were wearing garlands on their heads and necks and ornaments of gold and jewels, who were decked with *hāras*, *ardhahāras*, *trisarakas*, *pralambas* and *kaṭṭisūtras*,⁶ and other well-made brilliant ornaments, who were wearing very fine clothes and had their bodies anointed with *sāṇḍal*, some mounted on horses, some on elephants, chariots and palanquins, moving in Rājagrha in one direction, to one goal, and calling one of his entourage, inquires 'What, O beloved of the gods, is there to-day in Rājagrha a festival (*utsava*) in honour of Indra or Skanda or Śiva, Rudra, Vaiśravaṇa, or a nāga, yakṣa or bhūta or a *yātrā* to a river or pond or tree, temple, mountain, garden or hill, that the ugras, bhogas, etc., are going out in one direction, to one goal?' "

The temples of Yakṣas were known as *yakṣāyatana* (cp. Jñātā., p. 528, *surappiye ṇāmaṇi jakkhāyatane*), *yakṣadevakula* (cp. *ibid.*, p. 409, *jakkhadevāṇi ya*),

⁵ This *varṇaka* is not given in the text: the commentator has, however, extracted it from one of the preceding five *Angasūtras* and reproduced it in his commentary (p. 208f. of the edition).

⁶ These are different kinds of necklaces worn round the neck. A *trisaraka* is a necklace that has three strings.

yakṣagrha or *yakṣabhavana* (cp. Uttarādhyayanasūtra, comm. on p. 162, *Rājagrhe Viraprabhodyāne Mañināyakaśya yakṣabhavane uttīrṇaḥ*), *yakṣaprasāda* (cp. *ibid.*, p. 347, *Maṇḍika-yakṣa-prāsāda*) or *yakṣa* simply (compare Jñātā, p. 417, *nāgāṇi ya bhūyāṇi ya jakkhāṇi ya*, 'temples of *nāgas*, *bhūtas*, and *yakṣas*'; Vipākasūtra, p. 176, *Bhaṇḍire uyyāne Sudarisaṇe jakkhe* 'Bhaṇḍira park; the *yakṣa*-temple named Sudarisaṇa'; *ibid.*, p. 213, *Soriya-jakkho*, 'the *yakṣa*-temple known as Soriya'); and those of *bhūtas* were known as *bhūtagrha* (cp. Jñātā, p. 409, *bhūyagharāṇi ya*) or simply *bhūta* (cp. Jñātā, p. 417, *nāgāṇi ya bhūyāṇi ya jakkhāṇi ya* cited above). The generic term *caitya* was used to denote either class of temples—those of *yakṣas* or of *bhūtas*: compare Uttarādhyayanasūtra, p. 162, *Antarañjikāpuryāṃ bhūtagrhaṃ caityaṃ*; *yakkha-cetiyaṇi* in Buddhaghosa's *Sumaṅgalavilāsiṇi* on *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, 1. 4; and Abhayacandra's explanation of *caitya* as *vyantarāyatanaṃ* in his commentary on the Jñātā, p. 7. These *caityas* seem to have played a prominent part in the religious life of the city or town in which they were situated. In the Jaina-sūtras specially, one finds that whenever the name of a town or city is mentioned, the name of the *caitya* situated in it is also almost invariably mentioned; see, for instance, Jñātā, p. 1509, 1515ff. and Vipākasūtra, pp. 241ff.⁷ The Buddhist Pāli books too sometimes mention *caityas* in connection with towns; e.g., the Suppatitṭha-cetiya in Rājagrha is mentioned in the Vinaya-piṭaka, Mahāvagga, I, 22, 1; and the Cāpāla, Udena, Sattambaka, and Bahuputta *cetiya*s in Vesālī are mentioned in Dīgha, Mahāparinibbānasutta, 3. 1. So

⁷ The worship of *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇis* still forms part of Jain religious observances. Read in this connection the introduction to the second edition of the "Śravyaṇa-Belgola Inscriptions" (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II) with its frequent allusions to *yakṣas*; see also Plate 17 therein.

also do some Buddhist votive inscriptions^a at Bharaut, Nāsik and other places. They are occasionally mentioned in the Purāṇas, Itihāsas and other Brāhmanical books also; compare, for instance, the Rāmāyaṇa, 2, 56, 33: *caityāny āyatanāni ca . . . sthāpayāmāsa Rāghavaḥ*; 2, 71, 42: *devāyatana-caityeṣu dināḥ pakṣi-mṛgās tathā*; 2, 3, 18: *devāyatana-caityeṣu*; 2, 17, 16: *caityaṁ cāyatanāni ca | pradakṣiṇaṁ pariharaṇ*; in Agnipurāṇa (*apud* Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, Vratakhanda, ch. 21, p. 344): *caityeṣu āyataneṣu ca | devānāṁ caiva rathyaṣu*; in Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa (*apud* Hemādri, *l.c.* p. 353): *kūḷāgāreṣu caityeṣu*; in the Mahābhārata, 2, 102, 33: *devāyatanacaityeṣu prākārātālakeṣu ca*; Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, p. 208, *parvasu ca caitya-pūjāḥ*

^a Nos. 693, 699, 987, 988, 1058, 1059, etc., in Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X); see Index of Miscellaneous Terms given at the end, s. v. *chetiyaḥ* and following words. The words *chetiyaḥ* and *chaitya* are there explained by Lüders as 'Buddhist building.' Considering however that among the Buddhist inscriptions are two—Nos. 1143 and 871—that record the gift of a *yakṣa* and a *yakṣī* (that is, of images of them) and one (No. 1206) that seems to record the gift of a *bhūtāyana* (for *bhūtapāṇa*? stone-slab with the image of a *bhūta* engraved on it), it seems more natural to give the word *caitya* its usual meaning and to understand in these inscriptions a reference to temples of *bhūtas* or *yakṣas*. It is true that such temples have nothing to do with Buddhism or with the life of Buddhists as we know of these from the books; but the gift of images of a *yakṣa* and a *yakṣī* referred to above shows clearly that their worship must have been prevalent amongst Buddhists also at that time and this makes it probable that the word *caitya* retains its meaning of 'temple dedicated to *yakṣa* or *bhūta*' in Buddhist inscriptions (and in Buddhist books?) also. It may, in passing, be observed that the personal names also, contained in some of the inscriptions, as for instance, the names Nāga, Nāgadatta, Nāgadina, Nāgadeva, Nāgasri, Nāgapālita; Yakhadina, Yakhadasi, Yakhī, Yakhila; Bhuta, Bhutarakhita and Bhutapāla (see Index of Personal Names given at the end) bear witness to the prevalence of the worship of *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, and *bhūtas* at that time.

kārayet; p. 243, *pratipannam caityasthāne vātrav . . . upahāram kārayet*; p. 56, *caitya-punya-sthāna-vana-setu-bandhāḥ kāryāḥ*. In all these instances, the juxtaposition of the word *devāyatana* shows that the word *caitya* means 'temple of *yakṣa* or *bhūta*' and the compound *devāyatana-caitya* means 'temples dedicated to gods and to evil spirits.' The presiding deity of the Daṇḍapāṇi temple in Benares, that pious devotees visit every day, is also a *yakṣa*, as is related in ch. 32 of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*.

The worship of *yakṣas* and *bhūtas* is referred to in the Bhagavad-gītā, where it is said in XVII, 4,⁹ and IX, 25¹⁰ that *sātvika* people worship gods (*deva*), *rājasa* people *yakṣas* and *rākṣasas*, and *tāmasa* people, ghosts (*preta*) and hosts of *bhūtas*, and that the worshippers of *bhūtas* go to them while the worshippers of the Lord go to Him. *Yakṣas* and *bhūtas* are both objects of *tarpaṇa* (with water) in the daily *brahma-yajña* rite prescribed for the householder of the first three castes (cp. *Ās. G.S.* 3, 4, 1). Similarly, the *bhūtayajña*, which consists in the offering of *bali* to *bhūtas*, (compare T.A. 2, 10: *yad bhūtebhyo baliṃ harati tad bhūtayajñam*) is also daily prescribed for such householders (cp. *ibid.*, 3, 1). The *yakṣa-bali* rite¹¹ is referred to by Ujvaladatta in his scholium on the Uṇādisūtras, 4, 123, in the Jātaka Stories No. 347 and 455, while its wide prevalence is attested by the common saying *yakṣānurūpo baliḥ*: 'As is the *yakṣa*, so is the *bali*' (that is, the *bali* corresponds to the *yakṣa*; if the *yakṣa* is great, the *bali* offered will be considerable: if the *yakṣa* is negligible, the *bali* too is

⁹ *yajante sātvikā devān yakṣaraksāṃsī rājasāḥ |
pretaṃ bhūtagaṇāṃsī cānye yajante tāmasā janāḥ ||*

¹⁰ *bhūtāni yānti bhūtejyā yānti madyājinoṣi mām |*

¹¹ It may be observed, that analogous to the *bhūtabali* and *yakṣabali* rites, the Gṛhyasūtras speak of a *sarpabali* rite also where *bali* is offered to *sarpas* or snakes (*nāgas*); compare *Ās. G.S.* 2, 1 and Nṛsīṃha's *Prayoga-pārijāta* (Nirmayasāgara ed.) pp. 434 ff.

negligible) cited by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Chān. Up. 6, 32 (see also Laukikanyāyāñjali, II, p. 64: *yādṛṣo yakṣas tādṛṣo balih*). TA. 1, 31, 123 gives details of the Vaiśravaṇa-yajña ceremony in which *balī* is offered to Vaiśravaṇa (i.e. Kubera) who is the lord of Yakṣas, but who is, remarkably enough, referred to by the mantra *sarvabhūtādhipataye nama iti* (the commentator Bhaṭṭa-bhāskara explains *sarvabhūtānām* alternatively as *yakṣa-guhyakānām*) as the 'lord of all *bhūtas*.'

The fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of every month is known as *bhūta-caturdaśī* and is held sacred to the *bhūtas*. On that day are performed *vratas* intended to win the favour of Śiva, lord of the *bhūtas*; see Hemādri, *l.c.* p. 50 ff. That day, however, is held consecrated to the Yakṣas also, and accordingly, on that day are performed the *vratas* in which worship is offered to Yakṣas (namely, the Kṣemavrata, p. 154), and to Vaiśravaṇa, lord of the Yakṣas (p. 155). The Saurapurāṇa (*apud* Hemādri, *l.c.* p. 156) prescribes the performance on that day of the Kṛṣṇacaturdaśī-vrata, in which the figure of a Yakṣa made of bdellium (*guggula*) should be burnt, and says that in consequence of this *vrata*, the performer goes to the world of the Pināka-bearer, that is, of Śiva, the lord of *bhūtas* (*kṛṣṇapakṣe caturdaśyām yakṣām guggulakam dahet | sa yāti paramam sthānam yatra devaḥ pinākadhṛk*).

It may further be mentioned that according to the Purāṇic mythology, Īśāna (or Rudra) the lord of *bhūtas*, and Kubera (or Vaiśravaṇa) the lord of Yakṣas, both dwell in the north in the Himālayas and are neighbours, and that the Jaina writers so closely associated *yakṣas* with *bhūtas* that in a story related in the Jñātādharma-kathā (Adhyayana 10, p. 1149) the wives of three Brāhmaṇa brothers are respectively named Nāgasiri, Bhūyasiri and Jakkhasiri.¹²

¹² Compare also *Sutrakṛtāṅgasūtra*, p. 674: *nāgaheum vā bhūyaheum vā jakkhaheum vā* 'for the purpose of (worshipping) *nāgas*, *bhūtas* or *yakṣas*.'

The details given above show how close is the correspondence between the words *yakṣa* and *bhūta* in post-Vedic literature. The correspondence is no less close in Vedic literature also, as can be seen from the comparison of some passages of the Brhad. Upaniṣad. In this Upaniṣad, the word *mahat* is found used as a qualifying epithet in five passages only; in one, it is an epithet of *karma* (1, 4, 15: *mahat puṇyam karma karoti*), while in the other four, it is an epithet of Brahman described as *mahad bhūtam* in two passages (2, 4, 10: *asya mahato bhūtasya niṣvasitam etad yad ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ . . .*; 2, 4, 12: *idaṁ mahad bhūtam anantam apāram vijñānaghana eva*) and as *mahad yakṣam* in two other sentences occurring in 5, 4, 1 (*sa yo haitan mahad yakṣam prathamajam veda satyam brahmeti*; *evam etan mahad yakṣam prathamajam veda satyam brahmeti*). In the same way, to the epithet *yakṣasya adhyakṣam* used of Agni Vaiśvānara in RV. 10, 88, 13 corresponds the epithet *bhūtasya adhyakṣaḥ* used in AV. 1, 31, 1 of the four *āsāpālāḥ* 'lords of the quarters' (of whom Agni is one); compare also *bhūtāsya . . . pātir ēka āsit* in RV. 10, 121, 1. Similarly, Śat. Br. 11, 2, 3, 5: *mahad dhaiva yakṣam bhavati* corresponds to Āśv. GS. 3, 9, 6: (*suātako vai*) *mahad bhūtam bhavati*; and the words *yakṣa* and *bhūta* are used parallelly in TB. 3, 11, 1, 1: *twayīdam antaḥ | viśvam yakṣam viśvam bhūtam viśvaṁ subhūtam*.

It follows then from all this, and especially from the correspondence of *mahad yakṣam* with *mahad bhūtam* in the Upaniṣad passages noted above, that the two words are convertible and that *yakṣa*=*bhūta*. And it is remarkable that Bhāskararāya, the famous and most learned Tāntrik writer of the Śākta school, has explained *yakṣam* in AV. 10, 2, 32, as *mahabhūtam*. It seems to have been felt by Roth too that *yakṣa* is equivalent to *bhūta*; for in the PW (s. v. *yakṣa*) he has correctly explained *yakṣa* in AV. 8, 9, 8; RV. 10, 88, 13 and

TB. 3,11,1, as 'die Wesen' and the word *yakṣabhir* in RV. 1, 190, 4, as 'die Wesen tragend, erhaltend.' The commentator Bhaṭṭabhāskara, too, has, on the other hand, as we have seen above, explained the word *bhūta* in T.A. 1, 31, 123 as *yakṣaguhyaka*.¹³

Now the chief meanings of *bhūta* are (a) being (concrete); such beings in the collective—all beings, the creation, world, universe; a particular class of superhuman beings; evil being, evil spirit; and (b) being (abstract), essence, substance, virtue, might, power, etc. The meanings 'essence, substance, might, power,' etc., are not given by the lexicographers; but, nevertheless, there can be no doubt that *bhūta* has these meanings quite regularly, for it is derived from the root *bhū*, which means not only 'to be' but also 'to be powerful, to prevail, to predominate, to be master of'; compare the meanings of the cognate words *bhāva* and *prabhāva* and of the allied word *sattva*, which is derived likewise from a root (*as*) meaning 'to be' and which is a synonym of *bhūta*. And these meanings of *bhūta* are enough, as I shall show now, to explain the sense of the majority of the passages in which the word *yakṣa* occurs. In all such passages, *yakṣa* can be paraphrased as *bhūta* or *sattva*.

Bṛhad. Up. 5, 4: *tad vai tad etad eva tad āsa satyam eva sa yo haitan mahad yakṣam prathamajam veda satyam brahmeti jayatimān lokān jita in nu asāv asad ya evam etan mahad yakṣam prathamajam veda satyam brahmeti satyam hy eva brahma* ||

"That (namely, Brahman), verily, was this (universe); that verily was the Real. He who knows this great first-born being, Brahman, as the Real, conquers these worlds. How could he be conquered who knows that this great

¹³ Compare also in this connection Hillebrandt, l. c., 21, n. 3: "Die Versuchung liegt nahe, es mit *bhūtām*, dem es in der Bedeutung nahe steht, wiederzugeben."

first-born being, Brahman, is verily the Real? For Brahman is verily the Real." The epithet 'first-born,' *prathamaja*, seems here to be used in the sense of 'first existing'; compare Bṛhad. Up. 1, 4, 10: *brahma vā idam agra āsīt*. Compare also T.A. 10, 1, 4: *prajāpatiḥ prathamajā rtūsyātmānātmānam abhī sām babhūva*.

Kenopaniṣad, 3, 2: *tad dhaiṣām vijajñau tebhyo ha prādurbabhūva tan na vyajānanta kim idam yakṣam iti* ||

"It (Brahman) became aware of (this thought of) theirs; it manifested itself before them. They did not know (what it was, and thought within themselves) 'What is this being?' " Hillebrandt (l. c., p. 21) makes out that *yakṣa* refers here to the blade of straw (*trṇa*) that is mentioned later on. This is a mistake and the context shows clearly that *yakṣa* refers to the being that appeared before the gods.

Similarly, *yakṣa*=being, in the other passages of this khanda where this word recurs.

Jaim. Up. Br. 1, 20, 4 [JAOS. 16, 68]: *tasminn idam sarvam antaḥ | tad yad asminn idam sarvam antaḥ tasmād antar-yakṣam | antar-yakṣam ha vai nāmaitat | tad antarikṣam iti parokṣam ācakṣate* ||

"All this is within it. Because all this is within it therefore is it [called] *antar-yakṣa*. *antar-yakṣa* verily is its name; it is called *antarikṣa* in occult way." *antar-yakṣa*=that which contains all this, that is, all this creation; and the context shows clearly that *yakṣa* here denotes the creation.

Gopatha-brāhmaṇa, 1, 1, 1: *brahma vā idam agra āsīt svayambhū ekam eva tad aikṣata mahad vai yakṣam tad ekam evāsmi hantūham mad eva manmātram dvitīyam devam nirmimā iti . . . tasya . . . lalāṭe sneho yad ārdryam ajāyata tenānandat tam abravīd mahad vai yakṣam suvedam avidāmahīti* ||¹⁴

¹⁴ So corrected by Whitney in his Grammar, § 848, instead of the *avidāmāha iti* of the editions.

"At first, verily, the self-born Brahman existed alone. It considered 'Verily, I alone exist, the great being, That (that is, Brahman); well, I shall create from myself a second god like to me' At the moisture, wetness, that was produced on its forehead, it felt glad; It¹⁵ said: 'We have verily easily got the great being.'"
mahad yakṣam, the great being referred to here, is water, *āpaḥ*, which at first appears as *sneha ārdryam* on the forehead and then (see *khaṇḍa* 2) as *svedadhārāḥ*, 'streams of perspiration' in the pores of its skin, and is in *khaṇḍa* 3, expressly called by that name (*tā āpaḥ sṛṣṭvā anvaiṣṣata*). Regarding the creation of Water first by the Brahman, compare *Manu*, 1, 8: *apa eva sasarjādau tāsū vīryam avāsṛjat*; *Śākuntala*, 1, 1 which refers to Water as *yā sṛṣṭiḥ sraṣṭur ādyā*; *Ait. Up.* 1, 1 f.: *sa iṣṣata lokān nu sṛjā iti sa imān lokān asṛjatāmbho marīcīr maram āpaḥ*; *Śat. Br.* 6, 1, 3, 1: *prajāpatir vā idam agra āsīd eka eva | so'kāmayata bahu syām prajāyeyeti so' śrāmyat sa tapo'tapyata tasmāc chrāntāt tepānād āpo'sṛjyanta*; compare also *Kāthopaniṣad*, 2, 1, 6: *yah pūrvam tapaso jātam adbhyah pūrvam ajāyata* which also says impliedly that *tapas* and *āpaḥ* were first-born beings.

TB. 3, 12, 3, 1: *prathamajām devām haviṣā vidhema
 svayambhū brāhma paramām tāpo yāt |
 sā evā putrāḥ sā pitā sā mātā
 tāpo ha yakṣām prathamām sām babhūva||*

"Let us worship with oblation the first-born god, namely, Tapas, the self-born Brahman, the highest. He alone is the son, he the father, he the mother. Tapas was born the first being." Compare *Kāthopaniṣad*, 2, 1, 6, cited above. It is said frequently in the *Upaniṣads* and elsewhere that Brahman, after the desire to create arose in it, performed *tapas*; and this has led to *tapas* being

¹⁵ I read *tad abravīt* instead of *tam abravīt* as printed in the Calcutta edition.

regarded as the first thing created by Brahman. Compare Sāyana's commentary on this verse: *yoyam tapobhimāni devah sa prathamajah | tathā copaniṣadi sṛṣṭi-prakarane prathamajatvam āmnāyate | sokāmayata bahu syām prajāyeyeti sa tapotapyata*; compare also AV. 11, 8, 6: *tāpo ha jajñe kārmanas tāl le jyeṣṭhām ūpāsata* 'Tapas was born from action; that did they worship as the eldest.'

TB. 3, 11, 1, 1: *tvāyīdām antāḥ | viśvaṁ yakṣām viśvaṁ bhūtām viśvaṁ subhūtām.*

"Within thee is all being, all creation, all prosperity." This is a formula that is used twenty-four times (with variations in the number of the second personal pronoun when required by the context) in respect of the twenty-four bricks, *iṣṭakāḥ*, used in the *Nāciketa-sayana*. These bricks are identified with the earth, waters, sky, etc., and each of these is panegyrised as the container of the whole universe. The expressions *viśvaṁ yakṣam* and *viśvaṁ bhūtam* mean almost the same thing; compare also TA. 10, 16, 1: *viśvaṁ bhūtām bhuvanam citram*, which corresponds exactly to *viśvaṁ yakṣam viśvaṁ bhūtām viśvaṁ subhūtām* here.

AV. 8, 9, 8: *yām prācyutām ānu yajñāḥ pracyāvanta
upatiṣṭhanta upatiṣṭhamānām |
yāsyā vratē prasavē yakṣām éjati
sā virāḍ ṛṣayah paramē vyòman ||*

"After whom, when she is going, the sacrifices go and with whose approach they approach; following whose ordinance and through whose impulse, the world moves,—she, O sages, is the Virāj in the highest heaven." This verse is the answer given by Kaśyapa to the inquiry made in the preceding verse by the six sages about the nature of Virāj who is said to be the father of Brahman. In contrast with *prācyutām* and *pracyāvanta* in the first pāda, one expects *pratiṣṭhamānām* and *pratiṣṭhanta* in the second pāda ('after whom, when she is going, the sacrifices go and when she is firmly established, are

firmly established') instead of *upatiṣṭhamānām* and *upatiṣṭhanta* that are found there. It is not therefore improbable that these latter words are here used in the sense of *pratiṣṭhamānām* and *pratiṣṭhanta*. Compare Praśnopaniṣad, 2, 4: *tasminu utkrāmaty athetare sarva evotkrāmaute tasmimś ca pratiṣṭhamāne sarva eva pratiṣṭhante tad yathā makṣikā madhukara-rājānam utkrāmantāni sarva evotkrāmaute tasmimś ca pratiṣṭhamāne sarva eva pratiṣṭhante* 'when it (sc. the *prāṇa*) departs, all the others depart, and when it stays fast, all others stay fast; just as, when the king-bee departs all the bees depart and when he stays fast, all stay fast.'

It will be seen that the second half-verse speaks of the whole universe being controlled by, and obeying the impulse of, the Virāj, while the first half-verse speaks, seemingly, of the sacrifices only, *yajñāḥ*, going when the Virāj goes and coming (or staying) when the Virāj comes (or stays). This is, to say the least, incongruous, and the more so as the sacrifices are not such important things as to deserve mention in this connection. One would rather expect in the first half-verse also mention to be made of the whole universe going and coming (or staying) according as the Virāj goes and comes (or stays); compare the word *sarve* in the Upaniṣad passage *sarva evotkrāmaute . . . sarva eva pratiṣṭhante* cited above. I am therefore led to believe that the word *yajñāḥ* here in the first half-verse denotes 'universe,' that is, that it has the same meaning as the word *yakṣa* in the second half-verse. In other words, the view of the Indian commentators that sees in *yakṣa* a derivative from the root *yaj* seems to be justified by the parallelism here of the two words *yajña* and *yakṣa*.

AV. 8, 9, 25-26: *kó nū gaúh ká ekaṛṣiḥ*
kīm u dhāma ká āśiṣaḥ |
yakṣām pṛthivyām ekavṛd
ekartūḥ katamó nū sáḥ ||25||

*éko gaúr éka ékarṣiḥ
 ékaṁ dhāmaikadhāṣiṣaḥ !
 yakṣāṁ prthivyāṁ ekavṛt
 ekartūr nāti ricyate ||26||*

"Who then is the bull, who the sole seer, what the abode and what the desires? The being that on earth is one-fold,—who is he? The bull is one, one the sole seer and one-grouped are the desires. The being that on earth is one-fold, he is not different." M. Boyer, following Henry, has understood these verses as referring to the sun (*āditya*), that is, to the sun considered as the supreme Being. This is not incorrect; but I believe that it is preferable to refer the verses, with Geldner, (*l.c.* p. 129) to Brahman itself, to the Virāj that is spoken of in the opening verses of this hymn. The Brahman is *ekarṣi*, the sole seer, because from it come forth as its breath, the R̥gveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, etc.; see Bṛhad. Up. 2, 4, 10: *asya mahato bhūtasya nīśvasitam etad yad ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo 'tharvāṅgīrasa itihāsaḥ purāṇaṁ vidyā upaniṣadaḥ ślokaḥ sūtrāṇy anuvyākhyānāni vyākhyānāny asyaivaitāni sarvāṇi nīśvasitāni*. The Brahman is *ekavṛt*, one-fold, because it is one and changeless; compare Bh. Gītā, 12, 3: *sarvatragam acintyaṁ ca kūṭastham acalam dhruvam*¹⁶ "The imperishable Brahman that is all-pervading, unthinkable, unchanging, immutable, eternal"; it is the *dhāma* or abode (of all); compare *ibid.* 11, 38: *vettāsi vedyam ca param ca dhāma* 'Thou art the knower, and the known; (thou art) the supreme abode'; *ibid.* 10, 12: *param brahma param dhāma pavitraṁ paramam bhavān* 'Thou art the supreme Brahman, the supreme abode, the highest purifier'; Gaudapāda-kārikā, 4, 100: *durdarśam atigam-*

¹⁶ And also perhaps because in it all the gods and other things become one; compare AV. 13, 4, 13: *etē asmin devā ekavṛto bhavanti* "In him all these gods become one" said of the Supreme Being, called Savitr in this hymn.

*bhīram ajam sāmyam viśāradam | buddhvā padam anānā-
tvaṁ namaskurmo yathābalam; and Maitryupaniṣad,
6, 38: tataḥ śuddhaḥ sattvāntarastham acalam amṛtam
acyutaṁ dhruvaṁ viṣṇu-saṁjñitaṁ sarvāparaṁ dhāma
satyakāma-sarvajñatvasaṁyuktam paśyati. In
the Brahman are all āśiṣaḥ or desires; compare Ch.
Up. 8, 1, 5: etat satyaṁ brahmapuram asmin kāmāḥ
samāhitāḥ 'In this citadel, namely Brahman (so
Śaṅkara explains the word *brahmapuram*), are placed all
desires'; Maitryupaniṣad, 6, 30: atra hi sarve kāmāḥ
samāhitāḥ 'Here (in the Brahman) are all desires
placed'; Ait. Up. 5, 2: saṅkalpaḥ kratuḥ asuḥ kāmo vaśa
iti sarvāṇy evaitāni prajñānasya nāmadheyāni bhavanti
. . . . prajñānam brahma 'saṅkalpa, kratu, asu, kāma,
vaśa—all these are names of only prajñāna
prajñāna is Brahman.' The Brahman is *ekartu*, one-
seasoned, because perhaps there is no succession of days
and nights in Brahmaloka, or to the Brahman there is
but only one long unending day, and hence only one
'season'; compare Ch. Up. 8, 4, 1: naitāni setum
ahorātre tarataḥ etāni setum tīrtvāpi naktam ahar
evābhinīṣadyate sakṛd-vibhāto hy evaiṣa brahmalokaḥ
"This bridge is not crossed by day and night; having
crossed this bridge, even night becomes day; in this
Brahmaloka it is always day"; *ibid.*, 3, 11, 3: na ha vā
asmā udeti na nimlocati sakṛd divā hāsmāi bhavati ya etāni
evam brahmopaniṣadam veda "To him who thus knows
the Brahma-mystery, there is no sun-rise and no sun-set;
it is day to him once for all." Compare also Gaudapāda-
kārikā, 3, 35: tad eva nirbhayaṁ brahma ajam
anidram asvapnam sakṛdvibhātaṁ sarvajñam
"That is the fearless Brahman unborn, sleepless,
dreamless all-knowing, to which it is always day";
and Muktikopaniṣad, 2, 73: sakṛd-vibhātaṁ tv ajam ekam
akṣaram | alepaṁ sarvagataṁ yad advayaṁ tad eva
cāhaṁ sakalam vimukta om.*

M. Boyer, in the course of his explanation of these verses, says (p. 419) that, *a priori*, there is no reason to suppose that the five questions in v. 25 refer to the same person or thing, but that, as a matter of fact, the answers in v. 26 are capable of being referred to one deity, namely the sun. This is because he understands the last pāda of v. 26 to mean that 'the marvel (as already said above, *yakṣa*—merveille in M. Boyer's opinion) on the earth . . . is not surpassed by any.' It seems to me however that the words *nāti ricyate* should be understood, not as 'is not surpassed' but as 'does not remain over; is not different', and that therefore these words in v. 26 refer to the same subject, and that hence the questions in v. 25 too refer to the same subject.

ekadhāstīṣaḥ means literally, 'the desires become one (in that being)', that is, that all desires are found at once in that being; see above.

AV. 10, 2, 31-33: *aṣṭācakrā nāvadvārā*

devānām pūr ayodhyaḥ |

tāsyām hiraṇyāyaḥ kōśaḥ

svargó jyótiṣāvṛtaḥ ||31||

tāsmiṇ hiraṇyāye kōśe

tryāre triprātiṣṭhite |

tāsmiṇ yād yakṣām ātmanvāt

tād vai brahmacāro viduḥ ||32||

prabhrājamānām hāriṇīm

yāśasā sampārivrītām |

pūram hiraṇyāyīm brāhmā

viveśāparājitām ||33||

"The fortress of the gods has eight wheels (*i.e.*, circumvallations) and nine doors and is inexpugnable; in it is a sheath of gold, heaven, enveloped in splendour; verily, the Brahma-knowers know the animate being that is in this sheath of gold which has three spokes and is thrice-supported. Into this resplendent, yellow, invincible fortress of gold, enveloped in glory, entered the Brahman."

The fortress of the gods is, as Sāyaṇa (on T.A. 1, 27, 2-3) explains, the human body; the nine doors are the nine apertures of the body, namely, the two ears, the two eyes, the two nostrils (or according to others, the nose and the *brahma-randhra*), the mouth, the *upastha* and *pāyu*; and the eight wheels are the eight *dhātavaḥ* or 'elements' of the body—*tvac* (skin), *asrj* (blood), *medas* (fat), *asthin* (bone), *majjan* (marrow), *śukra* (semen), *māmsa* (flesh), and *ojas*. The sheath of gold within it is the heart which is the abode of the *ātman*: compare T.A. 10, 11, 2: *padmakosā-pratikāśaṁ hṛdayaṁ cāpyadhō-mukham | ūdho niṣtyā vitastyānte nābhyām upari tiṣṭhati || jvālamālākulam bhāti viśvāsyāyatanam mahat . . . tāsmin sarvām pratiṣṭhitam . . . tāsya mādhye mahān agniḥ . . . tāsya mādhye vāhniśikhā . . . tāsyaś śikhāyā madhye parāmātmā vyavāsthitaḥ | sā brāhmā sā hārīḥ sēndraḥ sōkṣaraḥ paramāḥ svarāt ||* "Like to a lotus-bud, the heart, facing downwards, is (situated) one span below the neck (that is, below the top of the windpipe), and above the navel. This great abode of all (of the world) is shining, being full of rings of flames . . . in it is established everything . . . in its midst is a great fire . . . in it is a flame . . . in the midst of this flame is established the supreme *ātman*; he is *Brahmā*, he *Hari* (*Viṣṇu*), he *Indra*, he the imperishable supreme lord." Compare also *Yogatattvopaniṣad*, 1, 9: *hṛdi sthāne sthitaṁ padmaṁ tac ca padmaṁ adhomukham*; *Dhyāna-bindūpaniṣad*, 12: *ūrdhvanālam adhomukham | kadālī-puṣpasamkāśaṁ sarvadevamayāmbujam*; *Ch. Up.* 8, 1, 1: *asmin brahmapure daharaṁ puṇḍarikam veśma* "In this abode of Brahman (*i.e.*, the body) is a small lotus chamber."

The epithets *tryara* and *tripratiṣṭhita* are not very clear. In *Ch. Up.* 8, 1, 3¹⁷ we read that the *ākāśa* of the heart contains everything, heaven, earth, *agni*, *vāyu*, etc.

¹⁷ *eso 'ntar-hṛdaya ākāśaḥ | ubhe asmin dyāvāpythīvi antar eva samāhīte | ubhāv agniś ca vāyuś ca sūryācandramasāv ubhau ||*

The word *tryara* may therefore perhaps refer to the three worlds and all other similar triplicities as being contained in the heart; compare Yogatattvopaniṣad, 1, 6: *trayo lokās trayo vedās trayah sandhyās trayah surāḥ | trayagnayo guṇās triṇi sthitāḥ sarve trayākṣare*. The *trayākṣara* or *praṇava* is thus said to contain within itself the three worlds, the three Vedas, the three *sandhyās*, etc.; and as the heart is, like the *praṇava*, a seat, *adhiṣṭhāna*, of the Supreme, these triplicities may all be regarded as being contained in the heart and as forming the *arāḥ* or spokes thereof referred to by the epithet *tryara*.

The epithet *tripratīṣṭhita* refers perhaps to the three states of the heart spoken of in Yogatattvopaniṣad, 1, 1: *akāre śocitaṁ padmāṁ ukāreṇaiva bhidyate | makāre labhate nādam ardhamatrā tu niścalā* which seems to mean: "When *a* is pronounced, the lotus (of the heart) brightens (becomes ready to open?); it opens when *u* is pronounced; and begins to hum when *ma* is pronounced; it is immobile when the *ardhamatrā* is pronounced." Now *a*, *u*, and *ma* are said (in the Māndūkyopaniṣad, Gaudapāda-kārikā, and elsewhere) to be the pādas or feet of the *praṇava* which thus rests or is supported on them. Similarly, the heart when it brightens, the heart when it opens, and the heart when it is humming, may be considered the feet or supports of the *praṇava* or Brahman.

The word *svarga* in the fourth pāda of v. 31 is usually interpreted as 'heavenly', *svargatulya*, etc. There is however no necessity for abandoning the usual meaning of the word, namely, 'heaven'; for this word is often used to denote the supreme heaven or Brahmaloka where the Brahman dwells (compare Bṛhad. Up. 4, 4, 8: *dhīrā apriyanti brahmanīdāḥ svargam lokam* and Śaṅkara's comment: *svargaloka-śabdāḥ triviṣṭapa-vācyāḥ api sannītha prakaraṇān mokṣābhidhāyakaḥ*; Ch. 8, 3, 2-3: *imāḥ*

prajā ahar-ahar gacchantya etaṁ brahmalokaṁ na vindanti
. . . . tasmād dhyāyām ahar-ahar vā evaṁvit svaragaṁ
lokaṁ eti and Śaṅkara's comment thereon). It is so used
 here also as is made quite clear by the reading of the
 parallel passage in TA. 1, 27, 3: *tasyāñ hiraṇmayāḥ*
koṣaḥ | svargo loko jyotiṣā vṛtaḥ.

