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**Author:** Lelli, Duccio

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## **KĀṆḌA 15**



### 15.1. For the protection of the kingdom

PS 15.1 and 2 are a group of eighteen connected stanzas, split over two hymns of ten and eight stanzas, respectively (10 + 8). Thus they indirectly conform, in their preeminent position at the beginning of the *kāṇḍa*, to the norm of eighteen stanzas per hymn indicated by the title of the *kāṇḍa* (*aṣṭādaśarcakāṇḍa*). The total number of stanzas and the way they are arranged within two hymns are the first of much textual and content-based evidence that, in my opinion, proves that this is a recast and a late composition, made up of material borrowed mainly from Yajurvedic texts.

Thematically, PS 15.1–2 can be divided into two parts: 1.1–2.4 and 2.5–2.8 (2.5 marks the break as a stanza of transition, and the following change of metre suggests this division as well, though the whole hymn is quite irregular in this respect).

The source of the first part is a highly-structured ritual that is transmitted in the *Samhitās* of the Black Yajurveda as a preliminary rite to be performed during the *Aśvamedha*, before the first day of *soma*-pressing. In this ritual, ten veneration (*iṣṭi*-) are dedicated to various deities in association with the quarters, the seasons, the winds, the *Prṣṭha* *Sāmans*, the metres and the *Stomas*.<sup>38</sup> The following table gives an account of the associations as they are found in the TS (4.4.12), KS (22.14), MS (3.16.4) and *ĀśvŚS* (4.12.2).

GOD	QUARTER	SEASON	WIND	SĀMAN (Prṣṭha)	METRE	STOMA
Agni	Samidh	Spring	(Samudra) vāta	Ratham̐tara	Gāyatrī	Trivṛt
Indra	Ugrā	Summer	(Sagara) vāta	Bṛhat	Triṣṭubh	Pañcadaśa
All-Gods	Prācī	Rainy season	Salilavāta	Vairūpa	Jagatī	Saptadaśa
Mitra and Varuṇa	Dhartrī	Autumn		Vairāja	Anuṣṭubh	Ekaviṃśa
Bṛhaspati	Samrāj	Winter	Avasyuvāta	Śākvara	Pañkti	Triṇava
Savitar	Ūrdhvā	Cool season	Vivasvadvāta	Raivata	Atichandas	Trayastrimśa
Aditi (as Viṣṇu's consort)	Dhruvā		Samdhvānā vātās			
Agni Vaiśvānara						
Anumati						

<sup>38</sup> The corresponding *brāhmaṇa* section of the TS (7.5.15) explains the artificial nature of the mantras in the following way: 'Now for the fire which is produced on the fire-altar and for Soma, the king, the beast for Agni and Soma is the guest-offering. Again the fire which is piled up is cruel, and if one were not to cast upon the fire which has been piled up these oblations, the cruel fire would spring up in wrath, and injure the offspring and cattle of the sacrificer. In that he casts the oblations on the fire which has been piled up, he appeases it with its own portion, and the cruel fire does not spring up in wrath and injure his offspring and cattle. There are ten oblations. Nine are the breaths in man, and the navel is the tenth; verily he places breaths in the sacrificer. Again the Viraj is of ten syllables; the Viraj is food; verily he finds support in the Viraj as food. 'It must be piled with the seasons, the metres, the Stomas, and the Prsthas', they say. In that he casts these oblations, he piles it with the seasons, the metres, the Stomas, and the Prsthas. 'The quarters can be won by one who has pressed the Soma' they say. In that he casts these oblations, (it is) for the winning of the quarters. The gods made Indra sacrifice with it, and therefore is it Indra's pressing; men made Manu sacrifice with it, and therefore is it Manu's pressing. As Indra among the gods, as Manu among men, becomes he who knowing thus sacrifices with this sacrifice. The Puroṇuvakyas contain the word 'quarter', for the conquest of the quarters' (Keith).

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Of the ten veneration prescriptions in the Yajurvedic texts, the first seven are found in the PS with some significant differences as shown in the table below:

GOD	QUARTER	SEASON	WIND	SĀMAN (Pṛṣṭha)	METRE	STOMA
Agni		Spring	(Samudra) *vāta?	Rathantara	Gāyatrī	
Indra	Ugrā	Summer	(Sagara) vāta	Bṛhat	Triṣṭubh	Pañcadaśa
All-Gods	Prācī	Rainy season	*Salilavāta	Vairūpa	Jagatī	Saptadaśa
Mitra and Varuṇa	Dharrī	Autumn		Vairāja	Anuṣṭubh	Ekaviṃśa
Bṛhaspati	Samrāj	Winter	?	Śākvara		Triṇava
Savitar [in reverse order]	Ūrdhvā	Cool season	*Vivasadvāta	Raivata	Pañkti	Ekaviṃśa
Aditi (as Viṣṇu's consort) [in reverse order]	Dhruvā		Samdhānā vātās			

As regards the relation between the PS and the Yajurvedic texts, it is very unlikely that the PS had only one Saṁhitā as its source — at least, no conclusive evidence can be drawn from the comparison of the texts. As I shall discuss in the commentary, for the most part the PS agrees with the TS, but in some cases also with the KS or the MS, so it is conceivable that the mantras were borrowed from the Yajurvedic tradition when it was still a floating mass of ritualistic material. Furthermore it should be noted that at 1.3a and d, 1.4b, 1.5d, 1.6c and 2.8d we come across a clear discrepancy between **K** and **Or**, which seem to have independently introduced alternative readings (at 1.3a, d and 1.6c **K** agrees with the parallel texts against **Or**, and at 1.4b, 1.5d and 2.8d it is the other way around).

In the PS, each veneration/invocation occupies two stanzas: in every odd stanza the quarters, the seasons and the gods are mentioned; in the even ones, the Sāmans, the metres, the Stomas and the winds. PS 15.1.9–10 are the only two stanzas that do not conform to this pattern, but in this case the PS agrees with the Yajurvedic texts; then, while the Yajurvedic texts strictly follow an established pattern, the order of the elements of the invocation is reversed in PS 15.2.1–2 and 15.2.3–4, where the quarters, the seasons and the gods are invoked in the even stanzas after the Sāmans, the metres, the Stomas and the winds. I think that this reverse order, found also in the ĀśvŚS, can be interpreted as a secondary development, probably due to the critical position of the stanzas involved at the beginning of a ‘new’ hymn. The omission of the *samidh*-quarter, the Trivṛt Stoma and the Atichandas metre, the misplacement of the Pañkti metre and the Ekaviṃśa Stoma, the misunderstanding of the references to the winds are some other indications of the later origin of these hymns and their dependence on the Yajurveda. Other

clear evidence in favour of the late and composite nature of the hymn will be discussed in the commentary under 1.1a, 1.2c, 1.4ac, 1.6bd, 1.9c, 2.1ab, 2.2c, 2.3c.

PS 2.5–8 appear to be an appendix to the seven invocations: the stanzas are again borrowed from the Yajurveda and the R̥gveda, and were probably chosen because of their manifestly ritualistic character, which met the need to set the action on a more concrete level.

All that has been said up to now can be easily explained if we concede that Paippālādin priests, as well as Atharvavedins of the Śaunaka school, could be involved in the politics of the kingdom and in royal rites (see GONDA 1966 and, for the PS in particular, TSUCHIYAMA 2007). The more they were invited to take part in royal rites, the more new material they needed to satisfy the requests of the kings. It is not surprising that the much-elaborated ritual of the *Aśvamedha* — by far the most important ritual concerning the king — served as a source from which the priests could draw new hymns. This section of the ritual must have been particularly attractive to the Paippālādins, for it contains a whole cosmologia-magica: as pointed out by SADOVSKI 2012: 153 and 158, “if priests and poets systematize the universe in the form of extensive lists, they are believed to exercise magical influence on it. By cataloguing the universe, worshippers try to find an underlying matrix system — but also they magically re-shape and re-create it over and over again. [...] Mantra and prayers list the Universe in magic catalogues of cosmological concepts — regularly arranged in axiological manner — starting from sacred components of the macro-cosm, going via ritual as intermediary between God and men, to end up focusing on sacred components of the micro-cosm”. This complex cosmologia-magica, in which interacting entities are presented in a multidimensional list, was aptly integrated in a prayer to secure the protection of the kingdom (*kṣatrā-*); thanks to the magical knowledge of the priests, who could control the powers of the whole universe and transfer them to the king, both the kingdom and the king himself were invested with supernatural forces and legitimated in their functions. Trying to understand which royal ceremony is concerned here is something of a guess, for there are no precise references in this respect. What is beyond doubt is that the purpose of this hymn is to secure the protection of the *kṣatrā-*, a term that in this context has a very concrete meaning and that I translate with ‘kingdom’ (cf. 1.3d, 1.5c, 1.7d, 1.8c).

**15.1.1 [Triṣṭubh]** a: PS only, bcd: TS 4.4.12.1 ≈ KS 22.14:69.16–17 ≈ MS 3.16.4:187.14–15 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

samyan digbhyaḥ pavate saṁ svarvin	*Ta
madhor ato mādhaveḥ pātva asmān	*Ta
agnir devo +duṣṭarītur adābhya	#Ta
idaṁ kṣatram rakṣatu pātva asmān	*+#Ta

Coming together from the quarters, the one who finds the sunlight becomes thoroughly pure. Henceforth from Madhu let Mādhava protect us. Let Agni, the god, unconquerable, uninjurable, defend this kingdom, let him protect us.

samyan digbhyaḥ] **JM Mā [Ma]**, samya{m}n digbhyaḥ **Pa**, samyam digbhyaḥ **Ku**, samyam digbhyāḥ **RM**, samyar digbhyaḥ **K svarvin] Or**, stavyam **K ato] Or**, ajo **K mādhaveḥ] Ku Pa Mā [Ma]**, mādhaveḥ **JM**, mādhave **RM**, mādhaveḥ **K +duṣṭarītur] duṣṭaritur Ku JM RM Pa**, duṣṭaritu **Mā [Ma]**, duṣṭarīdur **K adābhya] Or**, itābhya **K kṣatram] Or**, kṣatram **K ||] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, | JM RM, 1 K**

TS 4.4.12.1

samíd diśām āśáyā naḥ svarvín mādhor áto mādhaveḥ pātv asmān |  
agnir devó duṣṭārītur ádābhya idām kṣatrām rakṣatu pātv asmān ||

KS 22.14:69.16–17

samid diśām āśáyā nas svarvin madhur ato mādhaveḥ pātv asmān |  
agnir devo duṣṭārītur adabhda idam brahma jinvatu pātv asmān ||

MS 3.16.4:187.14–15

samíd diśām āśáyā naḥ svarvín mādhu réto mādhaveḥ pātv asmān |  
agnir devó duṣṭārītur ádābdha idām kṣatrām rákṣatu pātv asmān ||

ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

samid diśām āśáyā naḥ svarvin madhu reto mādhaveḥ pātv asmān |  
agnir devo duṣṭārītur adābhya idam kṣatram rakṣatu pātv asmān ||

Bhattacharya edits *samyag digbhyaḥ* in a.

a. The PS version of this pāda differs considerably from the text of the other versions: *samíd diśām āśáyā naḥ svarvín* ‘The kindling one among the quarters, the one who finds the sunlight, according to our hope’. The text of the Yajurvedic Saṁhitās is no doubt the original one because it shows the same pattern in the first pāda of every odd stanza of this hymn (name of a quarter plus *diśām*), and the association of the quarter *samidh-* ‘the kindling one’ with Agni is clear and natural. The PS line indeed seems to make reference to Soma, as is suggested both by the use of the verb *pavate*, which is the usual verb describing the preparation of the Soma drink, and of the epithet *svarvid-*, which often refers to that god (e.g., at RV 8.48.15b, 9.8.9b, 9.84.5b, 9.109.8b, etc.). It is not easy to understand why the redactor changed the text here, but it was possibly due to the influence of the word *madhu-* in the next pāda, interpreted not as the name of a month (see below), but as an adjective qualifying the ‘sweetness’ of Soma. Furthermore, the word *śuci-* in 1.3b was probably interpreted as an adjective meaning ‘clear’, again suggesting the idea of Soma. It is noteworthy that the words *pavate*, *madhu-* and *śuci-* occur very often together in ‘somic’ context: cf. RV 6.8.1cd *vaiśvānarāya matír návyasī śucīḥ sóma iva pavate cārur agnāye* ‘For Vaiśvānara the newer thought becomes pure like clear Soma, dear to Agni’, 9.67.11ab *ayám sómaḥ kapardīne ghṛtām ná pavate mādhu* ‘This Soma becomes pure like sweet ghee for him who wears braided hair’, 9.67. 12ab *ayám ta āghṛṇe suto ghṛtām ná pavate śuci* ‘This [Soma], pressed for you, O glowing one, becomes pure like clear ghee’, 9.72.4d *śucir dhiyā pavate sóma indra te* ‘The clear Soma becomes pure for you, O Indra, with devotion’ etc.

On the meaning of the verb *pavate*, see GOTÖ 1987: 207–208. It is attested with the preverb *sam-* only in a prose section of the TB, so this is the first attestation in a Saṁhitā.

This stanza is quoted in AthPrāy 6.5: *rāthamtaram cet stūyamānam vyāpadyeta samyag digbhya iti dvābhyām juhuyāt* ‘If the Rathamtara [sāman], when being sung, should disintegrated, then he should make oblation with the two [mantras] beginning with *samyag digbhya*’ (see VON NEGELEIN 1913–14: 139; *samyag digbhya* must be a conjecture, the manuscripts’ readings being *samādigbhya* BC, *samādiśya* AD). The identification of this *pratīka* with PS 15.1, which von Negelein proposes in a note, is obviously correct, because the first two stanzas of this hymn (cf. *iti dvābhyām*) are concerned with the sāman *rathantara-* (see next stanza).

**b.** Madhu and Mādhava are the names of the two spring months; cf. TS 4.4.11.1 = VS 13.25 ≈ MS 2.8.12:116.3 = MS 4.6.7:89.6 = KS 17.10:35.9 *mādhuś ca mādhasaś ca vāsantikāv* [MS, KS *vāsantikā*] *rtū* ‘[You are] Madhu and Mādhava, the months of spring’. Here the PS agrees with the TS, but the easier and probably original reading is that of the KS *madhur ato mādhasa* ‘Madhu and then Mādhava’. For a discussion of the variants in the parallel texts, see Ved. Var. II, 382, III: 210 and MITTWEDE 1986: 148. KEITH 1914: 351 translates our pāda ‘From Madhu may Mādhava protect us’, but in a footnote he proposes the alternative ‘after Madhu’.

In this hymn, the indication of the seasons either by the names of the months or the name of the season itself is always found in an odd stanza, pāda **b**, after the name of the direction, with the exception of the seventh stanza (where it is found in pāda **c**, also after the name of the direction).

**c.** On *duṣṭarītu-* ‘difficult to be crossed or overcome’, ‘unconquerable’, see LUBOTSKY 1997b: 139 note 2. The formation *duṣ-ṭarītu-* is synonymous with and competes with *duṣ-ṭāra-*, which also occurs in this hymn, at 5c (see AiGr. II/2, § 483a, pp. 651–652).

On *adābhya-*, see NARTEN 1988–90: 154–55. She reconstructs for the root *dabh-* (from which both *adābhya-* of the PS, TS and ĀśvŚS and *adabdhā-* of the KS and MS are derived) a basic meaning ‘to deceive’ and a secondary meaning ‘to injure’, adding that it is not always easy to choose which one better fits the context. From the discussion of a Yajurvedic mantra (TS 1.1.10.2 etc.), however, she concludes that the formations *adābhya-* and *adabdhā-* were often used with the meaning ‘uninjurably’ and ‘uninjured’ rather than ‘uncheatable’ and ‘uncheated’. The Yajurvedic mantra she discusses is about Agni, as in our case, and goes as follows: *agne sapatnadāmbhanam ādabdhāso ādābhyam* ‘We, the uninjured — thee the uninjurably injurer of enemies’ (Eggeling).

The cadence is wrong.

**15.1.2 [Triṣṭubh]** ≈ TS 4.4.12.1 ≈ KS 22.14:69.18–19 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2, MS 3.16.4:187.16–188.1

rathantaram sāmabhiḥ pāt <sub>u</sub> v asmān	*Ta
gāyatreṇa chandasā viśvarūpam	Ta
d <sub>u</sub> vādaśā iṣṭaya stoma ahnā	*Ta
samudro vāca idam ojaḥ pipartu	T2

Let the Rathantara with the Sāmans protect us, the manifold one with the Gāyatrī metre. The twelve-fold venerations, the Stoma with the day; let the ocean, the words preserve this strength.

sāmabhiḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, sāmabhi [Mā], sāmabhiḥ **K** gāyatreṇa] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, gāyatreṇa **RM**, gāyatreṇa **K** chandasā] **Or**, śchandasā **K** viśvarūpam] **K**, viśvaṣṭam **Or** iṣṭaya] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, ipaṣṭaya **Pa** stoma] **RM Pa Mā [Ma] K**, sto{ma}mo **JM**, stome? **Ku** ahnā] **Or**, ahnām **K** vāca] **Or**, vācyā **K** idam ojaḥ] idam odaḥ **Or**, tam ojaḥ **K** pipartu] piparttu **Ku JM RM Pa [Mā?]**, piparttu **[Ma]**, pipantu **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 2 Z **K**

TS 4.4.12.1

rathamtarām sāmabhiḥ pāt<sub>u</sub>v asmān gāyatrī chāndasām viśvarūpā |  
trivṛṇ no viṣṭhāyā stōmo ahnām samudrō vāta idām ójaḥ pipartu ||

KS 22.14:69.18–19



ratham̐taram̐ sāmabhiḥ pātv asmān gāyatrī chandasām viśvarūpā |  
trivṛt viṣṭhāyā stomo ahnām samudro vāta idam ojaḥ pipartu ||

MS 3.16.4:187.16–188.1

rathantarām̐ sāmabhiḥ pātv asmān gāyatrī chandasām viśvarūpā |  
trivṛt no viṣṭhāyā stomo ahnā samudrō vāta idam ojaḥ pipartu ||

Bhattacharya edits *vāca idamojaḥ*<sup>+</sup> in **d**.

**b.** Once again the parallel passages have an easier text: *gāyatrī chandasām viśvarūpā* ‘The Gāyatrī, the glittering one among the metres’ (Keith). I connect *viśvarūpam* with *rathantaram* and translate *gāyatrena chandasā* ‘with the Gāyatrī metre’ (cf. TS 7.1.18.1 quoted below). On the connection of Agni with Gāyatrī, see e.g. ṚV 10.130.4a *agnér gāyatri ābhavat sayúgvā* ‘The Gāyatrī became Agni’s yoke-fellow’, AB 1.1.7 *gāyatram agnē chandas* ‘The Gāyatrī is the metre of Agni’. On the association of Gāyatrī with the spring season, see TS 7.1.18.1 *gāyatrena tvā chandasā yunajmi vasantēna tvartúnā haviṣā dīkṣayāmi* ‘With the Gāyatrī as metre I yoke you, with the spring as season [I yoke you], with an oblation I consecrate you’. More complete associations, involving also the Stoma and the Sāman, are found, e.g., in AB 4.29.1 *agnir vai devatā prathamam ahar vahati trivṛt stomo ratham̐taram̐ sāma gāyatrī chando* ‘Agni as deity bears the first day; the Trivṛt as Stoma [bears the first day], the Rathantara as Sāman [bears the first day], the Gāyatrī as metre [bears the first day]’.

**c.** The interpretation of this pāda is difficult. The parallel texts have the comprehensible *trivṛt no viṣṭhāyā stomo ahnām* ‘The Trivṛt Stoma with the order of the days’, of which the PS seems to be a corruption. The name of the Stoma Trivṛt is wanting in the PS, so that again the Yajurvedic texts have preserved a more original tradition.

**d.** As regards *vāca*, I propose to keep the text as it was transmitted in **Or**, supported by the fact that **K** also points to a word with initial *vāc*-. Another possibility would be an emendation to *vāta*, which is in the parallel text. The same confusion between *-ca* and *-ta* is found, e.g., at PS 5.33.6d where, instead of *anvañcan*, two manuscripts read *anvantam*; an even closer parallel situation is found at PS 5.7.12c, where all ŚS and PS manuscripts uniformly read *vāta*, but the emendation to *\*vāca* (which is in the Ṛgvedic parallel passage) seems unavoidable because of the context (cf. LUBOTSKY 2002: 7 and 47–48). Although the mention of the wind would fit a coherent series of references to this atmospheric agent, here the context is not a compelling argument, and an emendation seems unnecessary.

Note the metrical form: it is a dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda with pentasyllabic opening, trisyllabic break and Triṣṭubh cadence. This verse-type occurs several times in this hymns (at 15.1.7b, 15.1.7c, 15.1.8d, 15.1.9b)

**15.1.3 [Triṣṭubh]** ≈ TS 4.4.12.1 ≈ KS 22.14:69.20–21 ≈ MS 3.16.4:188.2–3 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

ugrā diśām abhibhūtir vayodhāḥ

Ta

śuciḥ śukre ahanīy ojaḥ ye |

\*(+ #)Ta

indrādhīpatiḥ pipṛtād ato no

+Tb

<sup>+</sup>mahi kṣatram viśvato dhārayedam ||

Ta

Let the mighty one among the quarters, the overpowering giver of strength, let Śuci, during Śukra on a day full of power [protet us]. O Indra, as sovereign, protect us henceforth. Hold firm from all sides this great kingdom!

ugrā] **K**, agrā **Or** vayodhāḥ] **Or**, vayodhās **K** śuciḥ] **Or**, śuciś **K** śukre] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, śukro **Ku** ahany ojasye] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, ahany oyasye [**Mā**], ahny ojāse **K** ato] **Or**, ute **K** +mahi] mayi **Or**, mahat **K** kṣatram] **Or**, kṣatram **K** dhārayedam] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, dhāya(→e)d{e}am **Ku** ||] **Ku JM Mā Ma Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

TS 4.4.12.1

ugrā diśām abhībḥūtīr vayodhāḥ śuciḥ śukre āhany ojasīnā |  
 indrādhipatiḥ pipṛtād āto no māhi kṣatram viśvato dhāraye 'dām ||

KS 22.14:69.20–21

ugrā diśām abhībḥūtīr vayodhās śuciś śukro ahany ojasye |  
 indrādhipatyaiḥ pipṛtād ato no mahi kṣatram viśvato dhārayedam ||

MS 3.16.4:188.2–3

ugrā diśām abhībḥūtīr vayodhāḥ śuciḥ śukre āham ojasīne |  
 indrādhipatyaiḥ pipṛtād āto no māhi kṣatram viśvato dhārayedam ||

ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

ugrā diśām abhībḥūtīr vayodhāḥ śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasīnām |  
 indrādhipatiḥ pipṛtād ato no mahi kṣatram viśvato dhārayedam ||

Bhattacharya edits *mayi* in **d**.

a. Note the variant of the Orissa manuscripts, *agrā* ‘foremost’, ‘chief’ at the beginning of the pāda.

b. KEITH 1914: 351 translates ‘pure, on a bright day...’. I think that *śuci-* and *śukra-* could be interpreted here as the names of months in hot season; if so, this stanza would mention the season in pāda **b** as in 1.1, 1.5, (1.7), 1.9. Cf. TS 4.4.11.1 = VS 14.6 ≈ MS 2.8.12:116.8 = KS 17.10:253.6 *śukrás ca śuciś ca grāiṣmāv* [MS, KS *grāiṣmā*] *ṛtú* ‘[You are] Śukra and Śuci, the month of summer’. The order of the two months is however reversed in the PS, and the passage is still unclear. Note that **Ku** reads *śukro*, which could also be adopted in the text (‘May Śuci [and] Śukra in a day full of power [protet us]’). At the end of the pāda, the PS agrees with the KS in reading *ojasye*. As regards the metre I tentatively restore a Triṣṭubh line, but the cadence is wrong; the TS and MS version of this pāda is metrically superior.

c. On the termination of the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular imperative in *-tāt*, see WHITNEY 1889: 213–14: “As regards its meaning, this form appears to have prevailing in the Brāhmaṇas, and traceably but much less distinctly in the Vedic texts, a specific tense-value added to its mode-value — as signifying, namely, an injunction to be carried out at a later time than the present: it is (like the Latin forms in *-to* and *-tote*) a posterior or future imperative”. Cf. also MACDONELL 1910: 318, DELBRÜCK 1888: 363–64, RENOU 1952: 368. As remarked in BAUM 2006: 37, it is not easy to define the ‘futurity’ of this imperative form if it does not appear in the apodosis of conditional or temporal clauses, but in this passage the future meaning is confirmed by the use of the adverb *atas* ‘henceforth, from this time on’, which projects the action onto the future.

d. The readings of **K** (*mahat*) and of the parallel passages suggest changing the text to <sup>+</sup>*mahi*, which is the solution I choose. The expression *mahi kṣatram* is found in the same position, at the beginning of a pāda, also at RV 1.54.8d *māhi kṣatram sthāviraṁ vṛṣṇyaṁ ca* ‘A great kingdom, firm and mighty’, 1.54.11b *māhi kṣatram janāṣāḥ indra tāvyam* ‘O Indra, a great

kingdom, subduing men, strong’, 5.68.3c *máhi vām kṣatrām devēsu* ‘Great is your kingdom among the gods’, 7.28.3c *mahé kṣatrāya śávase hí jajñé* (in the dative) ‘For you are born for great kingdom and power’, 7.30.1d *máhi kṣatrāya páuṃsyāya sūra* ‘For great kingdom, heroic deed, O strong one, 8.22.7d *mahé kṣatrāya jínvathaḥ* (in the dative) ‘You impel for great kingdom’. The reading of **Or** could be secondary and influenced by PS 1.33.4d *mayi kṣatram varca ā dhatta devīḥ* ‘O goddesses, bestow on me the kingdom and splendour’ or ŚS 3.5.2ab: *máyi kṣatrām paṇamaṇe máyi dhārayatād rayīm* ‘Hold firm in me, O paṇa-amulet, the kingdom, [hold firm] in me wealth’.

**15.1.4 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī]** ≈ TS 4.4.12.2 = ĀśvŚS 4.12.2 ≈ KS 22.14:70.1–2 ≈ MS 3.16.4:188.4–5

bṛhad rāṣṭram kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣṇīyam	*+T/Ja
triṣṭubhaujaḥ śubhitam ugravīram	+(#)Ta
indra stomaiḥ pañcadaśena varca	+ #Ta
idam vātena sagareṇa rakṣatu	Jb

The Bṛhat [is] the dominion, supporting the kingdom, of great strength, [it is] power adorned with the Triṣṭubh, endowed with powerful men. Let Indra, with the Stomas, with the fifteenfold [Stoma], defend this splendour with the wind, with the sea.

bṛhad rāṣṭram] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, bṛhadāṣṭram] **[Mā]** kṣatrabhṛd] **Or**, kṣatrabhṛd] **K** vṛddhavṛṣṇīyam] **Ku Pa Mā [Ma]**, vṛddhavṛṣṇīyam (?) **JM**, vṛddhavṛṣṇīyam] **RM**, vṛṣṇī K triṣṭubhaujaḥ] triṣṭubhaujaḥ] **K**, ṛṣṇīabhojaḥ] **Ku Pa Mā [Ma]**, ṛṣṇābhojaḥ] **JM**, ṛṣṇābhojaḥ] **RM** śubhitam] **Or**, sukṛtam] **K** ugravīram] ugravīram] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, ugravīram] **[Mā]** indra] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, indra{ḥ} **RM** pañcadaśena] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, pañcadaśena] **Ku** varca] **[Ma] K**, varca] **Ku JM RM [Mā] Pa** sagareṇa] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, samareṇa] **RM** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K**

TS 4.4.12.2 = ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

bṛhāt sāma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhāvṛṣṇīyam triṣṭúbhaujaḥ śubhitám ugrávīram |  
índra stómena pañcadaśéna mādhyam idám vātena ságareṇa rakṣa ||

KS 22.14:70.1–2

bṛhat sāma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣṇīyam triṣṭubhaujaś śubhitam ugravīram |  
indra stomena pañcadaśenauja idam vātena sagareṇa rakṣa ||

MS 3.16.4:188.4–5

bṛhāt sāma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhāvṛṣṇīyam triṣṭúbhaujaḥ śubhitám ugrávīram |  
índraḥ stómena pañcadaśéna mādhyam idám vātena ságareṇa rakṣatu ||

For the association of Indra with the Bṛhat Sāman, Triṣṭubh metre and Pañcadaśa Stoma, see e.g. RV 10.130.5b *índrasya triṣṭúp ihá bhāgáḥ áhnaḥ* ‘the Triṣṭubh here was Indra’s portion [of the oblation] of the day’, AB 4.31.1 *indro vai devatā dvitīyam ahar vahati pañcadaśaḥ stomo bṛhat sāma triṣṭup chandaḥ* ‘Indra as deity bears the second day, the Stoma [is] the Pañcadaśa, the Sāman [is] the Bṛhat, the metre [is] the Triṣṭubh’. For the connection of the Triṣṭubh metre with the summer season, see TS 7.1.18.1 *tráīṣṭubhena tvā chándasā yunajmi*

*grīṣméṇa tvartúnā havīṣā dīkṣayāmi* ‘With the Triṣṭubh as metre I yoke you, with the summer season as oblation I consecrate you’.

a. The PS reading *rāṣṭram* seems to be secondary compared with *sāma* in the parallel texts, because when a Sāman is named throughout this hymn and the next one, the proper name is always followed by the word *sāman*- itself: cf. *rathantaram sāmaabhiḥ* at 1.2a, *vairūpe sāmān* at 1.6a, *vairāje sāmān* at 1.8a, *revat sāmān* at 2.2c. There is only one exception to this pattern, namely when the Śākvarī Sāman is named at 1.9c, but in that case the PS and all the parallel texts have the same reading. The reading of **Or** could be possibly due to perseveration from PS 1.18.1d *br̥had rāṣṭram samveśyam dadhātu* ‘Let him bestow a great dominion to be occupied’ and PS 10.2.7a *vāñchatu tvā br̥had rāṣṭram* ‘Let a great dominion go towards you’, but an changing the text to *\*sāma* would be a too heavy emendation.

b. Note the variant of **K** *sukṛtam* ‘well-done’, ‘well arranged’, ‘adorned’ instead of *śubhitam* of the Orissa manuscripts.

cd. Note the unusual sequence *stomaiḥ pañcadaśena*, instead of which the parallel texts have the easier *stómena pañcadaśéna* ‘with the fifteen-fold Stoma’. It seems that all the varieties of Stoma are first generally mentioned, and then the *pañcadaśa* variety is explicitly addressed.

At the end of c, there are three variants: the PS reads *varcas* (cf. 1.6cd below), the TS and the MS *mádhyam* and the KS *-oja*. In this case it is almost impossible to understand which one is the authentic reading. In the TS and KS, *indra* in pāda c must be vocative, because of *rakṣa* in the next pāda; the 2<sup>nd</sup> person imperative is also better for the metre. The PS and MS both have *rakṣatu*, which makes the line a Jagatī and is clearly secondary. Due to this verb form, *indra* in pāda c must be understood as *indraḥ* (the form actually found in the MS). On the sandhi, see WHITNEY 1889: 175.

**15.1.5 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī]** TS 4.4.12.2 ≈ KS 22.14:70.3–4 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2, MS 3.16.4:188.6, 8  
 prācī diśāṁ sahayaśā yaśasvatī + #Ja  
 víśve devāḥ <sup>+</sup>prāvṛṣāhnām s<sub>u</sub>varvatī | \*Ja  
 idāṁ kṣatram duṣṭaram ast<sub>u</sub>v ojo \*+ #Ta  
 anādhṛṣṭam \*sahas<sub>i</sub>yaṁ sahasvat || \*+ #Ta

O All-gods, during the rainy season of the days let the eastern one among the quarters, being with fame, full of fame, full of light [protect us]. Let this kingdom be invincible strength, unassailable, mighty, victorious.

sahayaśā] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, sahajyaśā **Pa**, sahadiśāṁ **K** yaśasvatī] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, yaśasvatīṁ **RM**, sahasvatī **K** devāḥ] **Or**, devāḥ **K** <sup>+</sup>prāvṛṣāhnām] prāvṛṣāhnā **Or**, prāvṛṣāhnām **K** svarvatī] **Ku RM K**, sarvatī **JM**, svasvarvatī, **Pa Mā [Ma]** duṣṭaram] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, duṣṭarim **Pa**, duṣṭaramam **K** anādhṛṣṭam] **Or**, nādhṛṣyam **K** \*sahas<sub>i</sub>yaṁ] sahasvaṁ **Or K** sahasvat] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, sahasvata **[Mā]**, sahasvatī **K** ||] **Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku JM RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

TS 4.4.12.2

prācī diśāṁ sahāyaśā yāśasvatī víśve devāḥ prāvṛṣāhnām súvarvatī |  
 idāṁ kṣatrām duṣṭaram astv ójó ’nādhṛṣṭam sahasríyaṁ sāhasvat ||

KS 22.14:70.3–4

prācī diśāṁ sahāśayā no víśve devāḥ prāvṛṣāhnām svarvit |  
 idāṁ kṣatram duṣṭaram astv ojo ’nādhṛṣṭam sahasríyaṁ sahasvat ||

MS 3.16.4:188.6–8

prācī diśām sahāyaśa yāśasvatī vīśve devāḥ prāvṛṣāhnām svārvatī |  
[...]

idaṁ kṣatram duṣṭaram astv ójó 'nādhṛṣyam sahasyam sāhasvat |

ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

prācī diśām sahāyaśa yāśasvatī vīśve devāḥ prāvṛṣāhnām svarvatī |  
idaṁ kṣatram duṣṭaram astv ojo 'nādhṛṣyam sahasyam sahasvat ||

Bhattacharya edits *sahasvam* in **d**.

**a.** Instead of the synonymous sequence *sahayaśa yāśasvatī*, **K** reads *sahadiśām sahasvatī*. The first form is a mistake due to the repetition of the word *diśām*; at the end of the line, the word *sahasvatī* ‘victorious’, which could also be a good reading, seems instead to be a mistake due to the repetition of the same elements in the compounds: the sequence *saha-yaśa-yāśasvatī* was changed into *saha-diśām-sahasvatī*. The **Or** readings are common to all the parallel passages, so I adopt them in the text.

**b.** Bhattacharya edits *prāvṛṣāhnām*, which is the reading of all the parallel texts, despite his usual policy to edit the text of the Orissa manuscripts. At 1.2c, 1.5b, 1.7c and 2.2b the forms *ahnā* and *ahnām* alternate in the manuscripts without consistency, and Bhattacharya is inconsistent as well, since he edits *ahnām* in the first two passages, *ahnā* in the other two. Apart from 1.2c, which is a very corrupt line, it seems that the genitive is better than the instrumental in the other passages. The genitive is used in all the parallel texts with the exception of the MS, which in three cases out of four has the instrumental in accord with the Orissa manuscripts.

**cd.** The MS inverts pādas **cd** of this stanza with pādas **ab** of the next one. Note the variant 'nādhṛṣyam that **K** shares with the ĀśvŚS, and which is a good reading too. At the end of pāda **d**, I emend the text according to the reading of the MS and ĀśvŚS. The reading *duṣṭaramam* in **K** shows a meaningless repetition of the ending.

**15.1.6 [Triṣṭubh]** ≈ TS 4.4.12.2 ≈ KS 22.14:70.5–6 ≈ MS 3.16.4:188.7, 9 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

vairūpe +sāmann iha tac chakeyam	Tb
*jagatyainam vikṣuv ā veśayāmi	Ta
vīśve devāḥ saptadaśena vadyam	+ #Ta
idaṁ kṣatram *salilavātam ugram	+ #Ta

Here with the Vairūpa Sāman may I be able [to do] that, with the Jagatī I cause him to enter into the clans. O All-gods, with the seventeenfold [Stoma] let the speech [protect] this kingdom, ocean-wind, mighty.

vairūpe] **K**, vaiṛpe **Ku RM Mā**, vaiṛp{am}e **JM**, vaiṛpo **Pa [Ma]** +sāmann iha] sāmanyaha **Ku Pa Mā [Ma]**, sāmanṇ iha **RM**, sāma{ṇ}n iha **JM**, sāman iha **K** tac chakeyam] tachakeyam **Ku, [Ma]**, tat sakeyam] **JM RM Mā**, ta{sa}c chakeyam **Pa**, taś chakeyam **K** \*jagatyainam] jagatyainad **Or**, jagatyetu **K** vikṣv ā] **Mā [Ma]**, vi{śvā}(+ kṣ-) **Ku**, viśvā **JM**, vikṣā **Pa RM**, vṛkṣā **K** vīśve] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, vis(→ś)ve **Pa** devāḥ] **Or**, devās **K** vadyam] **Pa Mā [Ma]**, vaddham **Ku JM RM**, varca **K** kṣatram] **Or**, kṣettram **K** \*salilavātam] salilāvatam **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, śalilāvatam **RM** ||] **Ku JM Mā Ma Pa, | RM, Z 6 Z K**

TS 4.4.12.2

vairūpé sāmān ihā tāt chakema jāgatyainam vikṣv ā veśayāmaḥ |  
viśve devāḥ saptadaśēna vārca idām kṣatráṁ salilāvātān ugrām ||

KS 22.14:70.5–6

vairūpeṇa sāmānā tac chakeyam jāgatyainam vikṣv ā veśayāmi |  
viśve devās saptadaśēna madhyam idām kṣatráṁ salilām vātān ugrām ||

MS 3.16.4:188.7–9

vairūpé sāmān ādhī tāñ śakeyam jāgatyainam vikṣv ā veśayāmi ||  
[...]  
viśve devāḥ saptadaśēna vārca idām kṣatráṁ salilāvātān ugrām ||

ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

vairūpe sāmān iha tac chakeyam jāgatyainam vikṣv āveśayāni |  
viśve devāḥ saptadaśēna varca idām kṣatráṁ salilāvātān ugrām ||

Bhattacharya edits *sāmanyaha* in **a** and *salilāvātān* in **d**.

For the association of the All-gods with the Vairūpa Sāman, Jagatī metre and Saptadaśa Stoma, see, e.g., RV 10.130.5c *viśvān devāñ jāgaty ā viveśa* ‘The Jagatī entered the All-gods’, AB 5.1.1 *viśve vai devā devatās tṛtīyam ahar vahanti saptadaśaḥ stoma vairūpaṁ sāma jagatī chando* ‘The All-gods as deities bear the third day, the Stoma [is] the Saptadaśa, the Sāman [is] the Vairupa, the metre [is] the Jagatī’. For the connection of the Jagatī metre with the rainy season, see TS 7.1.18.1 *jāgatena tvā chāndasā yunajmi varṣābhir tvartúnā havīṣā dīkṣayāmi* ‘With the Jagatī as metre I yoke you, with the rainy season as oblation I consecrate you’.

**a.** For the sandhi of final *-n* before vowel, see GRIFFITHS 2009: LVI ff. The locative is here used in an instrumental meaning, as suggested also by the reading of the KS *vairūpeṇa sāmānā* (cf. Ved. Var. III, 300).

**b.** The Orissa manuscripts have the neuter *enad* instead of the masculine *enam* of the other versions. The neuter can hardly be correct here, since the enclitic is used exclusively in an anaphoric sense; an emendation to *\*enam*, referring to the king, is therefore highly recommended and I adopt it in the text, also because the confusion between *-dv-* and *-mv-* is possible in late Gupta script.

**c.** Following Bhattacharya, I adopt the reading *vadyam*; **K** reads *varca*, which might be due to the influence of the parallel texts or to perseveration from PS 15.1.4c above. The readings of the Orissa manuscripts could derive from a corruption of *madhyam*, which is found in the text of the KS.

**d.** The reading *salilāvātān*, which is in all the manuscripts, must already have been corrupted in the archetype. On this pāda, see THIEME 1961: 103, with the translation: “Diese Herrschaft [soll sein] von salzigem Wind, stark” and the comment “Der Gedanke ist selbstverständlich, daß sie (diese Herrschaft) sich bis zur Grenze der Erde, das ist: der Küste des Meeres, ausdehnen soll”. Cf. further my note on 1.8c and 1.9c.

**15.1.7 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī]** ≈ TS 4.4.12.3 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2 ≈ KS 22.14:70.7–8 ≈ MS 3.16.4:188.10–11

dhartrī diśām kṣatram idām +dādhartu-  
-upasthāśānām mitravad astu v ojaḥ |

(+ #)Ta  
\*T2

mitrāvaruṇā \*śaradāhnām +cikitnū  
asmai kṣatrāya mahi śarma yachatam ||

T2  
Jb

Let the supporter among the quarters support this kingdom, let the lap of the regions be strength rich in allies. O Mitra and Varuṇa, wise in the autumn of the days, let you two accord great protection to this kingdom!

dhartrī] **K**, dhatrī **Or** kṣatram] **Or**, kṣatram **K** idam] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, ida **RM** +dādhartūpasthāsānām] tādhatupastāsānā **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, tādhatupastāsānām **Mā**, dadhartu upastvāsānām **K** mitravat] **Or**, mittravad **K** astv ojaḥ] **RM K**, astojah **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa** mitrāvaruṇā] mitrāvaruṇā **Or**, mittrāvaruṇā **K** \*śaradāhnām] śaradāhnā **Or K** +cikitnū] cikitnu **[Ma]**, ciKITNU **Mā**, cikatnu **Ku Pa**, cikātū **JM RM**, jigarbhū **K** asmai] **Ku RM [Ma] Pa K**, Asmai **Mā**, asme **JM** kṣatrāya] **Or**, kṣatrāṇi **K** yachatam] **Or**, yaśchatam **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 7 Z **K**

TS 4.4.12.3

dhartrī diśām kṣatrām idām dādhāropasthāsānām mitravat astv ojaḥ |  
mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām cikitnū asmāi rāṣṭrāya māhi śarma yachatam ||

KS 22.14:70.7–8

yantrī diśām kṣatram idam dādhāropasthāsā mitravatīdam ojaḥ |  
mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām jigatnū adabdha kṣatram idam astv ojaḥ ||

MS 3.16.4:188.10–11

dhartrī diśām kṣatrām idām dādhāropasthāsānām mitravat astv ojaḥ |  
mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnā cikittām asme rāṣṭrāya māhi śarma yachatam ||

ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

dhartrī diśām kṣatram idam dādhāropasthāsā mitravat astv ojaḥ |  
mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām cikitvam asmai rāṣṭrāya mahi śarme yachatam ||

Bhattacharya edits *śaradāhnā* +*cikitnū* in c.

a. On the perfect form *dādhartu*, see KÜMMEL 2000: 262–263.

c. The emendation \**śaradāhnām* is suggested both by the parallel texts and by the parallel expressions found at 1.5b above (*prāvṛṣāhnām*) and 2.2b below (*saṁvatsareṇa ahnām*). See under 1.5b.

**15.1.8 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī]** TS 4.4.12.3 = MS 3.16.4:188.12–13 ≈ KS 22.14:70.9–10 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

vairāje \*sāmann adhi me manīṣā-  
-anuṣṭubhā sambhṛtaṁ vīryam +sahaḥ |  
idam kṣatram mitravat +ādradān<sub>v</sub> \*ojo  
mitrāvaruṇā rakṣatam ādhipatye ||

Tb  
Ja  
\*+<sup>o</sup>Ta  
T2

My mind is [intent] on the Vairāja Sāman. Through the Anuṣṭubh manly power has been collected. O Mitra and Varuṇa, you two must defend in supremacy this kingdom rich in allies, to which (heavenly) moisture is given, the strength!

\*samann] sāmāny **Pa Mā [Ma] K**, sāmāNY **Ku**, sāmānny **JM RM** manīṣānuṣṭubhā] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, manīṣā 'nuṣṭubhā **JM** sambhṛtaṁ] **Or**, sambhṛtaṁ **K** vīryaṁ] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, vīrya **Ku** +sahaḥ] saha **Or**, saḥ **K** kṣatraṁ mitravād] **Or**, kṣatraṁ mittravad **K** +ādradānv \*ojo] ādradāmnodā **[Ma]**, ādradāmnodā **Ku RM Mā Pa**, ādradānnodā **JM**, ānvoḥ **K** mitrāvaruṇā] mitrāvaruṇā **Or**, mitrāvaruṇā **K** rakṣatam] **Or**, rakṣatam **K** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 8 Z **K**

TS 4.4.12.3 = MS 3.16.4:188.12–13

vairāje sāmān adhi me manīṣānuṣṭubhā sambhṛtaṁ vīryaṁ sahaḥ |  
idān kṣatraṁ mitravād ādradānu mītrā varuṇā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ ||

KS 22.14:70.9–10

vairāje sāmān adhi me manīṣānuṣṭubhā sambhṛtaṁ duṣṭaraṁ sahaḥ |  
idān kṣatraṁ mitravād ādradānv ojo mītrā varuṇā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ ||

ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

vairāje sāmān adhi me manīṣānuṣṭubhā sambhṛtaṁ vīryaṁ sahaḥ |  
idān kṣatraṁ mitravād ādradānuṁ mītrā varuṇā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits +*ojā* in c.

a. All the manuscripts point to a locative *sāmāni*, but a caesura after the sixth syllable would be awkward, and this reading could easily be explained by perseveration from 15.1.6a. I prefer in both cases to have the form *samann*, which is found in all parallel passages as well. For the association of Mitra and Varuṇa with the Vairāja Sāman, see RV 10.130.5a *virāṇ mitrāvāruṇayor abhiśrīr* ‘The Virāj attached to Mitra and Varuṇa’.

b. For the connection of the Anuṣṭubh metre with the autumn season, see TS 7.1.18.1–2 *anuṣṭubhena tvā chāndasā yunajmi śarādā tvartúnā havīṣā dīkṣayāmi* ‘With the Anuṣṭubh as metre I yoke you, with the autumn season as oblation I consecrate you’. I translate the asyndetic expression *vīryaṁ sahaḥ* (lit. ‘manliness, power’) as a hendiadys.

c. On *ādradānu-*, see MYLIUS 1994: 191 note 387: “Dieses scheinbar keinen Sinn ergebende Attribut erklärt sich daraus, daß der Text, dem mantra entstammt, an der Grenze zum semiariden Gebiet Nordindiens entstand. Genügender Niederschlag gehörte daher in besonderem Maße zur vorteilhaften Ausstattung eines Reiches”. The accentuation in the TS and MS shows that this compound is a Bahuvrīhi, to be interpreted as *yāsmāi ādrām dānu dīyāte* ‘to which (heavenly) moisture is given’ or ‘which receives [abundant] moisture as a (heavenly) gift’. There is no doubt that wishing for abundant rain is concerned here, as confirmed by the use of *ādradānu-* in the difficult stanza ŚS 16.3.4 *vimokāś ca mādrāpaviś ca mā hāsiṣṭām ādradānuś ca mā mātariśvā ca mā hāsiṣṭām* ‘May the releaser and the one having wet tires not abandon me; may the one giving moisture as gift and Mātariśvan not abandon me’, where the compound evidently refers to a divine dispenser of rain. Nevertheless, as reasonable it may be, Mylius’s explanation fails to recognize the ritualistic background for the use of this compound. I think that, in our stanza, *ādradānu-* is used with special reference to the gods Mitra and Varuṇa, who in the next pāda are requested to secure the protection of the kingdom. Mitra and Varuṇa are called *dānunas pātī* ‘lords of the (heavenly) gift (= rain)’ in two Rgvedic passages, 1.136.3d *jyōtiṣmat kṣatrām āśāte ādityā dānunas pātī* ‘The two of them have obtained a brilliant kingdom, the two Ādityas, lords of the (heavenly) gift’ and 2.41.6ab *tā samrājā ghṛtāsutī ādityā dānunas pātī* ‘The two of them, sovereign kings, fed with ghee, the two Ādityas, lords of the (heavenly) gift’. Therefore it was natural for the redactor to qualify



the kingdom as ‘receiving moisture as a (heavenly) gift’ while asking to Mitra and Varuṇa, ‘lords of the (heavenly) gift’, to protect the kingdom itself.

Note also the close connection with the parallel line 1.6d: apart from the word *mitravad*, which is only in 1.8c, the two lines share the same pāda-initial *idaṁ kṣatram*, and also contain the etymologically related words *ojo* and *ugram*. Most striking of all is the similarity between \**salilavātām* in 6d and *ārdradānu* in 8c. Both highlight a geographical-meteorological feature of the kingdom: on the one hand, salty wind blowing from the sea; on the other hand, the heavenly gift of moisture.

At the end of the line, Bhattacharya edits <sup>+</sup>*ojā*. The TS and the MS seem to have preserved a better text, in which this word is lacking. The KS reads *ojo*, and I adopt this reading for the PS as well, even though all the manuscripts point to a final long *-ā*. At any rate, this word seems to be a secondary insertion.

