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Title: The Paippalādasamhitā of the Atharvaveda kāṇḍa 15 : a new edition with translation and commentary

Issue Date: 2015-03-31

INTRODUCTION

Since its discovery and the initial efforts towards its edition, the Paippalādasamhitā of the Atharvaveda (PS) has attracted the attention of Vedic scholars and Indologists for several reasons: it is by far the oldest Samhitā of the Vedic corpus after the Ṛgvedasamhitā (ṚV); from a linguistic point of view, it attests archaic forms next to grammatical innovations, from the eldest attestations of many verbal and case forms to previously unattested words and word formations, *hapax legomena* etc., thus being a precious source for the study of the development of the earliest language; the transmission of the text is an intriguing subject that can shed more light on the formation and reciprocal relations of the Vedic schools; since the PS attests both material preserved in other Samhitas as well as previously unknown mantras, it is possible to study the variants between the texts, their relative chronology and also the new data that the original portions of the text offer; important information about various rites and magical practices, hints about the oldest Indo-Iranian and Indo-European myths, mentions of medicinal herbs, plants and animals, references to peculiar features of the Vedic gods, descriptions of demoniac beings, objects of daily life and other *realia*: this is what makes the PS a text of inestimable value for the study of Indian language and culture.

Having a faithful text, with a translation and a commentary, is an essential prerequisite for fully appreciating the value of the PS.

The history of the discovery of the PS and of the studies on the text has been related in many previous publications,¹ so it will suffice here to present the most current state of the research. Up until now, the edition of Bhattacharya numbers three volumes and covers kāṇḍas 1–18.² Critical editions of different kāṇḍas of the PS are already published, while others are in preparation; the table below shows the situation of the research at present, as far as I know:

¹ See, e.g., BHATTACHARYA 1964: IX ff., BHATTACHARYA 1997: IX ff., WITZEL 1985a and 1985b, GRIFFITHS 2009: XXV–XX. A concise but useful survey can be found in FRANCESCHINI 2012, who discusses the main theories about the medieval transmission of the PS.

² BHATTACHARYA 1997, 2008, 2011.

Kāṇḍa	Author
1	Zehnder 1993 (unpublished)
2	Zehnder 1999
3	Lücke (in preparation)
4	Griffiths and Lubotsky (in preparation)
5	Lubotsky 2002
6	Griffiths 2009
7	Griffiths 2009
8	Kim (in preparation)
9	Kim (in preparation)
10	First half: Griffiths (unpublished) Second half: D'Avella 2007 (unpublished)
11	Tucker (in preparation)
12	Ehlers <i>et al.</i> (in preparation)
13	Lopez 2010
14	Lopez 2010
15	Lelli
16	–
17	First anuvāka: Selva 2014
18	–
19	Griffiths and Knobl (in preparation)
20	20.1-20.30: Kubisch 2012

My PhD thesis is therefore part of a bigger project, started several years ago, that involves scholars from different countries and aims at a complete critical edition of the PS.

The goal of my work is to present a re-edition of kāṇḍa fifteen that goes beyond Bhattacharya's edition in several respects, viz. in that it establishes a collation of six PS manuscripts from Orissa, investigated for their mutual relationship; it is based on a comparison of the Kashmirian manuscript with six manuscripts from Orissa, whose variants are recorded in a positive critical apparatus; it provides a metrical analysis, on the basis of which prosodic and metrical statistics have been prepared; it has an English translation accompanied by a commentary dealing with philological, grammatical, metrical and lexical problems, as well as with the interpretation of the text itself; it has an *Index Verborum* and an *Index Locorum*.

1. The constitution of the text

The critical edition of PS 15 presented here has been established from the collation of seven manuscripts. They represent (part of) the transmission of the text as it has been sketched in the scenario suggested by WITZEL 1985a. Witzel's hypothesis involves an archetype of all the manuscripts of the PS (*G), dating to 800–1000, written in a late form of Gupta script and hailing from western India (Gujarat). Two hyparchetypes descend from this archetype and

precede, respectively, the Kashmirian transmission (*D) and the Orissa transmission (*B). According to Witzel, *D dated to ca. 1350 and was written in early Devanāgarī script, whereas *B dated to ca. 1400 and was written in Proto-Bengali script. From these two hyparchetypes derive all the existent manuscripts of the PS.

For this edition, I have used **K** as the sole representative of the Kashmirian tradition.³ Late copies of **K**, such as the Devanāgarī manuscript **Bm** from Bombay, mentioned by BARRET 1930: 43–44, have not been used.⁴

With the siglum **K**, I indicate BLOOMFIELD & GARBE's (1901) facsimile edition of the birch-bark ms., written in the Śāradā script, that was discovered in Kashmir in the 1870s. The ms. arrived in Rudolph Roth's possession in Tübingen in 1876, and has since then been preserved in the University Library at Tübingen. On the characteristics of this ms., I refer the reader to WHITNEY 1905: LXXIX ff., to the preface to BLOOMFIELD & GARBE 1901, and to GRIFFITHS 2009: XXIII–XXIV. The Tübingen ms. contains a colophon that reports a date which has been interpreted to refer to 1419 A.D.; evidence indicates that it may have been copied, together with this colophon, from an immediate antigraph (***K**) dating to that period. The ms. itself dates to the early 16th century (see WITZEL 1973–76, 1985a, SLAJE 2005, 2007).

PS 15 begins *folio* 158b6 and ends *folio* 166a7. The arrangement of the material in these seven-and-a-half folios has been clearly described by BARRET 1930: 43–45, with minor mistakes (e.g. the only accented word of this kāṇḍa, *tanvā*, is found *folio* 161a18 and not *folio* 161a8, as indicated by Barret).

As regards the Orissa tradition, PS 15 is transmitted in six palm-leaf manuscripts, namely **Ku**, **JM**, **RM**, **Mā**, **Ma** and **Pa**.⁵ I was able to directly collate **Ku**, **JM**, **RM**, **Mā** and **Pa**; Arlo Griffiths kindly provided to me photographs of **Ku**, **JM**, **RM**, **Pa** and xeroxcopies of **Mā**.

In his 1997 edition, Bhattacharya used only two manuscripts, **Mā** and **Ma**; I quote **Ma** from Bhattacharya's edition and put the siglum between square brackets [...]. I have not collated two late copies of **Pa**, known as **Pa_c** and **Gu_c**, which are of minimal interest due to the availability of more reliable manuscripts.

With the siglum **Ku**, I indicate a set of three palm-leaf mss. in the possession of Harihara Upādhyāya, village Kurumcaini, Dt. Cuttack, Orissa. On the date of the mss., see GRIFFITHS 2003: 355. PS 15 is transmitted in **Ku2**, which contains kāṇḍas 6–15; it begins *folio* 70^r and ends *folio* 78^r.

With the siglum **JM**, I indicate a set of five palm-leaf mss. in the possession of Dr. Jabandhu Miśra, teacher in the Vedakarmakāṇḍamahāvidyālaya, Puri. The mss. have been dated to 1911 (GRIFFITHS 2003: 352). PS 15 is transmitted at the end of **JM1**, which contains kāṇḍas 6–15; it begins *folio* 132^r and ends *folio* 150^A.

With the siglum **RM**, I indicate a ms. in the possession of Dr. Rāmacandra Miśra, lecturer at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack (residing in Puri). There are not precise indications as to where the ms. has been obtained, but it probably hails from the Puri area (see GRIFFITHS 2003: 360). It is undated. It contains kāṇḍas 6–15. PS 15 begins *folio* 90^v and ends *folio* 102^r.

With the siglum **Mā**, I indicate a set of palm-leaf mss. in two *codices* discovered by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya in Makanda, Baleshwar District, Orissa (LOPEZ 2010: 42;

³ On the script, punctuation, orthography and sandhi of this manuscript, see GRIFFITHS 2009: XXII–XXIV.

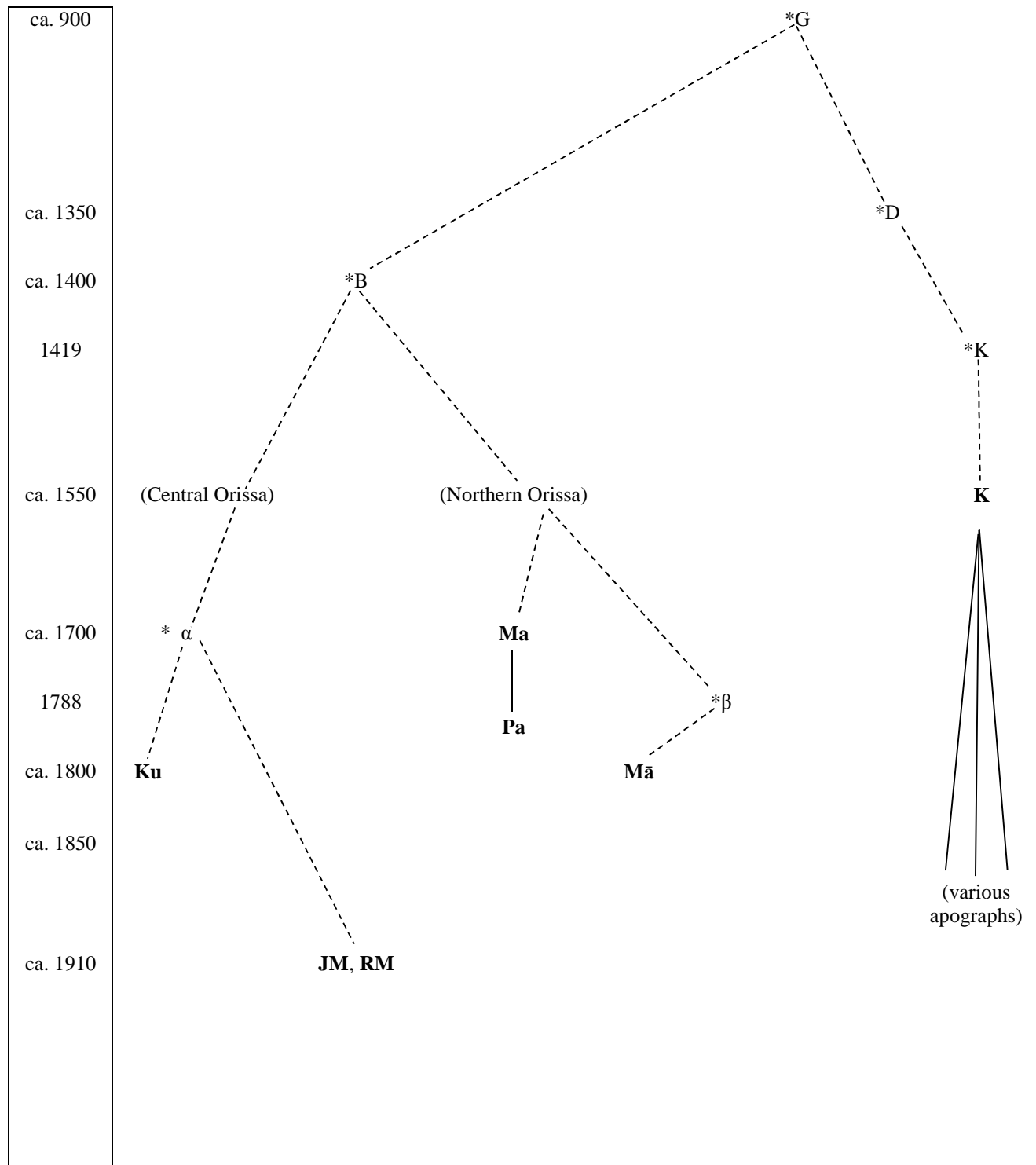
⁴ On other late copies of **K**, see WITZEL 1973–1976.

⁵ On the script, punctuation, orthography and sandhi of the Orissa manuscripts, see GRIFFITHS 2009: XXVII–XXXIV.

Mākanda in Mayūrbhañj District, according to ZEHNDER 1999: 19). Lopez (*ibid.*) reports that “folios are inscribed on both sides, labeled A and B probably by D. M. Bhattacharya [*sic!*]. Each folio-side generally has four lines of text. [...] Each folio has two holes through which a string was run in order to tie together the entire book”. The beginning of PS 15 is missing in the xeroxcopies in my possession and the number of the folio containing its end is not visible.

With the siglum **Pa**, I indicate a ms. that according to LOPEZ (2010: 43) and ZEHNDER (1999: 17) originally comes from the village of Parikula, Baleshwar (Balasore) District, Orissa. According to GRIFFITHS (2003: 336 fn.8), it now belongs to the schoolteacher A. K. Praharāj from Baripada. For the date, see GRIFFITHS 2003: 360. The ms. contains kāṇḍa 1–20. PS 15 begins *folio* 102^v and ends *folio* 115^v.

The relationship between the manuscripts of the PS is rather complex. As pointed out by GRIFFITHS 2009: XXIX, the PS shows a conflated transmission, in which the influence of an oral transmission of the text must have played a major role next to conflations coming from written manuscripts. Although I agree with Griffiths’s statement that the strict application of the stemmatic method is of very limited utility for the PS, especially because we are dealing with an open recension, I nonetheless believe that a *stemma codicum* may be useful for representing Witzel’s scenario and the relationship between the manuscripts. The *stemma codicum* below is taken from GRIFFITHS 2004a: XLIV, with modifications (I have included only the manuscripts used in the edition of PS 15).



Common errors in **K** and **Or**

As stated by GRIFFITHS 2009: XLVI, “The evidence supporting postulation of a written archetype comes primarily from common errors found in both **K** and the Orissa mss. [...]. Shared errors do not need to be significant, but their accumulation is at least noteworthy”. In the following (not entirely complete) list of common errors found in **K** and **Or**, we may distinguish between less and more significant errors: the first ones could have arisen

independently in the two traditions, due to common spelling or orthography mistakes (such as the confusion between the sibilants or between *-i-* and *-ī-*). On the other hand, more significant errors include cases for which spelling mistakes cannot be invoked to explain the readings of the manuscripts. The reading of the archetype is in each case clear.

List of common errors found in **K** and **Or**: 15.1.5d **sahasyam*, mss. *sahasvam*; 15.1.6d **salilavātam*, mss. *salilāvatam*; 15.1.7c **śaradāhnām*, mss. *śaradāhnā*; 15.2.8c **viśatv*, mss. *viśastv*; 15.3.7a **avāsrpad*, mss. *avāsrjad*; 15.3.10b **ohatuḥ*, mss. *ohatu*; 15.5.6d **abhavam*, mss. *aghavan*; 15.12.3a **āśor*, mss. *āsor*; 15.16.2d **arundhati*, mss. *arundhatī*; 15.18.4b **adho*, mss. *atho*; 15.18.9c **pṛṣṭīr*, mss. *pṛṣṭī*; 15.20.7e **sarvām*, mss. *sarvān*; 15.21.3a **śivās* **tanūr*, mss. *śivā tanū*; 15.21.7b **adho*, mss. *atho*; 15.22.1b *śivān*, mss. *śivām*, 15.23.7b **āśām*, mss. *āsām*.

The hyparchetypes

As regards the hyparchetypes **D* and **B*, I refer to WITZEL 1985a and GRIFFITHS 2009: XLVI-XLVII. I limit myself here to mentioning a piece of evidence from PS 15 that supports the postulation of a common written predecessor of the Orissa manuscripts, and that has remained unnoticed. It consists of the omission of the syllable *va* at PS 15.22.1d; the correct reading *avantu* has been preserved only by **K**, whereas all the Orissa manuscripts have lost the middle syllable of the word (*atu* **Ku**, *antu* **JM**, **RM**, *amtu* **Pa**, **Mā** [**Ma**]).