With regard to the word *aṣṭācakrā*, it has been observed by M. Boyer (*l.c.* p. 436) that Sāyaṇa has explained the word *cakra* in it as *āvaraṇa*, or circumvallation enclosing the body that is regarded as a fortress, in his commentary on TA. 1, 27, 3,¹⁸ while in his commentary on AV. 11, 4, 22 he has explained the word as 'wheel' serving as the means for locomotion of the body that is here regarded as a chariot. This is because TA. 1, 27, 3 refers distinctly to a fort, *pūh*, while AV. 11, 4, 22 refers equally distinctly to a chariot (compare the words *ekanemi* 'having one rim' and *sahasrākṣara* which Sāyaṇa explains as 'having a thousand axles' used in it). The discrepancy therefore, if any, is to be attributed to the texts themselves and not to Sāyaṇa who had to explain them faithfully as they stood. But is there really a discrepancy here? I am disposed to think that there is none; the meanings 'circumvallation' and 'wheel' are not mutually exclusive, and in all probability they are both intended (see p. 21 above) by the word *cakra* in *aṣṭācakrā* which would thus mean 'having eight circumvallations and eight wheels to move with' or 'having ramparts and moving.' In other words, the fort, *pūh*, spoken of in AV. 10, 2, 31, seems to be a mobile fort, *jaṅgamo durgāḥ* or *cariṣṇūḥ pūh*. Such a mobile fort is, besides the 'firm' forts, *dyādhāḥ puraḥ*, that are frequently mentioned, known to the RV which refers to one in 8, 1, 28: *tvāṁ pūraṁ cariṣṇvāṁ vadhañ śuṣṇāsyā sām piṇak* "Thou (O Indra), didst shatter with thy

¹⁸ There is no commentary of Sāyaṇa on AV. 10, 2, 31-33 or in fact on any passage of the tenth *Kāṇḍa* of the AV.

weapons the mobile fort of Śuśṇa.¹⁸ Such forts are occasionally mentioned in later books also; compare Bhāgavata, 10, 76, 6f.—

devāsura-mānuṣyāṇāṃ gandharvoraḡa-rakṣasāṃ |
abhedyaṃ kāmagaṃ vavre sa yānaṃ Vṛṣṇu-bhīṣaṇam ||
tatheti Girīsādiṣṭo Mayāḥ para-puraṃjayāḥ |
puram nirmāya Sālvāya prādāt Saubham ayasmayam || ;
 Mahābhārata, 8, 25, 13f. [The three sons of Tārakāsura said to Mahādeva]:

vastum icchāma nagaram kartuṃ kāmagaṃ subham |
sarvakāma-saṃpūddhārtham avadhyam deva-dānavaiḥ ||13||
yakṣa-rakṣoraḡa-gaṇair nānā-jātibhir eva ca |
na kṛtyābhir na śastraish ca na śāpair brahma-vedinām ||
vadhyeta tripuram deva prayaccheḥ prapitāmaha ||14||

te tu labdha-varāḥ pritāḥ saṃpradhārya parasparam |
puratraya-viśṛṣṭyartham Mayāṃ vavruḥ mahārathīḥ ||19||
tato Mayāḥ svatapaśā cakre dhīmān purāṇi ca |
trini kāñcanam ekam vai raupyaṃ kārṣṇāyasaṃ tathā ||20||

ekūkaṃ yojanaśataṃ viśṛtaṃ tāvad āyatam |
dr̥ḡham cāṭṭālaka-yutam bṛhat-prākāra-toraṇam ||22||

prāsādair vividhaiḥ cāpi dvāraiḥ caivopasobhitam ||23|| ;
 and ibid., 3, 176, 1ff.:

nivartamāneva mayā mahad dr̥ḡtaṃ tatoparam |
puram kāmagaṃ divyam pāvakārka-sama-prabham ||1||
ratnadrumamayaiḥ citraiḥ bhāṣvaraiḥ ca patatribhīḥ |
paulomaiḥ kālākeyaiḥ ca nitya-kṛṣṭair adhiṣṭhitam ||2||
gopurāṭṭālakopetaṃ catur-dvāraṃ durāsadam |
sarva-ratnamayam divyam adbhutoḡama-darśanam ||3||

durdharṣam amaraḥ api |
maharṣi-yakṣa-gandharva-pāṇagāsura-rākṣasaiḥ ||10||
sarvakāmaguṇopetaṃ vīta-śokam anāmayaṃ |
brahmaṇo bhavanāc chreṣṭham

From the descriptions given of the Tripura and of the *pura* of the Paulomas and Kālakeyas (this was named Hiraṇyapura), it will be seen that not only were these mobile forts, moving in the sky according to the desire of the kings dwelling in them, but they were also provided with high ramparts and gates and they were impregnable to the assaults of gods (*deva*), Dānavas, Yakṣas, etc. The fort named Hiraṇyapura was, in addition, 'as bright as Agni (fire) and Sūrya (sun)' and 'better than the abode of Brahman'; and these descriptions recall the expressions *devānām ayodhyā pūh*¹⁹ (in v. 31), *aparājitā pūh* (in v. 33), *hiraṇyayaḥ, jyotiṣā vṛtaḥ, svargaḥ, prabhrājamāna, yaśasā saṃparivṛta* in the above verses as also the expressions *aṣṭācakra* and *navadvārā*. All these traits and especially the one about Hiraṇyapura being better than the abode of Brahman seem to me to point particularly to the description of the *brahmapura* and the *kota* therein that is brilliant, *prabhrājamāna*, yellow, *harinī*, surrounded with glory, *yaśasā saṃparivṛta*, and golden, *hiraṇyayī*, that is contained in the above verses (AV. 10, 2, 31-33) and to be based thereon. In any case, they make it probable that the word *cakra* in *aṣṭācakra* signifies circumvallations and at the same time mobility also. Compare Kathopaniṣad 1, 3, 3: *ātmānam rathinaṃ viddhi śariraṃ ratham eva ca | buddhiṃ tu sārathiṃ viddhi manaḥ praśrahaṃ eva ca*, and other similar passages which compare the body to a chariot.

This mode of interpretation which makes the verses refer to the human body does not find favour with M. Boyer, who has observed (*loc. cit.* p. 438) that the wording of verses 31 and 33 is such that they can not but both refer to the same thing. The expression *aparājitā pūh*

¹⁹This has been explained by Bhāskaraśāya, in the course of his commentary on the Lalitā-sahasranāma, s. v. *yoni-nilayā* (in v. 217) as *devānām apy ayodhyā asūdhya durlabha pūh nagarī . . . | īśvarāvāsarūpā Ayodhyā-nagarī tu martyānām ayodhyā | iyaṃ tu devānām apity arthah |*

in v. 33 therefore must denote the same thing as the expression *ayodhyā pūh* of v. 31; and though the epithets *aṣṭācakra* and *navadvārā* may be said to be quite appropriate to the human body, it is hardly possible, he observes, to say the same of the epithets *prabhrājamānā*, *harinī*, *yaśasā samparivṛtā* and *hiranyayī* used in v. 33. M. Boyer therefore thinks that the verses refer to a celestial citadel of Brahman, and that the *kośa*, sheath, which is referred to as being within the citadel, is the sun. According to this interpretation, too, the citadel referred to is a mobile one provided with gates and *cakras* or means for locomotion (the numbers nine and eight, however, in the epithets *aṣṭācakra* and *navadvārā* says M. Boyer, have no particular significance beyond that of multiplicity). The 'sheath' spoken of being the sun, the epithets *svarga* (which M. Boyer explains as 'celeste'), *jyotiṣā vṛta* and *hiranyaya* are quite in place; the epithets *tryara* and *tripraṭiṣṭhita* refer to the three worlds as being contained in the sun and as being the support (*pratiṣṭhā*) of the sun.

This interpretation of M. Boyer or one very like it, is, for a reason that will presently be mentioned, quite possible. The objection however that he has raised against referring the verses to the human body can, it seems to me, be easily met. The 'fortress that is impregnable to the assaults of the gods even,' *devānām ayodhyā pūh*, mentioned in v. 31 as having eight circumvallations and nine gates is not the same as the *aparājitā pūh* mentioned in v. 33. The fortress spoken of in the former verse is the body that is elsewhere also referred to as *pūh* or *pura* (compare Bh. Gītā, 5, 13: *navadvāre pure dehī naiva kurvan na kārayan*; Śvet. Up. 3, 18: *puraḥ puruṣa āviśad iti | sa vā ayam puruṣaḥ sarvāsu pūrṣu puriṣayaḥ*; T.A. 10, 10, 3; *yat punḍarikam puramadhya-saṁstham*; Ch. Up. 8, 1, 1 *yad idam asmin brahmapure daharam punḍarikam veśma*, etc.), while the fortress mentioned in v. 33 is the heart that is also some-

times referred to as *pura* or *brahmapura*, compare Muṇḍakopaniṣad, 2, 2, 7: *divye brahmapure hy eṣa vyominy ātmā pratiṣṭhitah* (Roth in the PW. s. v. explains *brahmapura* as 'heart'); Ātmabodhopaniṣad, 1: *yad idaṁ brahmapuram puṇḍarikam tasmāt tadid-ābha-mātram*; Nārāyaṇopaniṣad, 5: *tad idaṁ puram puṇḍarikam*. This is shown by the epithet *hiranyaya* that is common to the *kośa* of vv. 31, 32 and the *pūh* of v. 33, as also by the parallelism of the expression *jyotiṣā vṛta* in v. 31 with *yaśasā samparivṛta* in v. 33. Now this heart has been described, in TA. 10, 11, 2 cited above as 'shining' and 'full of rings of flames.' It is described as *hiranyaya* 'golden' in Muṇḍakopaniṣad 2, 2, 8. The epithets *prabhrājamāna*, *harita*, *yaśasā samparivṛta*, and *hiranyaya* of v. 33 can all be therefore appropriately used of the heart, and the incongruity pointed out by M. Boyer does not in fact exist.

These verses, as also the corresponding ones in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (1, 27, 3) are explained by the writers on Śakta Tantrism—e.g., by Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on v. 11 of the *Saundaryalaharī* or *Ānandalaharī*, by Bhāskararāya in his commentary on the *Latīlāsahasranāma* and also in his commentary, named *Setubandha*, on the *Vāmakeśvara-tantra* of *Nityāśoḍa-śikāṇava*—as referring to the Śrī-cakra. As the Śrī-cakra is, as is well-known, a symbol of the human body (see on this point the *Bhāvanopaniṣad*, *Tantrarāja-tantra* edited by A. Avalon and the *Vāmakeśvaratantra* mentioned above), such interpretation is not so far-fetched as it may at first sight seem to be; and what is more, it has also to be admitted that the Tāntrik interpretation brings out the meaning of the various epithets more strongly and clearly than the usual interpretation does. I reproduce²⁰ here as a specimen that given in the *Setubandha* (p. 189) where, as I have already observed,

²⁰ Correcting the mistakes that are found in the verses quoted in the edition.

Bhāskararāya explains the term *yakṣam* as *mahābhūtam pūjanīyam: tathā cātharvaṇāḥ Śaunaka-sākhiyā āmananti | aṣṭācakrā navadvārā devānāṃ pūr ayodhyā | tasyām hiraṇyayah koṣah svargo jyotiṣā vṛtaḥ | tasmin hiraṇyaye koṣe tryare tripratiṣṭhite | tasmin yad yakṣam ātmanvat tad vai brahma | taittirīya-sākhāyām prathamāntam iti viśeṣaḥ | trailokyamohanādi-sarvasiddhi-pradānta-cakrāṣṭaka-yuktam nava-yoni-ghaṭitam anyeṣāṃ asādhyaṃ devatāvāsa-bhūtam Śrī-cakra-nagaraṃ yat tatvāpy uttamah koṣo jyotirmayah svarga-tulyas trikoṇa-nāmako 'sti | tasmin koṇe tridhā pratiṣṭhitam tri-samaṣṭi-svarūpaṃ bindu-cakram asti | tasmin bindu-cakre svātmaniva yad yakṣam mahābhūtam pūjanīyam tad brahmaiveti vāsanām ajñā (sic) jānanti.* Substantially the same explanation²¹ of these two verses is given by him in his *Lalitāsahasranāmabhāṣya* (p. 179 of the *Nirṇayasāgara* ed.); but *yakṣa* is here explained as *pūjyam* only.

I have said above that the explanation of M. Boyer or one similar to it, which makes the verses refer to the sun as being the citadel in which Brahman dwells, is a quite possible one; and I have also said that the explanation of Bhāskararāya and other Tāntriks that makes them refer to the Śrī-cakra, is not a far-fetched one. I have further given an explanation of these verses above on the line followed by Sāyaṇa, which makes them refer to the human body. The reason why so many explanations are possible of these verses is this: the verses refer to the *ātmanvad yakṣam* (= *ātmanvad bhūtam* or *bhūtātman*) or the soul, dwelling in a *koṣa*. Now the soul in the body is identical with the *puṇṣa* in the sun according to the

²¹ To understand these explanations of Bhāskararāya, it is necessary to have a correct notion of how the *Śrī-cakra* is written, of its divisions and of its worship. These can be learnt from the *Vāmakīvara-tantra* and the *Tantrarāja-tantra* in detail, and then it will become evident that the Tāntrik explanation of the various epithets found in these verses is superior to that of Sāyaṇa and of others who proceed on the same lines.

teaching of the Upaniṣads; compare Taitt. Up. 3, 10, 4: *sa yaś cāyaṁ puruṣe | yaś cāsa āditye | sa ekah*; Maitryu-paniṣad, 7, 7: *yaś cāyaṁ hṛdaye yaś cāsa āditye sa eṣa ekah*; and this explains why the *kośa* mentioned in v. 32 can be understood as the human heart or as the sun. The Śrī-cakra, too, as I have said above, is a symbol of the human body, and therefore the Tāntrik explanation of the verses is, in essence, one that refers to such body. Similarly the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the sun being identical with Brahman (compare Ch. Up. 3, 19, 1: *ādityo brahmety ādeśaḥ* and T.A. 2, 2, 2: *asāv ādityo brahma*) explains why some verses of the AV where the word *yakṣa* occurs have been referred to the sun by Henry and Boyer, and to Brahman by Geldner. In these verses *yakṣa* in effect refers to the Brahman, even where the interpretations do not contain that word at all, but refer instead to the sun or the soul.

AV, 10, 8, 43: *punḍarikāṁ nāvadvāraṁ
triḥḥir guṇēbhīr āvṛtam |
tāsmīn yād yakṣām ātmanvāt
tād vai brahmanvādo viduḥ ||*

"The lotus that has nine doors and that is enveloped thrice,—verily the knowers of Brahman know the animate being in it." The 'lotus with nine doors' is, like the sheath, *kośa*, in the 'fortress with nine gates' in the verse explained above, the heart in the human body. The 'nine doors' are those of the human body, and the 'lotus' can be said to have them in a figurative sense only. The 'triple envelope' seems, as suggested by M. Boyer, to consist of *satya* (truth), *yaśas* (glory) and *śrīḥ* (beauty) which are said in AV, 12, 5, 2: *satyēnāvṛtā śrīyā prāvṛtā yāśasā pāvṛtā* to be the envelopes of the Brāhmaṇa's cow, *brahmagavi*; compare the epithet *jyotiṣā vṛtaḥ* of the *kośa* mentioned in AV, 10, 2, 31 and the epithet *yaśasā samparivṛta* used (in v. 33 of the same hymn) of the *aparājita pūḥ* which, as I have said above, refers to the heart. Geldner explains the expression

tribhīr guṇebhīr āvṛtam as 'enveloped by the three *guṇas* (i.e., *saṭva*, *rajas* and *taṃas*).'

AV. 10, 7, 38: *mahād yakṣāṃ bhūvanasya mādhye*
tāpasi krāntām salilāsya prṣṭhe |
tāsmiṇ chrayaṃte yā u kē ca devā
vykṣāsya skāndhaḥ parita iva śākhāḥ ||

"The great being in the centre of the world has passed into *tapas* and into the back of the water; they that are gods (that is, all the gods) rest attached in it as the branches of a tree round the trunk." The hymn 10, 7 in which this verse occurs is addressed to Skambha which, according to the Cūlikopaniṣad (v. 11), is another name of Brahman. The 'great being in the centre of the world,' referred to here, is therefore the Brahman; and the word *krāntām* in the second pāda refers to the 'passing' or transformation of Brahman into *tapas* and water—an idea which we have met with above (p. 164), where it was said that *tapas* and water were first created by Brahman or were first born of Brahman. This verse, however, speaks instead of 'creation' or 'birth' (*utpatti* of the later Naiyāyikas; compare the preceding verse but one, *yāḥ śrāmāt tāpaso jātō lokān sārvaṇ samānaśē | tāsmāi jyēṣṭhāya brāhmaṇe nāmaḥ* referring apparently to water) from Brahman, of the 'passing' or transformation (*parināma* of the Sāṅkhya system,) of Brahman into *tapas* and Water; and it is very remarkable that the *parināma* doctrine of the Sāṅkhyas should be thus met with in the AV. With regard to the gods resting in the Brahman, compare RV. 1, 164, 39: *ṛcō akṣāre paramē vyōman yāsmiṇ devā ādhi viśve niṣedūḥ*; Kathopaniṣad, 2, 1, 9: *taṃ devāḥ sarve 'rpitāḥ*; Kauṣitaki Up. 2, 9: *sa tad bhavati yatraite devāḥ*. The word *prṣṭhe* has no particular significance here; the expression *salilāsya prṣṭhe* is simply equivalent to *salile*.

AV. 10, 8, 15: *dūrē pūrṇēna vasati dūrā ūnēna hīyate |*
mahād yakṣāṃ bhūvanasya mādhye
tāsmāi balīm rāṣṭrabhīṣṭo bharaṇti ||

"It lives far from the full; it is abandoned in the distance by the not-full. The great being in the centre of the universe—to it bring tribute the rulers of kingdoms." The great being at the centre of the universe is of course the Brahman that is far removed from the full and the not-full, from the big and the not-big, from the small and the not-small, etc.; compare the passage *nyūnam anyat sthānam saṃpūrṇam anyat* (the author of the *Ratnaprabhā* calls this a *śruti*) cited by Śaṅkara in the *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* in the course of his introduction to the *Ānandamayādhikaraṇa* along with *Bṛhad. Up.*, 3, 8, 8: *asthūlam anany ahrasvam adīrgham* "It is not big, not small, not short, not long," *rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ* means, not feudatories (as M. Boyer understands), but those who rule kingdoms, or kings, that is, as Geldner has pointed out, the gods, the chief gods; compare *AV.* 13, 1, 35: *yé devā rāṣṭrabhṛto 'bhīto yānti sūryam* "The kingdom-ruling gods who go round the sun"; and *ibid.* 10, 7, 39 | *yaśmai hāstābhyām pādābhyām vācā śrótrena cākṣuṣā* : *yāsmāi devāḥ sādā balīm prayācchanti* "To which the gods always render tribute with the two hands, with the two feet, with speech, hearing and with sight." These passages make it probable that the 'gods' spoken of here are the same as those mentioned in the *Praśnopaniṣad*, 2, 1—2: *bhagavan katy eva devāḥ prajāṃ vidhārayante katarā etat prakāṣayante kaḥ punar eṣāṃ varīṣṭha iti . . . ākāśo ha vā eṣa devo vāyur agnir āpah pṛthivī vāu manaś cakṣuḥ śrotram ca* "How many gods, O venerable, uphold the creature (*i.e.*, the body)? Which of them illumine it? And which again of them is the greatest? These gods verily are Ākāśa, Vāyu, Agni, Water, Earth, Speech, Mind, Eye and Ear", that is to say, the *prāṇas*. Compare the story related in *Bṛhad. Up.* 6, 1 about the dispute that arose amongst the *prāṇas* as to who was the best and how the *mukhya-prāṇa* in whose favour the dispute was settled, made the others pay tribute to itself (6, 1, 13; *tasyo me balīm kuruteti tatheti*): compare also

Kauṣītaki Up. 2, 1: *tasmai vā etasmai prāṇāya brahmaṇa etāḥ sarvā devatā ayācanānāya balim haranti* and Praśnopaniṣad, 2, 7.

VS. 34, 2: *yēna karmāny apāso manishino
yajñe kṛtvānti vidātheṣu dhīrāḥ |
yāt apūrvām yakṣām antāḥ prajānām
tāu me mānaḥ śivasamkalpam astu ||*

"May the *manas* (mind), that is in men, by means of which the wise ones, clever and intelligent, perform the rites in the sacrifice, in the religious ceremonies—may the *manas* that is in me, be auspiciously inclined." This mantra is the second of the six śivasamkalpa-mantras that are found in the beginning of ch. 34 of the VS. The epithets applied to *manas* in these verses show that the *manas* spoken of is not the mind in men, but the ego or soul or Brahman; compare for instance, the epithet *jyōtiṣām jōytiḥ* in v. 1, *hṛt-prātiṣṭham* in v. 6, and the description *yāt prajānām utā ceto dhītiḥ ca yāj jyōtir antār amṛtam prajāsu* in v. 3, and *yāsminn ṛcaḥ sāmā yājūṇṣi yāsmiṇ prātiṣṭhitā rathanābhāv ivārāḥ | yāsmiṇs citlān sārvaṃ ōtam prajānām* in v. 5. Hence the description of this *manas* in this verse as *apūrvām yakṣām* which means not only 'wonderful being,' as interpreted above, but also 'the being before which none existed; first-born being'; compare Bṛhad. Up. 2, 5, 19: *tad etad brahmāpūrvam anaparam anantaram abāhyam*. Compare also Ait. Ār., 5, 1, 1: *mana ivāpūrvam vāyur iva ślokaḥ bhūḥ bhūyāsam* "May I be ever new like *manas* (mind) the origin of *śloka* (sound; fame; Sāyaṇa, however, explains as *saṅgha*) like Vāyu," and Sāyaṇa's comment thereon: *uttarottaram abhivṛddhikāṅkṣayā prayatamānam sat tat-tat-phala-prāptiā nūtanam rūpaṃ pratipadyate*.

RV. 1, 190, 4: *asyā ślōko divīyate pṛthivyām
ātīyo nā yaṁsad yakṣabhīd vicetāḥ |
mṛgānām nā hetāyo yānti cemā
bḥhaspāter āhimāyān abhī dyūn ||*

" His voice rushes in heaven and in earth. He, the supporter of the universe, the wise, raised (his shouts or chants) as a horse (does his neigh). These chants of Brhaspati go forth, like missiles on beasts, on the enemies who are as crafty as Ahi." *yakṣabhiḥ* = the supporter of the universe, as Roth has correctly explained. It is the equivalent of the word *bhūtabhiḥ* which is also used in the same sense; compare Bh. Gītā, 9, 5: *bhūtabhirv na ca bhūtasitḥo mamātmā bhūtabhāvanah*, 'supporting the universe but not in it'; and Mahābhārata, 13, 254, 16 (*Viṣṇu-sahasranāma*): *bhūtakṛd bhūtabhiḥ bhāvah*. I follow Geldner in supplying *ślokaṁ* in the second pāda as object of the verb *yamsat*, and in understanding *abhi dyūn* (ought we not rather to read *abhidīyūn* as one word?) as 'attackers' or 'enemies'. After *imāḥ* in the third pāda, we have to understand *vācaḥ*, *girāḥ* or other similar word meaning 'words; chants', which Brhaspati as *purohita* makes use of on behalf of his patron (see Geldner, *l.c.*, p. 137). These rush on the enemies and destroy them, as the arrows of a hunter speed towards the beasts and destroy them; compare p. 141 f. above and the Raghuvamśa verse (1, 61) cited there, addressed by King Dilipa to his purohita: *tava mantrakṛto mantrair dūrāt praśamitāribhiḥ | pratyādiśyanta iva me dr̥ṣṭa-lakṣya-bhidah śarāḥ* " My arrows that are able to pierce such objects only as are visible to me are made to recede to the background by the mantras (spells) that have been employed by you, the mantra-maker, and that kill enemies from a far distance." Note here too the comparison of the purohita's spells with arrows shot at some object.

RV. 10, 88, 13: *vaiśvānarām kavāyo yajñīyāso*
'gnīm devā ajanayann ajuryām |
nākṣatram pratuām āminac carīṣṇū
yakṣasyādhyakṣam taviṣām brhāntam ||

" The worshipful wise ones, the gods, engendered Agni Vaiśvānara, the imperishable, the ancient, mobile luminary (star), the supervisor of the universe, the

mighty, the great." *yakṣasya adhyakṣam* or 'supervisor of the universe' is equivalent to 'lord of the universe'; compare 1, 98, 1: *vaiśvānarāśya sumatau syāma rājā hi kam bhūvanānām abhīśriḥ | itō jātō viśvam idān vi caṣṭe vaiśvānarō yatate sūryeṇa* "May we dwell in the favour of Vaiśvānara; he is the king and the ornament of the world. Born from here, Vaiśvānara beholds this world; he competes with the sun." Vaiśvānara is thus, in this latter verse, a being different from the sun, while in the former (10, 88, 13) the words *nākṣatram āminac carishnū* seem to indicate that Vaiśvānara is identical with the sun.

Śat. Br. 11, 4, 3, 5: *te haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe |
sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatī yakṣe
veda mahad dhaivā yakṣam bhavati ||*

"These two (sc. *nāma* and *rūpa*; name and form) are the two great beings (that is, forms, *ex*-istences) of Brahman. He who knows these two great beings (that is, forms, *ex*-istences) of Brahman, becomes himself a great being."

Kauśika-sūtra, 95, 1: *atha yatraitāni yakṣāṇi dṛśyante
taḥ yathaitan markataḥ svāpado
vāyasah puruṣarūpam iti taḥ
evam āśaukyaṁ eva bhavati ||*

"When these evil beings are seen, as for instance, an evil being having the form of a monkey, or of a beast of prey, or of a crow, or of man, then the same apprehension is to be felt." The word *yakṣa* here denotes 'evil being', and as monkeys, and crows can not, by themselves, be said to be evil beings, it follows that the words *markataḥ* and *vāyasah* denote evil beings having that form; compare RV. 7, 104, 18: *rakṣāsaḥ sām pināṣṭana | vāyo yē bhūtvī paśyanti naktābhiḥ* "Crush the demons who fly about at nights after having become (*i.e.*, in the form of) birds." In other words, the word *rūpam* that forms the last element of the compound *puruṣarūpam*,

connects itself with each of the foregoing words *markaṭaḥ*, *śvāpadaḥ* and *vāyasaḥ* forming the compounds *markaṭa-rūpam*, *śvāpada-rūpam* and *vāyasa-rūpam* (which together with *puruṣa-rūpam* are in apposition with, and qualify, the word *yakṣam*). Now according to later grammatical usage the words *markaṭa*, *śvāpada*, *vāyasa* and *puruṣa* should be all joined together in a dvandva-compound and such compound be further joined with *rūpa*, forming a *ṣaṣṭhi-tatpuruṣa*, in order that the word *rūpa* may be connected with all these words—*dvandvānte śrūyamāṇam padam pratyekam abhisambadhyate*. It is interesting to note that here *rūpa* connects itself with the words *markaṭa*, etc., though there is no *dvandva* or other compound, and the words stand singly in the nominative case. A similar usage is observable in the following mantra also that comes immediately after the above sentence: *yan markaṭaḥ śvāpado vāyaso yadidaṁ rāṣṭram jātavedaḥ palāti puruṣa-rakṣasam iṣiraṁ yat palāti | divīṣantam etc anuyantu sarve parāṇco yantu nivartamānāḥ*. Here too the word *rakṣasam* that stands at the end of the compound *puruṣa-rakṣasam* has to be construed with *markaṭaḥ*, *śvāpadaḥ* and *vāyasaḥ* also used in the first pāda.

Instead of *puruṣa-rūpam* (*yakṣam*), the word *puruṣa-rakṣasam* is used in this latter mantra indicating that *puruṣa-rūpam yakṣam* = *puruṣa-rakṣasam* or evil being in the form of man.

The word *yakṣa* is found in Kh. 93 also of the Kauśika-sūtra, where too, it has the meaning 'evil being.'

AV. 11, 2, 24: *tūbhyam āraṇyāḥ paśāvo myā vāne hitā
hamsāḥ suparṇāḥ śakunā vāyāmsi |
tāva yakṣam paśupate apsy antās
tūbhyam kṣaranti divyā āpo vṛdhē ||*

"For thee are the beasts of the jungle, the animals placed in the forests, the swans, the kites, the birds great and small; thy might, O Paśupati, (is felt) in the waters; the divine waters flow for thy enhancement (that is, for

the enhancement of thy glory).’ In other words, ‘the beasts of the jungle, the birds of the air, and the rivers are subject to thy power and act as thou impellest them to act. Thy might is felt in the water, in the air, and on the earth.’ This praise is addressed to Paśupati or Rudra as the supreme god; and the ideas expressed here belong to the same class as those expressed in RV. 1, 101, 3: *yāsya vratē vāruṇo yāsya sūryah | yāsyēन्द्रasya sindhavaḥ śāścati vratām* (‘in whose control is Varuṇa and the sun; whose, Indra’s, ordinance is followed by the rivers’); *ibid.* 2, 28, 4: *ṛtām sindhavo vāruṇasya yanti | nā śrāmyanti nā vi mucanty etē* (‘the rivers follow the ordinances of Varuṇa; they flow without tiring, without ceasing.’); AV. 13, 3, 2: *yāsmāt vātā ṛtutā pāvante yāsmāt samudrā ādhi vikśaranti* (‘on account of whom the winds blow in season and the oceans flow’). Compare also Bṛhad. Up., 3, 7, 2 ff., *yah pṛthivyām tiṣṭhan, pṛthivīm antaro yamayati . . . yo ’psu tiṣṭhan . . . apām antaro yamayati . . . yah sarveṣu bhūteṣu tiṣṭhan . . . sarvaṇi bhūtāny antaro yamayati*: Kathopaniṣad, 2, 6, 3: *bhayāt asyāgnis tapati bhayāt tapati sūryah*.

RV. 5, 70, 4: *mā kāśyād bhutakratū
yakṣām bhujemā tanūbhiḥ |
mā śeṣasā mā tūnasā ||*

“May we not, O ye (Mitra and Varuṇa) who have wonderful strength, feel, either ourselves or in our offspring or in our posterity, the might of any one.” That is, ‘may we not feel the weight of the might of any one; may we not be oppressed by the thought that any one is more mighty than we ourselves and able to injure us.’ The expression *yakṣām bhujemā* here is equivalent to the expression *īlakṣām bhujemā* in 4, 3, 13 which will be explained below.

RV. 7, 88, 6: *yā āpīr nītyo varuṇa priyāh sām
tvām āgāmsi kṛṇāvat sakhā te |
mā ta ēnasvanto yakṣin bhujema
yondhī zmā viprah stuvatē vārūtham ||*

"Who, O Varuṇa, being thy own dear friend and comrade, has committed evil against thee—may not we who have sinned, feel, O mighty one, thy (might); do thou that art wise offer protection to thy praiser." We have to understand the word *yakṣa* here in the third pāda as the object of the verb *bhujema*. The meaning is, 'may we not suffer from thy might, that is, feel the weight of thy displeasure, on account of the sins that we have committed.' The two ideas of *eno bhujema* (punishment for sins committed; compare 6, 51, 7; 7, 52, 2) and *yaksām bhujema* (see 5, 70, 4 above) are combined here in this one pāda.

As I have already observed (see p. 18), the relative clause *yā āpīr nītyah . . . tvām āgāmsi kṛṇvat* qualifies *vayam* (understood) that is the subject of *bhujema* in the third pāda; as the plural *vayam* is only the *pluralis majesticus*, the use of the singular number in *yah*, etc., in the first two pādas and in *stuvate* (fourth pāda) is not improper.

RV. 7, 61, 5: *amūrā viśvā vṛṣaṇāv imā vām*
nā yāsu citrām dādṛṣe nā yakṣām |
drūhah sacante āyitā jānuānām
nā vām ninyāny acīte abhūvan ||

"O ye wise and strong (sc. Mitra and Varuṇa), for you (are) all these (praises) in which is seen neither ornament (brilliance) nor substance. The Druhs follow the iniquities of men; secrets did not remain unknown to you." The meaning of this verse is obscure. The author of the Padapāṭha reads the words *amūrā* and *viśvā* as duals and apparently construes them with the dual *vṛṣaṇau* referring to Mitra and Varuṇa, a view that is accepted by Geldner, but from which M. Boyer dissents. I believe that the Padapāṭha is right in reading *amūrā* (and referring it to Mitra and Varuṇa); at the same time, however, I believe that it is preferable to read *viśvāḥ* instead of *viśvā* (dual) and construe it with

imāḥ, after which, I follow Sāyaṇa in supplying the word *stutayah* (*gīrah*). The sense therefore of the first half-verse is, "These praises that we offer to you, O Mitra and Varuṇa are not polished and brilliant (do not contain *alaṅkāras*); nor is there substance in them, that is, there is no *artha-gāmbhīrya* or *bhāva-gāmbhīrya* in them; we pray that you will nevertheless take them to your heart and like them."

citra here does not signify *āścarya* as Sāyaṇa and, following him, Geldner, think, but rather 'ornament,' *alaṅkāra*; it has here the same sense as it has in books on rhetoric (*kāvya-ālaṅkāra-śāstra*) and means *artha-citra* (*arthālaṅkāra*) and *śabdacitra* (*śabdālaṅkāra*). It is an often-expressed sentiment of later books that a *kāvya*, *stuti* or other composition in words should, in order to be acceptable, contain *alaṅkāras* and yield a good meaning; compare, for instance, Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍagāra, 5th edition, *Kāvya-prasāṁsā*, verses 17 and 21, in praise of *alaṅkāra* and vv. 22, 24 in praise of *artha*, and the expression *bhāvālaṅkaraṇocitāgamavatī* in v. 44; compare also v. 51 in *ibid.*, p. 35: *arthān kecid upāsate kṛpānavat kecid tv alaṅkurvate veśyāvat khalu dhātuvādina ivodha-dhanti kecid rasān | arthālaṅkṛti-sadrasa-dravamucām vācām praśastisprśām kartārah kavayo bhavanti katicit puṇyair agānyair iha*. The first two pādas of the above mantra too, give expression, as I think, to an idea in the same sphere; in them the poet confesses that his praises cannot be said to be good, that they contain neither *alaṅkāra* nor *artha*. Contrast in this respect Kumārasambhava, 2, 3: *atha sarvasya dhātāraṁ te sarve sarvaśomukham | vāgīśaṁ vāggbhir arthyābhiḥ praṇipatyopasthīre*; Raghuvaṁśa, 4, 6: *stutyaṁ stutibhir arthyābhir upasthīre Sarasvatī*; Nilakaṇṭhaviṇayacampū, 4, 16: *iti stutibhir arthyābhir dhyāyato niścalaṁ Śivam | aspandeṣv asya gātreṣu paspande dakṣiṇo bhujah. arthyā vāk* means, as Mallinātha explains, *arthayuktā vāk*, speech or praise in which there is *artha* or *bhāva* or richness of content.

Compare further the opinion, cited and refuted by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (p. 14; Nirṇayasāgara ed. 1902): *sālaṅkārau śabdārthau kāvyam*. Hence the authors of the Rāmāyaṇa and Kādambarī have said of these works that they have been constructed of 'brilliant' words and thoughts; see Rām., 1, 2, 42: *ulāra-vṛttārtha-padair manoramais tad asya Rāmasya cakāra kirtimān* . . . *yaśaskaram kāvyam udāradhīr muniḥ*; and Kādambarī, v- 9 of introduction: *haranti kaṁ nojjvala-dīpa-kopamair navaiḥ padārthair upapāditāḥ kathāḥ*.

For the second half-verse, I have, with much hesitation, given the explanation of M. Boyer as this seems to be better than that proposed by Sāyaṇa; I feel however very doubtful whether either of these is the correct explanation.

RV. 4, 3, 13: *mā kāśya yakṣām śādam id dhuró gā*
mā veśāśya pramīnató māpéh |
mā bhrātur agne ānṛjor ṛṇām ver
mā sākhyur dākṣām ripōr bhujema ||

"Do not at any time go to the sacrifice of any enemy (literally, injurer) or harmful neighbour or comrade; do not get into the debt, O Agni, of our crooked brother; may we not suffer from the power of our friend (turned into) enemy." I have already said above (p. 165) that the view of the Indian commentators that *yakṣa* is derived from the root *yaj* is justified by the parallelism of the words *yakṣa* and *yajña* in AV. 8, 9, 8. Sāyaṇa is therefore right in explaining *yakṣa* here as *yajña*, sacrifice. The expression, 'do not get into the debt of our crooked brother,' in pāda c signifies the same as pāda a; it means, 'do not go to the sacrifice of, and partake of the offerings given by, our deceitful brother'; for the term 'debt' when used of a deity with reference to a human, means, as has been shown by Geldner, *l.c.*, pp. 133, 134, the debt that such deity owes to a human in return for the offerings that have been made and

accepted; compare also Bh. Gitā, 3, 11-12 in this connection. Similarly, the fourth pāda too, seems to refer indirectly to the same thing, to implore Agni not to attend the sacrifice of the friend who has turned inimical and make him rich and powerful in return. This verse therefore is one of the class that implore the deities not to favour by their presence the sacrifices of rival yajamānas; see Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I, pp. 119 ff.; and Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* 1906, no. 10, p. 1049 ff.