**15.1.9 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī]** TS 4.4.12.3 ≈ KS 22.14:70.11–12 ≈ MS 3.16.4:188.14–189.1 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

saṁrāḍ diśāṁ <sup>+</sup> sahasāmnī sahasvaty	*Ja
ṛtur hemanto *viṣṭhayā naḥ pipartu	T2
oṣajātām bṛhatī ca śakvarī-	+J1
-imaṁ yajñam <sup>+</sup> avatān no ghṛtācī	Ta

Let the sovereign among the quarters, rich in Sāmans, victorious, let the winter season in its turn preserve us. Let the high and ... (?) Śakvarī verse, like ghee, help this worship of ours.

saṁrāḍ] **K**, saṁrāt **Ku JM Pa [Ma]**, sa{·}mrāt **RM**, saṁrāṭa **Mā** <sup>+</sup>sahasāmnī] sahasāmnī **JM RM Mā [Ma]**, sahasāmnā **Ku**, Sahasām· **Pa**, sahasamni **K** sahasvaty ṛtur] **JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, sahasvatyutur **Ku**, sahasvaTYṛtu **Pa** \*viṣṭhayā] viṣṭayā **Or**, viṣṇayā **K** naḥ] **Or**, naḥ **K** pipartu] piparttu **Or**, pipantu **K** oṣajātām] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] K**, oṣajā{ja}tām **JM**, oṣajā{·}(→ tām) **Pa** bṛhatī] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, bṛhat{i}ī **Pa** ca] **Or**, tu **K** <sup>+</sup>avatān] avatām **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, avatā **[Mā]**, amṛtān **K** ||] **Mā [Ma] Pa, | Ku JM RM, Z 9 Z K**

TS 4.4.12.3

saṁrāḍ diśāṁ sahasāmnī sahasvaty ṛtúr hemantó viṣṭháyā naḥ pipartu |  
avasyúvātāḥ bṛhatīr nú śakvarīr imám yajñám avantu no ghṛtācīḥ ||

KS 22.14:70.11–12

saṁrāḍ diśāṁ sahasāmnī sahasvaty ṛtur hemanto viṣṭhayā pipartu naḥ |  
avasyuvātā bṛhatī no śakvarīmaṁ yajñam avatu yā ghṛtācī ||

MS 3.16.4:188.14–189.1

saṁrāḍ diśāṁ sahasāmnī sahasvaty ṛtúr hemantó viṣṭháyā naḥ pipartu |  
avasyúvātā bṛhatī ná śakvarī diśāṁ tevy àvatu no ghṛtācī ||

ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

saṁrāḍ diśāṁ sahasāmnī sahasvaty ṛtur hemanto viṣṭhayā naḥ pipartu |  
avasyuvātā bṛhatī nu śakvarīmaṁ yajñam avatu no ghṛtācī ||

Bhattacharya edits *oṣajātām* and *tu* in **c**.

a. Note the word play between the two forms *sahasāmnī* and *sahasvaty*, both beginning with the sound sequence *s-a-h-a-s-*.

b. The emendation to *\*viṣṭhayā* has been proposed by Bhattacharya. On the meaning of *viṣṭhā-*, see SCARLATA 1999: 655–656.

c. The parallel texts have *avasyuvātā* ‘with favouring wind, having a wind desirous of helping’, referring to the Śakvarī verses. This reading, which is also better for the metre (note the wrong cadence in PS), conforms to the content of other stanzas, in which a particular wind is called to secure the protection of the kingdom (cf. 1.2d?, 1.4d, 1.6d, 2.1b, 2.4d). I cannot offer a good solution for the problematic reading of the PS, which is difficult both morphologically and semantically. There cannot be a feminine accusative here, and the form should therefore be emended to *\*oṣajātā* (referring to śakvarī) or *\*oṣajātām* (referring to yajñam). The position in the verse and the fact that there is an epithet of the Śakvarī verses in the parallel texts offer evidence in favour of the first emendation. As to the meaning, *\*oṣajāta-* would literally mean ‘born from burning’, but this meaning is not satisfactory at all.

Another attractive solution would be to assume that a wind is concerned here, as in the parallel texts, and to emend the text to *\*oṣavāta-* ‘burning wind’, a formation comparable to *salilavāta-* (found at 1.6d above) and *avasyuvāta-*. The translation would be as follows: ‘Let the two high Śakvarī verses, with burning wind...’.

Bhattacharya edits the reading of **K** *tu*, reporting the variant *ca* only for **Ma**; the reading *ca*, however, is clear also in **Mā** and in all the other Orissa manuscripts, so I adopt it in the text, as syntactically more fitting than *tu*.

d. I slightly emend the text of the majority of the Orissa manuscripts to *avatān*, 3<sup>rd</sup> singular imperative future.

**15.1.10 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī]** TS 4.4.12.4 ≈ KS 22.14:70.13–14 ≈ MS 3.16.4:189.2–3 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

s <sub>u</sub> varvatī sudughā naḥ payasvatī	Ja
diśām dev <sub>i</sub> y avatu no ghṛtācī	+ #Ta
t <sub>u</sub> vām gopāḥ puraetota paścād	*Ta
bṛhaspate yām <sub>i</sub> yām yuñdhi vācam	*Ta

Let the one full of light, which easily yields milk for us, rich in milk, the goddess of the quarters, like ghee, help us. You [are] the shepherd, you go in front and behind. O Bṛhaspati, yoke Yama’s voice!

naḥ] Or, na **K** bṛhaspate] **JM RM Mā** [Ma] **Pa K**, bṛhasp{e}ate **Ku** yāmyām] **Ku JM RM Mā** [Ma] **K**, yām<·> **Pa** yuñdhi] **Ku JM RM Mā** [Ma], <·> **Pa**, yugdhi **K** vācam] vācam **Ku JM RM Mā** [Ma] **K**, <·>cam **Pa** ||] || ṛ 10 || 1 || **Ku JM**, | ṛ | 1 | **RM**, || 1 || ṛ 10 || **Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, Z 10 Z kāṇḍāḥ 1 Z **K**

TS 4.4.12.4

sūvarvatī sudūghā naḥ pāyasvatī diśām devy āvatu no ghṛtācī |  
tvām gopāḥ puraetotā paścād bṛhaspate yāmyām yuñgdhi vācam ||

KS 22.14:70.13–14

svarvatī sudughā yā payasvatīmaṁ yajñam avatu yā ghṛtācī |  
tvām no gopā avitota yantā bṛhaspate yāmyām yuñgdhi vācam ||

MS 3.16.4:189.2–3

svàrvatī sudúghā naḥ páyasvatīmáñ yajñám avatu yá ghṛtácī |  
tvám gopāḥ puraetótá paścād bṛhaspate yāmyāñ yuñgdhi vācam ||

ĀsvŚS 4.12.2

svarvatī sudughā naḥ payasvatī diśāñ yajñam avatu no ghṛtācī |  
tvam gopā puraetota paścād bṛhaspate yābhyāñ yundhi vācam ||

c. For the construction of *puraetar-* with adverbs, see TICHY 1995: 358–359. This epithet refers to Bṛhaspati at ŚS 7.8.1b = PS 20.4.2b and, in the PS only, at 1.71.2a, 4.10.1b, 19.38.14b, 20.25.8b.

d. I take *yāmyām* as a feminine accusative singular from the adjective *yāmya-*, connected with *vācam*. The adjective *yāmya-* means ‘relating or belonging to Yama’, the king of the dead, as well as ‘southern’, as Yama’s abode was traditionally situated in the South. Another possible translation would be ‘a southern voice’, but then the meaning would be unclear.

TICHY 1995: 359 translates our pāda ‘Bṛhaspati, spanne die Rede zur Ausfahrt an!’ and suggests that “Einen Hinweis auf die Bedeutung von *yāmya-* gibt der Mantra *námo yāmyāya ca kṣémyāya ca* ‘Verehrung dem, der auf Fahrt ist und der sich ruhig niedergelassen hat’ VS XVI 33; MS II 9, 6 :125,5; TS IV 5,6,1”; this meaning, however, is rather unsatisfactory, since there is no need to take the two names in the dative, which are part of a longer list, as antonym. Moreover, Tichy’s translation of *yāmya-* suggests a connection of this form with the root *yā-* ‘to go’, which is problematic (see KEWA III, 8).

The manuscripts of the KS read *yāmyā*, which von Schroeder emended to *yāmyām* according to the parallel texts. Ved. Var. III, 302 takes the KS form as an instrumental singular from *yāmī-*, adding that the instrumental fits well with verbal expression of joining; the translation given there, however, does not really help the interpretation: “the instr. is perfectly sound: ‘yoke up holy speech in (with) *yāmī*’, whatever *yāmī* may mean”.

## 15.2. For the protection of the kingdom (continued)

**15.2.1 [Triṣṭubh]** ≈ TS 4.4.12.4 ≈ KS 22.14:70.17–18 ≈ MS 3.16.4:189.6–7 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

stomaikaviṁśe bhuvanasya patni	Tb
*vivasvadvāte abhi no gr̥ṇīhi	Tb
ghṛtavatī savitar ādhipatye	+(#)Ta
payasvatī rantir āśā no astu	Ta

O you having the twenty-onefold as a Stoma, lady of the world, with the Vivasvant wind, be propitious to us. O Savitar, let the region, [our] delight, be in supremacy, full of ghee, full of milk for us.

stomaikaviṁśe] **Ku JM RM K**, staumaikaviṁśe **Pa Mā [Ma]** bhuvanasya] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, bhuVANAsya **Ku** patni] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, patnī **Ku**, pattri **K** \*vivasvadvāte] vivasvadvāte **Or**, viśvadvāte **K** savitar ādhipatye] **Or**, savitādhitye **K** āśā] **K**, āśā **Or** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 1 Z **K**

TS 4.4.12.4

stomatrayastrimśe bhūvanasya patni vīvasvadvāte abhī naḥ gr̥ṇīhi |  
ghṛtavatī savitar ādhipatyaiḥ pāyasvatī rāntir āśā no astu ||

KS 22.14:70.17–18

stomatrayastrimśe bhuvanasya patni vīvasvadvāte abhi no gr̥ṇīhi |  
ghṛtavatī savitur ādhipatye payasvatī rantir āśā no astu ||

MS 3.16.4:189.6–7

stōmastrayastrimśe bhūvanasya pātnī vīvasvadvāte abhī no gr̥ṇīhi |  
ghṛtavatī savitūr ādhipatye pāyasvatī rāntir āśā no astu ||

ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

stomatrayastrimśe bhuvanasya patnī vīvasvadvāte abhi no gr̥ṇīhi |  
ghṛtavatī savitar ādhipatye payasvatī rantir āśā no astu ||

Bhattacharya edits *vīvasvadvāte* in **b**.

**a.** Note that the PS mentions the *ekaviṁśa* Stoma instead of the *trayastrimśa* Stoma of the other texts. This is no doubt an innovation, as the Revat Sāman mentioned in the next stanza consists of 33 verses, so its association with the 33-fold Stoma is natural. There is no need to think that the Paippalādins had a particular reason for changing the Yajurvedic text: as stated by GONDA 1987b: 540 [= 1991: 479] “the *ekaviṁśa-stoma*, a form of chanting *stotras* in which the stanzas are increased to this number, is a frequent object of ritualistic speculation”. On the word *bhūvana-*, see GONDA 1967.

The ‘lady of the world’ is probably the upward quarter mentioned in the following stanza.

**b.** The erroneous reading *vīvasvadvāte* is certainly due to perseveration from PS 2.36.5a and PS 5.7.2a, where the word *viśvadvāta-* ‘a wind blowing from all directions’ is attested (note that **K** reads *viśvadvāte* at PS 2.36.5a and *viśvadvāto* at PS 5.7.2a). I emend the text according to the parallel passages. The meaning of *vīvasvadvāta-* is uncertain (MW ‘(prob.) loved by Vivasvat’, Keith ‘breathed on by Vivasvat’), but it seems that here again a wind is concerned.

**15.2.2 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ TS 4.4.12.4 ≈ KS 22.14:70.15–16 ≈ MS 3.16.4:189.4–5 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2**

ūrdhvā diśāṁ rantir āśauṣadhīnām	Ta
saṁvatsareṇa savitā no ahnām	Tb
revat sāmānām pañktiś chandasām	T1c
ajātaśatruḥ syonā no astu	+ #Tb

Let the upward one among the quarters, the delight, the region of the herbs, let Savitar during the year of days [protect] us. Let the Revat among the Sāmans, the fivefold one among the metres, unrivalled, be gentle to us.

ūrdhvā] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, urdvā **Pa** āśauṣadhīnām] **K**, āśauṣadhīnām **Or** saṁvatsareṇa] **JM Pa K**, saṁvatsareṇa **RM**, saṁvat sareṇa **Ku Mā [Ma]** ahnām] **K**, ahnā **Ku RM Mā [Ma]**, {ā}ahnā **JM**, Ahnā **Pa** pañktiś] pañktiḥ **Ku Mā [Ma]**, pañktiś **JM**, pakti **RM**, paktiḥ **Pa**, pañktis **K** chandasām] **Ku RM Pa Mā K**, cha{sā}ndasām **JM**, chandasā **[Ma]** ajātaśatruḥ] **Ku RM Pa [Ma]**, ajātaśatruḥ **JM Mā**, ajātaśatrus **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z Z Z **K**

TS 4.4.12.4

ūrdhvā diśāṁ rāntir āśauṣadhīnām saṁvatsarēṇa savitā no áhnām |  
revát sāmátichandā u chándó 'jātaśatruḥ syonā no astu ||

KS 22.14.70:15–16

ūrdhvā diśāṁ rantir āśauṣadhīnām saṁvatsareṇa savitā no ahnām |  
revat sāmāticchandā u cchando 'jātaśatrus suhavo na edhi ||

MS 3.16.4:189.4–5

ūrdhvā diśāṁ rantir āśauṣadhīnām saṁvatsarēṇa savitā no áhnā |  
revát sāmátichandā u chándó 'jātaśatruḥ syonā no astu ||

ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

ūrdhvām diśāṁ rantir āśauṣadhīnām saṁvatsareṇa savitā no ahnām |  
raivat sāmāticchandā u cchando ajātaśatruḥ syonā no astu ||

Bhattacharya edits *ahnā* in **b** and <sup>+</sup>*pañktiś* in **c**.

**b.** The reading *ahnā* of **Or** is also the reading of the MS; see under 1.5b. On the problem of the word for ‘year’ occurring in the instrumental, see GONDA 1984a: 34 ff.

**c.** The “+”-sign before *pañktiś* is unnecessary. Note that this is a catalectic Triṣṭubh pāda. This pāda is found in a Triṣṭubh stanza together with three hendecasyllables. From a general point of view, it is not uncommon to find pādas of ten syllables among hendecasyllables — a phenomenon that appears to be increasingly common in the AV. Moreover, this verse could be scanned as a Triṣṭubh pāda by reading *chandasāām*, but this restoration would produce an irregular cadence, which suggests that in this case an interpretation as a “Pentadenreihe” is preferable. This hypothesis is also supported by the wordplay on the number “five” created by the mention of the Pañkti (lit. “a set of five”) metre that follows the caesura, pointing to a division of the line into 5 + 5 syllables. This is surely a secondary development in relation to the parallel texts, which mention the Atichandas metre, whose position after the Pañkti metre is more appropriate.

In order to understand why this pāda was intentionally composed as a decasyllable and that the redactor had a specific purpose in mind, one has to consider the context of the whole hymn. One of the major roles in the axiological systematization of the universe as described in this hymn is indeed represented by the various forms of metre. It is very attractive to think that the redactor tried to reproduce the concept expressed by his poetic words (the mention of a specific metre, Pañkti), in the concrete shape of their metrical form (a “Pentadenreihe”).<sup>39</sup>

d. The adjective *syonā* is in grammatical agreement with *pañktiś*, which is feminine, but refers *ad sensum* also to *revat*.

### 15.2.3 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ TS 4.4.12.5 ≈ MS 3.16.4:190.1–2, ab: ≈ KS 22.14:71.1 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

<sup>+</sup> viṣṭambho divo dharuṇaḥ pṛthivyā	+Tb
asyeśānā jagato viṣṇupatnī	Ta
viśvavyacā iṣayantī suhūtiḥ	Ta
syonā no astv aditer upasthe	*Tb

The prop of the sky, supporter of the earth, mistress of this world, wife of Viṣṇu; all-extending, arousing, easily-invoked, let her be gentle to us, in the lap of Aditi.

<sup>+</sup>viṣṭambho] viṣṭamvo **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, vimvo [**Mā**], viṣkambho **K** dharuṇaḥ] dhaṛṇaḥ **Ku**, dhaṛṇaḥ **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, daruṇaḥ **K** pṛthivyā] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, pṛthivya **JM** asyeśānā] **Or**, yasyeśānā **K** iṣayantī] **Or**, ṛṣayantī **K** suhūtiḥ] **JM**, suhūti **RM**, suhutiḥ **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, sahoḇhiḥ **K** syonā] **Or**, syono **K** astv] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, asastv **Pa** aditer upasthe] **K**, aditeṛpasthe **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, adit(+e)ṛPAshe **Pa** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

TS 4.4.12.5

viṣṭambhó divó dharúṇaḥ pṛthivyā asyésānā jágato víṣṇupatnī |  
viśváyvacā iṣáyantī súbhūtiḥ śivá no astv áditir upásthe ||

MS 3.16.4:190.1–2

viṣṭambhó divó dharúṇā pṛthivyā asyésānā jágato víṣṇupatnī |  
vyácasvatīṣáyantī súbhūtiḥ śivá no astv áditer upásthe ||

KS 22.14:71.1

viṣṭambho divo dharuṇaḥ pṛthivyā asyésānā sahaso viṣṇupatnī

ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

viṣṭambho divo dharuṇaḥ pṛthivyā asyeśānā jagato viṣṇupatnī |  
vyacaksvatīṣáyantī súbhūtiḥ śivá no astv áditer upásthe ||

Bhattacharya edits *suhutiḥ* in c.

c. The reading *suhutiḥ* of Bhattacharya’s edition makes no sense and produces an irregular cadence. I adopt the text of **JM** *suhūtiḥ*, which features a regular cadence and for which see PS 1.95.1ab *rudra mā tvā jihīdāma suṣṭutyā maghavan mā* <sup>+</sup>*suhūtyā* ‘O Rudra, we don’t want to make you angry, with an excellent praise, O bountiful, with a good invocation/oblation’, ŚS 7.4.1a = PS 20.1.10a *ékayā ca daśábhiś cā suhūte* ‘With one and with ten, O easily-invoked

<sup>39</sup> For this method of metrical analysis, I refer to KNOBL 2007, 2008, 2009.

one’ and the hapax *suhūṭala-* attested at PS 5.1.3a *hā amba suhūṭale* ‘Hey, mother Suhūṭalā (easy to invoke)’.

Another possibility would be to emend the text to *\*subhūṭih*, according to the parallel texts.

**15.2.4 [Triṣṭubh]** TS 4.4.12.5 = ĀśvŚS 4.12.2 ≈ MS 3.16.4:189.15–16, cd: KS 22.14:71.2

dhruvā diśāṁ viṣṇupatny aghorā-	T1
-asyeśānā sahaso yā manotā	Ta
bṛhaspatir mātariśvota vāyuh	Ta
sāṁdhānā vātā abhi no gr̥ṇantu	Tb

Let the steady one among the quarters, wife of Viṣṇu, undisturbing, the mistress and disposer of this strength, let Bṛhaspati, Mātariśvan and Vāyu, the winds joining together be propitious to us.

dhruvā] **K**, dhṛvā **Ku RM Mā [Ma]**, dhṛvām **JM**, DHṛVĀ **Pa**, viṣṇupatny aghorāsyēśānā] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, viṣṇupatnī ghorāsyēśānā **Ku**, viṣṇupatnaghorāsyēśānā **K** yā] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K**, jā **JM RM** bṛhaspatir] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, bṛha)s(pa)tir **Pa** mātariśvota] **Ku RM Mā [Ma]**, mātari{··}śvota **JM**, mātariś(v)ota **Pa**, marutosyota **K** vāyuh] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, vāy(u)h **Pa** sāṁdhānā] **Ku K**, sandhānā **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa** abhi] **Or**, api **K** no] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, to (→ no) **Ku**, nas **K** gr̥ṇantu] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, gṛṇ(i)an(tu) **Pa**, kṛnotu **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K**

TS 4.4.12.5 = ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

dhruvā diśāṁ viṣṇupatny āghorāsyēśānā sāhaso yā manotā |  
bṛhaspātir mātariśvotā vāyūh sāṁdhvānā vātā abhi no gr̥ṇantu ||

MS 3.16.4:189.15–16

dhruvā diśāṁ viṣṇupatny āghorāsyēśānā sāhaso yā manotā |  
bṛhaspātir mātariśvotā vāyūh sāṁdhvānā vātā abhi no gr̥ṇantu ||

KS 22.14:71.2

bṛhaspatir mātariśvota vāyus sāṁdhvānā vātā abhi no gr̥ṇantu ||

**d.** Note that all the parallel texts read *sāṁdhvānā* ‘(the winds) whistling together’, which is clearly the *lectio difficilior* in comparison with *sāṁdhānā* ‘(the winds) joining together’, found in the PS and in one manuscript (P) of the MS.

**15.2.5 [Triṣṭubh]** ab: TS 4.6.2.1 ≈ MS 2.10.3:134.7 ≈ KS 18.1:265.10 = KapKS 28.2:121.16;  
cd ≈ TS 4.6.2a; a: cf. ṚV 10.82.3a, ŚS 2.1.3a, cd: ṚV 10.81.1cd = TS 4.6.2.1 = KS  
18.1:265.4 = KapKS 28.2:121.10–11, MS 2.10.2:133.1–2 = VSM 17.17

yo naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhartā	Ta
yo naḥ sato abhiy ā saj jajāna	*Ta
sa āśiṣā draviṇam ichamānaḥ	+ #Ta
prathamachado (')vara ā viveśa	+ Tb

He who [is] our father, our begetter, who [is] our supporter, who begot us from being into being, he seeking wealth with prayer entered into the favour of the first coverer.

naḥ] **Or**, naḥ **K** naḥ sato] **Or**, nas svato **K** ā saj jajāna] **JM RM [Ma]**, a saj janā(→jā)na **Ku**, ā saj ⟨?⟩jāna **Pa**, ā saj jāna **[Mā]**, ā saj janāna **K** draviṇam] **JM RM [Ma]** **K**, draviṇa{h}m **Ku**, draviṇam mi **[Mā]**, ·Viṇam **Pa** ichamānaḥ] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, i⟨ch⟩amānaḥ **Pa**, išchamānaḥ **K** prathamachado] **Ku JM RM [Ma]** **Pa**, prathachado **[Mā]**, prathamas sa no **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma]** **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

TS 4.6.2.1 ≈ MS 2.10.3:134.7

yó naḥ pitā janitā yó vidhātā (MS vidhartā) yó naḥ sató abhy ā sāj jajāna ||

KS 18.1:265.10 = KapKS 28.2:121.16

yó naḥ pitā janitā yó vidhātā yó nas (KapKS naḥ) sató abhy ā sán nināya |

ṚV 10.81.1 = TS 4.6.2.1 = KS 18.1:265.3–4 = KapKS 28.2:121.10–11 = MS 2.10.2:133.1–2 = VSM 17.17

yā imā víśvā bhúvanāni júhvaḍ ḥsir hótā ny áśīdat (TS niśasāsā) pitā naḥ |

sā āśīṣā draviṇam ichāmānaḥ prathamachād (TS, KS paramachād) ávaraṁ ā viveśa ||

**ad.** This stanza marks the transition from the first part to the second part of the composition. The comparison with the parallel texts clearly shows that, in this case, the source of the PS is the TS, in which this stanza is recited during an oblation to Viśvakarman. All the Yajurvedic recensions have taken this stanza from the ṚV, but while the KS, MS and VSM have preserved exactly the same readings as the ṚV, the TS (and, accordingly, the PS) has a different and inferior text in the last line, one whose meaning is difficult to explain. Keith (1914: 365) translates pādas **cd**, ‘He seeking wealth with prayer hath entered into the boon of the first of coverers’, adding in a footnote that “the exact sense is uncertain”. The Ṛgvedic passage, which is about the poet described as creator of all existing things, offers a better sense, and was rendered by Geldner, ‘Er ist, mit seiner Bitte Reichtum wünschend, in die spätere (Geschöpfe) eingegangen, während er die ersten verhüllt’, and by AMBROSINI 1981: 81, “Tendendo col desiderio al proprio bene, si è incarnato negli ultimi, lasciando che i primi restassero velati”. Both interpret the opposition between *prathama*- and *avara*- in cosmic terms, so that the meaning would be that recent things, having just been created, can be understood, while the origin of the world remains hidden. Griffith interprets *avara*- in a local sense, and his translation, ‘He, seeking through his wish a great possession, came among men on earth as archetypal,’ is probably less accurate. The text of the TS and of the PS is secondary, syntactically ambiguous and not clear as regards the meaning. As I argued in the introduction to these hymns, it is likely that this and the following three stanzas — whose ritual character is evident — were added after the invocations of the previous stanzas as an appendix aiming to make the oblations effective, and to set them in the more specific ritual context that they lacked in the first place.

**15.2.6 [Uṣṇih]** ≈ TS 4.2.7.1 ≈ KS 16.14:237.3–4 = KapKS 25.5:98.9–10 = MS 2.7.14:95.3–4 = VSM 12.103

abhy ā vartasva pṛthivi

#A

yajñena payasā saha |

A

\*vapām te agnir iṣito (')va rohatu ||

Jb

Turn towards [us], O Earth, together with worship, with milk. Let Agni, aroused, descend over your caul.



vartasva] **K**, varttasva **Or** pr̥thivi] **K** (*sec. m.* → vī), pr̥thivī **Or** \*vapām te] apām to **Ku Pa [Ma]**, apān to **RM [Mā]**, apān co **JM**, apāmsa te **K** iṣito] **Or**, iṣato **K** va] **Or**, vi **K** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 6 Z K**

TS 4.2.7.1

abhyāvartasva pr̥thivi yajñéna páyasā sahá |  
vapām te agnīr iṣitó 'va sarpatu ||

KS 16.14:237.3–4 = KapKS 25.5:98.9–10 = MS 2.7.14:95.3–4 = VSM 12.103

abhyā vartasva pr̥thivi yajñéna páyasā sahá |  
vapām te agnīr iṣitó arohat ||

Bhattacharya edits *pr̥thivī* in **a** and *apānto* in **c**.

**a.** Bhattacharya follows the readings of the Orissa manuscripts *pr̥thivī*, but **K**, *prima manu*, has *pr̥thivi* (then corrected to *pr̥thivī* by the scribe). The vocative is no doubt correct here.

**c.** I emend the text according to the readings of the TS, KS, MS and VSM. The word *vapā-* indicates the omentum, a fatty membrane that covers the intestines and part of the viscera of a male goat and is offered during the animal sacrifice. The emendation is not certain, but the form *apām/apān* (genitive plural ‘of the waters’?) found in the manuscripts seems impossible. The word *vapā-* also occurs at RVKh 2.14.6b, and then only from the YV onwards. In the RV it is attested only as the first member of a compound; cf. the formations *vapāvant-* ‘furnished with or enveloped in the omentum’ (5.43.7b, 6.1.3d), *vapódara-* ‘fat-bellied, corpulent’ (8.17.8a).

Note that the PS has a 3<sup>rd</sup> singular imperative like the TS, but of the same verb as the other Yajurvedic Samhitās.

**15.2.7 [Gāyatrī] ≈ TS 4.2.7.1 ≈ KS 16.14:237.5–6 = KapKS 25.5:98.11–12 = VSM 12.104 ≈ MS 2.7.14:95.5–6**

yad agne candram yat pūtam	#A
yac chukram yac ca yajñīyam	A
tad devebhyo bharāmasi	A

O Agni, that which is shining, which is pure, which is bright and which is worthy of worship, that we bring to the gods.

pūtam] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, yūtam **RM** yac chukram] **Ku JM Mā [Ma]**, yac chūkrām **RM**, ya chukram **Pa**, yaś chukram **K** yac ca] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, ya ca **Ku**, yaś ca **K** yajñīyam] **Or**, jajñīyam **K** devebhyo] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, debhyo **[Mā]** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 7 Z K**

TS 4.2.7.1

agne yāt te śukrām yac candrām yāt pūtam yād yajñīyam |  
tād devébhyo bharāmasi ||

KS 16.14:237.5–6 = KapKS 25.5:98.11–12 = VSM 12.104 ≈ MS 2.7.14:95.5–6

agne yāt te śukrām yac candrām yāt pūtam yād yajñīyam |  
tād devébhyo bharāmasi ||

**ab.** The PS leaves out the enclitic *te* and slightly rearranges the relative clauses of the other Samhitā versions, making only one of the four clauses change position (1234 > 2314); as a result, the metre becomes a regular Anuṣṭubh.

**15.2.8 [Triṣṭubh]** ≈ TS 4.2.7.1 ≈ KS 16.14:237.7–8 ≈ MS 2.7.14:95.7–8 ≈ VSM 12.104 ≈ KapKS 25.5:98.13–14

iṣam ūrjam aham ata ādi	(+)#T1
yajñasya yonau mahiṣasya dhāman	Tb
ā no goṣu *viśatv ā prajāyām	+ #Ta
jahāmi sedim anirām amīvām	Tb

From there I have taken the food for myself, the nourishment, in the womb of the worship, in the abode of the buffalo. Let it enter into our cattle, into [our] offspring. I abandon weariness, lack of nourishment, disease.

ūrjam aham ata ādi] **Or**, ūrjasābhṛtā **K** yonau] **Or**, yonā **K** mahiṣasya dhāman] **Or**, mahiṣasva dhāman **K** \*viśatv] viśastv **Or** **K** prajāyām] **Ku** **JM** **RM** **Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, prajā{nana}yām **Pa** sedim] **Ku** **RM** **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, {j}sedim **JM**, sedhim **K** anirām] **Or**, ajarām **K** amīvām] amīvām [**Mā**] **K**, amivām **Ku** **JM** **RM** **Pa**, mamivām [**Ma**] ||] || १ 8 || **Ku**, || १ 8 || 2 || **JM**, | १ | 2 | **RM**, || 2 || १ 8 || **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, Z 8 Z kā 2 Z **K**

TS 4.2.7.1

iṣam ūrjam ahām itā ādada ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yóneḥ |  
ā no goṣu viśatv āuśadhīṣu jáhāmi sedím ánirām ámīvām ||

KS 16.14:237.7–8

iṣam ūrjam aham ita ādy ṛtasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām |  
ā no goṣu viśatv ā tanūṣu jahāmi sedim anirām amīvām ||

MS 2.7.14:95.7–8

iṣam ūrjam ahām itā ādi ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yónim |  
ā no goṣu viśatv óśadhīṣu jáhāmi sedím ánirām ámīvām ||

VSM 12.104

iṣam ūrjam ahām itā ādam ṛtasya yónim mahiṣasya dhārām |  
ā mā goṣu viśatv ā tanūṣu jáhāmi sedím ánirām ámīvām ||

KapKS 25.5:98.13–14

iṣam ūrjam aham ita ādam ṛtasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām |  
ā no goṣu viśatv ā tanūṣu jahāmi sedim anirām amīvām ||

Bhattacharya edits *viśastvā* in c.

**a.** On the sequence *iṣam ūrjam*, see MINKOWSKI 1989: 10 (with notes). This sequence is very frequent in the PS: besides this passage, it occurs at PS 1.106.5d, 6a, 5.15.2d, 5.28.3d, 5.31.8c, 7.15.9b, 19.26.1b. On the rout noun *iṣ-*, see BURROW 1955: 326–332 and GONDA 1989b.

**c.** I emend the reading of all the manuscripts *viśastvā* in accordance with the parallel passages.

**d.** For some remarks on the word *sedī-* and its connection with *(an)írā-*, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 445–446. On *ámīvā-* see ZYSK 1985: 313–314 and 2009: 49–53. The sequence *anirām amīvām*

occurs at RV 7.71.2c *yuyutám asmád ánirām ámīvām* ‘May you two (Aśvins) keep away from us lack of nourishment, disease’; cf. also RV 8.48.11a *ápa tyá asthur ánirā ámīvā* ‘Those lacks of nourishment [and] diseases disappeared’ and RV 10.37.4cd = PS 17.25.7cd *ténāsmád víśvām ánirām ánāhutim ápāmīvām ápa duṣvápnyaṁ suva* ‘with that, drive off from us every lack of nourishment, worthless sacrifice, [drive] off disease, [drive] off the nightmare’.

Note the variant in **K**, which reads *ajarām* ‘unaging’ instead of *ánirām*.

### 15.3. Against various diseases and witchcraft: with the Traikakuda ointment

PS 15.3 and 4 belong together and are parallel to ŚS 19.44–45. Barret already argued that “the readings given by the Ś manuscripts and commentators indicate that this is one of the hymns of Ś 19 which were taken from Pāipp.” (on the relation between kāṇḍa 19 of the ŚS and the PS, see GRIFFITHS 2009: XXXV–XXXVII). A closer comparison of the two versions reveals indeed that the PS has preserved a more original text (see my comment under 3.1d, 4.2c, 4.4c) and, where the ŚS seems better, this is clearly due to secondary improvements (see my comment under 3.3d, 3.7a, 3.8; in such cases, the erroneous readings of the PS can generally be explained as graphic mistakes).

According to the commentary on the ŚS, this hymn is applied, together with an ointment (*āñjana*), in a *mahāsānti* ceremony called *nairṛtī*, when one is seized by ‘destruction’ (*nirṛti*; see AV-Śāntikalpa 16.1; 17.5; 19.7, BOLLING 1904: 117–120 and GONDA 1978: 18). The stanza 15.3.4 is quoted in KauśS 47.16, where it is recited during a witchcraft ceremony (see my comment *ad locum*).

In my opinion, the most significant fact is that stanzas PS 15.4.4 and PS 15.4.6–10 suggest that this hymn was originally intended to be used during a royal ceremony or at least that the king was involved in the ritual as a patient, which would explain why we find this hymn here at the beginning of this kāṇḍa, within a compact collection of royal hymns (see Introduction). Concatenating links with the preceding hymns are particularly numerous: *pr̥thivyām* in 3.1a concatenates with *pr̥thivyā* in 2.3a and *pr̥thivi* in 2.6a; *vātaḥ* in 3.5c with *vātena* in 1.4d, *vātā* in 2.4d and *vivasvadvāte* in 2.1b; *payah* in 3.5c with *payasvatī* in 1.10a, 2.1d and *payasā* in 2.6b; *viśvataḥ* in 3.6b with *viśvato* in 1.3d; *amīvāḥ* in 3.7c (and in the compound *amīvacātana-* in 3.7b) with *amīvām* in 2.8d; *goṣu* in 4.2b with *goṣu* in 2.8c, *ūrja* in 4.3a with *ūrjam* in 2.8a; *ojaso* in 4.3a and *ojase* in 4.6b (and in the refrain of the following stanzas) with *ojaḥ* in 1.2d, 1.7b, *ojo* in 1.5c, 1.8c; *diśo* in 4.4b with many forms of the name *diś-* found in the preceding hymns (*digbhyah* in 1.1.a, *diśām* in 1.3a, 5a, 7a etc.); *dhruvas* in 4.4c with *dhruvā* in 2.4a; the sequence *pātv asmān* in 4.5d occurs in the same position (cadence of a Triṣṭubh line) also in 1.1b, 1.1d, 1.2a; *varcasa* in 4.6a (and in the refrain of the following stanzas) concatenates with *varca* in 1.4c; *avatu* and *avantu* in 4.6a–4.10a with *\*avatān* in 1.9d and *avatu* in 1.10b. Finally, the hymns are linked through the mention of the gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, Indra and Savitar.

The hymns ŚS 19.44–45 were translated by GRIFFITH 1895–96: 246–248, WHITNEY 1905: 966–972, ELIZARENKOVA 1976: 80 ff., SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 236f.

PS 15.3–4 and ŚS 19.44–45 were recently treated in detail by KULIKOV forthc., a study to which my translation and notes constantly refer (Kulikov’s study is particularly useful also for the effort towards the possible botanical identifications of the plant(s) used for preparing the Traikakuda ointment).

#### 15.3.1 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 19.44.1

āyuso (‘)si pratarāṇam	#A
vipraṁ bheṣajam ucyase	A
tad āñjana tvam śāntāte	#A
+asi māyobhavaṁ kṛtam	A

You are one who enables to reach longevity, you are called seer, a remedy. So, O beneficent ointment, you are made an enjoyment.

bheṣajam] **Or**, bhejam **K** tad āñjana] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, tad āñjan, **Pa**, yad āñjani **K** tvam] **Or**, bhram **K** śantāte] **K**, santāte **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, santate **Pa** <sup>†</sup>asi] si **Or**, aśi **K** māyobhavam] **Or**, nāmyobhavam **K** kṛtam] kṛtaṁ || **Ku JM Mā [Ma]** **Pa**, kṛtaṁ | **RM**, kṛtam, 1 Z **K**

ŚS 19.44.1

āyuso 'si pratāraṇam vipram bheṣajam ucyase |  
tad āñjana tvam śantāte śam āpo ābhayaṁ kṛtam ||

Bhattacharya edits *śantāte* in **c** (this reading is erroneously ascribed to **K** in his critical apparatus).

a. On *pratāraṇa-*, see KIM 2010: 299. For the meaning of the expression *āyus prá tṛ-*, see GEIB 1975 (cf. also PS 15.6.6d, 7b, 8d, 15.12.10d). As regards the syntactic uses of this formula, Geib quotes “die einmal im ṚV belegte nominale Wendung der Formel: 10, 100, 5b *bṛhaspate pratarītāsi āyuṣaḥ*”, and adds very pertinently that “in dieser nominale Konstruktion vertritt der Gen. *āyuṣaḥ* das direkte Objekt der Handlung. Die nominale Konstruktion setzt also eine verbale voraus, in welcher *āyus* als direktes Objekt der Handlung erscheint”. Geib’s research being restricted to the ṚV, he makes no mention of the nominal construction with *pratāraṇa-*, which is found only from the AV onwards. The context is however the same, and the expression *āyuso 'si pratāraṇa-* can be considered synonymous with *pratarītāsi āyuṣaḥ*. Cf. also the compound *āyuspratāraṇa-*, which at ŚS 4.10.4d = PS 4.25.6d refers to an amulet and is another example of a nominal construction of the verbal formula *āyus prá tṛ-*.

b. All the ŚS and PS manuscripts (and also the commentary to the ŚS) read unanimously *vipram bheṣajam*. Surprisingly enough, R-W emended the transmitted text to *viśvábheṣajam*, and the translations based on this edition run as follows: GRIFFITH 1895–6: 300 ‘universal Cure’, WHITNEY 1905: 966 ‘all-healing’. SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 236, following the edition of Viśva Bandhu, who maintains the texts of the manuscripts, translate ‘il saggio rimedio’. Although it is true that the compound *viśvábheṣaja-* is often referred to amulets, medicinal plants, ointments and other remedies (cf. e.g. ṚV 1.23.20d, 10.60.12c = ŚS 4.13.6c, 10.137.3c ≈ ŚS 4.13.3c, ŚS 2.4.3c, 4.10.3c, 6.52.3c, 6.136.3c, 8.7.26c, 10.3.3a, 19.35.5c, 19.39.5c, 8c, 9c), there is absolutely no need to change the text of the manuscripts, because *vipra-* fits perfectly the context here and has indeed a pregnant meaning. GONDA 1936: 36 ff. states that *vipra-*, “indicating inspired speech and the man who utters it, [...] may originally have denoted a moved, inspired, ecstatic and ‘enthusiastic’ seer as a bearer or pronouncer of the emotional and vibrating, metrical sacred words, a seer who converted his inspiration into powerful ‘carmina’”. He quotes ṚV 10.97.6cd (= KapKS 25.4:97.10 = PS 11.6.9cd ≈ KS 16.13:235.20 ≈ MS 2.7.13:93.12) *vipraḥ sá ucyate bhiṣág [MS kavī] rakṣohāmīvacātanaḥ* ‘that *vipraḥ* is called a physician, a killer of demoniac powers, one who drives away diseases’, adding, “From these words it may appear that the medicine-man could also be a *vipraḥ*. Since medicine-men usually employ formulas, there is a chance that this functionary owes the designation *vipra-* to these”. Since the Ṛgvedic and Atharvavedic passages share nearly the same wording (see also *rakṣohāmīvacātanaḥ* in the seventh stanza of this hymn) and appear to be strictly connected on each other, it is even possible that the Ur-AV had the reading *vipram bhiṣajam* ‘a seer, a physician’.

c. The term *āñjana-* denotes a particular type of ointment, an eye-lotion or collyrium applied to the eyelide, and generally used as a cosmetic or — as appears to be the case here — as a medicine (see MEULENBELD 1974: 438–439). As noted by KULIKOV forthc., the stanza 4.5 points to four different uses of the ointment (it could be used as eye-lotion, put in an amulet and taken both externally and perorally), so that in this hymn *āñjana-* should be understood in a more general sense. This pāda is identical in the ŚS tradition. Griffith and Whitney translated it, respectively, ‘Then, Ointment! send felicity’ and ‘So, o Ointment, do thou [make] wealfulness’, with the emendation of *śamtāte* (the reading of all the ŚS manuscripts, of the pādapaṭha and of the commentary) to *śamtātim*. I believe that the text can stand as it was transmitted both in the ŚS and in the PS (the confusion between -s- and -ś- in the Orissa manuscripts is common) and I connect *śamtāte* (vocative masculine) with *āñjana* (vocative neuter). For the termination of the vocative singular neuter of -i stems (which fluctuates between the form of vocative masculine -e and the form of nominative-accusative neuter -i), cf. AiGr. III, § 77, pp. 157–58. See also SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 236 with the translation ‘Perciò tu, o unguento benefico...’. On *śamtāti-*, see RENOU 1960: 10–11 with note 1, where the vocative singular *satyatāte* (a hapax), used in RV 4.4.14c as an epithet of Agni, is quoted as an example of the emergence of an adjectival meaning.

d. The PS version of this pāda is no doubt the original one and offers the first evidence that this hymn was borrowed in the ŚS from here. The ŚS manuscripts read *śām āpo ābhayaṁ kṛtām*, ‘The waters are a blessing; fearlessness is made [by them]’, which is semantically awkward and has therefore forced the editors to various emendations. W-R emended *kṛtām* to *kṛta* and translated ‘Make, O ye waters, weal [and] fearlessness’, SPP “is satisfied with emending to *kṛtam*, as if *āñjana* and *āpas* could somehow be construed together as a dual subject” (WHITNEY 1905: 966). The origin of the corrupt reading of the ŚS was probably the misunderstanding of the word *māyobhava-* ‘enjoiment, refreshment, soothing’, of which this is the earliest Vedic attestation and which otherwise appears only in TB 3.7.7.11 *catvāri māyobhavāya* ‘four [steps] for enjoiment’ (repeated in a number of Sūtras — in particular ĀpŚS 20.22.12 = ĀpMP 1.3.10; see KULIKOV forthc.).

### 15.3.2 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 19.44.2

yo harimā jāyānyo	*#A
aṅgabhedo visalpakaḥ	A
sarvaṁ te yakṣmam aṅgebhyo	+ #A
bahir nir hantv āñjanam	A

Whether [it be] the jaundice, the *jāyānya*, the limb-splitter, the *visalpaka*: let the ointment expel all the *yakṣma* out of your limbs.

[jāyānyo] Or, jāyāmyo K aṅgabhedo] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, aṅgabhedo RM K visalpakaḥ] Or, viśalyakaḥ K sarvaṁ] K, sarvaṁ Or yakṣmam] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, ya{smā}kṣmam Pa bahir nir hantv āñjanam] bahir nir hantv āñjanam || Ku Pa [Ma], barhir nir hantv āñja{ja}nam || JM, barhir nir hantv āñjanam | RM, bahir nih antv āñjanam || Mā, barhir nir harhantv āñjanam Z 2 Z K [[Barret barhirmirhantvāñjanam]]

ŚS 19.44.2

yó harimā jāyānyo 'ṅgabhedó visálpakaḥ |  
sārvaṁ te yákṣmam āṅgebhyo bahír nír hantv āñjanam ||

**ab.** For a description and discussion of the diseases mentioned in this stanza, see SCHNEIDER 2010: 255 ff., ZYSK 1985: 18–19, 29–32, 137. For some important remarks on the word *visálpaka-* and the variant of **K** *viśalyaka-*, see KULIKOV forthc. Whatever be the etymology of *visálpaka-*, it is still not clear if *aṅga-bhedá-* ‘limb-splitter’ refers to “a breaking apart of the limbs or cutting pain in the entire body, brought about by the disease-demon *yákṣma*” (ZYSK 1985: 163) or if it could be interpreted as an epithet of *visálpaka-* (thus SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 236 ‘Il *visalpaka* che spezza le membra’). At any rate, it is noteworthy that this compound is attested close to the word *visálpaka-* also at ŚS 9.8.5ab *aṅgabhedám aṅgajvarám viśvāṅgyām visálpakam* ‘Limb-splitter, causing fever in the limbs, the *visalpaka* affecting all the limbs’.

### 15.3.3 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 19.44.3

āñjanam pṛthivyām jātām	#A
bhadram puruṣajīvanam	A
kṛṇot <sub>u</sub> v *apramāyukam	*A
rathajūtim anāgasam	A

The ointment born upon the earth, auspicious, giving life to men — let it make [you] non-dying-prematurely, swift like a chariot, sinless.

puruṣajīvanam] puruṣajīvanam **Or**, puruṣajīvanam **K** kṛṇotv \*apramāyukam] kṛṇotv atpramāyukam **Ku JM RM**, kṛṇotv atpramāyakam **Pa Mā [Ma]**, kṛṇotutpramāhikam **K** rathajūtim] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, rathayutim **RM**, rathajūtam **K** anāgasam] anāgasam **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, **RM**, anāśasam **Pa**, anākam, **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

ŚS 19.44.3

āñjanam pṛthivyām jātām bhadram puruṣajīvanam |  
kṛṇotv āpramāyukam rāthajūtim ānāgasam ||

Bhattacharya edits *atpramāyukam* in **c**.

**a.** Cf. ŚS 4.9.6ab, referring to the same ointment: *yád āñjanam traikakudám jātām himāvatas pári* ‘which ointment, coming from the three-peaked [mountain], was born from the snowy [mountain]’. Reference is made to the soil where the plant used to make the ointment grows. Cf. 15.3.6 below. On the possible botanical identification of the plant used for preparing the Traikakuda ointment, see KULIKOV forthc.

**c.** As regards *\*apramāyukam*, I emend the text according to the ŚS. The PS tradition seems here to persevere an ancient mistake of \*G, consisting in the repetition of the -t- in the sequence -tva tpra-. As noted by KULIKOV forthc., (*á*)*pramāyuka-* is derived from the compound verb *prá-mī-* ‘die prematurely’, and should therefore translated as ‘non-dying-prematurely’, rather than as simply ‘unperishing’ as in Whitney’s translation. He very pertinently argues that “this interpretation perfectly agrees with the qualification of the ointment as the remedy which enables to reach the established life-time in 1a”. This stanza could have been pronounced by the officiant or by the patient: I prefer the first hypothesis and add the understood object ‘you’, which can be inferred from the previous stanza.

d. The compound *rāthajūti-*, which occurs only in these two parallel passages, has been interpreted as an adjective meaning ‘driving swiftly in a chariot’, ‘swift like a chariot’ (GRIFFITH 1895–6: 300, WHITNEY 1905: 967, SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 236) or as a proper name or honorific title (pw V, 166, SPARREBOOM 1985: 139). I believe that a literal translation ‘having the speed of a chariot’ (i.e. ‘swift like a chariot’) fits perfectly the context of the hymn, which aims to free a patient from various diseases that weaken the limbs (see the previous stanza) and from the snares of Nirṛti (see next stanza): the wish to be swift and unrestrained, like a chariot rushing along in an open space, sounds natural and needs no further explanation.

Whitney’s translation of *ánāgasa-* ‘free from offense’ is not precise. On the meaning of this word, see the concise but telling remark of AMBROSINI 1981: 48 fn. 10. Translating “libero da offesa e errore”, he suggests that this term, “deve intendersi non sono in senso centripeto (libero dalle offese degli altri) ma anche centrifugo (libero dall’errore proprio)”. The concept of *āgas-* has been treated in detail by BODEWITZ 2006, who shows that “*āgas-* predominantly denotes a committed sin, only in a few instances its consequences [...]. If this *āgas-* may sometimes make the impression of being some sort of disease or pollution, it is only pollution by sin”. See my comment under 3.8b and 3.9ab below.

**15.3.4 [Prose]** ŚS 19.44.4 = KauśS 47.16 = AVPariś 37.1.10, cf. PS 19.42.6a

prāṇa prāṇaṁ trāyasva-	P
-aso asave mṛḍa	P
nirṛte nirṛtyā naḥ pāśebhyo muñca	P

O breath, preserve the breath; O life-breath, be merciful to life-breath; O Nirṛti, release us from the bonds of Nirṛti.

prāṇa] **Ku Pa [Ma] K**, prāṇaṁ **JM RM? Mā** trāyasvāso asave] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, trāyasvāso asa{·}ve **Pa**, trāyasva asavosave **K** mṛḍa] **Or**, mṛḍa **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K**

ŚS 19.44.4 = KauśS 47.16 = AVPariś 37.1.10

prāṇa prāṇaṁ trāyasvāso āsave mṛḍa |  
nirṛte nirṛtyā naḥ pāśebhyo muñca ||

As already noticed by Lanman (in WHITNEY 1905: 966), this stanza is quoted in KauśS 47.16, where it is used, together with two other stanzas (found at PS 19.42.4–5), to accompany the taking of a staff (*daṇḍa-*) by the officiant in a witchcraft ceremony. The fact that this mantra is quoted in full (*sakalapāṭhena*) was already interpreted by Lanman as a conclusive evidence that book 19 of the ŚS was not recognized by the KauśS, whose source must have been, in the case of this mantra, the PS (see also BLOOMFIELD 1890: XL and 1899: 34 f.). As pointed out by GONDA 1977: 79 [= 1991: 368], the mantra at KauśS 47.16 is taken from PS 19.42.4–6, where *prāṇa prāṇaṁ ity ekā*, the typical device of mantra abbreviation (the pratīka plus *ity ekā*), no doubt refers to PS 15.3.4. See also GRIFFITHS 2004b: 68.