The genetic relationship between the Orissa manuscripts

The genetic relationship between the Orissa manuscripts has been discussed at length by GRIFFITHS 2009: XXVII ff. and LOPEZ 2010: 14–24. I present below the evidence from kāṇḍa 15 that confirms the grouping of the Orissa manuscripts into ‘central’ and ‘northern’ manuscripts, proposed by GRIFFITHS 2009: XXXVII-XXIX. I limit my discussion to the manuscripts used in this edition:⁶

	Provenance
Ku	central
JM	central
RM	central
Pa	northern
Mā	northern
Ma	northern

As stated by Griffiths, the grouping together of **Ku**, **JM**, **RM** against **Pa**, **Mā** and **Ma** can be established on the basis of two main arguments: the order in which information is preserved in the hymns’ colophons and the textual evidence (i.e. shared readings). For kāṇḍa 15, it is true without exception that “the central Orissa manuscripts give first the stanza-count, and then the hymn-number, while the northern Orissa manuscripts always [...] give the hymn-number first, followed by the stanza-count (the number of stanza-count is sometimes omitted, but minimally || १ || is always written)” (GRIFFITHS 2009: XXVIII). The table below presents the other textual evidence for this grouping culled from kāṇḍa 15:

⁶ Note that the Orissa manuscripts have been quoted in the critical apparatus according to their provenance: manuscripts from central Orissa come first, then those from northern Orissa.

	CENTRAL Ku, JM, RM	NORTHERN Pa, Mā, [Ma]
1.6c	<i>vaddham</i>	<i>vadyam</i>
2.1a	<i>stomaikaviṃśe</i>	<i>staumaikaviṃśe</i>
3.3c	<i>atpramāyukaṃ</i>	<i>atpramāyakaṃ</i>
6.2c	<i>śataṃ ca</i>	<i>śatañ ca</i>
6.3c	<i>śataṃ ca</i>	<i>śatañ ca</i>
10.2a	<i>dhanvanājiṃ</i>	<i>dhanvanājiñ</i>
11.2d	<i>yachat</i>	<i>yachāt</i>
12.6a	<i>pavi</i>	<i>pava</i>
20.1c	<i>vyaṅgo</i>	<i>yaṅgo</i>
20.1d	<i>viṣūcīḥ</i>	<i>viṣucīḥ</i>
21.8d	<i>kṣipatbhyo</i>	<i>kṣipadbhyo</i>
23.2c	<i>hāduniṃ</i>	<i>dāduniṃ</i>
23.3cd	<i>vicakṣuṣāśaniṃ</i>	<i>cakṣuṣāśaniṃ</i>
23.11b	<i>stanaitnave</i>	<i>stanayītnave</i>

It is clear that within the group of central manuscripts, **JM** and **RM** form a subgroup. The tables below present the evidence from kāṇḍa 15 supporting the existence of this subgroup. In the first table, I have listed the errors shared by **JM** and **RM** against **Ku** (which has either the correct reading or not); in the second table, the cases where **JM** and **RM** have preserved the correct reading while **Ku** shows small errors, especially insignificant sandhi variants. I have marked in bold the cases where **Ku** or **JM** and **RM** are the only manuscripts which have preserved the correct reading.

	JM, RM	Ku
1.6°	<i>tat sakeyaṃ</i>	<i>tachakeyaṃ</i>
1.7c	<i>cikatnū</i>	<i>cikitnu</i>
1.8°	<i>sāmaṃny</i>	<i>sāmany</i>
1.9°	<i>sahasāmni</i>	<i>sahasāmna</i>
1.9c	<i>ca</i>	<i>ta</i>
2.4b	<i>jā</i>	<i>yā</i>
2.4c	<i>vāyuh</i>	<i>vāyuh</i>
2.4d	<i>sandhānā</i>	<i>sāmdhānā</i>
3.4a	<i>prāṇaṃ</i>	<i>prāṇa</i>
4.1a	<i>ṛṇāt</i>	<i>ṛṇād</i>
4.10a	<i>amantu</i>	<i>avantu</i>
5.3a	<i>varccase</i>	<i>varccaso</i>
5.7a	<i>asmānam</i>	<i>aśmānam</i>
5.9d	<i>yok</i>	<i>yo</i>
6.3a	<i>dhā</i>	<i>dhāḥ</i>
6.3c	<i>puṛcīr</i>	<i>puṛcīr</i>

8.2a	<i>ṛpāṇām</i>	<i>ṛpāṇām</i>
9.4b	<i>māvaṁtv</i>	<i>māvantv</i>
11.2c	<i>sañ</i>	<i>saṁ</i>
11.3d	<i>ita</i>	<i>itaḥ</i>
11.5cd	<i>pracodayāśvāna</i>	<i>pracodayāśvān</i>
11.5d	<i>samutsu</i>	<i>samatsu</i>
11.9b	<i>putrā</i>	<i>puṭrā</i>
12.1a	<i>prāmuñ</i>	<i>prāmūñ</i>
13.4a	<i>gandharvā 'psaraso</i>	<i>gandharvāpsaraso</i>
14.9d	<i>muñcatv</i>	<i>muñcaṁtv</i>
14.11d	<i>muñcatv</i>	<i>muñcantv</i>
15.3c	<i>yañ</i>	<i>yaṁ</i>
18.3a	<i>andācīm</i>	<i>andhācīm</i>
18.5c	<i>puṛṣaṁ</i>	<i>pūṛṣaṁ</i>
18.9b	<i>nṛtyatu</i>	<i>nṛtyata</i>
19.9a	<i>uluṅgulukottarā</i>	<i>uluṅgulukottarāḥ</i>
20.7b	<i>ahaṁ</i>	<i>arhaṁ</i>
20.8a	<i>vidyate</i>	<i>vidyute</i>
20.10b	<i>kiṁ</i>	<i>kiñ</i>
20.10c	<i>śalyām</i>	<i>śatyā</i>
21.2b	<i>dvipado</i>	<i>dvipade</i>
21.8a	<i>ariṣyato</i>	<i>ariṣyanto</i>
21.8d	<i>jā</i>	<i>yā</i>
22.1d	<i>antu</i>	<i>atu</i>
22.2d	<i>śiva āpo</i>	<i>śivā āpo</i>
22.5d	<i>jena</i>	<i>yena</i>
22.8c	<i>maṛtbhyo</i>	<i>maṛdbhyo</i>
22.9b	<i>pathāḥ</i>	<i>pathā</i>
22.10d	<i>mabhiḥ</i>	<i>maṛdbhiḥ</i>
23.6a	<i>sandhyāmi</i>	<i>sandyāmi</i>
23.9cd	<i>būthvā 'thehy</i>	<i>būthvāthehy</i>
23.10b	<i>śivāśivatarā</i>	<i>śivāśachivatarā</i>
23.11c	<i>kṛṇvo</i>	<i>kṛṇmo</i>
23.12c	<i>saho sahat</i>	<i>saho mahad</i>

	JM, RM	Ku
1.9ab	<i>sahasvaty ṛtur</i>	<i>sahasvatyutur</i>
2.1a	<i>patni</i>	<i>patnī</i>
2.7b	<i>yac ca</i>	<i>ya ca</i>
4.1a	<i>saṁnaṃya</i>	<i>sa{m}nnaṃya</i>
5.4a	<i>kṛṇotu</i>	<i>kṛṇotū</i>
6.2b	<i>abhiśastipā</i>	<i>abhiśastivā</i>
6.7a	<i>sicam</i>	<i>śicam</i>
10.6d	<i>yachanti</i>	<i>yachaṁti</i>
11.3c	<i>āpatantīr</i>	<i>āpataṁtīr</i>
11.4a	<i>bhogaiḥ</i>	<i>bhaugaiḥ</i>
11.8d	<i>jetvāni</i>	<i>yetvāni</i>
11.10a	<i>oyo</i>	<i>oyo</i>
12.1d	<i>jayantu</i>	<i>jayanta</i>

12.5c	<i>uc chukram</i>	<i>uchukram</i>
12.6c	<i>namatis</i>	<i>namatas</i>
13.2c	<i>agriyaṃ</i>	<i>agryaṃ</i>
13.6d	<i>muñcantv</i>	<i>muñcaṃtv</i>
15.7b	<i>oṣadhīm</i>	<i>oṣadhim</i>
16.2c	<i>rājñī</i>	<i>rājña</i>
17.7b	<i>daṣṭas</i>	<i>daṣṭaḥs</i>
20.7d	<i>pariṣṭhāsti</i>	<i>pariṣṭhasti</i>
22.4c	<i>apsv antas</i>	<i>āpsantas</i>

Besides the list of shared readings, the close connection of **Pa**, **Ma** and **Mā** is clearly shown by the *lacuna* at 15.16.4d, in which **Mā** reads *viṣasya viṣadūṣaṇī* and **Ma** and **Pa** have *viṣasya vi*; as noted by LOPEZ 2010: 22, this example is nicely confirmed by PS 15.11.6d, in which **Mā** shows a *lacuna*, *indrasya [] haviṣā rathaṃ yaja*, as opposed to the unanimous readings of **Ma** and **Pa** *indrasya vajraṃ haviṣā rathaṃ yaja*. At 15.17.3a, **Ma** and **Mā** are in accord and read *īśānena*, while **Pa** shows the omission of the first syllable, reading *nena*.

Finally, I present other evidence from *kāṇḍa* 15 supporting the grouping together of **Pa** and **Ma** (see GRIFFITHS 2009: XXIX). Since I did not have direct access to **Ma**, for this manuscript I relied on Bhattacharya's (implicit) indications, which however are not always clear. The cases in which **Pa** and **Ma** agree against all the other manuscripts are: 1.6a *vaiṛpo*, 4.2a *dusvapnyaṃ*, 5.6ab *dadantāsitir*, 6.1d *paridadhātavā u*, 6.2d *sa vyāyasva*, 6.10b *sambhava*, 12.7c *koṣaghor*, 12.11a *syutaḥ*, 14.8c *purastāt śatrā*, 17.5a *sambharanti*, 23.12d *tavaṃ*. There are numerous cases in which **Pa** alone has an error, while **Ma** agrees with other manuscripts — which suggests that **Pa** is probably a direct copy of **Ma**: 1.5a *sahajyaśā*, 1.9ab *sahasvaTYrtu*, 2.2c *paktiḥ*, 2.3d *asastv*, 2.4b *yā*, 2.7b *yā chukraṃ*, 3.1c *āñjan*, *santate*, 3.3d *anāṣasaṃ*, 4.4c *vavārya*, 5.5d *naḡemaṃ* (→ *naṃ*), 5.9d *adha*, 6.3d *cāḡur*, 6.5a *hiraṇyavarṇa*, 6.6a *ottamattanta*, 8.7a *hikāṃraḡ*, 10.2c *jatr*, 10.3b *paripasvajānā*, 10.4d *visphumrantī*, 10.5b *kṛṇotri*, 10.6d *yachanti*, 11.4c *vaḡunāna*, 11.5a *sānyeṣāṃ*, 11.5d *samatsyu*, 11.6c *abhṛtaṃ*, 12.3b *asyaṃ*, 12.3d *sasanān*, 12.5b *rñjān*, 12.5c *uchuttram*, 12.8b *suvantaṃ*, 12.9b *śatrūna*, 13.3a *rājāna*, 13.8a *rāyāni*, 14.4a *rṣṭan*, 14.7b *yē*, 14.8a *kṣiṇataḡ*, 14.9d *muñcamv*, *aṃhasaśa*, 14.10c *saṃvatsarasyaṃ*, 15.3c *jījavam*, 15.5b *kuliya*, 15.8c *eṣāt davidvyabheṣajī*, 16.4a *dagdhena*, 17.3a *mena*, 17.4a *pṛvyāṃ*, 17.7b *daṣṭaḡ tṛṣṭāptadaṃsabhiḡ*, 18.3c *jadi*, 18.6a *diva*, 18.7a *nṛtyata*, 18.9c *ghora*, 19.5b *varpeṇa*, 20.3ab *bheṣajebhiṛnvā*, 20.4c *prā*, 20.5a *dasto*, 20.5c *daivyasa*, 20.8b *stanaitnavo*, 20.10c *śatnyaṃ*, 21.1c *yā*, 21.2a *yaśupat{i}ī*, 22.2c *ta*, 22.4a *pṛthivyā*, 22.5cd *sasyā yena*, 22.9c *vadhīrm*, 22.10d *maṛṭbhiḡ*, 23.2a *asirm me*, 23.6b *lāvaṇyā?*, *paribhuṇyāṃ*, 23.6d *yāvaṃ*, 23.7b *yā*, 23.11a *manas*, 23.13a *samudrad*.

2. Orthography, Spelling mistakes, Sandhi

The script, punctuation, orthography and sandhi of the Kashmirian manuscript and of the Orissa manuscripts have been studied in great detail by GRIFFITHS 2009: XXII–XXIV and GRIFFITHS 2009: XXVII–XXXIV, respectively.

In what follows, therefore, I will limit myself to list the graphic mistakes found in *kāṇḍa* 15, and to discussing the types of sandhi encountered in this book. As concerns the sandhi, I have

generally decided to adopt the editorial policy of GRIFFITHS 2009, as I have not found any arguments against it.

Vowels:

a > ā⁷ Or 1.1a, K 1.3b, Or-K 1.6d, K 3.3b, K 10.5b, K 11.1b, Or 12.2b, Or 12.3b, Or 12.5b, Or 12.6d, K 12.8b, K 12.9b, K 13.10a, K 14.2b, Or 14.10b, K 15.1b, Or 15.1c, Or 15.2a, Or 15.2c, K 16.1b, Or-K 17.5b, Or 17.7b, K 18.2c, Or 18.2d, Or 19.8a, Or 19.8b, Or-K 20.2c, Or 20.4c, K 20.8d, K 21.5e, K 21.8b, K 22.1b, K 22.5a, Or 22.5c, K 22.9c, K 23.6c, Or 23.6d, Or 23.10a, K 23.10d (2×), Or 23.12d

a > i K 1.1c, Or 1.5c, K 1.7d, K 2.6c, K 3.1c, Or 3.8a, K 5.4b, K 10.5b, K 12.2a, K 12.3b, K 12.3d, Or 12.5d, K 12.7a, K 12.8a, K 14.2b, Or 14.3c, K 15.3b, K 15.7c, K 15.8a, K 16.1d (2×), K 20.5c, K 21.3b, K 21.6d, Or 23.1b, Or-K 23.3b, Or 23.4b, Or 23.13d

a > u K 1.3c, K 1.8d, K 5.2b, Or 5.2c, K 5.5c, K 5.7c, K 6.8b, K 6.10c, K 10.1b, K 11.3d, Or 11.5d, K 11.9b, K 12.3b, K 12.3d, Or 12.7d, K 13.1b, Or-K 13.3c, K 14.8b, K 14.10b, K 20.7d, K 20.8b

a > e K 1.6d, K 4.6c, Or 12.6a, Or 12.8d, Or 15.9a, Or 19.7b, Or 22.10c

a > o Or 4.5c, Or-K 12.3c, K 12.9b

a > ai K 20.6c

ā > a K 1.5b, Or-K 1.6d, K 1.7a, K 1.9a, Or 2.3a, K 3.7c, Or 6.1b, Or-K 9.4a, Or 10.4c, K 10.6d, Or 10.9c, Or 11.2d, Or 11.6, K 11.6c, Or 12.3c, K 12.4a, Or 12.7b, Or 12.7c, Or 13.4c, Or 13.5c, Or 13.10c, K 14.2b, K 15.1b, Or 15.3d, Or 15.4d, Or 15.5a, Or 15.6b, K 16.4b, Or 17.5b, Or 17.6a, K 18.2a, Or 18.4a Or 18.9c, Or 20.7d, K 20.10d, Or 22.2d, Or 23.1a, K 23.1d, Or 23.6a, K 23.10d, Or 23.13a