RV. 7, 55, 16 : *ātyāso nā yē marūtāḥ svāñco*
yakṣadāśo nā śubhlāyanta mār्याḥ |
tē harmyeṣṭhāḥ śīśavo nā śubhrā
vatsāso nā prakriṣṇāḥ payodhāḥ ||

"They who are swift like coursers, the youths, (sc. Maruts) made themselves bright (that is, decked themselves with ornaments), like people that (go to) see sacrifices; they are radiant like children that are in mansions and frisky like calves that drink". Sāyaṇa explains *yakṣa* here as *utsava*, festival. Now, *yakṣa*, as we know, means 'sacrifice,' 'worship'; and many of the Soma-sacrifices were in fact grand festivals and are explicitly called or described by the name of *utsava* in the Purāṇas and Itihāsas.

Compare, for instance, the following passages:
 Śrīmad-bhāgavata, 4, 3, 3 ff.:

Byāspatisavām nāma samārebhe kratūttamam ||3||
tasmin brahmarṣayah sarve devārṣi-pitṛ-devatāḥ |
āsan kṛta-svastyayanās tatpatnyaś ca sabhaṭṭrākāḥ ||4||
tad upaśrutya nabhasi khecarāṇām prajālpatām |
Satī dākṣāyaṇī devī pitur yajña-mahotsavam ||5||
vrajantīḥ sarvato digbhya upadeva-varastrīyah |
vimānayanāḥ sapreṣṭhā nīṣka-kaṇṭhīḥ suvāsasah ||6||
dyāvā sva-nīlayābhyāse lolākṣīr mṛṣṭa-kunḍalāḥ |
patīm Bhūtapatīm devam autsukyād abhy-abhāṣata ||7||

Saty uvāca :

*prajāpates te śvaśurasya sāmpratañ
niryāpito yajña-mahotsavaḥ kila ||8ab||
paśya prayāntīr abhavānya-yoṣita
³pyalanṅkṛtāḥ kāntasakhā varūthaśaḥ ||12ab||*

"(Dakṣa) began the sacrifice known as *Brhaspatisava* to which went in well-being all the Brahmarṣis, the Devarṣis, pitrs and devas, and also their wives with their husbands. Satidevi, the daughter of Dakṣa, hearing of this from the chatter of those going in the sky, and seeing near her dwelling the wives of Upadevas (*i.e.*, of Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Kimpurusas, etc.) going with their husbands in *vimānas* from all directions, wearing fine clothes and necklaces and brilliant ear-rings and with eyes glancing here and there, said to her lord Śiva in excitement: 'The grand festival-like sacrifice of thy father-in-law, the Prajāpati, has, I hear, commenced See also other women going there in troops, wearing jewels, in the company of their husbands, O thou that art birth-less.'"

*Mahābhārata, 2, 72, 1: tataḥ sa Kururājasya
sarva-karma-samṛddhimāu |
yajñaḥ pritikaro rājan
sambabhan vipulotsavaḥ ||*

"Then was celebrated, O king, the sacrifice of the Kurūid king in which not one rite was wanting, the grand festival, causing delight."

Ibid. 14, 90, 43 :

*evam babhūva yajñaḥ sa Dharmarājasya dhimataḥ |
tañ mahotsava-saṁkāśaṁ hr̥ṣṭa-puṣṭa-janākulam |
kathayanti sma puruṣā nānā-deśa-nivāsinaḥ ||*

"Then took place that sacrifice of the wise Dharma-rāja And this sacrifice that was like a great festival and was attended by many joyous and thriving people was extolled by people that lived in different countries (who were present at it)."

Read also the descriptions of the Rājasūya sacrifice celebrated by Yudhiṣṭhira given in the Mahābhārata (2, 71) and Bhāgavata, 10, 75.

It is therefore not surprising if, in the circumstances, the word *yakṣa*, meaning 'sacrifice' took on the meaning of *utsava* also, though as regards this verse, it is not necessary to assume this latter meaning for *yakṣa*. The original meaning itself, namely, 'sacrifice,' fits in well with the context here. Compare the passage cited above from the Bhāgavata where it is said that the wives of Upadevas were going to the *yajña-mahotsava* wearing fine clothes and jewels in the company of their husbands, and the passage cited above (p. 155) from the Jñātādharmakathā that describes the dress and jewels worn by ugras, ugraputras, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, etc., on days of Indramaha, Yakṣamaha and similar other utsavas. See also the description of the city and people on the occasion of *kaumudī-mahotsava* given in *Hemādri*, *i.e.*, p. 352 and in Jñātādharmakathā, p. 536. It becomes clear from all these that the people used to put on in former times (as in fact they do now) fine clothes and jewels when going to grand sacrifices or other utsavas; and the Maruts are compared with such people because they always deck themselves with ornaments; see 5, 54, 11; 5, 55, 6; 5, 60, 4, etc., and Macdonell's *Ved. Mythology*, p. 79.

subhrah, radiant, in pāda 3, means, as is indicated by the context, 'clean, speckless, spotless'; and *payathāh vatsāh* means 'young calves'.

Gobhila-gr̥hyasūtra, 3, 4, 28: *ācāryam sapariṣatkam abhyetyācāryapariṣadam ākṣate yakṣam iva cakṣuṣaḥ priyo vo bhūyāsam itī* ||

"Approaching the teacher with his entourage, he looks at the teacher and entourage (saying): 'May I be pleasing to your eye like a sacrifice.'" I have here, like M. Boyer and Geldner, construed *cakṣuṣaḥ* with *priya*. Oldenberg has, however, contended (*RV. Noten*, II,

p. 45) that this is not right and that such construction would be proper only if the text had read *yakṣam iva cakṣuṣo vaḥ priyo bhūyāsam*. He therefore maintains that the correct meaning is, "May I be dear to you as the wonderful thing is to the eye" (as already noted above, *yakṣa* = 'wonderful thing' for Oldenberg) and that the 'wonderful thing' here is the pupil of the eye! But, apart from the consideration that one fails to understand why the pupil of the eye should be called a 'wonderful thing' (the passage from Śat. Br. to which Oldenberg refers has no bearing at all in this connection) the idea of comparing a thing to the pupil of the eye in respect of dearness is one that is foreign to Sanskrit literature.

As regards however the above-mentioned contention itself, it must be admitted that there is some force in it; but, as *yakṣa* does not mean 'pupil of the eye' but 'sacrifice' (or perhaps *utsava*) here, it makes in effect no difference whether *cakṣuṣaḥ* is construed with *priya*, or not. In the first case, the meaning is, "May I be pleasing to your eye like a sacrifice". In the second case, the meaning is, "May I be pleasing to you as a sacrifice is pleasing to the eye"; and the expression 'may I be pleasing to you' here obviously means 'may I be pleasing to your eye.' In any case, therefore, the sense of the mantra is, "May I be dear to your eyes as a grand sacrifice; may you have as much pleasure in looking at me as people have in looking at a grand sacrifice or other similar *utsava*." Compare RV. 7, 84, 3: *kṛtām no yajñām vidātheṣu cārum kṛtām brāhmaṇi sūriṣu praśastā* 'Make our sacrifice handsome (or beloved) amongst assemblies, make our hymns laudable amongst poets'; 10, 100, 6: *yajñāś ca bhūd vidāthe cārum āntamaḥ* 'May the sacrifice be handsome (or dear) and most cherished in the assembly'; and the expression *cārum adhvaram* 1, 19, 1 and 3, 71, 1. See also Mahābhārata, 14, 90, 43 cited above from which we learn that the

people of all countries flocked to see the sacrifice celebrated by Yudhiṣṭhira and 2, 72, 1 *ibid.* where the epithet *prīṭikara* is applied to the sacrifice.

Compare also *ibid.*, 2, 71, 44-45 :

lokesmin sarva-viprāś ca vaiśyāḥ sūdrā nṛpādayaḥ |
sarve mlecchāḥ sarvajanāś tv ādi-madhyaṅta-jās tathā ||44||
nānādeśa-samudbhūtair nānājātibhir āgataih |
paryāpta iva lokoyaṁ Yudhiṣṭhira-niweśane ||45||

" All the Brāhmaṇas in this world and all Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras, all Mlecchas, and all people of all castes, the highest, lowest and middle castes, (were there). From the people, born in different countries and of different castes, that were present there, it seemed as if the whole world was contained in the dwelling of Yudhiṣṭhira " : and *ibid.*, 2 71, 16 :

Jambūdvīpo hi sakalo nānājanapadāyutaḥ |
rājann adṛśyataikastho rājñas tasmin mahākrateau ||

' The whole of Jambūdvīpa with all its different countries, O king, was seen assembled at one place in the grand sacrifice of that king.' These grand sacrifices were thus so beloved that the people used to flock to them.

I take the word *ācārya-pariṣadam* as a *dvandva* compound meaning ' the teacher and his entourage.'

AV. 11, 6, 10 : *dīvaṁ brūmo nākṣatrāṇi*
bhūmim yakṣāṇi pārvatān |
samudrāṁ nadyò veśantās
tè no muñcantv āmhasaḥ ||

" We praise the sky, the constellations of stars, the earth, the trees, and the mountains. The oceans, rivers and ponds—may they free us from evil." The word *yakṣāṇi* here has been explained as Yakṣas (followers of Kubera) by Henry (*Les Livres X, XI et XII de l' Atharvaveda*, pp. 118 and 155), Bloomfield (*Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, p. 161), and Hillebrandt (*Garbe-festschrift*,

p. 22) and as 'Naturwunder und Naturschönheiten wie die grossen Bäume' by Geldner (*l.c.* p. 143). Geldner's explanation is almost correct, but the way by which he arrives at it is not, in my opinion, the proper way. *yakṣāni* signifies trees here not because *yakṣa* means 'Wunder,' *citra*, but because the trees are here regarded as the abode of Yakṣas or superhuman beings.

I have said above (p. 156) that the temples dedicated to Yakṣas had the name of *cāitya* also. This name *cāitya*, it may be remarked, is applied to trees also, to trees that are wellgrown and rich in foliage and are regarded as being the abodes of superhuman beings; cp. *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, 2, 4, 2: *cāityo devatāsur devāvāse karabha-kuñjarau*; *Mahābhārata*, 12, 68, 44f. *cāityānām sarvathā tyājyam api patrasya pātanam* ||44|| *devānām āśrayāś cāityā yakṣa-rākṣasabhoginām | piśāca-pannagānām ca gandharvāpsarasām api | raudrānām caiva bhūtānām tasmāt tān parivarjayet* and also the *Mahābhārata* verse given in 1, 49, *Hiḍimbavadha* in Bopp's *Ardschuna's Reise zu Indra's Himmel*. The name *cāitya* thus is applied to a tree for the same reason that it is applied to a temple—namely, because the tree is, like the temple, the abode of a *yakṣa*, *bhūta* or other supernatural being and is thus holy and deserving of worship. The same is the case with the word *yakṣa* also; this name is applied to temples as also to trees, that are the abodes of *yakṣas*, *bhūtas* or similar superhuman beings and are thus holy and deserving of worship. I have cited above (p. 156) instances of the word *yakṣa* denoting temples; this verse offers an instance of the word *yakṣa* denoting trees.

This closes the list of passages where the word *yakṣa* (neuter) occurs. M. Boyer however is of opinion that this word *yakṣa* is found further, (as a component of the word *yakṣya*) in *RV.* 8, 60, 3 also: *agne kavir vedhā asi hōtā pāvaka yākṣyah | mandrō yājīṣṭho adhvareṣu idhō viprebhīḥ śukra mānmabhiḥ* and has explained *yakṣya*

there as 'having a marvellous form.' As he has himself observed, however, (*l.c.*, p. 394) the expression *hótā pāvaka yákṣyaḥ* in 8, 60, 3 is parallel to *agniḥ pāvakaḥ idyaḥ* in 3, 27, 4, to *śúciḥ pāvakaḥ idyaḥ* in 7, 15, 10, and to *śúciḥ pāvaka vándyaḥ* in 2, 7, 4; and since the word *yakṣa* itself is, as has been shown above, derived from the root *yaj*, there is not the least doubt that *yakṣya* comes from *yaj* 'to worship.' I believe therefore that the verse means: "Thou, O Agni, art the wise one, the worshipper, and the adorable hotṛ, O purifier; thou art dear, the most capable in sacrificing, praised in sacrifices, O brilliant one, with hymns by priests."

The meanings of *yakṣa* therefore are: 1. worship, sacrifice (and perhaps *utsava*, festival). 2. (a) being (concrete), beings in the collective, the creation, universe, world; a particular class of superhuman beings; evil beings, evil spirits; (b) being (abstract); reality, essence, principle, substance, virtue, power, might. The meanings enumerated under 2. are those of the word *bhūta* which is a synonym of *yakṣa* and of *sattva* which is a synonym of *bhūta*; they seem to be *rūḍhi* meanings, while those enumerated under 1 are clearly *yoga* meanings.

It becomes apparent from what has gone above that *yakṣa* masculine has the same relation to *yakṣa* neuter as *bhūta* masculine bears to *bhūta* neuter. *bhūta* neuter has a large number of meanings (see above; see also Apte, s.v., and PW) including those of 'being (concrete), a class of superhuman being; evil being'; while *bhūta* masculine has these meanings only and no other. Similarly *yakṣa* masculine too means the same, namely, 'being (concrete), superhuman being, evil being' while *yakṣa* neuter signifies these things, and also, many other things in addition. Similar too, it may be noted, is the relation of *sattva* masculine to *sattva* neuter; the masculine word signifies 'being (concrete), not-human being, (and not 'superhuman being' only; *sattva* is used

of animals), evil being* while the neuter word has these as well as other significations.

This explains the use of the word *yakṣa* masculine in Buddhist literature in contexts where the usual meaning of *guhyaka* or 'follower of Kubera' is inappropriate, and where therefore the translators have in some cases felt perplexed. Thus, in *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, III, 2, 25 (and elsewhere too; see Index to the Transl. of *Saṃ. Nik.* in *SBE.*, vol. 10), Māra (who is not a *guhyaka* or follower of Kubera) is called a *yakkha*; in the *Milinda-pañha*, IV, 4, 32 (p. 202), the term *yakkha* is used in connection with Devadatta and the Bodhisatta who were at that time (see *Jātaka-story* No. 457; vol. IV, pp. 100 ff.) born as *devaputtas*. Similarly, in the translation of this book (*SBE.* vol. 35, p. 289, n. 2), Prof. Rhys Davids has observed that 'this is by no means the only instance of the term *yakkha* being used of gods.' In the same way, Prof. Kern has noted (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 59, n. 9) that the epithet *yakkha* is applied sometimes to Indra (e.g., in *Majjh. Nik.* I, p. 251) and the Buddha (l. i. in *ibid.*, I, p. 386: *āhuyeyyo yakkho uttamapuggalo atulo*) and that it is used of *devaputtas* in *Saṃ. Nik.*, I, p. 54.²² The expression *yakkhassa suddhi* too is found used in *Saṃ. Nik.* III, 4, 25 and IV, 11, 14-15: *ettāvat' aggaṃ pi vadanti h' eke yakkhassa suddhiṃ idha paṇḍitāse* which Fausböll has translated (*SBE.*, vol. 10, p. 167) as: "Thus some (who are considered) wise in this world say that the principal (thing) is the purification of the *yakkha*," without however saying anything as to what is intended by the 'purification of the *yakkha*.'

In the light of what has been said above about the meaning of the word *yakṣa*, it is easy to see that this word means 'evil being' when it refers to Māra. When

²² Similarly Otto Franke in his translation of parts of the *Dīghanikāya*, has observed on p. 94, note 6, that the word *yakkha* is used occasionally to signify *devas* also.

used in connection with *devaputtas*, it means in all probability, 'superhuman being,' while when used of Indra and the Buddha, it is probable that it signifies, as has been suggested by Kern (*l.c.*), 'a being to be worshipped or a mighty being'—a meaning that combines in itself the two different significations of 'being (concrete)' and of 'worship' or 'might' (see p. 21 above). The expression *yakkhassa suddhi* which is equivalent to *bhūtaśuddhi* or *bhūta-suddhi* is somewhat ambiguous. In Tāntrik practice, the term *bhūtaśuddhi* signifies the cleansing or purification of the *bhūtas* or elements ('earth,' 'water,' 'fire,' etc.), that make up the body of the worshipper, and is one of the many preliminary acts that precede and lead up to the worship proper of the chief deity; see *Principles of Tantra* (II, pp. 365 ff.) by A. Avalon, pp. 41 ff., of *Mantramahārṇava*, ch. 8 of *Devī-bhāgavata*, etc.; compare also *Rāmātāpānyupaniṣad*, 5, 1: *bhūtādikaṃ śodhayed dvārapūjāṃ ca kṛtvā padmādyāsanasthaḥ prasannaḥ* "(The worshipper) should cleanse the elements (of his body) etc., then after worshipping the gates, assuming the *padmāsana* or other posture, with calm mind" I feel however doubtful if it is this Tāntrik practice that is referred to by the *Saṃ. Nik.*, the more so, as this is a preliminary act to which not much importance is attached. And I am inclined to believe that the *bhūtaśuddhi* mentioned here refers perhaps to the cleansing or purification of the *bhūta*—being or self, through the eradication of what Apastamba calls *bhūtadāhīyā doṣāḥ* 'blemishes or vices that sear, that is, destroy, the being or self,' consisting of anger, elation, covetousness, etc.; see *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*, 1, 23, 5. By the eradication of these through yoga, says Apastamba, the wise man attains 'security (*abhaya*)'—an expression which is explained by Haradatta as *abhayaṃ mokṣam*, 'the liberation where there is no more fear'; compare *ibid.*, 1, 23, 3: *doṣāṇāṃ tu nirghāto yogamūla iha jivite | nirhṛtya bhūtadāhīyān*

kṣemaṃ gacchati paṇḍitaḥ "In this life, the destruction of vices (is to be accomplished) by means of yoga; after getting rid of the vices that sear the being, that is, the self, the wise man attains security." Compare also *ibid.*, 1, 23, 6: *tāny anuśiṣṭhan vidhinā sārva-gāmi bhavati* "He who practises these (yogas that eradicate the *bhūta-dāhīya-doṣas*) according to rule, attains the All." A third interpretation also is possible of the term *yakkhasya suddhi*; *yakṣasuddhi* or *bhūtasuddhi* or 'the purification of the being (self)' may be understood as the purification of the being or *sattvasuddhi* that is spoken of in Ch. Up., 7, 26, 2: *āhāra-suddhau sattva-suddhiḥ sattva-suddhau dhruvā smṛtiḥ | smṛtilambhe sarva-granthinām vipramokṣaḥ | tasmai mṛdita-kaṣāyāya tamasah pārāṃ darśayati bhagavān Sanatkumāraḥ* "When the food becomes pure, the being (*sattva*; according to Śaṅkara, this denotes *antaḥkaraṇa* here) becomes pure; when the being becomes pure, an unfailing memory (will be established); by the attainment of memory, all knots are severed; and to him whose impurity (*kaṣāya*) is (thus) overcome, Lord Sanatkumāra will show (the Brahman) beyond the darkness." As the *Sam. Nik.* says nothing more about *yakkhasya suddhi*, of the causes which lead up to it or of the effects which this leads to, it is not possible to determine which of these three ideas was intended by the author; perhaps, it is the second of those mentioned above.

§ 10

ābhva

The word *yakṣá* leads us to the nearly-allied word *ābhva*, of which no satisfactory explanation has yet been given by the exegetists. This word is enumerated twice in the *Nighaṇṭu*, once amongst the *udaka-nāmāni* (1. 12) and once amongst the *mahan-nāmāni* (3. 3). These two

meanings *udaka* and *mahat*, however, are inadequate to explain the sense of many passages in which the word occurs; and hence Sāyaṇa has, in his *RV. Commentary*, been obliged to suggest other explanations for this word. He thus explains it as 'enemy' (*ābhavatīty abhvaḥ satruḥ*) in 1, 39, 8, as 'speed' (*vega*) in 1, 24, 6, as 'cloud' (*megha*) in 1, 168, 9; and even when seemingly retaining the meaning *mahat*, he practically helps himself with new meanings when he explains *abhva* as *atī-viśṛtām jagat* in 2, 33, 10, *mahad dhanam* in 5, 49, 5, *mahat karma* in 6, 4, 3, *mahat sarvaṃ vastu-jātam* in 6, 71, 5, and *mahato bhaya-hetoḥ pāpāt* in 1, 185, 2-8. Of the European exegetists, Roth explains the word as 'Ünding; Ungeheur; Unheimlichkeit; ungeheure Macht, Grösse, u. s. w.; Schwüle'; and Grassmann repeats these explanations with the addition of two more, 'der Widerwärtige, das Ungethum; das grauenerregende Dunkel.' Bergaigne, in his article on this word in his *Etudes sur le lexique du RV*, comes to the conclusion that it means 'obscurity; evil in general; demoniacal might,' and in one passage (*Śata. Br.* 11, 2, 3, 5) 'might' in general, while Geldner, in his article on this word in *Ved. St.*, vol. 3 (p. 117 f.), has followed the lead of Roth and set down 'Schrecknis, Graus, Schreckensgestalt, Schreckenserscheinung, Gespenst, Spuk, Popanz' as the meaning of this word. Substantially the same explanation is given of this word by him in his *Glossar* also.

How insufficient these meanings are to explain the sense of the passages in which the word *ābhva* occurs will become clear to every one who reads Geldner's interpretation of them in the course of his article mentioned above. And particularly, in one of these passages, namely, in *Śata. Br.* 11, 2, 3, 3-5:

*atha brahmāiva parārdham agacchat | tat parārdham
gatvaikṣata katham uv imāñi lokān pratyaveyām iti | tad
dvābhyām eva pratyavaid rūpeṇa caiva nāmā ca | sa
yasya kasya ca nāmāsti tan nāma yasyo api nāma nāsti*

*yad veda rūpenedam rūpam iti tad rūpam | etāvad vā idam
yāvad rūpam caiva nāma ca | te haite brahmano mahatī
abhve | sa yo haite brahmano mahatī abhve veda mahad
dhaivābhvam bhavati | te haite brahmano mahatī yakṣe |
sa yo haite brahmano mahatī yakṣe veda mahad dhaiva
yakṣam bhavati ||*

it is hard to believe, as Geldner would have us do, that *nāma* and *rūpa* are here to be understood as the two *ghore rūpe* or *Popanze* or *Phantome* of Brahman, and that he who thus knows *nāma* and *rūpa* as the two *ghore rūpe* or *Popanze* or *Phantome* of Brahman, becomes himself a *ghoram rūpam* or *Popanz* or *Phantom*.

The clue to the real meaning of the word *abhva* is contained in the above-cited passage itself, in which the sentence *te haite brahmano mahatī abhve | sa yo haite brahmano mahatī abhve veda mahad dhaivābhvam bhavati* is closely parallel to the sentence following. *te haite brahmano mahatī yakṣe | sa yo haite brahmano mahatī yakṣe veda mahad dhaiva yakṣam bhavati*. This parallelism indicates that the word *abhva* has the same value as the word *yakṣa*. Now in the article preceding on *yakṣa*, I have shown that this word has the value of *bhūta* and that it means (a) being (concrete); beings in the collective, the creation, universe, world; a particular class of superhuman beings; evil being, evil spirit; (b) being (abstract); reality, essence, principle, substance, virtue, power, might. These are the meanings of *abhva* also, and I shall now show that these meanings fit well into the context in all the passages where this word occurs. I begin with the above-cited passage Śata. Br. 11, 2, 3, 3-5, which I translate as—

"Then the Brahman itself went up to the sphere beyond. Having gone up to the sphere beyond, it considered, 'How can I descend again into these worlds?' It then descended again by means of these two—Form and Name. Whatever has a name, that is Name; and

that again which has no name and which one knows by its form, 'This is (its) form,' is Form: as far as there are Form and Name, so far, indeed, (extends) this universe. These, indeed, are the two great beings (*i.e.*, manifestations) of the Brahman; and, verily, he who knows these two great beings (*i.e.*, manifestations) of the Brahman becomes himself a great being. These, indeed, are the two great beings (*i.e.*, forms, *ex*-istences) of the Brahman; and, verily, he who knows these two great beings (*i.e.*, forms, *ex*-istences) of the Brahman becomes himself a great being."

Śata. Br. 3, 2, 1, 25-28: *so 'yaṁ yajño vācam abhidadhyau mīthuny etayā syām iti | tām sambabhūva | indro ha vā ikṣāṁcakre | mahad vā ito 'bhvaṁ janīṣyate | yajñasya ca mīthunād vācaś ca | yaṁ mā tan mā 'bhibhaved iti sa indra eva garbho bhūtva itan mīthunaṁ praviveśa | sa ha samvatsare jāyamāna ikṣāṁcakre | mahā-vīryā vā iyaṁ yonir yā mām adidharata | yad vai me to mahad evābhvaṁ nānuprajāyeta yaṁ mā tan nābhibhaved iti | tām prati-parāmrśyāveṣṭyācchinat ||*

"That Yajña (sacrifice) lusted after Vāc (speech) thinking, 'May I pair with her.' He united with her. Indra then thought within himself, 'Surely a great being will be born out of this union of Yajña and Vāc: [I must take care] lest it should vanquish me.' Indra himself then became an embryo and entered into that union. When being born after a year's time, he thought within himself, 'Verily, of great potency is this womb which has contained me: [I must take care] that no great being will be born from it after me, that it should not vanquish me.' Having seized and pressed it tightly, he cut it off."

RV. 1, 63, 1: *tvām mahān indra yō ha śūṣmair dyāvā yajñāuśh pṛthivī āme dhāh | yād dha te vīśvā girāyaś cid ābhvā bhiyā dṛḥḥsaḥ kirāṇā naijan ||*

"Thou art great, O Indra, that, when being born, didst set Heaven and Earth in agitation through thy strength; and when, from fear of thee, all beings, even firm mountains, trembled like particles of dust." The correct reading is *viśvā* and *ābhvā*, neuter, as given in the Padapāṭha (see also Bergaigne, *op. cit.*), and not *viśvāḥ* and *ābhvāḥ* as assumed by Roth (*PW*) and Geldner (*op. cit.*). *viśvā ābhvā* = *viśvāni bhūtāni* = all beings, that is, the creation, the world, the universe; and Bergaigne (*op. cit.*) has rightly observed that '*viśvā . . . ābhvā* sont l'expression d'un tout dont les montagnes, *girāyaś cit*, font partie.' Compare 1, 61, 14: *asyēd u bhiyā girāyaś ca dṛṣṭhā dyāvā ca bhūmā janūśas tujete*; 4, 17, 2: *tāva tviṣō jāniman rejata dyaū rējad bhūmir bhiyāsā svāsya manyōh | rghāyānta subhvāḥ pārvatāsa ārdan dhāuvāni sarāyanta āpah ||*

2, 33, 10: *ārhan bibharṣi sāyakāni dhāuvā-
rhan niškām yajatām viśvārūpam |
ārhan idām dayase viśvam ābhvam
nā vā ōjīyo rudra tvād asti ||*

"Thou, O venerable, carriest bow and arrows; thou, O venerable, the all-formed necklace deserving of worship. Thou, O venerable, rulest all this universe; there is none, O Rudra, more mighty than thou." Or, should we take *ābhvam* here in the sense of 'evil being' and translate the third pāda as 'Thou, O venerable, cuttest to pieces all the evil beings here' (compare Max Müller's translation in *SBE.* 32, 427: 'Worthily thou cuttest every fiend here to pieces') or as 'Thou, O venerable, rulest all these evil beings'? Rudra is, as we know, the lord of all evil beings (known as *pramatha* or *bhūta* in later literature) not only in post-Vedic literature but even in the Yajus-saṁhitās; compare TS. IV. 5, 11, 1: *yē* (sc. *rudrāḥ*) *bhūtānām ādhipatayo viśikhāsaḥ kapardīnaḥ*. Compare also Śāṅkh. ŚS. 4, 20, 1 and Sāyaṇa's commentary, *eṣa devaḥ | eṣa iti hastena pradarśya rudro 'bhidhīyate | tat*

*tasmād eva kāraṇād asya rudrasya ita lokaprasiddham
bhūtaśabdopetaṁ nāma saṁpannam | bhūtapatir iti bhūtavan
nāma on AB. 3, 33, 1-2.*

6, 71, 5: *ūd ū ayān apavaktēva bāhū
hiranyāyā savitā suprātikā |
divo rōhāṁsy aruhat pṛthivyā
ārīramat patāyat kác cid ābhvam ||*

"He, Savitr, raised high his (two) golden well-formed arms, like a speaker; he climbed over the heights of heaven and of the earth; he stopped all swift-moving beings." *upavaktā* = a speaker, one who harangues others, an orator; that is, one who calls for the attention of other people. To attract attention, such speaker holds his hands high; compare Ratnapālanṛpakathānaka (Bhavanagar ed., p. 5), st. 106: *nivartayantī tumulaṁ hastam utkṣīpya dūrataḥ | avocat spaṣṭa-vācaivam saṁvabdhān sarva-bhūbhujāḥ*; ZDMG. 54, 529: *yogīndrah śanaiś-śanair dhyānam muktva hasanu evam uvāca | kim kasmai pradīyate | kas trāyate bhavārṇavāt | sa nara ūrdhva-bāhur evam jagāda | dhanāyāham tavātithiḥ*; Bhārata-pāñcadaśopodghāta, p. 26: *satyaṁ satyaṁ punaḥ satyaṁ uddhṛtya bhujaṁ ucyate | Bhāratān na puram śāstram cāsti loka mahārthadam*. So also does Savitr; compare 2, 38, 2: *viśvasya hī śruṣṭāye devā ūrdhvāḥ prā bāhāvā pṛthupāṇiḥ śisarti | āpaś cid asya vratā ā nīmṛgrā ayām cid vāto ramate pārijman*. "He, the god (*sc.* Savitr) with wide-extending hands, holds forth his arms aloft for the hearing of the universe (that is, that the world may pay attention to him and hear him); even the Waters follow his law: this Vāta even stops in his course (at his command)."¹

¹ Ludwig translates the first pāda as, 'wie ein upavaktar [priester] hat er die arme emporgestreckt,' and, on p. 226 of vol. III (of his *RV. Ueber*), too, writes as follows:

"VI, 71, 5. wie ein upavaktar hat er seine arme ausgestreckt, Savitar, der gott: dies kann nicht im allgemeinen 'wie ein herbeirufender' bedeuten, weil das ausstrecken der arme zunächst nicht das

I follow Sāyaṇa in asking *patayat* as a participle. The sense of the third pāda is, 'he checks, he causes to stop, all things.' Compare 2, 38, 3: *ūrīramad ātamānam cid ētoḥ | ahyārṣūnām cin ny āyān aviṣyām* "He (*sc.* Savitr) stopped even the swift-moving (wind) from moving; he checked the course of even those who were pressing forward like ahīs." Compare 2, 38, 2 explained above and also 7, 56, 19: *imé turām marūto rāmayanti* "These Maruts bring the swift-moving one to a halt."

1, 92, 5: *prāty arcī rūṣad asyā adarśi
vī tiṣṭhate bādḥate kṛṣṇām ābhvam |
svāruṁ nā pēso vidātheṣv aṅjān
citrām divo duhitā bhānūm aśret ||*

"Her (*sc.* the Dawn's) bright light is seen; it spreads itself and dispels the black being. Adorning the sacrificial post in sacrifices as if with an ornament, the Daughter of Heaven has spread her brilliant light."

It is possible to translate *ābhvam* here as 'substance' or as 'evil being' also. In any case the sense of the passage remains the same as it is the darkness that is

herbeirufen als solches charakterisierendes ist, wofür aber wenn es sich um ein herbeirufen im speciellen sinne handelt, bei welchem gewisse äusserliche bewegungen regelmässig stattfinden und selbstverständlich sind, wie es eben das ausbreiten der arme bei anrufung der götter überall ist (vgl. III, 14, 5. VI, 16, 46. 63, 3. X, 79, 2)."

This opinion seems to me to be incorrect. In the first place, the verses 3, 14, 5, etc., referred to by Ludwig, allude to the stretching or spreading of the arms in front (*uttānahasta*); this is quite different from raising the arms on high which is a characteristic of one who wants to attract the attention of others. Compare the passages cited above. (As a matter of fact, the raising high of the arms is a gesture that is used every-where by every one, including school-children, to attract the attention of other people). Secondly, not one of the Śrauta ritual books prescribe that the *upavaktr* (that is, the *maitrāvaruṇa* or *praśāstr*; see Oldenberg, Religion des Veda², 390: Ludwig's suggestion that he is the *acchāvāka* is untenable) should raise his hands high on any occasion.

referred to by that word (see Bergaigne, *op. cit.*). Compare 7, 77, 1: *ákar jyótir bádhamānā támāmsi*, "She (*sc.* Uṣas) made light after dispelling darkness"; 7, 78, 2: *uṣā yāti jyótiṣā bádhamānā vísvā támāmsi duritāpa devī* "The goddess Uṣas goes, dispelling with her light all darkness and evil"; 7, 80, 2: *gūḍhvi támo jyótiṣaṣā abodhi* "She (*sc.* Uṣas) has awakened hiding the darkness with her light."

The sense of the third pāda is not very clear. I follow Pischel (*Ved. St.*, 2, 124) in taking *añján* as standing for *añjantī* and translate it as above. The top of the sacrificial post that is touched and illuminated by the bright ray, *citró bhānūḥ*, of the Dawn appears as if adorned with ornaments; and hence, Uṣas is said to adorn the post, as it were, with a jewel. Compare 1, 92, 1: *etā u tyā uṣasah ketūm akrata pūrve árdhe rájaso bhānūm añjate*; 7, 79, 2: *vy añjate divó ántesv aktūn víšo ná yuktā uṣaso yatante*; 7, 78, 1: *prāti ketāvah prathamā adṛśrann ūrdhvā asyā añjāyo ví śrayante*; 1, 113, 14: *vy añjībhir divá átāsv adyant*, where Uṣas is said to 'adorn' with her rays or where her rays themselves are called ornaments, and also 3, 8, 9: *śukrā vāsānāḥ sváravo na ágnḥ* "The sacrificial posts bearing bright ornaments have come to us", where the ornaments of sacrificial posts are referred to.

4, 51, 9: *tā in nu evā samanā sámānir
ámitavarṇā uṣasāś carantī |
gūhantīr ábhvam ásitam rūśadbhiḥ
śukrās tanūbhiḥ śucayo rucānāḥ ||*

"They that are alike, the Dawns, whose brilliance is undimmed, now go alike on their way, covering the black being with their bright selves, they that are brilliant, pure and effulgent."

1, 140, 5: *ād asya té dhvasáyanto vñtherate
krṣṇām ábhvam máhi vārpaḥ kárikrataḥ |
yát sīm mahim avānim prābhī marmṛśad
abhiśvasān stanáyannu éti nānadat ||*

"Then those (flames) of this (Agni) move swiftly forward destroying the black being, and putting on great splendour when he goes caressing the wide earth, panting, thundering, roaring." *dhvasāyantaḥ* in the first pāda does not mean 'sparkling' as Oldenberg (SBE. 46, 141) understands; nor is the expression *kṛṣṇām ābhvam* the object (Oldenberg, *l.c.*, Geldner, *op. cit.*, p. 121) of *kārikrataḥ* in addition to *māhi vārpah*. As the passage *rātho ha vām bhūri vārpah kārikrat* ('your chariot that has put on much splendour') in 3, 58, 9 shows, *vārpah* alone is the object of *kārikrataḥ* in the above verse, and not *kṛṣṇām ābhvam* also. This latter is the object of *dhvasāyantaḥ*, 'destroying, pulverising,' which is derived from the root *dhvas*, *dhvaṁs* 'to destroy, to pulverise.'

AV. 4, 17, 5 (=7, 23, 1): *daúṣvapnyam daúrjivīyam*
rākṣo abhvaṁ arāyāḥ |
durñāmnih sārva durvācas
tā asmān nāsayāmasi |

"Evil-dreaming, evil-living, demon, evil being, hags, all the ill-named, ill-voiced,—these we make disappear from us.

AV. 13, 6, 4: *sá evā mṛtyúh sò 'mṛtam*
sò 'bhvaṁ sá rākṣah |

"He verily (is) death, he immortality, he the evil being, he the demon."