**ab.** On *prāṇa-* and *āsu-*, see BODEWITZ 1986 and cf. PS 15.4.6–10b. For *cd*, cf. PS 15.4.5cd.

**c.** Cf. ŚS 1.31.2cd = PS 1.22.2cd *té no nirṛtyāḥ pāśebhyo muñcātāmhaso amhasaḥ* ‘So (O gods), release us from bonds of Nirṛti, from every distress’. There are many variants to express the idea ‘let s.o. free from the bonds of s.o.’: see e.g. RV 1.24.13d *vidvāṁ ādabdhō ví mumoktu pāśān* ‘Let the wise one, uninjurable, loosen the bonds’, 5.2.7c *evāsmād agne ví mumugdhi*



*pāśān* ‘So, O Agni, loosen from us the bonds’, 6.74.4c *prā no muñcatam vāruṇasya pāśād* ‘Release us from the bonds of Varuṇa’, 7.59.8c *druháḥ pāśān prāti sá mucīṣṭa* ‘May he put on himself the bonds of injury’, 7.88.7b *vy āsmát pāśam vāruṇo mumocat* ‘Varuṇa will loosen from us the bond’, 10.85.24a *prā tvā muñcāmi vāruṇasya pāśād* ‘I do release you from the bonds of Varuṇa’, ŚS 9.3.24a ≈ PS 16.41.2a *mā naḥ pāśam* (PS *pāśān*) *prāti muco* ‘Do not put on us the bond(s)’ etc.

### 15.3.5 [Prose] ŚS 19.44.5, c: PS 1.80.5b

sindhōr garbho (‘)si	P
vidyutām puṣpam	P
vātaḥ prāṇaḥ sūryaś cakṣur divas payaḥ	P

You are the embryo of the river, the flower of the lightning bolts; [your] breath [is] the wind, [your] eye [is] the sun, [your] juice [is] from the sky.

sindhōr] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, sindho **Mā** vidyutām] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, vidyutā **Mā** vātaḥ] **Or**, vātaḥ **K** prāṇaḥ] **Or**, prāṇa **K** ||] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, om. **K**

ŚS 19.44.5

sindhōr gārbho ‘si vidyútām púspam |  
vātaḥ prāṇāḥ sūryaś cákṣur divás páyaḥ ||

a. The expression ‘embryo of the river’ is not clear. KULIKOV forthc. proposes the identification of *sindhu-* with the river Sindh (Indus), which springs from the Himalayas; this would suggest that the ointment is here addressed as made of a plant which grows on Indus’ banks (see also BLOOMFIELD 1896: 405). Cf. also PS 7.12.4ab *na saindhavasya puṣpasya sūryo mlāpayati tvacam* ‘The sun does not cause the skin of the flower from Sindhu to wither’.

c. According to the word-order of the member in a nominal phrase, the first member refers to the predicate, while the second is the subject. This tendency, which became standard in Vedic prose, was neglected in Whitney’s translation “the wind [thy] breath, the sun [thine] eye, from the sky [thy] milk”.

On the identification of the ointment with the eye, see KULIKOV forthc., with the discussion of ŚB 3.1.3.12, where “Traikakuda appears [...] in the context of a legend that connects its origin with the eye (or pupil) of Vṛtra which flew off and became the ointment (collyrium) or the mountain Trikakud itself”.

The associations between *sūrya-* and *cákṣus-* and between *prāṇá-* or *ātmán-* and *vāta* or *vāyú-* are common: cf. e.g. ṚV 10.16.3a *sūryam cákṣur gachatu vātam ātmā* ‘Let [your] eye go to the Sun, [your] vital breath to the wind’, ŚS 5.9.7 *sūryo me cákṣur vātaḥ prāṇó* ‘My eye [is] the sun, my breath [is] the wind’, ŚS 8.2.3ab ≈ PS 16.3.3ab *vātāt te prāṇám avidam śūryāc cákṣur ahām táva* ‘From the wind I found your breath, from the sun [I found] your eye’, ŚS 11.8.31ab = PS 16.88.2ab *sūryaś cákṣur vātaḥ prāṇám pūruṣasya ví bhejire* ‘The sun [and] the wind shared [respectively] the eye [and] the breath of man’, PS 2.82.2–3 *vātam te prāṇaḥ +siṣaktu yātudhāna svāhā || sūryam te cakṣuḥ +siṣaktu yātudhāna svāhā* ‘Let your breath follow the wind, O sorcerer. Hail! Let your sight follow the sun, O sorcerer. Hail!’, PS 12.19.5ab *cakṣuḥ sūrya punar dehi vāta prāṇam sam īraya* ‘O sun, give again the sight; O wind, set the breath in motion’ etc. Other more limited associations are found at ṚV 5.59.3b *sūryo ná cákṣu*

*rājaso visárjane* ‘As the Sun’s eye at the end of the darkness’, 10.90.13b *cákṣoḥ sūryo ajāyata* ‘From [his] eye the Sun was born’ and 13d *prāṇād vāyúr ajāyata* ‘From [his] breath the wind was born’, ŚS 5.24.9a *sūryaś cākṣuṣām ádhipatiḥ sá māvatu* ‘Surya is the overlord of the eyes/sights; let him help me’.

Note that **K** does not mark the end of this stanza, so that the progressive numbering of stanzas 5–7 is altered (see the critical apparatus below).

**15.3.6 [Anuṣṭubh]** ŚS 19.44.6, b ≈ ŚS 2.4.2d = ŚS 2.7.3d, cd: PS 1.100.1cd

devāñjanaṁ traikakudaṁ	#A
pari mā pāhi viśvataḥ	A
na tvā taranty oṣadhayo	#A
bāhyāḥ parvatīyā uta	#A

O heavenly ointment coming from the three-peaked [mountain], protect me on every side. The herbs from abroad and from the mountains do not surpass you.

devāñjanaṁ traikakudaṁ] **Or**, devāñjani trīkakuda **K** taranty] **JM**, taranty **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, caranty **K** oṣadhayo] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, oṣadh{e}ayo **Pa** parvatīyā] **Or**, parvatyā **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

ŚS 19.44.6

dévāñjana tráikakuda pári mā pāhi viśvataḥ |  
ná tvā taranty oṣadhayo bāhyāḥ parvatīyā utá ||

PS 1.100.1cd

na tvā taranty oṣadhayo bāhyāḥ parvatīyā uta ||

Bhattacharya edits *devāñjanaṁ traikakudaṁ* in **a**.

**a.** All the ŚS manuscripts read *devāñjanaṁ traikakudaṁ*, too. W-R emended the transmitted text to *dévāñjana tráikakuda*, remarking that these must be indisputably two vocatives. The emendation was probably suggested by the repeated use of the vocative *āñjana* in ŚS 4.9.3–7 and 10, a hymn addressed to the Traikakuda ointment as well (ŚS 4.9 ≈ PS 8.3); the same form is found also in this same hymn, at 3.1c and 3.10b. Such emendation can indeed be avoided, since *devāñjanaṁ traikakudaṁ* could function as a vocative, according to the tendency of neuter nouns to use the nominative/accusative form also for the vocative (see AiGr III, § 17, p. 44; in § 46, p. 97, by contrast, both *dévāñjana* and *tráikakuda* of ŚS 19.44.6a are quoted as “uncertain” examples of vocative neuter in -a).

**cd.** Here and at PS 1.100.1c, **K** reads *tvā caranty oṣadhayo* and Barret analysed the verb as *ā + car*, which could also be a good reading. With these pādas, cf. also ŚS 19.34.7ab ≈ PS 11.3.7ab *ná tvā pūrvā oṣadhayo ná tvā taranti yā návāḥ* (**Or** *tarantu*, **K** *caranty*, for which see above) ‘Neither the ancient herbs surpass you, nor the recent ones’ and PS 7.12.2cd *na tvā sapatnī sāsāha gaireyī ca na bāhyā* ‘No rival from the mountains overpowers you, none from abroad either’. Note the unusual metrical pattern of pāda **c**, without the syllabic resolution of the semivowel (cf. also pāda 8a below).

**15.3.7 [Anuṣṭubh] ≈ ŚS 19.44.7, b: cf. ṚV 10.97.6d, ŚS 1.28.1b, PS 7.5.8b, 10.1.12b, 11.6.9d, c ≈ ŚS 19.34.9c**

vīdaṁ madhyam *avāsṛpad	A
rakṣohāmīvacātanam	A
amīvāḥ sarvāś cātayan	#A
nāśayad abhibhā itaḥ	A

This [ointment], a demon-slayer remover of afflictions, crept down in the middle, frightening away the diseases, driving away from here inauspicious omens.

vīdaṁ] **Or**, vīraṁ **K** \*avāsṛpad] avāsṛjad **Or K** rakṣohāmīvacātanam] **K**, rakṣohāmīvacātanah **Ku JM RM Mā Pa**, rakṣyohāmīvacātanah **Ma** amīvāḥ] **Or**, amīva **K** cātayan] **Or**, cātayan **K** nāśayad] **Or**, nāśayat **K** abhibhā **Or**, apivā **K** itaḥ] **Or**, hitā **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 6 Z K**

ŚS 19.44.7

vīdām mādhyam āvāsṛpad rakṣohāmīvacātanah |  
āmīvāḥ sārvas cātāyan nāśayad abhibhā itāḥ ||

ṚV 10.97.6cd

vīpraḥ sā ucyaṭe bhiṣāg rakṣohāmīvacātanah ||

Bhattacharya edits *rakṣohāmīvacātanah* in **b**.

**a.** The emendation of the reading of all PS manuscripts *avāsṛjad* to *\*avāsṛpad* is suggested both by the meaning and the tense of the verb (the first form is an imperfect from *srj-*, the second one an aorist from *sṛp-*). The verb *srj-* means in the active ‘throw, emit’, in the middle ‘to speed, run, hasten, release’, but these meanings do not fit the context of our stanza. Furthermore the imperfect, which is usually employed as the past tense of narration without any relation to the present, is stylistically out of place here, while the aorist, which expresses that an action has occurred in the past with reference to the present, is much better. The ointment, having being applied to the patient and spread through his body, has carried out its beneficial action. KULIKOV forthc. wonders if *madhyam* ‘into the middle’ could possibly refers to the nidus of the disease, which seems a very attractive idea.

**b.** The reading *rakṣohāmīvacātanah* is in all the ŚS manuscripts, too. Whitney, in his comment, notes, “The change to masculine here in **b** is obscure and questionable; emendation to *-cātanam* is desirable; it would allow *idām* to be understood as ‘this [ointment]’, which is easier and more natural”. He adds that the reading of **K** *rakṣohāmīvacātanam* would give the emendation sufficient support, so I decide to adopt it. Lanman has then posed the problem of how to emend *rakṣohā*, to make a corresponding neuter of it. He suggests to think of an unattested neuter form *rakṣohā* concealed in the combination *-hāmīva-*, but there is no need to think of such a form, because in the ṚV the nominative singular masculine of compounds with root *han-* as final member can be used as neuter (cf. AiGr. III, § 130, p. 238). Cf. e.g. ṚV 7.8.6cd, where *rakṣohā* is found at the end of a series of three coordinated adjectives (one of which is *amīvacātanam*) and it is clearly used as a neuter: *śām yāt stotṛbhya āpāye bhāvāti dyumād amīvacātanam rakṣohā* ‘(This speech) which [being] splendid, frightening away the diseases, demon-slayer will be auspicious for the praising ones and the ally’.

d. The word *abhibhā-* (on which see EWAia II, 259) means literally ‘light/appearance which shines against’, therefore ‘inauspicious omen’. In the context of this hymn, it could possibly be related to the nightmare (*duṣvapnya-*) mentioned at 15.4.2.

### 15.3.8 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 19.44.8, cd: PS 15.3.9cd

bahv idām rājan varuṇa-	#A
-anṛtam āha pūruṣaḥ	A
tasmāt sahasravīrya	*A
muñca naḥ parīy amhasaḥ	*A

Man speaks untruth here often, O king Varuṇa. Free us from this sin, O you having a thousand powers!

bahvidam] **Ku RM Pa Mā K**, bahvīdam **JM**, bihvidam [Ma] varuṇānṛtam] **K**, vaṇṇānṛtam **Ku RM Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, vaṇṇanṛtam **JM** pūruṣaḥ] pūrṣaḥ **RM**, puṣṣaḥ **Ku JM Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, puruṣaḥ **K** tasmāt] **Ku JM RM** [Ma] **Pa K**, tasmā [Mā] ||] **Ku JM Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 8 Z **K**

ŚS 19.44.8

bahv idām rājan varuṇānṛtam āha pūruṣaḥ |  
tasmāt sahasravīrya muñcā naḥ parīy amhasaḥ ||

a. The word *anṛta-* provides, together with the first two pādas of the next stanza, a possible explanation for the use of *anāgasa-* in 3.3d: the sin committed by the patient would consist in perjury. Cf. ŚS 4.9.7ab = PS 8.3.13ab *idām vidvān āñjana satyām vakṣyāmi nānṛtam* ‘Knowing this, O ointment, I shall speak truth, not untruth’.

b. An interesting question is whether in this stanza *pūruṣa-* refers to the patient or to an impersonal man, that is to mankind in general. I incline to the second hypothesis, as the entire sentences, asserting a general statement, seems to have a gnomic character. There are other examples of the word used without reference to a specific man, cf. ŚS 5.5.2ab *yās tvā pībati jīvati trāyase pūruṣam tvām* ‘Who drinks you stays alive, you rescue the man’, 5.7.8 *utā nagnā bóbhuvatī svapnayā sacase jānam ārāte cittām vīrtsanty ākūtim pūruṣasya ca* ‘And constantly becoming naked, you follow a person in dreams, O Arāti, baffling the intention and the wish of a man’, 7.76.4ab *pakṣī jāyānyaḥ patati sā ā viśati pūruṣam* ‘Having wings, the *jāyānya* flies; as such, she enters into a man’, 8.2.25 *sārvo vāi tātra jīvati gaur āśvaḥ pūruṣaḥ paśūḥ yātre dām bráhma kriyāte paridhīr jīvanāya kām* ‘Every one, verily — cow, horse, man, cattle — lives there where this formula is performed, a protection for living’, 12.4.13cd *hīmste ādattā pūruṣam yācitām ca ná dītsati* ‘[The cow], not given, harms a man, when he does not want to give her when asked for’.

d. For a semantic study of the word *amhas-* in Vedic, see GONDA 1957b. In this passage, *amhas-* seems to be identical to *anṛta-*. Cf. ŚS 10.5.22 ≈ PS 9.22.4 (≈ PS 16.130.1) *yād arvācīnam traihāyaṇād anṛtam kīn codimā | āpo mā tasmāt sārvasmād duritāt pāntv amhasaḥ* ‘Whatever untruth we have said since a three years’ period, may the water protect me from that difficulty, from [that] sin’. See also RODHE 1946: 43. His translation of *anṛta-* as ‘evil’ does not convince at all, and his statement that “there does not seem to be more than one single passage in the Veda [vz. ŚS 19.44.8], where decisively committed evil is indicated by this word [vz. *amhas*]” is no doubt an exaggeration (cf. the parallel passages quoted above).

**15.3.9 [Anuṣṭubh]** ŚS 19.44.9, ab: ŚS 7.83.2cd ≈ PS 20.33.5ce, VS 20.18 ≈ TS 1.3.11.1, MS 1.2.18:28.5, KS 3.8:27.2 etc., cd: PS 15.3.8cd

yad āpo aghniyā iti	*A
varuṇeti yad ūcima	A
tasmāt sahasravīrya	*A
muñca naḥ parīy amhasaḥ	*A

If we have said ‘(excellent) cows are the waters’, if ‘O Varuṇa’: free us from this sin, O you having a thousand powers!

aghnyā iti] **Or**, ghnyāyati **K** varuṇeti] varuṇeti **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, varuṇeci **JM**, varuṇena **K** ūcima] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, ūcimaḥ **JM** tasmāt] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, ta · **Mā** naḥ] **Or**, naḥ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 9 Z **K**

ŚS 19.44.9

yád āpo aghnyā́ iti váruṇéti yád ūcimá |  
tásmāt sahasravīrya muñcá naḥ páry amhasaḥ ||

ŚS 7.83.2cd ≈ PS 20.33.5ce ≈ VS 20.18

yád āpo aghnyā́ iti váruṇéti yád ūcimá |  
táto varuṇa muñca naḥ ||

TS 1.3.11.1 ≈ MS 1.2.18:28.5 ≈ KS 3.8:27.2

yád āpo ághniyā váruṇéti śápāmahe táto varuṇa no muñca |

**ab.** “That is, if we called these divinities to witness an untruth” (WHITNEY 1905: 968). Here and at ŚS 7.83.2c, Whitney emended *aghnyā́*, the reading of all ŚS manuscripts, to *ághnyā*, and translated ‘O inviolable [kine]’ and ‘O inviolable ones’. In his opinion, the emendation is justified by the inconsistency of the accented form *aghnyā́*, nominative, with the reading *váruṇa* — which can only be vocative, proving each of its predecessors such — and it is corroborated by the reading *ághnyā* of the Black Yajurvedic texts. The AV translators have generally followed the text thus emended (see recently KULIKOV forthc.).<sup>40</sup> The unaccented text of the PS is of no help to settle the issue, but in a very ingenious analysis of this mantra NARTEN 1971 has convincingly demonstrated that the text of the TS, MS and KS is secondary, and can be considered *lectio faciliior* compared to that of ŚS and VS: instead of two metric oath formulas, one in the nominative (*āpo aghnyā́*) and one in the vocative (*varuṇa*), both independent and separated by *iti*, the Yajurvedic texts have put together the three words in a syntactic prose unit (*āpo ághniyā váruṇa*) closed by *iti*. This was probably done under the influence of the final vocative *váruṇa*: the form *āpo* could have been interpreted as vocative as well, so that just with the swift of the accent on the word *aghnyā́* the pattern would have been perfectly consistent.

<sup>40</sup> The most striking and inconsistent translation is that of SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 236, 538. Orlandi translated ŚS 7.83.2cd ‘Se abbiamo detto: ‘Le acque sono inviolabili’, se abbiamo detto: ‘O Varuṇa’’, which is probably the correct understanding of this passage (see my comment, *passim*) but then she translated ŚS 19.44.9ab in a completely different way — and, in my opinion, wrongly: ‘Se abbiamo invocato a sproposito le acque e le mucche, se abbiamo invocato a sproposito Varuṇa’.

Moreover, it is likely that at the time of the composition of the Yajurvedic texts the oath was not understood anymore. In its original form, with the nominatives *ápo aghnyá*, the mantra is to be understood as a nominal sentence with zero copula (‘Erlesene Kühe sind die Wasser’). Narten has proposed also another option, which is very attractive, though it can not be proved: on account of the presence of *iti*, the nominatives *ápo aghnyá* could be interpreted as *pratīka* of an old, unattested mantra pronounced during oaths. In a rather speculative, but fascinating way, with the help of parallel texts of similar content she reconstructed this hypotetic mantra as *\*ápo aghnyá ihá mām avantu\**: ‘Die Wasser, die erlesene Kühe, sollen mir hier beistehen’, concluding, however, that for the understanding of this stanza it is not relevant whether the words *ápo aghnyá* are interpreted as a nominal sentence or as *pratīka* of an unattested mantra; the crucial point — which I tried to observe in my translation — is that *aghnyá-* is not an element of an enumeration as in the later Yajurvedic texts, but it is a predicate, or an apposition, of the word *ápo*. That is to say, *aghnyá-* is a poetic designation of the (divine) Waters.

### 15.3.10 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 19.44.10

mitrás ca tvā varuṇás ca-	#A
-anupreyatur āñjana	A
tau tvānugatya dūram	+A
bhogāya punar *ohatuḥ	A

Mitra and Varuṇa have been looking for you, O ointment; the two of them, after following you afar, brought you back for [our] profit.

mitrás] **Or**, mittrás **K** varuṇás] **K**, varṇás **Or** cānupreyatur āñjana] **Or**, cānupraīdujana **K** tvānugatya] **Or**, tyānakatya **K** punar \*ohatuḥ] punarohatu **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, pu · · · **Mā** || || ṛ 10 || 3 || **Ku JM**, | ṛ | 3 | **RM**, || 3 || ṛ 10 || **Pa Mā [Ma]**, Z 10 Z kāṇḍaḥ 3 Z **K**

### ŚS 19.44.10

mitrás ca tvā váruṇás cānupréyatur āñjana |  
táu tvānugátya dūrám bhogāya púnar óhatuḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits *punarohatu* in **d** (he attributes to **Mā** the reading *purohatu*, but my reproduction of the manuscript is unclear).

**b.** Regarding the preverb *pra-*, KULIKOV forthc. observes, “In this context, the preverb *prá* might have an additional directional meaning, ‘go eastward’, which is also found in some of its derivatives, such as *prāñc-* ‘directed forwards; turned eastward’, *prācīna-* ‘turned towards the front, eastward’. Given the assumption that the Traikakuda ointment was brought from the mountain Trikakud (modern Trikuta) in the Western Himalayas, the journey of Mitra and Varuṇa should have started to the west of this area — that is, in the Sindhu (Indus) valley (Northern Pakistan), where early Vedic Aryans lived indeed around 1000 BC”. The greatest difficulty of this hypothesis is that the directional meaning ‘eastward’ — which of course is secondary even in the derivatives mentioned above — is never found when *prá-* functions as preverb. The only instance in which this meaning can be feebly traced is a R̥gvedic passage (1.103.4c) describing Indra advancing victoriously over the Dāsyus, the enemies who opposed the Aryans during their advance toward the East: *upaprayān dasyuhátýāya vajrī* ‘The one holding the cudgel, rushing upon to strike the Dasyus’. Assuming that *upa-pre-* has here an

additional directional meaning seems indeed a strained interpretation, and there is no need to force the meaning of the verb. Moreover, the other attestations of the verb *anu-pre-* used in this stanza show clearly that a directional shade of meaning is not involved at all: cf., e.g., ŚS 5.7.3cd = PS 7.9.4cd *ārātim anuprémo vayám námo astv ārātaye* ‘We look for Arāti, homage be to Arāti’. For the idea of a medicine brought from afar, cf. PS 20.14.4ab *dūrād etat sam bharantīrṣyāyā nāma bheṣajam* ‘From afar they bring together that medicine, namely against jealousy’, 20.25.1ab *dūrād bheṣajam ābhṛtaṁ bahūny ati +yojanā* ‘From afar the medicine has been brought, over many *yojanas*’.

**d.** The verb must be dual here (because of *tau* in pāda **c**) and the best solution seems that of Shankar Pandurang Pandit, who analysed the sequence as *punaḥ : ā : ūhatuḥ* (root *vah-* with *ā*). For a discussion of this passage, see WHITNEY 1905: 968.

## 15.4. Against various diseases and witchcraft: with the Traikakuda ointment (continued)

### 15.4.1 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 19.45.1, c: ŚS 2.7.5c, d: ≈ ŚS 2.7.5d = PS 20.18.4d

ṛṇād ṛṇam <sup>1</sup> iva saṁ naya	/A
kr̥tyām kr̥tyākṛto gr̥ham	A
cakṣurmantrasya durhādaḥ	+ #A
pr̥ṣṭīr api śṛṇāñjana	A

Bring together the sorcery to the sorcerer's house, as [one pays] debt because of [being in] debt. O ointment, crush the ribs of the evil-hearted one, whose formula [is] his glance.

ṛṇād] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K**, ṛṇāt **JM RM** saṁ naya] **JM RM K**, sa{ṁ}naya **Ku**, sannaṃya **Mā [Ma] Pa**  
durhādaḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, durhādaḥ **Mā**, durhādaḥ **K** api] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, apī **Mā**, apa **K**  
śṛṇāñjana **Or**, dṛṇāñjanam, **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 1 Z **K**

ŚS 19.45.1

ṛṇād ṛṇām iva sām naya kr̥tyām kr̥tyākṛto gr̥hām |  
cākṣurmantrasya durhādaḥ pr̥ṣṭīr āpi śṛṇāñjana ||

ŚS 2.7.5cd

cākṣurmantrasya durhādaḥ pr̥ṣṭīr āpi śṛṇāmasi ||

**ab.** Note that also PS 4.14.7a (*hastād dhastam*) and 15.23.5a (*\*vartrād \*vartram*) show the same pattern X-ablative + X-accusative. I adopt Kulikov's translation, which is more explicit than Whitney's rendering "as it were debt from debt". Cf. the explanation of SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 211 fn. 59: "cioè come chi è debitore porta il pagamento di tale debito a casa del creditore".

On the expression *ṛṇam saṁ nī-*, see also ŚS 19.57.1 (≈ ŚS 6.46.3) = PS 2.37.2 = PS 3.30.1 *yāthā kalām yāthā śaphām yāthā ṛṇām samnāyanti | evā duṣvāpnyam sārvaṁ āpriye sām nayāmasi* 'Like a sixteenth, like an eight, like a debt they bring together, so do we bring together every nightmare on an enemy'.

As noted by KULIKOV forthc., the reading *saṁ naya* of the PS is syntactically more appropriate than the readings of the ŚS manuscripts *saṁnayām*, *sannayām*, which were already emended to *sām naya* in <sup>1</sup>R-W. Whitney's translation of this stanza follows the conjecture *saṁnāyan*, which was adopted in <sup>2</sup>R-W, but there is no need to unite pādas **ab** and **cd** in a complex sentence; the PS reading is no doubt the original one.

The idea that, through a spell, an act of witchcraft can be sent back to the witchcraft-maker is common in the Atharvaveda (see e.g. ŚS 5.14, 5.31, 10.1 etc); the effectiveness of the counter spell is often emphasized through similes which underline its power and violence: see, e.g., ŚS 5.14.12–13 ≈ PS 7.1.4/2.71.5 *iṣvā ṛjīyah patatu dyāvāpr̥thivī tām prāti | sā tām mṛgām iva gr̥hṇātu kr̥tyā kr̥tyākṛtaṁ pūnaḥ || agnīr ivaitu pratikūlam anukūlam ivodakām | sukhó rátha iva vartatām kr̥tyā kr̥tyākṛtaṁ pūnaḥ* 'O Heaven and Earth, straighter than an arrow let it fly against him. As such, may the witchcraft seize again the witchcraft-maker, like [a hunter seizes his] prey. May it go like fire up-stream, like water down-stream. Like a chariot having good wheel's hollows may the witchcraft roll back to the witchcraft-maker', ŚS 6.37.2cd ≈ PS 20.18.2cd *śaptāram ātra no jahi divó vṛkṣām ivāśāniḥ* 'Strike the one who curses us here, as a



thunderbolt from heaven [strikes] a tree’, ŚS 10.1.14 = PS 16.34.4 *krāma nānadatī vīnaddhā gardabhīva | kartṛñ nakṣasvetó nuttā bráhmanā vīryāvatā* ‘Step away, constantly making noise, like an unfastened she-ass. Attain your makers, pushed away from here with a powerful formula’. It is noteworthy that in many instances the return of the witchcraft to its maker is compared with the return of (mostly living) beings to a place or person closely associated with them, suggesting that going back to the witchcraft-maker is for witchcraft a natural and ineluctable process: cf. PS 2.71.2 *yathā te devy oṣadhe pratīcīnam phalaṁ kṛtam | evā tvam kṛtvane kṛtyām hastagrhya parā ṇaya* ‘Just as your fruit, O heavenly herb, is made to point backward, so you must lead the witchcraft [far] away to the one who has made it, having grasped it by the hand’, PS 2.71.3ab *punaḥ kṛtyām kṛtyākṛte godhevāvaṇam \*anv ayat* (but ZEHNDER 1999: 160 proposes to read *kṛtyā kṛtyākṛtam*) ‘The witchcraft shall go back to the witchcraft-maker, like a monitor lizard into its hole’, ŚS 4.18.2 = PS 5.24.2 *yó devāḥ kṛtyām kṛtvā hārād áviduṣo grhām | vatsó dhārúr iva mātāraṁ tām pratyág úpa padyatām* ‘O gods, may [the witchcraft], like a suckling calf to its mother, go back to him who, having made a witchcraft, will bring it to the house of one unknowing [of it]’, ŚS 4.18.4cd = PS 5.24.4cd *prāti sma cakrūṣe kṛtyām priyām priyāvate hara* ‘Bring back the witchcraft to the one who has made it, [like] a mistress to her beloved’, ŚS 5.14.10 ≈ PS 7.1.8 *putrá iva pitāraṁ gacha svajā vābhīṣṭhito daśa | bandhām ivāvakrāmī gacha kṛtye kṛtyākṛtam pūnaḥ* ‘Go as a son to his father, bite like a viper trampled upon. O witchcraft, go back to the witchcraft-maker, treading down [your] bond’, ŚS 10.1.3 = PS 16.35.3 *sūdrākṛtā rājākṛtā strīkṛtā brahmābhiḥ kṛtā | jāyā pātyā nuttēva kartāraṁ bāndhv* (PS <sup>+</sup>*bandhum*) *ṛchatu* ‘Made by a Śūdra, made by a king, made by a woman, made by Brahmins: as a wife turned away by her husband [goes] to her kin, let it go to its maker’, ŚS 10.1.25–26 = PS 16.37.5–6 *abhyāktāktā svāraṁkṛtā sārvaṁ bhārantī duritām párehi | jānīhi kṛtye kartāraṁ duhitēva pitāraṁ svām* ‘Anointed, well-prepared, bearing all difficulty, go away! Recognize, O witchcraft, your maker, as a daughter her father’. The simile of our stanza is slightly different in character and it seems not immediately clear, but it expresses the same idea of something — in this case, probably money — going back to its owner as it is due. The comparison was probably suggested by passages like ṚV 8.47.17ad ≈ ŚS 6.46.3 ≈ 19.57.1 = PS 2.37.3 (= PS 3.30.1, 19.46.11) *yāthā kalām yāthā śaphām yātha ṛṇām saṁnāyāmasi | evā duṣvāpnyam sārvaṁ āptye sām nayāmasi* ‘As [we pay] the sixteenth part, as [we pay] the eighth part, as we pay the [whole] debt: thus we bring together every nightmare to Āptya’, where the compound verb *saṁ nī-* is used in its double meanings of ‘bring together/deposit’ and ‘pay back’, which are difficult to render with a single verb in the translation. Compare also the similar expression at ŚS 6.118.2cd = PS 16.50.4cd *ṛṇān no ná ṛṇām értsamāno yamāsya loké ádhirajjur āyat* ‘The one having a rope will come to Yama’s world, not wishing to obtain from us debt from debt’ (Griffith: ‘Not urging us to pay the debt we owed him’).

c. The compound *cākṣurmantra-* was translated by Withney ‘eye-conjurer’ and by Bloomfield ‘who bewitches with [his] eye’. It is a Bahuvrīhi which literally means ‘whose mantra (i.e. magic formula) is the glance’, ‘having glance as a mantra’; the adjective *durhārd-* qualifies the conjurer’s gaze as malignant. See GONDA 1969: 39–40: “The close relation between directed looks and potent formulas may in a way even lead to their interchangeability. The compound *cakṣurmantra-* [...] might indeed have qualified the man whose mantra’s (formulas’) are in his eyes, that is who can achieve with his eyes those baleful effects which

usually are brought about by incantations”. For *cákṣus-* in the sense of ‘(malignant) glance’ cf. PS 20.22.2a *sūryo mā cakṣuṣaḥ pātu* ‘Let the Sun protect me from the (malignant) glance’.

Other interpretations are however possible: *cákṣurmantra-* could have denoted a specific mantra pronounced by someone wishing to acquire evil powers in his own eyes, or a mantra intended to injure someone else’s eyes. At any rate, though the original meaning of the compound remains doubtful, it is important to connect this word with the practical use of the ointment (*āñjana-*) addressed in these hymns: even if in this spell *āñjana-* seems to be used in a more general sense (cf. 15.4.5 below), it primarily indicates a sort of collyrium which was applied around the eyes. Compare also the parallel passage PS 20.18.4cd *jihvāślakṣṇasya durhārdaḥ prṣṭīr api śṛṇīmasi* ‘We crush the ribs of the evil-hearted one, smooth-talking, which KUBISCH 2010: 109 interprets as follows: “*jihvāślakṣṇa-* ist Hapax leg. Ich interpretiere es als Tatpuruṣa aus *jihvā-* “Zunge” und *ślakṣṇa-* “glatt”. Gemäß Pāṇ. 2.1.31 steht ein substantivisches Vorderglied in Verbindung mit *pūrva-*, *sadṛśa-*, *sama-*, *ūna-* und seinen Synonymen, *kalaha-*, *nipuṇa-*, *miśra-* und *ślakṣṇa-* im Sinne eines Instrumentals. *jihvāślakṣṇa-* bezeichnet also jemanden, der “mit der Zunge” glatt oder sanft ist, der mithin freundlich redet (und aber böse Absichten hat [*durhārd-*]). Die Übersetzung “glattzüngig” soll also nicht auf eine Deutung als Bahuvrīhi schließen lassen, fängt die Bedeutung m. E. allerdings recht gut ein”.

**d.** The expression *prṣṭīr (api) śṛ-* ‘to break the ribs’ is extremely frequent, especially in the AV: it occurs — with uncompounded verb — e.g. at RV 10.87.10c = ŚS 8.3.10c = PS 16.6.10c *tasyāgne prṣṭīr hārasā śṛṇīhi* ‘O Agni, crush his ribs with [your] flame’, PS 7.2.6c = ŚS 2.32.2c = 5.23.9c (against a worm) *śṛṇāmy asya prṣṭīr* ‘Its ribs do I break’; with the preverb *api* it occurs, e.g., at PS 2.8.4cd = ŚS 4.3.6ab (against wild beasts) *mūrṇā mṛgāsya dāntā āpiśīrṇā u prṣṭāyaḥ* ‘Crushed [are] the teeth of the beast and broken [are its] ribs’, PS 19.11.7b (against Piśācas) *prṣṭīr vo ’pi śṛṇāti agniḥ* ‘Agni will crush your ribs’ ≈ ŚS 6.32.2b *prṣṭīr vó ’pi śṛṇātu yātudhānāḥ* ‘Let him crush your ribs, o sorcerers’, PS 20.18.4cd *prṣṭīr api śṛṇīmasi* ‘We will crush the ribs’, ŚS 16.7.12a = PS 18.51.8a *tām jahi téna mandasva tasya prṣṭīr āpi śṛṇīhi* ‘Slay him, rejoice in it, crush his ribs’.

Note that the reading of **K** *dṛṇāñjanam* is also plausible (except for the final nasal): as suggested by PRAUST 2000: 426, the form *dṛṇa* ‘break, split open’ could even be considered *lectio difficilior* in comparison to *śṛṇa* of the other versions (as regards the preverb, *api* of **Or** and ŚS is correct against *apa* of **K**, but Praust makes no mention of the reading of the Orissa manuscripts and quotes the PS only from **K**).

#### 15.4.2 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 19.45.2, ab: ŚS 19.57.4de

yad asmāsu duṣvapnyam	#A
yad goṣu yac ca no gr̥he	A
†amāmagatyasta† †durhārd	+A
*apriyaḥ prati muñcatām	A

Let an evil-hearted enemy put on himself the nightmare which [is] in us, which [is] in the cows, and which [is] in our home ... (?).

duṣvapnyam] **Ku RM Mā K**, duḥsvapnyam **JM**, dusvapnyam [**Ma**] **Pa** yac ca] **Or**, yaśca **K** gr̥he] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, gr̥h{am}e **JM** amāmagatyasta] **Ku Mā Pa**, apā(→mā)magatyasta [**Ma**], amāmagatyā **JM**, ama · gatyasta **RM**, māmagatyasya **K** †durhārd \*apriyaḥ] durhārdaḥ priya **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**,

durhārdaḥ priyaḥ **RM**, durhāndaḥ priya **K** muñcatām] muñcatām **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, muñ{j}catām **Ku** || **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z Z Z **K**

ŚS 19.45.2

yád asmāsu duṣvāpnyam yád goṣu yác ca no grhé |  
ānāmagas tám ca durhārdaḥ priyaḥ prati muñcatām ||

ŚS 19.57.4d

asmāsu duṣvāpnyam yád goṣu yác ca no grhé ||

Bhattacharya edits *amāmagatyasta durhārdaḥ priya prati muñcatām* in **cd**.

**a.** This is the only place where Bhattacharya edits the word *duṣvāpnya-* with the spelling -ṣv-. For the spelling of this word in the edition, see GRIFFITHS 2009: LXIX (against LUBOTSKY 2002: 171).

**cd.** All versions of these pādas are corrupt both in the ŚS and in the PS; see KULIKOV forthc.: 9 for a detailed discussion of the variants of the manuscripts and the solutions proposed by the previous scholars. As regards the metrical flaw (one syllable too many in **c** and too few in **d**), I follow Kulikov's suggestion, consisting in removing the last syllable of pāda **c** to **d**, with minor modifications: *durhārd 'a(h)-priyaḥ*. He explains: "The nominative form *durhārd* [...] better suits the context than the alleged genitive-ablative *durhārdaḥ*, obviously triggered by *durhārdaḥ* in the preceding pāda (1c). The first word of **d** should undoubtedly be read *\*apriyaḥ* (for *priyaḥ* in manuscripts), as correctly suggested already by Whitney/Lanman".

I can offer no convincing solution for the beginning of **c**. The most plausible solutions are Kulikov's restoration, based on the reading of the PS, *\*amā +gātyām +yāt +tād* '[that] which is at home [and] on the way', and Lanman's emendation based on ŚS 19.57.5 *anāsmākas tād durhārdó 'priyaḥ prati muñcatām* 'let him who is not of us, the evil-hearted, the unfriendly, put upon himself'. It is important to note that *anāsmākas* occurs after the same indentical two pādas also at PS 3.30.6 *yad asmāsu +duṣvapnyam yad goṣu yac ca no grhe | anāsmākas tad devapīyuh piyāruṇi niṣkam iva prati muñcatām* 'Let the one who despises the gods, who is not of us, put upon himself, like a mocking breastplate, the nightmare which [is] in us, which [is] in the cows, and which [is] in our home'. This would perhaps suggest to read *anāsmākas* also here at the beginning of the verse, so that pādas **cd** would sound *\*anāsmākas \*tad \*durhārd \*apriyaḥ prati muñcatām* '(Let) the one who is not of us, the evil-hearted enemy put on himself that' (but still this would make pāda **c** heptasyllabic).

Another possible restoration would be *amāmakatvam ca* 'and the state of not belonging to me', but the meaning would be hard to explain.

Regarding the meaning of the verb *prati-muc*, see SOMMER 1977: 64, and GRIFFITHS 2009: 267 and 332. The expression *duṣvapnyam prati-muc-* occurs also at ŚS 9.2.2ac ≈ PS 16.76.2ac *yan me manaso na priyam na cakṣuṣo yan me hṛdaye nābhinandati | tad +duṣvapnyam prati muñcāmi sapatne* 'What of my mind and sight is not agreeable, what does not please my heart, that nightmare I put on my rival' and PS 20.54.7 *akṣivepaṁ +duṣvapnyam ārtim puruṣareṣiṇīm | tad asmad aśvinā yuvam apriye prati muñcatam* 'The nightmare which makes the eyes tremble, the pain hurting men; that, O Aśvins, put you two from us upon the unfriendly one'.

### 15.4.3 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī] ŚS 19.45.3

apām ūrja +ojaso vāvṛdhānam

Ta

agner jātam adhi jātavedasaḥ |  
 caturvīraṁ parvatīyaṁ yad āñjanaṁ  
 diśaḥ pradiśaḥ karad ic chivās te ||

J1  
 Ja  
 +Tb

Ever growing from the strength of the nourishment of the waters, born from Agni Jātavedas, the ointment of four virtues, coming from the mountains, will make the quarters and the intermediate quarters auspicious to you.

ūrja +ojaso] ūrja ataso **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, {u}ūrja ataso **Pa**, ūrjojaso **K** vāvṛdhānam] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, vāvṛ{t}dhānam **Pa** adhi jātavedasaḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, abhi jātavesaḥ **JM** parvatīyaṁ] **Or**, parvataṁ **K** yad āñjanaṁ] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, yad āñja{·}naṁ **Ku** karad ic chivās te] karad it śivās te || **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, ka{ri}(→ra)d it śivās te **Pa**, kraduviśchavāste **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

ŚS 19.45.3

apām ūrjā ōjaso vāvṛdhānām agnér jātām ádhi jātávedasaḥ |  
 caturvīraṁ parvatīyaṁ yád āñjanaṁ díśaḥ pradiśaḥ karad íc chivās te ||

Bhattacharya edits *apāmūrja ataso vāvṛghānam-* in **a** (*vāvṛghānam-* is possibly a misprint).

**a.** Bhattacharya edits the reading of the Orissa manuscripts, but **K** has a better text, which I adopt with the correct sandhi restored. As noted by KULIKOV forthc., the alternative interpretation of *ūrjas* as an ablative coordinate with *ojasas*, proposed by Whitney in his commentary, “seems to be ruled out by ŚS 18.4.53 [= PS 18.80.10b], where *ōjas-* is construed with the genitive *ūrjās*”: *ūrjó bālaṁ sāha ōjo na āgan* ‘The strength, the power, the force of the nourishment have come to us’.

**c.** I hesitantly follow Kulikov’s translation of the compound *caturvīra-* ‘of four virtues’, with reference to the four usages of the ointment listed in 5ab below. The problem with this translation is that *vīrá-* never means ‘virtue’ but ‘hero’, ‘eminent/strong man’, also in compounds, so that we should understand *caturvīra-* in the sense of *\*caturvīrya-*. Whitney’s translation ‘four-heroed’ is more literal, but unsatisfactory as regards the meaning. Griffith translates once ‘strong as four heroes’ but in other cases simply renders it as ‘Chaturvira’, suggesting, maybe correctly, that this Bahuvrīhi is probably used as a proper name of this particular ointment.

#### 15.4.4 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī] ≈ ŚS 19.45.4

caturvīraṁ badhyata āñjanaṁ te  
 sarvā diśo abhayās te bhavantu |  
 dhruvas tiṣṭhāsi saviteva vārya  
 imā viśo abhi harantu te balim ||

+#Ta  
 Ta  
 \*T/Jb  
 +#Ja

The ointment of four virtues is bound to you. Let all the quarters be free from danger for you. You will stand firm, being valuable like Savitar. Let these clans pay tribute to you.

badhyata āñjanaṁ te] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, badhyata āñjante **JM**, badhyata āñjana te **RM**, vadhyatāmyajante **K** abhayās] **Or**, bhayās **K** bhavantu] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, bhavanttu **Ku** dhruvas] **K**, dhṛvas **Or** tiṣṭhāsi] **K**, tiṣṭhādhi **Or** saviteva vārya] **Ku Mā [Ma] RM**, savitev{ā}a vārya **JM**, saviteva vavārya **Pa**, saviteva

vāri **K** viśo] **Or**, diśo **K** abhi harantu] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, abhi harantu **Ku**, bhriyantu **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K**

ŚS 19.45.4

cāturvīraṁ badhyata āñjanam te sārva diśo ābhayās te bhavantu |  
dhruvās tiṣṭhāsi savitēva cārya imā viśo abhi harantu te balīm ||

Bhattacharya edits *tiṣṭhādhi* in **c**.

KULIKOV forthc. discusses the problem of the identification of the addressee of this stanza. In his interpretation, these verses should be addressed to the Traikakuda plant, considered as a royal plant — “king among (medical) herbs” —, which would account for the use of the royal consecration formula *dhruvās tiṣṭha* ‘stand firm’. Accordingly, he understands the meaning of pāda **a** as “the ointment is connected with you [scil. the plant] (by descent)”, and explains *vārya* as a vocative addressed to the Traikakuda plant. I do not think that this stanza needs such a complicated interpretation. In my opinion it is clear from the use of the formulaic expression *dhruvās tiṣṭha*, the mention of the quarters free from danger and of the tribes bringing the tribute that the king is here addressed by the priest, who is applying the ointment to the king himself; the second person pronoun *te* refers to the king exactly as in pāda **d** of the preceding stanza, pronounced by the priest as well. The connection of pādas **cd** of the preceding stanza with **ab** of this one, which contain almost the same words, confirms that there is no sudden change of the addressee.

**c**. The reading of the Orissa manuscripts *tiṣṭhādhi* was adopted also by KULIKOV forthc. I prefer the reading of **K** *tiṣṭhāsi* (present subjunctive of the root *sthā-*), which is also in all the ŚS manuscripts (the subjunctive *tiṣṭhāsi* is attested several times in the PS, at 2.10.1d, 16.98.5d, 19.40.3b, 56.16b, 20.40.3c). Furthermore, in the formulaic expression *dhruvās + sthā-* ‘to stand firm’, the verb never occurs with the preverb *adhi* (cf. ṚV 10.173.1b = PS 19.6.5b, ṚV 10.173.2c = ŚS 6.87.2c = PS 19.6.6c, PS 1.66.1a). It should be noted that the reading *tiṣṭhādhi* of the Orissa manuscripts cannot be considered a mistake, since a confusion between *-dh-* and *-s-* is very unlikely in Oriya script; it is more likely to be due to perseveration from PS 1.72.3b *ut tiṣṭhādhi devanāt*.

If, on the other hand, one admits that **K** was in this case influenced by the ŚS, the agreement of all the Orissa manuscript would rather suggest to take *tiṣṭhādhi* as the original PS reading.

At the end of the pāda, the PS has no doubt preserved the original text, *vārya*, transmitted also in some of the ŚS manuscripts, which otherwise read *cārya*, segmented by the pādapāṭha as *ca aryāḥ* (the translation of SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 212 follows this analysis: ‘E tu ti ergerai nobile e saldo come il sole’). Kulikov’s interpretation of *vārya* as a vocative addressed to the Traikakuda plant can hardly be correct, since the form must be a nominative singular masculine (*vārya[s]*, in sandhi) connected with the nominative Savitā (note that the variant with initial *c-* may be a reminiscence of ŚS 13.1.38d ≈ PS 18.18.8d *’hām bhūyāsam savitēva cāruḥ* ‘May I become pleasant, like Savitar’).

An identical pāda beginning occurs at PS 1.66.1a *dhruvas tiṣṭha bhuvanasya gopa* ‘Stand firm, O guardian of the world’.

**d**. Note that **K** reads *diśo* ‘the quarters’ instead of *viśo*, which, being in the Orissa manuscripts and also in almost all the ŚS manuscripts (only one manuscript seems to have *diśo*), must be the original reading. Supported by the reading of **K**, W-R emend the text to *diśo*, but in his translation WHITNEY 1905: 970 adopt the reading *viśo* (rendering ‘these people’)

admitting that “our substitution of *diśas* was hardly called for”. The action of paying a tribute to a king (*balim (upa/abhi)hr-*, for which see GONDA 1966: 46–47) is obviously better ascribed to the members of a tribe than to the quarters. It is true that especially in the AV the quarters became cosmic entities which are often said to pay homage and bestow benefits to a king, but in these cases we always find different expressions: the quarters bow to the king (*nam-*) at ŚS 5.3.1c = PS 5.4.1c, bow down to the king (*saṁnam-*) at PS 10.4.1c, call the king (*hvā-*) at ŚS 3.4.1c = PS 3.1.1c etc. Interesting is ŚS 3.4.2ab = PS 3.1.2ab, where the tribes and the directions are mentioned together, which may be one of the reasons for the confusion between the two subjects in our passage: *tvām viśo vṛṇatām rājyāya tvām imāḥ pradīśaḥ pāñca devīḥ* ‘Let the tribes choose you for kingship, you these five divine [intermediate] quarters’. On the relation between the king, the tribes and the directions, see TSUCHIYAMA 2007: 71–75.

#### 15.4.5 [Triṣṭubh] ŚS 19.45.5

āṅkṣvai <sub>e</sub> kaṁ maṇim ekaṁ kṛṇuṣva	*+Ta
+snā <sub>h</sub> y ekena pibai <sub>e</sub> kam eṣām	*+Tb
caturvīraṁ nairṛtebhyaś caturbhyo	Ta
grāhyā bandhebhyaḥ pari pāt <sub>u</sub> v asmān	*Tb

Anoint yourself with one [of them], make one [your] amulet, bathe with one, drink one [of them]. Let the ointment of four virtues protect us from the four destructive snares of Grāhī.

āṅkṣvaikaṁ] āṅkṣvaikaṁ **Or**, ākṣakaṁ **K** +snāhy ekena] snājyekena **Ku RM [Ma] Pa**, snājyekema **JM**, smājyekena [**Mā**], śvāśīkena **K** pibaikam] **Or**, pavīkam **K** caturvīraṁ nairṛtebhyaś] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, caturvīraṁ nairṛtebhyoś [**Mā**], caturṛtebhyaś **K** bandhebhyaḥ] **Or**, bandhebhyaḥ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

ŚS 19.45.5

āṅkṣvāikaṁ maṇim ékaṁ kṛṇuṣva snāhy ékenā pibāikam eṣām |  
caturvīraṁ nairṛtébhyaś catúrbhyo grāhyā bandhébhyaḥ pári pātv asmān ||

Bhattacharya edits +snāhyekena in **b**.