ā > u Or 21.5b

ā > o K 2.3d, Or 9.5a, Or 12.7c, K 15.1a, Or 23.1d

ā > ī K 12.10c

i > a K 1.3d, Or 1.7c, K 2.6c, K 3.3d, K 4.1d, Or 5.9d, Or 6.7b, K 6.10c, K 7.1c, K 9.4c, Or 11.4c, Or 11.6b, Or 12.4c, K 12.5a, Or 12.6c, K 14.2b, K 15.5b, Or 16.4a, Or 18.10d, K 20.4a, K 21.4b, K 22.8a, K 23.2bc, K 23.3d, K 23.4d, K 23.13d

i > ī Or 2.1a, Or 2.6a, Or 3.8a, Or 4.1d, Or 5.9a, Or 9.4b, Or 9.5b, Or 12.2c, Or 12.4c, K 12.9c, Or 14.2a, Or 15.6a, Or-K 16.2d, Or 16.3c, Or 16.4c, Or 17.5a, K 18.7a (2×), K 18.10d, Or-K 21.5b, Or 23.2b

i > u K 5.2d, K 6.3d, K 11.3d, K 16.10a, K 17.1a, K 17.2a, K 17.3a, K 17.7a

i > r K 1.6b, K 2.3c, K 11.2d, Or 15.4b

ī > a Or 1.9a, K 10.6c, Or 12.6a, Or 16.2c

ī > ā K 15.7b

ī > i Or 1.1c, Or 1.4b, Or 1.9a, Or 2.8d, Or 5.10a, Or 11.8a, Or 12.6a, Or 12.6c, Or 15.6b, Or 15.6d, Or-K 15.7b (2×), Or 16.1b, Or 16.3b, Or 17.3a, Or 18.4b, Or 18.9d, Or 19.6b, Or 20.3a, Or 20.3d, Or 22.5c

ī > u K 19.6b

ī > e K 5.10a

⁷ The notation $a > \bar{a}$ is to be read: instead of a , the manuscripts read \bar{a} . The siglum Or stands for one, more than one, or even all the Orissa manuscripts.

u > a Or 1.3a, Or 1.4b, Or 1.9c, Or 3.3c, Or 5.5b, Or 6.1b, Or-K 6.8b, K 7.3a, Or 12.1a, Or 12.1d, K 13.1b, K 14.2a, K 16.2a, K 17.4b, Or 18.3b, Or 20.8a, K 21.2c, K 22.7a, K 23.3a, Or 23.13b

u > ā Or 1.4b

u > i K 3.3c, K 15.9a

u > ū Or 2.2d, Or 2.3c, Or 2.7b, Or 3.8b, Or 5.4a, Or 11.4a, Or 18.3a, Or 18.6c, K 20.1b

u > o K 12.9c

u > ñ Or 6.2b

ū > u Or 1.7c, Or 2.2a, Or 3.3d, Or 6.3d, Or 11.9c, Or 12.1a, Or 12.11a, Or 18.3b, Or 18.5c, Or 20.1d, Or 21.3c

ū > ʀ Or 12.11a

ū > au K 14.3b, K 15.3d

ʀ > u Or 6.1b, Or 10.9c, K 18.6c

ʀ > ra Or 12.5b

ʀ > ru K 5.5b, K 12.5b

ṛ > ʀ K 9.3a

e > a K 9.5b, K 11.4a, K 12.8a, Or 23.11c, K 23.13b

e > i K 17.5b, K 22.2a

e > ī K 10.4a, K 15.1c, K 19.7a, K 23.11c

e > o Or 1.3b, Or 2.6c, Or 10.4c, Or 12.9c, Or 20.6b, Or 20.8b, Or 20.10b, Or 21.2bd, K 21.8a, K 22.7a, Or 22.8a

e > ai Or 22.10c

o > a K 10.10b, K 14.10a

o > ā Or 12.1c

o > u K 11.4d, K 21.4c

o > e Or 1.2c, K 1.3c, Or 18.4d

o > au Or 2.1a, K 5.1b, K 7.4a, Or 10.5a, Or 11.4a, Or 12.8a, K 16.2b

ai > ī K 3.6a

ai > e K 1.6b, Or 1.7d

au > ā K 2.8b

au > e K 12.7b

au > o Or 1.4b, K 21.2c, K 22.1a, K 23.5c, K 23.6c

ri > ʀ Or 20.9b

ru > ʀ Or 1.7c, 2.3a, 2.4a, 3.3b, 3.8a, 3.8b, 3.9b, 3.10a, 4.4c, 4.10a, 5.1c, 5.3b, 5.4c, 6.3d, 6.6b, 7.2a, 8.3a, 11.7a, 11.9b, 12.4b, 13.1b (2×), 13.3a, 13.8a, 14.6a, 15.1d, 15.3b, 15.3d, 15.4a, 15.6c, 15.7c, 15.8b, 15.9d, 15.10d, 16.1a, 16.2b, 16.3c, 16.4c, 16.9a, 17.4b, 17.7c, 17.8b, 18.1b, 18.5c, 18.10c, 20.1a, 20.2a, 20.2d, 20.3b, 20.5a, 20.9b, 21.3a, 22.1b, 22.5d, 22.7b, 22.8c, 22.10d, 23.3a, 23.4a, 23.5c, 23.6c, 23.12b

ru > r Or 6.3c, 6.6b, 8.2a

rū > ʀ Or 21.2a

rū > ṛ Or 1.2b, Or 1.6a, Or 6.3c, Or 6.6b, Or 8.2a, K 10.4c, K 10.7d, K 12.6e, K 12.9b, Or 20.7b

Velars:

k > g K 1.7c, 12.10a

k > gh K 12.7b
kh > ch K 12.3b
g > k K 3.10c
g > gr K 16.1b
g > m Or 1.4d
g > ş Or 3.3d, Or 15.9b

Palatals:

c > cy K 1.2d
c > j K 1.7c, K 6.7d
c > t K 12.3b, K 12.5b, K 18.1c
c > n Or 12.3b
c > ś K 13.6b
ch > ts Or 11.10c
ch > śch K 1.2b, 1.7d, 2.5c, 5.3c, 6.1c, 6.2a, 10.6d, 10.9b, 11.2d, 11.10c, 12.11e, 15.4d, 16.1c, 18.5d, 18.6a, 18.6c, 22.2d, 22.6d, 23.7b
j > t Or 4.3a, Or 11.6a, K 20.6c
j > d Or 1.2d, Or 1.8c
j > n Or 2.5b, Or 5.2b
j > y Or 1.3b, Or 3.3d, Or 8.5a, Or 10.2b, Or 10.2d, Or 11.8d, Or 11.10a, Or 12.3a

Retroflex:

ḍ > ṭ Or 1.9a
ḍ > ḷ K 3.4b, K 11.8c, K 12.3d, K 20.5b, k 21.5e, K 23.4a
ḍh > ḍ Or 20.4b
ṇ > t Or 12.6d
ṇ > n K 18.7c
ṇ > ś Or 10.7a

Dentals:

t > c K 3.6c, Or 3.9b, K 6.6c, K 11.2b, K 16.6a, K 20.5a
t > j K 1.1b, K 10.9b, Or-K 12.5b, K 21.4a
t > th Or-K 9.4a (2×), Or 12.9d
t > d K 1.1c, Or 5.3c, Or-K 6.9a, K 9.4a, K 18.10b
t > dh K 16.1d
t > n K 12.5a
t > y K 3.1c, r 6.7c
t > v K 15.6b
t > ḥ Or 5.3d
th > t K 8.9a, K 20.10c
th > ş K 12.6b
d > g Or-K 2.1b, K 15.7a
d > j K 11.1b
d > t K 1.1c, K 1.2d, Or 1.7a, Or 4.1a, K 15.3a
d > ḍṛ Or-K 17.7b

d > n K 10.1b
d > r K 3.7a, K 5.6a, K 12.7b
d > v Or 22.8b
d > dh K 2.8d, K 10.2b, K 10.5b, K 12.10c, K 20.7c, K 22.10d, Or 23.6a
dh > d Or 2.2a, K 2.3a, K 10.4c, K 12.10b, Or 18.3a, K 22.7d, K 23.2c, K 23.2e
dh > ddh Or 6.9c, Or 21.1b, Or 22.5d
dh > bh Or 4.3b
dh > h Or 17.4b, Or 23.2c
n > ŋ Or 13.4c
n > t K 10.7c, Or 11.2d
n > r K 1.1a, K 19.3b
n > s K 14.2b
n > m K 3.2a

Labials:

p > j Or-K 3.7a
p > t Or 21.2d
p > m K 12.2a
p > y Or 2.7a, Or 21.2a
p > r Or 5.8c, Or 11.5c
p > v Or-K 6.2b, K 14.2a, Or 18.5d, Or 23.13c
ph > p Or 23.12e
b > m Or-K 6.6a, Or 10.9c
b > v K 4.4a, K 23.8e
bh > gh Or-K 5.6d
bh > t Or 20.4c
bh > p K 2.4d, K 3.7d
bh > v Or 2.3a, K 3.7d
m > d Or 5.8c
m > n K 6.8b
m > v K 9.6b, K 10.9c, K 12.11c, Or-K 20.2b, Or-K 23.11c
m > s Or 5.9b, K 9.6b, K 10.10d, K 11.3c, K 11.9b, K 12.1a, Or 12.1b, K 12.8a, K 20.4a, K 22.1d, K 22.9c, K 23.5d

Semivowels:

y > j Or 2.4b, K 2.7b, Or 5.3d, Or 5.8a, K 6.8b, Or 12.2c, Or 12.2d, Or 13.10c, Or 21.8d
y > jy Or 1.5a
y > ŋ K 1.7d
y > m K 17.7a
y > yy K 10.1b
y > r K 20.9c
y > h K 3.3c, Or 12.8d
r > c K 20.3c
r > n K 13.1b, K 15.3b, K 19.6b
r > y K 6.5a

r > v Or 17.5a
l > ɭ Or 19.7b
l > d K 23.7a
l > ll K 18.3b
v > u K 10.1b
v > ū Or 10.1b
v > d K 4.4d, K 13.8c
v > n K 1.1b, K 14.6a
v > p Or 1.1b, Or 6.4a, Or 10.7c, Or 11.2c, Or 11.5d, K 12.6b, K 20.2b, Or 22.8b
v > bh Or-K 11.6c
v > m Or 4.10a, Or 10.1a
v > y K 5.5c, K 11.2d, Or 11.5a

Sibilants:⁸

ś > c K 14.7c
ś > ch K 15.5ab
ś > j Or 10.2b
ś > t Or-K 18.2d, Or 20.4d
ś > ṣ K 10.3c (śi > ṣi), Or 12.8c (śa > ṣa), K 23.7a (śa > ṣa)
ś > s K 1.4b (śu > su), Or 1.7b (śā > sā), Or 2.1a (śā > sā), Or 2.2a (śau > sau), Or 3.1c (śa > sa), Or 5.6b (śi > si), Or 6.6c (śa > sa), K 10.9b (śri > sṛ), Or 10.10d (śa > sa), Or 11.9a (śv > sv), Or-K 12.3a (śo > so), Or 13.7a (śa > sa), Or 18.7c (śu > su), Or 18.8b (śv > sv), K 18.10c (śru > sru), Or 20.1a (śa > sa), K 23.2b (śi > sa), Or-K 23.7b (śā > sā)
ṣ > t K 20.5a
ṣ > p Or 10.3b, Or 19.5b
ṣ > ś Or 10.6b (ṣa > śa), K 12.2d (ṣā > śa), K 12.6c (ṣā > śa), Or 15.9a (ṣi > śi), Or 21.1d (ṣa > śa)
ṣ > s K 10.6b (ṣa > sa), Or 15.3c (ṣi > si), Or 15.9a (ṣi > si)
s > m Or 12.3c, Or 12.3d, K 12.5a, K 12.5b, K 22.2d, K 22.10d, K 23.6c
s > ś Or 1.6d (sa > śa), Or 6.7a (si > śi), Or 10.5c (sa > śa), Or 10.6b (su > śu), Or-K 12.2d (si > śi), K 18.7c (sā > śā), K 23.2be (sa > śa), Or 23.10d (sa > śa)
s > ṣ Or 10.6b (su > ṣu)
s > sy Or 15.6d
h > j Or 4.5b
h > d Or 18.3d, Or 20.5a
h > y Or 1.3d
h > l K 18.6c

Clusters:

aṁ > o Or 13.1c, Or 13.3b, K 22.1d
aḥ > aṁ Or 16.1b

⁸ The confusion of the sibilants is one of the most common mistakes, both in **K** and **Or**. If a sibilant is mixed up with another sibilant, I specify the phonetic context of the mistake, because there seems to be a higher frequency of this mistake in the context before *i/y* (see KULIKOV 2009: 142, with ft. 3). The examples culled from *kāṇḍa* 15, however, are not conclusive in this respect.

aḥ > **ā** K 12.8d
ām > **ā** Or 14.9a
āḥ > **ān** K 14.2c
iy > **y** Or 13.2c
īr > **īm** K 18.4c
ṛñj > **rañj** Or 12.5b
ṛñj > **rumj** K 12.5b
ṛtt > **ṛt** Or 5.5b
kth > **ktv** K 17.8a
kr > **tkr** Or 12.5c
kr > **ttr** Or 12.5c
kr > **tr** Or 14.7c
kṣ > **khy** K 23.1a
kṣ > **ṣy** K 17.8b
kṣm > **ṣm** K 17.8a
kṣv > **kṣ** Or-K 1.6b
kṣv > **śv** Or 1.6b
gn > **g** Or 15.6a
cc > **śc** K 23.13a
ṅk > **ṁk** Or-K 2.2c, Or 10.3c, K 10.5c, K 12.6b
ṅkṣv > **ṁkṣv** Or 4.5a
ṅkh > **ṁkh** K 19.1a (2×)
ṅg > **ṁg** Or-K 11.8a, Or 18.6c, K 18.10b, K 18.10e
ṅgh > **ṁgh** Or-K 11.5a
ṅdh > **gdh** K 1.10d
ghn > **ghr** Or 11.5b
jy > **y** Or 5.9d, Or 5.10d, Or 13.8a, Or 15.5b
ñc > **ṁc** Or 1.4c, Or 13.8a, Or 14.10a, Or 18.10d
ñj > **ṁj** K 3.6a
ḍv > **ḍy** Or 11.8a
ṇḍ > **ṁḍ** K 18.1c
tīy > **ty** K 3.6d
tṛ > **ta** K 23.6d
tṛ > **ti** K 17.6b
tṛ > **tya** K 17.7b
tṛ > **dṛ** Or 16.6b
tk > **tth** K 12.5c
tt > **t** K 6.1a
tn > **ttr** K 2.1a
tn > **tm** K 10.4d
tn > **ty** Or 12.3a
tn > **rbh** K 1.7c
ty > **y** Or 9.4c

tr > ttr K 1.1d, 1.2b, 1.3d, 1.4a, 1.6d, 1.7a, 1.7b, 1.7d, 1.8c (2×), 1.8d, 2.2d, 3.10a, 5.3b, 7.1a, 7.5a, 10.2c, 10.4d, 10.7c, 10.9c, 11.3b, 11.7b, 12.6c, 12.6e, 12.8c, 12.8d, 14.3a, 18.1d, 22.5a, 22.5b, 22.9d

tr > t Or 1.2b, Or 10.4d

tv > t K 12.11d

tv > ty K 3.10c

tv > stv Or-K 2.8c

ts > ch Or 23.13b

ts > tsy Or 11.5d

tsv > ts Or 12.10d

thn > nthn Or 6.7b

thy > th Or 13.7a, Or 13.7b

daṁśma > daṁśu, daśma Or 17.7b, **daṁsma** K 17.7b

ddh > dh K 6.6a, K 11.8c

dm > dd K 18.1d

dv > d Or 21.1d

dv > v Or-K 21.1d

dbh > t̥bh Or 21.8d, Or 22.8c, Or 22.10d

dy > dv K 22.7a

dhv > dhm Or 9.6b

nt > ntt Or 4.4b

nt > ñc K 12.8b

nt > ñt Or 3.6c, Or 4.4d, Or 10.3a, Or 10.3d, Or 10.6d, Or 11.3c, K 11.5a, Or 12.10a, K 14.3c, K 19.1b, Or 19.4a, Or 22.1d

ntv > ñtv Or 3.2d, Or 6.6d, Or 6.7b, Or 6.8d, Or 9.4b, Or-K 13.1d, Or 13.6d, Or 13.8d, Or 13.10d, Or 14.1d, Or 14.9d