RV. 1, 39, 8: *yuṣmêṣito maruto mārtyeṣita*
ā yó no ābhva īṣate |
ví tām yuyota śávasā vy ójasā
ví yuṣmākābhīr ūtibhīh ||

"The evil spirit, O Maruts, that has been sent by you or by mortals, and is rushing on us—remove it from us by strength, by might, through your protections." *ūti*, protection, denotes here really the deeds of prowess done by the Maruts in order to protect; compare 1, 129, 5: *nī śū namātimatim kāyasya cit tējīṣṭhābhīr arāñibhīr nōtibhīr ugrābhīr ugrotibhīh* "Suppress well the pride of any one with thy fierce protections, *i.e.*, deeds of

prowess, that are most brilliant like firesticks, O thou fierce one." According to Sayana, Max Müller (SBE. 32, 97) and Ludwig, the second distich means, 'deprive him of power, of strength, and of your favours.' This interpretation however implies that the Maruts sometimes help the evil spirits sent by mortals, and hence does not seem to be satisfactory.

1, 169, 3: *āmyāk sâ ta indra ṛṣṭīr asmé*
sānemy ābhvaṃ marūto junanti |
agnīḥ cid dhī śmātasē śusukvān
āpo nā dvīpān dādhati prāyāmsi ||

"That spear of thine, O Indra, has been attached (to thy body) on our behalf; the Maruts drive away totally the evil being. He has burnt up (the evil spirits) as Agni does brushwood; they bear food as the Waters, the island." This stanza is obscure, and in pādas c and d there is nothing to indicate who it is that is said to be *śusukvān* and to carry food. According to Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*, p. 222), who refers to the occurrence of the phrase *dādhati prāyāmsi* in 3, 30, 1 and 10, 91, 9 (10, 91, 1 is a misprint), the two pādas refer to the men who prepare the sacrifice; *śusukvān* stands really for *śusukvāmsah* and the meaning of the two pādas is, "denn wie Feuer im Gestrüpp glühend bereiten sie (die Priester) ein Gastmahl wie die Gewässer eine Insel." Regarding pāda a, he observes that the translation 'dein Speer hat sich gegen uns gerichtet' does not fit well in the context and that, moreover, nowhere in the RV is a *ṛṣṭī* spoken of in connection with Indra. He is therefore inclined to connect this word *ṛṣṭī* with *vrṣṭī* in 1, 52, 5; 14 (cf. *vrṣabhā* and *ṛṣabhā*) and *ṛṣvā*, and translates pāda a as 'An uns hat sich deine Hoheit (?), O Indra, angeschlossen.' Pāda b he translates as 'Die Marut setzen ihre gewaltige Erscheinung vollständig in Bewegung.'

All this seems to me to be hardly satisfactory. I think that pādas c and d refer, like a and b, to Indra and

the Maruts respectively. Regarding c, compare 6, 18, 10: *agnir ná śūṣkaṁ vānam indra hetī rākṣo nī dhakṣi* "Burn the evil spirits with thy weapon, O Indra, as Agni does dry forests." I take *cit* here as an *upamā-vācaka*; compare *Nirukta*, 1, 4, 13; *Nighaṇṭu*, 3, 13; and Geldner's translation, cited above, of this stanza.

Regarding *ṛṣṭī*, it is true that, as observed by Geldner, this word is nowhere else in the RV used to denote the weapon of Indra. But the root *ṛj* (*ṛñj*) from which it is derived means 'to let loose, to throw' so that *ṛṣṭī* denotes primarily that which is thrown. It is thus a synonym of *hetī* (from *hi*, 'to throw, to impel') 'missile, weapon' which is used in connection with Indra in 6, 18, 10 cited above and in other verses. There seems to be no doubt therefore that it denotes the Vajra or other weapon of Indra in the above verse and that pādas a and c together are a paraphrase of 6, 18, 10 cited above.

The comparison in pāda d is obscure. The meaning of the pāda seems to be, 'they, the Maruts, bear food as the Waters bear islands on their bosom.' Compare in this connection 1, 88, 1: *ā vārṣiṣṭhayā na iṣā vāyo ná paptā sumāyāḥ*; 1, 166, 1: *nītyaṁ ná sūnūm mādhu bībhṛata ūpa kṛṇānti kṛṇāḥ*; 5, 55, 1: *marúto bhrājad-ṛṣṭayo bṛhād vāyo dadhire rukmā-vakṣasaḥ*; and 7, 58, 3: *bṛhād vāyo maghāvadbhṛyo dadhāta*, in which the Maruts are represented as bringing food to their worshippers.

1, 185, 2: *bhūrim dvē ācarantī cārantām
padvāntām gārbham apādi dadhāte |
nītyaṁ ná sūnūm pītṛōr upāsthe
dyāvā rākṣataṁ pṛthivī no ābhvāt ||*

This verse has already been translated on p. 6 above. Pāda d is found as the refrain of the six following verses of this hymn.

4, 49, 5: *prā yē vāsubhya ivad ā nāmo dūr
yē mitrē vāruṇe sūktā-vācaḥ |
āvaitv ābhvaṁ kṛṇutā vārīyo
divās-pṛthivyōr āvasā madema ||*

"Who offered such adoration to the bright ones, who speak hymns of praise to Mitra and Varuṇa—(from us) let the evil being depart; make (for us) broad space. May we be glad through the favour of Heaven and Earth." The relative pronoun *yé* in pādas a and b has for antecedent *asmāt* (understood) in pāda c. The expression, 'let the evil being depart, make for us broad space' means, 'drive off the evil beings and make the space around us clear of such beings; make us secure.' The phrase *kṛṇtā vāriyaḥ* has the same sense as *varivah kṛṇota* (see Grassmann, s.v. *varivah*).

1, 24, 6: *nahī te kṣatrām nā sāho nā manyūm
vāyaś canāmī patāyanta āpūḥ |
nēmā āpo animiṣām cāvantīr
nā yé vātasya praminūnty ābhvam ||*

"Thy might, thy strength, thy wrath,—even these birds that fly did not attain (i.e., did not measure its extent); nor (did) these waters that move unceasingly, nor they that contemn (i.e., surpass) the might (i.e., the speed) of Vāta." As explained by Sāyaṇa, *ābhvam*, might, is here equivalent to *vega*; for it is in *vega* that the might of Vāta is chiefly manifested. The sense of the fourth pāda is, 'Not even they that are swifter than the wind, and still less the wind itself, can go beyond reach of thy strength, of thy might, of thy anger.'

1, 168, 9: *āsūta pṛṣnir mahatē rāṇāya
tveṣām ayāsām marūtām ānikam |
tē sapśārāso 'janayantābhvam
ād it svadhām iṣirām pūry apaśyan ||*

"Pṛṣnī brought forth for the great fight the terrible troop of the impetuous Maruts. They, alike in form, produced (i.e. made manifest) their might and then saw around them the invigorating food." The sense of the second distich is obscure. *sapśārāsaḥ*=alike in form; see *Ved. St.*, 3, 197, and *svadhā*=*sudhā*, the food of the gods; see pp. 41 f. above.

2, 4, 5: ā yān me ābhvaṁ vanādaḥ pānau-
toṣṭigbhyo nāmimīta vārṇam |
sā citrēṇa cikite rāmsu bhāsā
jujurvān yō mūhur ā yuvā bhūt ||

The import of the first two pādas of this stanza is not clear. *vanādaḥ* is a hapax legomenon and is regarded by Oldenberg (SBE. 42, 205; *RV. Noten*, I, 192) as a compound of *van* 'the forest' and of *ad* 'to eat.' The stanza means therefore according to Oldenberg, "When they praised to me the monstrous might of the eater of the forests, he produced his (shining) colour as (he has done) for the Uśijs. With shining splendour he has shone joyously, he who having grown old has suddenly become young (again)." Similarly Geldner too translates the distich as "Was sie mir als das Grossartige des Holzfressers rühmen: Er veränderte seine Farbe wie für die Uśij" in his *RV. Uebersetzung*. In *Ved. St.*, 3, 120, on the other hand, he regarded the word *vanād* as being formed, (like *bhasād*, and *śarād*) from the root *van* with the suffix *ad* and denoting 'wish, prayer'; and he translated the distich as, "Als meine Gebete seine Schreckensgestalt abfeilschten, da veränderte er seine Farbe wie für die Uśij." I am inclined to agree with Geldner's former opinion and look upon *vanād* as being derived from the root *van* 'to wish, to long for' with the suffix *ad*. *vanādaḥ* therefore means 'longing, eager,' and denotes, I conceive, the 'eager,' i.e., swift-moving flames of Agni; compare 6, 66, 10: *trṣu-cyāvaso juhvō nāgnēḥ* 'greedily, i.e., swiftly, moving like the tongues (i.e., flames) of Agni' and the other verses referred to on p. 138 above. I therefore translate the stanza as: "He produced (i.e., put on) splendour as if for the Uśijs when the eager (flames) proclaimed his might to me; he shone with brilliant joyous light, he who having grown old, became again and again young."

Compare in connection with the first pāda, 6, 12, 5: *ādha smāsyā panayanti bhāso vṛthā yāt tākṣad anuyāti*

prthvīm, 'then his splendours (i.e., flames) proclaim his greatness as he, cutting, goes along the earth.' The expressions *āpananta* and *panayanta* in the above verses refer to the sound made by Agni's flames which are here represented as bards attending on kings and heralding their approach, that is, as the *vaudinah*, *māgadlāh* or *sūtāh* that are mentioned in later literature as accompanying kings and sounding their praises; compare 9, 10, 3: *rājāno nā prāsastibhīḥ sōmāso gōbhīr ayyate*; 9, 65, 6: *rājā medhābhīr iyate*. In 1, 87, 3: *svayām mahitvām panayanta dhūtayaḥ*, on the other hand, it is said of the Maruts that they themselves proclaimed their greatness, that is, that they were their own bards.

amimīta in pāda b is derived, as pointed out by Geldner in *Ved. St.*, 3, 119, from the root *mī*, *mī* and not from *mā*. The expression *vārṇam amimīta* is synonymous with the expression *vārpah kārīkrat* that we have met with above in 1, 140, 5 and means 'he produced, i.e., put on, splendour or brilliance.' Compare 2, 13, 3: *rūpā minān tādapā ēka iyate* and 5, 42, 13: *rūpā mināno ākr̥nod idām naḥ*. With regard to *mūhuḥ*, see Pischel, *Ved. St.*, 3, 186 ff.

6, 4, 3: *dyāvo nā yāsyā panāyanty ābhvam*
bhāsāṃsi vaste sūryo nā sukrāḥ |
vā yā inōty ajārah pāvako
'śnasya cic chiśnathat pūrvyāni ||

"Whose might they praise like that of Dyaus, he (sc. Agni), brilliant like the sun, clothes himself in splendour; he who, bright and unaging, drives away (enemies) and destroyed the old (fortresses) of Aśna even." The sense of the first pāda is not quite clear, and the explanations given of it by Pischel (*Ved. St.*, 1, 201) and Geldner (*ibid.*, 3, 121) are not very satisfactory. If *dyāvah* is to be taken as nominative plural (as it has to be in the other RV passages where it occurs) the meaning would be 'whose greatness the heavens (i.e., the sky)

praise as it were.' This is the course followed by Ludwig who has translated the pāda as 'des gewalt die himmel gleichsam bewundern,' which is sufficiently close to the translation given by me above; compare 1, 15, 8: *tāva dyaur indra paṁsyaṁ pṛthivī vardhati śrāvah*, 'The sky, O Indra, magnifies thy valour and the earth thy renown.' I believe however that the passage yields better sense if the word *dyāvah* is taken as genitive singular and the pāda interpreted as 'of whom they praise the greatness as of Dyaus.' The greatness of Dyaus is referred to in 4, 21, 1: *dyaur nā kṣatrām abhībhūti pūṣyāt* 'May he (sc. Indra) flourish, like Dyaus, in might surpassing those of others'; KS. 7, 13: *dyaur mahūsi bhūmīr bhūmnā* 'Thou art Dyaus (the sky) with (in?) greatness, the earth with (in?) vastness' and in 1, 131, 1; 1, 122, 1; etc., where the epithet *asurah*, mighty, is applied to Dyaus. Compare also in this connection 1, 131, 1; 1, 63, 1 and other similar passages, which describe the might of Indra and other deities by saying that even the sky and the earth quaked with fear or drew back with fear at their approach.

This closes the list of passages in which *ābhva* occurs. It will be noted that, like the word *yakṣā*, this word too is used in the masculine as well as in the neuter gender; and there can be no doubt that, like its synonym *yakṣah* (see p. 194), the word *ābhvah* too denotes 'being (concrete); a class of superhuman beings; evil being', while *ābhva* neuter has, like *yakṣā* neuter, these as well as the other meanings mentioned on p. 199 above.

§ 11

admasād

This word, about whose explanation there has been much dispute, is enumerated in 4, 1, amongst difficult words, by the *Nighaṇṭu*; and Yāska, in his commentary

on this section, has explained the word as *admasad* *admānnaṁ bhavaty admasādinīti vā 'nnasāninīti vā*, that is, as Durga explains, *grhādlikāre niyuktā anna-sādlikā strī*. This explanation is adopted, in his commentary on RV. 1, 124, 4, by Sāyaṇa who explains the word as *adyata ity adma annam | tasya pākāya grhe śīdatīti admasat pācikā yoṣit*, but who gives in addition another explanation of the word—*yad vā admeti grha-nāma | varūtham admeti tan-nāmasu pāthāt | tatra śīdatīti admasaḥ jananī*. In the other verses, however, where this word occurs (6, 30, 3; 7, 83, 7; 8, 44, 29) he gives the derivation *admanī śīdatīti admasad* and takes the word as a masculine, interpreting *adma* as *haviḥ* in 7, 83, 7 and 8, 44, 29 and also in 6, 4, 4, where the nearly-allied word *admasādvā* is used. In 8, 43, 19, he interprets *adma-sūdyāya* as *annasya bhajanāya*.

Like Sāyaṇa, Roth too in the PW understands the word as equivalent to *annasad* or 'one who sits down to food'; he however interprets it as *Gast beim Mahle* and the allied word *admasadya* as *Tischgenossenschaft*, an interpretation which was accepted by Bergaigne (*Études*, p. 43) but dissented from by Haug (GGA. 1875, p. 80). Geldner, on the other hand, favoured, in *Ved. St.* 2, 179, the explanation reported by Durga as put forward by 'some' that the word signifies *mākṣikā* or fly, observing that, in 7, 83, 7, the Vasiṣṭhas style themselves flies jokingly. In his *Glossar*, however, he has modified this opinion and said that the word denotes 'fly' in 1, 124, 4 (in his *RV. Ueber.*, too, he has accordingly translated pāda c as, 'wie eine Fliege weckt sie die Schläfer') and 6, 30, 3, while in 7, 83, 7 it denotes 'der bei dem Opfermahle sitzende Priester.'

Geldner's explanation (in *Ved. St.*, 2, 179) has been criticised by Oldenberg on p. 91 of his *Vedaforschung* where this savant has declared his preference for that proposed by Roth, with the reservation however that he does not believe that it is 'vollkommen sicher.' Similarly,

Hillebrandt too (*Lieder des RV.*, p. 1, n. 3) has rejected the explanation of Geldner and adopted that of Roth in his translation of 1, 124, 4. Dr. Neisser, on the other hand (*Zum Wörterbuch des RV.*), agrees with Geldner in thinking that the word means 'auf die Speise sich setzend,' that it denotes 'fly' in 1, 124, 4 and 6, 30, 3, and that it is, in the other verses, an attribute of Agni and of the priest.

None of these explanations seems to me to be satisfactory. The word *admasád* occurs in but four passages; and I find it difficult to believe with Sāyaṇa and Geldner that, in one passage, it denotes 'fly' or 'cook' (fem.), and in another 'priest.' Similarly I find it difficult to accept Roth's explanation that it means 'guest'; for, nowhere, either in the RV or in any other Vedic or post-Vedic book, do we ever hear of a guest awakening those that are asleep. On the contrary, RV. 8, 44, 1: *saṁīdhā 'gnīm duvasyata ghytair bodhayatā-tithim | āsmin havyā juhātana* seems to suggest that, in the time of the R̥gveda, it was the host that awakened the guest in order to feed him.

Likewise, Yāska's explanation, too, of the word as 'one who sits down to or in food (*annasād*)', is without doubt wrong. The *Nighaṇṭu* mentions in 2, 7 as synonyms of *anna* the following twenty-eight words, namely, *āndhaḥ, vājah, pāyah, prāyah, prkṣāḥ, pitūḥ, vāyah, śnuam, āvah, kṣū, dhāsiḥ, irā, ilā, īsam, ūrk, rāsah, svadhā, arkāḥ, kṣādma, nēmah, sasām, nūmah, āyuh, sūnṛtā, brāhma, vārcaḥ, kilālam* and *yāsaḥ*, of which all are found in the RV with the exception of *nēmah*. But no verb meaning 'to sit' is found used in the RV in any passage in connection with the locative or dative case of any of these twenty-seven words or of their synonyms *anna* and *haviḥ* also. Nor, I believe, can an instance be met with elsewhere in Vedic or later literature where human beings or divinities are said or exhorted 'to sit in (loc.) or for (dat.) food.' The expression commonly used

in such a situation in later times is *bhoktum* or *bhojanāya upaviśati* or its equivalents, and not *anue* or *annāya upaviśati* and its equivalents (compare for instance Śaṅkara's commentary on Ch. Up. 3, 3, 5: Śaṅkaraṁ Kāpeyaṁ Kapi-gotraṁ Abhipratāriṇaṁ ca nāmataḥ Kakṣasenaśyāpatyaṁ Kakṣasenim bhojanāyopaviṣtan parivisyamānau sūpakārair brahmacārī brahmavīc chaunḍo bibhikṣe bhikṣitavān). And in the RV itself, a poet in a similar situation has said, (7, 57, 2) *ā vītāye sadāta pipriyānāḥ*. Similarly, the idea of *Tischgenossenschaft* is expressed in Sanskrit not by *admasadya* or its equivalents but by the word *sahabhojana* or its equivalents.

In this becomes evident that neither the explanation of Yāska nor those of the above-mentioned exegetists, based on it, are correct and that the meaning of the word *admasād* is still a riddle. As it happens, the four passages in which the word occurs, as well as other connected passages of the RV, furnish enough clues to enable one to solve this riddle.

It is shown by 1, 124, 4c: *admasān nā sasatō bodhāyanti* that the awakening of others is a characteristic of the *admasādah*; and it is similarly made clear by 6, 30, 3c: *nī pārvalā admasādo nā seduḥ* that sitting down is another characteristic of the *admasādah*. A comparison therefore of the upamānas in the RV passages in which sitting is the *sāmānya-dharma* with the words that are used as subjects of verbs meaning 'to awaken' in other RV passages¹ will show us what persons or things are

¹ Excluding 1, 124, 4, there are but three passages in the RV, namely, 1, 134, 3: (*vāyo*) *prā bodhayā pūramāhim jārā ā sasatīm iva*; 7, 67, 1: (*stōmah*) *yō vām dātō nā dhiṣṇyāv ājigah*; 7, 73, 3: *śruṣṭirēva prēṣito vām abodhi prāti stōmair jāramāno vāsisṭhah* which contain similes in which the *sāmānya-dharma* is the awakening of others. As these are too few in number, I have included in the comparison all the persons or things that are described in the RV as awakening others and not merely those mentioned in the three similes mentioned above.

described by the RV poets as both awakening others and sitting down and will thus enable us to determine the meaning of *admasād*.

The passages containing similes with 'sitting' as *sāmānya-dharma*², in addition to 6, 30, 3: *nī pārvatā admasādo nā seduḥ*, are:

- 9, 38, 4: *śyenō nā vikṣū śidati*;
 8, 21, 5: *śīdantas te vāyo yathā*;
 9, 57, 3: *śyenō nā vāmsu śidati*;
 8, 65, 9: *śvāsīty aṣṣū haṁsō nā śīdan*;
 1, 85, 7: *vāyo nā śīdant ādhi barhiṣi priye*;
 9, 61, 21: *śīdāṇe chyenō nā yōnim ā*;
 9, 92, 6: *śīdan mṛgō nā mahiṣō vāneṣu*;
 9, 96, 23: *śīdan vāneṣu śakunō nā pātva*;
 9, 62, 4: *śyenō nā yōnim āsadat*;
 9, 86, 35: *śyenō nā vāmsu kalāṣeṣu śīdasi*;
 9, 72, 5: *vēr nā druṣāc camvār ā sadad dhāriḥ*;
 10, 43, 4: *vāyo nā vṛkṣāṁ supalāśāṁ ā sadan*;
 1, 168, 3: *sōmāso . . . hr̥tsū pītāso duvāso nāsate*;
 9, 82, 1: *śyenō nā yōnim ghṛtāvāntam āsādam*;
 9, 71, 6: *śyenō nā yōnim sādānam dhīyā kṛtām
 hīraṇyāyam āsādam*;
 10, 115, 3: *tām vo vīm nā druṣādām*;
 6, 3, 5: *vēr nā druṣādvā raghupātmajanhāḥ*;
 1, 104, 1: *tām ā nī śīda svānō nārva*;
 9, 7, 5: *vāṣo rājeva śidati*;
 9, 64, 29: *śīdanto vanūṣo yathā*;
 9, 92, 2: *śīdan hōteva sādane camūṣu*;
 7, 30, 3: *ny āgnīḥ śīdad āsuro nā hōtā*;
 4, 35, 8: *śyenā ivēd ādhi divi nīśedā*;
 10, 43, 2: *rājeva dasma nī śadūdhi barhiṣi*; and
 7, 32, 2: *mādhau nā mākṣa āsate*;

and the *upamānas* used in such similes are accordingly *śyenāḥ*, *vāyah*, *sōmah*, *mākṣah*, *ārvā*, *mṛgō mahiṣāḥ*,

² In reality, the *sāmānya-dharma* in the first eighteen of the passages cited here is not 'sitting,' but swift movement; see p. 96 above and also n. 10 there.

śakunāḥ, *haṁśāḥ*, *rājā*, *hótā* and also *admasād*. The words used as subjects of the verb *jāgr* 'to awaken' are *uśāḥ*, *sómah*, *agnih* and *dūtāḥ*, and of the verb *budh* (caus.) 'to awaken' are *śvā*, *jārāḥ*, *jāriṇī*?, *agnih*, *indraḥ*, *uśāḥ*, *śruṣṭivā*, *jaritā*, *yajña-hotā*,³ and also *admasād*.

It will be seen from the above that, excluding the *admasād*, the only person or thing to which the RV poets attribute the characteristic of 'sitting' and which they at the same time describe as awakening others, is the priest who is called *hotṛ* in 7, 30, 3 and 9, 92, 2 cited above, and *jaritṛ* and *yajña-hotṛ* in 10, 42, 2: *prā bodhaya jaritar jārām indram* and 8, 9, 17: *prā bodhayoṣo aśvinā prā devī sūṇṇte mahi | prā yajñahotar ānuśāk prā mādāya śrávo bṛhāt*. And it follows hence that the word *admasād* denotes in all probability the *hotṛ* or the priest who chants the prayers addressed to the gods.⁴

This conclusion is confirmed by 7, 83, 7: *satyā nṛṇām admasādām ūpastutiḥ* from which we learn that *admasadana* is an attribute of human beings and 8, 43, 19: *agnīm dhūhlīr mantṛiṇo mēdhirāso vipaścītaḥ | admasā-dyāya hinvire* in which it is said that the priests urged Agni to become, or assume the function of, an *admasād*. It becomes evident from these passages that *admasadana* is in all probability equivalent to *hotṛtva*. For, as

³ The *jaritṛ* and *yajña-hotṛ* are explicitly mentioned as subjects of the verb *bodhay* in 10, 42, 2 and 8, 9, 17. In addition, there is no doubt that the verses 5, 14, 1; 1, 22, 1 and 8, 44, 1 (which according to Sāyana are addressed to the *stotṛ*, *adhvaryu* and *ṛtvijah* respectively) are addressed to the priest and that we have to understand *jaritṛ* or similar word as the subject. In 7, 44, 2 too, the subject *ayām* refers without doubt to the priests or singers.

⁴ I may perhaps observe here that the position is in no way altered if, instead of the *upamānas* in the above-cited similes, we include in our purview all the words that are found used in the RV passages as subjects of verbs meaning 'to sit'. A great majority of such words (e.g., *agnih*, *indraḥ*, *marūtāḥ*, etc.) refer to divinities or to quasi-divinities (*venāḥ*, *gnāḥ*, *apsarśasah*, *pitrah*, *spāśah*). Since it is clear from 7, 83, 7: *satyā nṛṇām admasādām*

observed by Prof. Macdonell (*Ved. Myth.*, p. 96): "In consequence of his main function in the Veda of officiating at the sacrifice, Agni comes to be celebrated as the divine counterpart of the earthly priesthood. He is therefore often called generically the 'priest' (*ṛtvij*, *vipra*) or specifically the 'domestic priest' (*purohita*), and constantly, more frequently in fact than by any other name, the 'offerer' (*hotṛ*), or chief priest, who is poet and spokesman in one. He is a Hotṛ appointed by men (8, 49, 1; 10, 7, 5) and by gods (6, 16, 1). He is the most adorable, the most eminent of Hotṛs (10, 2, 1; 91, 8)."

The word *ūpastuti* too in 7, 83, 7c cited above can, by its very nature be associated only with priests and is in fact so associated with them in the RV, as likewise are its synonyms *gīr*, *stuti*, *stoma*, etc. And this fact too indicates that the expression *admasādo nāraḥ* in the above pāda signifies priests that praise, that it is a synonym of *hōtāraḥ* or *jaritāraḥ*.

The above-mentioned considerations thus place it beyond doubt that *admasād* means *hōtṛ* or the priest who chants hymns of praise. And that being so, the question arises in our mind, "What is the literal meaning of the word *admasād*, and why does it denote the *hōtṛ*?" The clue to the answer of this question is contained in Sāyaṇa's

ūpastutiḥ that *admasād* denotes human beings, we have to pass over all such words as also over all the words that denote inanimate things (*pārvatāḥ*, *mayūkḥāḥ*, *gāvyūtāḥ*, *cakrām*, *rājaḥ*) or birds, insects and beasts (*syenāḥ*, *vāyāḥ*, *hamsāḥ*, *lakṣmāḥ*, *sakāniḥ*, *gāvaḥ*, *mṛgā*, *mahiṣāḥ*, *makṣāḥ*) and also *admasād* whose meaning we are investigating, and include in our comparison such words only as refer to human beings. These are—*narāḥ*, *manuṣyāḥ*, *kanyā*, *dāsyuḥ*, *īṣayāḥ*, *rājā*, *virāḥ*; and *hōtā*, *pōtā*, *brahmā*, *stotāraḥ*, *sūryāḥ*, *brahmakṛtāḥ*, *sākhāyāḥ*. The last-mentioned four or five words are synonyms of *hōtṛ*.

hōtṛ, referring to the priest, is found as subject in about ten of the passages in question, and referring to or in apposition with Agni, in about fifteen passages.

words: *yad vā admeti gr̥ha-nāma | varūtham admeti tan-nāmasu pāthāt | tatva sīdatīty admasaj janani* cited on p. 212 above. The reference here is presumably to *Nighaṇṭu* 3, 4, which enumerates twenty-two synonyms of *gr̥ha*; but, curiously enough, the word *varūtha* only is found amongst these twenty-two names and not *adman* which is mentioned by Sāyaṇa.⁵ The dictionaries of Monier-Williams and Apte, however, mention in connection with this word the meaning of house also; and there is thus no doubt that *adman* is a synonym of *gr̥ha*.

admasād therefore means literally 'one who sits in the house', and through *rūḍhi*, it denotes the *hotṛ* who sits, and sings, in his 'abode'. This abode or seat is called by the name of *sādma* (this is one of the twenty-two *gr̥ha-nāmāni* enumerated in *Nighaṇṭu* 3, 4) in 1, 73, 1: (*agniḥ*) *hóteva sādma vidható vī tārīt*; 1, 73, 3: *nákṣad dhótā pári sādma mitā yān*; 7, 18, 22: *hóteva sādma páry emi rébhau*; 9, 92, 6: *pári sādmeva pašumānti hótā*; 9, 97, 1: *páry eti rébhau mitéva sādma pašumānti hótā*; and by the name of *sādana* in 9, 92, 2: *sīdan hóteva sādane camūsu*. It is also called *hotṛśadana* in 2, 9, 1: *nī hótā hotṛśadane vidānas tveṣó dīdivān asadat sudákṣah*.

The *hotṛ* and his 'abode'⁶ were, as is natural, very familiar to the RV poets; and he was, in their minds, so

⁵ All the editions of the *Nighaṇṭu* mention as the twenty-second word of this section the word *ajma*, of the use of which in the sense of *gr̥ha* not one instance has so far been met with. It is not therefore improbable that the original text of the *Nighaṇṭu* read *adma* and not *ajma* in 3, 4. It is in any case very likely that the text which was known to Sāyaṇa included the word *adma* in 3, 4 amongst *gr̥ha-nāmāni*.

For the rest, it is my belief that *adman* is mentioned in some of the Sanskrit lexicons as having the meaning *gr̥ha*, though I have not, so far, come across any such passage in the lexicons that I have examined.

⁶ This abode seems to be identical with the *hotṛśadana* or *hotṛ-dhīnya* (*hotṛ-khara*) of the later ritual books or with the *sadas*

closely associated with his abode that his going to it, singing, and his sitting in it, became, as is evidenced by the above-cited passages, common figures of comparison. It is no wonder therefore that, in the circumstances, the word *admasād* became an appellative of the *hotṛ* 'who sits in the abode.'

In any case, there is no doubt that *admasād* signifies 'hotṛ' and I shall now show that this meaning fits well into the context in all the passages where this word and the allied words *admasadya* and *admasadvan* occur.

1, 124, 4: *ūpo adarṣi śundhyūvo nā vākṣo
nodhā ivāvīr akṛta priyāni |
admasān nā sasatō bodhāyanti
śaśvattamāgāt pūnar eyūṣiṇām ||*

This has already been translated above; see p. 32. Regarding the *hotṛ*'s awakening of those that are asleep, compare 8, 9, 17 and 10, 42, 2 cited above, in which the *hotṛ* is exhorted to awaken the deities. Compare also 10, 29, 1: *śucir vām stōmo bhuraṇāv aṇigah*; 7, 67, 1: *yō* (sc. *stomah*) *vām dūtō nā dhiṣṇyāv aṇigah*; 7, 73, 3: *śruṣṭivēva prēṣito vām abodhi prāti stōmair jāramāṇo vāsiṣṭhah* in which the hymns of praise sung by the priests are said to have awakened the Aśvins. And regarding the Dawn's awakening of sleepers, compare 1, 113, 9: *ūṣo . . . yān mānuṣān yakṣyāmāyān aṇigah*; 6, 65, 1: *kṣitīr ucchānti mānuṣīr aṇigah* and the passages referred to by Grassmann s.v. *budh* (*bodhayanti*).

6, 30, 3: *adyā cin nū cit tād ūpo nadīnām
yād ābhyo ārado gātūm indra |
nī pārvatā admasādo nā sedus
tvāyā dṛṣṭhāni sukrato rājāmsi ||*

"Even now and in the time to come, O Indra, (endures) the work (that thou didst in respect) of the of which the *hotṛ-dhiṣṇya* formed part. See *Śrauta-padārtha-nirvacana* (2nd ed.), p. 27 (no. 219), p. 247 (no. 181), and p. 243 (no. 175); Caland-Henry, *L'Agnistoma*, I, §§ 89—99, and Pl. IV

rivers when thou didst cut out a path for them. The mountains sat down, like *hotṛs* (at thy behest). The worlds, O wise one, have been made firm by thee". *nū cit*=in the time to come; see Geldner, *Glossar* (s.v.). Yāska (*Nirukta*, 4, 17), and following him, Sāyaṇa, however interpret it as *purā*. The words 'at thy behest' have to be understood here; compare Sāyaṇa: *tvad-ājñayā parvatā girayo niṣeduh*. The *tertium comparationis* in pāda c is, according to Sāyaṇa, and Geldner (*Ved., St.*, 2, 179), *naiścālyena upaveśanam*. But the simile *śīdan hōteva* occurs in 9, 92, 2: *ācchā nṛcākṣā asarat pavitre nāma dādāhānah kavir asya yōnau | śīdan hōteva sūdane camūṣūpam agmann ṛṣayah sapitā viprah* which says that the Soma juice settled in the bowls like the *hotṛ* in his abode. Now, the Soma juice setting in bowls, vats or jars is, in 9, 38, 4; 9, 57, 3 and other passages cited on p. 215 above, compared with the falcon sitting (*i.e.*, going to sit) in his nest; and the *tertium comparationis* in these verses is, as I have already pointed out, not 'sitting' but 'swift movement.' This is the case in 9, 92, 2 and also in 9, 92, 6: *pāri sādmeva paśumānti hōtā rājā nā satyāḥ sāmītir iyanāḥ | sōmah punanāḥ kalāsān ayāsīt śīdan mrgō nā mahiṣō vāneṣu* and 9, 97, 1: *sutāḥ pavitraṁ pāry eti rēbhau mitēva sādma paśumānti hōtā*. Compare also 1, 180, 9: *prā syāndrā yātho mānuṣo nā hōtā* "O ye swift ones (*sc.* Aśvins), you go (as swiftly) as the human *hotṛ*, *i.e.*, as the *hotṛ* priest," and 1, 73, 1: *hōteva sādma vidhatō vī tārit* " (Agni) went to the worshippers (as swiftly) as the *hotṛ* does to his abode " where too the *sāmānya-dharma* is swift-going.

The simile *admasādo nā seduh* in pāda c of the above verse is but a paraphrase of the simile *śīdan hōteva*; and hence the *tertium comparationis* in this pāda too is swift movement. The meaning of the pāda is, "At thy behest, the mountains sat down (*i.e.*, began to sit down) as quickly as *hotṛs*." Compare 2, 11, 8: *nī pārvoataḥ sādya*

āprayucchan "The mountain, taking heed, sat (at thy behest); that is, the mountain, heeded thy behest and sat"; and 2, 11, 7: *āraṁsta pārvataś cit sariṣyān*, "Even the mountain that was moving stopped (and settled on the earth at thy behest)." The reference here is to the well-known story of Indra cutting off the wings of the flying mountains and making them settle permanently on the earth; see Pischel, *Ved. St.*, 1, 174.

7, 83, 7: *dāsa rājānaḥ sūmitā āyajyavaḥ
sudāsam indrāvaruṇā nā yuyudhuḥ |
satyā uṣṇām admasūdām ūpastutir
devā eṣām abhavan devāhūtiṣu ||*

"The ten impious kings, O Indra and Varuṇa, did not fight (*i.e.*, did not gain a victory over) Sudās in battle. The praising of the hotṛ priests bore fruit; the gods stood by them when they were invoked." The battle of Sudās with the ten kings is described more fully in the hymn VII, 18; see Sāyaṇa's commentary thereon and Geldner's *Kommentar*.

8, 44, 29: *dhīro hy āsy admasūd
vipro nā jāgrvāḥ sūdā |
agne dīdāyasi dyāvi ||*

"Thou, O Agni, art a wise hotṛ, watchful always like a priest. Thou shinest in the heavens." The expression *dhīraḥ admasūd* is equivalent to *hótā kavākratuḥ* (1, 1, 5), *hótā vidūṣṭaraḥ* (1, 105, 13-14), *vipro hótā* (1, 14, 9) and other similar expressions. The epithet *jāgrvā* is frequently applied to Agni; see Grassmann, s.v., and the *viprāḥ* or priests are described as *jāgrvāmsaḥ* in 1, 22, 21 and 3, 10, 9.

It is possible to construe the words *vipro nā* with the preceding word *admasūd*; and this is what Geldner has in fact done in *Ved. St.*, 2, 180. The meaning of the first two pādas would then be, "Thou, O Agni, art wise, a chanter sitting in the abode like a priest, and always watchful." The word *admasūd* has both the *yangika* and

rūdhī meanings here and denotes the 'hotṛ who sits in the abode.' Regarding the simile, compare 10, 78, 1 : *viprāso nā mānmabliḥ svādhyāḥ* "like priests with hymns, singing songs"; compare also 7, 30, 3 : *ny āgnīḥ sīdad āsuro nā hōtā huvānō ātra subhāgāya devān*⁷ "The mighty Agni sat (in the abode) like the *hotṛ*, calling the gods here for good fortune."