**ab.** The four applications of the ointment mentioned in these two pādas possibly underlie the term *caturvīra-* ‘of four virtues’ already found in the previous stanza, and point to a more general sense of the word *āñjana-* in this spell. It is clear that the practical use of the Traikakuda plant is not restricted to an eye-lotion in this ritual, and that besides being used as an amulet, the Traikakuda ointment could have been taken both externally and perorally. Note the reading *ékenā* of the ŚS; the manuscripts read *ékenāpivāikam*, analysed by the pādapaṭha in *ékena : āpi : vā : ékam*. R-W emended to *ékena pibái ’kam*, while SPP chooses to retain *ékenā*, interpreting *ékena : ā : piba*. But as noted by Whitney (1905: 971), the verb *ā + pā* does not occur in the AV, and it would be distinctly out of place here. The PS offers the conclusive evidence that the original text is *ekena* and that the ŚS manuscripts have introduced a secondary and erroneous reading by mistake.

Note that in the reading *snāhy* all the Orissa manuscripts show the frequent confusion between *-hy-* and *-jy-*.

d. Kulikov forthc. points to the fact that “in the context of a hymn addressed to an ointment which is used, in particular, against evil dreams, it is important to note that sleep is described (AVŚ 16.5.1) as one of the sons of Grāhi (closely related to Nirṛti, or destruction)”.

#### 15.4.6 [Formula] ŚS 19.45.6, bc: PS 15.4.7–10bc

agnir <sup>+</sup> māgneyenāvatu	P
prāṇāyāpānāyāyuse	P
varcasa ojase tejase svastaye subhūṭaye svāhā	P

Let Agni help me with fire, for exhalation, for inhalation, for longevity, for splendour, for strength, for ardour, for well-being, for welfare: hail!

<sup>+</sup>māgneyenāvatu] māghnyenāvatu **JM** [Mā], māghnyenāvatu **Ku** [Ma] **Pa**, mā agnināvatu **K** varcasa] varccasa **Ku** **JM** **Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, rvarccasa **RM**, varcase **K** || **JM** **Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, || <sup>kā</sup> **Ku**, | **RM**, Z 6 Z **K**

#### ŚS 19.45.6

agnir māgnīnāvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuse varcasa ojase |  
téjase svastāye subhūṭāye svāhā ||

Bhattacharya edits *māghnyenāvatu* in a.

a. At the beginning of this stanza and of the following four, various divinities are invoked and requested to help through their specific powers; these verses should be pronounced by the king after the ointment has been applied. One would like to have the same pattern in all the stanzas, but the readings of the manuscripts are considerably different. KULIKOV forthc. emends 4.6a to <sup>+</sup>māgnéyenāvatu and edits *mendriyēṇāvatu* in 4.7a, *sāumyenāvatu* in 4.8a and *bhāgenāvatu* in 4.9a, suggesting for the latter an emendation to \**bhāgénā*<sup>o</sup> in analogy with the vṛddhi-derivatives in the preceding verses, in order to get a perfect parallelism. At 4.9 all versions are in accord, and it is quite obvious, since the name of Bhaga means at the same time the god and his power — so that Kulikov’s suggestion to edit <sup>+</sup>bhāgéna seems completely unjustified. At 4.8 all the PS manuscripts agree, reading *somyena* ‘with the power of Soma’, while the ŚS has *saumyena*, the vṛddhi-derivative of the name of the god, which could be a secondary reading. At 4.7 and 4.6 I follow Kulikov’s reading. The reading of 4.6 is particularly attractive: Kulikov suggests that the variants of Orissa manuscripts *māghnyenāvatu* / *māghnyenāvatu* (maybe corrupt due to secondary association with *aghnya*- ‘non-violable, bull’, which occurs above at 3.9a) point to the vṛddhi-derivative *āgneya*- ‘belonging/related to Agni’.

bc. On *prāṇa*- and *āpāna*-, see BODEWITZ 1986 and cf. 3.4a above. According to KULIKOV forthc., “the eight favourable things listed here must correspond to the eight cardinal and intermediary directions mentioned in verse 3”. Associations of these terms are common in the AV: cf., e.g., ŚS 3.13.5cd ≈ PS 3.4.5cd *tīvró ráso madhupṛcām araṁgamá ā mā prāṇéna sahá vārcasā gamet* ‘May the pungent sap of the honey-mixed ones, ready to help, come to me with breath, with splendour’, ŚS 10.5.36cd ≈ 16.8.4 ≈ PS 10.10.4fg, 6fg *idám ahám āmuṣyāyaṇásyāmúṣyāḥ putrásya vārcas téjaḥ prāṇám āyur ní veṣṭayāmi* ‘Now I grasp the splendour, the ardour, the breath, the longevity of him, son of N.N. as father, of N.N. as mother’, PS 5.22.9ab *punaś cakṣuḥ punaḥ prāṇam punar āyur dehi no jātavedaḥ* ‘Again the sight, again the breath, again the [full] life-time give us, O Jātavedas’, etc.

**15.4.7 [Formula]** ŚS 19.45.7, bc: PS 15.4.6bc, 8–10bc

indro mendriyeṇāvatu ° ° ° ||

P

Let Indra help me with the power of Indra for exhalation, for inhalation, for longevity, for splendour, for strength, for ardour, for well-being, for welfare: hail!

mendriyeṇāvatu] mendryeṇāvatu ||<sup>kā</sup> **Ku**, mendryeṇāvatu || **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, mendryeṇāvatu | **RM**, mā indreṇāvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuse varcasa ojase tejase svastaye prabhūṭaye svāhā Z 7 Z **K**

ŚS 19.45.7

indro mendriyeṇāvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuse varcasa ojase |  
tejase svastāye subhūṭāye svāhā ||

Bhattacharya edits *mendryeṇāvatu* in **a**.

**a.** See my comment under 4.6a.

**bc.** The refrain of stanzas 7–9 is written in abbreviated form in all the Orissa manuscripts (for the superscribed sign *kā* in **Ku**, see Introduction). Only **K** has the full text, without any sign of abbreviation.

**15.4.8 [Formula]** ŚS 19.45.8, bc: PS 15.4.6–7bc, 9–10bc

somo mā somyenāvatu ° ° ° ||

P

Let Soma help me with the power of Soma for exhalation, for inhalation, for longevity, for splendour, for strength, for ardour, for well-being, for welfare: hail!

somyeṇāvatu] somyenāvatu ||<sup>kā</sup> **Ku**, somyenāvatu || **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, somyenāvatu | **RM**, somyenāvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuse varcase ojase tejase svastaye prabhūṭaye svāhā Z 8 Z **K**

ŚS 19.45.8

sómo mā sáumyenāvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuse varcasa ojase |  
tejase svastāye subhūṭāye svāhā ||

**15.4.9 [Formula]** ŚS 19.45.9, bc: PS 15.4.6–8bc, 10bc

bhago mā bhagenāvatu ° ° ° ||

P

Let Bhaga help me with good fortune for exhalation, for inhalation, for longevity, for splendour, for strength, for ardour, for well-being, for welfare: hail!

bhagenāvatu] bhagenāvatu || **JM RM [Ma]**, bhagenāvatu · **Ku**, bhagenānāvatu || [**Mā**], bhag{o}enāvatu || **Pa**, bhagenāvatu | prāṇāyāpānāyāyuse varcasa ojase tejase svastaye subhūṭaye svāhā Z 9 Z **K**

ŚS 19.45.9

bhāgo ma bhāgenāvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuse varcasa ojase |  
tejase svastāye subhūṭāye svāhā ||



In WHITNEY 1905: 969, 972 it is twice erroneously stated that this stanza is wanting in the PS, but it is indeed attested also in **K**. The symbol *kā* for the abbreviation of repeated words is blurred in **Ku**.

**15.4.10 [Formula] ŚS 19.45.10, bc: PS 15.4.6–9bc**

maruto mā gaṇair avantu ° ° ° ||

P

Let the Maruts help me with [their] troops for exhalation, for inhalation, for longevity, for splendour, for strength, for ardour, for well-being, for welfare: hail!

maruto] **K**, maṛto **Or** avantu] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K**, amantu **JM RM** varcasa] **K**, varccasa **Ku JM [Ma]**, varcca{se}sa **Pa**, varccase **RM [Mā]** ojase] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K**, ojas(+e) **RM**, oja **JM** subhūtaye] **Or**, suprabhūtaye **K** svāhā || ṛ 10 || 4 || **Ku**, svāhā || ṛ 8 || Z || **JM**, svāhā || ṛ 4 || **RM**, svāhā || 4 || ṛ 10 **Pa**, **[Mā]**, svāhā Z 10 ZZ ZZ ity atharvaṇikapaippalādayaś śakhāyām pañcadaśa[6]h kāṇḍāḥ prathamānuvākaḥ Z Z **K**

ŚS 19.45.10

marúto mā gaṇáir avantu prāṇāyāpānāyuse várcasa ójase téjase |  
svastáye subhútáye sváhā ||

**a.** Cf. PS 5.18.5b *trāyantām maruto gaṇaiḥ* ‘Let the Maruts with [their] troops rescue [him]’ and PS 6.17.10a *ā yantu maruto gaṇaiḥ* ‘Let the Maruts come with [their] troops’.

The manuscript **JM** counts the last stanza of this hymn as eight. Since **JM** actually has ten stanzas, this must be a mistake, which could reflect the original numbering of stanzas, in accord with the norm of eighteen stanzas (10 + 8) per hymn expected by the title of the kāṇḍa. It is indeed possible that two of the last invocations are secondary, but the number eight could also have been automatically written by the scribe, without reference to the transmitted text.

Note also that the first *anuvāka* of kāṇḍa fifteen here comes to an end. **K** is the only manuscript that marks the *anuvāka*-division, writing a full colophon with the *anuvāka*-number in words.

### 15.5. The king's investiture

PS 15.5 and 6 comprise a single composition of twenty connected stanzas, split over two hymns (10 + 10). The hymn is composite both in metre and in content; it alternates Triṣṭubh/Jagatī pādas with Anuṣṭubh pādas, and looks like a collection of stanzas taken from different sources and put together in order to be used during a royal ceremony. Textual evidence suggests this kind of ritual context; see, e.g., the occurrence of concepts often connected with a king and royalty: *āyus-*, *prajā-*, *ojas-*, *rāyaspoṣa-* (and *rāyaś ca poṣa-*), *varcas-*, *śarmaṇ-*, *puṣṭi-*, *rāṣṭra-*, *kṣatra-*, *suvīra-*, *sthira-*, as well as expressions describing actions that are typical for a king: *pra mṛñīhi durasyataḥ*, *sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ* (both occurring twice, at 5.7cd and 6.10cd), *bhavā kṣṣṭīnām abhiśastipā u* (6.2b), (a)*bhūr vāpīnām abhiśastipā u* (6.3b), *vasūni cārur vibhajāsi* (6.3d). The ultimate evidence is offered by the commentary on hymn ŚS 2.13, which for stanzas two and three (= PS 15.6.1–2) quotes AVParīś 4.1 *pari dhatteti dvābhyām rājño vastram abhimantrya prayacchet* ‘Having consecrated the king’s garment with the two stanzas [beginning with] *pari dhatta*, he should give it [to the king]’, where these two stanzas are pronounced in the morning by a purohita handing to a king the garment he is to put on.

According to my interpretation, the garment described in this hymn, although not specifically mentioned, is the *tārpya* garment used especially during royal rituals, like the *rājasūya*, the *vājapeya*, the *aśvamedha* and others (see PARPOLA 1985: 44 ff.). The description of the making of the garment (stanzas 15.5.5–6) supports Parpola’s idea that “the *tārpya* garment with its *dhiṣṇya* decorations also stands for the star-speckled heavenly vault and constitutes a means of attaining that heavenly world” (*ibid.* p. 72). The notion of rebirth (stanzas 15.6.7–9), symbolically represented by the change of clothes, is further evidence in favour of the identification of the *tārpya* garment.

The hymn exceeds the norm of 18 stanzas per hymn by two, but it is difficult to identify secondary insertions because of the composite structure of the hymn. The best candidates for later accretions are probably stanza 15.6.4, which is the only one in Gāyatrī metre, and stanzas 5.7 or 6.10, which seem slightly out of place from the point of view of the content and the metre, although there is no conclusive evidence to settle the issue.

The stanzas from 5.8 up to 6.5 were lately grouped together to constitute the hymn ŚS 19.24, which was recited, according to the commentary, “in a *mahāśānti* ceremony called *tvāṣṭrī*, on occasion of the loss (*kṣaya*) of a garment” (WHITNEY 1905: 934).

Phrasal and thematic correspondences with the preceding hymn (3 + 4) are contained throughout: the word *āyus-*, found in various forms (cf. the compound *āyurdā* in 5.1a, *āyur* in 5.2a, *āyuṣe* in 5.3a, 5.9a, 5.10a, *āyuh* in 5.4a, 6.1b, 6d, 7d, 8d), corresponds with *āyuṣo* in 3.1a; *jātavedaḥ* in 5.2a with *jātavedasaḥ* in 4.3b; *ojaḥ*, 5.2b, with *ojaso* in 4.3a and *ojase* in 4.6b as well as the refrain of the following stanzas; *varcase* in 5.3a and *varcas[a]* in 6.1a with *varcasa* in 4.6b and the refrain of the following stanzas; *madhyam* in 5.6b occurs identically in 3.7a, while *abhayam* in 5.6b corresponds with *abhayās* in 4.3b; with *svastaye* in 6.3a and *svasti* in 6.7d, compare *svastaye* in 4.6b and the refrain of the following stanzas; *āha* in 6.5c occurs also in 3.8b. Other links are provided by the words *prataram* in 5.4ab (cf. *prataraṇam* in 3.1a), *sūryo* in 6.8d (cf. *sūryaś* in 3.5c) and the verb forms *harāmi* in 6.9b (cf. *harantu* in 4.4d) and *avantu* in 6.9b (cf. *avatu* in 4.6a and in the refrain of the following stanzas — *avantu* in 4.10a). Finally, in both hymns the gods Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Savitar and Bhaga are mentioned.

**15.5.1 [Triṣṭubh]** ≈ ŚS 2.13.1, MS 4.12.4:188.8–9 ≈ KS 11.13:160.11–12, TS 1.3.14.4 (= TB 1.2.1, TĀ 2.5.1, ĀśvŚS 2.10.4), VSM 35.17, ĀpMP 2.2.1, ŚāṅkhGS 1.25, HirGS 1.3.5

āyurdā deva jarasam pṛṇāno	Tb
ghṛtapratīko ghṛtapṛṣṭho agne	Tb
ghṛtam pibann amṛtam cāru gavyam	Ta
pitēva putram jarase nayemam	Tb

O god, [you are] one giving longevity, one making old age full; O Agni, [you are] ghee-faced, ghee-backed. Drinking ghee as ambrosia, sweet, coming from the cows, lead this one to old age, as a father his son.

āyurdā] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, ā-rdā **Ku** pṛṇāno] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, pṛṇ{e}āno **Pa**, vṛṇāno **K** ghṛtapṛṣṭho] **Or**, ghṛtapṛṣṭhau **K** pibann] **JM [Ma] Pa K**, pibaṁn **Ku RM [Mā]** cāru] **K**, cār **Or** nayemam] **Ku JM Mā RM**, nayemaṁ (→ naṁ) **Pa**, naṁenaṁ (→ maṁ) **[Ma]**, nayemaṁ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 1 Z K**

ŚS 2.13.1

āyurdā agne jarasam vṛṇāno ghṛtapratīko ghṛtapṛṣṭho agne |  
ghṛtam pītṛvā mādhu cāru gavyam pitēva putram abhī rakṣatād imām ||

MS 4.12.4:188.8–9

āyurdā deva jarasam vṛṇāno ghṛtapratīko ghṛtapṛṣṭho agne |  
ghṛtam pibann amṛtam cāru gavyam pitēva putram jarase \*nayemām ||

KS 11.13:160.11–12

āyurdā deva jarasam vṛṇāno ghṛtam vāsāno ghṛtapṛṣṭho agne |  
ghṛtam pibann amṛtam cāru gavyam pitēva putram jarase nayemām ||

TS 1.3.14.4 (= TB 1.2.1, TĀ 2.5.1, ĀśvŚS 2.10.4)

āyurdā agne havīṣo juṣāno ghṛtapratīko ghṛtāyonir edhi |  
ghṛtam pītṛvā mādhu cāru gavyam pitēva putram abhī rakṣatād imām ||

VSM 35.17

āyusmān agne havīṣā vṛdhānās ghṛtapratīko ghṛtāyonir edhi |  
ghṛtam pītṛvā mādhu cāru gavyam pitēva putram abhī rakṣatād imām ||

ĀpMP 2.2.1

āyurdā deva jarasam pṛṇāno ghṛtapratīko ghṛtapṛṣṭho agne |  
ghṛtam pibann amṛtam cāru gavyam pitēva putram jarase nayemām svāhā ||

a. The PS agrees with the MS, the KS and the ĀpMP in reading *deva*, while the other texts have *agne*. I consider the reading *pṛṇāno* of the Orissa manuscripts authentic. The variant *vṛṇāno*, shared by **K**, the ŚS and the MS, seems to be the *lectio faciliior* and could be — as noted by Lanman (in WHITNEY 1905: 56) — a misplaced reminiscence of ṚV 10.18.6a = ŚS 12.2.24a *ā rohatāyur jarasam vṛṇānā* ‘Rise up, choosing longevity, old age’, which also occurs at PS 17.32.5ab *ā rohatāyur jarasam pṛṇānā*, where **K** again reads *vṛṇānā* against the Orissa manuscript (cf. also the reading *pṛṇānās* at TĀ 6.10.1). The same distribution of these variants

in the PS tradition is found at PS 17.4.7c, where again the Orissa manuscripts read *prṇānā* and **K** reads *vrṇānā*.

For Agni as a bestower of longevity, cf., e.g., PS 2.44.1a *āyurdā agniḥ* ‘Agni [is] the one giving longevity’, VS 3.17 = TS 1.5.5.3 = 1.5.7.4 = ŚB 2.3.4.19 *āyurdā agne* ‘si ‘O Agni, you are the one giving longevity’.

**b.** Note that ghee is naturally connected with Agni, but also with the *tārpya* garment (see PARPOLA 1985: 39–40).

**c.** The PS agrees with the MS, the KS and the ĀpMP, while the other texts have a slightly different pāda: *ghṛtām pītvā mādhu cāru gāvyaṃ* ‘Having drunk the ghee, sweet, pleasant, coming from the cows’.

**d.** Once again, as in pādas **a** and **c**, the PS agrees with the MS (whose reading *ma emām* must be a mistake for *nayemām*), the KS and the ĀpMP. The other texts have *pitéva putrām* (ŚS *putrān*) *abhī rakṣatād imām* ‘Protect this one like a father [protects] his son(s)’. It is indeed easier to understand the protective role of a father towards his sons rather than to imagine a father leading a son into old age; in this case, however, one could think that an educational and tutorial role is involved together with the idea of protection. The expression *jarase nī-* is common in the AV and especially in the PS (note that instead of the verb *nī-*, the ŚS often has *vah-*): cf. PS 1.14.2d *ta enaṃ svasti jarase nayātha* ‘So (= as such), you will lead him happily to old age’ (*nayantu* at PS 20.11.5d, *vahantu* at ŚS 7.53.4d) ≈ ŚS 1.30.2d *svasty ènaṃ jarāse vahātha* ‘Happily you will carry him to old age’, PS 1.62.3c *indro yathainam jarase nayāty* ‘So that Indra will lead him to old age’, 1.69.4e *sa enaṃ jarase nayāt* ‘As such he will lead him to old age’, 20.59.9d *tām agne jarase naya* ‘O Agni, lead that [offspring] to old age’, ŚS 3.11.6cd *śārīram asyāṅgāni jarāse vahataṃ pūnaḥ* ‘You two must carry his body, his limbs to old age again’, 6.5.2d *jīvātave jarāse naya* ‘Lead him to life, to old age’.

### 15.5.2 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ ŚS 2.29.2, d: ŚS 1.10.2d

āyur asmai dhehi jātavedaḥ	Tb
prajāṃ tvaṣṭar adhi ni dhehiḥ ojaḥ	*+ #Ta
rāyaspoṣaṃ savitar ā suvāsmāi	Ta
śatām jīvāti śaradas tavāyam	Tb

Bestow longevity on this one, O Jātavedas. Grant progeny [and] strength, O Tvaṣṭar. Impel great wealth to this one, O Savitar (‘impeller’). This one [worshipper] of yours will live a hundred autumns.

jātavedaḥ] **Or**, jātavedaḥ **K** tvaṣṭar] **Or**, tvaṣṭur **K** dhehi] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, hy **RM** ojaḥ] **K**, onah **Or** savitar] **Ku JM RM K**, savitā(→ ta)r **[Ma] Pa**, savitur **Mā** suvāsmāi] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, ṣu(→ su)vāsmāi **Pa** jīvāti] **Or**, jīvātu **K** tavāyam] **Or**, tavāyam, **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, **Z** **2 Z K**

### ŚS 2.29.2

āyur asmāi dhehi jātavedaḥ prajāṃ tvaṣṭar adhinīdhehi asmāi |  
rāyāspōṣaṃ savitar ā suvāsmāi śatām jīvāti śaradas tāvāyam ||

Bhattacharya edits *onah* in **b**.

a. This stanza is repeated at PS 19.17.11, where the abbreviation *āyur asmai ity ekā* refers back to the present stanza.

b. The reading *onah* of **Or** is possibly a graphical mistake, although the confusion between *-na-* and *-ja-* is not very common in the Orissa manuscripts; there is no doubt that **K** has preserved the authentic reading *ojah*, which I adopt in the text. Instead of *ojah*, the ŚS reads *asmāi*, which is syntactically difficult, as noted by Whitney (1905: 70, “The construction of a dative with *adhi-ni-dhā* in **b** seems hardly admissible”) and could have been introduced here from the preceding pāda. The compound verb *adhinidhā-* is very rare; besides this passage, it occurs at ŚS 6.138.3cd = PS 1.68.4ef *kurīram asya śīrṣāṇi kumbhaṁ cādhinīdadhmāsi* ‘We have put upon his head the *kurīra* and the *kumba*’,<sup>41</sup> in which the construction with the locative is more appropriate.

c. Note the frequent play on the name of the god Savitar ‘the impeller’ and the verb (*ā*)*sū-* ‘impel’, from which the name of the god derives. I follow Whitney’s translation (‘abundance of wealth, O Savitar (“impeller”), do thou impel to him’), trying to keep the association between the two words derived from the same root also in English.

d. The sequence *tavāyam*, without an explicit subject, is rather unusual and occurs only here and in the identical pāda ŚS 1.10.2d. The sequence of *tava* plus a form of the pronoun *ayām* is indeed quite common in the ṚV, but it is always found with another noun in the nominative connected with the pronoun: cf. ṚV 1.135.2d *tāvāyām bhāgā āyūsu* ‘This [is] your share among living beings’, 3d *tāvāyām bhāgā rtvīyaḥ* ‘This [is] your share which is in proper time’, 7.32.17cd *tāvāyām viśvaḥ puruhūta pārthivo vasyūr nāma bhikṣate* ‘O much invoked one, every inhabitant of the earth here, wishing for help, implores your name’, 7.98.6a *tāvedām viśvam abhītaḥ paśavyām* ‘Yours is all this cattle everywhere’, 9.66.6a *tāvemé sapta sindhavaḥ* ‘These seven rivers of yours’ etc. Similarly in the AV: cf. ŚS 6.44.1d = PS 20.34.7d *tīṣṭhād rōgo ayām tava* ‘May this disease of yours stand firm’, ŚS 11.2.11a = PS 16.105.1a *urūḥ kōśo vasudhānas tāvāyām* ‘This wide vessel, containing wealth, is yours’. I interpret our passage as having an understood subject ‘worshipper’, ‘devotee’. This is also the interpretation given by Griffith and Bloomfield, who translate, respectively, ‘Let this thy servant live a hundred autumns’ (both at ŚS 2.29.2d and ŚS 1.10.2d) and ‘May this one, who belongs to thee, live a hundred autumns’ (thus at ŚS 2.29.2; at 1.10.2d ‘This thy (man) shall live a hundred autumns’). Whitney’s translations ‘May he live a hundred autumns of thee’ (2.29.2) or ‘A hundred autumns of thee shall this man live’ (1.10.2d) are incomprehensible to me.

For a similar construction, cf. ṚV 10.97.2cd *ādihā śatakratvo yūyām imām me agadām kṛta* ‘And so let you, having thousand powers, free this [patient] of mine from disease’.

### 15.5.3 [Triṣṭubh] ŚS 2.28.5 ≈ TS 2.3.10.3 = ĀpMP 2.4.2 ≈ KS 11.7:153.16–17 ≈ MS 2.3.4:31.11–12

imam agna āyuṣe varcase dhāḥ	+Ta
priyaṁ reto varuṇa mitra rājan	+#Ta
mātevāsmā adite śarma yacha	Ta
viśve devā jaradaṣṭir yathāsat	Ta

<sup>41</sup> At PS 1.68.4f Bhattacharya edits *kumbhaṁ*, which clearly needs to be emended according to the reading of the ŚS. *Kurīra-* and *kumba-* refer to some kind of head-dress and head ornament used by women. See WHITNEY 1905: 384, and PARPOLA forthc.

O Agni, you will dispose this one toward longevity, toward splendour, [you will dispose his] dear seed, O Varuṇa, O king Mitra! As a mother, O Aditi, offer this one protection, so that he will be one reaching old age, O All-gods.

varcase] [Ma] K, varccase JM RM Mā Pa, varccaso Ku dhāḥ] Or, dhā K priyaṁ] Or, priyo K reto] Ku JM RM Pa K, mitro Mā [Ma] varuṇa] K, vaṇa Or mitra] Or, mittra K mātēvāsmā] K, mādevāsmā JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa, mājevāsmā Ku yacha] Or, yaścha K yathāsat || yathāsat, K, yathāsaḥ Ku RM [Ma] Pa, yathāsaha JM, jathāsaḥ Mā || Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 3 Z K

#### ŚS 2.28.5

imām agnē āyuṣe vārcase naya priyāṁ réto varuṇa mitra rājan |  
mātēvāsmā adite śārma yacha víśve devā jarādaṣṭir yáthāsat ||

#### TS 2.3.10.3 = ĀpMP 2.4.2

imām agna āyuṣe vārcase kṛdhi priyāṁ réto varuṇa soma rājan |  
mātēvāsmā adite śārma yacha víśve devā jarādaṣṭir yáthāsat ||

#### KS 11.7:153.16–17

imām agna āyuṣe vārcase kṛdhi tīgmām ójo varuṇá sámśiśādhi |  
mātēvāsmā adite śārma yacha víśve devā jarādaṣṭir yáthāsat ||

#### MS 2.3.4:31.11–12

imām agnā āyuṣe vārcase kṛdhi tīgmām ójo varuṇa soma rājan |  
mātēvāsmā adite śārma yacha víśve devā jarādaṣṭir yáthāsat ||

**ab.** There are interesting variants in the parallel passages of these two pādas, which have been variously interpreted by the translators (Whitney ‘This one, O Agni, do thou lead for life-time, for splendor, to dear seed, O Varuṇa, Mitra, king!’; Griffith ‘Lead him to life, O Agni, and to splendour, this dear child, Varuna! and thou King Mitra!’; Bloomfield ‘Lead this dear child to life and vigour, O Agni, Varuna, and king Mitra!’). I interpret *priyāṁ retas* as an expression indicating the offspring of the king, who is addressed with the pronoun *ayām*. This is suggested by the parallel position, at the beginning of the pāda, of the same pronoun and of the word *prajā-* in the previous stanza: we find at 5.2a *asmai* and at 5.2b *prajāṁ*, exactly as at 5.3a *imam* and at 5.3b *priyāṁ reto*. Note also that the PS reads *dhāḥ* (aorist subjunctive), while the parallel passages have *kṛdhi* (aorist imperative) and the ŚS has *naya*. The subjunctive of the PS seems to be the *lectio difficilior*, especially because it introduces a *variatio* with respect to the imperative in pāda c. On the syntactic relation between the roots *dhā-* and *kṛ-*, see CARDONA 1978.

Note that **Mā** and **Ma** read *mitro* instead of *reto*, maybe due to perseveration from verses in which appears the sequence *mitro varuṇa-* (e.g. PS 1.18.2a, 4.28.7c = 8.14.1c = 13.6.6c).

**c.** Note the erroneous reading *mādevāsmā* in the Orissa manuscripts, due to the frequent confusion between *-t-* and *-d-* (cf. similar cases at 6.9a, 15.3a).

**d.** On the word *jarādaṣṭi-*, see TUCKER 2002.

#### 15.5.4 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī] ≈ ĀpMP 2.4.4, c: PS 2.65.5c

agniṣ ṭa āyuh pratarāṁ kṛnotu

Tb

somas te puṣṭim pratarām dadhātu |  
 indro marutvān adhi te bravīt<sub>u</sub>v  
 ādityais te aditiḥ śarma yachatu ||

Tb  
 \*Tb  
 Ja

Let Agni make a crossing for you toward longevity, let Soma provide a crossing for you toward prosperity. Let Indra, attended by the Maruts, speak in your favour. Let Aditi give you protection with the Adityas.

pādas cd om. **K** • agniḥ ta āyuh | agniḥ ta āyuh **RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, aGNIḥ TA āyuh **Ku**, agni āyuh **JM**, agniṣtvāyuh **K** kṛnotu | **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, kṛnotu **Ku** pratarām | **Or**, pratirām **K** dadhātu | **Or**, dadhātu Z 4 Z **K** marutvān | marutvān **Or** ādityais | **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, ādityes **Mā** śarma yachatu | śarma yachatu || **Ku JM [Ma] Pa**, śarma yachatu | **RM**, śayachatu || **Mā**

#### ĀpMP 2.4.4

agnīḥ ta āyuh pratarām dadhāt<sub>v</sub> agniḥ te pūṣṭim pratarām kṛnotu |  
 indro marúdbhir ṛtudhā kṛnot<sub>v</sub> ādityāis te vásubhir ā dadhātu ||

**ab.** Note that the ĀpMP uses the verbs *kṛ-* and *dhā-* in the same mood and tense as the PS, but exchanges them in the two sentences (see my note under 5.3ab). The expression *āyuh pratarām dhā-* is attested several times in the RV and AV. Cf. especially RV 1.53.11d = 10.18.2b, 3d, 115.8d, ŚS 12.2.30b ≈ PS 2.38.1c, 17.32.10b etc. *drāghīya āyuh pratarām dādhanāḥ* ‘Establishing a longer more extensive longevity’, which has the same metrical structure as PS 15.5.4a. For the equivalent use of *dhā-* and *kṛ-* in this expression, cf. my comment under 15.5.3ab and PS 16.3.2c *drāghīya āyuh pratarām te kṛnomy*, to be compared with ŚS 8.2.2d *drāghīya āyuh pratarām te dadhāmi*.

**c.** This identical pāda occurs at PS 2.65.5c *indro marutvām adhi te bravītu* ‘Indra, von den Maruts begleitet, soll für dich sprechen’ (ZEHNDER 1999: 150).

**d.** See similar expressions at RV 6.75.12d *āditiḥ śarma yachatu* ‘Let Aditi give protection’ and PS 2.70.5b *ādityās śarma yachata* ‘O Adityas, give protection’.

#### 15.5.5 [N.N.] abd: ≈ ĀpMP 2.2.3, KāthGS 41.5

revatīḥ tvā v <sub>i</sub> y +akṣaṇan	*A
kṛttikāś +cakṛtus t <sub>u</sub> vā	*A
apasas tvā vy +atanvata	A
dhiyo avayann avāgnāyīr *apṛjjan	*+ #T2

The Revatīḥ carded you, the Kṛttikāś (‘Spinners’) spun you. The skilful ones stretched you [on the loom]. Divine thoughts wove [you], the wife of Agni [and the wives of the other gods] made the hems.

+akṣaṇan] akṣaṇam **Or K** kṛttikāś] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, kṛttikāś **Mā**, kṛttikā **K** +cakṛtus] cakṛtas **Or**, cakṛtus **K** apasas tvā +vyatanvata] apasas tvām atanvata **Or**, abhisastvā abhiṣas tvā vyatanyatu **K** vayann avāgnāyīr \*apṛjjan ||] vayann avāgnāyīr apṛñcan || **JM**, vayann avāgnāyīr apṛñcan **Mā [Ma] Pa**, (| **Ku RM**), vayann avāgnā āyurvantaḥ **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

#### ĀpMP 2.2.3

revatīḥ tvā vy ākṣaṇan kṛttikāś cākṛtaḥ tvā |

KāthGS 41.5

revatīs tvā vy akṣṇan kṛttikāś cakratus tvāpasas tvā vy atanvata dhiyo 'vayann āva gnā amṛjan |

Bhattacharya edits *vyakṣṇan* in **a**.

After four stanzas in which several gods are invoked and asked to bestow precious gifts on the king, this stanza is addressed to the garment; the change in metre from Triṣṭubh/Jagatī to Anuṣṭubh underlines the transition. For the translation and interpretation of this stanza and of the following one, I refer to HOFFMANN 1985.

**a.** The Revatī is the 27<sup>th</sup> *nakṣatra* of the zodiac, corresponding to ζ *piscium*. Its name means 'the wealthy one', and it was considered an auspicious constellation, capable of making a person born under its influence rich and purchase jewelry and gems. It is noteworthy that later Hindu astrology recommended wearing new dresses only when the moon was passing through this *nakṣatra*. The verb *kṣaṇ-* means 'to card'; "das Präverb *vi* weist präzisierend darauf hin, daß die verfilzten Wollhäre bei diesem Arbeitsgang auseinandergekratzt werden müssen" (HOFFMANN 1985: 174).

**b.** Both the readings *cakratus* of **K** and *cakṛtas* of **Or** point to a perfect form *cakṛtus* from *kṛt-* 'to spin', on which see KÜMMEL 2000: 139. The word *kṛttikāś* is the name of the Pleiades, the third *nakṣatra* of the zodiac, and it is first attested in the Atharvaveda, as stated by KNOBL 2009: 134–135. PS 15.5.5b could be added to the list of the earlier attestations of this word provided by Knobl: ŚS 9.7.3a ≈ PS 16.139.3a *vidyúj jihvā marúto dántā revátir grīvāḥ kṛttikā skandhā gharmó váhaḥ* 'The tongue [is] lightning, the teeth [are] the Maruts, the neck [is] the Revatīs, the shoulders [are] the Kṛttikāś, the carrying [is] the hot drink', ŚS 19.7.2a *suhávam agne kṛttikā róhiṇī* 'O Agni, easy to be invoked [by me] the Kṛttikas, the Rohiṇi stars', PS 19.38.13cd *devānām patnīḥ kṛttikā imām tantum \*amūmuhan* 'The Kṛttikas, wives of the gods, have confused this warp'.<sup>42</sup>

As confirmed by this stanza, the name of the Pleiades is derived from the verb *kṛt-*, so that the sequence *kṛttikāś cakṛtus* produces a beautiful *anuprāsa*. The redactor must have been aware of this etymological connection between the noun and the verb, because also in PS 19.38.13 quoted above, they assign to the Pleiades an action which involves a warp (cf. further PS 15.6.6a).

**c.** The PS version of this pāda is corrupt both in **K** and **Or**. I restore the correct readings according to the KāthGS. HOFFMANN 1985: 176 (note 9) points out that the reading *tvām atanvata* in the Orissa manuscripts could be secondary, because in the two preceding pādas the text has *tvā*, not *tvām*, and the sequence *tvā vyatan*<sup>o</sup> in **K** occurs identically in the KāthGS.

**d.** This pāda was discussed at length by HOFFMANN 1985: 176 (note 16). I quote *in extenso* his brilliant observations: "Statt *avā gnā āyurvantaṃ*, wie Barret, JAOS 50, 1930, 51 die Akṣara-Folge des Kaschmir-Ms. zerlegt, lesen die Or.-Manuscripts *avāgnāyīrapṛñcan*, das offensichtlich in *ava agnāyīr aprñcan* aufzulösen ist. Daß dieser Wortlaut auch dem verstümmelten Komplex *avāgnāyīr-vantaṃ* des Kaschmir-Ms. Zugrunde liegt, zeigt deutlich das *ā* von *avā-*. Der Plural *agnāyīḥ* ist wohl elliptisch zu verstehen: *agnāyī-* 'die Frau des Agni und die Frauen der anderen Götter', vgl. RV I 22, 12 *indrāñīm... varuṇāñīm... agnāyīm*, RV V

<sup>42</sup> For the translation and interpretation of PS 19.38.13cd, I refer to LUBOTSKY 2002: 135 and KNOBL 2009: 135, notes 66–69.



46, 8 (= AV VII 49, 2) *gnāḥ... devápatnīr indrāṇy āgnāyy aśvínī... ródasī varuṇānī...* Wenn dieser elliptische Plural nicht mehr verstanden wurde, lag es nahe, aus *agnāyīr* das bekannte *gnāḥ* herauszuhören, wie es in ĀpMP und KāthGS vorliegt. Wenn auch *ava... aprñcan* allem Anschein nach die authentische Lesung der Paippalāda-Version gewesen ist, kann es kaum sinnvoll zu dem Verbum *prc* (*prñakti*) ‘mischen, füllen’ gestellt werden. Es dürfte sich letzten Endes um eine Entstellung von *ava... \*apṛjjan* handeln, das durch Kontamination mit *avrñjan* über *\*apṛñjan* dem hochsprachlichen *apṛñcan* lautlich angeglichen wurde”. I follow Hoffmann’s suggestion and emend the reading of the Orissa manuscripts, *apṛñcan*, to *\*apṛjjan*. The reading of **K** *āyurvantaṁ* is not helpful at all, since it is clearly a blunder due to a misunderstanding of the text: the first word of the compound, *āyur-*, was taken from 5.1a *āyurdā* and 5.2a *āyur*. The ultimate reasoning for the emendation is that the verb (*ava*)*prj-*, previously known only from the verbal adjective *án-ava-prgṇa-* ‘nicht abgeschlossen (von einem Kleid)’, attested at RV 1.152.4, provides the *terminus technicus* for making the hem of a cloth (cf. the noun *ava-prajjana-* ‘Gewebeabschluß’ at AB 3.10.5 and see RAU 1970: 18).

**15.5.6 [Triṣṭubh]** a: cf. ŚS 14.1.45b = PS 18.5.2b, ĀpMP 2.2.3, cd: ≈ ĀpMP 2.2.4, cf. KāthGS 41.5

sahasram antāṁ abhito (')dadanta-	Tb
-aśītīr madhyam abhayaṁ vi nārīḥ	Tb
devīr devāya paridhe savitre	Tb
mahat tad āsām *abhavan mahitvam	Tb

A thousand [women] held the ends on all sides, eighty [held] the middle safely apart, the goddesses, in order to clothe god Savitar. It became the great greatness of those women.

antāṁ] antām **Or**, anta **K** dadantāśītīr] **JM RM [Mā]**, dadaNTāśītīr **Ku**, dadantāśītīr [**Ma**] **Pa**, radantāśītīr **K** madhyam] **RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, maDHYAM **Ku**, maghya{bha}m **JM** abhayaṁ] **K**, abhayaṁ **Or** vi] **Or**, tu **K** nārīḥ] **K**, nārī **Or** paridhe] **Or**, paride **K** mahat tad] **K**, mahatvad **Or** \*abhavan] aghavan **Or** **K** ||] **Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku JM RM**, Z 6 Z **K**

ĀpMP 2.2.4

devīr devāya paridhī savitré mahát tād āsām abhavan mahítvanam |

ŚS 14.1.45ab

yā ákr̥ntann ávayan yās ca tatniré yā devīr antāṁ abhító 'dadanta |

KāthGS 41.5

sahasram antāṁ abhito 'dadantāśītīr madhyam avayann u nārīḥ |

Bhattacharya edits *aghavan* in **d**.

**a.** On the root *dad-*, see WACKERNAGEL 1953: 379–80 and GOTÖ 1987: 171–172. As already noticed by HOFFMANN 1985: 176 note 4, Whitney’s translation ‘gave’ is incorrect, because the root *dad-* ‘to hold (firm)’, which is concerned here, must be considered synchronically independent from the root *dā-* ‘to give’.

**b.** HOFFMANN 1985: 174 states that this pāda is to be read, according to KāthGS, as *aśītīr madhyam avayann u nārīḥ* ‘achtzig Frauen aber (u?) webten die Mitte’; in a note, however, he underlines the awkward position of the particle *u* after the unaccented verb, as well as the fact

that the word *abhayam*, being common both to the **K** and **Or** traditions, cannot simply be corrected to *avayann*, and must therefore be the authentic PS reading. The implied verb of this line can be inferred from the preceding pāda, so I supply the preverb *vi* with *adadanta*. It seems to me that the PS version of this pāda is indeed more original and gives a better sense than the KāthGS. The cloth having been woven in stanza 5.5, it seems illogical that the verb *ve-* should be used again in this stanza. The image depicted in the PS is clearer: while the thousand goddesses stretch the (already finished) cloth by holding out its hems, eighty goddesses keep up the middle, preventing it from touching the ground.

c. The sequence *paridhe savitre* is found also at PS 5.16.2b, where Bhattacharya edits the Orissa manuscripts' reading *paridhe*; LUBOTSKY 2002: 84 chooses the reading of **K** *paride*, which is preferable because of the meaning ('in order to deliver' better suits the context than 'in order to put on': *devebhyo havyaṁ paride savitre* 'In order to deliver the oblation to the gods, to Savitar'). In our passage, the readings of the manuscripts are the same, but *paridhe* is no doubt correct: see the use of the same verb *pari-dhā-* in this hymn and in the following one at 5.8bd, 9ab, 10ab, 6.1a, 2a, 3a, 8a. The reading of **K** is due to perseveration from PS 5.16.2b.

d. The reading *aghavan* of all the manuscripts must be an ancient mistake of the archetype, maybe due to a wrong word division in the sequence *āsāmaghavan*, interpreted as *āsā maghavan*. The emendation to *\*abhavan* (cf. ĀpMP 2.2.4) has already been proposed by Barret.

**15.5.7 [Anuṣṭubh]** ≈ ĀpMP 2.2.2, cd: PS 15.6.10cd, d: ŚS 19.32.6b = PS 5.1.7b = VSM 12.99 etc.

imam āsmānam ā tiṣṭha-	+ #A
-āśmeva tvaṁ sthīro bhava	A
pra mṛṇīhi durasyataḥ	A
sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ	A

Step on this stone, become firm like a stone. Destroy those wishing to injure, overcome those who fight [you].

āsmānam] **Ku K**, asmānam **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa** durasyataḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, durasyata **JM**, durasyatu **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 7 Z **K**

ĀpMP 2.2.2

ā tiṣṭhemām āsmānam āśmeva tvāṁ sthīro bhava |  
abhi tiṣṭha pṛtanyatās sāhasva pṛtanāyataḥ ||

ŚāṅkhGS 1.13.12

āsmānam ātiṣṭhāśmeva tvaṁ sthīrā bhava |  
abhi tiṣṭha pṛtanāyataḥ sahasva pṛtanāyata iti ||

HirGS 1.4.1

ā tiṣṭhemam āsmānam āśmeva tvaṁ sthīro bhava |  
pra mṛṇīhi durasyūn sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ ||

JG 1.12b

imam āsmānam ārohāśmeva tvaṁ sthīro bhava |

**ad.** Another change of metre marks a new transition. This stanza, addressed to the king, contains the mantra for the ritual of *aśmārohaṇa* ‘mounting the stone’, which is attested in many texts with several variants (see NARAYANA PILLAI 1958: 219–222). The *aśmārohaṇa* ritual had various applications in different ceremonies: it is part of the wedding ceremony, when the bridegroom makes the bride tread on a stone as a symbol of stability and fidelity; it is used in the Upanayana ceremony, when the boy is asked to stand on a stone as symbol of steadfastness at study or strength and invulnerability; it is found also in a birth-rite and in the Godāna ceremony. As far as I know, this PS stanza is the only place where the ‘*aśman*- verse’ is used in connection with a royal rite: the use of this mantra was probably suggested by the image of the stone as a symbol of firmness and above all by the exhortation to overcome the enemies, which is a typical prerogative of the king.

### 15.5.8 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 19.24.1

yena devaṃ savitāraṃ	#A
pari devā <sup>+</sup> adhāpayan	A
tenemaṃ *brahmaṇaspatiṃ	A
pari rāṣṭrāya dhattana	A

With what [garment] the gods wrapped god Savitar, do you wrap this Brahmanaspati for dominion.

yena] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, jena **Mā** <sup>+</sup>adhāpayan] adhāraṇ **Or**, diyāpayan **K** tenemaṃ] **Ku JM Pa [Ma] K**, tenamaṃ **Mā**, tenedaṃ **RM** \*brahmaṇaspatiṃ] brahmaṇaspate **Or, K** dhattana] **Or**, dattanaḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, | JM RM, Z 8 Z K**

### ŚS 19.24.1

yéna devám savitāraṃ pári devā́ ádhāpayan |  
ténemám brahmaṇaspate pári rāṣṭráya dhattana ||

Bhattacharya edits *adhāraṇ* in **b**.

**b.** The reading of the Orissa manuscripts *adhāraṇ* is the reading of all the ŚS manuscripts as well (as expected in a hymn belonging to ŚS 19). As observed by Whitney, the whole meaning of the hymn suggests emending the verb to *adhāpayan*, and the reading of **K** *deva diyāpayan* gives this emendation sufficient support, so I adopt it in the text.

**cd.** Note that the verb is plural; the subject should be singular and connected with the transmitted vocative *brahmaṇaspate*. To explain this fact, WHITNEY 1905: 934 refers to the opinion of the commentator on the ŚS, who quotes TS 6.1.1.4 *tád vā́ etát sarvadevatyāṃ yád vāsas* ‘that is indeed the garment which belongs to all the gods’, “to the effect that this same garment belongs to all the gods”. I prefer to emend the transmitted text to \**brahmaṇaspatiṃ* because besides solving the problem of the subject of the verb, which can be easily inferred from pāda **b** (the gods), the emendation creates a perfect parallelism between *imaṃ* \**brahmaṇaspatiṃ* in 5.8c, *imam indram* in 5.9a and *imaṃ somam* in 5.10a (note that the three divinities Bṛhaspati, Savitar and Indra are quoted together at 6.5d).

The transmitted text *tenemaṁ brahmaṇaspate* is for sure due to perseveration from the identical pādas PS 1.11.1c = PS 18.17.1d.

**15.5.9 [Anuṣṭubh]** ŚS 19.24.2, abd: cf. PS 15.5.10abd, c: PS 15.5.10c

parīmam indram āyuṣe	A
mahe kṣatrāya dhātana	A
yathainam jarase +nayāñ	A
*jyok kṣatre adhi jāgarat	A

Wrap this Indra for longevity, for great kingdom, so that [the gods] will lead him to old age, so that he will watch over kingdom for a long time.

pādas a-d om. **K** • parīmam] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, par{i}īmam [Mā] indram] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, indram **RM** āyuṣe] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, om. **JM** mahe] **RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, sahe **Ku**, om. **JM** kṣatrāya] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, om. **JM** yathainam] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, yathenam **JM** +nayāñ] nayām **Or** \*jyok] yo **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, yok **JM RM** kṣatre] **Ku RM Mā [Ma]**, {ya}→kṣatre **Pa**, śrotre **JM** adhi] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, adha **Pa** jāgarat] jāgarat, || **Mā [Ma]** (| **Ku JM Pa**), jā(+ga)rata | **RM** ||] **Mā [Ma]**, | **Ku JM RM Pa**

ŚS 19.24.2

pārīmām indram āyuṣe mahé kṣatrāya dhātana |  
yáthainam jaráse náyāj jyók kṣatré 'dhi jāgarat ||

Bhattacharya edits *yathaitam*, which must be a misprint, and *nayām* in **c**.

This stanza is not found in **K**. The mistake was due to the fact that stanzas 9 and 10 have the same beginning, so the scribe skipped from *parīmam* in 5.9a to *parīmam* in 5.10a (“saut du même au même”. Correctly, WHITNEY 1905: 935 states, “It is perhaps only by an accident that vs. 2 is omitted in Ppp.”).

**c**. The reading *nayām* is in all the ŚS manuscripts too. WHITNEY 1905: 934 has proposed the emendation *náyāt*, but the form actually found in all the manuscripts can be interpreted as a 3<sup>rd</sup> plural subjunctive from the root *nī-* (*nayān*) with the sandhi *-m j-* between final *-n* and initial *j-*, which occurs several times in such cases (cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: LXI). Cf. RV 1.161.3cd (≈ PS 1.62.3cd ≈ ŚS 3.11.3cd, 20.96, 8cd) *śatām yáthemám śarádo náyātíndro víśvasya duritásya pāráam* ‘So that Indra will lead him for a hundred years over the further shore of every difficulty’.

**d**. The initial cluster *jy-* is often simplified to *y-* in the Orissa manuscripts (cf. pāda **d** of the next stanza, the apparatus under 13.8a, 15.5b, and further PS 20.5.10b, 10.8c etc.). On Vedic *jyók*, see TICHY 2008 (especially p. 481 note 7). Although Tichy does not quote ŚS 19.24.2d, 3d = PS 15.5.9d, 10d among the exceptions to the common disyllabic scansion *jyók*, it is clear that in these cases the adverb is to be read as a monosyllable.