nd > d Or 11.10c

nd > ñd K 23.7a

ndh > ñdh Or 14.5b

nv > n Or 12.3c

nv > nn Or 1.8c

nv > ñn Or 1.8c

pr̥ > tri K 12.9c

pr̥ > pu Or 12.9c

m̥rt > ñm̥rt Or 6.1b, Or 6.5b, K 16.2a

mbh > m Or 12.10c

mbh > ñbh K 12.10c

yit > it Or 12.3a, Or 20.8b, Or 23.11b

rc > rcc Or 1.4c, 4.6c, 4.10c, 5.3a, 6.1a, 6.2c

rt > t Or 1.7a, K 14.10b

rt > rtt Or 1.2d, Or 1.9b, Or 2.6a, Or 10.1d, Or 14.2b, Or 14.10b, Or 20.5c, Or 21.5f

rt > nt K 1.2d, K 1.9b, K 10.1d

rtr > tr Or 1.7a

rtr > nt K 23.5a

rtr > rt Or 23.5a

rtr > rtt Or 23.5a (2×)
rd > d Or 4.1c
rd > nd K 4.1c, K 4.2c
rdr > dr Or 1.8c
ry > jy K 20.1b
rh > ṛh Or 20.7a
rh > h K 20.7b
vṛ > vra K 20.6c
vy > ty K 13.7c
ly > ty Or 20.10c
ly > tny Or 20.10c
ṣu > kṛ K 15.7a
ṣṭ > pt Or 17.7b
ṣṭ > ṣk K 2.3a
ṣṭ > ṣṭh K 12.9c, K 17.6b, K 17.7b, K 19.7a, K 20.6b
ṣṭ > ṣṇ Or 1.4b
ṣṭ > ṣy K 1.5d
ṣṭh > ṣṭ Or 1.9b, Or 20.7d
ṣṭh > ṣṇ K 1.9b
ṣṇya > ṣṇimya, ṣṇaya Or 1.4a
ṣm > śm Or 19.8b
ṣv > śm K 17.8a
ṣv > sv Or 4.2a
ṣv > ḥsv Or 4.2a
śṛ > si K 20.6b
śṛ > śrī Or 18.9c
śc > sy K 22.5b
śm > sm Or 5.7a
śm > sy Or 20.8c
śy > ś Or 12.4a
śr > ś Or 14.7c
śr > śśr K 13.8b
śr > ḥśr Or-K 14.4c
śri > śṛ Or 23.12d
śri > śru K 23.12d
śv > gv K 18.10a
śv > ṣk K 20.7d
stv > st Or 1.7b
sth > st Or 1.7b
sth > stv K 1.7b
sn > śv K 4.5b
sn > sm Or 4.5b
sm > kṣm Or 17.7a
sm > ss K 11.2d, K 20.1c
sy > śy Or 16.4b, K 23.10d

sy > s K 1.3b, Or 12.3a, K 12.11a, Or 12.11c, Or 20.5c, Or 21.4c
 sy > ss K 20.8d
 sy > sv Or-K 1.5d, K 2.8a, K 12.7b
 sv > s Or 1.5b
 han > hn K 1.3b
 hr̥ > da K 15.5a
 hr̥nī > hari K 20.2c
 hr > d Or 23.2c
 hr > d Or 23.2c
 m̐t > nt Or 3.1c
 m̐dh > ndh Or 2.4d
 m̐n > nn Or 4.1a, Or-K 11.8c, Or-K 12.4c
 m̐bh > mbh K 1.8b, K 11.6b, Or-K 17.5a, K 17.6a
 m̐y > ny K 12.5a
 m̐v > mv Or 2.2b, Or 7.6a, 7.7a, Or 10.4c, Or 22.10d
 m̐v > vy K 23.8a
 m̐ś > ś Or 13.3c
 m̐h > ṅg Or 20.1c
 m̐h > h Or 13.1d, Or 13.6d, K 20.1c

Sandhi:

-an k- > -aṁ k- Or-K 5.5a
 -an d- > -aṁ d- Or 1.1a, Or-K 15.9d, Or 15.10d, Or 20.7ab, Or 23.12d
 -an dh- > -aṁ dh- Or-K 20.7a
 -ān # > -ām # Or-K 22.1b
 -ān d- > -ām d- Or 14.5a, Or 22.1c
 -ān bh- > -ām bh- K 23.5d
 -ān m- > -ām m- K 12.2b
 -an n- > -am n- K 20.7cd
 -an y- > -aṁ y- Or 12.9b
 -an n- > -aṁ n- K 3.7cd
 -an s- > -aṁ s- K 22.10c
 -ān y- > -ām y- Or 20.1c
 -āṁ u- > -āmm u Or 14.11b, K 20.9a
 -āṁs t- > -as t- Or 14.2cd
 -ir u- > iṛ Or 20.3ab
 -ir n- > -in n- K 11.1a, K 12.5cd, K 21.3d
 -ir n- > -iḥ n- Or 12.5cd
 -ir m- > -irm m- Or 23.2a
 -iś c- > -iḥ c- Or 12.6d
 -nn a- > -m a- K 20.9a
 -nn a- > -m̐n a- Or 5.1c, Or 5.5d
 -nn i- > -m̐n i- Or 1.6a, K 20.7c
 -nn i- > -m̐nn i- Or 20.7c
 -nn i- > -n i- K 1.6a

- y a- > -ī ' Or 2.4a
- r u- > r Or 2.3d
- ś ch- > -ḥ ch- Or 2.2c

Double sandhi

As noted by LUBOTSKY 2002: 9, double sandhi is frequently encountered at the juncture *-ā a-* (> *ā*), both in **Or** and in **K**; in PS 15 it is found at 7.1a (**Or**), 18.5a (**K**), 18.8d (**Or**), 20.3d (**K**), 22.7d (**K**), Or 23.9cd (**Or**). There are also examples of double sandhi in different positions, viz. *-a ā-* > *ā* at 11.3a, 21.6a (**K**), *-ā ā-* > *ā* at 22.2d (**K**), *-ā i-* > *e* at 4.7a (**Or**). As a corollary to this phenomenon, the manuscripts introduce *-ā a-* for simple *ā* (**K** at 4.6a; one Orissa manuscript has *-ā '* instead of *ā* once at 1.8ab), *-u u-* for simple *ū* (**K** at 1.7ab), *-a i-* for *e* (**K** at 11.7c; once also *-e i-* for *e* at 6.1a).

Abhinihita sandhi

I edit initial *a-* when it is metrically required and is written both in **Or** and **K** (1.2c, 1.3b, 2.1b, 2.1d, 2.2b, 2.2d, 2.3d, 2.5b, 5.1b, 5.4d, 5.9d, 6.5a, 11.2a, 12.4c, 21.5f, 21.7b, 21.8b). In four cases (3.4b, 11.9d, 12.7a, 23.11c), the readings of the manuscripts are not unanimous, in that **K** shows minor graphic mistakes or has a lacuna: in these cases I follow the evidence of **Or**.

If one of the two branches of transmission offers a metrically required *a-* against ' (*avagraha*) or Ø in the other, I edit the former: 1.5cd (*-o a-* **Or**, *-o Ø-* **K**), 3.1cd (*-e a-* **K**, *-e '* **Or**), 3.2ab (*o a-* **Or**, *-o Ø-* **Or-K**), 3.9a (*-o a-* **Or**, *-o Ø-* **K**), 4.4b (*-o a-* **Or**, *-o Ø-* **K**), 4.4d (*-o a-* **Or**, *-o Ø-* **K**), 5.10d (*-e a-* **Or**, *-e Ø-* **K**), 6.3a (*-o a-* **Or**, *-o Ø-* **K**), 6.9b (*-e a-* **K**, *-e '* **Or**), 9.6c (*-o a-* **K**, *-o Ø-* **Or**), 12.3b (*-o a-* **Or**, *-o Ø-* **K**), 14.7ab (*-o a-* **K**, *-o '* **Or**), 18.4d (*-o a-* **Or**, *-o Ø-* **K**), 18.10ef (*-o a-* **Or**, *-o Ø-* **K**), 20.8a (*-e a-* **Or**, *-e Ø-* **K**), 20.8c (*-e a-* **Or**, *-e Ø-* **K**), 21.5fg (*-e a-* **K**, *-a '* **Or**), 21.8d (*-o a-* **Or**, *-o Ø-* **K**), 22.8c (*-o a-* **Or**, *-o '* **Or-K**), 22.10a (*-o a-* **Or**, *-o Ø-* **K**), 23.13cd (*-o a-* **K**, *-o '* **Or**).

I print *a-* when *avagraha* or Ø is found in the manuscripts, but restoration of initial *a-* is metrically required: 6.3b, 10.7b, 12.1d, 14.4b.

I print ' or (') when *avagraha* or Ø is found in one or more manuscripts and the meter requires elision: 2.6c, 3.1a, 3.5a, 5.6a, 7.2a, 7.4a, 9.4a, 10.5b, 18.10f.

Final -n before vowel

The regular and expected sandhi *-nn V-* is generally observed in the manuscripts, although it is unanimously preserved in all the manuscripts only at 11.3c. **K** shows a tendency to render *-nn V-* as *-n V-* (1.6a), *-m V-* (20.9a; a graphic mistake for the more common *-ṁ V-*?) or *-ṁn V-* (20.7c). This last spelling is found also in **Or** (1.6a, 5.1c, 5.5d). One Orissa manuscript has the 'hypercharacterized' sandhi *-ṁnn V-* once (20.7c).

As noted by GRIFFITHS 2009: LVI, "the sandhi of a final nasal after a long *ā* before an initial vowel is problematic," and in deciding between the two alternatives *-āṁ* or *-ān*, "the editor of the PS is confronted with a bewildering variation between **K** and the Or. mss., without any clear means to decide what the reading of the archetype may have been". **K** uses a separate sign for *anunāsika* (*ṁ*) but this sound is sometimes spelled with the *anusvāra* (*ṁ*). The Orissa manuscripts usually show *-ṁ* or *ṁ* for *anunāsika*. As regards PS 15, I distinguish the following cases:

There are four cases which point to the assumption of *anunāsika* in the archetype, leaving very little doubt about it. In three of these cases both branch of transmission have *anunāsika*: 14.2b (-āñ, u- **Or**, -ām̐m u- **K**), 20.3a, (-āñ, i- **Or**, -ām̐ i- **K**), 21.7d (-āñ, a- **Or**, -ām̐ a- **K**); in one case, at 11.5b, one branch of transmission has *anunāsika* while the other has *anusvāra* (-āñ, u-, -ām̐ñ, u- **Or**, -ām̐ u- **K**).

There are two ambiguous cases. At 11.3c, the Orissa manuscripts have *anunāsika* (-āñ, a-) and **K** an erroneous reading (-āt a-); at 5.6a, the Orissa manuscripts have *anusvāra* (-ām̐ a-), and **K** again a corrupt reading (-a a-). Even if there is no conclusive evidence, nothing in the manuscripts supports the adoption of the dental nasal, so I edit *anunāsika* in both cases.

There are some cases that clearly point to the adoption of -n. Unanimous evidence for -n is found at 5.4c *marutvān adhi*, 12.3c *sasanvān ayutam̐* (with intervening pāda boundary), 12.7c *vadhrān uta*, 14.5a *devān idam̐*, 14.9b *puṇyajanān uta*, 15.7d *pārayān iti*, 16.3d *pārayān iti*. I edit -n also at the end of pāda 22.1c *marutaḥ śivān* | (against **Or** and **K** *śivām̐*).

The sandhi -īn/ūn V- remains unchanged: cf. 13.1a *vanaspatīn oṣadhīr* (with intervening pāda boundary), 14.2a *ṛtupatīn ārtavām̐* (with intervening pāda boundary), 14.9c *mṛtyūn ekaśatam̐*. There is only one case in which the Orissa manuscripts clearly suggest a sandhi -ūm̐r V-: at 10.7d **Or** read *śatrūñ, r anapavyayantaḥ*, **K** reads *śatṛm̐ apavyayantaḥ*. Since this verse is borrowed from ṚV 6.75.7d, GRIFFITHS 2009: LVIII–LIX suggested that the sandhi of **Or** can be assumed to have arisen under influence of the ṚV itself, because the reading of **K** does not support the insertion of *r*.

Anunāsika before s

This spelling, which is common in **K**, occurs at 10.3b and 10.3d; I edit the *anusvāra* according to the use of the Orissa manuscripts. Note the mistake of **K** at 13.8ab (-āñ s- instead of -ām̐ s-).

Final -n before c-

In PS 15, there is one single example of the practice to insert ś after -n before c-: at 20.9c all the Orissa manuscripts, with one exception, read *yakṣmām̐ś ca* (**K** *rakṣām̐si*).

Final -n before j-

In PS 15 we come across two cases in which the manuscripts inconsistently write ñ or m̐ before j-: 10.3cd (-āñ j- **K**, -ām̐ j- **Or**), 12.1a (-ūñ j- **Or**, -ūm̐ j- **K**). In my edition I have regularized ñ everywhere.

Final -m before k- c- t- p- etc.

I edit this sandhi (on which cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: XI–LXII) with *anusvāra*, although the manuscripts sometimes show the assimilation of the final -m to the following consonant: 2.6c (*-ām̐ t- > -āñ t- **Or**), 3.2c (-ām̐ t- **K**, -an t- **Or**), 6.2c (-ām̐ c- **Or-K**, -añ c- **Or**), 6.3c (-ām̐ c- **Or-K**, -añ c- **Or**), 11.2c (-ām̐ c- **Or**, -añ c- **Or-K**), 11.7c (+-ām̐ n- > -āñ n- **Or**, -ā n- **K**), 12.7d (+-ām̐ t- > -an t- **Or** 12.7d), 12.10a (-ām̐ n- **Or-K**, -an n- **Or**), 15.3c (-ām̐ j- **Or-K**, -añ j- **Or**), 15.5a (+-ām̐ t- > -an t- **Or**), 15.5b (+-ām̐ t- > -an t- **Or**), 15.5d (-ām̐ t- **K**, -an t- **Or**), 15.6a (-ām̐ t- **K**, -an t- **Or**), 15.6c (-ām̐ t- **Or-K**, -an t- **Or**), 18.10f (-ām̐ n- **Or-K**, -an n- **Or**), 20.10b (-im̐ c- **Or-K**, -iñ c- **Or**), 23.6a (+-ām̐ d- > -an d- **Or**), 23.9d (-ām̐ t- **Or-K**, -an t- **Or**).

Final -t before ś-

This sandhi occurs six times, at 1.6a *tac chakeyam*, 2.7b *yac chukram*, 4.3d *ic chivās*, 12.5c *uc chukram*, 14.8c *purastāc chakrā*, 23.10b *śivāc chivatarā*. **K** is consistent in the treatment of this sandhi, and always writes *śch*. In the passages mentioned above, the Orissa manuscripts are not unanimous in rendering this sandhi and show various spellings: -c *ch*- (1.6a, 2.7b, 12.5c), -t ś- (4.3d, 14.8c, 23.10b), -t s- (1.6a), -t c- (18.4b), *ch*- (1.6a, 12.5c, 14.8c, 23.10b).

Final visarga

The Orissa manuscripts have the usual system of -*h* for -s before ś-, ṣ-, s-, while **K** assimilates the final -s to -ś (1.3a, 1.3b, **K** 10.2c, 10.9b, 11.2d, 12.3c, 15.5a, 15.5c, 20.4d, 22.6d, 22.9b, 23.4b), -ṣ (there are no examples in PS 15) -s (1.6c, 2.5b, 6.2c, 6.3a, 6.5a, 6.5d, 6.7a, 6.8c, 6.9c, 6.9d, 7.6a, 8.7a, 10.7b, 10.9cd, 10.10a, 11.1cd, 11.2b, 11.3d, 11.8c, 12.10a, 12.10ab, 12.11a, 13.6ab, 13.9a, 14.1b, 14.5a, 14.5c, 14.8d, 14.10d, 16.1a, 17.5a, 18.6a, 22.7b, 23.13a, 23.13c), showing occasional *pausa*-forms at pāda boundaries (2.3cd, 2.4cd, 3.2bc, 10.10ab, 11.7bc, 14.10bc, 15.6cd, 21.7cd) and also in the middle of the pāda (11.2c, 12.6b, 12.11d, 20.7e, 22.2d, 22.10d).