6, 4, 4 : *vadmā hī sūno āsy admasādvā
cakre agnīr januśājmānam |
sā tvām na ūrjasana ūrjam dhā
rājeva jē avṛkē kṣeṣy antāḥ ||*

"Thou, O son (of strength), art (our) speaker, (our) *hotṛ*. Agni, from his birth (i.e., as soon as he was born), made his way to food. Bestow on us vigour, O thou vigour-bestower; thou conquerest like a king and dwellest in a secure place." *sūno* in pāda a stands without doubt for *sūno sahasaḥ*; compare 6, 13, 6 : *vadmā sūno sahaso no vīhāyāḥ* and Oldenberg, ZDMG, 55, 291. Pāda b is somewhat obscure; Roth (ZDMG, 48, 679), regards *januśā* in *januśājmānam* as standing for *januśām*, while Grassmann is inclined to substitute *ājman* for *ājma*. Ludwig, without proposing any alteration translates pāda b as "Von jeher hat Agni sich seine ban und seine speise gemacht." This does not seem to be very satisfactory; and I therefore construe *ānnam* as depending on *ājma* (*annam prati ajma*) and translate it as above. Compare 4, 7, 10 : *sadyō jātāsya dādṛśānam ōjo yād asya vāto anuvāti soḥiḥ | vṛṇākti ligmām atasēṣu jīhvām sthīrā cid*

⁷ The description of the *hotṛ* as the 'sitter in the abode,' the allusion in the verses cited above (on p. 220) to him and his *sadman*, to his going to the *sadman* singing, and to his awakening of sleeping men and deities with his chants, as also the juxtaposition of the words *hotṛ* and *huvāno* in this verse, all indicate that his function, in the time of the RV as in that of the Śrauta-sūtras, was to chant hymns of prayer. Hence Yaska (comp. *Nirukta*, 7, 15 : *hotāyaṃ hrātāram*) seems to be right in deriving the word from *hu* 'to call,' and Aurnavābha wrong in deriving it from *hu* 'to offer oblations.'

ānā dayate vi jāmbhaiḥ "His might is seen as soon as he is born. When the wind blows behind his flame, he winds his sharp tongue round the brushwood. He cuts with his jaws even the firm food."

8, 43, 19; *agnīm dhibhīr manuṣiṇo*
mēdhirāso vipaścitah |
admasādyāya hinvire ||

"The wise, intelligent and inspired priests urged Agni with hymns (*i.e.*, prayers) to become hotṛ." Compare 3, 29, 8; *śida hotaḥ svā u loké cikitvān*; 1, 76, 2; *ēhy agna ihā hōtā nī śida*; and 2, 36, 4; *ūsan hotar nī śadā yōniṣu triṣū* in which Agni is exhorted to assume the office of hotṛ; compare also 6, 4, 1; 6, 11, 1; 6, 11, 4; 6, 15, 16; 3, 4, 3; 3, 62, 12; 7, 39, 1, etc., in which verses too Agni is prayed to to become hotṛ.

§ 12

nirukā

This word occurs in eight passages of the RV and in no independent passage elsewhere. It is not mentioned in the *Nighaṇṭu*, and since, moreover, it does not occur in any of the passages cited in the *Nirukta*, Yaska and Durga have had no occasion of explaining it. Sāyaṇa derives the word from *ni+ric* 'to empty' or *nir+i* 'to go' (comm. on 8, 96, 3: *nī-pūrvād ricyater vā nīh-pūrvād eter veti samdehād auavagrahaḥ*) and explains it differently as *nairdhanya*, *durgati* or *dāridrya* (1, 51, 14; 7, 18, 23; 7, 90, 3), *dāna* (7, 20, 8), *dhana* (8, 24, 4) and *nirgamana* (8, 24, 3; 8, 33, 2; 8, 96, 3) in his commentary on the RV and as *reko riktatvam | tadrahitam karma nirekan* *tādṛṣe sarvasādhanasampūrṇe karmaṇi* in his commentary on TB. 2, 8, 1, 1 (=RV. 7, 90, 3). Uvāṇa and Mahīdhara, on the other hand, in their commentaries on the same verse (VS. 27, 24=RV. 7, 90, 3) interpret the

word as *janair ākirṇa-pradeśe* and *nirgataḥ rekah recanām rekah śūnyatā yasmāt tādṛṣe bahu-janākīrṇa-sthāne* respectively.

Roth, too, in the PW, derives the word from *ni+ric* and explains *nirekam* (acc.) as 'etwa bleibender Besitz; Eigenthum' and *nireke* (loc.) as '(eigenthümlich) bleibend; auf die Dauer; für immer.' This interpretation was considered unsatisfactory by Geldner (*Ved. St.*, 1, 155) who therefore proposed (ibid., p. 157) the meanings '1. Subst. bevorzugter-, Ehren-platz, Vorrang, Vortritt 7, 20, 8; 1, 51, 14; 8, 33, 2; 7, 18, 23; 8, 24, 3; 8, 96, 3; (2) Adj. eine bevorzugte Stellung einnehmend, bevorzugt 8, 24, 4; 7, 90, 3 dunkel.' In his *Glossar* however he has, following Roth, interpreted *nireka* as "alleiniger Besitz 8, 24, 4; Ausschiesslichkeit; loc. in alleinigem Besitz 1, 51, 14; 7, 18, 23; 7, 90, 3; 8, 96, 3; ausschliesslich, ganz allein 7, 20, 8; 8, 24, 3; 8, 33, 2", Similarly Oldenberg too writes (*RV. Noten.* I, 49): "Wie *prarekā* Hinausreichen, Ueberschiessen ist *nirekā* m. E. wörtlich etwa Hineinreichen d. h. das Stehen in engsten Zusammenhang mit Jemand, Zugehören zum intimsten Besitz Jemandes; vgl. *nitya*".

The above interpretations are all based on the supposed derivation of the word from the root *ric* with *ni*, and are mere guesses. None of them fits into the context in, for instance, 1, 51, 14: *indro aśrāyi sudhyò nirekē* and 7, 90, 3: *ādha vāyūm niyūtaḥ saścata svā utā śvetām vāsudhitīm nirekē*; and a comparison of the passages in which this word occurs with other connected passages shows that the real meaning of the word is something quite different from those mentioned above.

In 8, 24, 4: *ā nirekām utā priyām indra darṣi jānānām*, we find *nirekā* used as the object of *ādarṣi* while in the preceding verse (8, 24, 3): *sā na stāvāna ā bhara rayīm citrā-śravastamam | nirekē cid yō harivo vāsur dadīh*, it is said of Indra that he gives wealth in *nireka*.

A comparison therefore of the words that are used in RV passages as objects of the root *dr* or *dar* 'to burst open' with the words used in the locative case in connection with the word *dadī* in the passages in which that word occurs¹ will show what is common to both groups of words and will thus guide one to the meaning of *nirēkā*.

Now, the words used as objects of the verb *dr* or *dar* are, besides *nirēkā*, the following, namely, *ūtka*, *ādri*, *āp*, *ūpikita*, *amitra*, *āśvya*, *iṣ*, *ūtsa*, (*dīvāh*) *kāvandha*, *kūṣa*, *gō*, *gotrā*, *gōdhāyas*, *dāsyu*, *dānu*, *dylhā*, *pūr*, *bhūvana*, *rādhaḥ*, *valā*, *vāja*, *vrajā*, *śatā*, *śātru*, *sāmbara*, *sahāsra*, *sugrāthita* and *sūkarā*.

The word *dadī* is used in twelve verses in nine of which it is not connected with any word in the locative case. In the remaining verses, it is connected with the locative *nirēka* in 8, 24, 3 as we have seen above; and in 1, 81, 7: *māde-made hi no dadīr yūthā gāvām rjukrātuh | sām grbhāya purū satōbhayahastyā vāsu śiśihī rāyā ā bhara* and 8, 46, 15: *dadī rēkhas tanvè dadīr vāsu dadīr vājeṣu puruhūta vājinam | nūnām ātha*, it is connected with the locatives *māde-made* and *vājeṣu* respectively.

It will be seen that, beside *nirēkā* whose meaning we are now endeavouring to determine, the word *vāja* is the only one that is common to both groups; and this indicates that *nirēkā* is probably equivalent to *vāja*.

¹ As a matter of fact, it is necessary that one should, if one desires one's survey to be comprehensive, include in the comparison (1) not only the words used as objects of the verb *dr* or *dar* 'to burst open,' but also those used as objects of *trh*, *bhid* and similar verbs, and (2) not only the words used in the locative case in connection with the word *dadī*, but also those used in that case in connection with the verbs *dā*, *rā*, etc., meaning 'to give.' It will however become manifest from the sequel that such a comprehensive comparison is unnecessary and that the limited comparison indicated above is enough to lead one to the correct meaning.

The comparison of 7, 20, 8: *yās ta indra priyó jāno dādāsad āsan nirekē adriṇaḥ sākḥā te* with its parallel passages and of 7, 90, 3: *ādha vāyūm niyūtaḥ saścata svā utā śvetām vāsudhitīm nirekē* with its parallel passages points likewise to such equivalence and hence makes it certain that *nirekā*=*vāja*. In 7, 20, 8, Indra is exhorted to regard, in *nirekā*, the offerer (of oblations) as his friend, that is, to befriend the offerer (of oblations) in *nirekā*. The only other verses in the RV in which a similar prayer or exhortation is addressed to Indra, and words in the locative case are used in connection with *sākḥi*, are 8, 13, 3: *tām ahve vājasātaya indram bhārāya suṣmīṇam | bhāvā naḥ sumnē āntamaḥ sākḥā vrdhē*; 6, 33, 4: *sā tvām na indrākavābhir ūti sākḥā viśvāyur avitā vrdhē bhūh | svārṣātā yād dhvāyāmasi tvā yūdhyanto nemādhitā pṛtsū śūra*; and 1, 129, 4: *asmākaṁ va indram uṣmasiṣṭāye sākḥāyam viśvāyūm prāsāhaṁ yujām vājeṣu prāsāhaṁ yujām | asmākaṁ brāhmotāyē 'vā pṛtūṣu kāsū cit | naḥi tvā śātruh stārate strṇōṣi yām viśvam śātrum strṇōṣi yām*. In the first of these verses, Indra is exhorted to befriend the suppliant in *sumnā*, in the second, in *svārṣātā* and *pṛt* (note that these are synonyms of *vāja*), and in the third, in *vāja*. Compare also in this connection 4, 24, 6: *kṛṇōty asmai vārivo yā itthēndrāya sōmam uśalē sunōti | sadhriciṇena mānasāvivenan tām it sākḥāyam kṛṇute samātsu*; 8, 21, 8: *vidmā sakhītvām utā śūra bhojyām ā te tā vajrinm imahe | utō samasminu ā śiśhi no vaso vāje suśipra gōmatī*; 3, 51, 9: *aptūrye maruta āpīr eṣō 'mandann indram ānu dātivārāḥ | tēbhiḥ sākām pibatu vṛtrakhādāḥ sutām sōmam dāśūṣaḥ svē sadhāsthe*; and 6, 21, 8: *sā tū śrudhindra nūtanasya brahmaṇyatō vira kārudhāyaḥ | tvām hy āpiḥ pradīvi pitṛṇām śāśvad babhūtha suhāva eṣṭau* and the locatives *vāje*, *samātsu*, *aptūrye* and *eṣṭau*, (these three are synonyms of *vāja*), used therein.

In 7, 90, 3: *ādha vāyūm . . . nirekē*, it is said that the team (of horses) accompany Vāyu in *nireka*. Compare

with this verse 7, 91, 6: *yā vām śatām niyūto yāḥ sahasram indravāyū viśvāvārāḥ śacante | ābhir yātam suvidātrābhir arvāk pātām narā prātibhṛtasya mādhvah* in which the word *niyūtaḥ* and the verb *sac* occur, and in which Indra and Vāyu are exhorted to come to the sacrifice (this, be it noted, is one of the meanings of *vāja*), accompanied by the team (of horses). Compare also 7, 91, 5: *ā no niyūdbhiḥ śatinibhir adhvarām sahasrīnibhir ūpa yāhi yajñām | vāyo asmin śavane mādayasva*; 7, 92, 3: *prā yābhir yāsi dāśvāmsam ācchā niyūdbhir vāyav iṣṭāye duronē*; and 1, 135, 7: *āti vāyo sasatō yāhi śāśvato yātra grāvā vādati tātra gacchataṁ gṛhām indraś ca gacchataṁ | vi sūnītā dādṛṣe rīyate ghṛtām ā pūrṇāyā niyūtā yātho adhvarām indraś ca yātho adhvarām* in which Vāyu is prayed to come with his team to the *yajñā* or *adhvarā* (which also is a synonym of *vāja*).

All this makes it certain and places it beyond doubt that *nīrekā* is equivalent to *vāja*. And hence it becomes evident that this word is derived, not from *ni+ric*, but from *ni+ri* or *rī* 'to run' (*rī gatau*; *rī gati-reṣanayoh*) by the addition of the suffix *ka*²; compare *ślōka* (from

² This verb, *rī* or *ri* with *ni*, is used in the sense of running in 5, 86, 4: *nī yē rinānty ōjasā vīthā gāvo nā durdhūrah* 'Who (sc. Maruts) run impetuously with force like bulls difficult to restrain'. Grassmann in his Wörterbuch explains *durdhūrah* as 'schlechtes Joch habend,' and this explanation is adopted by Ludwig who translates, (no. 690) *durdhuro gāvah* as 'wie schwer an die stange zu gewöhnende rinder.' There seems to me no doubt however that *durdhur* is, like *durdhara* and *durdhartu*, derived from the root *dhṛ* or *dhar* 'to hold' and means, like those words, 'difficult to hold back or check.' Compare 5, 87, 9: *yūyām tāśya pracetasah syāta durdhārtavo nidāh* in which the epithet *durdhartavaḥ* is applied to the Maruts and 5, 56, 3: *dudhrō gaūr iva bhīmayāḥ* where the rush of the Maruts is compared to that of an impetuous bull. Compare also Grassmann's translation, 'Die niederstürmen mit Gewalt wie ungezähmte Stiere wild.'

According to Hemacandra's *Anekārthamālā* and the *Medini* (see the PW s. v.), *durdhara* is a synonym of *rābha*. The

śru) and (*su*) *mēka* (from *mī*). *nīrekā* thus denotes, like its equivalent *vāja* which is derived from *vaj* 'to go' (*vaja gatau*), strength, quickness, race, booty, prize, battle, sacrifice, etc. (see PW and Grassmann s. v. *vāja*); and I shall now show that these meanings fit well into the context in all the verses in which the word occurs.

8, 24, 4: *ā nīrekām utā priyām*
indra darṣi jānānām |
dhṛṣṭatā dhṛṣṇo stāvamāna ā bhara ||

"Thou, O Indra, also cuttest open (the receptacle of, and makest accessible) for people, the dear wealth. O thou valiant one, bring (us wealth) boldly, being praised." Regarding the expression *nīrekām ādarṣi*, compare 2, 12, 15: *yāḥ sunvatē pācate dudhrā ā cid vājam dārdarṣi sū kilāsi satyāḥ*; 4, 16, 8: *sū no netā vājam ā darṣi bhūrim gotrā rujān āngīroḥhir gṛhāmāḥ*; and specially, 8, 33, 3: *kāṇvebhīr dhṛṣṇav ā dhṛṣṭ vājam darṣi sahasrīnam*; and 8, 45, 40-41: *bhīndhī vāsvā āpa dvīṣaḥ pāri bādho jāhi mīdhah | vāsu spārham tād ā bhara || yād viṣāv indra yāt sthirē yāt pārśāne pārābhṛtam | vāsu spārham tād ā bhara* all addressed to Indra, and also 9, 68, 7: *āvo vārebhir utā devāhūtībhīr nībhīr yatō vājam ā darṣi sātāye* addressed to Soma, and 10, 69, 3: *sū revāc choca sū gīro juṣasva sū vājam darṣi sū ihā śrāvo dhāḥ* addressed to Agni. And regarding the phrase *priyām nīrekām*, compare the expressions *priyām vāsu*, *spārham vāsu*, *kāmyam vāsu*, *vāmām vāsu*, etc. (for references, see Grassmann under these vocables).

expression *durdhuro gāṭah* is accordingly equivalent to *vābhāḥ*. Compare 5, 56, 3 cited above and also 10, 103, 1: *āsūh śīśāno vṛābhō nū bhīmāḥ* in which the bull is mentioned as *upamāna* in respect of impetuous rush.

The verb *ri* or *ri*, without the prefix *nī*, is used with the sense of running in 5, 58, 6: *kṣōdanta āpo rinotē vānāni*; 1, 85, 3: *vārtmāny eṣām ānu riyate ghṛtām* and other verses; see Grassmann s. v.

1, 51, 14: *indra āsrāyi sudhyò nīrekē*
pajrēsu stōmo dūryo nā yūpah |
āsvayūr gavyū rathayūr vasūyūr
indra úd rāyāh kṣayati prayantā ||

"Indra has been raised high (i.e., highly praised or glorified) in the sacrifice of the pious (sacrificer), and the hymn that longs for horses, cows, chariots, and wealth, has been raised high among the Pajras, like the door post. Indra alone rules over wealth and is (its) bestower." In pāda a, *āsrāyi* has been translated by Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*, I, 58) as 'gegeben', which seems to me to be incorrect. Compare 6, 11, 5: *āsrāyi yajñāh sūrye nā cākṣuh* 'the sacrifice has been raised high as the eye to the sun'; 5, 1, 12: *gāviṣṭhiro nāmasā stōmam agnau . . āśret* 'Gaviṣṭhira, has, with adoration, raised high the hymn for Agni'; 5, 28, 1: *sāmidhho agnir divi soṣir āśret* 'Agni, kindled, has raised high his light in the sky'; 4, 6, 2: *ūrdhvām bhānūm savitā devō āśret* 'God Savitr has raised high his ray'; and 1, 10, 1: *gāyanti tvā gāyatrīṇò 'rcanty arkām arkīṇah | brahmāṇas tvā tatakrata úd vaṁśām iva yemire* 'The singers besing thee, the chanters chant chants; the priests, O thou that art hundred-fold wise, have raised thee high like a pole.' The last-cited verse, it may be observed, indicates that the comparison *dūryo nā yūpah* in pāda b is to be understood of *indra* also in pāda a.

Pāda b is somewhat cryptic. It is translated by Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*) as 'wie ein Türpfosten ist das Preislied bei den Pajra's'; and this is explained by him as "Das Loblied hält so fest wie der Türpfosten. Dasselbe Bild in 8, 23, 24: *stōmebhiḥ sthūrayūpavāt*". But there seems to be no doubt that in this verse, the word *sthūrayūpa* is, like the word *vyāśva* in the preceding verse, *jyēsthābhir vyāśvavāt*, a proper name (see Grassmann s. v., PW s.v., and Sāyaṇa) and that it has nothing to do with a 'stout post.' The meaning of 8, 23, 24 is, "Jetzt singe dem gewaltigen mit Lied nach

Sthūrayūpa's Art " as given by Grassmann (*RV. Ueber.*). I believe therefore that the verb *aśrāyi* in pāda a is the predicate of *stōma* and *yūpa* also in pāda b (this is the opinion of Oldenberg also; see *RV. Noten*, I) and that the tertium comparationis is 'raising high' or (*uc*) *chrayana*. Compare 3, 8, 2-3: *ūc chrayasva mahatē saubhagāya* || *ūc chrayasva vanaspate vārṣman pṛthivyā ādhi* addressed to the sacrificial post (*yūpa*); compare likewise the expressions *ūrdhvās tiṣṭhāh*, *tasthivāmsah*, *ūn nayanti*, *unnīyamānāh*, *śrāyamānāh*, etc., used of this post in that hymn and also the other verses referred to on p. 102 of Oldenberg's *Vedaforschung* and *sthūnārājam ucchrayati* in *Śāṅkh. GS.* 3, 2, 8 (Sāyaṇa, it may be observed explains *duryo yūpah* in 1, 51, 14 as *dvāri nikhātā sthūnā*). Regarding the expression *stōmo aśrāyi*, compare 3, 14, 2: *āyāmi te nāma-uktiṃ juṣasva*; 1, 153, 2: *prāstutir vām dhāma nā prāyuktir āyāmi mitravaruṇā suvṛktih*; 10, 50, 6: *yajñō māntro brāhmōdyataṃ vācah*; 1, 80, 9: *īndrāya brāhmōdyataṃ*; and 1, 190, 3: *ūpastutim nāmasa ūdyatiṃ ca ślōkaṃ yaṃsat savitēva prā bahū* which all refer to hymns 'being raised high'; compare also 7, 83, 3: *īndrāvaruṇā divi ghōṣa āruhat*.

The words *aśvayūh*, etc., are, according to Sāyaṇa, Grassmann and Ludwig, attributes of Indra. This opinion seems to me to be untenable; for it is difficult to conceive of Indra that he is 'longing for horses, cows, chariots and wealth.' I therefore agree with Geldner (*op. cit.*) in thinking that they are the attributes of *stōmah* in pāda b. Compare 7, 67, 5: *prācīm u devāsvinā dhīyaṃ me mṛdhrām sātāye kṛtaṃ vasūyūm* and 1, 62, 11: *vasūyāvo matāyo dasma dadruh* in which the epithet *vasūyu* is applied to *matī* or hymn; compare also 8, 78, 9: *tvām id yavayūr māma kāmō gavyūr hiranyayūh | tvām aśvayūr kṣate*.

8, 96, 3: *īndrasya vājra āyasō nīmiśla*
īndrasya bāhvōr bhūyisṭham ōjah |

*śiṛṣānu indrasya krátavo nīrekā
āsānu ēśanta śrútyā upaké ||*

"In Indra is attached the iron Vajra (thunderbolt); in Indra's two arms is the greatest strength; in Indra's head are insights. In the sacrifice, there run remarkable (praises or offerings) into (his) near mouth." With regard to pādas a, b, c, compare 1, 55, 8: *áprakṣitam vāsu bibharṣi hástayor áśāḥam sáhas tanvī śrutó dadhe | ávrtāso 'vatāso ná kartṛbhis tanūṣu te krátava indra óhūrayah* "In thy hands, thou carriest inexhaustible wealth. The famed one bore invincible strength in his body. In thy body, O Indra, are many insights, concealed, like wells hidden by the makers", and 2, 16, 2: *yásmād indrád bṛhatāh kim cauém yé víśvāny asmin sāmblhṛtādhi víryā | jaḥḥāre sōman tanvī sáho máho háste vājraṁ bhārati śiṛṣāni krátum* "Without whom, the great Indra, nothing (happens), in him all might is gathered. In his belly, he bears Soma, in his body, great strength, in his hand, the thunderbolt, in his head, insight."

The sense of pāda d is obscure. The Padapāṭha reads *śrutyai* here (as it does in 2, 2, 7: *duró ná vājam śrútyā ápā vṛdhi* and 10, 111, 3: *indrāh kila śrútyā asyā veda*) for which Grassmann (s. v. *śrútya*) proposes *śrútyāḥ*, a suggestion which I have adopted in my above translation. Sāyaṇa explains the pāda as: *āsau āsyē ca yāni karmāṇi yuddhārtham vājino gajān sannāhayatetyādīni bhavanti | kim ca śrutyai saṁgrāmāya nirgacchato 'nuśāsata indrasya vākya-śravaṇārtham sarva upajīvino bhṛtyā upaké 'utika ēśanta ayam indro 'smān kutra kutra kārye niyokṣyātīty etena manasā tadantike samantād āgacchanti*; and Oldenberg observes (*RV. Noten*, II): "*śrútyā*: man erwartet zunächst Nom.; in der Tat *śrútyāḥ* nicht unwahrscheinlich (vgl. Gr. WB; zu II, 2, 7; X. 111, 3): "zu seinem Mund (Lok. des Ziels) streben *śr*" (Hören); d. h. an seinem Mund hängt Hören und Gehorchen des Andern. Doch kann auch *śrútyai* (Pp) richtig sein; die *krātu* in seinem Haupt (c) strebt auf seinem Munde fort

um 'Gehör zu finden (so Ludw.), oder: 'nach seinem Munde drängen sich (alle) um . . . zu Hören' (Geldner *Rel. Lesebuch*, 79)." These explanations seem to me to be unsatisfactory, and the more so, as there is nothing parallel to the ideas contained in them in any other verse of the RV. The word *śrūtya* is used as an epithet of *brahman*, hymn, in 1, 165, 11: *āmandan mā marutaḥ stōmo ātra yān me naraḥ śrūtyāṁ brāhma cakra*; and the verb is found used with *matī*, hymn, in 5, 67, 5: *tāt sū vām eṣate matīḥ*. Compare with this 6, 47, 14: *āva tvē indra pravāto nōrmīr gīro brāhmāṇi niyūto dhavante* 'in thee, O Indra, run hymns and praises in teams (i.e., many hymns of praise) as (swiftly as) the current down an incline,' and also 6, 36, 3: *samudrām nā sīndhava ukthāsuṣmā uruvyācasāṁ gīra ā viśanti*; 1, 176, 2: *tāsmiṇi ā viśayā gīro yā ékaś carṣaṇinām* which refer to hymns running into or 'entering into' Indra. This, presumably, is through the mouth; and hence it is probable that *śrūtyāḥ* refers to *gīraḥ* and that the meaning of the pāda is, as given above, 'the remarkable praises run into (his) near mouth.' Regarding the expression *upākā āsān*, compare the analogous expression *upākāyor hāstayor* in 1, 81, 4: *śriyā ṛṣvā upākāyor nī śiprī hāriwān dadhe hāstayor vājram āyasām*.

At the same time, it must be observed that Grassmann's suggestion (l. c.), too, that *śrūtyāḥ* refers to *sómāḥ*, is not improbable. Compare 3, 46, 4: *īndram sōmāsaḥ pradīvi sutāsaḥ samudrām nā sravāta ā viśanti* 'into Indra enter at all times the Soma juices that have been expressed as rivers into the ocean'; 9, 85, 7: *ēndram viśanti madirāsa indavaḥ*; 9, 97, 36: *īndram ā viśa bṛhatā rāveṇa*; 9, 2, 1: *īndram indo vṛṣā viśa*; 9, 108, 16: *īndrasya hārdi somadhānam ā viśa samudrām iva sīndhavaḥ*; and 9, 66, 15: *ēndrasya jaṭhāre viśa* in which the Soma juice is said to enter into Indra, presumably through the mouth. Compare also 7, 15, 1: *upasādyāya miṣṭhūsa āsyē juhutā havīḥ*; 7, 102, 3: *tāsmā id āsyē havir juhōtā*

mādhumattamam; 10, 91, 3: *āhāvya agne havir āsyē te*; and 4, 49, 1: *idāṁ vām āsyē havīḥ priyām indrā-brhaspati* in which the word *havīḥ* is used in connection with *āsyē*, 'in the mouth.' Hence it is not improbable that *śrūtyāḥ* denotes 'remarkable offerings (of Soma or oblations).'

The sense of the pāda remains unchanged even if one agrees with the Padapāṭha that the word used in it is *śrūtyai* and not *śrūtyāḥ*. The meaning of *śrūtyai* is 'so that it is heard of; i.e., as is well-known'; and we have still to supply as the subject of *éṣanta* the word *gīraḥ* or *sómāḥ* or *havīmṣi*. The meaning of the pāda would thus be, the 'hymns (or offerings) run, as is well-known, into (his) near-mouth in the sacrifice.'

7, 18, 23: *catvāro mā pajavanāsyā dānāḥ*
smāddiṣṭayah kṛṣṇanīno nīrekē |
ṛjṛāso mā pṛthiviṣṭhāḥ sudāśas
tokāṁ tokāya śrāvase vahanti ||

This will be explained in the next article on *smāddiṣṭi*. Regarding *nīrekē*, compare 8, 4, 19: *sthūrām rādhah śatāśvaṁ kuraṅgāsyā diviṣṭiṣu* 'great is the gift, comprising hundred horses, of Kuraṅga in the sacrifices.'

7, 20, 8: *yās ta indra priyó jāno dādāśad*
āsan nīrekē adrivah sākḥā te |
vayām te asyām sumataū cāniṣṭhāḥ
syāma vārūthe āghnato nṛpītau ||

"The dear one, O Indra, who makes offerings to thee, may he, O thou with the thunderbolt, be thy friend in battle (i.e., when he is fighting, be thou his friend and aid him). May we be most acceptable in this thy favour, in the shelter, in the protection, of thee that art gracious." With regard to pāda b, compare 6, 33, 4; 4, 24, 6; 1, 129, 4; 3, 51, 9; and 6, 21, 8 cited above (p. 226).

7, 90, 3: *rāyē nū yām jajñātū ródasimē*
rāyē devī dhiṣṇā dhāti devām |
ādha vāyūm niyūtah saścata svā
utā śvetām vāsudhitim nīrekē ||

"Whom these bright Heaven and Earth bore for prosperity, him, the god, the goddess Dhiṣaṇā raises high (i.e., glorifies) for prosperity. And then the own teams of Vāyu accompanied the white one, who bestows wealth, to the sacrifice." Compare 7, 91, 6; 7, 91, 5; 7, 92, 3; and 1, 135, 7 cited above (p. 227).

8, 24, 3: *sā na stāvāna ā bhara*
rayīm citrāśravastamam |
nirekē cid yō harivo vāsur dadīh ||

"Bring to us, being praised, wealth that is most wonderful and renowned, O thou with bay horses, that bestowest wealth even in sacrifice." Compare 1, 81, 7 and 8, 46, 15 cited above (p. 225).

vāsuḥ here, I conceive, stands for *vāsu*; see p. 107 above.

8, 33, 2: *svāraṇti tvā sūtē nāro*
vāso nirekā ukthīnaḥ |
kadā sūtām tṛṣṇā ōka ā gama
indra staḍdiva vāmsagaḥ ||

"O thou bright one, when (the Soma juice) is expressed, the men that are reciting praises, call to thee in the sacrifice. When wilt thou, O Indra, thirsting for the Soma juice, come to the house (i.e., the sacrificial place), as (swiftly as) a roaring bull (to a pool of water)" ? Regarding the simile in pāda d, compare 1, 130, 2: *pibā sōmam indra suvānām ādriḥḥiḥ kōśena siktām avatām nā vāmsagas tāṛṣṇā nā vāmsagaḥ*; 5, 36, 1: *sā ā gamad indro yō vāsūnām ciketaḍ dātum dāmano rayīnām | dhanvacarō nā vāmsagas tṛṣṇāś cakamānāḥ pibatu dugdhām amśum* and also 8, 4, 3: *yāthā gaurō apā kṛtām tṛṣyann ēty āvēriṇam | āpitvē naḥ prapitvē tūyam ā gahi kāṇveṣu sū saccā piba*.

This is a word that occurs in four passages of the RV only; it is neither mentioned nor explained in the *Nighantu* and *Nirukta*. Sāyaṇa gives four different explanations of it,—*bhadravākya*, *praśastadarśana*, *praśastāṭisārjanāśradhdhādīdānāṅgayukta*, and *kalyāṇādeśin*. Roth explains it as 'geschult, dressiert, eingeübt' in the PW, and Grassmann as 'mit Lenkung versehen, 1) gut lenkend; 2) gut zu lenken'. Ludwig, in his *RV. Ueber.*, has interpreted it differently as 'die glück herbringen'; 'deine weisung geht hieher (=du selbst unabhängig mit herrschaft über uns)'; 'mir hier bestimmte' and 'hieher die weisung habende.' Geldner, in his *Glossar*, gives the meanings "1) dessen Weisungen gleich sind, gerecht 3, 45, 52; 2) gleichmässig geschult,—eingelernt 6, 63, 9; 7, 18, 23; 10, 62, 10." In his *RV. Ueber.*, however, he translates the word in 3, 45, 5 as 'gleichmässig zuteilend' and gives the following note: "*smāddiṣṭi* sonst ein technischer Ausdruck der Dānastuti's (6, 63, 9; 7, 18, 23; 10, 62, 10). Hier wohl in etwas anderem Sinn. *diṣṭi* ist im RV unbelegt und *smād* auch sicher nicht bestimmt. Sāy.: *bhadravākyaḥ* in dem er *smād* im Sinn von *sumāt* nimmt." Oldenberg, on the other hand, observes ' (*RV. Noten*, I, 251): "*smāddiṣṭi* mir dunkel. Es findet sich sonst (6, 63, 9; 7, 18, 23; 10, 62, 10) von geschenkten Sklaven, Rossen, Stieren (?) in Dānastutis. In Bezug auf eine Schenkung heisst es V, 36, 6: *yó rōhitau vājīnau vājīnīvān tribhīḥ śataīḥ śacamānāv ādiṣṭa*: gibt dies *ādiṣṭa*, wenn es von *diṣ* kommt, den Schlüssel zu *smāddiṣṭi*? *diṣ* wäre offenbar "zuweisen"; *smāddiṣṭi* hiesse etwa "begleitet von (einem Akt der) Zuweisung."

¹ He also urges against Geldner's explanations (in *Glossar*) the criticisms (1) that they are not in accord with the meaning of *smāt*, and (2) that the two proposed meanings are separated by too wide a gulf.

Ein solches Wort lässt sich von Geschenke brauchen, aber auch—und das müsste hier angenommen werden—vom Schenken, der, wo er auftritt, von Taten der Freigebigkeit begleitet ist."

It is plain from the above that Geldner and Oldenberg, Sāyaṇa and Ludwig, are at sea regarding the meaning of the word; and as for the meanings proposed by Roth and Grassmann, it can be readily seen that they do not fit well into the context in all the four passages and that they are therefore incorrect.

The word *smāddiṣṭi* is a bahuvrihi compound composed of *smat* (or *smad*) and *diṣṭi*. This latter word *diṣṭi*, though it does not (as observed by Geldner) occur elsewhere in the RV, is used frequently in later literature where it has the sense of 'fate, fortune, good fortune'; see Apte. The former word *smāt* is found used in the RV only; it occurs, uncompounded, in thirteen passages, and compounded with *abhiṣu*, *ibha*, *iṣṭa*, *ūdhas*, *purandhi* and *rātiṣāc* in one passage each, and with *diṣṭi*, in four passages. In these four passages, Sāyaṇa, as we have already seen, explains *smat* as *praśasta*, *bhadra*, or *kalyāṇa*. Likewise, in ten of the remaining passages too, (1, 51, 15; 5, 41, 15; 5, 41, 19; 5, 87, 8; 7, 3, 8; 8, 18, 4; 8, 20, 18; 8, 25, 24; 8, 26, 19; 8, 28, 2) he declares it to be a synonym of, or explains it as, *su-*, *praśasta* or *śobhana*. In explaining 1, 186, 6, he writes: *smat sahiārthe prāśastye vā vartate | atra praśamsāyām*; and he regards it as the equivalent of *saha* in 8, 186, 8 and 8, 34, 6 and of *saha* or *praśasta* in 7, 87, 3. In 1, 100, 13, he explains it as *bhṛtam*, in 2, 4, 9 as *ati-prabhūtam*, in 10, 61, 8, as *asmattaḥ*, and in 1, 73, 6 as *nitya* (*smac-chabdo nitya-śabda-samānārthah*); in 10, 42, 4 he regards *smadibha* as a proper name.

The meanings *atiprabhūta*, *bhṛta*, *nitya* and *asmattaḥ* seem to have been invented by Sāyaṇa for the occasion and need not be considered seriously. The meanings

śobhana (*praśasta*, *su-*) and *saha*, on the other hand, belong to a different category; and in fact, it is the opinion of Roth (PW), Grassmann, Wackernagel (*Ai. Gr.* II, 1.p.287), Macdonell (*Ved. Gr.* p. 424), Oldenberg (*RV. Noten* II, p. 7) and other European exegetists that *smāt* is a synonym of *saha*, while, for my part, I am inclined to prefer the meaning *śobhana*. See below.

As far as the compound word *smāddiṣṭi* is concerned, its meaning remains the same whether one regards *smāt* as the equivalent of *saha* or of *śobhana*. In the former case, the word means 'accompanied by good luck,' and in the latter case, 'having good luck.' In either case, therefore, the word *smāddiṣṭi* means 'with good luck; having good luck.'