**15.5.10 [Anuṣṭubh]** ŚS 19.24.3, abd: cf. PS 15.5.9abd, c: cf. PS 15.5.9c, KāthGS 41.7, PS 2.39.4b, BaudhŚS 12.11:101.12, TS 1.8.14.1

parīmam somam āyuṣe	A
mahe śrotrāya dhātana	A
yathainam jarase +nayāñ	A

Wrap this Soma for longevity, for great hearing, so that [the gods] will lead him to old age, so that he will watch over hearing for a long time.

parīmam] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, parimam **Mā**, paremam **K** dhattana] **Or**, dhattanaḥ **K** yathainam] **Ku RM Mā [Ma]**, yathenam **JM**, ya{thai}thainam **Pa**, athainam **K** +nayāñ] nayām **Or**, naya **K** jyok] **K**, yok **Or** adhi] **Or**, dhi **K** || || ṛ 10 || 5 || **Ku JM**, | ṛ | 5 | **RM**, || 5 || ṛ 10 || **Pa Mā [Ma]**, Z 9 Z kāṇḍaḥ 1 Z **K**

ŚS 19.24.3

pārīmám índram āyuse mahé śrótrāya dhattana |  
yáthainam jarāse náyāj jyók śrótré 'dhi jāgarat ||

Bhattacharya edits *nayām* in **c**.

**b.** The word *śrotra*- usually means ‘the organ of hearing, ear’ or ‘the act of hearing’. It is difficult to understand its meaning in this context. Another possible translation could be ‘listening’, both the acts of hearing and listening being convenient for a king. Whitney translates it with ‘instruction’. A concrete meaning is suggested by the parallel passage ŚS 10.6.8cd *tām sōmaḥ prāty amuñcata mahé śrótrāya cákṣase* ‘That [amulet] Soma fastened on, for great hearing [and] sight’. Cf. further PS 2.39.4ab *saṁ prāṇāpānābhyām saṁ \*u cakṣuṣā saṁ śrotreṇa gachasva soma rājan* ‘O king Soma, unite yourself with exhalation and inhalation, with the sight, with the ear’, TS 1.8.14.1 *sómo rájā váruṇo devá dharmasúvaś ca yé | té te vācam suvantām té te prāṇām suvantām té te cákṣuḥ suvantām té te śrótram suvantām* ‘King Soma, Varuṇa and the gods instigating order; let them instigate your speech, let them instigate your exhalation, let them instigate your sight, let them instigate your ear’.

**cd.** The structure of pādas **cd** of this stanza must be identical with **cd** of the preceding one. See my note on 5.9cd above.

## 15.6. The king's investiture (continued)

**15.6.1 [Triṣṭubh]** ŚS 2.13.2 = ŚS 19.24.4 ≈ HirGS 1.4.2 = ĀpMP 2.2.6, ab: ManB 1.1.6

pari dhatta dhatta varcasemaṁ	+T1
jarāmṛtyuṁ kṛṇuta dīrgham āyuh	+ #Ta
bṛhaspatiḥ prāyachad vāsa etat	!+ #Ta
somāya rājñe paridhātavā u	Tb

Wrap, cover this one with splendour, make [him] one who dies of old age, [make] his longevity long. Bṛhaspati offered that garment to Soma, the king, to wear.

dhatta dhatta] **Or**, data **K** varcasemaṁ] varccasemaṁ **Or**, varcase imaṁ **K** jarāmṛtyuṁ] **K**, jarām mṛtyuṁ **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, jarām mutyu **Mā** kṛṇuta] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, kṛṇata **JM** bṛhaspatiḥ] **Or**, bṛhaspatiḥ **K** prāyachad vāsa] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, prāya{c}chad vasa **JM**, prāyaścha vivāce **K** etat] **Or**, om. **K** paridhātavā u] **Ku**, paridhātavā u **JM RM**, paridadhātavā u **[Ma] Pa**, paridadhātavāñ, **Mā**, paridhātavāyuh **K** ||] **Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku JM RM**, Z 1 Z **K**

ŚS 2.13.2 = ŚS 19.24.4

pāri dhatta dhattā no vārcasemām jarāmṛtyuṁ kṛṇuta dīrgham āyuh |  
bṛhaspātiḥ prāyachad vāsa etāt sōmāya rājñe pāridhātavā u ||

HirGS 1.4.2 = ĀpMP 2.2.6

pāri dhatta dhatta vāsasainaṁ śatāyusaṁ kṛṇuta dīrgham āyuh |  
bṛhaspātiḥ prāyachad vāsa etāt sōmāya rājñe pāridhātavā u ||

This stanza and the following one are quoted in AVParīś 4.1 (see introduction to PS 15.5).

Bhattacharya edits *varccasemaṁ* in **a**.

**a.** Note that in the ŚS the metre has been improved with the insertion of *no*, which is probably secondary.

**b.** The compound *jarāmṛtyu-*, which occurs in this kāṇḍa also at 15.6.5b = ŚS 19.24.8b and 15.16.2a, is a Bahuvrīhi meaning ‘having the death in old age’, i.e. ‘dying of old age’ (cf. PS 1.80.4a, 1.82.1d etc.). As noted by ZEHNDER 1993: 138 fn. 214, in this passage it could be interpreted as a Tatpuruṣa meaning ‘death in old age’, but the accent advises against this interpretation.

As opposed to this scenario, according to AiGr. II/1, § 67b, p. 159 and § 70, p. 165, *jarāmṛtyu-* is a Dvandva that can be translated ‘old age and death’, but this meaning seems to fit only the passage MuṇḍUp. 1.2.7 quoted as example (*etac chreyo ye ’bhinandanti mūḍhā jarāmṛtyuṁ te punar evāpiyanti* ‘Fools who praise this as the highest good, are subject again and again to old age and death’ [Müller]).

**15.6.2 [Triṣṭubh]** ŚS 19.24.5, ĀpMP 2.2.7 ≈ HirGS 1.4.2, PārGS1.4.12, c: cf. PS 15.6.3c, cd:  
≈ ŚS 2.13.3cd

jarām su gacha pari dhatsva vāso	Tb
bhavā grṣṭīnām abhiśastipā u	Tb
śataṁ ca jīva śaradaḥ suvarcā	Tb
rāyaś ca poṣaṁ upasaṁvyayasva	Tb

Advance safely toward old age, wear the garment, and become one defending people from curses. And being full of splendor, live a hundred autumns. Cover yourself in abundant wealth.

jarām] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, jaśam(→ rām) **Pa** gacha] **Or**, gaścha **K** gr̥ṣṭīnām] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, śṛṣṭīnām **JM**, kṛṣṭīnām **K** abhiśastipā u] **JM RM**, abhiśastivā u] **Ku [Ma]**, abhisastivāñ, **Mā**, abhisastivā{ñ}(→ u) **Pa**, abhiśastivāyuh **K** śatañ ca] **Ku JM RM K**, śatañ ca **Mā [Ma] Pa** śaradaḥ] **Or**, śaradas **K** suvarcā] **K**, suvarccā **Or** rāyaś ca poṣam] **K**, rāyaśpoṣam **Or** samvyayasva] **Ku JM RM Mā**, sa vyayasva **[Ma] Pa**, tvā madema **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 2 Z **K**

ŚS 19.24.5

jarām sú gacha pári dhatsva vāso bhávā gr̥ṣṭīnām abhiśastipā u |  
śatām ca jīva śaradaḥ purūcī rāyaś ca poṣam upasāmvayasva ||

ŚS 2.13.3

pārīdām vāso adhithāḥ svastáyé 'bhūr gr̥ṣṭīnām abhiśastipā u |  
śatām ca jīva śaradaḥ purūcī rāyaś ca poṣam upasāmvayasva ||

ĀpMP 2.2.7

jarām gacchāsi pári dhatsva vāso bhávā kṛṣṭīnām abhiśastipā vā |  
śatām ca jīva śaradas suvarcā rāyaś ca poṣam úpasāmvayasva ||

**b.** For the interpretation of this verse, cf. WHITNEY 1905: 57 and 935. Following LUBOTSKY 2002: 41, I hesitate to emend *gr̥ṣṭīnām* to *\*kṛṣṭīnām*, because it is very likely that the two forms show a common variant between *-k-* and *-g-* (see Ved. Var. II, 28).

Note the metrical lengthening of the final vowel in *bhavā* (RV 10×).

**d.** I adopt the reading of **K** *rāyaś ca poṣam*, which occurs in the parallel texts and is much better for the metre.

**15.6.3 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī]** ŚS 19.24.6, ĀpMP 2.2.8, abc: ŚS 2.13.3abc, c: cf. PS 15.6.2c

pārīdām vāso *adhithāḥ suvastaye	*Jb
abhūr v āpīnām abhiśastipā u	*Tb
śatañ ca jīva śaradaḥ purūcīr	Tb
vasūni cārur vibhajāsi jīvan	Tb

Put on this garment for well-being, you have become the protector of friends from curses. Live a hundred full autumns; living, beloved, you will distribute goods.

\*adhithāḥ] api dhāḥ **Ku [Ma] Pa**, api dhā **JM RM Mā**, dhidhās **K** abhiśastipā u] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, abhiśasastarvā u] **Mā**, abhiśaktivāyuh **K** śatañ ca] **Ku JM RM K**, śatañ ca **Mā [Ma] Pa** jīva] **Or**, jīvaś (?) **K** śaradaḥ] **Or**, śaradaḥ **K** purūcīr **K**, puṛcīr **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, puṛcīr **JM RM** vasūni] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, vasūni **JM** cārur] **K**, cārur **Ku JM Mā [Ma]**, cārur **Pa**, paṛ **RM** vibhajāsi] **Or**, vyabhajāsu **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

ŚS 19.24.6

pārīdām vāso adhithāḥ svastáyé 'bhūr v āpīnām abhiśastipā u |  
śatām ca jīva śaradaḥ purūcīr vāsūni cārur ví bhajāsi jīvan ||

ŚS 2.13.3

pārīdām vāso adhithāḥ svastāyé 'bhūr gr̥ṣṭīnām abhiśastipā u |  
śatām ca jīva śarādaḥ purūcī rāyās ca pōṣam upasāmvyayasva ||

ĀpMP 2.2.8

pārīdām vāso ādhi dhā svastāyé 'bhūr āpīnām abhiśastipā vā |  
śatām ca jīva śarādaḥ purūcīr vāsūni cāryó ví bhajāsi jīvan ||

Bhattacharya edits *api dhāḥ* in **a** and [*'*] *bhūr vāpīnām* in **b**.

**a.** I don't follow Bhattacharya in reading *api dhāḥ* (2<sup>nd</sup> singular subjunctive from *apidhā-*) as in the Orissa manuscripts, but I prefer the text of the ŚS *adhithāḥ* (2<sup>nd</sup> singular root aorist from *dhā-*), which is better because of *pari* at the beginning of the pāda; a verb *paryapidhā-* is not attested, whereas *paridhā-* is found several times in this hymn. Note that the reading of **K** *dhidhās* gives this emendation some support.

**b.** I interpret *bhūr* as *abhūr*, 2<sup>nd</sup> singular root aorist from *bhū-*, and analyse *v āpīnām* as *u* and *āpīnām* (cf. WHITNEY 1905: 935). On the collocation *abhūd u*, which is frequent in the ṚV (7×), see KLEIN 1985: 42.

**15.6.4 [Gāyatrī]** ṚV 1.30.7 = VSM 11.14 = TS 4.1.2.1 = ŚS 19.24.7 = ĀpMP 1.6.3, 2.4.1 etc.

yogeyoge tavastaram	A
vājevāje havāmahe	A
sakhāya indram ūtaye	A

In every exploit, in every contest we, as friends, call Indra, the stronger one, for help.

yogeyoge] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, yogoyoge **JM** tavastaram] **K**, tapastaram] **Ku JM RM Mā**  
tapa(→va)staram **Pa**, tapa(→va)staram **[Ma] || Ku, JM Mā, [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 4 Z K**

ṚV 1.30.7 = VSM 11.14 = TS 4.1.2.1 = ŚS 19.24.7 = ĀpMP 1.6.3, 2.4.1 etc.

yógeyoge tavástaram vājevāje havāmahe |  
sákhāya índram ūtāye ||

Note the sudden change of metre. This Gāyatrī stanza, which is found in the context of Triṣṭubh-Jagatī pādas, has been taken from the ṚV and may not originally belong to the hymn.

**b.** On the word *vāja-*, see KUIPER 1960 (especially pp. 239–40).

**15.6.5 [Triṣṭubh]** ŚS 19.24.8, c: ŚS 16.9.2, PS 18.53.2a, cd: ŚS 8.5.5ab, PS 2.24.5cd, 16.27.5ab

hiraṇyavarṇo ajarah suvīro	Tb
jarāmṛtyuḥ prajayā saṁ viśasva	Ta
tad agnir āha tad u soma āha	Tb
bṛhaspatiḥ savitā tad indrah	T1

Golden-coloured, unaging, rich in heroes, dying of old age, engage in your progeny. That says Agni, that says Soma too, that [says] Bṛhaspati, Savitar, Indra.

hiraṇyavarṇo] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, hiraṇyavarṇā (?) **Pa** ajarah] **Or**, ajayas **K** jarāmṛtyuḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, jarāmṛtyu **Mā**, jarāmṛtyuḥ **K** tad u soma āha] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, tad u soma āha tad u soma āha **JM** bṛhaspatiḥ] **Or**, bṛhaspatis **K** || **Ku, JM Mā, [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 5 Z K**



ŚS 19.24.8

hīraṇyavarṇo ajārah suvīro jarāmṛtyuḥ prajāyā sām viśasva |  
tād agnīr āha tād u sōma āha bṛhaspātīḥ savitā tād īndrah ||

a. **K** reads *ajayas*, ‘unconquered’, ‘invincible’ instead of *ajarah*.

d. On these three divinities grouped together, see my comment on 15.5.8cd.

### 15.6.6 [Triṣṭubh] PS only

†yadottamattantumad dhāyanāvad†	Ta
vāsaḥ pūrvayāvat pururūpapeśaḥ	T2c
+bhadrātīkāśam ajaram suvīram	Tb
tena te devāḥ pra tirant <sub>uv</sub> āyuh	*+Tb

When the garment having excellent threads ... (?), having braids, having multiform ornaments; having beautiful holes/apertures, unaging, rich in heroes: with that let the gods make your life-time [safely] pass over [obstacles and dangers].

ottamattantumad dhāyanāvad] ota satyam tu madhyāya nāvad **K**, ottamattantubaddhāyanāvad **Ku Mā [Ma]**, ottamatantu{ba}maddhāyanā{ma}vad **JM**, otta{·}māttantumaddhāyanāvad **RM**, ottamattantabaddhāyanāvad **Pa** pūrvayāvat] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, pūrvayāva{·}t **RM**, pūrvayāvayatu **K** pururūpapeśaḥ] **Mā [Ma]**, puṛṇpapeśaḥ **RM Pa**, pu(+ṛ)ṇpapeśaḥ **Ku**, puṛṇpapeśaśaḥ **JM**, pururūpa | payasaḥ **K** +bhadrātīkāśam] bhadrātīkāśam **Or**, bhadrātīkāśam **K** te] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, om. **Mā** devāḥ] **Or**, devāḥ **K** tirantv āyuh] tirantv āyuh **RM**, tirantv āyuh **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, tiranta āyuh **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku, RM, Z 6 Z K**

Bhattacharya edits *yadottamattantubaddhāya nāvad* in **a** and *bhadrātīkāśamajaram* in **c**.

a. The interpretation of this pāda, which refers to the garment, is problematic. At the beginning of the verse, one can read with **K** *yad otam* ‘(the garment) which is interwoven’, but then the reading is not further reliable.

I tentatively propose to read *yadā\_uttamatantumad*, interpreting the hapax *uttamatantumad* as a Bahuvrīhi meaning ‘having excellent threads (*tantu-*)’, but I have no solution for the last part of the verse.

b. The word *pūrvayāvat* can possibly be interpreted as a nominative neuter from the hapax *pūrvayāvant-* ‘having braids, trimmed’ (for the long *ā* before the suffix *-vant-*, see AiGr II/2, § 711a, p. 886). The word *pūrvaya-* is considered an adjective in the dictionaries; it is indeed attested only in a compound, at TS 2.2.11.4 *upādhāyyàpūrvayam vāso dākṣiṇā* ‘The sacrificial fee is a garment with a fringe’. Keith translates *upādhāyyàpūrvayam* ‘with a fringe’, but this Bahuvrīhi is literally to be rendered ‘whose fringes are placed upon’; therefore, *pūrvaya-* must be a substantive, meaning ‘braid, fringe, edge’.

Also the compound *pururūpapeśas-* is a hapax, probably an extension of the compound *pururūpa-* ‘multiform, variegated’ (RV+), modeled on the synonymous compounds *purupéśas-*, *viśvapéśas-* ‘multiform, having all adornments’ (RV +).

c. I analyse the sequence *bhadrātīkāśamajaram* as *\*bhadrātīkāśam* and *ajaram* (cf. 6.5a above). The compound *bhadrātīkāśa-* is a hapax; while its first member is widely attested in the sense of ‘auspicious, fortunate, beautiful’, the word *atīkāśa-* is rare; besides here, it is

attested at MS 1.2.2:11.9–10 = KS 2.3:9.18 = TS 1.2.2 ≈ KapS 1.15:13.7 (*atikāśa-*) *nákṣatrāṇām mātīkāśāt pāhi* ‘Protect me from the brightness of the stars’. In this passage, it is clear that the word means ‘brightness, lustre’ (as expected in a derivative from the root *kāś-* ‘to be visible, to shine’), but in other occurrences, namely at PS 4.40.3b, TS 6.1.1 and AB 8.17.2 the meaning ‘hole, aperture’ fits the context better than the meaning ‘brightness’. It is significant that another derivative of the same root, namely *ākāśa-*, could mean both ‘open space, sky’ and ‘aperture, opening’, in different contexts (see HOFFMANN 1976: 521 note 4). This is not surprising, as in many languages a word meaning ‘light’ can also mean ‘hole’, ‘aperture’ (cf. Italian ‘lume’).

In a context in which a garment is described, the compound *bhadrātīkāśa-* can be interpreted both as ‘having auspicious brightness’ as well as ‘having auspicious holes’.

#### 15.6.7 [Triṣṭubh] PS only

yasya brahmāṇaḥ sicam ārabhante	Tb
śrathnanto *nīviṁ pratiranta āyuh	Tb
tasya devā devahūtiṁ juṣantām	+Ta
sa viśvahā sacatām suvasti	*T1

Let the gods enjoy the god-invocation of him whose hem the priests take hold of, untying the loincloth, making life-time [safely] pass over [obstacles and dangers]. May he at all times be associated with well-being.

From *yasya* to *tasya* om. **Mā Pa •** brahmāṇaḥ] **Or**, brahmāṇas **K** sicam] **JM RM**, śicam **Ku**, śica [**Ma**], sṛjam **K** ārabhante] **Ku JM [Ma] K**, ābharante **RM** śrathnanto] **RM [Ma]**, śna(→ śra)thnanto **Ku**, śranthnanto **JM**, svarchanto **K** \*nīviṁ] nīvaṁ **Or**, nyamaṁ **K** pratiranta] **K**, pratiraṁtv **Or** tasya] [**Ma**] **K**, yasya **Ku JM RM** viśvahā] **Or**, viśvā **K** sacatām] **Or**, sajatām **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 7 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits <sup>+</sup>*sicam* in **a** and *nīvaṁ* in **b**.

**a.** The readings of **JM** and **RM** make the “+”-sign before *sicam* unnecessary. For the verb *ārabh-*, see GOTÖ 1976. The expression *sicam ārabh-* occurs at RV 3.53.2cd *pitúr ná putráḥ śicam ārabhe ta índra svādiṣṭhaya girā śacīvaḥ* ‘O mighty Indra, with the sweetest song I take hold of your hem, as a son [takes hold of] his father’s’.

**b.** The reading *nīvaṁ* can hardly be correct (*nīva-* m., is ‘a species of tree’). The emendation to *\*nīvim* is very probable; *nīví-* means “ein um die Hüften geschlungenes Tuch, das auch zur Aufbewahrung kleinerer Gegenstände dienen konnte” (RAU 1970: 29–30), and here the priests are probably taking off the clothes of the king in order to cover him with the new garment (see the next stanza). Cf. also ZEHNDER 1999: 79.

**c.** The expression *devā devahūtiṁ* is somewhat pleonastic. Cf. the treatment of the similar syntagma *devānām devahūti-* in GRIFFITHS 2009: 344.

**d.** Cf. RV 1.1.9c *sācasvā naḥ svastāye* ‘Stay with us for well-being’, 4.11.6cd *doṣā śivāḥ sahasaḥ sūno agne yām devā ā cit sácase svastí* ‘O Agni, son of the strength, at night benevolent is he whom you, the god, stay with, for well-being’, 5.28.2b *havíṣ kṛṇvántam sacase svastāye* ‘You stay with him who makes the oblation, for well-being’.

#### 15.6.8 [Triṣṭubh] PS only

anyad ā dhatsva pari dhatsva vāsa	+Tb
imam ulbam apa <sup>+</sup> lumpāmi yas te	+Ta
jarase tvām ṛṣayaḥ saṁ vyayantu	+Ta
sūryo bhagas te pra <sup>+</sup> tirant <sub>u</sub> v āyuh	Tb

Put another one on, wear the garment. I remove this caul which is yours. Let the seers wrap you for old age, let Sūrya [and] Bhaga make your life-time [safely] pass over [obstacles and dangers].

anyad ā] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, anya{dh}d ā **Pa**, yannarā **K** apa <sup>+</sup>lumpāmi] apa lampāmi **Or**, apu lampāni **K** yas] **Or**, jas **K** ṛṣayaḥ] **Or**, ṛṣayas **K** vyayantu] vyayantu **Or**, vyantu **K** <sup>+</sup>tirantv āyuh] tirantv āyuh **Or**, tiranta āyuh **K** ||] **Ku, JM Mā, [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 8 Z K**

Bhattacharya edits *apalampāmi* in **b**.

This stanza and the following ones are addressed to the king and describe his rebirth after the rite. Cf. PARPOLA 1985: 146, “During a sacrificial ritual, the performer was, from his initiation to the final bath, symbolically in the womb. When the rite was finished, he was reborn out of it, and in the final bath [...] this ‘newborn’ discarded the embryonic covers, the garment he had been using during the sacrifice, also the tārpya garment”.

**b**. Bhattacharya proposes an emendation to *apa lumpāmi* in the critical apparatus. I adopt it in the text, since is indirectly supported by the reading of **K** *apulampāni*, with incorrect placement of the *u*-sign. The same situation is found at PS 2.81.1d *\*akṣṇo ’rmam apa <sup>+</sup>lumpatu* ‘Let it remove the *arma*-disease from the eye’, where again the Orissa manuscripts read *apa lampatu* and **K** *apu lampatu* (in this case, however, Bhattacharya makes the emendation *\*lumpatu*). At PS 5.14.1e *ṛjīṣam apa <sup>+</sup>lumpatam* ‘Let them two remove the sediment’, Bhattacharya adopts the Orissa manuscripts’ reading *lampatam*, but **K** has again preserved the *-u-* sign, this time in the right position (*luspatu*). For other attestations of the compound verb *apa lup-*, cf. ZEHNDER 1999: 182 and LUBOTSKY 2002: 74.

**c**. Cf. ŚS 7.17.3c *tāsmāi devā amṛtaṁ sām vyayantu* ‘For him let the gods wrap immortality’, PS 20.3.8c *tasya prajā amṛtāḥ saṁ vyayantu* ‘Let the immortals wrap his offspring’ and ŚS 14.1.45c: *tās tvā jarāse sām vyayantu* “Let them wrap you for old age”.

#### 15.6.9 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ ŚS 2.13.5 ≈ HirGS 1.7.17 ≈ ĀpMP 2.6.15

yasya <sup>*</sup> te vāsaḥ prathamavāsyaṁ	*(+)#Tb
harāmi taṁ tvā viśve avantu devāḥ	T2
taṁ tvā bhrātaraḥ suvṛdhā vardhamānam	T2
anu jāyantām bahavaḥ sujātam	+Tb

Let the All-gods help you here, whose garment, formerly worn, I take. May many brothers be born after you, well born, growing with good growth.

<sup>\*</sup>te vāsaḥ] devāsaḥ **Or**, devā **K** prathamavāsyaṁ] **Or**, prathamāsyō **K** avantu] **K**, vantu **Or** bhrātaraḥ] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, bhrātaram (→ ḥ) **Ku**, bhrātaraḥ **K** suvṛdhā] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, suvaddhā **Mā**, suvitṛā **K** vardhamānam] **Mā [Ma] K**, varddhamānam **Ku JM Pa**, varddhamānām **RM** jāyantām] **Or**,

jāyataṁ (?) **K** bahavaḥ] **Or**, bahavas **K** sujātam] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, sujātam **Ku RM**, svatam, **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

ŚS 2.13.5 ≈ HirGS 1.7.17 ≈ ĀpMP 2.6.15

yāsyā te vāsāḥ prathamavāsyāṁ hārāmas tāṁ tvā vīśve ’vantu (ĀpMP avantu) devāḥ |

tāṁ tvā bhrātaraḥ (ĀpMP bhrātaras) suvṛdhā vārdhamānam ānu jāyantāṁ bahāvaḥ (ĀpMP bahāvas) sujātam ||

**a.** Confusion between *-t-* and *-d-* is a common mistake in **K** as well as in **Or** (cf. the same mistake in the same word in **K** at 15.3a). The garment mentioned here is the old one, which is going to be replaced by a new one (see next stanza).

**c.** On *suvṛdh-*, see SCARLATA 1999: 524–25.

**15.6.10 [Anuṣṭubh]** ab: PS only, cd: PS 15.5.7cd, c: ŚS 10.3.1d, d: ŚS 19.32.6b = PS 5.1.7b = VSM 12.99 etc.

ahatenāhato bhava	A
sthira sthireṇa saṁ bhava	A
pra mṛṇīhi durasyataḥ	A
sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ	A

Due to an unbeaten [garment], become unbeaten. Being firm, join with a firm one. Destroy those wishing to injure, overcome those who fight [you].

sthira] **Or**, ra sthira **K** saṁ bhava] **Ku JM RM Mā**, sam bhava **[Ma] Pa**, sam bhavaḥ **K** mṛṇīhi] **Or**, mṛṇīha **K** durasyataḥ] **Or**, durasyatu **K** ||] ॠ 10 || 6 || **Ku JM**, || ॠ 6 || **RM**, || 6 || ॠ 10 || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, Z kāṇḍaḥ Z 2 Z **K**

ŚS 10.3.1cd

tenā rabhasva tvāṁ śātrūn prā mṛṇīhi durasyatāḥ ||

**ab.** An ‘unbeaten garment’ is a garment that has never been beaten, i.e. washed; it is a new garment. Cf. ŚB 3.2.1.19 *tadvā āhatam syāt ayātayāmātāyai* ‘Likewise, let it be a new garment (lit. an unbeaten one), for the sake of unweakened strength’. This is the first mention of such syntagma in a Saṁhitā.

Note the chiasmic structure *ahaten[a] — [a]hato* vs. *sthira — sthirena*.

## 15.7 To various gods

PS 15.7, 8 and 9 belong together as a sequence of 26 connected formulaic stanzas, split over three hymns of ten, ten and six stanzas respectively. As regards the content, up to 9.4 the composition is strongly unitary and each stanza shows the same pattern: a god, goddess or a deified entity is invoked as *ádhyakṣa*- ‘supervisor, overlord’ of a particular sphere of influence and requested, in a refrain repeated in every stanza, to favour the person speaking (*mā*) while performing the sacrifice.

Similar passages occur also in other texts: the table below gives an account of the correspondences between the PS and the parallel texts:

PS 15.7/8/9	ŚS 5.24	TS 3.4.5	ParGS 1.5.10	ŚāṅkhŚS 4.10.1
Mitra/Earth	Savitar/Impulses	Agni/Beings	Agni/Beings	Agni/Earth
Varuṇa/Waters	Agni/Trees	Indra/The eldest/the chiefs	Indra/Powers	Vāyu/Intermediate Space
Vāyu/Intermediate Space	Heaven and Earth/Givers	Yama/Earth	Yama/Earth	Savitar/Impulses
Sūrya/Heaven	Varuṇa/Waters	Vāyu/Intermediate Space	Vāyu/Intermediate Space	Sūrya/Constellations
Moon/Constellations	Mitra and Varuṇa/Rain	Sūrya/Heaven	Sūrya/Heaven	Soma/Herbs
Vasu/Years	Maruts/Mountains	Moon/Constellations	Moon/Constellations	Tvaṣṭar/Fuel sticks and Forms
Year/Seasons	Soma/Plants	Bṛhaspati/Brahman	Bṛhaspati/Brahman	Mitra/Truths
Agni/Trees	Vāyu/Intermediate Space	Mitra/Truths	Mitra/Truths	Varuṇa/Laws
Indra/Rites	Sūrya/Sight	Varuṇa/Waters	Varuṇa/Waters	Indra/The eldest/the chiefs
Savitar/Impulses	Moon/Constellations	Ocean/Rivers	Ocean/Streams	Prajapati/Creatures
Viṣṇu/Mountains	Indra/Heaven	Food/Lordship	Food/Lordship	
Tvaṣṭar/Forms	Maruts' Father/Cattle	Soma/Herbs	Soma/Herbs	
Rudra/Cattle	Death/Creatures	Savitar/Impulses	Savitar/Impulses	
Soma/Milk	Yama/Fathers	Rudra/Cattle	Rudra/Cattle	
Parjanya/Herbs	Old time Fathers/ Young time Fathers /Fathers/ Grandfathers	Tvaṣṭar/Forms	Tvaṣṭar/Forms	
Ocean/Rivers		Viṣṇu/Mountains	Viṣṇu/Mountains	
Syllable Hirī/Sāmāns		Maruts/Troops	Maruts/Troops	
Sarasvatī/[Ritual] Words		Fathers/Grandfathers ...	Fathers/Grandfathers ...	
Pūṣan/Paths				
Gayatrī/Metres				
Bṛhaspati/Gods				
Prajāpati/Offspring				
Yama/Fathers				
Old time Fathers/ Young time Fathers / Grandfathers				

It is clear from the table that the order of the invocations and the combination of the deities with their sphere of influence is rather free. The ŚS and the PS have six pairings in common,

but in general the PS has an independent status, in that it has the most extensive list of invocations and, as stated above, addresses every god as *ādhyakṣa*-, instead of *ādhipati*- ‘lord, overlord’ as do all the other parallel texts. Moreover, the PS differs also in the number and order of the actions mentioned in the refrain.

It is almost impossible to determine the precise ritual application of these hymns: the generic enumeration of priestly actions in the refrain and in the last stanza does not help in defining any practical use, and seems indeed to intentionally leave these hymns apt for several rites. Cf. the use of ŚS 5.24 in the KauśŚ in a royal coronation (17.30), in the nuptial ceremonies (78.11), in the *ājyatantra* (137.42). As pointed out by WHITNEY 1905: 263, “many of the verses [of ŚS 5.24] appear also in VaitS, with oblations to the various divinities mentioned, in different ceremonies: thus, in the *āgrayaṇa*, vs. 7 (8.7); in the *cāturmāsyaṇi*, vss. 1–3 [1 = PS 15.7.10; 2 = PS 15.7.8], 6, 7 (8.13), 4 [= PS 15.7.2] (8.22), 9 (9.27); in the *agniṣṭoma*, vss. 8 [= PS 15.7.3] (19.2), 5 (19.3), 11 (19.11)”. Note further that ŚāṅkhŚS 4.10.1 states that, after the word *svāhā*, at the end of the list, “he inserts whatever is his special wish” (transl. Caland). According to my interpretation, the inclusion of this hymn — composed by extending a pre-existing set of invocations — in a collection of royal compositions could have been prompted by the word *purodhā*- ‘office of a purohita’ used in the refrain. This word, which never occurs in the R̥V and is attested for the first time in these parallel Atharvanic hymns, in the TS<sup>43</sup> and then in the Brāhmaṇas (TB 27.1.2, AB 7.31.2, 8.24.1, 27, ŚB 4.1.4.5, PB 13.3.12; 9.27), perfectly meets the Paippalādins’ need to present themselves as best suited to be the king’s purohitas.

A concatenating link with the preceding hymn is provided by the names of the gods Agni, Indra, Tvaṣṭar, Savitar, Mitra, Varuṇa, Soma, Bṛhaspati and Sūrya. The word *devahūtyām* in 7.1c and 9.4c corresponds with *devahūtim* in 6.7c.

#### 15.7.1 [Formula] bcde ≈ ŚS 5.24.1bcde

mitraḥ pr̥thivyā adhyakṣaḥ	P
sa māvatv asmin brahmaṇy asmin karmaṇy	P
asyām purodhāyām asyām devahūtyām asyām ākūtyām asyām āśiṣi svāhā	P

Mitra is the overlord of the earth: let him help me in this formula, in this rite, in this office of a purohita, in this invocation of the gods, in this intention, in this prayer. Hail!

mitraḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, mitra **Mā**, mittraḥ **K** pr̥thivyā adhyakṣaḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, pr̥thivyādhyakṣaḥ **JM**, pr̥thivyā adhyakṣa **K** devahūtyām] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, devahū{syā}tyām **JM** asyām āśiṣi] **RM**, asyām āśiṣiḥ **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, asyam (?) āśiṣas **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 1 Z **K**

ŚS 5.24.1

<sup>43</sup> The occurrences in the TS are of particular interest, as they show that becoming a purohita was a highly desirable goal, but also a very difficult rank to obtain. In TS 2.1.2, a sacrifice is prescribed to one ‘who has a dispute for the office of the Purohita’: *āgneyām kṣṇāgrīvam ā labheta saumyām babhrúm āgneyām kṣṇāgrīvam purodhāyām spārdhamānas* ‘He who has a dispute for a Purohitaship should offer (a beast) with a black neck to Agni, a brown one to Soma, and one with a black neck to Agni’ (Keith). In TS 7.4.1 it is Bṛhaspati himself who wishes to gain the office of the purohita of the gods: *bṛhaspátir akāmayata śrān me devā dādhiran gácheyam purodhām íti* ‘Bṛhaspati desired, ‘May the gods have faith in me, and may I become their Purohita’’ (Keith).

savitā prasavānām ādhipatiḥ sá māvatu |  
asmín bráhmaṇy asmín kármaṇy asyām purodhāyām asyām pratiṣṭhāyām asyām  
cíttyām asyām ākūtyām asyām āśísy asyām deváhūtyām svāhā ||

Bhattacharya edits *ssvāhā* in **c**.

**a.** At the end of every pāda **a** of this hymn, **K** reads *adhyakṣa*. For some remarks on the word *ādhyakṣa*-, involving the idea of protection, control and guardianship, see GONDA 1969: 66–68. The translations ‘overseer’, ‘supervisor’ are no doubt more literal, but it would be difficult to make a corresponding feminine to them (cf. stanzas 8.8 and 8.10 below). This stanza is quoted in a sentence at AthPrāy 1.2.<sup>44</sup>

**bcde.** The refrain that follows the invocations differs considerably in the parallel texts. The ŚS has the more complete list of actions, two more than the PS (*pratiṣṭhā*-, *cít*ti-), from which it also differs in the order of the items. The TS has a shorter list, which was then taken into the other texts. On the word *āśís*- ‘prayer, blessing, wish’, see GONDA 1989. In this refrain, the term “seems to denote [...] one of the results of a correct performance of the ceremony” (*ibid.* p. 12; cf. the introduction to this hymn).

#### 15.7.2 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.4

varuṇo (')pām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

Varuṇa is the overlord of waters etc. etc.

varuṇo] **K**, varṇo **Or** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | Ku RM, Z 2 Z K**

ŚS 5.24.4

vāruṇo 'pām ādhipatiḥ sá māvatu etc. etc.

**a.** For the very frequent association of Varuṇa with the waters, see LÜDERS 1951 (especially pp. 46–54).

#### 15.7.3 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.8

vāyur antarikṣasyādhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

Vāyu is the overlord of intermediate space etc. etc.

vāyur] **Or**, vāyar **K** antarikṣasyādhyakṣaḥ] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, a{·}ntarikṣasyādhyakṣaḥ **RM**,  
antakṣasyādhyakṣaḥ **JM**, antarikṣasyādhyakṣa **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 3 Z K****

ŚS 5.24.8

vāyúr antárīkṣasyādhīpatiḥ sá māvatu etc. etc.

**a.** Cf. TB 3.2.1 *vāyúr vā antárīkṣasyādhīkṣaḥ* ‘Vāyu is the overlord of the intermediate space.

#### 15.7.4 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.9

<sup>44</sup> GONDA 1969: 68 mentions AthPrāy 1.2, but makes no reference to PS 15.7.1.

sūryo divo (')dhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

Sūrya is the overlord of heaven etc. etc.

divo] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, di{r}vo **JM**, divau **K** dhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, dhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 4 Z **K**

ŚS 5.24.9

sūryaś cākṣuṣām ādhipatiḥ sā māvatu etc. etc.

**15.7.5 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.10**

candramā nakṣatrāṇām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

The Moon is the overlord of the constellations etc. etc.

nakṣatrāṇām] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, nakṣatrāṇā{dhya}m **JM**, nakṣatrāṇām **K** adhyakṣaḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, adhyakṣaḥ {sa mā || sarasvatī vācam} **Mā**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

ŚS 5.24.10

candramā nākṣatrāṇām ādhipatiḥ sā māvatu etc. etc.

**15.7.6 [Formula]**

vasuḥ saṁvatsarāṇām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

Vasu is the overlord of the years etc. etc.

vasuḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, vasu **Mā**, vasus **K** saṁvatsarāṇām] **K**, saṁvatsarāṇām **Or** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 6 Z **K**

**15.7.7 [Formula]**

<sup>+</sup>saṁvatsara ṛtunām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

The Year is the overlord of the seasons etc. etc.

<sup>+</sup>saṁvatsara] saṁvatsaraḥ **K**, saṁvatsara **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, samva{t·}(+ tsa)ra **Ku** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 7 Z **K**

a. On the natural relation of the year with the seasons, which are its main component parts, see GONDA 1984a: 18–19.

**15.7.8 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.2**

agnir vanaspatīnām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

Agni is the overlord of the trees etc. etc.

adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 8 Z **K**



ŚS 5.24.2

agnír vánaśpátīnām ádhipatīḥ śá māvatu etc. etc.

**15.7.9 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.11**

indraḥ karmaṇām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

Indra is the overlord of rites etc. etc.

indraḥ] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, indra(+ ḥ) **Pa**, indraḥ **K** karmaṇām] **K Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, karmaṇām  
**JM** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 9 Z **K**

ŚS 5.24.11

índro divó 'dhipatīḥ śá māvatu etc. etc.

**15.7.10 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.1**

savitā prasavānām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

Savitar is the overlord of the impulses etc. etc.

savitā] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, savitāḥ **Mā** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] || ṛ 10 || 7 || **Ku JM**, || ṛ | 7 |  
**RM**, || 7 || ṛ 10 || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, Z 10 Z kāṇḍā 3 Z **K**

ŚS 5.24.1

savitā prasavānām ádhipatīḥ śá māvatu etc. etc.

## 15.8. To various gods (continued)

### 15.8.1 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.6

viṣṇuḥ parvatānām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

Viṣṇu is the overlord of mountains etc. etc.

viṣṇuḥ] **Or**, viṣṇuḥ **K** parvatānām] **Or**, parvatānām **K** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Pa Mā**  
[**Ma**], | **Ku RM**, Z 1 Z **K**

ŚS 5.24.6

marútaḥ párvatānām ádhipatayas té māvantu etc. etc.

a. The god Viṣṇu is called *giriṣṭhā-* ‘mountain-abiding’ at ṚV 1.154.2b and *girikṣít-* ‘mountain-dwelling’ at ṚV 1.154.3b. Cf. also ṚV 1.155.1c, where the god is said to stay together with Indra ‘on the top of the mountains’ (*sānuni párvatānām*). On the connection of Viṣṇu with the mountains, see GONDA 1954: 73 ff. (with note 10). He points out that in the ŚS version of this stanza, the Maruts are called the overlords of the mountains, but the fact that the PS agrees here with the TS and the PārGS gives the impression that the text of the ŚS has been revised.

### 15.8.2 [Formula]

tvaṣṭā rūpānām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

Tvaṣṭar is the overlord of forms etc. etc.

rūpānām] **K**, ṛpānām **Ku Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ṛpānām **JM RM** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Pa Mā** [**Ma**],  
| **Ku RM**, Z 2 Z **K**

a. The god Tvaṣṭar, who was thought to have fashioned, among other things, Indra’s cudgel (see, e.g., ṚV 5.31.4b), was considered the creator of all forms of beings, both human and animal. Cf. ṚV 1.188.9ab *tváṣṭā rūpāṇi hí prabhúḥ paśún víśvān samānájé* ‘For the lord Tvaṣṭar has created the forms, all the animals’, 10.184.1b *tváṣṭā rūpāṇi píṁśatu* ‘Let Tvaṣṭar fashion the forms’, ŚS 2.26.1c = PS 2.12.1c *tváṣṭā yéṣām rūpadheyāni véda* ‘whose forms and figures Tvaṣṭar knows’, TB 1.1.7 *tváṣṭā vái rūpāṇām íse* ‘Tvaṣṭar indeed rules over the forms’ etc. See also PS 1.75.3 *tvaṣṭā rūpeṇa ... tvā ... abhi rakṣatu iha* ‘Let Tvaṣṭar protect you here with the form’ and ŚB 11.4.3.17 *tváṣṭā rūpāṇām rūpakṛd rūpápatiḥ rūpéṇa paśún asmín yajñe máyi dadhātu* ‘Let Tvaṣṭar, the fashioner of forms, the lord of forms, bestow cattle with form on me at this worship’.

### 15.8.3 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.12

rudraḥ paśūnām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

Rudra is the overlord of cattle etc. etc.

rudraḥ] **K**, ṛdraḥ **Or** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Pa Mā** [**Ma**], | **Ku RM**, om. **K**

ŚS 5.24.12

marútām pitā paśūnām ádhipatiḥ sá māvatu etc. etc.

#### 15.8.4 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.7

somaḥ payasām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

Soma is the overlord of milk etc. etc.

somaḥ] **Or**, somaḥ **K** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Pa Mā [Ma]**, | **Ku RM, Z K**

ŚS 5.24.7

sómo vīrúdhām ádhipatiḥ sá māvatu etc. etc.

#### 15.8.5 [Formula]

parjanya oṣadhīnām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

Parjanya is the overlord of herbs etc. etc.

parjanya] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, paryanya **Mā** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **Ku JM Pa Mā [Ma]**, | **RM, Z K**

Note the reverse order of stanzas 5 and 6 in **K**.

#### 15.8.6 [Formula]

samudro nadīnām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

The Ocean is the overlord of rivers etc. etc.

samudro] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, s{u}amudro **JM** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** ||] **JM Pa Mā [Ma]**, | **Ku RM, Z K**

#### 15.8.7 [Formula]

himkāraḥ sāmnam adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

The syllable *hiṇ* is the overlord of the Sāmans etc. etc.

himkāraḥ] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, himkāraḥ **RM**, hikāraḥ **Pa**, himkāras **K** sāmnam] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, sā{·}mnām **JM** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** mā] **Or**, mām **K** (**RM** sa māva) ||] **Ku JM Pa Mā [Ma]**, | **RM, Z K**

a. On the mystic importance of the syllable *hiṇ* in the recitation of Sāmans, see e.g. PB 6.8.7 *eṣa vai sāmnam̐ raso yad dhimkāro* ‘The *him*-sound in the sap of the sāmans’ (Caland), ŚB 1.4.1.1 *himkṛtyānvāha nāsāmā yajñò ’stīti vā āhurna vā āhimkṛtya sāmā gīyate ma yád dhimkaróti tád dhimkārásyā rūpām kriyate praṇavénaiva sāmno rūpam úpagacatyom̐ om̐ ity eténo hāsyaiṣa sārva eva sāsāmā yajñó bhavati* ‘He recites after uttering (the syllable) ‘Hiṇ!’. Sacrifice, they say, is not (performed) without the Sāman; and neither is the Sāman chanted

without ‘Hiñ’ having been uttered. By his uttering ‘Hiñ!’ the peculiar nature (*rūpam*) of the word ‘Hiñ’ is produced (in the sacrifice); and by the sacred syllable (*om*) it assumes the nature of the Sāman. By uttering ‘Om! Om!’ this his entire sacrifice becomes endowed with the Sāman’ (Eggeling). Cf. also ŚB 2.2.4.12 and 13.2.3.2, in which the connection between the sacred syllable and the Sāmans is repeated in mythological and sacrificial contexts. For other occurrences of the word, see VISHVA BANDHU 1966: 860-61.

### 15.8.8 [Formula]

sarasvatī vācām adhyakṣā ° ° ° ||

P

Sarasvatī is the mistress of words etc. etc.

vācām] **Ku** [**Ma**] **Pa** **K**, vācāvācām **Mā**, vām **JM** adhyakṣā] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** sā] **Ku** **JM** **RM** **Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, {hā} sā **Pa** mā] **Or**, mām **K** ||] **Ku** **JM** **Pa** **Mā** [**Ma**], | **RM**, **Z** **K**

a. On the goddess Sarasvatī and her association with *vāc-*, see GONDA 1985: 5–67, and more recently LUDVIK 2007: 11–91. No one, however, has ever quoted this PS mantra in tracing the history of the connection between Sarasvatī and *vāc-*. I think that this mantra may indeed be rather important, as it testifies to an intermediate phase, in which the identification of the riverine goddess with *vāc-* is still incomplete, but the goddess herself is already regarded as presiding over ritual speech.

### 15.8.9 [Formula]

pūṣā pathīnām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° ||

P

Pūṣan is the overlord of paths etc. etc.

pathīnām] **Or**, patīnām **K** adhyakṣaḥ] **Ku** **JM** **RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, adhyakṣā **Mā**, adhyakṣa **K** sa mā] **Or**, sa mām sa mām **K** ||] **Mā** [**Ma**], | **Ku** **RM** **JM** **Pa**, **Z** **kā** **Z** 4 **Z** **K**

a. Note that **K** reads *patīnām* ‘of the lords’. GONDA 1985: 100 quotes PS 15.8.9 with the reading of **K** *patīnām* and adds, “Notice that Pūṣan occupies the last place which often is the place of honour. If, what seems probable, he is the *adhyakṣa* of human lords, landowners, owners of homesteads, lords of (races of) men, human communities and so on (cf., e.g., ṚV. 4, 57,2; 7, 54, 1–3; 8, 13,9; 8, 95, 4), this would accord very well with the hypothesis that he was, in a way, a communal or ‘national’ god”. Gonda’s statements need now to be corrected. First of all, he quotes our stanza as “AVP 15, 8 ,8”, but this is indeed the ninth of the hymn (even though **K** confuses the order of stanzas 5 and 6, this one is again numbered correctly as 9). Secondly, Pūṣan does not really occupy the last place, because there is another stanza after this that is not found in **K**. At any rate, this hymn belongs together with the next, so that the invocations go on without interruption. Finally, although it is possible that **K** and **Or** have preserved two different variants here, and that Gonda’s idea is tenable, it must also be observed that *-th-* is sometimes written as *-t-* in **K**, therefore this could be a phonetic mistake (it is a more common mistake, at least, than *-t-* > *-th-* in **Or**).

The genitive plural *pathīnām* (from a strong stem *panthā-*, weak stem *pathi-* before consonant, *path-* before vowel) is an innovation — the regular form being *pathām* — due to the

fact that the stem *pathi-* was extended to plural cases with vowel-initial termination (cf. AiGr. III, § 159, p. 308). The form *pathīnām* is already attested once in ṚV 5.1.11c and once in ŚS 9.5.19d. In the PS, besides this passage, it is attested also at 2.39.4d = 16.99.5d (in both cases, **K** has the correct form *pathīnām*). On the association of Pūṣan with Sarasvatī (see the previous stanza) and of Pūṣan with paths, see GONDA 1985: 79–81, 82 ff., 145–164.

#### 15.8.10 [Formula]

*gāyatrī chandasām adhyakṣā* ° ° ° ||

P

The *gāyatrī* is the mistress of the metres etc. etc.

|| | ṛ 10 || 8 || **Ku JM**, || ṛ | 8 | **RM**, ||8 || ṛ 10 || **Mā [Ma] Pa**

This stanza is not found in **K**.

## 15.9. To various gods (continued)

### 15.9.1 [Formula]

bṛhaspatir devānām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° || P

Bṛhaspati is the overlord of gods etc. etc.

adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z K**

### 15.9.2 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.13

prajāpatiḥ prajānām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° || P

Prajāpati is the overlord of offspring etc. etc.

adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z K**

ŚS 5.24.13

mṛtyúḥ prajānām ādhipatiḥ sá māvatu etc. etc.

### 15.9.3 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.14

yamaḥ pitṛṇām adhyakṣaḥ ° ° ° || P

Yama is the overlord of the Fathers etc. etc.

pitṛṇām] **Or**, pitṛṇām **K** adhyakṣaḥ] **Or**, adhyakṣa **K** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z K**

ŚS 5.24.14

yamáḥ pitṛṇām ādhipatiḥ sá māvatu etc. etc.