Before *k(h)*- and *p(h)*-, the Orissa manuscripts always write *visarga* (*h*), while **K** uses, respectively, *jihvāmūlīya*, (*h*: 4.3d, 7.9a, 11.1d, 21.1d, 22.5a) and *upadhmānīya* (*h*: 1.1a, 1.1b, 1.2a, 1.2d, 1.5b, 1.9b, 2.5a, 2.5c, 3.4c, 3.6d, 3.8d, 4.2d, 4.3d, 4.5d, 5.2a, 5.4a, 6.1c, 6.3c, 6.5b, 6.6d, 7.1a, 8.1a, 8.4a, 9.5a, 10.2d, 10.5c (2×), 10.6a, 10.9a, 10.10a, 10.10c, 11.1a, 11.1c, 11.3b, 11.4a, 11.6a, 11.6b, 12.1c, 12.6d, 12.11d, 13.5a, 13.10b, 14.5c, 14.8a, 14.10a, 16.1b, 18.2a, 18.4a, 18.8b, 18.10d, 19.1a, 19.2a, 19.4a, 22.6c, 22.9b, 22.10c, 23.3a), although not consistently: at several times, **K** also attests a final *visarga* before *p*- (*-h p*- at 1.3c, 1.4c, 1.10c, 3.4c, 4.1c, 6.6b, 6.9a, 8.3a, 9.2a, 9.3a, 10.6d) and *k*- (*-h k*- at 10.9ab, 23.3b).

Initial and intervocalic *ch*-

In PS 15, there four cases of initial *ch*- (1.2b, 2.2c, 8.10a, 19.3b) and eighteen cases of intervocalic *-ch*- (2.5c, 5.3c, 6.1c, 6.2a, 10.6d, 10.9b, 11.2d, 11.10c, 12.11e, 15.4d, 16.1c, 18.5d, 18.6ab, 22.2d, 22.6d, 23.7b (2×)). **K** always writes *śch*,⁹ while the Orissa manuscripts always write *ch*, with only one exception: at 11.10c, **Or** unanimously spell the word *duhunām* as *dutsunām*. Regarding this last spelling, it is instructive to quote GRIFFITHS 2009: LXIV–LXV: “Note also the readings at 6.12.8/6.13.3, where both **K** and **Or** have *ts*: it thus seems that *G also had instances of *ch* → *ts*. The mss. of the KauśS, which must have circulated in Gujarat simultaneously with, and among the same people as, our archetype and the predecessors of the ŚS mss. [...], show several cases of *ts* for *ch*; we find similar spellings also in another text transmitted in Gujarat, MS 4.14.7:247 ff. *ṛtsātām* [...]”.

In my edition I follow LUBOTSKY’s opinion that “we should keep to the Orissa ms. tradition and edit simple *-ch*- (as is the practice of, for instance, the mss. of the RV)” (2002: 9).

Degemination of *ttv*, *tty*, *ddv*, *ddy* to *tv*, *ty*, *dv*, *dy* etc.

⁹ As regards the initial *ch*- in **K**, it must be noted that stanza 8.10 is not found in **K** and that at 19.3b **K** reads *sa-* instead of *cha-*. The initial *ch*- of *chandasām* at 2.2c is an exception, probably due to the sandhi with the preceding word (**K** reads *pañktis chandasām* for *pañktiś chandasām*).

In PS 15, I've found only two examples of degemination of such clusters in the Orissa manuscripts: for *-t tv-*, cf. the readings at 15.1c (*tāvat tvam* **K**, *tāvatvam* **Or**; note that **K** also shows degemination in the same sequence in the parallel pāda 7.11.10c) and for *-d dy-*, cf. 15.1a (*yovaddyaur* **K**, *yāvadyaur* **Or**).

Intervocalic *ḍ*

For a detailed discussion of intervocalic *ḍ(h)* in the PS, I refer to ZEHNDER 1999: 21 and GRIFFITHS 2009: LXIX–LXXI. This sound occurs ten times in PS 15; the table below shows the variety of this sound's rendering in the manuscripts:

	K	Ku	JM	RM	Pa	Bhattacharya
3.4b	<i>mṛḷa</i>	<i>mṛṛa</i>	<i>mṛṛa</i>	<i>mṛṛa</i>	<i>mṛṛa</i>	मृड
11.8c	<i>vīlayasvāsthāta</i>	<i>vīṛayasvāsthāta</i>	<i>vīṛayasvāsthāta</i>	<i>vīṛayasvāsthāta</i>	<i>vīṛayasvāsthāta</i>	वीडयस्व
11.10d	<i>vīḍayasva</i>	<i>vīṛayasva</i>	<i>vīḍayasva</i>	<i>vīṛayasva</i>	<i>vīṛayasva</i>	वीडयस्व
12.3d	<i>mṛḷaya</i>	<i>mṛṛaya</i>	<i>mṛṛeha</i>	<i>mṛṛeha</i>	<i>mṛṛeha</i>	मृडेह
12.4c	<i>vīḍayasva</i>	<i>vīṛayasva</i>	<i>vīṛayasva</i>	<i>vīṛayasva</i>	<i>vīṛayasva</i>	वीडयस्व
20.4b	<i>mīḍhuṣe</i>	<i>mīṛhuṣe</i>	<i>mīṛhuṣe</i>	<i>mīṛhuṣe</i>	<i>mīṛhu(→su)ṣe</i>	मीदुषे
20.5b	<i>mṛḷayāko</i>	<i>mṛṛayāko</i>	<i>mṛṛayāko</i>	<i>mṛḍayāko</i>	<i>mṛṛayāko</i>	मृडयाको
21.3d	<i>mṛtaṁ</i>	<i>mṛṛataṁ</i>	<i>mṛṛataṁ</i>	<i>mṛḍataṁ</i>	<i>mṛṛataṁ</i>	मृडतं
21.5e	<i>mṛḷataṁ</i>	<i>mṛṛataṁ</i>	<i>mṛṛataṁ</i>	<i>mṛḍataṁ</i>	<i>mṛṛataṁ</i>	मृडतं
23.4a	<i>mṛḷayāti</i>	<i>mṛḍayāta</i>	<i>mṛṛayāta</i>	<i>mṛṛayāta</i>	<i>mṛṛayāta</i>	मृडयात

K uses a special sign to write the intervocalic allophone of /ḍ/, although not consistently; it is derived from the sign for *ḍ* by attaching a small diacritic triangle to the upper right side of it. In PS 15, this sign (which is Zehnder's number 1 and is usually transliterated as *ḷ*) is found in six cases out of ten; at 21.3d, **K** has the erroneous reading *mṛtaṁ*, while at 11.10d and 12.4c it writes *ḍ*. Since in Śāradā script there is no aspirated counterpart of the intervocalic sign *ḍ*, it is not surprising that **K** reads *mīḍhuṣe* at 20.4b.¹⁰

The Orissa manuscripts use a sign derived by means of a subscript diacritic dot from *ḍ* to represent intervocalic *ḍ* (Zehnder's number 2). The sign is transliterated with *ṛ*. When they write *ḍ* (as **Ku** at 23.4a, **JM** at 11.10d, **RM** at 20.5b, 21.3d, 21.5e), it is possibly because of the loss of the diacritic dot under the akṣara.

¹⁰ This is not the only spelling for intervocalic *ḍh* in **K**. As noted by GRIFFITHS 2009: LXX n. 110, in the three occurrences of this sound in PS 6–7 **K** twice writes *ḍh* and once *lh*.

Bhattacharya’s edition is very misleading in this respect, in that in the majority of cases he prints ऌ (3.4b, 11.10d, 12.3d, 20.5b, 21.3d, 21.5e, 23.4a), but twice ऌ with a subscript diacritic dot (11.8c, 12.4c), trying to reproduce the akṣara used in the Orissa manuscripts.

Following Griffiths’s editorial policy, I have decided to regularize *ḍ(h)* in my edition.

Loss of *virāma* sign

Some of the mistakes in **Or** are due to the loss of the *virāma* sign in the manuscript tradition. In PS 15, I have found the following cases: *n > na Or* 11.5d, 11.9d, 12.5b, 12.9b, 14.2a, 14.9a, 22.10c; *t > ta Or* 1.9a; *t > ta Or* 1.5d, 5.9d; *s > sa Or* 12.9a; *h > ha Or* 5.3d.

3. Arrangement and content of PS 15

Textual divisions

PS 15 belongs to the second “grand division” of the PS, which includes books nine to 15. The arrangement of the stanzas and hymns is not arbitrary, but governed by a precise rule: throughout this section, there seems to be the implicit norm of ten stanzas per hymn, and no hymn may contain more than fourteen stanzas, such that if a group of connected stanzas contains more than this, it is split over two or more consecutive hymns.¹¹

The title of the fifteenth kāṇḍa, *Aṣṭādaśarcakāṇḍa* (namely, ‘the kāṇḍa consisting of hymns of eighteen stanzas’), would imply an ostensible norm of 18 stanzas per hymn, but apparently, out of 23 hymns, none conform to this norm. The table below shows the number of stanza in each hymn of PS 15:

Hymns	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Number of stanzas	10	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	6	10	10	11	10	11	10	10	8	10	12	10	8	10	13

As a consequence of the principles that govern the arrangement of the stanzas into hymns, it is often the case that a group of connected and thematically related stanzas is split into one or two consecutive hymns, as shown in the table below:

Hymns	1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8 9	10 11 12	13 14	15 16 17	18 19	20 21	22 23
Number of stanzas	10+8	10+10	10+10	10+10+6	10+10+11	10+11	10+10+8	10+12	10+8	10+13

Therefore, if we consider the combinations of two or more hymns as a single composition, as they are, PS 15 indeed includes ten hymns. It is worth noting that two of them, the first and the ninth, contain 18 stanzas (10+8), the number implied by the title of the kāṇḍa. As will be observed in detail in the commentary, in various cases it is possible, within a particular hymn, to identify the stanzas that are clearly secondary additions, and without which the hymn would conform to the norm of 18. For example, the last four stanzas of hymn 19 are clearly secondary, taken from PS 7.13.11–14. Without them, the eighth hymn of the kāṇḍa would again conform

¹¹ See GRIFFITHS 2009: LXXIV–LXXXVI.

to the number 18. In other cases, it is almost impossible to reach the number implied by the title; evidently, it had become entirely irrelevant.

Mantra abbreviation in the manuscripts

As noted by GRIFFITHS 2009: XLII, “The mss. use several ways of abbreviating (1) stanzas or groups of stanzas repeated from preceding parts of the text, as well as (2) repeated openings and refrains.” Both practices are also found in the manuscripts of the ŚS and must be part of a common ancient tradition of manuscript writing.

1) Generally, the abbreviation of repeated stanza(s) is noted in the manuscripts by quoting the *pratīka*, followed by an indication of the type *ity ekā* (sc. *īc-*), *iti dve*, *iti tisraḥ* etc. In PS 15 we find two examples of this type of abbreviation.

The first case occurs at 19.9, where all the manuscripts have the *pratīka yā nadir*, followed by the indication *iti catasraḥ*, which refers to PS 7.13.11–14. Since these two sets of four stanzas differ in the refrain of pādas cd, the manuscripts indicate it with the addition of *idam uluṅgulukottarāḥ* after the *pratīka*; this addition means that the refrain of PS 19.9, which begins *idam uluṅgulukābhyo*, has to be maintained in all four of the following stanzas.

The second case occurs at 15.22.3; all the manuscripts contain the *pratīka* of a mantra (*agnāv agnir*) followed by the indication *ity ekā*, which refers to PS 12.18.1.

2) The abbreviation of repeated openings and refrains remains unmarked in the manuscripts. Some of the Orissa manuscripts occasionally show a type of abbreviation consisting of a superscribed akṣara *kā* added to the double *daṇḍa* (*||^{kā}*) after a stanza that is not written in full because it repeats parts of the preceding one.¹²

In PS 15, there are 4 cases of abbreviated refrains.

The refrain of PS 4.6–10 is treated differently in the manuscripts. In **K** it is written in full at the end of each stanza, without any sign of abbreviation, while in the Orissa manuscripts it is written in full only in the first and last stanzas (4.6 and 4.10) and omitted in 4.7–9. Only the manuscript **Ku** marks the omission of the repeated refrain with the marker *||^{kā}*.

An interesting situation is found in hymns 7, 8 and 9. The same refrain links together several stanzas, from 7.1 up to 9.4. In every stanza a god/goddess or a deified entity is invoked as *ādhyakṣa-* of a particular sphere of influence, and in the refrain he/she is requested to favour the person speaking while performing the sacrifice (*sa/sā māvantu*). The refrain is written in full only at 7.1 and 9.4 (in 9.4 with minor modifications, due to the change of subject from singular to plural, since all the gods are at last invoked). The omission of the identical refrain in stanzas 7.2–9.3 remains unmarked in all manuscripts, but both **K** and **Or** write the very beginning of the refrain when a change in the gender of the subject is involved: thus at 8.7b, in which a god is invoked, the manuscripts write *sa mā* after the invocation because in the next stanza 8.8b a goddess is invoked, and the change is indicated by adding *sā mā*; again at 8.9b, the manuscripts write *sa mā* (as a god is invoked) and at 8.10b *sā mā* (as a goddess is invoked).

The set of invocations that constitutes hymns 13–14 contains a refrain in the last pāda. The refrain is abbreviated by the repetition of its first word (*te*), followed by single or double *dāṇḍa* in **Or**, by *Z n° Z* in **K**. Although some manuscripts are not consistent in abbreviating the refrain of hymn 14, all of them write it in full at 13.6 and 13.8, as well as at 14.9 and 14.11, because both the intervening stanzas 13.7 and 14.10 contain a different final pāda.

¹² On this sign and its meaning, cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: XXXII.

Stanzas 16.4 to 17.6 contain the same refrain, written in full only in the first and last stanzas. The manuscripts are not consistent in abbreviating the refrain of 16.5–10 and 17.1–6 in that they repeat different portions of the openings. Only the manuscript **JM** marks the omission of the refrain with the marker ||^{kā}.

Arrangement of the hymns within the kāṇḍa. Content of PS 15

The arrangement of hymns within the kāṇḍa is not at all arbitrary, and several tendencies may be noticed. In the introduction to each hymn I have tried to list the lexical correspondences between contiguous and more distant hymns (concatenating links), but it is clear that there are more elaborate links that go beyond the repetition of words and expressions. For instance, as regards the opening of a kāṇḍa, BLOOMFIELD 1899: 38 points out, “Just as the introductory hymn 1.1. and the closing hymn of 19 hold their places because of their subject-manner, so there is a design in the opening-hymns of books 2, 4, 5, and 7, all of which begin with a theosophic or *brahmodya*-hymn in loftier direction.” GRIFFITHS 2009: LXXVII adds, “This tendency we see clearly exemplified in PS 6.1 and 2 (~ ŚS 5.2+1), the former being a borrowing from the RV, both in style quite apart from the rest of the *kāṇḍa*.”

I would add that both PS 13 and 14 begin with solemn hymns, to be recited during the *abhiṣeka* portion of a coronation ritual, and that a lofty hymn opens PS 15 as well. Hymns 1 and 2, which must be considered a single hymn, conform, in their prominent position at the beginning of the kāṇḍa, to the norm of 18 stanzas implied by the title of the kāṇḍa; they contain a highly structured ritual, mostly consisting of material borrowed from Yajurvedic texts and dealing with a preliminary rite to be performed during the *Aśvamedha*, before the first day of *soma*-pressing.

The tendency to open a kāṇḍa with a lofty hymn and to link the hymns to each other with verbal correspondences is not, at least in the case of PS 15, the only strategy for arranging the poetic material.

My hypothesis is that two main sections can be identified in this book. The first one includes hymns 1–12 (five hymns in total) and may be called the “the collection of royal hymns”; the second one includes hymns 15–23 (four hymns in total) and may be called “the collection of Rudraic hymns”. Hymns 13 and 14, which contain a set of generic invocations to the gods against distress, could belong to either section, most probably to the first, or merely mark the transition between the two.

In my opinion, the first section represents a collection of royal mantras that were composed by the Paippalādins to be used during ceremonies or rites involving the figure of the king.