The good luck that is referred to here is that caused, or brought, by auspicious marks; for it is the belief of the Indian Aryans that certain marks on the body, borne by men, women, horses, dogs, cocks, etc., bring good or bad luck to the possessor. Such belief, for instance, is alluded to in Āśvalāyana's words (GS. 1, 5, 3): *buddhi-rūpa-śīla-lakṣaṇa-sampannām arogām upa-yaccheta* which enjoin that the girl one marries must have *lakṣaṇāni* or auspicious marks on her body. A similar injunction is contained in *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* 1, 52: *avipṛata-brahmacārya lakṣaṇyām striyam udvalhet*; while Śāṅkh. GS. 1, 5: *kumāryai pāṇim grhṇīyāt | yā lakṣaṇa-sampannā syāt | yasyā abhyātman aṅgāni syuḥ samāh keśāntāḥ | āvaritāḥ api yasyai syātām pradakṣiṇau grīvāyām | śaḍ-vārāṇ janayisyatīti vidyāt* specifies some of the auspicious marks and Manu (3, 8-10): *nālomikāṁ nātio-mām . . na piṅgalāṁ haṁsa-vārāṇa-gāminiṁ tanuloma-keśa-daśanām mṛdvaṅgim* describes some of the inauspicious as also auspicious marks of a girl.

AV. 4, 18: *nīr lakṣmyām lalāmyām
nīr āvātīm suvāmasi |
ātha yā bhadrā tāni naḥ*

prajāyā āratīm (tor sam?) uayāmasi ||
nīr ārayīm savitā sāviṣat padōr
nīr hāstayor vāruṇo mitrō aryamā |
nīr asmābhyam ānumati rārāṇā
prēmām devā asāviṣuḥ saubhagāya ||
yāt ta ātmāni tanvām ghorām āsti
yād vā kēṣeṣu praticākṣaṇe vā |
sārvaṁ tād vācā 'pa hanmo vayām
devās tvā savitā sūdayatu ||
rīṣyapadīm vṛṣadatīm
gṛṣedhām vidhamām utā |
vīlīdhyām lalāmyām
*tā asmān nāśayāmasi ||*²

is a charm against unlucky marks: the gods Savitr, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman and Anumati are implored to remove, i.e., to render innocuous, the evil marks (in a woman's body according to Kauṣika-sūtra 42, 19: *nīr lakṣmyam iti pāpa-lakṣaṇāyā mukham ukṣaty anvrcaṁ dakṣiṇāt keśa-stukāt*) and to confer *bhadrāṇi* and *saubhagam* (i.e., auspicious marks) on her. Similarly, Ap.MB. 1, 1, 3: *ābhrātṛghniṁ varuṇāpatighniṁ bṛhaspate | indrāputraghniṁ lakṣmyām tām asyaī savitāḥ suva* refers to marks that presage good to brothers, husband and sons, and *ibid.* 1, 10, 3: *yā 'syām patighni tanūḥ prajā-*

² This hymn is translated thus by Whitney (*AV. Translation*, p. 19):—

“Out we drive the pallid sign, out the niggard; then whatever things are excellent, those we lead together for our progeny. Savitar has driven out the trouble in her feet; out have Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman [driven] [that] in her hands; out hath Anumati, bestowing upon us; the gods have driven this woman forward unto good fortune. Whatever in thy self, in thy body, is frightful, or what in hair or in mien—all that do we smite away with [our] words; let god Savitar advance thee. The antelope-footed, the bull-toothed, the kine-repelling, the out-blowing, the licked-out, the pallid—these we make disappear from us.”

Geldner's view (*Ved. St.*, 1, 314 ff.) that the whole hymn is concerned with the domestic cat seems to me untenable.

ghnī paṣughnī lakṣmighnī jāraghnīm asyaī tām kṛyomi refers to the body, i.e., without doubt, to the bodymarks, that forebode destruction and death of husband, children, cattle and wealth. Similarly, there is no doubt that the expressions *āpatighnī* and *śivā paśūbhyaḥ* in RV. 10, 85, 14: *āghoracakṣur āpatighny edhī śivā paśūbhyaḥ sumānāḥ suvārcāḥ* have the same meaning as the words *āpatighnī*, etc., have in Ap. MB. 1, 1, 3 cited above and refer to bodily marks that presage good to husband and cattle.

A detailed description of such bodily marks and of their effects is given in Agnipurāṇa, Garuḍapurāṇa, Bṛhat-saṃhitā and other such works. In the last-mentioned book, ch. 69 deals with *kanyālukṣaṇa*, and Varāhamihira observes in verse 1, after enumerating some auspicious marks, that the person who marries the girl with such marks would become king (*tām utvāheḍ yadi bhuvo 'dhipatitvam icchet*), and in verse 3, that the marks described therein bring the possessor much wealth (*vipulām śriyam āladhātī*). The commentator Bhaṭṭotpala too cites in the course of his commentary on the 3rd and 4th verses, the following observations of Samudra: *nabhi-deśaḥ suguptaś ca yasyāḥ sā dhana-bhāginī; jaghnuṇāṃ vipulām yasyāḥ susparśam romavarjitam | suvarṇa-bharaṇair yuktā sā bhaved rājya-bhāginī*. Similarly, Varāhamihira observes in *ibid.*, 61.1-2, with reference to some auspicious marks of the dog and the bitch: *yasya syāt sa karoti poṣṭur acirāt puṣṭām śriyam svā grhe* and *yā sā rāṣṭram kukkuri pati puṣṭā* (i.e., the owner of such bitch becomes the ruler of a kingdom), and in 62.3, with reference to a hen having auspicious marks: *sā dadāti suciram mahikṣitam śrī-yaśo-vijaya-vīrya-sampadaḥ*. In *ibid.*, 63.2, he describes some auspicious marks of tortoises and remarks of a tortoise having such, that it causes the expansion of the kingdom (so 'pi nṛpāṇāṃ rāṣṭra-vivṛddhyai) and Bhaṭṭotpala cites, in his commentary on 63.3, the verse: *stri-putra-matidam vidyāt*

kūrman rāṣṭra-vivardhanam. In *ibid.* 64.9, Varāhamihira, after describing four kinds of well-favoured goats, writes, *te catvāraḥ śrīyaḥ putrā nālakṣmike vasanti te*; and in 60.18 observes of a bull with auspicious marks that he brings wealth to his owner (*svāminam acirāt kurute patim lakṣmyāḥ*).

smāddiṣṭi thus primarily signifies 'possessing auspicious marks that bring to the possessor good luck (i.e., *śrī*, *yaśaḥ*, *viśaya*, *vīrya*, *rājya*, *stri*, *putra*, *buddhi*, etc., as described above).¹ Since however the possession of auspicious marks makes for beauty also, the word has the secondary sense of 'handsome, beautiful.' It is a synonym of the words *bhadra*, *kalyāṇa*, *maṅgala*, *śobhana*, (cf. *Amara-kośa* 133: *bhadram kalyāṇam maṅgalam śubham*), *śubhaga* and *subhāga*² all which mean 'having good luck; handsome, beautiful.'

I shall now show that the above-mentioned two meanings fit well into the context in all the passages in which *smāddiṣṭi* occurs.

3. 45, 5: *svayūr indra svarāḥ asi*
smāddiṣṭiḥ svāyaśastarah |
sā vāvrdhānā bhasā puruṣtula
bhāvā naḥ suśrāvastamah ||

"Thou, O Indra, goest wherever thou listest; thou art sovereign, handsome and very famous. O thou that art much praised, be our best hearer, growing in strength." The word *svayūr* in pāda a is obscure. If one interprets it in the manner of *aśvayū*, *vasūyū*, *rathayū*, etc., the meaning would be, 'eager for one's own self,' which is not very intelligible. The word occurs again in

² *bhāga* means also 'luck, fortune'; see Apte and compare the words *bhāgya* and *bhāgadheya*. There is thus no doubt that *subhāga* signifies 'having good luck; handsome' in the RV verses in which it is used and that Grassmann is wrong in explaining it as 'schönem Antheil, schönes Gut besitzend' in his *Wörterbuch*.

2, 4, 7: *sā yō vy āsthād abhī dākṣad urvīm paśūr naiti svayūr āgopāh* where it is said of Agni that he spreads himself on the earth, burning, and that he is *svayū*, like a cow without a cowherd. *svayū* seems to denote here, 'one who goes wherever one lists' and I have hence so explained it in 3, 45, 5 also.

svāyaśastara = *sūyaśastara* (see p. 44) and not 'selbstbewusst' as Geldner translates in his *RV. Ueber. smāddiṣṭi* = having auspicious marks, handsome; compare the epithets *bhadrā* and *susamdiṣ* that are applied to Indra in 1, 82, 3: *susamdiṣam tvā vayām māghavan vandiṣīmāhi* and 1, 132, 2: *ōham indro yāthā vidē śrīṣṇā-śrīṣṇopavācyah | asmatrā te sadhryūh sautu rātāyo bhadrā bhadrāsyā rātāyah*.

6, 63, 9: *utā ma rjre pūrayasya raghvi
sumiṭhē satām perukē ca pākṣā |
śāṇḍo dād dhiraninah smāddiṣṭin
dāsa vāśaso abhiṣāca rṣvān ||*

"And [were given] to me two swift mares by Puraya, a hundred by Sumiṭha, and cooked foods by Peruka. Śāṇḍa gave ten oxen, big, obedient (?), having auspicious marks, and adorned with gold ornaments." Regarding the auspicious marks of oxen, see ch. 60 of *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*; and regarding the gift of oxen decked with golden ornaments, compare *Mahābhārata* 1, 216, 7: [*Pāṇḍubhyah prāhiṇod dhariḥ*] *dāntān sauvarṇaiḥ subhraiḥ pattair alamkṛtān*.

7, 18, 23: *catvāro mā piṭṭavanāsyā dānāḥ
smāddiṣṭayah kṛṣṇanīno nirekē |
rjṛāso mā pṛthiviṣṭhāḥ sudāsa
tokām tokāya śrāvase vahanṭi ||*

"The four fleet horses, decked with golden ornaments and having auspicious marks, given to me by Sudās, son of Piṭṭavana, in the sacrifice, being on the earth, carry me (and my) offspring to offspring and

renown." Regarding the auspicious marks of horses, see ch. 65 of Brhat-saṁhitā. *nirckē*=*vāje*, in the sacrifice.

The import of the second hemistich is not clear and the word *prthiviṣṭhāḥ* in pada c is perplexing. Geldner, in his *Glossar*, gives the word as *prthiviṣṭhā* (though the Saṁhitā and Padapāṭha both have *ṭhāḥ*) 'auf der Erde stehend' but does not indicate with what word it is to be construed. Ludwig regards it as an irregular genitive singular referring to Sudās, who, according to him, stays on the earth 'ausz hochachtung' ! It seems plain that the word is an epithet of *rjāsah* or horses, and I have so explained it in my above translation. I cannot see, however, any force in the word, and I am inclined to believe that the opposite of *prthiviṣṭhāḥ*, namely, *diviṣṭhāḥ*, would be much more appropriate here; compare the expression *divi dhāvamānam* used of a horse in Kaurayāna's Dānastuti of Medhyātithi Kaṇva in 8, 3, 21: *yām me dur indro marūtaḥ pākasthāmā kaurayaṇaḥ | vāsveṣām tūnā sōbhiṣṭham ūpeva divi dhāvamānam*.

Regarding the words *mā . . . tokam* in this hemistich, I have followed Geldner (*Kommentar*) in understanding it as 'me (and my) offspring'; Sāyaṇa, however, regards *tokam* as an attribute of *mā* (*tokam putravat pālaniyam mām vasiṣṭham*); and similarly Oldenberg too (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 23) suggests the explanation, "(mich) der ich (selbst) das kind (eines berühmten, ähnlich erfolgreichen Vaters) bin."

10, 62, 10: *utū dāsā parivīṣe*
smāddiṣṭi gōpariṇasā |
yādus turvāś ca māmāhe ||

"And Yadu and Turva gave me for my service two handsome slaves, supplemented by cows (i.e., in addition to cows)." Regarding the gift of slaves, compare, 8, 56, 3: *śatām me gardabhānām śatām ūnāvatinām | śatām dāsān ūti srūjah* and also the following verses:

. . . . tadā rājā Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ ||
eko ratho vāraṇa eka eva

daśāśva-saṁkhyāś ca suvarṇa-bhāraḥ |
sataṁ gavāṁ hema-vibhūṣaṇānām
prasthāś ca datto vara-mauktikānām |
ekaikaśo bhīṣṭya-catuṣṭayaṁ ca
kāryeṣu dakṣaṁ sa dadau nṛpendraḥ ||
ṛtvigbhyah

in Jaiminiyāśvamedha (64,46-48; p. 152a) which describe the gifts made by King Yudhiṣṭhira to the priests who officiated in his *aśvamedha* sacrifice.

* * * * *

With reference to the word *smāt*, I have already observed on p. 237 above that it is the opinion of Sāyaṇa (on 1, 186, 6-8; 7, 87, 3), Roth, Grassmann, Oldenberg and other exegetists that it is the equivalent of *saha*, a meaning, which, it must be acknowledged, fits fairly satisfactorily into the context in all the verses in which the word occurs. I have also observed that Sāyaṇa (on 1, 51, 15; 5, 41, 15; etc.) has explained the word as the equivalent of *su-*, *praśasta*, *śobhana*, *kalyāṇa* or *bhadra* and that, for my part, I am inclined to believe that this is the real meaning of the word. The reasons for such belief are as follow:

1. It is the opinion of Sāyaṇa, given expression to in the course of his commentary on 2, 4, 9 (*smāt sumad ati-prabhūtaṁ*), 8, 26, 19 (*smāt sumat śobhanam*), 8, 25, 24 (*smāt sumad ukāra-lopaś chāudasaḥ*) and 8, 28, 2 (*smāt sumat śobhanā*) that *smāt* is identical with *sumat*. A like opinion is expressed by Roth, too, who writes (PW; s.v. *sumat*) "Wir halten es für eine andere Aussprache von *smāt*"; and similarly Oldenberg, too, observes (*RV. Noten*, I, p. 76): "Dass Identität von *sumat* und *smāt* aufzugeben ist (Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* 2, 190; Bartholomae BB. 17, 115), bezweifle ich. Der Gebrauch beider Worte zeigt zu auffallende Gleichartigkeit," and draws attention to the similar formation of the compounds *sumādratha* and *smād-abhiṣu*, and of the sentences *śidatām sumat* and

smat sadantu, smac caranti ye. This opinion seems to me to be justified and I agree with the above-named savants that *smāt* is identical with *sumāt*.

This word *sumāt*, too, it is true, is explained by Roth, Grassmann, Oldenberg, and other exegetists as the equivalent of *saha*.⁴ But Geldner has, in his short article on this word in *Ved. St.* 2, p. 190, pointed out that Sāyana interprets it as *śobhana* or *kalyāṇa* in his commentary on 2, 36, 3; 3, 3, 9; 8, 45, 39; 87, 4; and 10, 32, 3, and expressed the opinion that *sumat* can be best explained as *śobhana*. It is his belief that this word is derived from *su* with the suffix *mat* and means 'schön,' and in support of such conclusion, he points to the parallelism of *sumādratha*, used in 3, 3, 9 and 8, 45, 39 of Agni and *harī* with *surātha* used likewise of Agni and *harī* in 4, 2, 4 and 7, 36, 4.

This parallelism is by itself significant enough; but in addition we find the word *bhadrā-jānayah* in 5, 61, 4 is parallel to *sumāj-jāni* that occurs in 1, 156, 2 and *bhadrā-vrāta* in 10, 47, 5 to *sumād-gaṇa* which occurs in 2, 36, 3; and the word *sumād-aṁśu* too, applied to a mare in 1, 100, 6 seems to be parallel to *sutūka* and *svānc* that are applied to horses in 10, 3, 7 and 7, 56, 16. Hence there does not seem to be any doubt that *sumat* is, as said by Geldner, equivalent to *śobhana*, *kalyāṇa* or *bhadra*; and I shall show presently that this meaning fits well into the context in all the passages in which the word occurs. Since however *smat* is identical with *sumat*, it follows that *smat* too signifies *kalyāṇa*, *śobhana* or *bhadra*.

2. A like conclusion is pointed to by the parallelism of some compounds beginning with *smāt* also. To the

⁴ The other explanations proposed for this word which is enumerated in the *Nighaṇṭu* (4.3) are:—*ṛṣayam* (Yāska in *Nirukta* 6, 22, 3; Durga and Devarāja); *ṛṣayam* or *svataḥ* (Sāyana on RV. 1, 142, 7; 162, 7; 5, 2, 4; 1, 100, 16) and *susṭhu mādyanti hr̥ṣyanti* (Sāyana on TS. 4, 6, 8, 3; Mahidhara on VS. 26, 24). See Geldner, l. c.

word *smād-abhiṣu*, used of a horse in 8, 25, 24 corresponds the word *svabhiṣu* used likewise of horses in 8, 68, 16-18; to the word *smād-diṣṭi* correspond, as already pointed out above, the words *subhāga* and *subhāgā*; and to the word *smād-rātiṣācaḥ* 'conferring splendid gifts' in 8, 28, 2: *vāruṇo mitrō aryamā smādrātiṣāco agnāyah* corresponds *surātāyah* in 9, 81, 4: *ā naḥ pūṣā pāvamaṇaḥ surātāyo mitrō gacchantu vāruṇaḥ sajoṣasaḥ*.

It is therefore my belief that *sumāt* or *smāt* is the equivalent of *śobhana*, *kalyāṇa* or *bhadra*; and I shall now show that this meaning fits well into the context in all passages. I shall begin with those in which the form *sumat* occurs.

1, 100, 16: *rohīc chyāvā sumād-amśur lalāmīr*
dyukṣā rāyā rjraśvasya |
vṣṣantam bibhrati dhūrṣu rātham
mandrā ciketa nāhuṣṣu vikṣu ||

"The red brown (mare) of fine speed, bright (*i.e.*, glossy), pleasing, having a spot on the forehead, that has been given to Rjraśva and draws the chariot yoked with a steer has attracted notice among the Nahus clans." *sumād-amśu* in pāda a is somewhat ambiguous. Geldner, in his *RV. Ueber.*, translates it as 'schöngezeichnet (?)' and observes: "*sumād-amśu*; mit schönen oder gleichmässigen *amśu* versehen, *amśu* unbekannt, ob von der Zeichnung oder sonstigen Zieraten des Tiers?" Apte, in his *Dictionary*, assigns to this word the meanings, among others, of (1) lustre, brilliance; (2) speed; and (3) garment, decoration; and I have in the above translation, preferred the meaning 'speed.' Compare the epithets *sutuka*, and *svāñc*, both meaning 'fine-going, *i.e.*, swift' that are applied to horses in 10, 3, 7: *agnih sutūkah sutūkebhir āsvaih* and 7, 56, 16: *ātyāso nā yē marūtah svāñcaḥ*. It is however possible that the poet may have used the word *amśu* here in the sense of 'lustre, brilliance' (cp. the epithet *śobhiṣṭham* applied to

a horse in 8, 3, 21: *vīśveṣāṃ tmānā śobhiṣṭham ūpeva divi dhāvamānam*: compare also the epithet *candrāmṣu-sama-varcasām* in the Mahābhārata passage, 1, 247, 40 cited below) or of 'garment, decoration': compare the epithets *hiraṇināḥ* and *kṛṣṇināḥ* in 6, 63, 2 and 7, 18, 23 cited above. Compare also 8, 68, 16: *surāthān ātithigvė svabhiṣūnīr ārkṣē | āśvamedhē supēśasaḥ* and Mahābhārata 1, 216, 17: [*Pāṇḍubhyaḥ prāhiṇod dhariḥ*] *gaṇāu vinitān bhadrāmṣ ca sad-aśvāmṣ ca svalamkṛtān | rathāmṣ ca dāntān sauvarnaiḥ subhraiḥ pāṭṭair alamkṛtān*; ibid. 1, 247, 40: *vāḍavānām ca śuddhānām candrāmṣu-sama-varcasām | dadau Janārdanaḥ prītyā sahasraṃ hema-ḥhūṣitam* ||

1, 156, 2: *yāḥ pūrvyāya vedhāse nāvīyase
sumāj-jānaye viṣṇave dādāṣati |
yō jātām asya mahatō māhi brāvat
śed u śrāvobhir yūjyam cid abhy āsat* ||

"He who makes offerings to Viṣṇu, the old, very young, wise one, that has a beautiful wife; he who announces the great birth of this great one, he will surpass even his friend in renown." As observed above, *sumāj-jāni* is the synonym of *bhadra-jāni* that occurs in 5, 61, 4: *pārā vīrāsa ctana mār्याso bhādra-jānayaḥ*, and means 'he who has a beautiful wife.' It is very probable that, in both verses, the beautiful wives are thought of as accompanying their husbands. Geldner's translation of the word as 'dem die Frauen lieb sind' (*RV. Ueber.*, p. 193) seems to me to be incorrect: so far as we know, *-jāni* denotes 'wife' and not 'woman' and *smāt* does not mean 'lieb.'

2, 36, 3: *āmeva naḥ suhavā ā hī gāntana
uī barhiṣi sadatanā rūpiṣṭana |
āthā mandasva jujuṣāyō āndhasas
tvāstar devēbhīr jānibhiḥ sumād-gaṇaḥ* ||

"Come to us as to your house, O ye that are easy to call (i.e., ye that at once hear our call); sit on the

barhis and be glad. Rejoice, finding pleasure in the drink, O Tvaṣṭr that hast a glorious following of gods and (their) wives." *sumād-gaṇaḥ* is, as already observed, a synonym of *bhadrā-vrāta* which occurs in 10, 47, 5: *bhadrā-vrātaṁ vāpravitram svarṣām*.

3, 3, 9: *vibhāvā devāḥ surāṇaḥ pāri kṣitir
agnīr babhūva śāvasā sumād-rathaḥ |
lāśya vralāni bhūri-poṣiṇo vayām
ūpa bhūṣema dāma ā suvrktībhiḥ ||*

"The bright happiness-bringing god with the beautiful chariot, Agni, has, through his might, encompassed protectingly (all) men. Of him who nourishes many, we shall honour the ordinances with hymns in our dwelling." With regard to *sumād-ratha*, compare the epithets *suratha*, *hiranya-ratha*, and *candra-ratha* applied to Agni in 4, 2, 4: *sv-āśvo agne surāthaḥ surādha ēd u vaha suhaviṣe jānāya*; 4, 1, 8: *sā dūtō viśvād abhī vaṣṭi sādma hōtā hīranyaratho rāmsujihvaḥ*; and 1, 141, 12: *utā naḥ sudyōtmā jirāśvo hōtā mandrāḥ śṛṇavac candrārathaḥ*.

8, 56, 5: *ācety agniḥ cikitūr
havyavāt sā sumādrathaḥ |
agniḥ śukrēṇa śociṣā
brhāt sūro arocata
divī sūryo arocata ||*

"Agni, the carrier of offerings, wise, who has a beautiful chariot, has been perceived. Agni shone high (as) the sun with bright light; he shone in heaven (as) the sun."

8, 45, 39: *ā ta etā vacoyūjā
hārī grōhṇe sumādrathā |
yād im brahmābhiya id dādah ||*

"I take hold of these thy two bay horses with the beautiful chariot (*i.e.*, that draw the beautiful chariot), that yoke themselves at word, and that thou gavest to the

priests." Compare, in respect, of *pādas* a and b, 7, 36, 4: *girā yā etā yunājad dhārī ta indra priyā surāthā sūra dhayū*; compare also 1, 56, 1: *dākṣam mahē pāyayate hiraṇyāyam rātham avṛtyā hāriyogam ībhvasam* and other similar passages in which Indra's chariot is described as 'golden'.

1, 142, 7: *ā bhāndamane upāke
nāktoṣāsā supēśasā |
yahvi rtāsya mātārā
sīdatām barhiḥ ā sumāt ||*

"May Night and Dawn, refulgent, near to each other, adorned with jewels, always moving, mothers of *ṛta*, sit on the beautiful *barhis*." *barhiḥ sumāt* = 'das schöne *barhis*,' as Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*) has rightly translated. Compare the expressions *syonām barhiḥ* in 10, 110, 4; *surabhiḥ bhūtv asme*, *barhiḥ* in 10, 70, 4 and the epithet *su-* in the term *subarhis* which occurs in 1, 74, 5 and 8, 20, 25. The meaning of *yahvā* is not quite certain and my translation, 'always moving,' is merely tentative.

1, 162, 7: *ūpa prāgat sumān me 'dhāyī mānma
devānām āśā ūpa vitāprsthah |
ānu enām vāprā īśayo madanti
devānām puṣṭe cakrma subāndhum ||*

"He [*sc.* the sacrificial horse] has gone—a fine hymn has been made and offered by me—to the region of the gods, he who has a comfortable back. The inspired seers glorify him. We have made him our mate in the nourishing of the gods." Regarding *sumat mānma*, compare the expressions *cārur matih* and *sundhyūr matih* in 9, 91, 14: *hṛdā matim janaye cārur agnāye*; 6, 8, 1: *vaiśvānarāya matir nāvyaśi śuciḥ sōma iva pavate cārur agnāye*; 7, 88, 1: *prā sundhyūvam vāruṇāya prēsthām matim vaśiṣṭha mīhūṣe bharasva* and the terms *sūktā*, *susṭutā* and *sumatī* (for references see Grassmann s.v.) meaning 'beautiful hymn.'

8, 87, 4: *pībatam sōmam mādhumantam aśvinā
barhiḥ sīdatam sumāt |
tā vāvṛdhānā ūpa suṣṭutīm divo
gantām gaurāḥ ivérinam ||*

"Drink, O ye two Aśvins, the sweet Soma juice. Sit on the beautiful *barhiḥ*. Making our hymn glorious, come ye here from heaven (as swifty) as two buffaloes go to the hole (filled with water; to slake their thirst)." *irinam*=hole (filled with water); see Pischel, *Ved. St.* 2, 224. The tertium comparationis in the simile here is swiftness; compare 8, 4, 3: *yāthā gaurō apā kṛtām tṛṣyanu éty āvérinam | āpitvė naḥ prapitvė tūyām ā gahi kṛveṣu sū sácā piba*. And hence it also becomes plain that it is not to the hymn, *suṣṭuti* (as Sāyaṇa, Ludwig and Pischel l.c. opine) that the Aśvins are exhorted to come quickly, but to the Soma juice mentioned in pāda a; compare also in this connection 7, 69, 6: *nārā gaurēva vidyūtaḥ tṛṣṇā 'smākam adivā savanōpa yātam* and 8, 35, 7-9: *sōmam sūtām mahiṣē-vāva gacchathah*. The word *suṣṭutīm* is to be construed with *vāvṛdhānā* which is used in the causative sense (and *upa* with *gantam*); compare 10, 25, 10: *matīm viprasya vardhayat* and 8, 36, 7: *īndra brāhmāṇi vardhāyan*. The meaning of the expression *suṣṭutīm vāvṛdhānā* is 'making glorious the hymn'; that is, 'making known that the hymn is potent and has achieved its object by bestowing favours upon us.'

5, 2, 4: *kṣētrād apaśyam sanutās cārantam
sumād yūthām nā purū śobhamānam |
nā tā agrbhraṇa ājanīṣṭa hī śāh
pāliknīr id yuvatāyo bhavanti ||*

"I saw him very splendid-looking like a noble herd moving away from the field. They (*fem.*) did not seize him, for he was born; the grey-haired women became young." Hymn 5.2, in which this verse occurs, is obscure and very diverse views have been expressed about its import; see Sieg's *Sagenstoffe des RV.*, p. 66 ff.;

Oldenberg, SBE. 46, 368; and *RV. Noten*, I, 311, and the literature cited therein. I am not therefore at all certain that the translation given above is in conformity with the idea which the poet had in his mind when he composed the above verse. I do not know who are meant by *tāh* in pāda c, nor what connection they have with the 'grey-haired women that became young' (or 'the youthful women that became grey-haired') mentioned in pāda d. The comparison in the first hemistich, too, is obscure; and in fact, Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, l.c. doubts whether there is a comparison there. Compare, however, Kirātārjuniya, 4, 10: *uparatāh paścima-rātri-gocarād apārayantaḥ patitūṃ javena gām | tam utsukāś cakrur avekṣanotsukam gavāṃ gaṇāḥ prasnuta-pīvaraudhasaḥ* in which the herds of kine moving away from the fields in which they had grazed (towards home) are described as making Arjuna 'desirous of seeing them,' i.e., as having been 'worthy of being seen' or 'beautiful.'²

²One particular beauty that is referred to by the above verse as being worthy of admiration in the herds of cows, is their large udders that were oozing milk. The large udder of the cow is mentioned in Raghuvamśa 2, 18: *āpīna-bhārodvahana-prayatnād gr̥hīr gurutvād vapuṣo narendrah | ubhāv alamcakratur aṅcitābhyām tapo-vanāvṛtti-pātham gatābhyām niso*. In *ibid*, 1, 82-84:

*anindyā Nandini nāma dhenur āvṛte vanāt ||
lalāṭodayam ābhugnam pallava-snigdha-pātalā |
bibhrati śveta-romāṅkam sandhyeva śaśinam navam ||
bhuvam koṣṭena kuṇḍodhnī medhyenāvabhrthād api |
prasratenābhivarṣanti vatsaloka-pravartinā ||*

not only the large udder overflowing with milk, but the white crescent-like mark on the forehead are mentioned as points of beauty.

The large udder, it may be observed, is associated with the moving away (towards home) from the grazing pasture, because it is only after the cow has grazed its fill that its udder becomes filled with milk and large in size. Hence the express mention of 'moving away from the field' in *RV.* 5, 2, 4 and in the verses cited above from the Kirātārjuniya and Raghuvamśa.

With *sumat* in 5, 2, 4, should be compared the word *anindyā* (Mallinatha: *anindyā praśastā*) in Raghuv. 1, 82 cited above, and *puṇya-darśanā* in *ibid*, 1, 86.

10, 32, 3: *tād in me chantsad vāpuṣo vāpuṣṭaram*
putrō yāḥ jānam pitrōr adhiyati |
jāyā pātīm vahati vagnūnā sumāt
pumsā id bhadro vahatūḥ pārīṣkṛtaḥ |

"That the son should remember the birth of his parents,—this has seemed to me more remarkable than what is remarkable. The beautiful wife marries the husband with a shout; a splendid wedding has been made ready for the man." The sense of this verse is not very clear: see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, II, 237. *vapuṣo vāpuṣṭaram* = *citrāc citrataram* or most remarkable. *vagnu*, shout, in pāda c, denotes perhaps a 'shout of joy' and *sumat*, in the same pāda, refers, I conceive, to *jāyā* rather than to *vagnu* as Sāyaṇa and Geldner (*Ved. St.* 2, 190) opine. It corresponds to *bhadra vadhūḥ* in 10, 27, 12: *bhadra vadhūr bhavati yāt supēsāḥ* and *sumāṅgalir vadhūḥ* in 10, 85, 33: *sumāṅgalir iyām vadhūr imām samēta pāśyata*.

1, 73, 6: *ṛtāsya hi dhenāvo vāvasānāḥ*
smādūdhnīḥ pīpāyanta dyūbhaktāḥ |
parāvātāḥ sumatīm bhikṣamānā
vī sindhavaḥ samāyā sasrur ādrim |

"The lowing milch-cows of ṛta (*i.e.*, that follow ṛta) that are bestowed by heaven and have fine udders, have oozed (milk). Begging for favour from afar, the rivers have burst though the midst of the rocks." *smādūdhnīḥ* = *śobhanodhnīḥ*, having fine, that is, large, udders; see note on p. 250 above, and compare also Raghuvamśa 2, 49: *gāḥ koṭīṣaḥ sparsayato ghaṭodhnīḥ*. The verse is addressed to Agni and refers to the milch-cow and the waters that are necessary for the offering of oblations. *vāvasānāḥ* in pāda a is ambiguous; it may mean 'lowing' (as translated above) or 'longing for; eager.' See pp. 85 ff. above.

7, 87, 3: *pāri spāṣo vāruṇasya smādiṣṭā*
ubhē paśyanti rōdasī sumēke |

rtāvānaḥ kavāyo yajñādhirāḥ
prācetaso yā iśāyanta mānma ||

"The swift-moving spies of Varuṇa survey the two beautiful worlds, Heaven and Earth,—they who inspire thoughts, who are wise, far-seeing, followers of the Law, (and) knowers of the sacrifice." *smadiṣṭāḥ* = *śobhana-gamanāḥ* as Sāyaṇa has explained; that is, swift-moving. Compare the epithets *bhūrṇayāḥ*, *iśirāsaḥ* and *svāñcaḥ* that are applied to *spāsaḥ* in 9, 73, 4: *āsya spāso nā ni miṣanti bhūrṇayāḥ* and 9, 73, 7: *rudrāsa eṣām iśirāso adrūhaḥ spāsaḥ svāñcaḥ sudṛṣo nṛcākṣasaḥ*.

8, 25, 24: *smādabhiṣū kāsāvantā*
vīprā nāviṣṭhaya māti |
mahó vājīnāv ārvantā śacāsanam ||

"O ye wise [Mitra and Varuṇa], I have, through my latest hymn, obtained plenty of wealth and two fleet racers with beautiful reins and whips." *smād-abhiṣu* = *sv-abhiṣū*; compare 8, 68, 16; 18: *surāthān ālithigvō svabhiṣūn ārkṣē | āśvamedhē supēśasaḥ || aīṣu cetad vīṣanvaty antār pīrēṣv āruṣi | svabhiṣūḥ kāsāvati*.

The word *vīprā* in pāda b has caused some difficulty to the exegetists. Sāyaṇa regards it as accusative dual and explains it as—*vīprā viprau medhāvinau | medhāvi stotā yathā stutyam devam stutibhiḥ priṇayati tadvat saṁtoṣakan*. So also does Ludwig who however translates the verse as, 'zugleich gewann ich die beiden [göttlichen] Brāhmaṇa mit hieher gewandtem zügel mit der geizsel in der hand und die beiden groszen kraftvollen renner' and thus makes out that the *vīprā* or two Brāhmaṇas formed part of the gift which the poet received! Grassman (s.v. *vīprā*) and Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, I, 83), on the other hand, regard it as feminine instrumental singular (and attribute of *matī*). It seems to me however that the most natural course by far is to regard it as vocative dual, referring to Mitra and Varuṇa to whom the hymn is addressed; compare for instance 8, 68, 15:

rjṛāv indrotā ā dade hārī fksasya sūnāvi | āśvamedhāsyā rōhitā and 6, 47, 22: *prastokā in nū rādhasas ta indra dāsa kōsayir dāsa vajino dāt* in which the vocative *indra* is used in Dānastutis. Compare also 1, 2, 9: *kavī no mitrāvāruṇā tvvijātā urukṣāyā* and 5, 71, 2: *vāsvasya hī pracetasā vāruṇa mitra rājathah* in which the epithets *kavī* and *pracetasā*, meaning *vīprā*, are applied to Mitra and Varuṇa and also 6, 68, 3: *tā gṛñhi namasyēbbhiḥ śūṣaḥ sumnēbbhir indrāvāruṇā cakānā | vājrenānyōḥ śāvasā hānti vṛtrām śiṣakty anyō vṛjāneṣu vīprah* and 7, 88, 4-6: *ślotāraṁ vīprah sudinativē āhnām . . yaudhī smā vīpra stuvalē vārūtham* in which the epithet *vīpra* is applied to Varuṇa.

8, 28, 2: *vāruṇo mitrō aryamā
smādrātiṣāco agnāyah |
pātnivanto vāṣatḥkṛtāḥ ||*

"Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryamā, the Agnis, with their splendid gifts, and their wives,—to them is *vāṣat* called (*i.e.*, to them are oblations offered)." As already observed, *smādrātiṣācaḥ* is equivalent to *surātāyah* occurring in 9, 81, 4 cited above; and hence it is very probable that the word is here an attribute, not only of the Agnis, but of Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman also.

8, 34, 6: *smātpurāṇdhīr na ā gahi
viśvātodhīr na ūtāye |
divō amūṣya śāsato
divām yayā divāvaso ||*

"Come to our help, thou with glorious blessings that hast thoughts on all sides; the rulers of this heaven have gone to heaven, O Divāvasu." Or, should we interpret *smāt-purāṇdhīḥ* as 'he whose wife is handsome'? Compare in this connection 3, 53, 6: *kalyāṇir jāyā surāyaṁ grhē te* 'A handsome wife is (thy) joy in thy house'; 10, 86, 11: *indrāṇīm āsū nāriṣu subhāgām ahām āśravam* 'Among these women, I have heard that Indra's wife is (the most) handsome'; and TB. 2, 4, 2, 7:

indrāṇi devī subhāgā supātni. As in 1, 156, 2 and 5, 61, 4 (see p. 246 above), it is possible that the prayer addressed to Indra to attend the sacrifice includes his wife also. Compare 1, 82, 6: *pūṣāvān vajrin sām u pātnyāmadah* 'Accompanied by Pūṣan, hast thou, O Vajra-bearer, revelled with thy wife.'