### 15.9.4 [Prose] ŚS 5.24.15–17

pitarah pare (')varas tatas +tatāmahaḥ | P

te māvantv asmin brahmaṇy asmin karmaṇy P

asyām purodhāyām asyām devahūtyām asyām ākūtyām asyām āśiṣi svāhā || P

The Fathers of old time, the later Father, the Grandfather: let them help me in this formula, in this action, in this priestly office, in this invocation of the gods, in this intention, in this prayer. Hail!

varas tatas] **K**, varas thatas **Or** \*tatāmahaḥ] thatāmahaḥ **Or**, tadāmahas **K** māvantv] **K Ku**, māvaṁtv **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa** purodhāyām asyām] **Or**, om. **K** ākūtyām] **K Or**, ākūyām **JM** āśiṣi] **RM**, āśiṣiḥ **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, āśiṣas **K** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z K**

ŚS 5.24.15

pitārah páre te māvantu etc. etc.

ŚS 5.24.16

tatā ávare te māvantu etc. etc.

a. This sentence combines the beginnings of ŚS 5.24.15, 16 and 17. The ŚS has *avare*, with the pronominal ending, instead of *avaras* in the PS. On the occurrence of nominal endings beside pronominal endings in *āvara-*, cf. AiGr. III, § 264, p. 579, §§ 267–68, pp. 586–88.

c. The sequence *purodhāyām asyām* was lost in **K**.

**15.9.5 [Prose]** cf. KS 38.12:113.3–5; AVPrāy 6.3:137.4

devānām devā devā deveṣv adhidevāḥ parā kramadhvam	P
prathamā dvitīyeṣu dvitīyās tṛtīyeṣu	P

O gods of the gods, O gods among the gods, O presiding deities, step forward. The first ones among the second ones, the second ones among the third ones.

devā devā deveṣv] **RM** [**Ma**], devā devā deva deveṣv **K**, devā devo deveṣv **Ku**, devā deveṣv **JM Mā**, devā de{vi}vā deveṣv **Pa** adhidevāḥ] **Or**, adhidevāḥ **K** parā] **Or**, pra (→ parā) **K** dvitīyeṣu] **K**, **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, dvitīyeṣu **Mā** dvitīyās] **K**, dvitīyā **Ku JM RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, dītīyā **Mā** tṛtīyeṣu] **Or**, tṛtīyaṣu **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, **Z K**

KS 38.12:113.3–5

bṛhaspatipurohitā devā devānām devā devāḥ prathamajā devā devēṣu parā kramadhvam prathamā dvitīyeṣu dvitīyās tṛtīyeṣu trīr ekādaśāḥ trayastriṃśā ānu va ārabha idām śakeyam yād idām karōmi (...)

This and the following stanza seem to be a later addition to the invocations of the previous stanzas. They are both quoted in AVPrāy 6.3 *devānām devaḥ iti dve*; as noted by GRIFFITHS forthc., “The addition *iti dve* in AVPrāy tends to corroborate the identification with PS 15.9.5–6, because those two mantras stand at the end of PS 15.9 and anyhow no other possible identifications are available in known mantra collections. It follows that *deva* needs to be emended to *devā*”.

a. **K** reads *prakramadhvam*, but above this word, in the manuscript, there is the correction *parā*, not mentioned in Bhattacharya’s critical apparatus. The Orissa manuscripts and the KS also read *parākramadhvam*, so I adopt it in the text. Cf. also PS 15.12.8b, where **K** reads *prākramadhvam* but the Orissa manuscripts *parā kramadhvam*: as suggested by GOTŌ 1987: 117, *parā kramadhvam* is probably the authentic reading in both cases.

In the KS, the first group of gods is qualified as ‘having Bṛhaspati as a *purohita*’, a specification that is not found in the PS.

**15.9.6 [Prose]** cf. KS 38.12 (quoted above)

trīr ekādaśā viśve vaiśvānarā	P
mahi mahānto anu mārābhadvam	P
idām śakeyam yad idām kṛṇomi svāhā	P

The thrice eleven, all belonging to all men; being great, grasp me from behind! May I be capable of [doing] this that I’m doing here. Hail!

ekādaśā] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, {o}ekādaśā **Pa** viśve] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, viśv{o}e **Pa** mahi mahānto] **Or**, sahi | śānto **K** anu] **K**, na **Or** mārabhadhvam] mārabhadhvaṁ **Ku RM Mā [Ma]**, mārabhadhmaṁ **JM**, mārabhadh{y}vaṁ **Pa**, va ārabhadhvaṁ **K** || || 6 || 9 || **Ku JM**, | 6 || 9 || **RM**, || 9 || 6 || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, ZZ 6 Z kāṇḍaḥ 5 ZZ ZZ ity atharvaṇikapāippalādayaḥ śākhāyaṁ pañcadaśaḥ kāṇḍe dvitīyo nuvākaḥ ZZ **K**

Bhattacharya edits *na mā rabhadhvam* in **b**.

**b**. In the reading *sahi śānto* (Bhattacharya’s critical apparatus erroneously reads *sānto*), **K** exhibits a case of frequent confusion between *-m-* and *-s-* and possibly omits the second initial *ma-*.

At the end of the line, I adopt the reading of the majority of the Orissa manuscripts (as regards the reading of **K**, note that *m/v* vacillation is very frequent in this manuscript). Cf. also ŚS 2.12.5b *viśve devāso ānu mā́ rabhadhvam* ‘O All-gods, grasp me from behind’. On the compound verb *anv-ā-rambh-*, see JAMISON 1991–92: 140 note 6, who translates it as ‘to grasp from behind’, noting that it is a “common ritual posture, especially characteristic of the *yajamāna*’s wife”.



## 15.10. Weapons of war

PS 15.10, 11 and 12 constitute a long hymn, which closes the collection of “royal hymns” in this kāṇḍa. It contains 31 stanzas, 24 of which are borrowed from the ṚV and are also attested in many Yajurvedic texts (TS, MS, VSM, ĀpŚS) and in the ŚS. The tables below show the correspondences between the PS and the parallel texts:

PS	Parallel texts
15.10.1	= ṚV 6.75.1 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.3:185.10–11 = VSM 29.38 = ĀpŚS 20.16.4 etc.
15.10.2	≈ ṚV 6.75.2 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.3:185.12–13 = VSM 29.39 = ĀpŚS 20.16.5 etc.
15.10.3	≈ ṚV 6.75.3 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.3:185.14–15 = VSM 29.40 = ĀpŚS 20.16.6 etc.
15.10.4	≈ ṚV 6.75.4 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:185.16–17 = VSM 29.41 = ĀpŚS 20.16.7 etc.
15.10.5	≈ ṚV 6.75.5 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:186.1–2 = VSM 29.42 = ĀpŚS 20.16.8 etc.
15.10.6	= ṚV 6.75.6 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:186.3–4 = VSM 29.43 = ĀpŚS 20.16.9 etc.
15.10.7	≈ ṚV 6.75.7 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.5–6 = VSM 29.44 = ĀpŚS 20.16.10 etc.
15.10.8	= ṚV 6.75.8 = TS 4.6.6.3 = VSM 29.45
15.10.9	= ṚV 6.75.9 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.13–14 = VSM 29.46 = ĀpŚS 20.16.11
15.10.10	= ṚV 6.75.10 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:186. 15–16 = VSM 29.47

PS	Parallel texts
15.11.1	= ṚV 10.42–43–44.11 = ŚS 20.17.11, 94.11 = TS 3.3.11.1 ≈ ŚS 7.51.1, 20.89.11 = PS 16.8.11, KauśS 59.19 = VaitS 25.2
15.11.2	≈ ṚV 6.75.11 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:187. 2–3 = VSM 29.48 etc.
15.11.3	PS only
15.11.4	≈ ṚV 6.75.14 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.4–5 = VSM 29.51 etc.
15.11.5	≈ ṚV 6.75.13 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.6–7 = VSM 29.50
15.11.6	≈ ṚV 6.47.27 = ŚS 6.125.2 ≈ TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:186.9–10 = VSM 29.53
15.11.7	= ṚV 6.47.28 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:186. 11–12 = VSM 29.54 ≈ ŚS 6.125.3
15.11.8	= ṚV 6.47.26 = ŚS 6.125.1 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:186.7–8, VSM 29.52, ĀpŚS 20.16.13
15.11.9	= ṚV 6.47.29 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:187. 8–9 = VSM 29.55 ≈ ŚS 6.126.1
15.11.10	= ŚS 6.126.2 ≈ ṚV 6.47.30 = MS 3.16.3:187. 10–11 = VSM 29.56 ≈ TS 4.6.6.7

PS	Parallel texts
15.12.1	≈ ŚS 6.126.3 ≈ ṚV 6.47.31 = TS 4.6.6.7 = MS 3.16.3:187. 12–13 = VSM 29.57 = ĀpŚS 20.16.14 etc.
15.12.2	≈ ṚV 5.31.1
15.12.3	PS only
15.12.4	a: ṚV 1.163.1c, b: cf. ŚS 6.126.3a, PS 15.11.8a c: ṚV 6.47.26c, PS 15.11.8c
15.12.5	≈ ṚV 1.95.7
15.12.6	PS only
15.12.7	PS only
15.12.8	PS only
15.12.9	PS only
15.12.10	PS only
15.12.11	PS only

ṚV 6.47 and 6.75 (from which six and thirteen stanzas are borrowed, respectively) served the redactor as the source for this hymn; they both focus on the theme of war and warfare and are used during the ritual of the *Aśvamedha*. In the stanzas borrowed from ṚV 6.75, all the war equipment and weapons of war are mentioned and praised (armour, bow, bowstring, bow-ends,

quiver, reins, horses, chariot, spears, arrows, hand-guard, horsewhip, drum), while the six stanzas from 6.47 celebrate the chariot and the drum.

The last five stanzas of the hymn are unattested elsewhere in Vedic literature, and appear to be an original addition made by the Paippalādins. They offer a detailed description of the war-chariot (*rātha-*), providing important evidence for the reconstruction of its various components and use in ancient times.

The connection between this hymn, the figure of the king, and the Paippalādins' aim to present themselves as the best *purohitas* is made clear by ĀśvGS 3.12; here, the abovementioned stanzas from RV 6.47 and 6.75, found also in the PS, are quoted as mantras to be recited by a king's *purohita* in a ritual performed before and during a battle, while the king, who is the chief of the army, is wearing his armour and weapons, and later while he is standing on his chariot and fighting.

In this hymn, many of the same gods as in the preceding hymn are named, such as Indra, Savitar, Mitra, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati. There are other concatenating links: *pitaro* in 10.9a and *pitarah* in 10.10a corresponds with *pitṛñām* in 9.3a and *pitarah* in 9.4a; *pr̥thivyāḥ* in 11.6a and *pr̥thivīm* in 11.9a with *pr̥thivyā* in 7.1a; *divas* in 11.6a with *divo* in 7.4a; *vanaspatibhyaḥ* in 11.6b and *vanaspate* in 11.8a with *vanaspatīnām* in 7.8a; *apām* in 11.6c with *'pām* in 7.2a; *paśubhir* in 12.2c with *paśūnām* in 8.3a; *prathamah* in 12.2d with *prathamā* in 9.5b; *prajay[ā]* in 12.8d with *prajānām* in 9.2a; the compound verb *parā kramadhvam* in 12.8b occurs also in 9.5a.

**15.10.1 [Triṣṭubh]** RV 6.75.1 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.3:185.10–11 = VSM 29.38 = ĀpŚS 20.16.4 etc.

jīmūtasyeva bhavati pratīkaṁ	Tb
yad varmī yāti samadām upasthe	Tb
anāviddhayā tanvā jaya tvam	*+Tb
sa tvā varmaṇo mahimā pipartu	+Tb

[His] appearance becomes like that of a rain cloud, when the armoured one drives [the chariot] into the lap of battles. You must be victorious with an unwounded body. Let the might of your armour protect you.

jīmūtasyeva] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, jīmūtasyema **JM** pratīkaṁ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, pratīdām **Mā yad] Or**, yyad **K** varmī] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, ūrmī **RM**, urmī **K** samadām] **Or**, sumanā **K** jaya] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, jāyā **Ku** pipartu] piparttu **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, pirttu **JM**, pipantu **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z **K**

RV 6.75.1 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.3:185.10–11 = VSM 29.38 = ĀpŚS 20.16.4 etc.

jīmūtasyeva bhavati pratīkaṁ yād varmī yāti samadām upasthe |  
anāviddhayā tanvā jaya tvām sā tvā varmaṇo mahimā pipartu ||

Bhattacharya does not record in the critical apparatus the reading *pratīdam* of **Mā**.

a. This stanza depicts an armed warrior approaching a battle, and focuses on the splendour and might of the armour that covers his body and protects him. The simile between the warrior and the rain cloud can be interpreted on two levels: on a concrete level, it may refer to the exterior appearance of the warrior, whose armour, probably made of black leather straps,

resembles in its colour a dark raincloud (thus DANGE 1966: 125). Metaphorically, the simile could also suggest the fury of the warrior and his menacing and war-like attitude. The double meaning is possibly intentional.

b. LUBOTSKY 2002: 64 suggests that this pāda may contain a word play on the words *varmīṇ-* ‘armoured’ and *upásthā-* ‘lap’. At PS 5.11.1cd *tatas te putro jāyatām sa varmī goṣu yudhyatām* ‘From that [embryo] may a son be born from you, may he, the armoured one, fight for cows’, “Possibly *varmin-* lit. ‘mailed’, ‘armoured’ refers to a favourable omen when a child is born with a part of the membrane on him, ‘born with a caul’, cf. Russ. *rodit’sja v rubaške/soročke* ‘to be born lucky’, lit. ‘to be born in a shirt’, Dutch *met de helm geboren* ‘idem’, lit. ‘born with a helmet on’, etc”. The Italian expression *nato con la camicia* ‘idem’, lit. ‘born with the shirt’, could be added to the list.

c. Note the accent on *tanvā̃*. This is the only accented word in the entire kāṇḍa in **K**; the *anudātta* is marked under the akṣara *-ta-*, and the *svārīta* under the akṣara *-nvā-*.

**15.10.2 [Triṣṭubh]** ≈ RV 6.75.2 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.4:185.12–13 = VSM 29.39 = ĀpŚS 20.16.5 etc.

dhanvanā gā dhanvanājīm jayema	+Ta
dhanvanā tīvrāḥ samado jayema	+Tb
dhanuḥ śātror apakāmaṁ kṛṇotu	Ta
dhanvanā sarvāḥ pradiśo jayema	+Tb

With the bow [may we win] cows, with the bow may we win the fight; with the bow may we win sharp battles; let the bow cause evil to the enemy; with the bow may we win all directions.

dhanvanājīm] **Ku JM RM**, dhanvanājīm **Mā [Ma] Pa**, dhanvanāji **K** tīvrāḥ] **Or**, tīvrā **K** samado] **Or**, samadho **K** jayema] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, yayema **Mā** dhanuḥ] **Or**, dhanuś **K** śātror] **Ku JM Mā [Ma]**, śātror **K**, jatror **Pa** sarvāḥ] **Or**, sarvāḥ **K** pradiśo] **K**, pṛtanā **Or** jayema] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, yayema **Mā** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 2 Z **K**

RV 6.75.2 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.4:185.12–13 = VSM 29.39 = ĀpŚS 20.16.5 etc.

dhānvanā gā dhānvanājīm jayema dhānvanā tīvrāḥ samādo jayema |

dhānuḥ śātror apakāmāṁ kṛṇoti dhānvanā sārvaḥ pradiśo (MS pṛtanā) jayema ||

Bhattacharya edits *dhanvanājīm jayema* in **a** and *pṛtanā jayema* in **d**.

c. All the parallel passages have *kṛṇoti* instead of *kṛṇotu*, but the imperative is plausible here, and fits the context well; therefore, I adopt it. The genitive *śātror* is a *genitivus obiectivus*. For a parallel construction of *apakāmā-* ‘abhorrence, displeasure’ plus verb *kṛ-*, cf. ŚS 2.12.5d = PS 2.5.5d, in which the same word is found in connection with the agent-noun *kartār-*: *pāpām ā rchatv apakāmāsyā kartā* ‘Der Täter von Abscheulichem soll ins Unglück kommen’ (Zehnder).

d. I edit the reading of **K** *pradiśo*, which is in all the parallel passages (with the exception of the MS) and is confirmed by the evidence of the *Āṅgīrasa* tradition (cf. SANDERSON 2007: 213 n. 47). It seems reasonable that also the Orissa manuscripts had once the reading *pradiśo* and that the text was later altered under the influence of passages like PS 5.4.1d *tvayādhyakṣeṇa pṛtanā jayema* ‘With you as overlord may we win the battles’.

Note the five-fold anaphora and the polyptoton on the name of the bow; the complexity of the rhetorical structure of this stanza is increased by the three-fold anaphora of the verb *jayema* at the end of pādas **a**, **b** and **d** (see WATKINS 1995: 22).

**15.10.3** [Triṣṭubh] ≈ ṚV 6.75.3 = TS 4.6.6.1. = MS 3.16.3:185.14–15 = VSM 29.40 = ĀpŚS 20.16.6 etc.

vakṣyantīved ā ganīganti kārṇam	Ta
priyaṁ sakhāyaṁ pariśasvajānā	Tb
yoṣeva śīṅkte vītātādhi dhanvañ	Tb
jīyā iyaṁ samiti pārāyantī	*+Ta

As a woman who is just about to speak, she repeatedly approaches the ear, embracing [her] beloved friend; being outstretched on the bow, she whispers, this bowstring that makes [us] victorious in battle.

ganīganti] Or, ganīgaṁti **K** priyaṁ] Or, priyaṁ **K**, pariśasvajānā] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, paripāsajānā **Pa**, pariśasvajānām **K** śīṅkte] śīṅkte **Or**, śīṅkte **K** dhanvañ] **K**, dhanvaṁ **Or** iyaṁ] **Or**, iyaṁ **K** pārāyantī] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, pārāyaṁtī **Mā**, pārāntī **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM K**

ṚV 6.75.3 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.3:185.14–15 = VSM 29.40 = ĀpŚS 20.16.6 etc.

vakṣyāntīved ā ganīganti kārṇam priyaṁ sakhāyaṁ pariśasvajānā |  
yoṣeva śīṅkte vītātādhi dhānvañ jyā iyaṁ sāmāne pārāyantī ||

**a.** On the meaning of the future participle *vakṣyāntī*, which tends to be equivalent to a substantive, see RENOU 1961: 12. The intensive *ganīganti* has a simple iterative value here (see SCHAEFER 1994: 91, 113). The simile between the bowstring and a woman whispering into her lover’s ear is due to the fact that the bowstring “was drawn back to ear, unlike the Homeric method of drawing it to the breast; discharged from the ear, the arrow was called *kārṇayoni*, ‘having the ear as its point of origin’. The twang of the bowstring sounded sweet to the ear of the warrior” (SINGH 1965: 93). Cf. also ŚS 5.21.9ab, in which the sound of the bowstring is mentioned again: *jyāghoṣā dundubhāyo ’bhī krośantu yā dīśaḥ* ‘Let the sounds of the bowstring [and] the drums yell to all directions’.

**d.** Note the interesting variant of the PS, which has *samiti* instead of *sāmāne* in the parallel texts. The form is a locative singular from *samit-* ‘battle’, regularly attested in epic and classical Sanskrit. Since from the ṚV onwards several other *sām-*derivatives are attested in the meaning of ‘battle, fight, conflict’ (*samād-* (ṚV 47×), *sāmāna-* (ṚV 15×), *samāraṇa-* (ṚV 5×), *sāmīti-* (ṚV 6×), *samithā-* (ṚV 17×), *samīkā-* (ṚV 5×) etc.), the use of *samit-* in this hymn may indicate that this modification to the text took place in the late Vedic period; note also that it produces a slightly awkward sequence of three short syllables in the break.

**15.10.4** [Triṣṭubh] ≈ ṚV 6.75.4 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:185.16–17 = VSM 29.41 = ĀpŚS 20.16.7 etc.

te ācarantī samāneva yoṣā	Tb
māteva putrāṁ pipṛtām upasthe	Tb
apa śatrūṁ vidhyatām samvidāne	+Ta
ārtñī ime visphurantī amitrān	Ta

Let these two, like a young woman approaching to a rendez-vous, protect [us] like a mother [protects] her child in the lap. Let these two bow-ends, coming together, jumping asunder, pierce the enemies, the foes.

te] Or, tī K ācarantī] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K, ārantī RM śatrūn] Or, śatñ K vidhyatām] Or, vidyatām K saṁvidāne] K, samvidāne Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, s{i}amvidāne JM, samvidano RM ārtñ] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], ā{·}rtñ Pa, ārtñ K viṣphurantī] Ku Mā [Ma] K, viṣphu{ṁ}rantī JM, viṣphumrantī Pa amitrān] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, amitān JM, amittrān K || JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | Ku RM, om. K

RV 6.75.4 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:185.16–17 = VSM 29.41 = ĀpŚS 20.16.7 etc.

té ācarantī sāmāneva yōṣā mātēva putrām bibhṛtām upāsthe |

āpa śatrūn vidhyatām (MS vidhyataḥ) saṁvidāne ārtñ imé viṣphurāntī amitrān ||

a. This simile is also found at RV 4.58.8ab = PS 8.13.8ab *abhī pravanta sāmāneva yōṣāḥ kalyāṇyāḥ smāyamānāso agnīm* ‘They hasten toward Agni as beautiful, smiling women [hasten] to a rendez-vous’, and RV 10.168.2b ≈ PS 1.107.2b *āinaṁ gachanti sāmānaṁ ná* (PS *samāneva*) *yōṣāḥ* ‘They come to him as women to a rendez-vous’.

b. On the expression *pipṛtām upāsthe*, see PS 5.37.8d *kumāraṁ jātām pipṛtām upasthe* ‘Let the two preserve a boy, when born, in [her] lap’ (LUBOTSKY 2002: 173). The meaning ‘protect, preserve’ of the root *pr-* in this context has been suggested by KUIPER 1938: 322–323 [= 1997: 168–169] (note 1): “Auch dort, wo von Mutter und Kind die Rede ist, ist an der Bedeutung ‘schützen’ festzuhalten, z. B. AS V, 26, 5 *mātēva putrām pipṛteḥ yuktāḥ* (verfehlt Whitney ‘as a mother her son, fill ye here, joined’), wofür II, 28, 5c *mātēvāsmā adite śārma yacha* ‘gewähre ihm, A. wie eine Mutter Schutz’ und besonders Praśn. Up. 2,13 *mātēva putrān rakṣasva* zu vergleichen ist”.

See also PS 15.10.1d above (*sa tvā varmaṇo mahimā pipartu* ‘Let the might of your armour protect you’) and RV 1.156.3b *ṛtāsya gārbhaṁ janūṣā pipartana* ‘protect the germ of order from its birth on’, ŚS 9.1.5c *tām jātām tāruṇaṁ piparti mātā* ‘The mother protects this tender one, when born’, 12.1.12c *parjanyaḥ pitā sā u naḥ pipartu* ‘Parjanya is the father; so let him protect us’, etc.

The parallel passages have *bibhṛtām* ‘let the two carry’, and it is possible that the PS variant here is due to perseveration from *kāṇḍa* five (note also the same position in the cadence).

On the alternation between the roots *pr-* and *bhr-* in the meaning ‘to protect’, see WACKERNAGEL 1926: 11, Ved. Var. II, 64 and PS 15.20.1b.

cd. This stanza is full of words expressing the idea of movement: observe the opposition of the two compound verbs *saṁvid-* ‘meet, come together’, which echoes *ācar-* ‘approach’ and *samana-* ‘meeting, reunion’ in pāda a, and *viṣphur-* ‘dart asunder’, which describes the opposite movements of the bow-ends when an arrow is being shot.

15.10.5 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ RV 6.75.5 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:186.1–2 = VSM 29.42 = ĀpŚS 20.16.8 etc.

bahvīnām pitā bahur asya putro	+Tb
vyacaḥ kṛṇoti samado (')vagatya	Tb
iṣudhiḥ +saṅkāḥ pṛtanāś ca sarvāḥ	+Tb
pṛṣṭhe ninaddho jayati prasūtaḥ	Tb

It is the father of many, manifold is his son. It makes free space, when it has gone down to battles. Fastened on the back, put to action, the quiver wins all fights and battles.

pitā] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, pitā{m} **Pa** putro] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, putrau **JM** vyacah] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, vya(+ca)h **Ku**, vyāca **K** kṛṇoti] **Ku JM Mā [Ma]**, kṛṇotri **Pa**, kṛṇotu **RM K** samado] **Or**, samidho **K** vagatya] **Or**, vagatyā **K** iṣudhih] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, isu(→ṣu)dhih **Pa**, iṣudhis **K** +sāṅkāh] sāṅkāh **Or**, sāṅkaḥ **K** sarvāh] **Or**, sarvāḥ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, om. **K**

ṚV 6.75.5 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:186.1–2 = VSM 29.42 = ĀpŚS 20.16.8 etc.

bahvīnām (MS bahūnām) pitā bahūr asya putrās ciścā kṛṇoti sāmanāvagātya |  
iṣudhiḥ sāṅkāḥ pṛtanās ca sārvaḥ pṛsthē nīnaddho jayati prāsūtaḥ ||

a. The quiver is called father of many daughters, i.e. arrows. And who's the son?

b. Note the variant of **K** *kṛṇotu*. I prefer the reading of the Orissa manuscripts, which is found in all the parallel passages. This pāda is a variant of ṚV 6.75.5b *ciścā kṛṇoti sāmanāvagātya* 'It clatters when it has gone down to the meetings'.

**15.10.6 [Jagatī]** ṚV 6.75.6 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:186.3–4 = VSM 29.43 = ĀpŚS 20.16.9 etc.

rathe tiṣṭhan nayati vājinaḥ puro	+ #Ja
yatrayatra kāmāyate suṣārathiḥ	+ #Ja
abhiśūnām mahimānam panāyata	Ja
manaḥ paścād anu yachanti raśmayah	Ja

Standing on the chariot, a skillful charioteer leads his horses forward, wherever he wants. Praise the strength of the bridles: the reins follow the [charioteer's] mind behind.

tiṣṭhan] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, tiṣṭham **Ku RM** vājinaḥ] **Or**, vājinaḥ **K** suṣārathiḥ] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, suṣārathiḥ **JM**, suṣārathiḥ **RM**, susārathiḥ **K** abhiśūnām] **Or**, abhaśūnām **K** paścād] **Or**, paścād **K** yachanti] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, yachanti **Ku**, yaśchanti **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM JM K**

ṚV 6.75.6 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:186.3–4 = VSM 29.43 = ĀpŚS 20.16.9 etc.

rāthe tiṣṭhan nayati vājinaḥ puró yātra yatra kāmāyate suṣārathiḥ |  
abhiśūnām mahimānam panāyata mānaḥ paścād ānu yachanti raśmāyah ||

**ab.** The term *sārathi-* is the usual name of the charioteer. It is well known that a chariot carried at least two people, the warrior and the driver. The warrior, standing on the left, was provided with a seat, which he could use when engaged in warfare to balance himself and handle the bow or other weapons. The charioteer, on the other hand, had no seat provided, as proved by passages like this one, in which he is mentioned as the one 'standing on the chariot' (*rathe tiṣṭhan*); another name of the charioteer, *sthātar-*, literally means 'the one who stands', and emphasizes the distinction between him and the warrior, although the driver's epithets must be considered honorific titles, since he was usually one of the noble warrior's kinsmen.

It is interesting to point out that the Avestan compound *raθaēštā-*, which literally means 'the one who stands in the chariot', and corresponds to Vedic *ratheṣṭhā-* 'id.', has become in the

Avesta the technical term to designate a member of the warrior class (see KELLENS 1974: 231–32), rather than the charioteer.

**cd.** I translate *abhīśu-* with ‘bridle’ and *raśmī-* with ‘reins’ in order to maintain the distinction between the two words, which are in fact synonymous, in the translation. Geldner, too, adopts two slightly different translations, namely ‘Zügel’ and ‘Leitseile’. The word *abhīśu-* is “a common Vedic word denoting ‘the reins’ or ‘bridle’ of the chariot horses. The use of the plural is due to the fact the two or four horses [...] were yoked to the car” (MACDONELL — KEITH 1912: 29), while *raśmī-* primarily means ‘string, rope, cord’, and only secondarily acquires the sense of ‘rein’. On the synonymous meaning of the two words, cf. ŚB 5.4.3.14 *ābhīśavo vāi raśmāyas* ‘Ropes/reins [are] the bridle’ and RAU 1983: 31 n. 110, who opposes Geldner’s translation, as if it implied a distinction between two different objects.

**15.10.7 [Triṣṭubh/Jagati]** ≈ ṚV 6.75.7 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.5–6 = VSM 29.44 = ĀpŚS 20.16.10 etc.

tīvrān ghoṣān kṛṇvatām vṛṣapāṇayo	#Ja
śvā rathebbhiḥ saha vājāyantaḥ	*Tb
+avakrāmantaḥ prapadair amitrān	Tb
kṣiṇanti +śatrūṁr anapavyayantaḥ	Tb

Let the strong-hooved horses make sharp noises, racing together with the chariots. Trampling on the foes with their forefeet, they destroy the enemies without removing [their armours].

kṛṇvatām] **Or**, kṛnute **K** vṛṣapāṇayo] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, vṛṣapāṣāyo **Mā** rathebbhiḥ] **Or**, rathebbhis **K** +avakrāmantaḥ] apakrāmantaḥ **Or**, om. **K** prapadair] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, prava(→pa)dair **Ku**, pramṇīn **K** amitrān] **Or**, amittrāt **K** +śatrūṁr] śatrūnr **Or**, śatṛṁ **K** anapavyayantaḥ] **Or**, apavyayantaḥ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, **Z K**

ṚV 6.75.7 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.5–6 = VSM 29.44 = ĀpŚS 20.16.10 etc.

tīvrān ghoṣān kṛṇvate vṛṣapāṇayó 'śvā ráthebbhiḥ sahá vājāyantaḥ |  
avakrāmantaḥ prápadair amitrān kṣiṇánti śatrūṁr ánapavyayantaḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits *kṛṇvatām* in **a** and *apakrāmantaḥ* in **c**.

**a.** Bhattacharya edits the reading of the Orissa manuscripts *kṛṇvatām*, while all the parallel passages have *kṛṇvate*. Again (cf. PS 15.10.2c above), it is not easy to decide whether the imperative or the indicative (could *kṛṇute* of **K** be a corruption of *kṛṇvate*?) would better fit the context here.

**b.** The participle *vājāyant-* here has the intransitive meaning ‘to race, seek booty’ (see JAMISON 1983: 51).

**c.** The form of the Orissa manuscripts *apakrāmantaḥ* is unacceptable here, on account of the meaning of the verb *apakram-* ‘to step away, retreat, retire from’. The preverb *apa-* was probably drawn here from pāda **d**, by a mistake of the copyist (the same confusion between *apa* and *ava* is found also at PS 7.5.12d). **K** omits this word, therefore I emend in accordance with the parallel texts.

**d.** It is difficult to give an accurate translation of the participle *ánapavyayantaḥ*. Most of the existing translations are based on the interpretation given by Sāyaṇa, who explained the word with the gloss *[a]palāyamānā* ‘not fleeing’. Roth’s translation ‘nicht ablassend’ has been

accepted by Grassmann; Geldner and Griffith translate, respectively, ‘ohne sich zu entziehen (?)’ and ‘never flinching’; OLDENBERG 1909: 416 renders it ‘nicht entkleidend’, and explains ‘d. h. von ihnen das sie umhüllende Gewand des Unheils nicht abtuend’. RENOUE 1938: 71 translates ‘sans lâcher prise’. BERGAIGNE 1884: 51–54 has dedicated to this word a short study, which has been characterized by Oldenberg “weniger glücklich”. First he points out the opposition between the term *prapadair* ‘with the forefeet’, and the epithet *vṛṣapāṇayas*, which he interprets as ‘whose hands are male’, i.e. ‘the stones for pressing soma’; then he concludes, “Au vers 6,75,7, en même temps qu’ils ont les pierres du pressoir à la main, ils triomphent des ennemis en les écrasant de la pointe du pied, et sans se dégager d’eux, c’est-à-dire en somme, sans le moindre effort, *et sans changer de place*”.

The meaning of the verb *apavyaya-* ‘to uncover’ is confirmed by a passage like ṚV 7.81.1cd, which describes the action of Uṣas removing the mantle of the darkness that covers the earth during the night: *ápo máhi vyayati cákṣase támo jyótiṣ kṛṇoti sūnārī* ‘Removing the mighty darkness, so that we may see, the beautiful lady makes the light’.

Therefore, in our hymns the image is that of the horses that can kill the enemies by keeping their strong hoofs upon them, even without removing their armour.

#### 15.10.8 [Triṣṭubh] ṚV 6.75.8 = TS 4.6.6.3 = VSM 29.45

rathavāhanam havir asya nāma	+Tb
yatrāyudham nihitam asya varma	+#Ta
tatrā ratham upa śagmam sadema	Ta
viśvāhā vayam sumanasyamānāḥ	+Tb

[There is] a chariot-frame — oblation is its name — where his weapon [and] armour are placed. There may we, well disposed, put again and again the mighty chariot.

nihitam asya] **Or**, nihatasya **K** varma] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, {ma}varma **JM** viśvāhā] **Or**, viśvāphā(→hā) **K** vayam] **Or**, vaṣam **K** ||] **Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku JM RM, Z K**

ṚV 6.75.8 = TS 4.6.6.3 = VSM 29.45

rathavāhanam havir asya nāma yatrāyudham nihitam asya varma |  
tatrā ratham upa śagmam sadema viśvāhā vayam sumanasyamānāḥ ||

**a.** The word *rathavāhana-* has long been debated, at least since the remarks made by ROTH 1888: 95–97. Most scholars agree that *rathavāhana-* indicates a movable frame or platform to hold and convey the chariot (when not in use). SPARREBOOM 1985: 29–30, commenting on the late occurrence of the word at BaudhŚS 11.6:72.8 (= KātyŚS 15.6.28 *rathavāhaṇa*), follows the interpretation of the Vedic Index, and explains it as a conveyor or stand for the chariot, drawn by two horses or oxen (*rathavāhanavāhau*). He adds, “It may be considered strange that a light, two-wheeled vehicle is transported on another car. Could a chariot, fit for battle or race, not be driven to the scene of action by itself? Of course, the possibility cannot be ruled out that this usage was just for the sake of adding more lustre to the stateliness of the chariot, which was, for this reason, delivered to the starting place of the race-course with due ceremonial pomp and circumstance. However, circumstantial evidence appears to suggest another, and very practical explanation: the race car was disassembled when not used [...]. The wheels would have to be set into position just before the start”. KAZANAS 2002: 308–309 proposes a different



interpretation, observing that in the hymn there is no mention that the wheels and the box of the chariot were separate; in his opinion, “It seems reasonable that *rathavāhana-* is the chariot itself, lauded *per se* in stanza 8,” and he adds, “There is no need to assume a chariot-carrying platform. [...] Furthermore, this very stanza says that upon this vehicle are already laid (*nihita*) weaponry (*āyudha*) and mail (*varma*). So O’ Flaherty and others say that on this ‘platform’ weapons are first laid and mail and then chariot itself. Is it likely that practical men would load the chariot (whole or dismantled) afterwards and thus possibly damage the weaponry? Of course not.”

Kazanas’s arguments are, however, rather weak.

First of all, other attestations of the word make it clear that *rathavāhana-* cannot indicate the chariot itself, but must refer to a movable chariot frame: cf. i.a. PS 4.27.2e, *jaitrāyod yātu rathavāhanam te* ‘Let him drive up your chariot-frame, for victory’ (similar to PS 20.51.1ab *ut tabhnāmi gavām kṣīram ud ratham rathavāhanam* ‘I honour the milk of the cows, the chariot, the chariot-frame’), PS 5.29.4a *rathe varco rathavāhane ca varca* ‘The splendor in the chariot and the splendor in the chariot-frame’, and especially PS 19.29.8ab *mayi te mana āhitam ratha iva rathavāhane* ‘Your mind is placed upon me like the chariot upon the chariot-frame’, in which a simile describes the action of putting the chariot on the chariot frame.

There are no indications of the size of the chariot frame, so Kazanas’ claim that putting the chariot on the chariot frame would have damaged the weapons already laid on it is simply a guess.

Moreover, Kazanas proposes several translations of the compound, but all of them are inaccurate. He renders it as ‘the conveying by the chariot’, ‘the chariot’s [function of] conveying’ or even ‘the conveyor that is the chariot’, giving inadequate attention to the accent. The compound *rathavāhana-* is a *tatpuruṣa* of the type *kravyavāhana-* ‘carrying corpses’ (said of Agni at RV 10.16.11a), *madhuvāhana-* ‘carrying sweet things’ (said of the chariot of the Aśvins at RV. 1.34.2; 157.3; 10.41.2b) and *devavāhana-* ‘carrying the gods’ (said of horses at SB 1.4.1.30).

Finally, although Sparreboom himself admits that in the texts there are no explicit references to the dismantling of the chariot, this hypothesis is nevertheless highly probable. As concerns the dismantling of the wheels, cf. RAU 1983: 28: “Die Räder ließen sich leicht abnehmen, aufstecken bzw. ersetzen”.

I interpret the expression *haviṣya nāma* as a ‘naming-parenthesis’ construction, on which see DUNKEL 1982, who also discusses the evidence from Old Persian, Hittite and Celtic. In Dunkel’s opinion, this R̥gvedic passage “assures the existence of nominal naming-parentheses not only for Indo-Iranian, but also, together with the evidence from Hittite and Celtic, for the popular level of speech in Indo-European itself” (p. 19). Cf. PS 15.11.6d *haviṣā ratham yaja* ‘Worship the chariot with an oblation’.

Note also the similar, parallel cadences of pādas **a** and **b**: *asya nāma* — *asya varma* (as noted by Geldner *ad loc.*, the first *asya* refers to *rathavāhanam*, the second one to the warrior). Furthermore, this stanza features prominent alliteration of the nasal sounds *m*, which occur twelve times in total, giving the idea of a murmured recitation.

**cd.** KAZANAS 2002: 309 notes that the verb *upasad-* has an intransitive meaning ‘to sit by/near/on’, and in a figurative sense ‘revere, approach respectfully’. These meanings have been adopted by Keith and Griffith, who translate, respectively, ‘May we sit on the strong car’, and ‘Let us honour the helpful car’. Cf. also PS 1.92.3a *agnim sāmityam upa sam sadema* ‘Zum Versammlungsfeuer möchten wir uns sitzen’ (Zehnder). Other translators attribute to the verb

a transitive meaning that is usually inherent only in causative forms (*úpasādaya-* ‘make sit on, place upon’): Geldner translates ‘auf den wollen wir der Wagon setzen’, O’Flaherty (1981: 237) ‘on it let us place the working chariot’. The context indeed suggests that the verb *upasad-*, contrary to the usual intransitive meaning (18× in the ṚV), is used here, exceptionally, in a transitive sense. Cf. CASARETTO 2004 [2010]: 79.

The use of the optative, together with the occurrence of the adverb *viśvāhā* and the adjective *sumanasyāmānāḥ* in the following pāda, express the wish that the warriors, in good spirit, may repeat over and over again the action of putting the dismantled, mighty chariot on the platform; that would mean that they are victorious and their equipment undamaged.

In all its Ṛgvedic and Atharvavedic attestations, the present participle medium *sumanasyāmānāḥ* occurs always at the end of the verse, as it features a perfect Triṣṭubh cadence.

**15.10.9 [Triṣṭubh]** ṚV 6.75.9 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.13–14 = VSM 29.46 = ĀpŚS 20.16.11

svāduṣaṁsadaḥ pitaro vayodhāḥ	+Tb
kṛchreśritaḥ śaktīvanto gabhīrāḥ	+#Ta
citrāsena īṣubalā amṛdhrāḥ	+(#)Ta
satovīrā uravo vrātasāhāḥ	Ta

The Fathers [were] sitting around the sweet [Soma], bestowers of strength, supporters in danger, powerful, profound; having glittering spears, having strength in their arrows, tireless, equally brave, broad, victorious over the enemies.

svāduṣaṁsadaḥ] **Or**, svāduṣaṁsadaḥ **K** kṛchreśritaḥ] **Or**, kṛschresrjaś **K** śaktīvanto] **Ku JM RM Mā** [Ma] **K**, śakt{i}vanto **Pa** citrāsena] **Or**, citrāsena **K** īṣubalā] **Ku JM RM** [Ma] **K**, īṣubala **Pa**, īṣumalā **Mā** amṛdhrāḥ] **Ku JM RM** [Ma] **Pa**, amudhrāḥ **Mā**, avḍhrās **K** vrātasāhāḥ] **Ku RM Mā** [Ma] **Pa K**, vrātasāhā **JM** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, | **RM K**

ṚV 6.75.9 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.13–14 = VSM 29.46 = ĀpŚS 20.16.11  
svāduṣaṁsadaḥ pitāro vayodhāḥ kṛchreśritaḥ śaktīvanto gabhīrāḥ |  
citrāsena īṣubalā amṛdhrāḥ satovīrā uravo vrātasāhāḥ ||

**b.** On the compound *kṛchreśrīt-*, see SCARLATA 1999: 543–544. While the meaning of the first member is clear — it is the locative singular of *kṛchrā-* n. ‘danger, difficulty, calamity’ — the exact sense of the second member *śrīt-* is difficult to determine. One possibility is to postulate an abstract noun \**śrīt-* f., meaning ‘refuge, rest, support’, and render the compound as ‘(who are) refugees in dangers’; this is the solution adopted by Geldner, who translates, ‘Sie sind [...] die Zuflucht in der Not’ and by RENOU 1938: 71, who renders ‘Appui dans le péril’. Otherwise, one can consider the second member to be the root *śri-* ‘to cause to lean or rest on, lay on or in’, used in its causative and intransitive sense; the meaning of the compound would then be ‘leaning on each other in danger’, ‘supporting each other in danger’. Since the compound refers to the Fathers, who are already dead, I prefer the first solution.

According to ARNOLD 1905: 127, a short *-i-* must be restored in *śaktīvanto*, and this restoration would give a regular anapestic rhythm to the break (cf. the parallel case quoted by

Arnold, R̥V 5.31.6c *śáktīvo yád vibhárā ródasī ubhé*, which is, however, less significant, for a second long syllable in the opening of a Jagatī pāda is highly favored).

**15.10.10 [Triṣṭubh/Jagatī]** R̥V 6.75.10 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:186. 15–16 = VSM 29.47,  
d: R̥V 6.71.3d, ŚS 19.47.6a, PS 6.20.6a etc.

brāhmaṇāsaḥ pitarah som;yāsaḥ	*+Ta
śive no dyāvāpr̥thivī aneḥasā	Jcb
pūṣā naḥ pātu duritād ṛtāvṛdho	Jb
rakṣā +mākir ṇo aghāsaṁsa īśata	Jb

O Brahmins, O Fathers, O Soma-lovers, let heaven and earth, incomparable, be propitious to us. Let Pūṣan protect us from danger, O increasers of the R̥ta. Give protection! Let no slanderer become our master.

brāhmaṇāsaḥ] **Or**, brāhmaṇāsaḥ **K** pitarah] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, pitarasaḥ **JM**, pitaras **K** no] **Or**, na **K** naḥ] **Or**, naḥ **K** duritād] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, duritā{vṛ}d **JM** rakṣā] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, ra **JM** +mākir ṇo] sākir ṇo **K**, māḥṇvo **Or** aghāsaṁsa] **Ku RM [Ma] Pa K**, aghasaṁsa **JM Mā** || || ṛ 10 || 10 || **Ku**, || ṛ || 10 || **JM**, | ṛ | 10 | **RM**, || 10 || ṛ 10 || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, Z kāṇḍaḥ Z 1 Z **K**

R̥V 6.75.10 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:186. 15–16 = VSM 29.47  
brāhmaṇāsaḥ pitarah sómyasaḥ śivé no dyāvāpr̥thivī aneḥasā (MS ubhé stām) |  
pūṣā naḥ pātu duritād ṛtāvṛdho rákṣā mākir no aghāsaṁsa īśata ||

R̥V 6.71.3cd  
híraṇyajihvaḥ suvitāya návyase rákṣā mākir no aghāsaṁsa īśata ||

ŚS 19.47.6ab  
rákṣā mākir no aghāsaṁsa īśata mā no duḥśaṁsa īśata |

**d.** The reading *rakṣā*, which is found in all the manuscripts, is variously interpreted as a 2<sup>nd</sup> singular imperative from *rakṣ-*, or as nominative singular from *rakṣas-* (see WHITNEY 1905: 975). Although Geldner *ad loc.* notes that “der Sg. *rákṣā* (auf Pūṣan?) paßt hier schlecht”, I think that the imperative is still the best solution. Also GRIFFITHS 2009: 218 translates PS 6.20.6a *rakṣā mākir ṇo aghāsaṁsa īśata* as ‘Give protection! Let no slanderer become our master’, but in the *Index verborum* he puts the word *rakṣā* under the lemma *rakṣas-*, not under *rakṣ-*.

## 15.11. Weapons of war (continued)

**15.11.1 [Triṣṭubh]** ṚV 10.42–44.11 = ŚS 20.17.11, 94.11 = TS 3.3.11.1 ≈ ŚS 7.51.1, 20.89.11 = PS 16.8.11, KauśS 59.19 = VaitS 25.2

bṛhaspatir naḥ pari pātu paścād	Tb
utottarasmād adharād aghāyoh	Tb
indraḥ purastād uta madhyato naḥ	Tb
sakhā sakhibhyo varivaḥ kṛṇotu	Tb

Let Bṛhaspati protect us all around, from behind, from above and from below against the malignant one. Let Indra, as friend to [his] friends, make free space for us in the front and in the middle.

bṛhaspatir naḥ] **Or**, bṛhaspatin naḥ **K** utottarasmād] **Or**, utottarāsmād **K** adharād] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, adharāj **Ku** indraḥ] **Or**, indraḥ **K** naḥ] **Or**, nas **K** varivaḥ] **Or**, varivaḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, **Z K**

ṚV 10.42.11 = ŚS 20.17.11, 94.11 = TS 3.3.11.1 ≈ ŚS 7.51.1, 20.89.11 = PS 16.8.11, KauśS 59.19 = VaitS 25.2

bṛhaspátir naḥ pári pātu paścād utóttarasmād ádharād aghāyóh |  
índraḥ purástād utá madhyató naḥ sákhā sákhībhyo várivaḥ kṛṇotu ||

**d.** As regards the expression *várivaḥ kṛ-* ‘to make free space’, the PS shows the same alternation, found also in the ŚS, between the use of *várivas-* (3.1.7b, 3.36.5c, 15.11.1d, 19.8.3c, 20.35.1c) and *várīyas-* (16.8.11d, 16.25.9b). According to Ved. Var. II: 130, 258, the form *várivas-* is older, and *várīyas-* “more popular”.

**15.11.2 [Triṣṭubh]** ≈ ṚV 6.75.11 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:187. 2–3 = VSM 29.48 etc., b: cf. PS 15.11.8c

suparṇam vaste mṛgo asyā danto	#Tb
gobhiḥ samnaddhā patati prasūtā	Tb
yatrā naraḥ sam ca vi ca dravanti	+#Tb
tatrāsmabhyam iṣavaḥ śarma yachān	Ta

She wears eagle[’s feathers], her teeth are [that of] a deer; bound with (straps made of) cattle, set in motion, she flies. Where the heroes run hither and thither, there let the arrows give us protection.

asyā] **Or**, asyāsi **K** danto] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, danto(→nto) **Pa** gobhiḥ] **Or**, gobhis **K** samnaddhā] **Ku**, sannaddhā **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, sannaddhāsi **K** patati] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, pat{i}ati **JM**, pacati **K** naraḥ] **K**, nara **Or** sam] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, sañ **JM RM K** vi] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, pi **JM** tatrāsmabhyam] tatrā(→dā)ssabhyam **K**, tad āsmabhyam **Or** iṣavaḥ] **Or**, ṛṣayaś **K** yachān] yachāt **Mā [Ma] Pa**, yachat **Ku JM RM**, yaśchān **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, **Z K**

ṚV 6.75.11 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:187. 2–3 = VSM 29.48 etc.

suparṇam (MS supārṇam) vaste mṛgó asyā (MS ásyā) danto góbhiḥ sámnnaddhā patati prásūtā |  
yátrā nárah sám ca ví ca drávanti táttrāsmábhyam iṣavaḥ śárma yaṁsan ||

Bhattacharya edits *tad asmabhyam* in **d**.

**ab.** The arrows were feathered in order to balance them in flight, and were tipped with horn or metal (the RV refers to arrows with poisoned heads of horn — 6.75.15 *ālāṅkta-* ‘anointed with poison’, *rūruśīrṣaṇ-* ‘deer-headed’ — as distinct from other metal-headed arrows — *ibid.*, *āyo mūkha-* ‘having a metal mouth’). The mention of the deer makes it clear that arrows with horn head are intended here. Straps were probably used to fasten the arrow-head to the shaft. On the various kinds of feathers and heads used for arrows, see PANT 1978: 97 ff. The insertion of the feathers into the arrow-shaft must have been a very delicate and important manufacturing process, since we find it in similes as an element of comparison with a work of effective skill: cf. RV 10.18.14ab *praticīne mām āhanīṣvāḥ parṇām ivā dadhuḥ* ‘At a later day they will place me like an arrow’s feather’, ŚS 5.25.1 *pārvatād divo yoner āngādaṅgāt samābhṛtam | śépo gārbhasya retodhāḥ sárau parṇām ivā dadhat* ‘Brought together from the mountain, from the sky, from the womb, from every limb, the penis, seed-placer of the embryo, shall place [it] like the feather on the shaft’.