The importance of the PS with regard to the concept of kingship has already been stressed: WITZEL 1997 has reconstructed the earliest phases of the emergence of the Kuru dynasty, and pointed out that book 10 of the PS is a thematically compact collection of “royal hymns”, composed to serve as a ‘coronation’ text of the early Kuru kings. The position of this collection, which is not found in the ŚS, at the center of the PS (which consists of 20 books in total) highlights the Paippalādins’ efforts to provide a unique service to the king as domestic priests.¹³

While there is no critical edition of kāṇḍa 10 of the PS, contemporary editors of the other books, in trying to understand the ritual applications of the hymns, have often stressed that some

¹³ Tsuchiyama (2007) dedicated a paper to the notion of royal power (*rāṣṭrā-*) in the time of the Atharvaveda, in which he discussed several relevant hymns from PS 10.

hymns could have been used in royal ceremonies. A survey of the titles of these “royal hymns” offers an insight into the material we are dealing with:¹⁴ PS 1.11 ≈ ŚS 1.29 Ein Halsamulett (*maṇi-*), um Herrschaft (*rāṣṭra-*) zu erlangen; PS 1.19 ≈ ŚS 1.9 Für Gedeihen und Reichtum; PS 1.53 (PS only) Für Respekt (*upa-citi-*) und Herrschaft (*rāṣṭra-*); PS 1.54 (PS only) Für Ansehen (*varcas-*) und Macht; PS 1.74 (PS only) An einen König; PS 1.75 (PS only) Der König als Beschützer vor Feinden; PS 1.92 (PS only) An die (Gerichts-)Versammlung (*samiti-*); PS 2.18 ≈ ŚS 6.38 Bitte um Prestige (‘Funkeln’); PS 2.25 (PS only) Um in der Schlacht den Sieg zu erringen; PS 2.65 (PS only) Zur Sicherung der Herrschaft; PS 2.72–73 (PS only) Zur Erhaltung der Herrschaft; PS 2.86 (PS only) Prosaformel: für Feindlosigkeit in jeder Richtung; PS 2.88 ≈ R̥V 10.152 An Indra (zum Schutz vor Feinden); PS 5.29 (PS only) For splendor (*varcas-*); PS 6.9 (PS only) For a king, against enemies: with a bull; PS 7.12 (PS only) For a queen, against rival wives: with *pātā*; PS 13.1–2 (PS only) Internalization of cosmic elements; PS 13.7–8 (PS only) A riddle hymn (in the style of a *brahmodya*); PS 14.1–2 (PS only) The king-engendering (*rājasūyā*) waters; 14.5–6 (PS only) The offering of the Śataudanā-cow.

The fact that almost all the hymns mentioned above are found only in the PS and not in the ŚS means that there must be “a conscious effort of Paippalāda Brahmins to appear as best suited to be the king’s *purohita*” (LOPEZ 2010: 51), in competition with other ‘orthodox’ Brahmins; “although later dharma texts point out that the *purohita* of the king should be an Atharvavedin, the Śaunaka school do not seem to have the same agenda in the redaction of its *Saṁhitā*” (ID.: 83).¹⁵

The collection of “royal hymns” in PS 10 represents quite an extraordinary case, but in my opinion is not entirely isolated. My hypothesis is that the first twelve (or better, five) hymns of kāṇḍa 15 were also arranged sequentially in order to build a collection of mantras for use in royal rites. This arrangement is without a doubt late and artificial; the more the Paippalādins were invited to take part in royal rites, the more they needed new material, which they collected from heterogeneous sources (especially the R̥V and the YV), and which originally could also have been meant for other purposes. In this respect, it is again noteworthy that many of the “royal hymns” of PS 15.1–12 are missing in the ŚS.

In the introductions to the single hymns, I have tried to present detailed evidence supporting the hypothesis that each hymn could belong to such a collection.

Here it may suffice to summarize that hymns 1 and 2 represent a composition made up of mantras borrowed from the Yajurveda’s sections dealing with the ritual of the *Aśvamedha*, the most important ritual concerning the king.

Hymns 3 and 4 are typical Atharvanic hymns that are to be recited, together with the application of an ointment (*āñjana-*), in a *mahāśānti* ceremony; as I have tried to demonstrate, the use of formulaic expressions normally addressed to the king in the ritual of royal

¹⁴ The titles are quoted from ZEHNDER 1993 (PS 1) and 1999 (PS 2), LUBOTSKY 2002 (PS 5), GRIFFITHS 2009 (PS 6–7) and LOPEZ 2010 (PS 13–14).

¹⁵ Cf. AVPariś 2.4.1–5, where the office of *purohita* is specifically assigned to the Paippalādins: *paippalādam gurum kuryāc chrīrāṣṭrārogyavardhanam / tathā śaunakinam vāpi vedamantravipaścitam / rāṣṭrasya vṛddhikartāram dhanadhānyādibhiḥ sadā / ātharvaṇād ṛte nānyo niyojyo ’tharvavid guruḥ / nṛpeṇa jayakāmena nirmīto ’gnir ivādhvare* “He [viz. the king] should appoint a Paippalāda[-Atharvavedin] as his priest, for he will increase his wealth, realm, and health, or a Śaunakin[-Atharvavedin] who is learned in the Mantras of [his] Veda. For he will cause the kingdom always to prosper in wealth, crops and the like. A king who desires to prevail over his enemies should appoint no expert in the Atharvaveda as his priest other than an Atharvavedin. For [the Atharvavedin royal priest] has been created [as an element vital to his rule], just as the fire [is vital] to the Vedic sacrifice [...]”.

consecration (*Rājasūya*), the wish that the quarters will be free from danger and the mention of the tribes bringing the tribute are a clear evidence that the king is involved in the ritual and is being addressed by the priest.

Hymns 5 and 6 deal with the ceremony of the king's investiture; the main theme, the description of a garment carded and spun by the stars and the goddesses, a garment with which the priest should wrap the king to enable him to rule properly, is accompanied by an invocation to several gods, who are asked to bestow precious gifts often associated with the king, and by expressions describing actions that are typical for a king.

The royal character of hymns 7, 8 and 9 is less evident, but the refrain of this long list of invocations contains the important word *purodhā*- 'office of a purohita', which could refer to the Paippalādins' need to present themselves as the king's purohitas.

Finally, hymns 10, 11 and 12 are centred on the theme of war and warfare; many stanzas are borrowed from the ṚV and from the YV, and the connection between this hymn and the figure of the king is made clear by ĀśvGS 3.12, in which it is explicitly stated that the Ṛgvedic stanzas, found also in the PS, should be recited by a king's purohita in a ritual to be performed before and during a battle, while the king, who is the chief of the army, is wearing his armour and weapons, and while he is later standing on his chariot and fighting.

As already said, hymns 13 and 14, which form a single composition, could either belong to the first section, or mark a transition to what I call the "collection of Rudraic hymns" in PS 15. In the second part of this kāṇḍa, the presence of Rudra is evident in every hymn, with the partial exception of PS 18–19, which are dedicated to the Apsarases.

In hymns 15, 16 and 17, which praise the healing virtues of the herb Arundhatī, a close connection is made between the herb, its curative power and the wounds that the arrows of Rudra can inflict. The name of Rudra and of his seven embodiments appear in seven consecutive stanzas.

In the Apsarases' hymns, 18–19, Rudraic elements are absent at first sight but, as I shall demonstrate, there are several references to Rudra himself and to his sphere of influence.

Hymns 20–21 are devoted entirely to Rudra and represent the core of this section; the composition is partly a rearrangement of ṚV 2.33, which is one of the three Ṛgvedic hymns dedicated entirely to Rudra; of the stanzas attested only in the PS, the god is invoked especially in the form of Bhava and Śarva, the two 'lords of animals'.

Although Rudra is never mentioned in the final two hymns, 22–23, his presence is nevertheless implied everywhere; the hymn is a prayer for the protection of the crop against hail and other dangerous atmospheric agents, and the Maruts, who are sometimes identified with Rudra or said to be his sons,¹⁶ are constantly requested to ward off the lightning and the hail from the crop. The stormy atmosphere that echoes throughout the hymns is full of Rudraic elements such as the thunderbolt (*aśāni*-), the lightning (*vidyūt*-), the thunder (*stanayitnū*-), the wind (*vāta*-), the celestial regions (*dyāv*-, *antārikṣa*-), the celestial fire and waters (*divyā agnī*-, *āp*-) and the hail (*hrādūni*-).

It is clear that, unlike the first section, the second section cannot be considered a sylloge of hymns related to the same subject, nor a collection made up by the Paippalādins for any specific ritual purpose. What is important, in my view, is that the presence of Rudra is like a thread that runs through the second part of this kāṇḍa.

¹⁶ Rudra is often called *marútvān* 'accompanied/attended by the Maruts' (e.g. at ṚV 1.114.11b, 2.33.6a etc.). On the relationship between Rudra and the Maruts, see MACDONELL 1897: 74 ff. and FALK 1986: 63 ff.

As for the collection of “royal hymns”, this is not an isolated case. Although I cannot provide a complete set of data due to the lack of a reliable complete edition of the PS, the evidence for the persistent and increasing presence of Rudra in the PS seems clear enough.¹⁷

The most obvious case is represented by the group of seventeen connected stanzas in PS 14.3.1–10 and 14.4.1–7, which were culled from the PS and transmitted separately as the first *kāṇḍa* and the first half of the second *kāṇḍa* of the *Nīlarudropaniṣad* (NU).¹⁸ As noted by LUBIN 2007: 81, the NU represents the Atharvan equivalent of the *Śatarudriya*, a litany to Rudra transmitted in various Yajurvedic texts (MS 2.9.2, KS 17.11, TS 4.5.1, VS 16.1–14) and recited during the Agnicayana ritual. Since it is beyond doubt that the *Śatarudriya* clearly shows Rudra’s rise to a position of greater importance, the same turns to be valid also for the NU and its primary source, the PS.

References to Rudra and his various forms are scattered throughout the other books of the PS, but we also find entire hymns dedicated to him that are not found in the ŚS, such as PS 2.20 and PS 5.22.

As for the reason why Rudra seems to attain such a conspicuous importance in the PS, I would suppose that the Paippalādins may have shared some elements of the Vrātya culture.¹⁹ That is not to say that they were the Vrātyas, especially given that the exact definition of the Vrātyas group is still under dispute. It is striking, however, that in PS 15.21, in the middle of a prayer to Rudra, we find mention of men bound to the same vow, a mention which seems to refer to the Vrātyas themselves. Moreover, both the Paippalādins and the Vrātyas seem to share two important features: first of all, the increasing importance of Rudra in the pantheon of the Paippalādins corresponds to the fact that Rudra was the tutelary deity of the Vrātyas (he is called *Ekavrātya* at ŚS 15.1.6 and *Vrātapathi-* in the *Śatarudriya*). Secondly, neither the Paippalādins nor the Vrātyas were fully recognized as part of Vedic society, both living at its borders; this would explain both the references to specific cults, like the Rudraic one, in the PS, as well as the simultaneous effort to appear as the best candidates to be the king’s purohita, namely, as a means to becoming honourably included in the highest ranks of Vedic society.

4. Text, Critical Apparatus, Metrical analysis

For presenting the data in the main part of this work, I follow the principles outlined in GRIFFITHS 2009: LXXVIII: “Each hymn receives a caption [...], which intends to bring across my view of the general purport of the hymn. Further elaborations of my interpretation [...] are provided in the introductory comments that precede each hymns.

Text, translation, critical apparatus, parallel passages, and commentary then follow in that order, arranged stanza by stanza. Every stanza is provided with a heading containing its number in bold face, along with a listing of parallel passages. If relevant [...] these parallel passages are then quoted under the critical apparatus. Each pāda is followed by a symbol indicating its metrical structure”.

Editorial signs in the text

¹⁷ In the ŚS, six hymns are entirely devoted to Rudra (3.16, 4.28, 6.90, 7.42, 7.87, 11.2).

¹⁸ For a critical edition and translation of the *Nīlarudropaniṣad*, see LUBIN 2007.

¹⁹ On the Vrātya problem, see PONTILLO — BIGNAMI — DORE — MUCCIARELLI forthc., with exhaustive literature.

The text of each hymn is presented as being divided in stanzas, pāda by pāda. Sandhi across pāda-boundaries is dissolved and marked by hyphens. In the edited text, I use the following symbols:

*	The asterisk marks emendations of readings that were already corrupted in the archetype.
+	The raised + sign precedes readings that are not attested as such in any of the collated manuscripts, but are easily attributable to the archetype through the comparison of the readings in K and Or .
†...†	Obeli enclose a portion of text that must have been corrupted already in the archetype, and for which no good solutions or emendations have been found so far.
◦ ◦ ◦	Three <i>kuṇḍalas</i> indicate abbreviating omission of repeated stanzas, openings or refrains.

Critical apparatus

In the critical apparatus, I recorded all variants readings of the manuscripts without exception. According to the principles outlined in GRIFFITHS 2009: LXXXII ff., “each individual lemma repeats the portion of text on which a variant is to be reported [...] and is followed by a lemma-sign (J), the ms. or mss. attested the adopted reading, and the variant or variants, separated by commas [...]. In those cases where I have adopted a reading not actually found in any of the mss., this reading has been marked in the lemma, as in the edited text, with either the + or the * sign”, as described above. I list below all special symbols and brackets used to represent the manuscript readings (I follow GRIFFITHS 2009: LXXXIII–XXXIV).

CAPITALS	Capitals are used to represent readings that are uncertain (due, e.g., to bad legibility of photographs).
Z	This symbol renders the sign that is used singly and doubly as punctuation marker in K (see GRIFFITHS 2009: XXIV).
.	A single raised dot represents an illegible akṣara.
[siglum]	A siglum between brackets refers to manuscripts whose readings are to be inferred from Bhattacharya’s negative apparatus; in the case of kāṇḍa 15, the only ms. coming into question is Ma .
om.	This abbreviation means that the akṣara(s) or punctuation sign(s) is/are omitted in the respective ms(s).
{...}	Curly brackets enclose akṣaras or vowel elements thereof deleted by the scribe.
<...>	Angle brackets enclose akṣaras wholly or partially lost due to damage suffered by the palm-leaves. The number of intervening dots reflects the number of lost akṣaras.
(...)	Parentheses enclose material appearing interlinearly or <i>in margine</i> . The following specification can be made: → Corrections: the marginal or interlinear material replace the preceding material that appears in the actual line of writing.
※	This symbol represent (floral) ornaments in the Orissa manuscripts around divisions of the text.

Metrical analysis

Since the end of the nineteenth century, several monographs and important articles have been devoted to the study of the metre of the ṚV. The pioneering works by OLDENBERG 1888 and ARNOLD 1905 have served as a starting point for further investigation and, since then, the research has been considerably deepened and refined. On the one hand, scholars have studied relevant phenomena concerning the prosody of the text (e.g. laryngeals in Ṛgvedic metre and the role of accent) and techniques of metrical composition (e.g. the use of poetic formulas); on the other hand, efforts have been made toward outlining the comparative background of the verse types and stanza types of the oldest Vedic poetry.²⁰ This research has proven the study of metre to be a valuable linguistic tool for better understanding the text and tracing the history of its composition.

In contrast, until now little attention has been paid to the metre of the two Atharvaveda Samhitās, the Śaunakīya Samhitā (ŚS) and the Paippalāda Samhitā (PS), the oldest collections of Vedic hymns after the ṚV.

The fact that the study of Atharvavedic metre has long remained a *desideratum* is certainly due to multiple reasons, not always adequately explained by the scholars who regretted this lack in the field of Vedic studies.