The meaning of the second hemistich which forms the refrain of the first fifteen verses of this hymn is obscure. Sāyaṇa explains it as, *amuṣya amuṣminu indre śāsataḥ śāsati | vibhaktivatyatayah | tatra vayan sukham āsmahe he divāvaso dīptahaviṣkendra divaṁ svargaṁ yaya yūyaṁ gacchatha | bahuvacanaṁ pūjārtham | yad vā | he divāvaso dyn-nāmakam amuṣya amuṁ lokam śāsanam kurvanto yūyaṁ divaṁ svargaṁ yaya gacchatha | atra bahu-vacanaṁ pūjārtham*. Grassmann translates it as: "Von jenes Herrschers Himmel kamt ihr (i.e., Indra and his horses) zu dem Feste Tageshell", and Ludwig as, "auf jenes Dyaus befel seid ihr auch [o falben], o Divāvasu, zum himel gegangen." These interpretations are all unsatisfactory and that given by me above is scarcely better though I have adopted in it Oldenberg's suggestion (*RV, Noten*, II, 105) that *śāsataḥ* is nominative plural and not genitive singular.

1, 51, 15: *idāṁ nāmo vṛṣabhāya svarāje
satyāśuṣmāya tavūse 'vāci |
asmīn indra vṛjāne śārvavīrah
smāt sūrībhīḥ tāva śārman syāma ||*

"This adoration (hymn) has been recited for the strong bull, sovereign, whose courage is strong; in this distress, O Indra, may we with all our men and with our noble patrons be in thy protection." *smāt sūrībhīḥ* = *bhadrāṇi sūrībhīḥ*, fortunate patrons; i.e., noble and rich patrons: compare the epithet *suśālā*, noble, applied to *sūri* in 2, 2, 11: *sā no bodhi sahasya praśāmsyo yāsmiṁ suśālā iṣāyanta sūrāyah* and 5, 6, 2: *sām ārvanto raghu-*

drūvaḥ sām sūjātāsaḥ sūrāyaḥ; compare also 10, 81, 6: *mūhyantv anyé abhīto jānāsa ihāsmākaṁ maghāvā sūrīr astu*. It must be observed however that though I have followed the current practice of Vedic exegetists (Roth, Grassmann, Oldenberg, etc.) in translating the word *sūrī* here as 'patron,' I am not satisfied that this is the real meaning of the word. Compare also Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*, p. 419): "Die eigentliche Bedeutung von *sūrī* ist noch unsicher."

1, 100, 13: *tūsyā vājraḥ krandatī smāt svarṣā
divó ná tveṣó ravāthaḥ śmītvān |
tām sacante sanāyas tām dhānāni
marūtān no bhavatu indra ūtī ||*

"His beautiful thunderbolt, that wins light, roars; the sound is terrible and overpowering like that of Dyaus. Him follow successes and prizes. May Indra with the Maruts come to our help." *smāt vajraḥ* = *śobhano vajraḥ*; compare 8, 70, 2: *hāstāya vājraḥ prāti dhāyī darśatāḥ* and 9, 97, 1: *eṣā prā kōṣe mādhumān acikradad indrasya vājro vāpuṣo vāpuṣtaraḥ*. Regarding the simile in pāda b, compare 1, 58, 2: *divó ná sānu stanāyann acikradat*; 4, 10, 4: *prā te divó ná stanayanti śúsmāḥ*; 7, 3, 6: *divó ná te tanyatūr eti śúsmāḥ* and other similar verses in which the sound of Dyaus, i.e., thunder, is mentioned as *upamāna*.

1, 186, 6: *utá na im tvāṣṭā gantu áccā
smāt sūrībhir abhīpitve sajoṣāḥ |
ā vṛtrahēndraś carṣaṇiprās
tuziṣṭamo narām na ihā gamyāḥ ||*

"And may Tvāṣṭr also come to us gladly in the evening with the glorious and gracious gods and goddesses. May Indra, the killer of Vṛtra, the strongest of heroes, who fulfils (the expectations of) men, come here." The meaning of *sūrī* is, as observed above, uncertain. We know however that it is used to denote the gods (see Grassmann, s.v.); and since gods and their

wives are mentioned in 2, 36, 3 explained above and also in 6, 50, 13: *tvāṣṭā devébhir jānibhiḥ sajōṣāḥ* and 10, 64, 10: *tvāṣṭā devébhir jānibhiḥ pitā vācaḥ* in connection with Tvaṣṭr. I regard the word here as an *ekaśeṣa* referring to gods and their wives.

1, 186, 8: *utā na im marūto vṛddhāsenāḥ*
smād rōdasī sāmanasaḥ sadantu |
pṛṣadaśvāso 'vānayo nā rāthā
riśādaso mitrayūjo nā devāḥ ||

"And may the Maruts also, with a great army (*i.e.*, who are many in number and form a great army by themselves),—the beautiful Rodasī (also)—sit, unanimous, on our (barhis), the gods with spotted horses, whose chariots (move as swiftly) as rivers, who are as difficult to check as those joined with their allies." The translation of pāda d is tentative as the meaning of *riśādasah* is not certain. I am however inclined to believe that it means 'swift; wild; impetuous; difficult to check' (compare Pischel in *Ved. St.* 3, 190 ff.) and that the comparison concerns kings on the offensive who have effected a junction with their allies. Compare 1, 190, 6: *durniyāntuḥ pāriprīto nā mitrāḥ* 'difficult to check like an ally who is well-pleased.' *smād rōdasī*=*bhadrā rodasī*; compare the epithet *bhadrājānayaḥ* that is applied to the Maruts in 5, 61, 4: *pārā virāsa etana māvāso bhadrājānayaḥ* with reference (presumably) to Rodasī.

2, 4, 9: *tvāyā yāthā gr̥tsamadāso agne*
gūhā vanvānta ūparāṇ abhi syūḥ |
suvirāso abhimātiśāḥ
smāt sūrībhyo gr̥naté tād vāyo dhāḥ ||

"That the Gr̥tsamadas, O Agni, attacking secretly, may, through thee, overcome (their) neighbours (and become) possessed of fine sons (and) conquerors of enemies—bestow such strength on the noble patrons and on the praiser (*i.e.*, priest)." The sense of pāda b is obscure. The epithet *gūhā vanvantaḥ* 'attacking or

winning secretly' is one that is more suited to the enemies of Agni's worshippers rather than to such worshippers themselves. The verb *as* with *abhi*, too, in the sense of 'overcome' takes generally in the RV objects like *ṛtanāyūn* (3, 1, 16: *abhi śyāma ṛtanāyūn ādevān*), *śātrūn* (1, 178, 5: *tvāyā vayām maghavann indra śātrūn abhi śyāma*), *rakṣasaḥ* (10, 132, 2: *yuvōḥ krāñāya sakhyāir abhi śyāma rakṣasaḥ*), and similar words; and it is strange to meet with the word *uparān* here as its object. Geldner therefore translates (*RV. Ueber.*) the pāda as, 'die Nebenbuhler (?) heimlich überwinden' and observes, "ūpara scheint hier und 6, 2, 11 eine von der sonstigen abweichende Bedeutung zu haben. In 7, 48, 3 (wo *uparātāti*, vgl. av. *uparātāt*—) spricht ihm *aryāḥ*, also entweder rivalis, Nebenbuhler oder (mehr in Anlehnung an den avest. Sinn von *upara*) überlegen."

5, 41, 15: *padē-pade me jarimā nī dhāyī*
vārūtrī vā śakrā yā pāyūbhīś ca |
sīśaktu mātā mahī rasā nah
smāt sūrībhīr ṛjuhāsta ṛjuvānīḥ ||

"At every step has old age been placed. May the great mother Rasā, mighty, bestowing beneficent gifts, with beneficent things in her hands, who protects us with protections, help us (and) our noble patrons." *jarimā* in pāda a means perhaps 'long life'; compare 10, 59, 4: *dyūbhīr hitō jarimā sū no astu* and Oldenberg's observation thereon (*RV. Noten*, II, p. 197), '*jarimān* wohl in günstigem Sinn als "langes Leben" zu verstehen, vgl. 10, 87, 21 [*sāke sākḥāyam ajāro jarimnē 'gne mātān āmarīyas tvām nah*].' Compare also 1, 116, 25: *utā pāsyann asnuvān dirghām āyur āstam ivēj jarimānam jagamyām*.

5, 41, 19: *abhi na ilā yūthāsya mātā*
smān nadībhīr urvāśī vā grṇātu |
urvāśī vā brhaddivā grṇānā
'bhyūrṇvānā prabhrthāsya yōḥ ||

"May Idā, mother of the herd, praise us, or Urvaśī with the beautiful rivers, Urvaśī or Bṛhaddivā who is praised and who is surrounded by the offerings of diligent men." *smān nadībhiḥ* = *bhadrābhir nadībhiḥ*. Compare the epithets *citrā*, *darśatā*, etc., applied to the river Sindhu in 10, 75, 7-8: *āsvā nā citrā vāpuṣiṣv darśatā* || *svāśvā sindhuḥ surāthā suvāsā hiraṇyāyī sūkṛtā* . . . *yuvatīḥ* . . . *subhāgā*.

5, 87, 8: *adveṣo no maruto gātūm etana*
śrōtā hāvaṃ jaritūr evayāmarut !
viṣṇor mahāḥ samanyavo yuyotana
smāt rathyo nā dāmsānā
'pu dvēṣāmsi sanutāḥ ||

"Being favourably inclined, take the way towards us, O Maruts; listen to the call of the praiser (priest). Being of the same mind as the great Viṣṇu (*i.e.*, in combination with the great Viṣṇu), keep away from us, by your great power, (all) evil things, as good charioteers (keep away from difficult roads)." Regarding the simile in pāda d, compare 8, 47, 5: *pāri no vṛṇajann aghā durgāṇi rathyo yathā* "May distresses keep away from us as charioteers keep away from difficult roads." *evayāmarut* in pāda b occurs as refrain in all verses of the hymn and has been left untranslated by me. It has no connection with the other words of the verses, and seems to be used as a sort of interjection. See PW and Grassmann. *smāt rathyāḥ* = *praśastā rathyāḥ* as explained by Śaṅkara, that is, clever charioteers who know how to drive.

7, 3, 8: *yā vā te śānti dāśūṣe ādhrṣṭā*
gīro vā yābhir nṛvātīr uruṣyāḥ |
tābhir naḥ sūno sahaso nī pāhi
smāt sūrīn jaritṛn jātavedaḥ ||

"The impregnable (citadels) that thou hast for him who makes offerings to thee, or through which thou canst protect hymns with men (*i.e.*, hymns and

also the men, that is, us, that recite them), with them, O son of strength, O Jātavedas, protect us singers (and our) noble patrons." Compare Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, II, p. 7. The word *purah*, 'citadels,' has to be understood here after *adhṛstāh*; compare 7, 15, 14: *ādihā mahi na āyasy ānādhṛsto nṛpitaye | pūr bhavā satābhujih* and 10, 101, 8: *pūrah kṛṇudhvam āyasir ādhṛstāh* and also pāda d of the preceding verse: *satām pūrbhīr āyasibhīr ni pāhi*. Regarding the expression *pūrbhīr uruṣyāh*, compare 1, 58, 8: *āgne grṇāntam āmhasa uruṣyōrjo napāt pūrbhīr āyasibhīh*; and regarding *gira uruṣyāh*, compare 10, 177, 2: *tām dyōtamānām svaryām manīṣām ṛtāsya padē kavāyo ni pānti*; 10, 93, 11: *etām sāmśam indra . . . sādā pāhi*; and 7, 56, 19: *imē [sc. marutah] sāmśam vānuṣyatō ni pānti, smāt sūrīn= bhadrān sūrīn*.

8, 18, 4: *devēbhīr devy aditē*

'riṣṭabharmann ā gahi |

smāt sūrībhīh purupriye suśārmabhīh ||

"Come, O goddess Aditi, very dear, that bringest blessings, with the bright well-protecting gracious gods." Regarding *smāt devēbhīh* 'gracious gods,' compare *bhadrā devāh* in 10, 72, 5: *tām devā āuv ajāyanta bhadrā amṛtabandhavaḥ*.

8, 20, 18: *yē cārhanti marūtah sudānavah*

smān mīlhuṣaś cāranti yē |

ūtaś cid ā na ūpa vāsyasā hṛdā

yūvāna ā vavydhvam ||

"The liberal ones (*i.e.*, worshippers) who adore the Maruts, who serve (*i.e.*, worship) the gracious ones that rain blessings,—turn, O ye youths, even from thence (*i.e.*, from heaven) towards us with very gracious mind." *sudānavah* is an epithet of worshippers; compare 8, 103, 7: *āśvam nū gīrbhī rathyām sudānavo marmṛjyānte devayāvah* and 9, 74, 4: *samīcīnāh sudānavah priṇanti tām nārah, smāt=bhadrān*; compare the epithet *subhaga* applied to

the Maruts in 5, 60, 6: *yád uttamé maruto madhyamé vā yád vāvamé subhagāso divi śthā*. The epithet *mīlhuṣaḥ* is applied to the Maruts in 1, 173, 12 also: *mahās cid yāsya mīlhuṣo javyā haviṣmato marúto vandate gīḥ*. *ye* in the first hemistich seems to have as antecedent *nah* in the third pāda.

The words *arhanti* and *caranti* in the first hemistich are perplexing and I follow Sāyaṇa in interpreting them as *pūjayanti* (cp. 10, 77, 1: *sumārutam ná brahmāṇam arháse*) and *saparyanti* (cp. the verb *paricar*) respectively. Grassmann (no. 640) translates the hemistich as, "Die reich an Gaben selbst den Maruts kommen gleich, und zu den gnäd'gen gehn im Chor," and Ludwig (no. 702) as, "die Marut, die trefflich begabten, die hieher regnend gehn, sie die anspruch haben."

8, 26, 18-19: *utā syā śvetayāvarī
vāhiṣṭhā vām nadīnām |
sīndhur hiraṇyavartaniḥ ||
smād etāyā sukīrtiā
'svinā śvetāyā dhiyā |
vāhethe subhrayāvānā ||*

"And this Śvetayāvarī with a golden path, that among rivers, flows the best for ye, by this beautiful, well-famed Śvetā, drive with my prayer, O ye Aśvins with a splendid team." *śvetā*=Śvetayāvarī, and *śvetayā*, 'by Śvetā,' means probably 'to the bank of Śvetā,' where, according to Sāyaṇa, the *ṛṣi* was invoking the Aśvins.

10, 61, 8: *sā im vṛṣā ná phēnam asya ad ājau
smād ā páraid āpa dabhrácatāḥ |
sārat padā ná dākṣiṇā parāvṛṇ
ná tā nū me prṣanyō jagṛbhre ||*

This verse, as in fact, the whole hymn in which the verse occurs, is obscure. I translate tentatively, "Like a bull in a race, he threw forth froth; the handsome one went away weak in mind. He walked with the right foot turned away, as it were, thinking 'The Prṣanis have not got hold of me.'"

The word *smat* occurs further in 10, 49, 4 (*tūgrāṁ kūtśāya smādiḥam ca vandhayam*) in the compound *smādiḥa* ('having a fine elephant') which is generally regarded as a proper name (PW, Grassmann, Sāyaṇa, Pischel and Geldner in *Ved. St.*, 1, p. xvi.).

The word *sumat* too occurs, further, in the compound *sumādgu* in AV. 5, 1, 7 and in the compound *sumāt-kṣara* in three Praiṣa formulæ (VS. 21, 43-45; TB. 3, 6, 11, 1; MS. 4, 13, 7; KS. 18, 21). AV. 5, 1, 7, as in fact, the whole of the hymn 5, 1, is very obscure (Whitney, in his *AV. Translation*, remarks of it that it is 'intentionally and most successfully obscure'). Whitney has translated *sumādgu* there as 'with kine'; but there seems to be no doubt that it means 'having fine cows,' and that it is the equivalent of *sugū* in RV. 1, 125, 2: *sugūr āsat suhīranyās svāśvaḥ. sumāt-kṣara* (which is an epithet applied to the offering of fat and cooked flesh made to the gods) is explained by Roth (PW) as 'träufelnd, vollaftig.' This explanation is unsatisfactory, and the word really signifies 'beautifully melting', that is, 'melting delightfully in the mouth' or 'delicious.'*

In conclusion, I would observe that, in the verses in which the words *smāt* and *sumāt* are used by themselves uncompounded, it is difficult to determine with what word they are to be construed. Thus in 10, 32, 3, I have construed *sumāt* with *jāyā* while Geldner (*Ved. St.* 2, 1. c.) and Sāyaṇa construe it with *vagnūnā*. In 2, 4, 9, Sāyaṇa construes *smāt* with *vāyah*, and in 1, 100, 13, with *kṛandati* while I have construed them with *sūribhyah* and *vājrah*. Similarly, it is possible to construe it with *śārman* in 1, 51, 15 (compare the words *su-śārman* and *su-śārāṇa*) and with *nipāhi* in 7, 3, 8 (compare *su-gopāh*; *su-ūti*). I have therefore in the translations given above construed it in what seemed to me to be the best way.

* Compare Uvāṇa's explanation: *sumat-kṣarāṇām | sumat svayam ity arthah | svayam eva yāni kṣaranti aditāni* in his commentary on VS. 21. 43 and the similar explanation of Mahidhara.

There has been much dispute about the interpretation of this word which occurs in six verses of the RV and in two passages of other texts; for literature in connection with it, see Oldenberg in ZDMG. 63, 300.

paḍbhīḥ is mentioned in the *Nighaṇṭu* in 4, 2, along with other difficult words; and Yāska, in his *Nirukta* (5, 3), explains it as *pānair iti vā spāsanair iti vā*.¹ Sāyaṇa explains it uniformly as *pādaiḥ* in his RV commentary; and so apparently do Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara in their commentaries on VS. 23, 13.

These facts, namely, Sāyaṇa's unvarying explanation of *paḍbhīḥ* as *pādaiḥ* and the similar explanations of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara, lead me to conjecture that this explanation was borrowed by these commentators from Yāska, that Yāska, in fact, explained the word as *pādair iti vā spāsanair iti vā*, and that the word *pānaiḥ* found in the MSS is a corruption of the original reading *pādaiḥ*.

In other words, I am inclined to believe that Yāska looked upon *paḍbhīḥ* (1) as equivalent to *pādaiḥ*, or (2) as derived from the root *spas*. According to Devarāja (l.c.), this root *spas* signifies 'to bind' and *paḍbhīḥ* is equivalent to *bandhanaiḥ*. According to Wackernagel (*Alt. Gr.*, I, 172), Macdonell (*Ved. Gr.*, 34) and other

¹ The explanation *spāsanair iti vā* is found in some manuscripts of the *Nirukta* after *spāsanair iti vā*; see Pischel, *Ved. St.*, I, 228, n. 2. It is not found in the majority of the manuscripts, and there can therefore be no doubt that it is an interpolation.

Durga's commentary on the *Nirukta* shows that he did not know of this explanation. On the other hand, Devarāja's explanation of *paḍbhīḥ* in his scholium on the *Nighaṇṭu* (p. 408 of Satyavrata Sāmaśramin's ed.) shows that the words *spāsanair iti vā* formed part of the *Nirukta* in his time. For the rest, the explanations of both these writers show that the *Nirukta* codex which they had before them had the reading *pānaiḥ*.

exegetists however, *paḍbhīḥ* is derived not only from *paś* 'to bind' but also from *spaś* 'to see.' And thus there are altogether three meanings proposed for the word *paḍbhīḥ*.

The European exegetists differ from one another by preferring or rejecting one or more of these three meanings. Thus, Roth, in the PW, says that *paḍbhīḥ* denotes *pādaḥ* generally, but that the word used in RV. 4, 2, 12 is derived from *spaś* 'to see' and signifies 'glances' or 'eyes'². Ludwig, in his *RV. Ueber.*, 4, 309, questions both these derivations and says that *paḍbhīḥ* is derived from *paś*=*pāśa* or rope; later however, in 5, 626, he is inclined to admit the derivation from *spaś* 'to see' in connection with 4, 2, 12; 14. Bartholomae too, in *Bez. Beitr.* XV, 3 ff., similarly rejects the meaning *paḍbhīḥ* or *pādaḥ* and derives the word from *paś* 'glance' and from *paś* 'rope.' Pischel, *Ved. St.* 1, 228 ff. admits all the three meanings, while Bloomfield, in *AJPh.* 11, 350 ff., opines that *paḍbhīḥ* signifies *pādaḥ* everywhere and that it is not the instrumental plural of *paś* 'glance (eye)' or *paś* 'rope.' This is the opinion of Oldenberg also (*ZDMG.* 63, 300 ff.) who however interprets some of the verses in which *paḍbhīḥ* occurs differently from Bloomfield. Similarly Geldner³ too, in his *RV. Ueber.* (I, 376), has translated *paḍbhīḥ* as 'with feet.'

Now, it cannot be disputed that *paḍbhīḥ* means 'with feet' in Kauś. Sūtra 44, 17: *yad vaśā māyūm akrata uro vā paḍbhir āhata | agnir mā tasmād euaso viśvān muñcatv amhasah* which is to be recited when the *vaśā* is being slain. Not only does the meaning 'with feet' fit well here in the context, but the parallel versions of this mantra in TS. 3, 1, 4, 3; Sāma-mantra-brāh.

²Macdonell too (op. cit. p. 238) opines that *paḍbhīḥ* in 4, 2, 12 means 'with looks' and is derived from *spaś* 'to see.'

³Geldner, in his *RV. Glossar*, had, like Pischel, admitted all the three meanings.

2, 2, 11; Kāt. ŚS. 25, 9, 12; Śāṅkh. ŚS. 4, 17, 12; Mānava-ŚS. 1, 8, 3, 34 and Gobh. GS. 3, 10, 28 actually read *padbhiḥ* here without cerebralization; so also do in fact many MSS of the Kausika-sūtra itself. The meaning of the mantra therefore is: "If the *vaśā* has cried or beat (its) breast with (its) feet,—may Agni free me from that sin and all (other) sins." Similarly, there can be no doubt that *padbhiḥ*=*pādaiḥ* in VS. 23, 13 (=Śata. Br. 13, 2, 7, 6): *eśā sya rāthyo vṛṣā padbhiḥ catūrbhir ed aḡan*. The expression *catūrbhiḥ padbhiḥ* here is, as already pointed out by Pischel (l.c. 352), parallel to the expression *catūrbhiḥ padbhiḥ* in AV. 3, 7, 2: *ānu tvā hariṇō vṛṣā padbhiḥ catūrbhir akramīt* and AV. 4, 14, 9: *padbhiḥ catūrbhiḥ prāti tiṣṭha dikṣū*; and the passage therefore means: "This excellent chariot-horse has indeed come with four feet."

The meaning *pādaiḥ* however does not suit the context in RV. 10, 79, 2: *ātrāṇy asmai padbhiḥ sām bharanty uttānāhastā nāmasā 'dhi vikṣū*; for, it is difficult to imagine food being carried to Agni with feet by his worshippers. Bloomfield proposes therefore to interpret *padbhiḥ* as 'nimble' here and explains (l. c. 352-3) thus how the word comes to have this meaning: "The phrase *padbhiḥ catūrbhiḥ* expresses the simple notion that the speed of animals is due to their character as quadrupeds. Animals run swiftly with their four feet, and because of their four feet. If the notion is generalized, *padbhiḥ*, when used of human beings, may have been felt in contrast to *padbhyām* to mean 'with (four) feet' and thus 'quickly, nimbly, briskly,' etc. RV. v. 64, 7 *ed ā padbhir dhāvataṁ narā bībhṛatō arcanānasam* 'run hither nimbly, O ye two heroes, to preserve Arcanānas.' RV. x. 99, 12, *evā mahō asura vakṣāthāya vamrakāḥ padbhir ūpa śarpad indram* 'thus, O Asura, did great Vamraka quickly come to Indra for prosperity.' It seems difficult to imagine another meaning of *padbhiḥ* in these two passages, especially the last, Pischel has

left it untranslated, though admitting that *paḍbhih* comes from *pād* 'foot;' it seems simply inane to translate 'Vamraka went to Indra with his feet (plural!).' We venture the same exegesis for *paḍbhih* in RV. x. 79. 2: *ātrāny asmāi paḍbhih sām bharanty, uttānūhastā nūmasā 'dhi vikṣū* 'nimble do they carry together fuel for him,' etc. Bartholomae and Pischel follow Ludwig in regarding *paḍbhih* as a ritual expression, equivalent to *idhma-samnahana*, and translate 'they bring together his fuel with ropes,' etc. But the hymn is mystical, and it seems unlikely that a dry technical detail of the ritual should appear singly in such connection."

This explanation is more ingenious than convincing; for, even granting that *paḍbhih* 'with feet,' when used with verbs of motion in connection with human beings, means 'briskly,' 'nimble,' one fails to see why it should have this meaning in 10, 79, 2 where there is no verb of motion. Similarly, the explanations of Ludwig and Pischel (l. c. 237) that *paḍbhih* means 'with rope' here and refers to the *idhma-samnahana-rajju* (or string with which the samidhs are tied together) are unconvincing. Likewise, it is also evident that the meaning 'eyes' or 'glances' does not fit the context here at all. Hence it is clear that *paḍbhih* in 10, 79, 2 must have a signification different from the three mentioned above.

Now, Amarasiṃha, in his lexicon, mentions (1. 4, 1) among synonyms of *mati* the words *buddhi*, *manisā*, *dhiṣṇā*, *dhi*, *prajñā*, *śamūṣi* and *prekṣā*, of which the last-mentioned word *prekṣā* is derived from *pra+ikṣ* 'to see'; similarly, he mentions in 2, 7, 5f., the words *dūradarśin*, *dirgha-darśin*, and *vicakṣaṇa*, all derived from roots meaning 'to see,' among synonyms of *dhiṣṇ* and *manisṇ* 'weise, verständig, nachdenkend'; and most of the verbs meaning 'to see' in Sanskrit, as for instance, *ā+lok*, *ā+loc*, *ikṣ*, *dr̥ś*, *lok*, signify 'to understand, to comprehend' also;⁴ see Apte; see also Grassmann s. v. *ikṣ*, *ci* 2, *dr̥ś*, *vi+cakṣ*, *vicakṣaṇa*, etc.

⁴ Similarly, verbs meaning 'to see' have the sense of 'to understand, to comprehend' in many European languages also.

It is my opinion that the word *paś*, derived from *spaś* 'to see', is, like the above-mentioned word *prekṣā*, a synonym of *mati*, *dhī*, *manīṣā*, *dhīti*, etc. *paḍbhiḥ* thus is equivalent to *matibhiḥ*, *dhībhiḥ*, *dhītibhiḥ* or *manīṣābhiḥ*; and I shall now show that this meaning fits well into the context in all the six RV verses in which the word occurs.

10, 79, 2: *gūhā śiro nīhitam ydhag akṣi*
āśinvann atti jihvāyā vānāni |
ūtrāny asmai paḍbhiḥ sām bharanty
uttānāhastā nāmasā 'dhi vikṣu ||

"(His) head is placed in a secret place, (his) eyes, in a different place; irresistible, he eats woods with (his) tongue. In the clans, they (i.e., worshippers), with hands stretched out, reverently bring food for him with hymns."

paḍbhiḥ = *matibhiḥ* 'with hymns'; compare in this connection the following verses—7, 4, 1: *prā vah śukrāya bhānāve bharadvam havyām matim cāgnāye sūpūtam*; 1, 153, 1: *yājāmahe vām mahāḥ sajōṣā havyēbhir mitravaruṇā nāmobhiḥ | ghṛtāir ghṛtasnū ādha yād vām asme adhvaryāvo nā dhītibhir bhāranti*; 5, 7, 1: *sākhāyaḥ sām vah samyāncam iṣam stōmam cāgnāye | vārṣiṣṭhāya kṣitīnām ūrjo nāptre sāhasvate [bharata] and 5, 12, 1: prāgnāye brhatē yajñīyāya rtāsya vṛṣṇe āsurāya mānma | ghṛtām nā yajñā āsyē sūpūtam gīram bhare vṛṣabhāya pratīcim*; all these verses speak of food (*havya*, *ghṛta*, *iṣ*) being brought (*bhrta*) to Agni and Mitra-Varuṇa with hymns (*mati*, *dhīti*, *stoma*, *gī*). Compare also 1, 136, 1: *prā sū jyēṣṭham nicirābhyām brhān nāmo havyām matim bharatā mṛṇayādabhyām*; 6, 1, 10: *asmā u te māhi mahē vidhema nāmobhir agne samīdhotā havyaiḥ | vēdī sūno sahaso gīrbhir ukthair ā te bhadrāyām sumataū yatema*; 2, 35, 12: *asmai bahūnām avamāya sākhye yajñair vidhema nāmasā havirbhiḥ | sām sānu mārjmi dīdhiṣāmi bilmair dūdhiām y annaiḥ pāri vanda rgbhiḥ*; 8, 19, 5: *yāḥ samīdhā yā āhuti yō vēdena dadāsa mārto agnāye | yō*

nāmasā svadhvarāḥ; and 8, 19, 13: *yó agním havyádātibhir nāmobhir vā sudākṣam āśivāsati | girā vā 'jirāśoci-sam* all which verses speak of Agni being worshipped in reverence (*nāmasā*) with food and hymns.

10, 99, 12: *evā mahó asura vakṣáthāya
vamrakáh paṇḍhīr úpa sarpad índram |
sá iyānuh karati svastim asmā
īsam ūrjam suksītim víśvam ābhāh ||*

" Thus, O great one, did Vamraka, for the strengthening of (thee) that art strong, approach with hymns, (thee) Indra. He, being approached, makes happiness for this (Vamraka); (he) has brought food, vigour, fine dwelling and all."

It is the opinion of Roth (in the PW) that *vamraka* in pāda b means 'ant.' This view is justly criticised by Pischel who writes thus on p. 238, l. c.: "Dass *Vamraká* nicht, wie Roth meint, "Ameischen" bedeutet, geht klar aus dem Beiworte *mahá* hervor. "Ein grosses Ameischen" wäre doch gar zu sonderbar und nicht weniger seltsam wäre es, *mahás* als Genetiv sing. zu fassen, zu *vakṣáthāya* zu ziehen und auf Indra zu deuten. Dass ein Ameischen dem Indra zum gedeihen verhelfen sollte, ist schwer zu glauben und wird direkt widerlegt durch den folgenden Vers *sá iyānuh karati svastim asmā īsam ūrjam suksītim víśvam ābhāh*. *sá* kann nur Indra, *asmāi* nur Vamraka sein. *Vamraká* ist Eigennamen und wohl identisch mit Vamra 1, 112, 15 (10, 99, 5?)." Similarly, *vamraká* is regarded as a proper name by Bloomfield (l.c.), Grassmann and Ludwig. Sāyaṇa too regards it as a proper name, and identifies, as I think, quite correctly, this Vamraka, with the Vamra Vaikhānasa who, according to the *Sarvānukramanī*, is the seer of this verse.

In pāda a, the vocative *asura* refers naturally to Indra who is the deity of this stanza and is mentioned in pāda b; compare in this connection 1, 154, 3; 1, 174, 1

and other verses (see Grassmann s. v.) in which this epithet is applied to Indra. The word *mahāh* is apparently regarded as a dative by Ludwig who translates *mahō vakṣāthāya* as 'zu grossem wachsthum,' while Grassmann opines that it is a genitive and refers to Indra. It is, as we have seen, looked upon as nominative singular by Pischel and also by Bloomfield (l. c.) and interpreted as 'great.' This view seems to me to be incorrect; for, nowhere else in the RV do we see a priest or singer characterised as 'great'; on the other hand, some of the seers call themselves *nādhāmāna* 'distressed' (see Grassmann s.v.). I believe therefore with Grassmann that *mahāh* is a genitive and refers to Indra, and I hence supply after it the word *te*; compare 4, 24, 7: *vṛddhāsya cid vardhatām asya tanūh stōmebhīr ukthāś ca śasyāmānā* 'May the body of this (Indra), though he is strong, become strong (er), being praised with hymns of praise.' After *īndram*, too, I supply, following Sāyaṇa, the word *tvām*.

That the hymns recited by priests or singers put strength into the deities that are praised, is an idea that is commonplace in the RV. The phrase *padbhīh vakṣāthāya upasṛp* 'to approach with hymns for strengthening' in pāda b gives expression to such an idea; it is equivalent to the phrases *matībhīh*, (*gīrbhīh*, *stomaiḥ*, *manasā*, *brahmaṇā*, etc.) *vardhay*, *vājay*, or *mahay* that are used in many verses. Compare for instance 5, 14, 6: *agnīm ghr̥tēna vāvṛdhuḥ stōmebhīr viśvācarṣaṇim | svādhībhīr vacasyūbhīh*; 7, 12, 3: *tvām vāruṇa utā mitrō agne tvām vardhanti matībhīr vāsiṣṭhāh*; 7, 77, 6: *yām tvā divo duhitar vardhāyanty ūśah sujāte matībhīr vāsiṣṭhāh*; 8, 44, 2: *agne stōman jūṣasva me vārdhasvānena mūnmanā*; 1, 91, 11: *sōma gīrbhīḥ tvā vayām vardhāyāmo vacovīdah*; 10, 73, 2: *purū śāmsena vāvṛdhuḥ tā īndram*; 8, 100, 3: *prā sū stōman bharata vājayānta īndrāya satyām yādi satyām āsti*; 6, 19, 4: *tām va īndram catinam asya tākoir ihā nūvām vājayānto huvema*;

8, 3, 16: *īndraṁ stōmebhīr mahāyanta āyāvoh priyāmedhāso asvarau*; 6, 15, 2: *sā tvāṁ sūprito vitāhavye adbhūto prāsastibhīr mahayase divē-dive*; 3, 3, 3: *vīprāso agnīm mahayanta cītibhīh*; and 5, 31, 4: *brahmāṇa īndraṁ mahāyanto arkaīr āvardhayan āhaye hāntavā u*. The word *padbhīh* is equivalent to *stōmebhīh*, *gīrbhīh*, *cītibhīh*, *matibhīh*, *mānmanā*, *prāsastibhīh*, and *arkaīh* in the above verses. The expression *padbhīr ūpa sarpat* in b is parallel to *gīrbhīr īmahe*, *gīrbhīr āyan*, etc., in 8, 68, 10: *tām tvā yajñēbhīr īmahe tām gīrbhīr girvāṇastama*; 10, 98, 9: *tvāṁ pūrva śṣayo gīrbhīr āyan tvāṁ adhvarēsu puruhūta viśve*; 2, 2, 5: *tām u havyaīr mānuṣa rñjate girā*; 1, 36, 1: *agnīm sūktēbhīr vācobhīr īmahe*; 8, 43, 31: *agnīm mandrām purupriyām . . hṛdbhīr mandrēbhīr īmahe* and other similar verses. Compare also AB. 7, 17: *sa Prajāpatim eva prathamam devatānām ūpa-sasāra kasya nūnam . . ity etayarcā . . Agnīm ūpasasārāgner vayam . . ity etayarcā . . Savitāram ūpasasārābhi tvā deva savitar ity etena trena*.