**c.** On the syntagma *sam ca vi ca*, see HOFFMANN 1975: 297 note 25: discussing the opposition between *sam am<sup>i</sup>* and *vi am<sup>i</sup>*, he quotes the parallel constructions *sām ca ví ca añc-* (RV 5.78.6) ‘zusammen- und auseinanderbiegen’, *sām ca ví ca dru-* (RV 6.75.11) and the PS form *samcavica-* ‘sich vereinigend und trennend’ (attested at PS 1.107.6; see the discussion of this passage in HOFFMANN 1975: 232–233).

**d.** **K** reads *tatrāssabhyam ṛṣayaḥ*, but in the manuscript there is the correction *-dā-* over the akṣara *-trā-*. I adopt the reading of **K** *ante correctionem*, which is confirmed by all the parallel passages. The reading *tad āsmabhyam* of **Or** and of **K** *post correctionem* implies the interpretation *ā + asmabhyam*, but it might be relevant to point out that the sequence *tad asmabhyam* occurs three other times in the PS at the beginning of a pāda (at 1.18.1c, 20.7.1c, 2d) and may be due to perseveration in our passage.

The reading of **K** *ṛṣayaḥ* ‘the seers’ represents something between a real variant and a graphic mistake. Note that the PS has the present subjunctive of the root *yam-*, instead of the *s-* aorist subjunctive of the other versions.

### 15.11.3 [Triṣṭubh] PS only

suparṇo vāso yad u sarpir *āsām	Tb
mano hiraṇyam iṣavaḥ patatrī	Tb
+māsmām arann amuta āpatantīr	+#Ta
itaḥ prahitāḥ savitar jayantu	+Tb

The cloth is eagle[’s feathers], and what of them is melted butter. The intention is the gold, the arrows are a bird. Let them (the arrows), flying from there, not hit us. Being sent forth from here, let them be victorious, O Savitar.

yad u] **Or**, adhi **K** \*āsām] āsā **Or**, **K** iṣavaḥ] **Or**, iṣavaḥ **K** patatrī] **Or**, patatrī **K** +māsmām] māsmān, **Ku** **JM** **RM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, masmān, **Mā**, māsāt **K** arann] **Or**, sadann **K** amuta āpatantīr] **JM** **RM** **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, amuta āpatantīr **Ku**, asutāpatantī **K** itaḥ] **Ku** **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ita **JM** **RM**, uta **K** prahitāḥ] **Or**, prahītās **K** savitar] **Or**, savitur **K** ||] **Ku** **Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa** **JM**, | **RM**, Z **K**

**ab.** The first half of pāda **a** corresponds in content to the first half of 11.2a, *suparṇam vaste* ‘She wears eagle[’s feathers]’.

The interpretation of these two pādas is difficult and problematic. It seems that each pāda can be divided into two hemistichs, so that we have four parts: 1) *suparṇo vāso*; 2) *yad u sarpir* \**āsām*; 3) *mano hiraṇyam*; 4) *iṣavaḥ patatrī*. Since this stanza describes an arrow, each part should be interpreted as pointing to a feature of an arrow as well.

The first statement is clear: as it has been said in the previous stanza, arrows were provided with feathers on one end, to balance them while flying.

The second phrase (for the syntactic structure, see PS 16.101.8d *vidvān bhūtam yad u bhavyam asya* ‘Knowing the past and the future of his’) could then refer to the other end of the arrow, the arrowhead. The word *sarpīś-*, which means ‘clarified butter’, seems out of the context, and the only solution I can think of is a reference to some sort of poison smeared on the arrowhead, to make it brighter or smoother.

The third expression reveals the intention (*mānas-*) of the arrow (or of the shooter?) that aims to acquire gold, i.e. a booty.

The last part, *iṣavaḥ patatrī*, combines the name of the arrow with the adjective *patatrīn-* ‘winged, feathered’, which can mean ‘bird’ if used in the masculine (and later also ‘arrow’, see PW s.v.). The comparison between an arrow and a bird is natural and fits the context well, but the syntax is awkward, because the arrows are mentioned in the plural, while *patatrīn-* is singular (this is the reason why Bhattacharya edits *patatrī* with underlining).

**15.11.4 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ ṚV 6.75.14 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.4–5 = VSM 29.51 etc.**

ahir <sup>i</sup> va bhogaiḥ parīy eti bāhūm	/*Tb
jīyāyā hetim apabādhamānaḥ	*Tb
hastaghno viśvā vayunāni vidvān	Tb
pumān pumāmsaṁ parī pātu mṛtyoḥ	Tb

Like a snake with his coils, he goes around the arm, keeping away the shot of the bowstring. Let the hand-guard, knowing all expedients (of a bow-battle), as a man protect the man from death.

bhogaiḥ] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, bhaugaiḥ **Ku**, bhogaiḥ **K** parīy eti] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, parī(+e)ti **Pa**, pariyati **K** bāhūm] **Ku Pa Mā [Ma] K**, bāh{ū}m **JM**, bāhūm **RM** hetim] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, ye(→he)tim **Ku** hastaghno] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, hasto(→sta)ghno **Ku** viśvā] **Or**, viśva(→ā) **K** vayunāni] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, vayunāna **Pa** pumāmsaṁ] **Ku Pa [Ma] K**, pumāmsaṁ **Mā**, pumāmsaṁ **JM**, pumāsaṁ **RM** mṛtyoḥ] **Or**, mṛtyuḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa JM**, | **RM**, om. **K**

ṚV 6.75.14 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.4–5 = VSM 29.51 etc.

āhir iva bhogāiḥ pāry eti bāhūm jīyāyā hetim paribādhamānaḥ |  
hastaghno viśvā vayunāni vidvān pumān pumāmsaṁ parī pātu viśvātaḥ ||

**a.** Cf. PS 1.64.3cd *yaṁ tvāhir iva bhogair nākulena parīmasi* ‘You, whom we go around with a mongoose’s derived [amulet], like a snake [curls itself up] with his coils’, and PS 5.10.10d, which shows the same pāda beginning: *ahir<sup>i</sup>vainān pra ropaya* ‘Like a snake, cause them racking pain’.

c. On *hastaghná-*, cf. LÜDERS 1942: 39 [= 1973: 506] (with notes) and PANT 1978: 220. It denotes an archer's guard, worn around the left arm to protect the wearer from the recoil of the bowstring. In the PS, the word occurs here and at 7.7.5c, in the hapax compound *hiranyahastaghna-* 'being / having [as it were] a golden hand-guard', which metaphorically refers to the *darbha* plant (see GRIFFITHS 2009: 320–321).

Although the word *vayúna-* is still described in EWAia as “von umstrittener Bedeutung”, the expression *viśvā/viśvāni vayunāni vidvān* has been meticulously studied by Pischel (PISCHEL-GELDNER 1889: 295–308), who convincingly argued that in this case *vayúna-* is synonymous with later Sanskrit *mārga-* 'way', and that the whole expression means 'knowing all ways/paths and means'. In most cases, it refers to Agni, who knows all the paths that lead to heaven, following which he can bring the oblations to the gods. When it is applied to the hand-guard, the expression means that the hand-guard itself knows all the tricks and expedients of a bow-battle (thus also RENOU 1938: 71, who translates 'Instruit de tous artifices'). The same idea is expressed at ŚS 5.20.9cd ≈ PS 9.27.9cd, which is about the war-drum: *śríyo vanvanó vayunāni vidvān kīrtīm bahúbhyo ví hara dvirāje* 'Procuring fortune, knowing all expedients (of a battle), distribute fame to many in battle between two kings'. THIEME 1949: 13 ff. proposes another interpretation and renders the word with 'Umhüllung'; although this translation is in some cases very attractive, and would fit well also in our passage, in consideration of the simile with the snake that covers the arm with his coil, Thieme's conclusion that “die Aufgabe des Handschutzes ist doch eine einfache und hat mit den Küsten des Bogenkampfes überhaupt nichts zu tun” (p. 16) is untenable because, as already said, the main task of the handguard is indeed to protect the arm from the recoil of a bowstring.

d. Note the interesting variant of PS at the end of this pāda (*mṛtyoḥ* instead of *viśvātaḥ* of the ṚV and all the other texts), which might be due to perseveration from PS 1.108.1d *pūṣāsmān pari pātu mṛtyoḥ* 'Let Pūṣan protect us around from death'.

**15.11.5 [Anuṣṭubh]** ≈ ṚV 6.75.13 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.6–7 = VSM 29.50

ā <sup>+</sup> jaṅghanti sāv <sub>u</sub> v eṣāṁ	*+A
<sup>+</sup> jaghanāṁ upa jighnate	A
aśvājani pracodaya-	A
-aśvān samatsu vājaya	A

It constantly strikes their back, it slaps their buttocks: O horsewhip, impel the horses, urge [them] in the battles.

<sup>+</sup>jaṅghanti] jaṅghanti **RM** Mā [Ma] Pa, jaṅghnanti **JM**, jaṅgh(→ghn)anti **Ku**, jaṅghanti **K** sāv<sub>u</sub>v eṣāṁ **Ku JM RM Mā** [Ma] **K**, sāv<sub>u</sub>v eṣāṁ **Pa** <sup>+</sup>jaghanāṁ] jaghanāṁ **K**, jaghanān **Ku JM Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, jaghanānānān **RM** jighnate] **JM RM Mā** [Ma] **Pa K**, jighrate **Ku** pracodayāśvān] **Ku** [Ma] **Pa K**, pracodayāśvāna **JM RM**, tra pracodayāśvāna **Mā** samatsu] **Ku Mā** [Ma] **K**, samatsu **JM RM**, samatsyu **Pa** vājaya] **K**, pādāya **JM RM Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, pāta(→da)ya **Ku** ||] **Ku Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, **Z K**

ṚV 6.75.13 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.6–7 = VSM 29.50

ā jaṅghanti sāv<sub>u</sub>v eṣāṁ jaghanāṁ (MS jaghanāṁ) upa jighnate (MS jighnatu) |  
aśvājani pracetasó 'śvān samātsu codaya (MS nodaya) ||

Bhattacharya edits *pādāya* in **d**.

**abc.** These pādas contain a recurrent word play based on the repetition of two forms of the verb ‘to strike’, *jaṅghan-* and *jighna-*, a “similar but unrelated word” *jaghana-* ‘buttock’, and the name of the whip, *aśvājanī-*; as noted by WATKINS 1995: 110, “the effect is a purely phonetic, non-semantic anaphora *A JANghanti... asvAJANi ...* iconic to the whip itself”. For a similar expression, cf. PS 5.15.7c *parjanyaśya maruta udadhiṃ sānv ā hata* ‘Hit, O Maruts, the water-reservoir, the back of Parjanya’.

**d.** The reading of the Orissa manuscripts *pādaya* ‘cause to fall’ is unsatisfactory in meaning. The parallel texts have *codaya* ‘urge’, which in the PS is found in the preceding pāda — *pracodaya* — instead of *pracetaso*. I rather adopt the reading of **K** *vājaya* ‘urge’, ‘incite’, ‘impel’, which occurs in a similar passage at TS 1.7.8.4 *áśvājani vājini vājeṣu vājiniṇvaty áśvānt samātsu vājaya* ‘O horsewhip, strong, driving swift mares in the contest, urge the horses in the battles’.

**15.11.6 [Jagatī]** ≈ RV 6.47.27 = ŚS 6.125.2 ≈ TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:186.9–10 = VSM 29.53

divas pṛthivyāḥ paṛy oja ābhṛtaṃ	*Jb
vanaspatibhyaḥ pari sambhṛtaṃ sahaḥ	Jb
apām ojmānaṃ pari gobhir *āvṛtaṃ	Jb
indrasya vajraṃ haviṣā rathaṃ yaja	Jb

[Its] strength was brought here from heaven, from earth; [its] power was collected from the trees. With an oblation, you must worship the chariot, the power of the waters, bound round with (straps made of) cattle, Indra’s cudgel.

divas pṛthivyāḥ] **Ku RM [Ma] Mā**, di{sa}vas pṛthivyāḥ **Pa**, disyapṛvyāḥ **JM**, divaḥ pṛthivyāḥ **K oja] K**, ota **Or ābhṛtaṃ] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, abhṛtaṃ **Pa vanaspatibhyaḥ] Or**, vanaspatibhyaḥ **K pari] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, para **JM sambhṛtaṃ] Or**, sambhṛtaṃ **K sahaḥ] Or**, saḥ **K ojmānaṃ] Or**, ojmanāṃ **K \*āvṛtaṃ] ābhṛtaṃ Or K vajraṃ] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, om. **Mā ||] Mā [Ma] Pa JM**, | **Ku RM**, Z 6 Z **K**

RV 6.47.27 = ŚS 6.125.2

divás pṛthivyāḥ páry ója údbhṛtaṃ vānaspátibhyaḥ páry ābhṛtaṃ sáhaḥ |  
apām ojmānam pári góbhir āvṛtam índrasya vājraṃ haviṣā ráthaṃ yaja ||

Bhattacharya edits *ābhṛtam* in **c**.

**c.** At the end of the pāda, all the manuscripts read *ābhṛtam*, while the other texts have the better reading *āvṛtam*. I emend the text according to the parallel passages, because *ābhṛtam*, which is difficult to explain in this context (*paryābhṛta-* means ‘fetched or extracted from’ plus ablative), is almost certainly due to the occurrence of the same form in pāda **a**.

**d.** The identification of the chariot with Indra’s *vájra* is common in Vedic texts. See e.g. TS 1.7.7.2 = TS 1.8.15.1 *índrasya vājro ’si vārtraghnas tváyāyám vṛtrám vadhyāt* ‘You are the Vṛtra-killing cudgel of Indra, with you let him slay Vṛtra’, TB 1.3.61 *vājro vái ráthaḥ vājreṇaivá díśo ’bhíjayati* ‘The chariot is indeed a cudgel, verily with the cudgel he conquers the quarters’. Cf. also PS 15.11.10d and 15.12.4b below, where the chariot is compared with Indra’s fist. Although the origin of this identification can be traced to the use of the chariot during Indra’s *vṛtrahátya*, the term *vájra* later became common for any identification explaining an act of aggression.



**15.11.7 [Triṣṭubh]** ṚV 6.47.28 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:186.11–12 = VSM 29.54 ≈ ŚS 6.125.3

indrasya vajro marutām anīkaṁ	Tb
mitrasya garbho varuṇasya nābhiḥ	Tb
<sup>+</sup> saemām no havyadātīm juṣāṇo	*+Ta
deva ratha prati havyā grbhāya	+Ta

[Being] the cudgel of Indra, the front of the Maruts, the embryo of Mitra, the navel of Varuṇa, O god, O chariot, enjoying this oblation of ours, accept the oblations.

marutām] **K**, marṭām **Or** mitrasya] **Or**, mittrasya **K** varuṇasya] varṇasya **Or**, dharuṇasya **K** <sup>+</sup>semām] semān **Or**, sa imā **K** ratha] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, rathaḥ **RM** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 7 Z **K**

ṚV 6.47.28 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:186.11–12 = VSM 29.54  
 indrasya vājro marutām anīkaṁ mitrasya garbho varuṇasya nābhiḥ |  
 sémām no havyádātīm juṣāṇó déva ratha prāti havyā grbhāya ||

ŚS 6.125.3  
 indrasyājujo marutām anīkaṁ mitrasya garbho varuṇasya nābhiḥ |  
 sá imām no havyádātīm juṣāṇó déva ratha prāti havyā grbhāya ||

**a.** The ŚS has the independent and possibly later reading *ójo*, instead of *vajro* in all the parallel texts, including the PS.

**c.** At the beginning of the verse, I adopt with slight adjustment the reading of the Orissa manuscripts, *semān*. The manuscript **K**, by contrast, does not apply the sandhi between *sa* and *imā*, nor does the ŚS; Whitney *ad loc.* comments that all the parallel texts, with the exception of the PS (= **K**), “combine *sé ’mām* at beginning of c, against the requirement of the meter”, but the application of the sandhi is certainly evidence in favour of the authenticity of the reading, rather than an argument against it for metrical reasons.

**d.** The same expression *prāti havyā grbhāya* also occurs in the parallel verse ṚV 1.91.4d *rājan soma prāti havyā grbhāya* ‘O king Soma, take/receive the oblation’. Discussing the semantics of the verb *grbhñāti* and of its derivative *grbhāyati*, SCHRIJVER 1999: 120 quotes ṚV 6.47.28d among the occurrences in which the context does not allow one to distinguish the subtle difference between ‘(actively) grab, take’ — which is the prevalent meaning of the nasal formation — and ‘(passively) receive, get’ — which is the meaning of the \*ye-derivative of the nasal present. Both the translations ‘take’ and ‘receive’ are conceivable here.

**15.11.8 [Triṣṭubh]** ṚV 6.47.26 = ŚS 6.125.1 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:186.7–8, VSM 29.52, ĀpŚS 20.16.13; c: PS 15.12.4c, cf. PS 15.11.2b

vanaspate vīḍavaṅgo hi bhūyā	*Ta
asmatsakhā pratarāṇaḥ suvīraḥ	+ #Ta
gobhiḥ <sup>+</sup> saṁnaddho ratha vīḍayasva-	Tb
-āsthātā te jayatu jetavāni	*+ #Ta

O tree, may you indeed become strong in your limbs, having us as friends, furthering, rich in heroes. Bound with (straps made of) cattle, be strong, O chariot! Let him who ascends you win the booty.

vīḍvaṅgo] vīḍvaṅgo **Ku RM Pa [Ma] K**, vīḍvaṅgo **JM**, vīḍyaṅgo **Mā** pratarāṇaḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, pratarāṇa **Mā**, pratarāṇas **K** gobhiḥ] **Or**, gobhis **K** +sannaddho] sannaddho **Or**, sannaddho **K** ratha] **Or**, asi **K** vīḍayasvāsthātā] **Or**, vīḍayasvāsthātā **K** jētvāni] **JM RM K**, yetvāni **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa JM, | RM, Z 8 Z K**

ṚV 6.47.26 = ŚS 6.125.1 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:186.7–8 = VSM 29.52 = ĀpŚS 20.16.13

vānaspate vīḍvaṅgo [MS vīḍvaṅgo] hí bhūyā asmātsakhā pratāraṇaḥ suvīraḥ |

góbhiḥ sárinnaddho asi vīḍayasvāsthātā te jayatu jētvāni ||

Bhattacharya edits *ratha* in c.

a. Note the use of the particle *hi* with the precativē, which seems to correspond to the use with the optative at PS15.20.1b and PS 15.20.4a.

c. Bhattacharya adopts the reading of the Orissa manuscripts *ratha*, ‘O chariot’. **K** has *asi*, the same reading as the parallel texts. Again, it is not easy to decide which one of the two branches of transmission has preserved the authentic PS reading: the variant *ratha* is probably to be preferred as the *lectio difficilior*.

Note that the imperative *vīḍayasva* echoes the compound *vīḍvaṅga-*, which occurs in pāda a, and whose first member is the adjective *vīḍú-* ‘strong, firm’, derived from the same root *vīḍ-* ‘be strong’.

d. The form *jētvā-* is a gerundive, which literally means ‘to be gained, to be won’ (cf. AiGr. II/2, § 526b, p. 712). Reference is made here to the booty, the spoils of battle. Note the *figura etimologica* created by the juxtaposition of *jayatu* and *jētvāni*, both derived from the root *ji-* ‘to win, conquer’.

**15.11.9 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī]** ṚV 6.47.29 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:187. 8–9 = VSM 29.55 ≈ ŚS 6.126.1

upa śvāsaya pṛthivīm uta dyām	Tb
purutrā te manutām viṣṭhitām jagat	Ja
sa dundubhe sajūr indreṇa devair	+ #Ta
dūrād dāvīyo apa sedha śatrūn	Tb

Make the earth and the sky rumble, let the far-flung people think of you in many places. So, O drum, together with Indra and the gods, chase away the enemies farther than far.

pādas cd om. **K •** śvāsaya] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, svāśvāsaya **JM** dyām] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, dyā **JM** purutrā] **K**, purtrā **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, putrā **JM RM** manutām] **Or**, sunutām **K** sajūr] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, sajūr **Mā** indreṇa] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, indr(+e)ṇa **Pa** devair] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, devai **JM** dūrād] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, d{u}ūrād **Pa** apa sedha śatrūn] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, śatrūna **RM** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa JM, | RM**

ṚV 6.47.29 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:187. 8–9 = VSM 29.55 ≈ ŚS 6.126.1

úpa śvāsaya pṛthivīm utā dyām purutrā te manutām (ŚS vanvatām) viṣṭhitām jágat |

sá (MS sám) dundubhe sajūr índreṇa deváir dūrād dāvīyo ápa sedha śatrūn ||

**cd.** These two pādas are not found in **K**, “probably by an error of the copyist”, as already noticed by WHITNEY 1905: 375 (incidentally, Lanman’s remark that Whitney’s reference to PS 15 “seems to be an error for Pāipp. VII” is wrong). Possibly the copyist skipped the hemistic because of the similar beginning of pāda **c** in this stanza and in the following one (*sa dundubhe – apa sedha dundubhe*).

The expression *dūrād davīyo* ‘farther than far’ is to be compared with two other similar constructions found at PS 15.23.9c *kṣudrāt kṣodīyasī* ‘smaller than small’ and 15.23.10b *śivāc chivatarā* ‘more propitious than propitious’. As stated by RENO 1957: 119 (and 1955: 55, note 1), these expressions are the same as the Ṛgvedic *yaśástaro yaśásām* ‘more beautiful than beauty’ and *urór várīyaḥ* ‘wider than wide’: “Ce sont des substituts du superlatif, se fondant sur les tendances allittérantes si communes aux mantra. Il est permis d’y avoir l’essai du type qui se fixera en skt. bouddhique sous la forme *kṣudrānukṣudra* (pa. *khuddānukhuddaka*)”.

On (*apa*) *sedh-*, see LUBOTSKY 2004a (especially pp. 328–329).

**15.11.10 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī]** ŚS 6.126.2 ≈ ṚV 6.47.30 = MS 3.16.3:187.10–11 = VSM 29.56 ≈ TS 4.6.6.7

ā krandaya balam ojo na ā dhā	Ta
abhi ṣṭana duritā bādhamānaḥ	Ta
apa sedha dundubhe <sup>+</sup> duhunām ita	+Ja
indrasya muṣṭir asi vīdayasva	Tb

Shout out to [your] strength, put vigour in us, make a thunder-clap driving away dangers. O drum, chase misfortune away from here. You are the fist of Indra, be strong!

pādas ab om. **K** • ojo] **JM RM**, oyo **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa** dundubhe] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, dudubhe **Mā** <sup>+</sup>duhunām] dutsunām **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, dutsu(+nā)m **JM**, duśchunā **K** muṣṭir] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, pu(→mu)ṣṭir **Ku** ||] || ṛ 10 || 11 || **Ku**, || ṛ 9 || 11 || **JM**, || ṛ 11 || **RM**, || 11 || ṛ 10 || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, Z 10 Z **K**

ŚS 6.126.2

ā krandaya bālam ójo na ā dhā abhí ṣṭana duritā bādhamānaḥ |  
āpa sedha dundubhe duchúnām itá índrasya muṣṭir asi vīdayasva ||

ṚV 6.47.30 = MS 3.16.3:187.10–11 = VSM 29.56

ā krandaya bālam ójo na ā dhā ní ṣṭanihi duritā bādhamānaḥ |  
āpa protha dundubhe duchúnā itá índrasya (MS indrasya) muṣṭir asi vīdayasva ||

Bhattacharya edits *\*ducchunām* in **c** (this is not a real emendation; on the spelling *-ts-* for *-ch-* in the Orissa manuscripts, see GRIFFITHS 2009: LXIV–LXV).

**ab.** On *ā krandaya-*, see JAMISON 1983: 28, “As Thieme has shown (1929: 28), those forms of *krandayati* that appear with *ā* (...) actually belong to a denominative built to *ākrandā-* ‘noise’, first encountered in the AV, and should be distinguished from both *krandayati* ‘makes roar’ and *krandayati* ‘makes race (...). *ā krandayati* is transitive and attested with acc. object”, as in our passage.

In the translation, I interpret *bālam* as object of *ā krandaya*, but there are also cases that point to an intransitive use of the verb: cf. ŚS 2.36.6a = PS 1.43.1a = 19.41.13a *ā krandaya dhanapate*

‘Shout out, O lord of wealth’,<sup>45</sup> PS 5.34.2a *ā krandayolulā kuru* ‘Shout out, wail’ (Lubotsky). If we take the verb as intransitive also in our passage, both *bálam* and *ójo* would be object of the following the verb (the two words indeed occur very often together, e.g. at RV 5.57.6b, 7.82.2d; PS 1.53.3c, 1.54.2b, 3c, 3.19.2b, 14.7.2c, 19.29.2b, 20.60.1b [= PSK 20.57.1b] etc.).

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<sup>45</sup> Both Whitney and Zehnder interpret the verb as transitive, taking the understood object from the following verb. They translate, respectively, ‘Shout out [to him], O lord of riches’ and ‘Ruf (ihn) herbei, Herr des Schätze’. It seems, however, that there is no need to supply the verb with an understood object.

## 15.12. Weapons of war (continued)

**15.12.1 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī]** ≈ ŚS 6.126.3 ≈ RV 6.47.31 = TS 4.6.6.7 = MS 3.16.3:187.12–13 = VSM 29.57 = ĀpŚS 20.16.14 etc.

prāmūñ jayābhīme jayantu	*+Tca
ketumad dundubhir vāvadītu	T3
sam āsvaparnāḥ patayantu no naro	Jb
a'smākam indra rathino jayantu	*Tb

Conquer those ones, let these ones be victorious, let the drum constantly sound clearly. Let our heroes, having horses for wings, fly together. Let our charioteers be victorious, O Indra.

prāmūñ] **Ku Pa Mā [Ma]**, prāmuñ **JM RM**, prāsūm **K** jayantu] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, jaṃanta **Mā** ketumad] **K**, ketuma **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, ketusa **JM** vāvadītu] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, vā(+va)dītu **Ku** sam āsvaparnāḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, samvaśvaparnāḥ **Mā**, sa naḥ suparnāḥ **K** patayantu] **Or**, patayanti **K** no] **K**, nā **Or** jayantu] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, jaṃanta **Ku** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 1 **K**

ŚS 6.126.3

prāmūñ jayābhīme jayantu ketumád dundubhír vāvadītu |  
sám āsvaparnāḥ patantu no náro 'smākam indra rathíno jayantu ||

RV 6.47.31 = TS 4.6.6.7 = MS 3.16.3:187.12–13 = VSM 29.57 = ĀpŚS 20.16.14 etc.

āmūr aja pratyāvartayemāḥ ketumád dundubhír vāvadīti |  
sám āsvaparnāś cáranti (MS cárantu) no náro 'smākam indra rathíno jayantu ||

**b.** The intensive *vāvadītu* is used with an iterative meaning, which stresses the constant noise of the drums, without reference to the volume of the sound; see SCHAEFER 1994: 177–78: “Hier ist nicht etwa ein einzelner, besonders lauter Paukenschlag gemeint, sondern eine kontinuierliche Abfolge von Paukenschlägen, die die ganze Handlung (Vorbereitung einer Schlacht) begleiten”. The translation of *ketumád-* that I propose is rather free. Since *ketú-* means ‘bright appearance’, ‘clearness’, ‘mark, sign’, *ketumád-* would literally mean ‘possessing brightness’, ‘clear (as a sound)’. On the word *ketú-*, see DANGE 1964, who attributes to it the meaning, ‘war-banner’, ‘bright sign’, ‘symbol that stands at the foremost place’. Dange’s opinion that in the expression *ketumad dundubhir vāvadītu*, “We have the picture of the advancing Aryan army wherein the war-drum with the banner occupied the front position” needs to be better explained. The word *ketumád-* is here an adjective in the neuter, used with the function of an adverb, and cannot indicate the war-banner, either on its own or bound to the drum. The same adjective is used in ‘acoustic context’ also at ŚS 3.19.6cd = PS 1.56.3ab *pṛthag ghóṣā ululāyaḥ ketumánta úd īratām* ‘Let the noises, the clear howls rise apart’.

In other words, the notion of *ketú-* meaning ‘war-banner’ could have been present in the redactor’s mind and also intentionally exploited in the context of a war-hymn in order to establish a connection between the senses and images, but it is only hinted at, and not explicitly expressed.

**c.** There are many variants of the verbal form in this pāda: the RV, the TS and the VSM read *caranti*, the MS has *carantu*, the ŚS *patantu*. The same oscillation between the use of the indicative and the imperative is also found in the readings of the PS (**Or** *patayantu*, **K**

*patayanti*); I choose the reading of the Orissa manuscripts because every pāda of this stanza has an imperative and it would be awkward to break this pattern. As for the meaning, the PS agrees with the ŚS, since the causative form of the verb *pat-* ‘to fly’ shares the same meaning as the thematic form (see JAMISON 1983: 61–62), but both the readings of the PS are worse for the metre. The use of the verb *pat-*, which is metaphorically applied to the horsemen, was probably suggested by the epithet *ásvaparna-* ‘whose wings are horses’, ‘having horses for wings’, for which see RV 1.88.1ab *á vidyúnmadbhir marutaḥ svarkái ráthebhir yāta ṛṣṭimádbhir ásvaparnaiḥ* ‘O Maruts, drive here with your chariots possessing lightnings, singing beautifully, furnished with spears, having horses for wings’. According to SINGH 1965: 58, horsemen are mentioned in this passage, and “there is a distinction, clear and deliberate, between the cavalry and the chariots who have gathered together on the field of battle to court the goddess of victory”. This idea is hardly possible: the abovementioned R̥gvedic passage makes it clear that the epithet *ásvaparna-*, when not used metaphorically, refers to the chariot; moreover, it is unlikely that in Vedic times horses were actively used in warfare, as there is no evidence for the use of stirrups, which solely could have provided to the rider the balance and support necessary to fight with the bow or other weapons.

c. My translation follows the syntactic pattern of the ŚS, in which the verb *patantu* is unaccented and belongs therefore to a main sentence, connected *per asyndeton* with the following one (another main sentence as well). The RV and the other parallel passages have in pāda c an accented verb, which indicates that the sentence is subordinate (in this case, probably a conditional sentence). On this way of expressing conditional clauses without formal indication (i.e. conditional particle), see LEHMANN 1985: 31.

#### 15.12.2 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ RV 5.31.1

indro rathāya prapadam̐ kṛṇotu	Tb
yam adhyaṣṭhān maghavā jayantam	Tb
irya iva paśubhir +yuyotu gopā	+(#)T2
ariṣṭo jātaḥ prathamah̐ +śiṣāsan	Tb

Let Indra make the *prapada* [?] for the chariot, the victorious [chariot] which the bountiful has mounted. Like a zealous shepherd with his animals, let him ward off [dangers], uninjured, [even] when just born, always seeking to gain [goods].

prapadam̐] Or, pramidam̐ K adhyaṣṭhān] Or, adhyaṣṭhām K jayantam] K, jāyantām Or irya] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], ahir K Pa paśubhir] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, paśubhi JM, paśubhīr RM, paśūn K +yuyotu] yuyotu Or, tririyetu K jātaḥ] Or, yātu K prathamah̐] Or, prathamaś K +śiṣāsan] śiṣāsan Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], śi{sā}ṣāsan Pa, śiṣāsam K ||] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, | JM RM, Z 2 Z K

#### R̥V 5.31.1

índro ráthāya pravátam̐ kṛṇoti yám adhyaṣṭhān maghavā vājayántam |  
yūthēva paśvó vy ùnoti gopā áriṣṭo yāti prathamah̐ śiṣāsan ||

Bhattacharya edits *jātaḥ* in d.

a. The R̥gvedic version of this pāda, *índro ráthāya pravátam̐ kṛṇoti* ‘Indra makes a smooth course for the chariot’, is clearer. Apart from the common oscillation between the indicative and the imperative, the reading *prapadam̐* of the PS is problematic. Both *prapad-* and *prápada-*

mean ‘fore part of the foot’ and the latter word occurs at 15.10.7c above (*prapadair*), so that the reading *prapadam* in **Or** could possibly be interpreted as perseveration and emended to \**pravatam*. However, it is also possible that *prapad*-(a)-, which is connected to the root *prapad*- ‘step forth’, refers to a technical term or a specific manoeuvre of the chariot.

b. On the secondary -ṣṭ- in *adhyaṣṭhān*, see AiGr. I, § 205, p. 235 and HOFFMANN 1992: 821. At the end of the verse, **K** reads *jayantam* (adopted by Bhattacharya), while the Orissa manuscripts read *jayantām* (but a 3<sup>rd</sup> plural imperative is syntactically impossible here). I also adopt the text of **K**, but an emendation to \**vājayantam*, which is the reading of the ṚV and is better for the metre, would be perfectly justified; the text found in our manuscripts could be due to haplography (*maghavā – vājayantam*). Although *maghāvan*- is one of the commonest epithets of Indra, in the context of this hymn it seems to refer to the king, especially in considerations of the following two pādas.

c. At the beginning of the pāda, **K** and **Pa** read *ahir iva*, clearly due to perseveration from PS 15.11.4a. Then **K** reads *paśūn tririyetu*, **Or** *paśubhir yujotu*, which I emend slightly to *paśubhir<sup>+</sup>yuyotu*. The meaning of this expression is difficult to understand. The expression *iryo gopāḥ* is a fixed phrase (cf. ṚV 7.13.3b, 8.41.4e, PS 1.18.4b, 5.16.5d etc.). Cf. also ŚS 12.3.11cd = PS 17.37.1cd *sā no devy adite viśvavāra irya iva gopā abhī rakṣa pakvām* ‘O goddess Aditi, bestowing all treasures, defend our cooked (offering) like a zealous shepherd’. I interpret the simile in the sense that the king should protect his subjects from dangers like a zealous and energetic shepherd wards off wild animals and dangerous beasts from his cattle.

As regards the metre, I tentatively read *irya iva* at the beginning of the line, in order to have a dodecasyllable with caesura after the fourth syllable and a Triṣṭubh cadence.

d. Both the readings of **Or** (*jātaḥ*) and **K** (*yātu*) are theoretically possible: the reading of **K** could be defended by explaining *jātaḥ* of **Or** as perseveration from PS 7.5.4a and making reference to the common expression *yāti prathama*- ‘he drives at the head’, attested, e.g., at ṚV 2.27.12c, 8.27.8c. But I prefer the reading of **Or** because the expression *prathama-jāta*- ‘just born’ is also common (e.g. ṚV 2.12.1a, 4.1.11a; *prathama-jāyamāna*- at ṚV 1.163.1a, 4a, 4.17.7a, 4.50.4a), and moreover it could refer to the ‘new birth’ of a recently consecrated king, who, as soon as re-born, is able to fulfill his duties and acquire wealth.

The emendation to \**siṣāsān* has been proposed by Bhattacharya and is almost certain, since — as has already been noted — the confusion *s/s* is very common both in the mss. of the ŚS and the PS, especially in the context before *i/y* (see KULIKOV 2009: 142, with note 3).

On the meaning of the desiderative *siṣās-* (from *san-* ‘to acquire’), cf. HEENEN 2006: 239–42, who very aptly notes, “À l’exception de quelques exemples en prose, *siṣās* marque toujours un effort de volonté et de force physique du sujet vers une victoire. Cet effort n’est pas du tout éphémère, mais au contraire le plus souvent ressenti comme voué au succès de l’action. En particulier le part. *siṣāsant-* [as in our case] est utilisé pour caractériser une personne ou une déité comme agissant de façon efficace ou intransigeante pour la victoire”.

It might be added that the verb *san-* very frequently has *vāja-* ‘booty’ as direct object, so that the victory corresponds to the gaining of the booty itself.

### 15.12.3 [Triṣṭubh] PS only

parjanyaśyeva stanayitnur \*āśor  
indrāgnīyor<sup>i</sup>va cekhidyate ghoṣo asya |  
\*sahasravīraḥ śataṁ sasanvān

Tb  
\*/+##Tb  
T1c

The noise of this quick one strikes constantly like the thunder of Parjanya, like [the thunder] of Indra and Agni. O chariot, being sufficient for a thousand men, having won a hundred, having won great numbers, be gracious here.

parjanyaśyeva] **Ku RM [Ma] K**, pa{rya}rjanyaśyeva **Pa**, paryanyaseva **JM**, paryanyasyeva **Mā** stanayitnur] **RM [Ma] Pa K**, stanaitnur **Mā Ku**, stanaityur **JM** \*āśor] āsor **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, āso **Mā** cekhidyate] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, nekhidyate **JM**, techidyate **K** ghoṣo] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, gho{s}ṣo **Pa** asya] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, asyaṁ **Pa**, sya **K** \*sahasravīraḥ] sahasrovīraś **K**, sāhasrovīraḥ **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, sahasrovīraḥ **Pa** sasanvān] **Ku RM [Ma]**, sasanvan **Mā**, samanvān **JM**, sasanān **Pa**, sisunvān **K** ayutaṁ] **Or**, etaṁ **K** sasanvān] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, samanvān **JM**, sisunvā **K** mṛḍeha] **Or**, mṛḷaya **K** ||] **Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku JM RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *āśor* in **a** and *sāhasro vīraḥ* in **c**.

**a.** The emendation to \**āśor* is certain because in both the Śāradā and Oriya scripts the sibilants are often confused.

**b.** Cf. ṚV 10.168.1b = PS. 1.107.1b, which is about the chariot of the god Vāyu: *rujānn eti stanāyann asya ghōṣaḥ* ‘It keep crashing, the noise of this is thundering’.

**c.** Bhattacharya edits the reading of **Or**, but the reading of **K** and **Pa** makes the emendation probable. Cf. 12.9b below and AiGr. II/1, § 7c, p. 25.

**d.** I adopt Bhattacharya’s reading *mṛḍeha*, as it seems the *lectio difficilior*. The reading of **K** *mṛḷaya* would be better for the metre in that it would give a regular Jagatī cadence, and there is no significant difference in meaning between *mṛḍa*- and *mṛḍaya*- (see JAMISON 1983: 102–103). The metre of the whole stanza, however, is too irregular (pāda **b** is extended, pāda **c** has no caesura) and cannot be used as an argument to settle the issue.

**15.12.4 [Virāj]** a: ṚV 1.163.1c, b: ŚS 9.4.8b, c: ṚV 6.47.26c, PS 15.11.8c

śyenasya pakṣau hariṇasya bāhū	Tb
indrasya muṣṭir marutām anīkam	Tb
gobhiḥ saṁnaddho asi vīḍayasva	Tb

The two wings of a falcon, the two forelegs of a deer, the fist of Indra, the front of the Maruts: you are bound with [straps made of] cattle, be strong!

śyenasya] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] K**, śenasya **JM Pa** bāhū] **Or**, bahū **K** indrasya muṣṭir] **Or**, āśvinor aṁsau **K** marutām] **K**, maṛtām **Or** gobhiḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, gobhi **JM**, gobhis **K** saṁnaddho] sannaddho **Or K** asi] **K**, asa **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, asī **Mā** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, om. **K**

ṚV 1.163.1c

śyenāśya pakṣā hariṇāśya bāhū

ṚV 6.47.26cd

gobhiḥ saṁnaddho asi vīḷāyasvāsthātā te jayatu jétvāni ||

PS 15.11.8cd

gobhiḥ saṁnaddho ratha vīḍayasva āsthātā te jayatu jetvāni ||



b. At the beginning of the verse, **K** reads *āśvinor aṃsau* ‘the (two) shoulder of the two Aśvins’, which was probably triggered here from PS 16.24.7ab <sup>+</sup>*indrasyaujo varuṇasya bāhū aśvinor aṃsau marutām iyaṃ kakut* ‘The strength of Indra, the (two) arms of Varuṇa, the (two) shoulders of the Aśvins, this head of the Maruts’. Therefore, I adopt the reading of **Or**.

Pādas **a** and **b** may contain a description of some parts of the chariot, maybe the wheels or its framework; the horse may also be concerned, because pāda **a**, in its Ṛgvedic attestation, refers to the fore legs and hind legs of a horse. The expression *marutām anīka-* possibly refers to the array, to the front line of the Maruts rather than to their faces, so that again the front part of the chariot, where horses are yoked, might be intended. Cf. ṚV 8.96.9a *tigmām āyudham marūtām anīkaṃ* ‘The front of the Maruts is a sharp weapon’.

c. This pāda is evidently addressed to the chariot, but this does not contradict the earlier mention of the horse: horses’ shoulders were bound to the yoke with neckstraps.

#### 15.12.5 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ ṚV 1.95.7

ud yaṃyamīti saviteva bāhū	Tb
ubhe sīcau yatate bhīma ṛñjan	Ta
uc chukram atkam ajate śacībhir	Tb
navā mātṛbhyo vasanā jahāti	Tb

Like Savitar, he constantly stretches up his arms. He puts in order the two ends (of the army), pressing ahead, the terrible one. He helpfully takes off his brilliant garment, he leaves to the mothers new clothes.

yaṃyamīti] **Or**, yannasīni **K** saviteva] **Or**, savitave va **K** sīcau] **Or**, matau **K** yatate] **Ku JM RM Mā**, yajate **K [Ma] Pa** ṛñjan] ṛñjan **Ku JM RM**, ṛñjān **Pa**, rañjana **Mā**, rañjan **[Ma]**, ruñjan **K** uc chukram] **JM RM**, uc chutkram **Mā**, uchukram **Ku [Ma]**, uchuttram **Pa**, uś chukram **K** atkam] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, om. **Mā**, attham **K** ajate] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, akramate **JM**, ayatī **K** śacībhir] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, śacībhiḥ **RM**, śacībhin **K** navā] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, nivā **RM** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

ṚV 1.95.7

úd yaṃyamīti savitéva bāhū ubhé sīcau yatate bhīmá ṛñján |  
úc chukráṃ átkam ajate simásmān návā mātṛbhyo vásanā jahāti ||

Bhattacharya edits *yajate* in **b**.

This stanza, which is attested with minor variants also at PS 8.14.7 and is taken from ṚV 1.95.7, is about Agni, compared with the chief of an army (see Geldner’s comment *ad loc.*). The reutilization of the Ṛgvedic stanza in our hymn was probably suggested by the military character of pāda **b** and by the identification of the subject of the actions with the king himself (cf. PS 15.5–6 above for the role of the garment in royal ceremonies).

b. The majority of the manuscripts have the same reading as the ṚV, *yatate*, which is no doubt correct. The same cadence occurs also at ṚV 4.38.8d *durvartuḥ smā bhavati bhīmá ṛñján* ‘He becomes irresistible, the terrible one, pressing ahead’.

c. The PS has the worse variant *śacībhir* instead of *simásmān* ‘from all’ of the ṚV. In the ṚV, 22 attestations of *śacībhir* out of 36 are found in the cadence of a Triṣṭubh pāda.

d. Cf. PS 6.23.11c *jahātu* <sup>+</sup>*vasanam svam* ‘Let her abandon her own clothes’.

**15.12.6 [Śakvari]** PS only, e: cf. PS 12.9b, cf. ŚS 4.31.3b = PS 4.12.3b

ugrau te nemī pavī ta ugrā	+ #T3
ugrāḥ śaṅkavo bṛhato rathasya	+ Tb
<sup>+</sup> īṣātra veṇavo *namatā ta ugrā-	T2c
-agniś cakṣuḥ pravayaṇam rathasya	+ #Ta
tenāmitrān pramṛṇan yāhi śatrūn	Ta

Strong are your two felloes, strong are your tires, strong are the pegs of the lofty chariot. The pole here, the reeds, your felts are strong. Agni is the urging eye of the chariot. Drive with that, crushing foes and enemies.

pavī] **K**, pavi **Ku JM RM**, pava **Mā [Ma] Pa** ta] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, te **Mā** ugrā ugrāḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, ugrāḥ ugrā **JM**, ugrāḥ **K** śaṅkavo] **Or**, śaṅkapo **K** rathasya] **Or**, raṣasya **K** <sup>+</sup>īṣātra] iṣātra **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, iṣātrī? **RM**, yeśātra **K** veṇavo] **Or**, veṇo **K** \*namatā] namatis **JM RM Pa Mā [Ma]**, namatas **Ku**, navatahnud **K** ugrāgniś] **Ku RM [Ma] Pa**, ugrāgniḥ **Mā**, ugrā{ṇ}gniś **JM**, agrāgniś **K** cakṣuḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, ścakṣuḥ **Mā**, cakṣuḥ **K** pravayaṇam] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, pravaṃyātām **JM**, praveṇe **K** tenāmitrān] **Or**, tenāmitrān **K** pramṛṇan] **K**, pramṛṇam **Or** śatrūn] **Or**, śatṛṇ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 6 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits <sup>+</sup>*īṣātra* and *namatis* in c.

**ab.** Note that as in the preceding stanzas the metre is rather irregular. With this stanza begins the description of the chariot (see SPARREBOOM 1985: 122–139). The first two pādas describe the wheels: *nemí-* is the felloe of a chariot-wheel (cf. ṚV 1.32.15, 2.5.3, 5.13.6 etc.), i.e. a segment or the whole rim of a wheel into which the outer ends of the spokes are attached and onto which a metal tyre, called *paví-*, is usually applied (cf. ṚV 1.34.2, 1.88.2, 1.180.1, 5.31.5, 5.52.9 etc.). The word *śaṅkú-* denotes a peg, nail or spike, whose function in the wheel is difficult to determine. Probably it refers to the nails with which the tyre was fixed to the felloe: cf. ṚV 1.164.48 *dvādaśa pradhāyaś cakrām ékaṁ trīṇi nābhyāni ká u tác ciketa | tásmin sākām trīśatā ná śaṅkavo ’rpitāḥ ṣaṣṭír ná calācalāsaḥ* ‘Twelve are the felloes, and the wheel is one; three are the naves. Who has understood it? Therein are set together three hundred and sixty pegs, which cannot be loosened in any way’.

**c.** The interpretation of this pāda is problematic. The word *īṣā-* is the pole of the chariot (cf. ṚV 3.53.17, 10.135.3); *veṇú-* means ‘bamboo’, ‘reed’, ‘cane’. This word is attested only at ṚV 8.55.3 *śatām veṇūṇ chatām śúnaḥ śatām cármāṇi mlātāni | śatām me balbajastukā áruṣṭīṇām cátuḥśatam* ‘A hundred bamboo’s sticks, a hundred dogs, hundred tanned skins; for me a hundred (sheeps) with flakes like tufts of *balbaja*-grass, four-hundred red (cows)’, ŚS 1.27.3 *ná bahávaḥ sám aśakan nārbhakā abhí dādhṛṣuḥ | veṇór ádgā ivābhító ’samṛddhā aghāyávaḥ* ‘Not many had power, the weak ones couldn’t overpower; like the sprout of a bamboo round about, the malignant ones were not successful’, PS 1.59.2 *nāśṛg asti pataṅgasya tardasya maśakād yāḥ | veṇoḥ pūtudror nāsty asṛṇ māsyā glaur māpacid bhuvat* ‘The blood is not for the Pataṅga, for the Tarda, for those who descend from a mosquito. The blood is not for the bamboo, not for the Pūtu tree. May it not become his lump, his sore’ and PS 4.14.1ab *yasminn āśīḥ pratihita idaṁ tac chalyo veṇur veṣṭanam tejanam ca* ‘Wherein you were attached, [all]

that is here: the arrow-tip, the bamboo, the wrapping, and the shaft’ (Griffiths — Lubotsky 2014). It probably refers to the material with which parts of the chariot were built.

As regards *\*namatā*, the proposed emendation calls into question the word *namata-* ‘felt’. This word, which was previously considered to be attested only later in Sanskrit, is a loanword from Iranian *nāmata-* ‘Reisig’, ‘Geflecht aus Reisig, Hürde’ (BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 1068), and could refer to some kind of internal or external covering for the chariot, made of felt. According to KUZ’MINA 2007: 113, “The frame of the vehicle was planked and above it were bent arched planks; it was re-covered by a ‘cap’ (*gadhā-*) made of mats or pieces of felt”.

Another possible interpretation is to take the word as referring to the wheel; if so, it could indicate the wooden rim of the wheel bent into a curved shape (see RAU 1983: 17 and cf. ṚV 7.32.20cd *ā va índram puruhūtām name girā nemīm táṣṭeva sudrvām* ‘I bend with a song your Indra, the much-invoked one, like a carpenter [bends] the felloe made of solid wood’). In any case, an emendation of the transmitted text seems unavoidable.

#### 15.12.7 [Triṣṭubh] PS only

arā nābhayo balam it te akṣa	+Tb
ugrau te koṣau saha nisyaḍābhyām	Tb
āṇiyor vardhrāṇi uta *koṣayor ā	*Tb
sthānaṁ bandha uta vandhuraṁ te	T1

The spokes, the naves, the axle [are] indeed your strength. Strong are your two boxes, together with the two ? . The straps are in the two pins and in the the two boxes, the standing-place and the seat are in the binding.

arā] Or, rā K balam it te akṣa] Or, balim ity ekṣa K ugrau] Or, ugre K koṣau] Or, ghoṣau K nisyaḍābhyām] nisyaḍābhyām JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa, nisyaḍābhyām Ku, naḥsvarābhyām K āṇiyor] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, aṇiyor Mā, āraṇyo K vardhrāṇi] K, vadhrān Or uta] Or, ca K \*koṣayor ā] koṣaghorā Ku RM Mā, k{r}oṣaghorā JM, koṣaghorō [Ma] Pa, ghoyo K sthānaṁ] Or, rāstrānaṁ K bandha] Ku JM RM Mā, bandhu Mā Pa, varīta K vandhuraṁ te] bandhuran te Or, bandhurete K ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 7 Z K

Bhattacharya edits *nisyadābhyām* in **b**, *vadhrān* and *koṣaghorā* in **c**.