One of the greatest obstacles to the study of Atharvavedic metre is certainly the textual situation of the Atharvaveda. Unlike the ṚV, which was transmitted and preserved almost without variants due to the sacredness of the rituals connected with it, the Atharvaveda was long considered to be lacking in authority and was not immediately recognized as part of the Vedic canon. As pointed out by Insler, “since the Atharvan compositions did not originally play but perhaps the most peripheral role in the solemn *śrauta* rituals, there was no need to preserve the hymns in a form that approached the attempt at orthodox transmission seen in the recension of the mantra material centered on the holy rites and their fixed requisite liturgies. Consequently, for the Atharvan hymns a greater laxity prevailed, one which permitted changes, permutations, additions and remakings in the poetry of the original Atharvan corpus”.²¹ It is evident that studying the metre of such a complicated text, whose readings are often on the border between authentic readings and mistakes that require emendation, is an extremely difficult task. Moreover, we have to take into account that there exist two recensions of the Atharvaveda. This is no doubt a favorable situation for the study of the relations between Vedic schools and for the solution of many textual problems, but the presence of two recensions, while enriching the research, at the same time complicates it. While the appearance of two recensions provided scholars with a “powerful tool for restoring corrupt readings in one or even both versions of the same hymn”,²² it was also often frustrating to compare the two versions and apply textual criticism, not to mention to study the metrical form of the hymns, especially as

²⁰ On laryngeal theory as applied to the study of Vedic metre, see KURYŁOWICZ 1927, 1928, POLOMÉ 1972, MAYRHOFER 1981, LINDEMAN 1987, JAMISON 1988, GIPPERT 1997, 1999, LUBOTSKY 1995b, 2000, GUNKEL 2010: 99–133, KÜMMEL 2013. On the role of the accentuation in the technique of Vedic versification, see LUBOTSKY 1995a. On the use and preservation of poetic formulas and their interference with the metrical rhythm of the verse, see KORN 1998, LUBOTSKY 2004b, LINDQVIST 2011. On the comparative evidence, see KORN: 1998: 22–23, 25–29 (with literature). Cf. also WESTPHAL 1860: 449–458, GELDNER 1877: i–xv, BARTHOLOMAE 1886: 1–31, OLDENBERG 1888: 43 ff., KURYŁOWICZ 1952: 438 ff., NAGY 1974, VINE 1977, 1990.

²¹ INSLER 1998: 5.

²² *Ibid.*

long as the Paippalāda version was known only through one single very corrupt birchbark manuscript from Kashmir (K).²³

In two pages dedicated to the metrical form of the hymns of the ŚS, Bloomfield identified another difficulty in the study of Atharvan metre, a difficulty inherent to the metre itself; having noticed that the hymns often show “the greater freedom and irregularity of all types”, he stated:

Atharvan metres are so generally capable of improvement that we are in danger of singing our own rather than Atharvan hymns, when we apply ourselves to the task of improving them. An uneasy sense is left that we all know how to make better verse-lines than those that have somehow got to be in vogue among the Atharvan writers; carried out to its full consequences this would eliminate one of the more marked peculiarities that render the Atharvan what it is. Yet it is impossible to abstain entirely: such abstemiousness would suggest the equally mistaken view that all Atharvan stanzas are before us in the form in which they were originally composed.²⁴

Although a bit abstract, Bloomfield’s words contain a balanced warning that should always be present in the mind of anyone who undertakes the study of Atharvavedic metre.

In the voluminous introduction to his annotated translation of the ŚS, Whitney did not add any new observations, devoting but one page to this subject. Besides repeating Bloomfield’s warning concerning the illegitimacy of overly heavy emendations, he pointed to the “extreme irregularity and the predominance of *anuṣṭubh* stanzas” as two striking features of the metrical form of the Atharvaveda, concluding that “it is probable that in the Atharvan saṁhitā the irregular verses outnumber the regular”.²⁵ In the notes to the hymns, Whitney comments repeatedly on the metre and compares the parallel passages of the PS, but his remarks are always occasional and not based on exhaustive statistics nor computations of all the available data.

The striking irregularity of the metre and the uncertainty of how to deal with it were certainly a powerful barrier to the progress of the research.

Only recently has a publication on the metrical and prosodic structures of kāṇḍas 1–7 of the Śaunakīya Saṁhitā (KUBISCH 2007) provided an analytic study founded on precise statistics of stanzas and verses types. Using the edition of Roth-Whitney (1924) as his primary source, Kubisch prepared a database of the complete text of the first seven kāṇḍas of the ŚS. He analyzed the prosodic structure of every verse in the form of a scheme of symbols for each syllable, assigned pāda designations to all pādas, and categorized each stanza. Based on these pāda designations and stanza categorizations, he prepared detailed pāda and stanza statistics.

One of the most valuable qualities of Kubisch’s pioneering work is the development of a complex terminological apparatus that has met the need to describe all the peculiarities of Atharvavedic metre. The assumption that “the numerous deviations from Ṛgvedic meters, typically qualified as mere irregularities, may [...] represent peculiar metrical schemes”²⁶ has the undoubted merit of cutting through the fog surrounding the metrical structure of the text

²³ See BARRET 1905–1940, whose attempt to edit the PS from the Kashmirian manuscript and by comparison with the ŚS was doomed to failure. It is also worth mentioning Whitney’s notes to his translation of the ŚS, as he quoted the PS version of several mantras and pādas, also commenting on the metre, but the comparison was almost always fruitless.

²⁴ BLOOMFIELD 1899: 41–42.

²⁵ WHITNEY 1905: CXXVI–CXXVII.

²⁶ KULIKOV 2008: 137.

and permitting a thorough study of this subject. The sophisticated discussion of the difficulties one has to face when studying this material, as well as identifying the limits beyond which it is dangerous to venture, are another remarkable feature of this work.

Although confined to a limited corpus, Kubisch's study also aims to cast some light on the metre of the PS and on Atharvan metre in general, considering that "regarding Atharvan stanzas a shift of relative frequencies in comparison to the RV is certainly a common feature of both recensions".²⁷

One of the most glaring deficiencies of Bhattacharya's editions is indeed the complete absence of any information on the metre, except for the division of the hymns into stanzas and pādas.²⁸ The first edition to provide a metrical analysis of the text is ZEHNDER 1999 (PS 2), whose system has basically been followed by LUBOTSKY 2002 (PS 5), GRIFFITHS 2009 (PS 6–7) and LOPEZ 2010 (PS 13–14), although each edition has its idiosyncrasies due to the lack of a unified direction in the work.

In Zehnder's descriptive system, every pāda is described by a number, which represents the number of syllables it contains. Occasionally combined with these numbers are other signs that add information to the prosodic structure of the pāda. I reproduce the list of symbols used, along with their explanation (ZEHNDER 1999: 14), below:

5	pentasyllabischer Pāda
8	Anuṣṭubh-Pāda
8^	katalektischer Anuṣṭubh-Pāda
^8	akephaler Anuṣṭubh-Pāda
	(in vielen der siebensilbigen Pādas (8^, ^8) dürfte eine Textstörung vorliegen)
10	unterzähliger Triṣṭubh-Pāda
11	Triṣṭubh-Pāda
11 ^j	unterzähliger Jagatī-Pāda
[11]	elfsilbiger Pāda unklaren Charakters oder ohne metrische Struktur
12	Jagatī-Pāda
12 ^t	überzähliger Triṣṭubh-Pāda
[12]	zwölfsilbiger Pāda unklaren Charakters oder ohne metrische Struktur
13	überzähliger Jagatī-Pāda
P	Prosa
()	Metrum nicht restituierbar
(Zahl)	Metrum im AVP-Archetyp schon defekt; durch einen in der Anmerkung erwähnten Vorschlag zum betreffenden Metrum zu restaurieren
{Zahl}	Metrum durch Flektierung oder Namen- Synonymensubstitution gestört

For his edition of PS 20.1–30, KUBISCH 2010 used the system developed for the metrical analysis of ŚS 1–7 (KUBISCH 2007). For its accuracy and thoroughness, and for the sophisticated treatment of the various metrical patterns, Kubisch's system proved so helpful that I have decided to take it as a model for my edition of PS 15.

²⁷ KUBISCH 2007: 1–2.

²⁸ GRIFFITHS — SCHMIEDCHEN 2007: III report the criticism of J. C. Wright, a reviewer of the *editio princeps* of PS 1–15 (Bhattacharya 1997), who noted, "no attention seems to have been paid to prosody" (in BSOAS 2002, p. 194).

For the sake of clarity, I list below the symbols used for describing the verse types, as well as the symbols that are often combined with them in order to specify the prosodical structure of a pāda.

Symbols for verse types

A	Anuṣṭubh pāda / Octosyllabic dimeter verse
A7	Heptasyllabic Anuṣṭubh pāda / Dimeter verse
J	Jagatī pāda / Dodecasyllabic trimeter verse
Ja	Jagatī pāda / Dodecasyllabic trimeter verse with early caesura
Jb	Jagatī pāda / Dodecasyllabic trimeter verse with late caesura
Jc	Jagatī pāda / Dodecasyllabic trimeter verse without caesura
Jca	Jagatī pāda / Dodecasyllabic trimeter verse with “weak” caesura after the fourth syllable
Jcb	Jagatī pāda / Dodecasyllabic trimeter verse with “weak” caesura after the fifth syllable
J1	Hendecasyllabic Jagatī pāda with caesura after the fourth syllable
J1c	Hendecasyllabic Jagatī pāda without / with “weak” caesura
J2	Tridecasyllabic Jagatī pāda with pentasyllabic opening, trisyllabic break and Jagatī cadence
J2c	Tridecasyllabic Jagatī pāda without / with “weak” caesura
J3	Jagatī pāda with trisyllabic opening, di- or trisyllabic break and Jagatī cadence
T	Triṣṭubh pāda / hendecasyllabic trimeter verse
Ta	Triṣṭubh pāda / hendecasyllabic trimeter verse with early caesura
Tb	Triṣṭubh pāda / hendecasyllabic trimeter verse with late caesura
Tc	Triṣṭubh pāda / hendecasyllabic trimeter verse without caesura
Tca	Triṣṭubh pāda / hendecasyllabic trimeter verse with “weak” caesura after the fourth syllable
Tcb	Triṣṭubh pāda / hendecasyllabic trimeter verse with “weak” caesura after the fifth syllable
T1	Virāṭsthānā verse, decasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda with caesura after the fourth syllable
T1c	Decasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda without / with “weak” caesura
T2	Dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda with pentasyllabic opening, trisyllabic break and Triṣṭubh cadence
T2c	Dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda without / with “weak” caesura
T3	Triṣṭubh pāda with trisyllabic opening, di- or trisyllabic break and Triṣṭubh cadence
T/J	Triṣṭubh pāda, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/Ja	Triṣṭubh pāda with early caesura, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/Jb	Triṣṭubh pāda with late caesura, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/Jc	Triṣṭubh pāda without caesura, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)

T/Jca	Triṣṭubh pāda with “weak” caesura after the fourth syllable, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/Jcb	Triṣṭubh pāda with “weak” caesura after the fifth syllable, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/J1	decasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda with caesura after the fourth syllable, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/J1c	Decasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda without / with “weak” caesura, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/J2	Dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda with pentasyllabic opening, trisyllabic break and Triṣṭubh cadence, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/J2c	Dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda without / with “weak” caesura, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
T/J3	Triṣṭubh pāda with trisyllabic opening, di- or trisyllabic break and Triṣṭubh cadence, which can be scanned as Jagatī pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
V	Virāj pāda / Pentad

Other symbols

⌊	Secondary sandhi ²⁹
~	Syllable whose prosodic value has been corrected
*	Pāda, in which at least one syllable has been restored (in subscript)
/	Pāda, in which at least one syllable has been omitted (in superscript)
!	Pāda, in which the prosody of at least one syllable has been corrected
°	Extended pāda (gloss, interpolation)
+	1) [in front of A:] Dimeter verse that ends in trochaic rhythm 2) [in front of T, J, or T/J:] Trimeter verse that lacks iambic rhythm in the opening
#	1) [in front of A:] Dimeter verse that ends neither in a iamb nor in a trochee or antispast 2) [in front of T, J, or T/J:] Trimeter verse with irregular cadence 3) [in front of V:] Pentad verse with three short or long syllables in the middle
+ #	1) [in front of A:] Dimeter verse that ends in an antispast 2) [in front of T, J or T/J:] Trimeter verse whose caesura is followed neither by an anapest nor by a creticus
(+) #	Trimeter verse that lacks iambic rhythm in the opening and contains an irregular cadence
+(#)	Trimeter verse that lacks iambic rhythm in the opening and whose caesura is followed neither by an anapest nor by a creticus
(+ #)	Trimeter verse whose caesura is followed neither by an anapest nor by a creticus and that contains an irregular cadence

²⁹ This symbol was not used by KUBISCH 2007 and 2012. ZEHNDER 1999 introduced the notation $x \lfloor y$, without using it in the text (cf. pp. 141, 146, 172), while GRIFFITHS 2009 made use of it also in the edited text itself (p. 319, 359). I have followed Griffiths’s example and extended this notation everywhere.

Mantra statistics

PS 15 contains 227 stanzas:

Anuṣṭubh: 15.3.1, 15.3.2, 15.3.3, 15.3.6, 15.3.7, 15.3.8, 15.3.9, 15.3.10, 15.4.1, 15.4.2, 15.5.7, 15.5.8, 15.5.9, 15.5.10, 15.6.10, 15.11.5, 15.13.1, 15.13.2, 15.13.3, 15.13.4, 15.13.5, 15.13.6, 15.13.7, 15.13.8, 15.13.9, 15.13.10, 15.14.1, 15.14.2, 15.14.3, 15.14.4, 15.14.5, 15.14.6, 15.14.7, 15.14.9, 15.14.10, 15.14.11, 15.15.1, 15.15.2, 15.15.3, 15.15.4, 15.15.5, 15.15.6, 15.15.7, 15.15.8, 15.15.9, 15.15.10, 15.16.1, 15.16.2, 15.16.3, 15.16.4, 15.16.5, 15.16.6, 15.16.7, 15.16.8, 15.16.9, 15.16.10, 15.17.1, 15.17.2, 15.17.3, 15.17.4, 15.17.5, 15.17.6, 15.17.7, 15.17.8, 15.18.1, 15.18.2, 15.18.4, 15.18.5, 15.18.6, 15.18.8, 15.18.9, 15.19.1, 15.19.2, 15.19.3, 15.19.4, 15.19.5, 15.19.6, 15.19.7, 15.19.8, 15.19.9, 15.19.10, 15.19.11, 15.19.12, 15.20.8, 15.20.9, 15.20.10, 15.21.1, 15.21.2, 15.21.3, 15.21.6, 15.21.7, 15.21.8, 15.22.1, 15.22.6, 15.22.9, 15.23.5, 15.23.6, 15.23.9, 15.23.10, 15.23.13 = **100 (44.05%)**

Triṣṭubh: 15.1.1, 15.1.2, 15.1.3, 15.1.6, 15.2.1, 15.2.2, 15.2.3, 15.2.4, 15.2.5, 15.2.8, 15.4.5, 15.5.1, 15.5.2, 15.5.3, 15.5.6, 15.6.1, 15.6.2, 15.6.5, 15.6.6, 15.6.7, 15.6.8, 15.6.9, 15.10.1, 15.10.2, 15.10.3, 15.10.4, 15.10.5, 15.10.8, 15.10.9, 15.11.1, 15.11.2, 15.11.3, 15.11.4, 15.11.7, 15.11.8, 15.12.2, 15.12.3, 15.12.5, 15.12.7, 15.12.8, 15.12.9, 15.12.10, 15.20.2, 15.20.3, 15.22.2, 15.22.3, 15.22.4, 15.22.5 = **48 (21.14%)**

Formula: 15.4.6, 15.4.7, 15.4.8, 15.4.9, 15.4.10, 15.7.1, 15.7.2, 15.7.3, 15.7.4, 15.7.5, 15.7.6, 15.7.7, 15.7.8, 15.7.9, 15.7.10, 15.8.1, 15.8.2, 15.8.3, 15.8.4, 15.8.5, 15.8.6, 15.8.7, 15.8.8, 15.8.9, 15.8.10, 15.9.1, 15.9.2, 15.9.3 = **28 (12.33%)**

Triṣṭubh-Jagatī: 15.1.4, 15.1.5, 15.1.7, 15.1.8, 15.1.9, 15.1.10, 15.4.3, 15.4.4, 15.5.4, 15.6.3, 15.10.7, 15.10.10, 15.11.9, 15.11.10, 15.12.1, 15.20.4 = **16 (7.04%)**

N.N.: 15.5.5, 15.20.1, 15.20.5, 15.20.7, 15.21.5, 15.22.8, 15.22.10, 15.23.1, 15.23.3, 15.23.11 = **10 (4.40%)**

Not metrical: 15.3.4, 15.3.5, 15.9.4, 15.9.5, 15.9.6, 15.23.7 = **6 (2.64%)**

Gāyatrī: 15.2.7, 15.6.4, 15.18.3, 15.18.7 = **4 (1.76%)**

Pañkti: 15.14.8, 15.23.2, 15.23.8 = **3 (1.32%)**

Jagatī: 15.10.6, 15.11.6 = **2 (0.88%)**

Mahāpañkti: 15.18.10, 15.23.12 = **2 (0.88%)**

Virāj: 15.12.4, 15.20.6 = **2 (0.88%)**

Śakvarī: 15.12.6, 15.12.11 = **2 (0.88%)**

Bṛhatī: 15.23.4 = **1 (0.44%)**

Purastādbṛhatī: 15.22.7 = **1 (0.44%)**

Prastārapadā: 15.21.4 = **1 (0.44%)**

Uṣṇih: 15.2.6 = **1 (0.44%)**

The distribution of the various stanza types in PS 15 follows the same tendencies that I have outlined in LELLI 2014: 343 ff., where I have analyzed the metrical structure of eight kāṇḍas of the PS.