5, 64, 7: *ucchāntyām me yajatā
devākṣatre rūśadgavi |
sutām sōmam nā hastibhīr
ā padbhīr dhāvatam narā
bībhratāv arcanānasam ||*

"When (the Dawn) with bright cows dawns for me in the sky, come with thoughts, running, O ye (two) heroes that are worshipful, to Arcanānas as to the (Soma juice) pressed by dexterous (priests), protecting."

yajatā in a is nominative dual and qualifies [*yuvām*] that is the subject of *adhāvatam* in d and refers to Mitra and Varuṇa who are the deities of this verse. *rūśadgavi* 'having bright cows' denotes the goddess Uṣas; cp. 5, 75, 9: *ābhūd uṣā rūśatpaśur āgnir adhāyy rtvīyah* "The Dawn who has bright cows has appeared; Agni has been set up (i.e., kindled) at the proper time" and Nighaṇṭu 1, 15: *arunyo gāva uṣasah*.

devākṣatre in pāda b is obscure. Diverse suggestions have been made that it should be interpreted as (1) *yajña* (Sāyaṇa: *devānām kṣatram balam yasmin yajñe tad devākṣatram*); (2) 'Himmel' (Pischel in p. 238, l. c.); (3) 'unter göttlichen Herrschaft stehend' (Roth in PW), that is, presumably, 'the Dawn' or 'sky'; ^a (4) 'Herrschaft der Götter, Götterreich' (Grassmann); (5) 'reich der götter' (Ludwig); (6) *deva-ksetra* (Böhlingk in PW); (7) accusative dual, attribute of *haviṣt* (the dual is used because two portions are offered, one each to Mitra and Varuṇa who are entreated to come to such food as gods go to the Soma juice), and meaning 'eine die Herrschaft über die Götter verbürgende Opfer-speise' (Oldenberg in *RV. Noten*, I, p. 348, n. 1); and (8) locative, attribute of 'rite' and denoting 'in the rite which portrays the dominion (of Mitra and Varuṇa) over the gods' (Oldenberg, l.c.). Further, after expressing his dissatisfaction with all the above explanations, Oldenberg (9) points out (l. c.) that *kṣatra* is preeminently the possession of Mitra and Varuṇa (who are the very deities of this verse) in the RV and that they are described as having *kṣatra* over the gods in 5, 68, 3: *mahī vām kṣatrām devēsu* and 6, 67, 5: *viśve yād vām . . . kṣatrām devāso ādadhuḥ sajōṣāh*, and opines that *devākṣatre* is a corruption of *devākṣatrā*, nominative dual (the corruption is

^a It is explicitly said of the Dawn in 1, 92, 12: *aminati dāvyāni vralāni* and 7, 76, 5: *tē devānām nā minanti vralāni* that she does not infringe the laws of the gods, that is, that she obeys the laws of the gods and is under their dominion.

A similar explicit statement is not made of the sky. But the sky is said to have been established in its place or to be supported or upheld by Mitra and Varuṇa (5, 62, 3; 5, 69, 1; 4; etc.); Savitr (4, 53, 2; 10, 129, 1; 4; etc.), Indra (2, 12, 1; 3, 30, 9; 2, 17, 5; etc.) Viṣṇu (7, 99, 2; 3), Agni (6, 8, 3; 1, 67, 5), Bṛhaspati (4, 50, 1), Soma (9, 101, 15), Prajāpati (10, 121, 5), Sūrya (10, 85, 1) and perhaps by other gods; and one can therefore deduce from this that the sky is under the dominion of the gods and obeys the laws laid down by them.

caused by the attraction of the locative case of the word *rūsadgavi* that follows immediately after), and that it is an attribute of Mitra and Varuṇa and signifies 'who have dominion over the gods.'

The word *devakṣatra* occurs in two passages of the Kāth. Samh. in 21, 11 (p. 52, 9): *devakṣatram vai stomas ca yajus cāntata eva devakṣatram prāvasyati* and 33, 8 (p. 34, 5): *devakṣatram vā āyuṣas stomā devakṣatram eva tad abhyārohanānti*. Not much light is thrown on the meaning of the word by the first,⁹ but the second indicates that *devakṣatra* is a place to which people 'mount.' Since the word *div* and its synonym *nāka* occur more than once as objects of the verb *āruh* in the KS (see 8, 16; 18, 4 etc.) and also in the RV (see Grassmann s. v. *ruh*), I believe that Pischel is right in interpreting *devakṣatra* as 'Himmel.' As we have seen above, the sky is under the dominion of the gods, and the epithet *devakṣatra* 'under the dominion of the gods' is not therefore an inappropriate one. Compare in this connection 1, 92, 1: *etā u tyā uṣāsaḥ ketūm akrata pūrve ārdhe rājaso bhānūm añjate*; 7, 79, 2: *vy āñjate divā ānteṣv aktūm . . uṣāsaḥ*; and 1, 113, 14: *vy āñjībhīr divā ātāsv adyaut* in which Uṣas is said to have illumined the sky with her rays.

The expression *paḍbhīr ādhāvatam* in d is equivalent to *dhībhīr ādhāvatam*; compare 8, 8, 5: *ā no yātam ūpaśruty āśvinā sōmapītaye | svāhā stōmasya vardhanā prā kavī dhībhīr narā*; 8, 8, 7: *divās cid rocanād ādhy ā no gantam svarvidā | dhībhīr vatsa-pracetāsā stōmebhīr havanaśrutā*; 8, 24, 7: *vīśvāni vīśvāmanaso dhīyā no*

⁹ The corresponding passage of the Maitr. Samh. however, namely, 3, 4, 2 (p. 46, 21): *stomas ca yajus cety annaṁ vai stomas ca yajus cānnaṁ vā etad ātman dhītvā 'do bhūtvā devakṣetram antataḥ prāvāsati* has *devakṣetram*. This word signifies *svarga* or heaven; and the reading of the MS makes it probable that *devakṣatra* = *devakṣetra*, and thus lends support to Pischel's explanation of *devakṣatra* as 'Himmel.'

vṛtrahantama | *úgra pranetar ádhi śū vaso gahi*; 8, 27, 5: *â no adyâ samanaso gântâ víśve sajośasaḥ* | *ṛcâ girâ mâruto dévy áute sádaue pástye mahi*; 8, 27, 8: *â prâ yāta mâruto viṣṇo áśvinā pūṣan mākīnaya dhiyâ*; and also 6, 50, 10: *utâ me hávam â jagmyātam nāsatyā dhibhīh*.

The meaning of this expression *padbhīr ādhāvatam* 'come running with thoughts' is somewhat ambiguous. The thoughts referred to may be 'benevolent' thoughts, *sumatayah*, i.e., favours or blessings (what Sāyaṇa calls *anugraha-buddhi* and Grassmann 'wohlwollendes Aufmerken') of the deities; compare 8, 26, 9: *sumatībhīr ūpa viprāv itā gatam*; "Come, O ye two inspired ones, with favours here"; 8, 3, 1: *asmān avantu te dhīyah* 'May thy (Indra's) favours help us'; 7, 67, 7: *āheḥatā mānasā yātam arvāk* "Come hitherward with favourable thought"; 7, 37, 2: *vī no rādhāmsi matībhīr dayadhvam* "Bestow gifts on us with favours"; and 2, 10, 5: *araksāṣā mānasā tāj juṣeta* "May he (Agni) enjoy it with favourably-inclined mind"; or they may be the promptings or volitions of such deities; compare 1, 3, 5: *indrā yāhi dhiyēsitāḥ* . . . *ūpa brāhmāṇi vāghātaḥ* 'Come, O Indra, impelled by thy thought, (that is, with eagerness), to the hymns of the priest'; 3, 11, 1: *indrāgni â gatam sūtām gīrbhīr nābho vāreṇyam* | *asyā pātam dhiyēsitā* 'O Indra and Agni, prompted by your thoughts (i.e., eagerly) come to this excellent [Soma] juice that has been expressed with hymns and drink of it'; 1, 3, 2: *nārā śāvīrayā dhiyā* | *dhiṣṇyā vānatam girāḥ* 'Cherish (our) hymns with strong thought (i.e., most eagerly), O ye two heroes that are liberal (?)'. They may also be the 'pious' thoughts, i.e., hymns or praises, of the priests, which are conceived of as impelling the deities to come to the sacrifices, etc.; compare 1, 135, 6: *â vām dhiyō vavṛtyur adhvarān ūpa* "May our hymns turn you two to our sacrifices"; 1, 139, 6: *gīrbhīr gīrvāhas stāvamāna â gahi*; 1, 144, 5: *tām im hūvantī dhītāyah*; 8, 44, 9: *tvām agne manīṣīnas tvām*

hinvanti ātibhīḥ; and 10, 88, 5: *tām tvāhema matibhir gīrbhir ukthaiḥ*. Lastly, though this is less probable, *paḍbhīḥ* may denote hymns that are conceived of as being the praises of the bards (*vandinaḥ*, *sūtāḥ* or *māga-dhāḥ*) attending on kings, and mentioned on p. 210 above.⁷ It must be noted in this connection that the epithet *rājan* 'king' is, in the RV, most often applied to Mitra and Varuṇa who are the deities addressed in this verse.

It is very probable that the *ná* in pāda c, *sutām sómam ná hastibhīḥ* has really the force of *ca* 'and'; compare the instances given on pp. 25, 143 above. Similarly, it is also very probable that the simile in pāda c refers to swiftness. Compare, for instance, 1, 2, 5: *vāyav indraś ca cetuthaḥ sutānām vājiniवासु | tāv ā yātam ūpa dravāt*; 1, 3, 8: *vāśve devāso aptūrah sutām ā ganta tūrṇayaḥ | usrā iva svāsarāṇi*; 10, 112, 2: *yās te rātho mānaso jāzīyān indra tēna somapēyāya yāhi | tūyam ā te hārayaḥ prā dravantu*; 7, 59, 4: *tūyam yāta pīpīṣavaḥ* and other similar verses in which Indra, Vāyu and other gods are exhorted to come quickly to the Soma juice. Pādas c d e therefore mean, 'Come running swiftly, with thoughts, O ye two heroes, protecting, to Arcanānas and to the Soma juice pressed by clever priests.' *hastibhīḥ*=by clever (priests); see Pischel, p. 238 l. c.

⁷ We read in 3, 58, 1: *uśās stōmo āśvīnāv ajtgaḥ*; 7, 67, 1: *yō vām datō nā dhiṣṇyāv ajtgaḥ*; 10, 29, 1: *śúcīr vām stōmo bhuranāv ajtgaḥ* and other similar verses that the hymn or chant awakened the gods. Is it possible that in such verses too the hymns are conceived of as the praises sung by the bards in the early morning? As we know from Raghuvamśa 5, 65: *tam karna-bhūṣana-nīpidita-pizarāmsam sayyottaracchada-vimarda-kṛṣāṅgarāgam | sūtālmajāḥ savayasah prathita-prabodham prabodhayann uśasi vāgbhir udāra-vācaḥ*; Māgha 11, 1: *śruti-samadhikam ucchaiḥ pañcamam pīdayantaḥ satatam ṛṣadha-hinam bhinnakīkṛtya śaḍjam | prañijagadur akāku-śrāvaka-snigdha-kaṇṭhāḥ pariṇatim iti vātrēr māgadhā Mādhavāya* and other similar passages, it was the duty of the sūtas and māgadhas to awaken kings in the morning with songs.

It is the opinion of both Pischel and Oldenberg that *ādhāv* in pāda d is used in a twofold sense (*śleṣa*); but the two savants differ in their interpretation of pādas cde. Pischel writes: (p. 238 l. c.) "Varuṇa und Mitra sollen zu den gepressten Soma herbeieilen, wie die Adhvaryus zum Spülen des Somas eilen. Der Vergleich ist passivisch gewendet = *yāthā hastibhir ā dhāvāte tāthā ā dhāvataṁ narā*" and translates the verse as, "Wenn am Himmel die Morgenröte aufleuchtet, dann kommt ihr Heilige zu meinem gepressten Soma, wie die Adhvaryus (zum Spülen des Somas), o ihr Männer, Arcanānas hegend." Oldenberg has, on the other hand, observed: "Wie ich GGA. a. a. O. gezeigt habe, steht *ā-dhāv* zugleich in der Bedeutung "herbeilaufen" und "reinigen", jenes das Werk der Füße, dieses der Hände: "wie (man) den von geschickth ändigen (Priestern) gepressten Soma (mit eben diesen geschickten Händen reinigt, *ā-dhāv*), so eilt herbei (*ā-dhāv*; vielleicht auch hier zu verstehen: zum Soma) mit euern Füßen, ihr Männer."⁸ Der Vergleich zwischen dem Reinigen und dem Herbeilaufen beruht darauf, dass beides *ā-dhāv* heisst, vgl. zu I, 64, 2."

These observations do not seem to me to be convincing, and I therefore believe that the verb *ādhāv* in d has the sense of 'running' only and has no connection with pāda c. It is possible however to construe *padbhiḥ* in d with *sutām* in c. *padbhiḥ sutām* = *dhībhiḥ sutām*; 'pressed with (i.e., to the accompaniment of the chanting of) hymns'; compare 3, 12, 1 (cited above): *īndrāgni ā*

⁸The verse is translated by Grassmann as: "Beim Morgenlichte, o ihr beiden ehrwürdigen, im Götterreich, das schimmernde Rinder hat, presst mir den Soma gleichsam mit den Händen [*hastebhir* zu lesen] und knetet mit den Füßen hin, o Männer, den [Dichter] Artschmanānas unterstützend" and by Ludwig as: "wenn sie mir herleuchtet die heiligen, in dem reiche der götter, wo weisse kühe sind, lauft herbei ihr zwei männer, zum gepressten soma wie mit greifenden schlingen, erhaltend den Arcanānas."

gataṁ sutāṁ gīrbhīr nābho vāreṇyam "Come, O Indra and Agni, to (this) excellent (Soma) juice pressed with hymns"; 3, 12, 2: *ayā pātāṁ imāṁ sutāṁ* "Drink this (Soma juice) pressed with this (hymn)"; 8, 48, 7: *iṣirēṇa te mānasā sutāsyā bhakṣīmāhi pītryasyeva rāyāḥ* "May we partake of thee, pressed with devoted (or vigorous) hymn, as of paternal wealth." Compare also Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, § 127 ff. and the literature cited therein. The meaning of pādas cde in this case would be, 'Come running quickly, O ye two heroes, to Arcanānas and to the Soma juice pressed by dexterous priests to the accompaniment of hymns, protecting.'

Arcanānas is, according to the *Sarvānukramaṇi*, the seer of this hymn.

4, 38, 3: *yām sīm ānu pravāteva drāvantaṁ*
viśvaḥ pūrūr madati hārṣamāṇaḥ |
paḍbhīr gīrdhyantaṁ medhayūṁ nā śūraṁ
rathatūraṁ vātaṁ iva dhrājantaṁ ||

When explaining pāda c of this verse on p. 146 above, I have, following Pischel, Bloomfield, and other interpreters, construed *paḍbhīh* with *gīrdhyantaṁ* and interpreted the expression as 'speeding with a will.' Though this is not wrong (*paḍbhīh* has, as we have seen on p. 272 above, the sense of 'eagerly,' 'with a will,' etc., also), I am now inclined to believe that it is much more preferable to construe it with the word (*anu*) *madati* (in pāda b) as is done, in the case of *gīrbhīh*, *stōmebhīh* and other synonyms of *paḍbhīh*, in many RV verses. Compare for instance, 1, 9, 3: *mātsvā suśīpra mandībhiḥ stōmebhīr viśvacarṣaṇe* "Rejoice, O thou (Indra) with beautiful lips, that are honoured by all men, in (these) pleasing hymns"; 1, 51, 1: *abhi tyāṁ meṣāṁ puruhūtāṁ ṛgmīyam indraṁ gīrbhīr madata* "Cheer with hymns that Indra worthy of praise, invoked by many, the goat"; 8, 6, 39: *mātsvā vīvasvato matī* "Rejoice in the hymn (sung) from (the abode of) Vivasvat"; 10, 104, 3: *indra dhēnābhīr ihā*

mādayasva dhībhīr vāsvābhīh "Rejoice now, O Indra, in all these hymns and praises"; 10, 116, 2: *svastidā mānasā mādayasva* "Rejoice, O Indra that bestowest well-being, in (this) hymn"; 3, 53, 10: *mādanā gīrbhīr adhvarē sūtē sūcā* "Rejoicing with hymns in the Soma-sacrifice"; and particularly 5, 36, 2: *ānu tvā rājann ārvato nā hinván gīrbhīr madema puruhūta vīśve* "O thou king that art invoked by many, may we all cheer thee with praises as one does who impels race-horses."⁹

I therefore translate the verse as follows: "Whom, running (swiftly) like (water) down an incline, rushing forward like a valiant soldier in battle, surpassing chariots (in speed), and speeding like the wind, every Pūru (i. e., every one of the Pūru clan) rejoicing, cheers with praises."

This verse, and also the other verses of this hymn, are addressed to Dadhikrā or Dadhikrāvan, the swift horse whom Mitra and Varuṇa presented to the Pūrus (cp. 4, 39, 2: *yām pūrūbhyo didivāmsam nāgnīm dadāthur mitrāvaruṇā tāturim*), that is, to their king Trasadasyu, and whose achievements on the race-ground are described in hymns 4, 38-43.

The expression *padbhīr anumadati* in the first half-verse is exactly parallel to the expression *gīrbhīr anumadema (hinvantah)* in 5, 36, 2 cited above; the meaning of the expression is, '(Every Pūru) cheered with praises and impelled (the horse) to further exertion.' Compare in this connection 7, 7, 1: *prā vo devām cit sahasānām agnīm āsvam nā vājīnam hiṣe nāmobhīh* "Like a strong horse, I impel with praises the vigorous god Agni for you"; and 10, 156, 1: *agnīm hinvantu no dhīyah sāptim āśum ivājiṣu* "May our praises impel

⁹ In all probability however *hinván* (singular) at the end of the pāda is a shortened form of *hinvantah* (plural), and the half-verse means, "O thou king that art invoked by many, may we all cheer thee with praises and impel thee as (people do) race-horses". *hinvantah* is an attribute of *rayam*.

Agni, like a fleet courser in the races " in which the verb *hi*, together with words meaning 'praises,' is used in connection with race-horses. A similar usage is observable in 9, 68, 7; 9, 64, 16; 9, 8, 4; 8, 44, 19; 1, 143, 4; 1, 144, 5; 10, 88, 5 and 10, 140, 3 also. Words denoting 'race-horses' however are not used in these verses, but are to be understood.

It thus becomes evident that the expressions *gīrbhīr arvataḥ anumadanti* and *gīrbhīr arvataḥ hinvanti* are synonymous¹⁰ and signify 'they cheer the race-horses with praises and thereby impel them to further exertion.' The full formula to be employed in this connection is thus *gīrbhīr anumadanti hinvanti ca*; but, as we have seen, it is only in one verse (5, 36, 2 cited above) that both the verbs are used; the other verses use one verb only, either *anumad* or *hi*, to express this idea.

pravātā in pāda a is construed in connection with the course of Dadhikrā by Grassmann (who translates the expression *pravāteva drāvantaṁ* as 'Dem, wenn er läuft gleichwie im jähen Sturze'), Ludwig ('an dem wie auf abschüssigem pfade laufenden'), and Macdonell (*Ved. Myth.*, p. 148: 'every Pūru praises him as he runs on a precipice as it were').¹¹ This seems to me to be a mistake, and I believe that the simile in pāda a is a *lūptopamā*, the elided word being (the upamāna) *āpah*. Compare the simile *āpo nā pravātā yatīḥ* that is used in 8, 6, 34; 8, 13, 8 and 9, 24, 2 in all which verses the

¹⁰ The verb *star* with *sam* is used instead of *ann-mad* in similar circumstances in 9, 66, 8: *sām n tvā dhībhr̥ asvaran hinvatīḥ sapta jāmayah | vāpram ājā vivāsvataḥ* "The seven sisters have cheered thee that art wise with praises and impelled thee, from the abode of Vivasvat (?) in the race" and 9, 67, 9: *hinvanti sūram āsrayah pavamānam madhusūtam | abhī girā sām asvaran* "The usris (?) impel the bright honey-dripping Soma Pavamāna; they have cheered him with praises."

¹¹ Geldner, in his *RV. Ueber.*, translates the expression as 'wenn er wie in vollem Laufe dahineilt.'

sāmānya-dharma is swift going; cp. also 9, 6, 4: *ānu drapsāsa indava āpo nā pravātāsaran*; 7, 18, 15: *indrenaitē tftsavō vēvisānā āpo nā sṛṣṭā adhavantā vīciḥ*; 9, 17, 1: *prā nimnēcva sīndhavaḥ . . sōmā asṛgram āśāvah*; 9, 69, 7: *sīndhor iva pravaṇē nimnā āśāvah*; 1, 57, 1-2; 10, 148, 5. etc.

There can be no doubt that, like the other epithets *pravateva dravantam*, *rathaturam* and *vātam iva dhra-jantam*, the epithet *medhayuṁ na śūram grdhyantam* too describes the swiftness of Dadhikrā. The meaning of the expression is, 'speeding like a valiant soldier in battle'; and it is my belief that the root *grdh* does not signify 'to be greedy' here and that the translations of Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*: 'mit den Füßen (kampf) begierig wie ein Held nach der Meisterschaft begierig'), Grassmann ('Im Laufe strebt er, wie ein Held nach Beute'), Bloomfield (p. 353 l.c.: 'impatient with his feet, as a hero (is impatient) when eager for strife'); and Ludwig ('der wie mit schlingen bestrebt zu erfassen, als lanzenkundiger held') as also Pischel's explanation (l.c., p. 232: dass Dadhikrāvan im Laufe ungeduldig die Riemen erfasst und sie schüttelt wie ein streitlustiger Held die Zügel) are all wide of the mark. Regarding the simile, compare 1, 85, 8: *śūrā ivēd yūyudhaya nā jāgmayaḥ* 'Going swiftly like valiant men ready for the battle' and 1, 158, 3: *ūpa cām āvah saraṇām gameyam śūro nājma patāyadbhir ēvaiḥ* 'May I go to your shelter as a hero goes to battle with flying feet (?)' in which verses too the upamāna is *śūra* and the *sāmānyadharmā* swift going.

4, 2, 12: *kavīm śasāsuh kavāyō 'dadbhā
nidhārāyanto dūryāsv āyōḥ |
ātas tvām dṛṣyān agna etāu
padbhīḥ paśyer ādbhitān arya ēvaiḥ ||*

The first half of this verse is unambiguous and may be translated as, "The undeceived wise ones instructed the wise one, establishing him in the dwellings of Āyu."

ādabdhāh kavāyah in a refers to the gods (*devāh*) who brought Agni down to the earth and established him in the dwellings of men so that he may guard these dwellings and also carry the offerings made by men to the gods; the word *śasāsuh* refers apparently to these injunctions (that Agni should be the *grhapati* and *havyavāt*) and also perhaps to his officiating as *hotṛ* on behalf of men. Compare Sāyaṇa: *śasāsuh hotā bhaveti śasāmsuh*.

The second half-verse is ambiguous and can be interpreted in two ways:

(1) We may regard it as a paraphrase of the first half of the preceding verse, *cittim ācittim cinavad vi vidvān prsthēva vitā vrjinā ca mātān | rāyē ca nah svapatyāya deva dītim ca rāsvādītīm uruṣya*. The words *citti* and *acitti* here are explained by Sāyaṇa and Geldner as *punya* and *pāpa* (Recht und Unrecht) or *jñāna* and *ajñāna* (Verstand und Unverstand) while Grassmann, Ludwig and Oldenberg (SBE. 46, 317) give the latter explanation only. *citti* denotes 'pious thought, i.e., piety,' here and *acitti*, 'impious thought, impiety;' and the meaning of the verse is, "May he, the knowing one, distinguish piety and impiety, (and) the (pious and impious) mortals like straight and crooked backs (of horses). (Help us) to wealth and good offspring, O god; grant us Diti and keep off Aditi."¹²

As a paraphrase of the first half of this verse, we may translate the second half of 4, 2, 12 as: "From there, O Agni, mayest thou look at these rich people that are visible by their thoughts and (those also) that are invisible by their thoughts." *padbhīh* = *dhībhīh*; and *padbhīh drśyān* 'visible by their thoughts' means 'those whose thoughts, i.e., hymns or works of piety, are visible or plain to be seen.' Similarly, *evāh adbhutān* denotes the rich people 'whose thoughts (hymns or works of

¹² The meaning of the fourth pada, is obscure; see Oldenberg in SBE. 46, 321 and Ludwig's *RV. Ueber*.

piety) are invisible, i.e., can not be seen,¹² that is, rich people who perform no works of piety. The expressions *padbhir dr̥śya* and *evair adbhuta* in this verse are thus paraphrases of the terms *citti* and *acitti* of the preceding verse.

The meaning of *evaiḥ* is not known exactly and requires to be investigated. For the present however, I look upon it as a synonym of *kratu* or thought; compare in this connection 7, 62, 2: *ebhīḥ stomebhir etaśēbhīr evaiḥ* where *evaiḥ* is used as an epithet of *stomebhiḥ*.

(2) Secondly, we may regard the second half-verse as containing a *virodhābhāsa*; that is, it is possible that the epithets *dr̥śya* and *adbhuta* refer, not to different men (as in the interpretation given above), but to the same men. The half-verse would then mean, "From there, O Agni, mayest thou look with thoughts on these rich men that are visible (and at the same time) invisible (i.e., unfathomable or wonderful) with their thoughts (hymns)." *aryāḥ* 'rich people' refers to the sacrificers or 'patrons' (see Geldner, ¹³ *RV. Ueber.*, and the passages referred to by him there) who are visible, *dr̥śya*, to Agni, and are at the same time, invisible, *adbhuta*, in their thoughts. That is to say, the patrons are visible, while their thoughts are *adbhuta*.

padbhiḥ is synonymous with *dhībhiḥ*, but should be construed with *paśyeh* and not with *dr̥śyān*. Compare in this connection 1, 139, 2: *yuvōr itthādhi sūdmasv āpaśyāma hiraṇyāyam | dhībhiḥ cañā mānuṣā svēbhir akṣābhiḥ sōmasya svēbhir akṣābhiḥ* "Thus did we see, with thoughts, with mind, with our own senses, with the senses of Soma, your golden (throne) in your abodes." The expression *dhībhiḥ paś* signifies in all probability 'to look with heed or care'; and *padbhiḥ paśyeh* of this verse is thus a synonym of *vi cinavat* used in the preceding verse.

¹² He however looks on *aryāḥ* as genitive singular, and not as accusative plural.

very strong host of the Maruts"; and 5, 18, 4: *citrā vā yēṣu didhītiḥ* "in whom (*sc.* yajamānas) is brilliant thought."¹⁴

According to this interpretation, pādas cd of 4, 2, 12 contain *virodhābhāsa* combined with *śleṣa*.

Thus, whether we understand *adbhuta* as 'unfathomable' or as 'wonderful,' pādas cd according to the second interpretation refer to the patron who worships Agni with excellent hymns and are to be read together with the following verse (4, 2, 13): *tvām agne vāghātē suprāṇītiḥ sutasomāya vidhatē yaviṣṭha | rātum bhara śaśamānāya ghr̥ṣve pṛthū śandrām āvase carṣaṇiprāḥ*. The meaning of this verse is, "Bring, O Agni, youngest, that delightest in giving, whose guidance is good, to the worshipper who has pressed the Soma, who has made ready the sacrifice, broad brilliant treasure in order to help him, thou that fillest (the expectations of) people"; and the worshippers that are referred to here as *vidhat*, *sutasoma* and *śaśamāna* are the same as the *evair adbhutā aryaḥ* of the preceding verse.

Concerning the use of the instrumental in *evair adbhutān* and *paḍbhir dṛṣyān*, compare § 92 in Delbrück's *Alt. Syntax*, and particularly Śata. Br. 1, 8, 1, 9: *bahuḥ prajāyā paṣubhir bhaviṣyasi* and *ibid.* 2, 1, 4, 28: *yathāsau dyaur bahvi nakṣatrain evam bahur bhūyāsam* cited by him there.

4, 2, 14: *ūthā ha yād vayām agne tvāyā
paḍbhir hāstebhiḥ cakrmā tanūbhiḥ |
rātum nā krānto ūpasā bhurijor
pṛthū yemuh sudhyā āśuṣānāḥ ||*

¹⁴ *citra* occurs as an epithet of *dhi* in 8, 66, 8: *sāmānāḥ stōmam jujuṣāṇā ā gāhūdra prā citrāyā dhiyā* and 8, 66, 14: *tvām na utī tāva citrāyā dhiyā śikṣā śaciṣṭha gātuvāt*. But the word *dhi* in these verses, or at least in the latter, signifies not 'hymn,' but 'benevolent thought' or 'favour' of the deity invoked.

"And (all), O Agni, that we have, with thoughts, hands (and) bodies done for thee, with effort, like those who turn the wheel between the shafts,—(in all this), the pious-minded have held up the Law, aspiring after it."

In connection with pādas ab, compare T.A. 2, 3, 1: *yād vācā yān mānasā bāhūbhyām ūrūbhyām aṣṭhivādbhyān śiśnair yād durtam cakrmaṁ vayām | agnir mā tasmād énaś gārhapatyah pramuñcatu* "If we have committed sin with speech, thought, with arms, thighs, knees (or) genital organs, may Agni Gārhapatya free me from that sin"; T.A. 10, 24 (31): *yād āhuā pāpam akārśam | mānasā vācā hastābhyām | pādabhyām ūdāreṇa śiśnā | āhaś tād avalumpātū* "The sin that I have committed by day with thought, speech, hands, feet, stomach and genital organ,—may the day destroy (or, stifle) it"; Mukundamālā-stotra 15: *kāyena vācā manasendriyair vā buddhyātmanā vā prakṛtes svabhāvāt | karomi yad-yat sakalam parasmai Nārāyaṇāyaiva samarpayāmi* "Whatever I do, with body, thought, speech, sense-organs, mind, spirit, or according to nature, all that I make over to the great Nārāyaṇa alone"; Śivāparādha-kṣamāpana-stotra 14: *kara-carāṇa-kṛtaṁ vā karma-vāk-kāyajaṁ vā śravaṇa-nayanajaṁ vā mānasam vā 'parādham | vihitam avihitam vā sarvam etat kṣamasva jaya jaya karuṇābdhe śrī-Mahādeva Saṁbho;*¹⁵ and the expression *mama janma-prabhṛty etat-kṣaṇa-paryantaṁ madhya-vartini kālē rahasi prakāśe ca mano-vāk-kāya-karmabhiḥ jñānato 'jñānataś ca saṁbhāvita-sakala-doṣa-parihārārtham* that occurs in the *saṁkalpa*¹⁶

¹⁵ The author of the *Mukundamālā-stotra* is said to be Kulaśekhara-ālvār, and of the *Śivāparādha-kṣamāpana-stotra*, śrī-Śaṅkarācārya. These hymns are well-known and are printed in almost all collections (*stotra-ratnākara*) of such stotras.

¹⁶ A *saṁkalpa* is a formula recited before performing vratas, giving gifts, bathing in rivers, etc., in which, after mentioning exact particulars of the time and place, the performer sets forth his 'intention', that is, what he is going to do, with what object and how. In a formula that I have often heard recited in the Kannaḍa country, there occur the following (or similar) words in the place

printed on pp. 1300 ff. of the Telugu edition (Mysore, 1914) of Nṛsiṃha's Prayoga-pārijāta, Śoḍaśakarmakāṇḍa.

Compare also Manu 1, 104: *mano-vāg-dehajañh karma-doṣajñh*; MBh. 3, 146, 89: *kārmasu deha-vāk-citta-dūṣiṣu*; ibid. 1, 62, 25: *śarīreṇa kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ vācā ca manasaiva ca* and the other passages cited by Pischel on p. 230, l. c. in which human actions are divided into three groups *kāyika*, *vācika*, and *mānasika*. The words *padbhiḥ* and *tanūbhiḥ* of the above verse refer to two of these groups: *tanūbhiḥ* corresponds to *kāya*, *śarīra* and *deha* in the above-cited passages and *padbhiḥ* to *manas* and *citta* in them.

Regarding *bhūrījoh*, the observations of Pischel on p. 239f. l. c. make it very probable that it denotes "Schleif-apparat; Schleifmaschine", i. e., a machine (something like a grinding wheel) which consisted of a wheel that moved freely between two shafts. It is this wheel that is denoted by the word *ratha*, either by synechdoche, or because *ratha* itself has that meaning.¹⁷

of those given above: *mama iha-janmani pūrvajanmani janma-janmāntareṣu bālyā-yauvana-kaumara-vārdhakeṣu jāgrat-svapna-susupty-avasthāsu tvak-cakṣuṣ-śrotra-jihvā-ghrāṇa-vāk-pāṇi-pāda-pāyūpas-thair jñānato^a jñānato vā mano-vāk-kāya-karmabhis sambhāvitā-nām sarveṣāṃ pāpānām*. Compare in connection with this AV. 6, 96, 3: *yāc cākṣuṣā mānasā yāc ca vācōpārimā jāgrato yāt svapñtāḥ | sōmas tūni svadhāyā naḥ punātu* and RV. 10, 164, 3: *yād āśāsā nihśāsā^b bhīḥśopārimā jāgrato yāt svapñtāḥ | agnir vāśāny āpa dukṛtāny ājyātāny āre asmād dadhātu*.

A *samkalpa* printed on p. 2 (a) of Rgvedīya-nityavidhi (Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1919) has the words *mama ātmanah śruti-smṛti-purāṇokta-phala-prāptyartham kāyika-vācika-mānasika-sāma-sargika-jñātājñāta-sprātāsprāta-bhuktābhukta-pitāpita-sakala-pāpa-kṣayartham*.

¹⁷ *ratha* in *ratha-nābhī* similarly denotes 'wheel' in Brh. Up. 2, 5, 15: *yathā ratha-nābhau ca ratha-nemau cārāḥ sarve samarpitāḥ* and in Mund. Up. 2, 2, 6; Praś. Up. 2, 6; and 6, 6: *arā iva rathanābhau*. Likewise, *ratha*=wheel, in Kaus. Up. 3, 8: *yothā rathasyāreṣu nemir arpitāḥ*.

Compare for instance VS. 34, 5: *yāsminn ꣳcaḥ sāma yājūṇṣi yāsmiṇ prātiṣṭhitā rathanābhāv ivārāḥ* "in which are firmly established the ꣳks, sāman and yajus, as spokes in the nave of the wheel"; 5, 63, 7: *sūryam ā dhattho divi citryam rātham* "ye have placed in the sky Sūrya, the brilliant wheel";¹⁸ and 9, 71, 5: *sām ī rātham nā bhurījor aheṣata dāsa svāsāraḥ* "the ten sisters (i. e., fingers) have set in motion (Soma) like the wheel of a grinding machine." *āpasā* denotes the effort that one has to make in turning the wheel.

The simile *rātham nā krānto* . . is to be construed with pādas ab; and the meaning of the verse thus is, "O Agni, in all that we have done for thee (i. e., in thy honour and for thy glorification) with thoughts, hands and bodies and with effort comparable to that which one makes when turning the grinding wheel, we have always sought to uphold the law and have aspired after it."

In *ṛtām yemuḥ* in pāda d, there is an abrupt transition from the first person (*vayām cakrmā*) of the other three pādas into the third person. There seems to be no doubt however that the *sudhyā āśuṣānāḥ* of d are identical with the priests that are referred to as *vayām* in a. Compare the next verse, *ādhyā mātūr uṣāsaḥ sapṭā vīprā jāyemahi prathamā vedhāso nṛṇ* . . in which the first person is again used and the change again into the third person in vv. 16, 17.

ṛtām in d is to be construed with both *yemuḥ* and *āśuṣānāḥ*, as pointed out by Pischel (p. 230, l.c.); compare 4, 23, 10 and also 4, 1, 13 and 4, 2, 16.

This closes the list of RV passages in which the word *paḍbhīh* occurs. In all these, as I trust has been

¹⁸ Compare in this connection Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 31: "He [i. e., the sun] is the jolly of Mitra-Varuna (5, 62, 2). . . . The sun is also called a wheel (1, 175, 4; 4, 30, 4) or the 'wheel of the sun' is spoken of (4, 28, 2; 5, 29, 19)" and also Bergaigne, I, 7.

made plain by the foregoing, *paḍbhiḥ* has the value of *dhibhiḥ*, *manobhiḥ*, *dhītibhiḥ*, etc., and is a derivative of the root *spaś* 'to see.' The word *paḍbhiḥ* that is found used in VS. 23, 13, on the other hand, is the equivalent of *padbhiḥ* and is clearly derived, as said by Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara, from *pad* 'foot.' The cerebralization of the letter *d* is anomalous and perhaps due to false analogy (cp. Lanman, Noun Inflection p. 475).

नमः परमक्रपिभ्यो नमः परमक्रपिभ्यः ॥

Mund. Up. 3, 2, 11.

तच्छंयो रा वृणीमहे । गातुं यज्ञाय ।

गातुं यज्ञपतये । देवी स्वस्ति रस्तु नः ।

स्वस्तिर्मानुषेभ्यः । ऊर्ध्वं जिगातु मेपजम् ।

शं नो अस्तु द्विपदे । शं चतुष्पदे ॥

ओं शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः ॥

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