As would be expected, the Anuṣṭubh with its 100 occurrences is the predominant metre (44.05%), as it was in the portions of the PS treated in my PhD dissertation (42.62%).

The tables below show the structures of the Anuṣṭubh stanzas found in PS 15.

Anuṣṭubh stanzas:

STRUCTURE				ATTESTATIONS
First pāda	Second pāda	Third pāda	Fourth pāda	
A	A	A	A	15.3.9, 15.5.9, 15.5.10, 15.6.10, 15.13.8, 15.15.3, 15.15.10, 15.18.1, 15.18.5, 15.18.8, 15.20.8, 15.21.3, 15.22.9 = 13
#A	A	A	A	15.3.3, 15.3.8, 15.5.8, 15.15.1, 15.15.4, 15.15.9, 15.18.6, 15.21.2, 15.21.7, 15.22.6 = 10
+A	A	A	A	15.11.5, 15.18.4 = 2
+ #A	A	A	A	15.5.7, 15.15.8, 15.21.8 = 3
A	A	#A	A	15.3.7, 15.19.12 = 2
A	A	+ #A	A	15.4.1, 15.13.1, 15.23.9, 15.23.10 = 4
+ #A	A	#A	A	15.13.6, 15.14.4, 15.14.5, 15.16.2, 15.16.5, 15.17.7, 15.19.9, 15.19.10 = 8
#A	A	+ #A	A	15.3.2, 15.13.2, 15.13.9, 15.14.2, 15.14.9, 15.14.10, 15.17.8, 15.21.1 = 8
#A	A	#A	A	15.3.1, 15.13.3, 15.13.7, 15.14.3, 15.15.6, 15.15.7, 15.17.3, 15.19.6 = 8
+A	A	#A	A	15.17.6, 15.19.2, 15.19.3, 15.19.5, 15.19.11, 15.20.10, 15.23.13 = 7
+A	A	+ #A	A	15.18.2 = 1
+ #A	A	+ #A	A	15.13.4, 15.13.10 = 2
#A	A	+A	A	15.3.10, 15.4.2 = 2
#A	+ #A	A	A	15.4.6 = 1
#A	+ #A	#A	A	15.15.2 = 1
#A	A	#A	#A	15.3.6 = 1
+A	A	#A	#A	15.20.9 = 1

Anuṣṭubh stanzas with one (or more) heptasyllabic pāda(s):

#A	A	A7	A	15.13.5, 15.14.1, 15.14.11, 15.22.1 = 4
A7	A	#A	A	15.14.7, 15.16.3, 15.16.4, 15.16.7, 15.16.8, 15.16.9, 15.18.9, 15.19.1, 15.19.4 = 9

#A	A	A	A7	15.23.6 = 1
A7	A	A	A	15.15.5, 15.21.6 = 2
A7	A	A	A7	15.23.5 = 1
A7	°A	#A	A	15.17.4 = 1

Anuṣṭubh stanzas with one extended pāda:

+A	A	°A	A	15.16.1 = 1
+A	A	#A	°A	15.19.8 = 1
°A	A	#A	A	15.16.6, 15.16.10, 15.17.1, 15.17.2, 15.17.5, 15.19.7 = 6

Besides noticing the great variety in the rhythm of these stanzas, these statistics may be useful in verifying Oldenberg's statement that in later Ṛgvedic Anuṣṭubh, the first and the third pādas began to move away from strict observance of the iambic cadence, giving rise to a greater variety of prosodic modulations.³⁰ This variation of the Anuṣṭubh, which is to be found in those hymns of the ṚV that are similar to the Atharvaveda in various respects, is regular in the Atharvaveda itself.

The percentage of Anuṣṭubh stanzas with non-iambic rhythm in the first and third pādas amounts to 36%, a value which increases to 58% if we also count stanzas with heptasyllabic and extended verses. If we also add the stanzas that contain a not-purely-iambic rhythm in the first or in the third pāda only, the percentage is 81%.³¹ The tendency is thus confirmed.

The Gāyatrī, which in the ṚV is the second most frequent meter after the Triṣṭubh, is highly recessive in the Atharvaveda, and represents only the 1.76% of the total.

Sequences of dimeter verses occur further in Pañkti stanzas (3 = 1.32%) and Mahāpañkti stanzas (2 = 0.88%), which nevertheless appear to be an extension of Anuṣṭubh stanzas in some cases (e.g., the stanza 15.18.10 is an Anuṣṭubh with the addition of two pādas that occur as a refrain in the following twelve stanzas).

As in ŚS 1–7 and the portions of the PS treated in my dissertation, the Triṣṭubh stanzas of PS 15 represent the second group in order of importance (21.14%). Their percentage increases to 29.06% if we add the Triṣṭubh-Jagatī stanzas (7.04%) and the Jagatī ones (0.88%). It is noteworthy that, as regards Trimeter stanzas, we can literally repeat Kubisch's statement about ŚS 1–7: "The share of pure Trimeter-stanzas consisting of four pādas in the whole thus being increased to almost 30% (21% Triṣṭubh + 1% Jagatī + 7% Triṣṭubh-Jagatī), these stanzas nevertheless next to the Gāyatrī show the heaviest losses in comparison to the ṚV" (KUBISCH 2007: 15).

Stanzas described with the symbol "N.N." (4.40%) include two categories: stanzas whose metre is difficult to define, because according to my system they contain pādas with an irregular rhythm, and stanza types that consist mostly of various combinations of octo- and hendecasyllabic verses. As noted by KUBISCH 2007: 15, many of these new stanza types "are

³⁰ OLDENBERG 1888: 27–28. Cf. also ARNOLD 1905: 10–11.

³¹ In the portion of the PS treated in LELLI 2014, the corresponding percentages were 31.9%, 32.62% and 73.42%.

found also in the ṚV, but are rather rare or ‘somehow irregular’ — like Dvipadā-Triṣṭubh-stanzas or Trimeter-stanzas with one pāda being replaced by two Pentads”. I list below the new stanza types I was able to identify, together with their attestations:

A+A+T ³²	15.20.7
T+T+J	15.22.8
A+A+A+T	15.5.5
A+A+T+A	15.23.3
A+A+T+J	15.23.11
A+A+T+T	15.22.10
A+T+T+T ³³	15.20.1
A+T+T+J+T	15.20.7
A+A+A+A+A+A+A ³⁴	15.21.5

Besides these new stanza types, both recensions of the Atharvaveda-Samhitā include material that is not metrical, or only partly metrical. In PS 15, there are 6 stanzas that are not metrical (= 2.64%). Whereas this category represents little more than 2% of the total, the group “Formula” is the third in order of extent (= 12.33%). This stanza type is a peculiar feature of Atharvan prose, which was already identified by Oldenberg:

Unter den prosaischen Zaubertexten herrschen sehr entschieden die vor, die in kürzerer oder längerer Reihe von Sätzen dasselbe Schema wiederholen, variiert nur nach der Abfolge irgend eines Systems, etwa der Zahlenreihe, der Wellegenden oder Aehnlichem (...). Der Typus der Zaubertexts mit Durchführung eines bestimmten Schemas, oft geradezu in tabellarischer Weise, ist offenbar uralte; daß der strengen Regelmäßigkeit zuliebe da Prosa bevorzugt wurde, begreift sich leicht.³⁵

KUBISCH 2007: 19–20 discussed this topic rather extensively, emphasizing his impression that “such groups of stanzas in which a schema is realized (‘formulaic hymns’) are in most cases — not always — based upon a metrical structure which only in some stanzas is disturbed”.

In the PS, there are certainly many formulaic mantras that are purely prosaic (e.g. 2.43.1–5, 2.44.1–5, 5.5.1–8), but the occurrence of a formulaic scheme is not necessarily connected with a prosaic form. We thus find formulaic stanzas that are partly metrical, partly prosaic (e.g. 2.42.1–5, 2.91.1–5, 5.35.1–11 etc.), and stanzas in which the formulaic scheme rests on a metrical structure: e.g., in PS 16.4–17.3 we find a series of Anuṣṭubh stanzas in which the following scheme is repeated: “And of one pierced by X and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī, you are the poison-destroyer of that poison”.

Out of 10 stanzas, 2 exhibit a regular metre, 4 have a heptasyllabic first pāda and 4 have an extended first pāda of nine (or more) syllables due to the names applied for X, which render the metre irregular. In my analysis, I have marked with the label “Formula” only the purely prosaic mantras, which have been included as such in the statistics. I have marked with labels such as

³² As noted by ARNOLD 1905: 245, this is the stanza type that was probably aimed at in ṚV 1.150.

³³ This type occurs in ṚV 5.19.5.

³⁴ This stanza is clearly an extension of a Mahāpañkti stanza. It is found in ṚV 8.40.2 and 10.133.13.

³⁵ OLDENBERG 1917: 10–11 (= III/1758–1759).

“Anuṣṭubh Formula” the other categories of formulaic stanzas, which have been included in the statistics considering their underlying metrical structure.

Pāda statistics

In PS 15 there are 876 pādas and prose lines. Verses that occur identically two or more times have been counted only once in the statistics; pādas that occur in only one stanza mixed with prose, pādas from “formulaic hymns”, trimeter verses with irregular structures in all three members (opening, break, cadence) and prose lines have been excluded as well. The total number of verses analyzed for the pāda statistics is thus 689. Among these, we find:

381 Dimeter verses (= 55.29%). Of these:

- 237 are “A” (= 34.39%)
- 66 are “#A” (= 9.57%)
- 34 are “+ #A” (= 4.93%)
- 15 are “+A” (= 2.17%)
- 21 are “A7” (= 3.04 %)
- 8 are “°A” (= 1.16%)

260 Trimeter with Triṣṭubh cadence (= 37.88%). Of these:

- 1) 223 are T (= 32.36%). As regards the position of the caesura,
 - 1a) 104 verses have early caesura (= 15.09%): 48 are “Ta” (= 6.96%), 17 are “+Ta” (= 2.46%), 25 are “+ #Ta” (= 3.62%), 4 are “+(#)Ta” (= 0.58%), 3 are “#Ta” (= 0.43%) and 4 are “(+)Ta” (= 0.58%);
 - 1b) 123 have late caesura (= 17.85%): 91 are “Tb” (= 13.20%), 25 are “+Tb” (= 3.62%), 2 are “+ #Tb” (= 0.29%), 1 is “#Tb” (= 0.14%), 1 is “(+) #Tb” (= 0.14%) and 1 is “(+)Tb” (= 0.14%);
 - 1c) 1 is without or with “weak” caesura (= 0.14%): 1 is “+ #Tca” (0.14%)
- 2) 11 are T1 (= 1.59%): 7 are “T1” (= 1.01%), 2 are “T1c” (= 0.29%), 1 is +T1 (= 0.14%) and 1 is (+) #T1 (= 0.14%)
- 3) 16 are T2 (= 2.32%): 9 are “T2” (= 1.30%), 4 are “T2c” (= 0.58%), 1 is “+T2” (= 0.14%), 1 is “+ #T2” (= 0.14%) and 1 is “+(#)T2 (= 0.14%)
- 4) 6 are T3 (= 0.87%): 4 are “T3” (= 0.58%) and 2 are “+ #T3” (= 0.29%)
- 5) 4 are extended (= 0,58%): 3 are “+ #°Ta” (= 0.43%) and 1 is “+ #°Tb” (= 0.14%)

37 Trimeter with Jagatī cadence (= 5.37%). Of these:

- 1) 32 are J (= 4.64%). As regards the position of the caesura,
 - 1a) 17 have early caesura (= 2.48%): 11 are “Ja” (= 1.60%), 4 are + #Ja (= 0.58%), 1 is +Ja (= 0.14) and 1 is #Ja (= 0,14%)
 - 1b) 14 have late caesura (= 2.04%): 14 are “Jb” (= 2.04)
 - 1c) 1 is without or with “weak” caesura (= 0.14%): 1 is “Jcb” (= 0.14%)
- 2) 3 are J1 (= 0.43%): 1 is “J1” (= 0.14%), 1 is “+J1” (= 0.14%) and 1 is “J1c” (= 0.14%)
- 3) 1 is J3 (= 0.14%): 1 is “! #J3” (= 0.14%)
- 4) 1 is extended (= 0.14%): 1 is “°Ja” (= 0.14%)

2 Triṣṭubh pādas which can be scanned as Jagatī pādas (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one) (= 0.29%). Of these:

1 is “+T/Ja” (= 0.14%)

1 is “T/Jb” (= 0.14%)

Dimeter verses are the most attested verse type in PS 15. Their percentage is very similar to that of ŚS 1–7 (58.59%) and of the portions of the PS treated in LELLI 2014 (60.02%).

It is noteworthy that the attestations of the various kinds of dimeter verses correspond very closely in the three *corpora*; dimeter verses with pure iambic rhythm in the second half, described with the symbol “A”, consistently represent the majority (34.39%; 64.07%; 64.75%).

Among the dimeter verses that show a specific rhythmic combination in the second half, the most frequent are those that have an antispast (4.93%; 8.55%; 8.24%), while those that have a final trochaic rhythm are sparsely attested (2.17%; 3.06%; 2.74%).

Moreover, there are many dimeter verses that have various prosodic structure in the second half (9.57%; 19.44%; 19.02%).

As regards heptasyllabic dimeter verses (3.04%; 3.09%; 3.12%), both types — catalectic and acephalic — are attested in PS 15. They occur with the following distribution: 19 in Anuṣṭubh stanzas, one in Gāyatrī stanzas and one in an “N.N.” stanza. That is to say, heptasyllabic verses occur in the metrical contexts identified by VINE 1997: 251; more specifically, in PS 15, they always occur in alternation with other dimeter verses.

In comparison to the ṚV, in which hypersyllabic dimeter verses are very rare and hardly seem to be intentional,³⁶ in the AV they are more frequent, although the percentage of extended dimeter verses is fairly low in all cases (1.16%; 1.79%; 2.10%).

The three groups of trimeter verses are again attested with almost the same percentages (37.88%, 5.37%, 0.29%; 34.19%, 5.73%, 0.31%; 32.86%, 6.29%, 0.35%). Trimeter verses with Triṣṭubh cadence represent the second group in order of importance after dimeter verses, while trimeter verses with Jagatī cadence and Triṣṭubh pādas that can be scanned as Jagatī pādas are less common.

It is worth noting that the most attested subtypes of trimeter verses are hypersyllabic Triṣṭubh pādas (symbol “T2”, 2.32%) and catalectic Jagatī pādas (symbol “J1”, 0.43%). The relatively high frequency of these verses may confirm Lubotsky’s suggestion that they seem to be a peculiar feature of Atharvavedic metre.³⁷

³⁶ Cf. ARNOLD 1905: 161. According to Arnold, verses of nine syllables that cannot be restored to regular octosyllabic verses “indicate careless composition”.

³⁷ See LUBOTSKY 2002: 12.