**a.** The word *arā-* indicates the ‘spoke’ (cf. ṚV 1.32.15, 1.141.9, 10.78.4); *nābhi-* means ‘nave of a chariot-wheel’, i.e. the thickest portion of the chariot wheel, used to link the axle to the spokes. Why is *nābhi-* in the plural here? *Ákṣa-* is the ‘axle’ of the chariot (cf. ṚV 1.30.14, 1.166.9, 3.53.17), and it usually projected somewhat from the nave of the wheel, so that a linch-pin (*āṇi-*) was applied to secure the wheel in its place.

**b.** The word *koṣa-* means ‘box, the inner part of a chariot’. Since we know that usually two persons stood together on the same chariot (see my comment at 10.6ab), there must have been a sort of division inside the chariot. That is probably the reason why the word is in the dual here.

At the end of the pāda, *nisyadābhyām* is a problematic word.

It must be an instrumental dual, governed by *saha*, and somehow related to the two boxes already mentioned. I interpret it as an instrumental dual from a hapax *nisyada-* ‘driving/ flowing down’, derived from the verb *nisyand-* ‘to flow down’ and indicating a sort of gutter or draining channel that was put on both sides of the chariot (on the derivatives from the root *syand-*, cf.

AiGr. II/2, § 10c, p. 25 and § 22c, p. 74, with the examples *raghuṣyad-* ‘moving/flowing quickly’, *sasyád-* ‘stream’, *havana-syád-* ‘hastening to an invocation’ and the thematic formations in *syáda-* ‘driving’, *go-syada-* ‘driving cows’, *aśva-syada-* ‘driving horses’).

c. On the word *āñí-*, see my comment above. As regards *vadhrān*, an accusative plural from *vádhra-* ‘a leathern strap or thong’ is syntactically wrong. One could emend to *\*vadhrā*, nominative plural; **K**, on the other hand, may have preserved a better reading here, *vardhrāñi*, which I interpret as a nominative plural neuter from *várdhra-* ‘leather, strap’. I adopt it in the text, although it makes the verse metrically irregular (no caesura).

I emend the compound *koṣaghorā-*, whose meaning is not clear, to *\*koṣayor ā*, for which see RV 6.47.9b *váhiṣṭhayoḥ śatāvann áśvayor ā* ‘(put us) on two horses drawing best, O lord of hundreds’, where the postposition *ā* is similarly found at the end of a pāda after a dual form.

d. The word *bandhúra-* has to be interpreted as a *varia lectio* for *vandhúra-*, which means ‘seat of the chariot’, or maybe better, following KEWA, ‘Wagenkorb, wicker basket tied upon the wagon, wicker carriage’.

#### 15.12.8 [Triṣṭubh] PS only

goṣṭhe balaṁ mṛga ekam aṅgaṁ	T1
parā kramadhvaṁ maha ā suvanta	Tb
abhīśavo hatānena vṛtram	+#Ta
ayaṁ kṣatreṇa prajāyāstūgrah	*Tb

The strength is in the cow-pen, the deer (horn) cheek-piece [combines the reins into] one part. Step forward, procuring greatness. O reins, slay Vṛtra through this one. Let this one here be strong with the kingdom, with offspring.

goṣṭhe] **JM RM**, gau(→go)ṣṭhe **Ku**, gauṣṭhe **Pa** Mā [Ma], goṣṭha **K** balaṁ] **Ku RM Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, bala **JM**, balim **K** ekam aṅgaṁ] **Ku RM Pa** [Ma], ekam aṅga **JM** Mā, ekasaṅgaṁ **K** parā] **Or**, prā **K** maha] **Or**, mahā **K** suvanta] **Ku JM RM Mā** [Ma], suvantaṁ **Pa**, suvaṁca **K** abhīśavo] **K**, abhīśavo **Or** vṛtram] **Or**, vṛttram **K** ayaṁ] **K**, ahaṁ **Ku JM RM** [Ma] **Pa**, mahaṁ Mā kṣatreṇa] **Ku JM Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, kṣetreṇa **RM**, kṣattreṇa **K** prajāyāstūgrah] **Ku JM RM Mā** [Ma], pra{ya}jayāstūgrah **Pa**, prajāyāstūgrā **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 8 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *gauṣṭhe* in a.

a. This pāda is problematic. It seems very probable to me that the manuscripts **JM**, **RM** and **Ku** *post correctionem* have preserved a more original reading (*goṣṭhe*), which is supported also by the reading of **K** (*goṣṭha*). As regards the meaning, it is likely that the verse makes reference to the reins, explicitly addressed in pāda c. They were probably made of leather, and since the leather straps are called *go-*, it is logical to state that ‘the strength is in the cow-pen’, i.e. in the stable, where the cow abide. The word *mṛga-*, which literally means ‘deer’, could refer to the cheek-pieces or psalia that were made of horn (on the cheek-pieces, see KUZ’MINA 2007: 115 ff.).

b. For the use of the verb *ā-sū-* ‘procure, yield, grant’, cf. 5.2c above, and for *parā kramadhvaṁ*, see the comment at 15.9.5a.

c. Cf. RV 1.23.9ab *hatā vṛtrām sudānava índreṇa sāhasā yujā* ‘O bountiful gods, slay Vṛtra with mighty Indra as ally’ and PS 16.27.3a *anenendro mañinā vṛtram ahann* ‘Indra, slaying Vṛtra with this amulet’.

**15.12.9 [Triṣṭubh] PS only, b: cf. PS 12.3c, 12.6e**

ā tiṣṭha jiṣṇus tarasā sapatnān	Tb
<sup>+</sup> sahasravīraḥ pramṇan yāhi śatrūn	T2
*praṣṭiyuge kṛṇutām vīryāṇi	*+Ta
tadetām etaṁ ratham asya śagme	Tb

Mount [the chariot], overcoming quickly the rivals. Being strong as a thousand men, drive and crush the enemies. O side-yokes, make you two heroic deeds. Then let the two strong ones go to that chariot of his.

jiṣṇus tarasā] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, jiṣṇusa rasā **RM** sapatnān] **Or**, sahasvāñ **K** <sup>+</sup>sahasravīraḥ] sahasravīra **K**, sāhasro vīraḥ **Or** pramṇan] **K**, pramṇaṁ **Or** śatrūn] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, śatrūna **Pa**, śatṛiṇ **K** \*praṣṭiyuge] pṛṣṭiyuge **Mā [Ma] Pa**, pṛṣṭiyugena **RM**, puṣṭiyuge **Ku**, puṣṭiyugo **JM**, triṣṭhīyoge **K** kṛṇutām] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, kṛṣu(→ṇu)taṁ **Pa** tad] **Or**, ud **K** etām] **K**, ethām **Or** ratham asya] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, rathasya **RM** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, 9 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *sāhasro vīraḥ* in **b**, *pṛṣṭiyuge* in **c** and <sup>+</sup>*tadetām* in **d**.

**a.** Note the exceptional use of the adjective *jiṣṇu-* ‘victorious’ with the direct object (*sapatnān*); this adjective never governs an accusative in Vedic, a construction which is attested only later (Bhartṛhari 1.5, Vopadeva 5.26; cf. the epic compounds *satyajjiṣṇu-* ‘winning the truth’, *ripujiṣṇu-* ‘winning the enemy’). In order to avoid this construction, the accusative *sapatnān* can be considered, together with *śatrūn*, the object of the participle *pramṇan* in the next pāda.

**b.** The reading of **K** *sahasravīra* is much better. Cf. also 12.3c above, where the same epithet refers to the chariot.

**c.** I slightly emend the reading of the Orissa manuscripts *pṛṣṭiyuge* to *\*praṣṭiyuge*, which is a hapax. As pointed out by SPARREBOOM 1985: 32, “The *prāṣṭi-* is the side-horse or, in technical terms, the outrigger or trace-horse. This is a horse, not directly under the yoke, but connected loosely with the vehicle, either by straps to other horse(s) or to the axle. Normally, there is a side-horse on either side (...)”.

**d.** The “+”-sign in <sup>+</sup>*tadetām* is unnecessary, because **K** has the correct reading. Possibly *śagme* is a nominative dual referred to the two side-horses.

**15.12.10 [Triṣṭubh] PS only**

aṣṭau cakṣūṁṣi kavayaḥ saṁ namant <sub>uv</sub>	*T2
aśvā prākāśā ṛju dhāvayantaḥ	Tb
anu tvā skambho dadatām piteva	Tb
cakramāṇam ainaṁ dhatsvopasthe pra tirātīy āyuh	*+ <sup>o</sup> Ta

Let the seers put together eight eyes, driving straight two pairs of horses symmetrically disposed. Let the prop be favourable to you like a father. Accept in [your] lap this one who has stepped: he will make life-time [safely] pass over [obstacles and dangers].

kavayaḥ] **Or**, kavayas **K** saṁ namantv] saṁ namanti **K**, saṁ namaṁtv **[Ma Mā]**, san namaṁtv **Ku RM Pa**, san namantv **JM** aśvā] **Or**, śvā **K** prākāśā] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, prākāśa **Mā**, prāgāśvā **K** ṛju

dhāvayantaḥ] **Ku RM [Ma] Pa**, ṛju dhāvavayantaḥ **Mā**, ṛdhāvayantaḥ **JM**, ratha dhāvayantaḥ **K tvā] Or**,  
 prā **K skambho] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, skamo **JM**, skambho **K dadatām] Or**, dadhatīm **K cakramāṇam**  
 ainam] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, caKRA-ṆAm ainam **Ku**, cakramāṇamai **K dhatsvopasthe] RM K**,  
 dhatsopasthe **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa || Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 10 Z K**

a. If the interpretation of the preceding stanza is correct, there are four horses in total, two under the yoke and two side-horses, one on either side. The mention of eight eyes is thus explained (or the two men in a chariot and the two horses?).

b. The word *prākāśa-* means, according to the dictionaries ‘Metallspiegel’ (PW), ‘a metallic mirror’ (MW). (Are the mirrors a gift? Cf. PB 18.9.10 *prākāśāv adhvaryor yāv iva hy adhvaryū atho cakṣuṣī evāsmiṇ dadhāti* ‘Two mirrors to the two Adhvaryus (the Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthātṛ); the two Adhvaryus are as much as twins. Besides, he brings eye-sight into him (into each of them)’ [Caland]).

On *dhāvayati*, see BODEWITZ 1974, who points out that the verb, which only means ‘to drive’, appears usually with ellipsis of the object (viz. ‘chariot’ or ‘horse-chariot’). In this PS passage, however, the object is expressed.

c. As regards the word *skambhā-* ‘prop, support’, see SINGH 1965: 31, who notes that in RV 1.34.2c the chariot of the Aśvins, “is said to have three supports fixed in it to lay hold of (*trāya skambhāsa skabhitāsa ārābhe*), which might have secured the rider’s balance when the vehicle was at full speed)”.

d. This pāda is too long, and must contain an interpolation; the expression *pra tirāty āyuh* is the best candidate to be a later addition.

#### 15.12.11 [Śakvarī] PS only

kavibhiḥ syūtaḥ sa rathe vibaddhaḥ	+Tb
sa dhanvadhīr †dhanucit te jajāna†	Ta
+anuprāsyemāni pṛthu madhyamāniy	*T2c
aśvebhyaḥ śamtavāya kavibhiḥ kṛtāni	T2c
tebhiḥ te śarma yachantu devāḥ	T3

Sewn by the seers, bound in the chariot, that bow-case ? . Throw after broadly those middle ones, made by the seers for the horses, for auspiciousness (?). With those let the gods grant you protection.

kavibhiḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, {kabhi}kavibhiḥ **JM**, kavibhis **K syūtaḥ] Ku JM RM**, syutaḥ **Pa [Ma]**,  
 syṛtaḥ **Mā**, sūthas **K rathe] Or**, ratham **K vibaddhaḥ] Or**, vibaddhas **K sa dhanvadhīr dhanucit te] sa**  
 dhanvadhīrd dhanucit te **Or**, svayam dhanur dhanar danuttvye **K jajāna] Or**, dadhānaḥ **K +anuprāsyemāni]**  
 anuprāsyevān **K**, anuprāsemāni **Ku Jm Mā [Ma] Pa**, anuprās{o}emāni **RM pṛthumadhyamāny] Ku JM**  
**RM [Ma] Pa**, pṛthmadhyamāna **Mā**, pratitvuddhyamāna **K aśvebhyaḥ] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**,  
 aśvebhy{o}aḥ **RM**, śvebhyaḥ **K śamtavāya] Or**, śamtāya **K kavibhiḥ] Or**, kavibhiḥ **K kṛtāni] K Ku JM**  
**RM Mā [Ma]**, kṛt{o}āni **Pa yachantu] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, yantu **RM**, yaśchantu **K || || ṛ 11 || 12 || Ku**,  
 || ṛ 10 || 12 || **JM**, || ṛ 12 || **RM**, || 12 || ṛ 11 || **Mā [Ma] Pa Z 4 Z K**

ab. This stanza confirms Singh’s supposition that “On the analogy of Middle Eastern evidence and that of later Sanskrit literature, quivers containing arrows and spears must have been tied to the box of the chariot” (SINGH 1965: 31). From the evidence of the PS, however, it seems that not the quiver itself was bound to the chariot, but a bow-case, which could

conceivably contain both the bow and the quiver with arrows. This is the earliest attestation of the word *dhanvadhi-* ‘bow-case’, further attested in JB 2.103 = ĀpŚS 22.12.4 = ŚaṅkhŚS 14.33.20. According to the JB passage, the bow-case was made of (snow) leopard skin (*dvaipa*; see LUBOTSKY 2004c: 4).

The sequence *dhanucitte* is problematic. We can analyze *dhanucit te* or *dhanucitte*. In both cases, the form *dhanu-* is unexpected (the regular thematic form is *dhanva-* or, in post-Ṛgvedic text, *dhanus-* [cf. *indra-dhanuṣ*, *dhanuṣ-kṛt-*, *dhanuṣ-kāra-*])

At any rate, there are several compounds with *-cit* as a second member meaning ‘piled up’, so in the first case, if we could explain the form *dhanu-*, the meaning of the whole expression would be ‘that bow-case is born for you, as a collector of bows’.

c. The verb *anuprās-* ‘to shoot after’ is late (ŚB). Which is the object in neuter plural?

### 15.13. To various gods: for relief from oppression

This hymn and the following one form a single group of 21 connected stanzas, which correspond to ŚS 11.6. The Śaunakīya version of this hymn has two stanzas more than the PS, and the material is arranged in considerably altered verse order, as shown in the table below:

PS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		
ŚS	1	3	2	4	6	5	7	15	8	9	14	17	10	11	19	13	12	18	16	22	21	20	23

Each stanza contains an invocation to various gods for relief from oppression (*āmhas-*), and is rather independent from the preceding and following stanzas. Since the order of the stanzas is not relevant in deciding which of the two recensions has preserved the more original text, one should look for other clues to settle the issue, although in most cases this seems to be “little more than arbitrary guesswork” (GRIFFITHS 2009: 423).

As regards the metre, the PS seems superior in general (cf. 13.8b, 14.8b), but there are also lines where the ŚS is better (13.10c, 14.11c), so it is almost impossible to say in such cases whether the best text has “an archaic trait preserved, or a result of later polishing of originally irregular poetry” (GRIFFITHS *ibid.*). Moreover, the occurrence of heptasyllabic pādas in Anuṣṭubh stanzas is common in the AV, and cannot seriously be considered a metrical irregularity.

As regards the content, there are at least two instances in which the PS has preserved a better text, viz. at 13.9a and 13.10b (and 13.10d?). In only two cases (14.1c and 2c) I emend the text of the PS according to the ŚS readings.

The most conclusive evidence suggesting that the PS could be more original is the fact that the two stanzas that are found in the ŚS, but not in the PS, are almost certainly later additions: ŚS 11.6.20 is nearly a repetition of the preceding stanza, and ŚS 11.6.23 “is so discordant with the rest of the hymn as to seem an addition made to it” (see Whitney’s comment *ad loc.*).

There are many links with the preceding hymn, such as the names of the gods (Agni, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Savitar, Mitra, Varuṇa, Pūṣan) and several words: *vanaspatīn* in 13.1a corresponds with *vanaspatibhyaḥ* in 11.6b; *nāma* occurs also at 10.8a; *paśava* in 13.9a corresponds with *paśubhir* in 12.2c; *mṛgāḥ* in 13.9b with *mṛgo* in 11.2a and *mṛga* in 12.8a; *pakṣiṇo* in 13.9c with *pakṣau* in 12.4a; *ugraḥ* in 13.10b with *ugrau*, *ugrā*, *ugrāḥ* in 12.6ab and *ugrau* in 12.7b; *iṣur* in 13.10c with *iṣavaḥ* in 11.2d, 3b; ‘*po*’ in 14.4b with *apām* in 11.6c; *pitṛn* in 14.4c with *pitaro* in 10.9a and *pitarāḥ* in 10.10a; *ṛtāvṛdhaḥ* in 14.5b with *ṛtāvṛdho* in 10.10c; *pr̥thivyām* in 14.7c with *pr̥thivyāḥ* in 11.6a and *pr̥thivīm* in 11.9a; *paścāt* in 14.8b with *paścāt* in 10.6d, 11.1a; *purastāt* in 14.8c with *purastāt* in 11.1c; *uttarāt* in 14.8c with *uttarasmād* in 11.1b; *mṛtyūn* in 14.9c with *mṛtyoḥ* in 11.4d; cf. also the compounds *diviṣado* in 14.7a and *antarikṣasadaś* in 14.7b with *svāduṣamsadaḥ* in 10.9a.

#### 15.13.1 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 11.6.1

agnīṃ brūmo vanaspatīn	A
oṣadhīr uta vīrudhaḥ	A
indram bṛhaspatiṃ sūryam	+ #A
te no muñcant <sub>u</sub> v amhasaḥ	*A



We address Agni, the trees, the herbs and the plants, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Sūrya: let them free us from oppression.

agnim] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, a agnim **Pa** oṣadhīr uta] oṣadhīrta **Or**, oṢADHīn atu **K** vīrudha] **K**, vīrdha] **Or** indram] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, indro **JM** bṛhaspatim] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] K**, bṛhaspat{ī}im **Pa**, bṛhaspati **JM** muñcantv] **RM [Ma] Pa**, muñcantv **Ku K**, muñcatv **JM Mā** amhasa] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, ahasa] **JM** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM Z 2 Z K**

ŚS 11.6.1

agnīm brūmo vānaspātīn oṣadhīr utá vīrúdhā |  
índram bṛhaspātīm sūryam té no muñcantv ámhasa ||

**d.** For the meaning of the word *ámhas-* in this hymn and in the following one, see my note on PS 15.3.8d. This stanza is erroneously numbered in **K** with the indication “Z 2 Z” after it. This mistake was evidently due to the lacuna of the following stanza, which caused a reorganization of the numbering in order to reach the final number of ten stanzas at the end of the hymn.

**15.13.2 [Anuṣṭubh]** ŚS 11.6.3 ≈ MS 2.7.13:94.17–18

brūmo devam savitāram	#A
dhātāram uta pūṣaṇam	A
tvaṣṭāram agriyam brūmas	+#A
te ° ° °	*A

We address god Savitar, Dhātar and Pūṣan; Tvaṣṭar, the foremost, we address: (let them... ).

*brūmo... te om.* **K •** dhātāram] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, dhātāra{m}m **Pa** pūṣaṇam] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, p{u}ūs(→ṣ)ṇam **Pa** agriyam] **JM RM**, agryam **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa** || **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**

ŚS 11.6.3

brūmó devām savitāram dhātāram utá pūṣāṇam |  
tváṣṭāram agriyām brūmas té no muñcantv ámhasa ||

MS 2.7.13:94.17–18

brūmó rájānaṃ váruṇam dhātāram utá pūṣāṇam |  
tváṣṭāram ágriyam brūmas té no muñcantv ámhasa |

This stanza is not found in **K**. Bhattacharya edits *agryam* in **c**.

**ab.** Griffith’s translation ‘We call on Savitar the God, on Pūshan the establisher’ is disqualified both by the syntax — for *utá* does not behave like the enclitic *ca* — and by the sense, both because Pūṣan is never called ‘establisher’ and because *dhātār-* should be considered an independent divinity. This is confirmed, e.g., by PS 11.14.6ab *dhātā pūṣā bṛhaspatir ... ajīgaman* ‘Dhātar, Pūṣan [and] Bṛhaspati bring together’, in which the use of the plural in the verb shows that there are more than two subjects and that three gods are mentioned; cf. also PS 20.30.6ab *medam dhātā medam pūṣā medam indro dadhātu me* ‘Fat let Dhātar, fat let Pūṣan, fat let Indra provide me’, in which the names of the two gods are found close to each other but are clearly unrelated.

c. The reading *agryam* of Bhattacharya's edition should be read *agrīyam* in order to obtain an octosyllabic pāda. I adopt the reading of **JM** and **RM**, which is better for the metre and is the same reading as that of the parallel passages. The adjective *agriyā-* refers to Tvaṣṭar at RV 1.13.10a *ihā tvāṣṭāram agriyām viśvārūpam ūpa hvaye* 'I invite here Tvaṣṭar, the foremost, having all forms' and to Agni at RV 6.16.48a *agnīm devāso agriyām indhāte vṛtrahāntamam* 'The gods kindle Agni, the foremost, best slayer of Vṛtra'. It is not clear whether *agriyā-* means 'foremost' or 'first-born' when applied to the gods, and the available translations are not consistent (at ŚS 11.6.3c Whitney translates it 'at the head', Griffith 'the foremost', Bloomfield 'first-born', Sani-Orlandi 'primigenio' etc.). At any rate, it should be noted that Tvaṣṭar's status as first-born seems to be suggested by passages like RV 10.64.10ab *utā mātā bṛhaddivā śṛṇotu nas tvāṣṭā devébhir jānibhiḥ pitā vācaḥ* 'And let Bṛhaddivā, the mother, hear our call, Tvaṣṭar, the father, with the gods and their wives' and especially RV 9.5.9ab *tvāṣṭāram agrajām gopām puroyāvānam ā huve* 'I call here Tvaṣṭar, the first-born, protector [and] leader', where the adjective *agrajā-* 'first-born' is synonymous with *agriyā-*.

### 15.13.3 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 11.6.2, a: cf. MS 2.7.13:94.17

brūmo rājānaṁ varuṇaṁ	#A
mitraṁ viṣṇum atho bhagam	A
aṁśaṁ vivasvantaṁ brūmas	#A
te ° ° °	*A

We address king Varuṇa, Mitra, Viṣṇu, and also Bhaga; Aṁśa, Vivasvant we address: (let them... ).

rājānaṁ **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, rājāna **Pa** varuṇaṁ **K**, varuṇaṁ **Or** mitraṁ **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, mitro **JM**, om. **K** viṣṇum **Or**, viṣṇuṁ **K** aṁśaṁ **K**, aṁśuṁ **Ku RM Pa [Ma]**, aṁśu **JM**, aśuṁ **Mā** || **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

### ŚS 11.6.2

brūmó rājānaṁ vāruṇaṁ mitrāṁ viṣṇum átho bhágam |  
ámśaṁ vívasvantaṁ brūmas té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

**bc.** Aṁśa 'share' is nearly always named together with Bhaga 'fortune'. Both are listed among the minor Ādityas, and their relationship has been variously interpreted: according to THIEME 1970: 401, "[*Bhāga*] ist der (zugeteilte) Anteil — im Gegensatz zu *ámśa* m. der [durch Los, Glück erlangte] Teil"; BRERETON 1981: 308 proposes, "If Bhaga is Fortune, then Aṁśa is best regarded as the Share which Fortune brings".

Note that none of the Orissa manuscripts has the correct reading (also Bhattacharya edits the reading of **K** *aṁśaṁ*).

### 15.13.4 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 11.6.4

gandharvāpsaraso brūmo	+ #A
aśvinā brahmaṇaspatim	A
aryamā nāma yo devas	+ #A
te ° ° °	*A

We address the Gandharvas and the Apsarases, the two Aśvins, Brahmanaspati, the god called Aryaman: (let them... ).

gandharvāpsaraso] **Ku Mā [Ma] K**, gandharvā{ṣ}psaraso **Pa**, gandharvā 'psaraso **JM RM** nāma] **Mā [Ma] Pa K**, nā(→ṇā)ma **Ku**, ṇāma **RM**, ṇama **JM** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.4

gandharvāpsarāso brūmo aśvínā bráhmaṇas pátim |  
aryamā náma yó devás te no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

### 15.13.5 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 11.6.6

vātaṁ brūmaḥ parjanīyam	*#A
antarikṣam atho díśaḥ	A
āśās ca sarvā brūmas	A7
te ° ° °	*A

We address Vāta, Parjanya, the intermediate space, and also the quarters, and all regions we address: (let them... ).

brūmaḥ] **Or**, brūmaḥ **K** parjanya] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, par{ya}janya **JM**, parjanya **K** sarvā] **Or**, sarva **K** ||] **Ku JM [Mā Mā] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.6

vātaṁ brūmaḥ parjānyam antárikṣam átho díśaḥ |  
āśās ca sárva brūmas té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

**a.** This pāda could be more easily considered a heptasyllable, but a quadrisyllabic scansion of *parjanīya-*, though not common, is however very probable here and at PS 2.63.3a (= 3.14.6a) *yāsā pitā parjanīyo*.

### 15.13.6 [Anuṣṭubh] ≈ ŚS 11.6.5

ahorātre idaṁ brūmaḥ	+ #A
sūryācandramasā ubhā	A
ādityān sarvān brūmas	*#A
te no muñcant <sub>u</sub> v amhasaḥ	*A

We address Day and Night here, both the Sun and the Moon; all the Ādityas we address: let them free us from oppression.

idaṁ] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, ida **Pa** brūmaḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, brūma **JM**, brūmas **K** sūryācandramasā] **Or**, sūryāścandramasā **K** muñcantv] **JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, muñcantv **Ku**, muñcatv **Mā** amhasaḥ] **Ku [Mā Mā] Pa**, amhasaḥ **JM**, ahasaḥ **RM**, amhasaḥ **K** ||] **Ku [Mā Mā] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 6 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.5

ahorātré idám brūmaḥ sūryācandramāsāv ubhā |  
vísrvān ādityān brūmas té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits *sarvāna* in **c**, which must be a misprint due to the omission of the *virāma* sign.

**b.** On the sandhi *-au ũ-*, which fluctuates between *-āv ũ-* and *-ā ũ-*, cf. AiGr. I, § 274, p. 326. In contrast to the ŚS, the PS shows the typical R̥gvedic sandhi here.

**c.** The ŚS reads *viśvān ādityān* instead of *ādityān sarvān* in the PS. Although *sārva-* and *viśva-* have different shades of meaning, especially in the most archaic portions of the R̥V, the two words become synonymous already in the latest part of the R̥V itself; in our passage the variant is not significant (the reading of the ŚS may at best be considered an archaism; see WITZEL 1989: 238).

**d.** All the manuscripts give the pāda without abbreviation, because in the following stanza the last pāda is different; the refrain starts again in stanza eight, where pāda **d** appears in full as well. The same situation is found at 14.9–11.

### 15.13.7 [Anuṣṭubh] ≈ ŚS 11.6.7, a: R̥V 10.97.16a

muñcantu mā śapathīyād	*#A
ahorātre atho uṣāḥ	A
somo mā divyo muñcatu	#A
yam āhuś candramā iti	A

Let Day and Night, and also Dawn, free me from what comes from a curse. Let the divine Soma, whom they call the Moon, free me.

śapathyād] **Ku JM [Ma] Pa K**, śapathād **RM**, sapathyād **Mā** atho] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, aho **JM** uṣāḥ] **Or**, vṛṣā **K** divyo] **Or**, dityo **K** muñcatu] **K**, muñcantu **Ku JM RM Pa**, muñvantu ? **Mā [Ma]** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 7 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.7

muñcāntu mā śapathyād ahorātré átho uṣāḥ |  
sómo mā devó muñcatu yám āhúś candráma īti ||

**bc.** On the relation between Soma and the Moon, see HILLEBRANDT 1927: 269 ff.

### 15.13.8 [Anuṣṭubh] ≈ ŚS 11.6.15

pañca rājyāni vīrudhām	A
somaśreṣṭhāni brūmasi	A
bhaṅgo darbho yavaḥ sahas	A
te no muñcant <sub>u</sub> v amhasaḥ	*A

We address the five kingdoms of the plants, having Soma as their chief. Hemp, *darbha*, barley, *saha*: let them free us from oppression.

pañca] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, pañca **Ku** rājyāni] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, rāyāni **Pa**, rājyān **K** vīrudhām] vīrdhām **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, vīrdhā **JM**, vīrudhān **K** somaśreṣṭhāni] **Or**, somaśśreṣṭhāni **K** yavaḥ] **Or**, yadas **K** muñcantv] **K Pa [Ma]**, muñcantv **Ku**, muñcantv(→antv) **JM**, muñcatv **RM Mā** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 8 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.15

pāñca rājyāni vīrūdhām sōmaśreṣṭhāni brūmaḥ |  
darbhó bhañgó yávaḥ sáhas té no muñcantv āmhasaḥ ||

a. The comment on the ŚS explains: *rājñā bhiṣajā viniyuḥyamānāni patrakāṇḍapušpaphalamūlātmakāni* ‘The five kingdoms of the character of leaves, joints, flowers, fruits and roots (are) charged by the king (Soma), a physician’. According to GONDA 1985b: 53, this explanation “may be right in that these five components of plants could be used for medicinal purposes”.

b. The PS version of this pāda, by reading *brūmasi*, is metrically superior. The form is a hapax.

c. Note the syntactic change with three nominatives instead of the accusatives found in the other stanzas. The pattern of this stanza is repeated at PS 15.14.3 below. The commentary on the ŚS calls *saha* simply ‘a kind of herb’ (see also ZIMMER 1879: 72).

d. After stanza seven, which has a different last pāda, the refrain is repeated here in full.

### 15.13.9 [Anuṣṭubh] ≈ ŚS 11.6.8

ye grāmyāḥ sapta paśava	#A
āraṇyā uta ye mṛgāḥ	A
śakuntān pakṣiṇo brūmas	+ #A
te ° ° °	*A

The seven domestic animals and the beasts belonging to the jungle; the winged birds we address: (let them... ).

grāmyāḥ] **Or**, grāmyas **K** mṛgāḥ] **Or**, mṛgās **K** śakuntān pakṣiṇo] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, śaku . . . **NO Ku** te ||] **Ku, JM [Ma]**, te | **RM**, te no || **JM**, no muñcantv am **Mā**, te **Z 9 Z K**

### ŚS 11.6.8

pārthivā divyāḥ paśāva āraṇyā utā yé mṛgāḥ |  
śakuntān pakṣiṇo brūmas té no muñcantv āmhasaḥ ||

a. The ŚS version of this pāda, *pārthivā divyāḥ paśāva* ‘The earthly, the heavenly animals’, was considered by Whitney as inferior to that of the PS; it was probably triggered here by ŚS 11.5.21a, which is identical. Cf. also ŚS 3.10.6cd (and ŚS 2.34.4a) *yé grāmyāḥ paśāvo viśvárūpās téṣāṃ saptānām máyi rántir astu* ‘The domestic animals of all forms — of those seven let the willing stay be with me’ (Whitney). Whitney reports the explanation of the commentator, who “specifies the seven (i.e. domestic) animals as cow, horse, goat, sheep, man, ass, camel; but the number seven is doubtless used only as an indefinite sacred one”.

c. Note the combination of two words, *śakunta-* and *pakṣiṇ-*, which each individually can mean ‘bird’. This kind of combination is not unusual in the PS (see GRIFFITHS 2009: 333).

### 15.13.10 [Anuṣṭubh] abc: ≈ ŚS 11.6.9abc

bhavāśarvāv idaṃ brūma	+ #A
ugraḥ paśupatiś ca yaḥ	A
iṣūr yā eṣāṃ vidmas	*+ #A
te no muñcantv amhasaḥ	*A

Bhava and Śarva we address here, and him who is the fearsome lord of animals. Their arrows which we know: let them free us from oppression.

bhavāśarvāv] **Ku JM RM Mā** [Ma], bh{ā}avāśarvāv **Pa**, bhavāśarvā **K** brūma] **Or**, brūmā **K** ugraḥ] **Or**, ugraḥ **K** iṣūr] **Ku JM RM Mā** [Ma] **K**, iṣū{→ṣū?) **Pa** yā] [Ma] **K**, jā **Ku JM** [Ma] **Pa**, ya **RM** eṣām] **Or**, eṣā **K** vidmas] **Mā** **K**, vidma **Ku** [Ma], {brūma} vi{t}dma **JM**, vi{·}dma **RM Pa** te || ṛ 13 || **JM**, te || ṛ 13 || **RM** muñcantv aṁhasaḥ || 13 || ṛ 10 || [Ma] **Pa**, muñcantv aṁhasaḥ || ṛ 10 || 13 || **Ku**, muñcatv aṁhasaḥ || 13 || ṛ 10 || **Mā**, ñcantv aṁhasaḥ Z 10 Z kā 4 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.9

bhavāśarvāv idām brūmo rudrām paśupātis ca yāḥ |  
iṣūr yā eṣām saṁvidmā tā naḥ santu sādā śivāḥ ||

**b.** Note the interesting variant of the ŚS, which reads *rudrām* instead of *ugraḥ* in the PS. Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati are all names or embodiments of Rudra, used as full proper names or epithets (see BLOOMFIELD 1897: 618); therefore, the reading of the PS seems to be the *lectio difficilior* (all the more so since *ugrā-* can also be used as epithet of Rudra).

**c.** The ŚS reads *saṁvidmā*, which is better for the metre but could also be a secondary improvement. I have decided to follow Bhattacharya, who edits *vidmas* with **K** and **Mā**. The anomalous form of the 1<sup>st</sup> plural perfect, *vidmas*, which we find in the PS, is also attested at PS 8.15.6c *ṛṣiṇām yāni janimāni vidmas*, while *vidmasi* is found at PS 17.12.2b = 17.13.13c *nāmadheyāni vidmasi* and at PS 19.47.2b *mayūraṁ vayan vidmasi*. As suggested by LUBOTSKY 2007: 28, “The latter form is secured by the metre and conclusively shows that *vidmas* is not a mistake of the transmission, but an original 1 pl. form of PS, although it is not attested in ŚS. The present form *vidmas(i)* is most probably due to the reinterpretation of ppf. *avet* as an impf.”.

**d.** Instead of the refrain *te no muñcantv aṁhasaḥ*, the ŚS inserts a completely different pāda, *tā naḥ santu sādā śivāḥ* ‘Let them always be propitious to us’, which is found in nearly identical form at PS 14.10d = ŚS 11.6.22d and seems to be out of place here because it does not suit the pattern. This insertion, however, may be regarded as natural from a point of view of a medieval priest, since Sadaśiva was an important Śaiva deity in medieval Hinduism.

This last pāda is written in full in all the manuscripts with the exception of **JM** and **RM**, which have it in the abbreviated form.

## 15.14. To various gods: for relief from oppression (continued)

### 15.14.1 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 11.6.14

yajñam brūmo yajamānam	#A
ṛcaḥ sāmāni bheṣajā	A
yajūmṣi *hotrā brūmas	A7
te no muñcantv amhasaḥ	*A

We address the worship, the initiator of worship, the stanzas, the Sāmāns, the healing charms; the sacred formulas, the invocations we address: let them free us from oppression.

ṛcaḥ] **Or**, ṛcas **K** yajūmṣi] **JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, yaj{u}ūmṣi **Pa**, yajūMṣi **Ku** \*hotrā] hotrān **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, hotrāna **Mā**, hotār **K** te ||] **JM**, te | **RM**, te Z 1 Z **K** muñcantv amhasaḥ ||] **Pa** [[om. ||], **[Ma]**, muñcantv amhasaḥ || **Ku**, muñcatv amhasaḥ || **Mā**

ŚS 11.6.14

yajñam brūmo yajamānam ṛcaḥ sāmāni bheṣajā |  
yajūmṣi hōtrā brūmas té no muñcantv amhasaḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits *hotrān* in c.

**bc.** In these two pādas, the sacred texts are addressed: *ṛcaḥ* refers to the Ṛgveda, *sāmāni* to the Sāmaveda, *bheṣajā* to the Atharvaveda and *yajūmṣi* to the Yajurveda. Note the reference to the Atharvaveda as ‘the healing charms’; on this and other descriptive names, with which the Atharvaveda was designated, see BLOOMFIELD 1899: 1.

The form *hotrān* is impossible because there exist *hotrá-* n. ‘sacrificing’, ‘the function or office of *hotṛ*’ and *hōtrā-* f. ‘sacrifice’, or ‘invocation’, but not a corresponding masculine noun. I emend the text according to the reading of the ŚS.

Is it possible to read *hotarā* for the sake of the metre?

**d.** The refrain is abbreviated in **K**, **JM** and **RM**, while the other manuscripts have it written in full.

### 15.14.2 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 11.6.17, bc: ŚS 3.10.9bc

ṛtūn brūma ṛtupatīn	#A
ārtavām uta hāyanān	A
samāḥ samvatsarān māsas	+ #A
te ° ° °	*A

We address the seasons, the lords of the seasons, the seasonal ones and the years; the half years, the full years, the months: (let them... ).

ṛtūn] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, ṛtūna **Mā** ṛtupatīn] **Ku JM Mā [Ma]**, ṛtupatīn **RM**, ṛtavatīn **K** ārtavām] ārtavān **Or**, ārtavām K hāyanān] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, hāyinas **K** samāḥ] **Or**, samān **K** māsas] **Or**, mājahas **K** te ||] **Ku JM Pa**, te | **RM**, te no || **Mā [Ma]**, te Z 2 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.17

ṛtūn brūma ṛtupātīn ārtavān utá hāyanān |  
sāmāḥ samvatsarān māsāḥ té no muñcantv āmhasaḥ ||

ŚS 3.10.9

ṛtūn yaja ṛtupātīn ārtavān utá hāyanān |  
sāmāḥ samvatsarān māsān bhūtāsya pátaye yaje ||

**15.14.3 [Anuṣṭubh]** ŚS 11.6.10 = MS 2.7.13:94.15–16

divaṁ brūmo nakṣatrāṇi	#A
bhūmim yakṣāṇi parvatān	A
samudrā nadyo veśantās	#A
te ° ° °	*A

We address heaven, the constellations, earth, spirits, mountains, oceans, rivers, ponds: (let them... ).

nakṣatrāṇi] **Or**, nakṣatrāṇi **K** bhūmim] **Or**, bhaumaṁ **K** parvatān] **Or**, pārvatān **K** nadyo] **Ku JM Mā**  
[**Ma**] **Pa K**, nidyō **RM** veśantās] **Or**, veśantās **K** te ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, te | **RM**, te Z 3 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.10 = MS 2.7.13:94.15–16

dīvaṁ brūmo náḥṣatrāṇi bhūmim yakṣāṇi pārvatān |  
samudrā nadyō veśantās (MS veśantāṁs) té no muñcantv āmhasaḥ ||

c. For the syntactic structure of this stanza, cf. PS 15.13.8.

**15.14.4 [Anuṣṭubh]** ŚS 11.6.11

sapta ṛṣīn vā idāṁ brūmo	+ #A
apo devīḥ prajāpatim	A
pitṛn yamaśreṣṭhān brūmas	#A
te ° ° °	*A

Even the seven seers we address here, the heavenly Waters, Prajāpati; the Fathers having Yama as their chief we address: (let them... ).

ṛṣīn] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **K**, ṛṣ{i}īn **JM**, ṛṣtan **Pa** brūmo] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, brū{·}mo **JM** devīḥ]  
**Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, devī{rī}ḥ **JM**, devīrī **K** yamaśreṣṭhān] **Ku RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, yamaśreṣṭhān **JM**,  
yamaśreṣṭhāni **K** brūmas] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, bramās **RM** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.11

saptarṣīn vā idāṁ brūmo 'pó devīḥ prajāpatim |  
pitṛn yamaśreṣṭhān brūmas té no muñcantv āmhasaḥ ||

a. One must read *saptarṣīn* for the metre. The manuscripts of the PS are not consistent in the treatment of the sandhi -a/-ā followed by ṛ- (see e.g. BHATTACHARYA 1997: 27, 266, 606 etc.). Since all the manuscripts unanimously read *sapta ṛ-* here, I have decided to keep this sandhi in



the text. For this sandhi, cf. LOPEZ 2010: 138.<sup>46</sup> Based on the readings of all the manuscripts, LOPEZ edits *sapta ṛṣayaḥ* at PS 14.2.3c and *sapta ṛṣayo* at PS 14.2.4a; ZEHNDER 1999: 152, at PS 2.66.5c, edits *sapta* +*ṛṣayo* (following **K** against **Or**); LUBOTSKY 2002: 82, at PS 5.15.8a, edits *sapta ṛṣayaḥ* and reads *sapta ṛṣayaḥ metri causa*; GRIFFITHS 2009: 97 edits *saptarṣayo* at PS 6.7.9b (where only the ms. **RM** reads *sapta ṛṣayo*; he further edits with all the manuscripts *saptarṣayo* at 7.5.2c, *saptarṣayaś* at 7.5.3b, *saptarṣibhir* at 7.16.7a, *saptarṣivantam* at 7.17.7a). Cf. further under PS 15.14.10b below.

#### 15.14.5 [Anuṣṭubh] ≈ ŚS 11.6.19

viśvān devān idān brūmaḥ	+ #A
satyasandhān ṛtāvṛdhaḥ	A
viśvābhiḥ patnībhiḥ sākān	#A
te no muñcantv amhasaḥ	*A

All the gods we address here, faithful, increasers of Ṛta, together with all their spouses: (let them... ).

viśvān] **JM** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, viśvān **Ku Mā** viśve **RM** brūmaḥ] **Or**, brūmas **K** satyasandhān] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, satyasandhān **Ku** viśvābhiḥ] **Or**, viśvābhiḥ **K** patnībhiḥ] **Or**, patnībhis **K** te || **Ku JM Pa**, te | **RM** te no muñcantv amhasaḥ || [**Ma**], te no muñcatv amhasaḥ || **Mā**, te no muñcantv amhasaḥ Z 5 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.19

viśvān devān idān brūmaḥ satyasandhān ṛtāvṛdhaḥ |  
viśvābhiḥ patnībhiḥ sahā té no muñcantv amhasaḥ ||

#### 15.14.6 [Anuṣṭubh] ≈ ŚS 11.6.13

ādityā rudrā vasavo	#A
devā daivā atharvāṇaḥ	+ #A
aṅgirasas manīṣiṇas	A
te ° ° °	*A

The Ādityas, the Rudras, the Vasus, the gods, the divine Atharvans, the wise Aṅgirasas: (let them... ).

rudrā] **K**, ṛdrā **Or** vasavo] **JM RM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, vasano **Ku** daivā atharvāṇaḥ] **JM** [**Ma**] **Pa**, daivā a{r}tharvāṇaḥ **RM**, daivānatharvāṇaḥ (→ daivā atharvāṇaḥ) **Ku**, daivānatharvāṇaḥ **Mā**, daivā atharvāṇaḥ **K** manīṣiṇas] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa K**, manīṣiṇaḥ **Ku RM** te ||] **JM Mā** [**Ma**] **Pa**, ste || **Ku**, ste | **RM**, te Z 6 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.13

ādityā rudrā vāsavo divī devā átharvāṇaḥ |  
aṅgirasas manīṣiṇas té no muñcantv amhasaḥ ||

b. The ŚS reads *divī devā átharvāṇaḥ*, which Whitney translates, ‘The gods in heaven, the Atharvan’, then improving the translation in the note, ‘The divine Atharvans in heaven’ (thus

<sup>46</sup> Lopez’s two quotations of PS 6.7.9c are wrong: it is pāda 6.7.9b that is concerned. Lopez says: “Zehnder (1999) and Lubotsky (2002) also edit -a ṛ-”, but this is wrong again, because at PS 2.66.5c Zehnder edits *sapta* +*ṛṣayo*.

also Bloomfield). This translation seems better because the gods dwelling in heaven are mentioned in the first pāda of the next stanza.

**15.14.7 [Anuṣṭubh]** ŚS 11.6.12, ab: ŚS 10.9.12ab

ye devā diviṣado	A7
antarikṣasadaś ca ye	A
pr̥thivyām śakrā ye śritās	#A
te ° ° °	A

The gods whose seat is in heaven and [those] whose seat is in the intermediate space, the mighty ones who stand on the earth: (let them... ).

antarikṣasadaś] **K**, 'ntarikṣasadaś **Or** ye] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, {y}ye **Pa** śakrā] **RM**, śatrā **Mā [Ma]** **Pa**, śa{ta}trā **Ku**, ś{r}akrā **JM**, cakrā **K** śritās] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, śitās **RM**, sṛjas **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma]**, | **Pa RM**, Z 7 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.12

yé devā diviṣádo antarikṣasádaś ca yé |  
pr̥thivyām śakrá yé śritās té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

ŚS 10.9.12

yé devā diviṣádo antarikṣasádaś ca yé yé cemé bhūmyām ádhi |  
tébhyas tvām dhukṣva sarvadā kṣīrām sarpīr átho mádhu ||

Bhattacharya edits *śakrā*<sup>+</sup> in **c**, but the reading of **RM** now makes the “+”-sign unnecessary.

**15.14.8 [Pañkti]** ≈ ŚS 11.6.18

eta devā dakṣiṇataḥ	#A
paścāt prāñca ud etana	A
purastāc chakrā uttarād	#A
viśve devāḥ sametiya	*A
te ° ° °	*A

O gods, come from the south, from the west come up eastwards. From the east, O mighty ones, from the north, all the gods, having come together: (let them... ).

eta] **Or**, ye **K** dakṣiṇataḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma]**, kṣiṇataḥ **Pa**, dakṣiṇata **Mā**, dakṣiṇataḥ **K** paścāt] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, paścā **RM** udetana] **Or**, udetu naḥ **K** purastāc chakra] purastā śatrā **Ku Mā**, purastā chakra **JM**, purastāt cakrā **RM**, purastāt śatrā **Pa [Ma]**, puraś cakrā **K** uttarād] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, uttarā **Mā** devāḥ] **Or**, devās **K** sametiya] **Or**, sametu **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 8 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.18

éta devā dakṣiṇatāḥ paścāt prāñca udéta |  
purástād uttarāc chakrá víśve devāḥ samétya té no muñcantv ámhasaḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits *paśvāt* in **b**, which must be a misprint.

b. At the end of the line, the ŚS reads *udéta*; **K** reads *udetu naḥ*, which Barret emends to *udeta naḥ* (cf. WHITNEY 1905: 642: “Ppp. rectifies the metre of b by adding *nas* at the end”). The Orissa manuscripts have probably preserved a better reading, *udetana*, a 2<sup>nd</sup> plural imperative with the ending *-tana*, which is better for the metre as well as the source from which the corrupt reading of **K** could derive. Therefore I follow Bhattacharya and adopt it in the text. On the imperative ending *-tana*, see BAUM 2006: 31–32.

#### 15.14.9 [Anuṣṭubh] ≈ ŚS 11.6.16

arāyān brūmo rakṣāṁsi	#A
sarpān puṇyajanān uta	A
mṛtyūn ekaśataṁ brūmas	+ #A
te no muñcant <sub>u</sub> v amhasaḥ	*A

We address the Arāyas, the demons, the snakes and good people; the hundred and one deaths we address: let them free us from oppression.

arāyān] **RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, arāyānā **Ku**, arāyāna **JM**, rāyām **K** rakṣāṁsi] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, rakṣāsi **Ku** muñcantv] **K [Ma]**, muñcantv **Ku**, muñcatv **JM RM Mā**, muñcantv **Pa** amhasaḥ ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma]**, amhasaśā [[om. ||]] **Pa**, amhasaḥ | **RM**, amhasaḥ Z Z 9 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.16

arāyān brūmo rākṣāṁsi sarpān puṇyajanān pitṛn |  
mṛtyūn ekaśataṁ brūmas té no muñcantv amhasaḥ ||

a. On the word *arāya-* and its metrical behavior, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 104. **K** reads *rāyām*, with the omission of initial *a-*; the alternation **Or/ŚS arāti-** :: **K rāti-** occurs in several passages of the PS (cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: 339). The word *arāya-* (translated inconsistently by Whitney as ‘the niggard’ or ‘the *arāyas*’) seems to refer to “ein vor allem Frauen befallender Dämon” (cf. ZEHNDER 1999: 153–154), and has several attestations in the ŚS (2.25.3, 8.2.20, 8.6.4–6/12, 11.6.16, 16.6.7) and in the PS (i.a. 2.67.1–5, 6.8.6, 6.14.6–8, 7.11.7, 7.19.5, 16.79.4–6 etc.).

b. Cf. ŚS 8.8.15ab (= ŚS 11.9.24cd = PS 16.30.5ab) *gandharvāpsarāsaḥ sarpān devān puṇyajanān pitṛn* ‘The Gandharvas and the Apsarases, the snakes, the gods, the good people, the Fathers’. In the PS, a plural Dvanda-Compound *sarpapuṇyajanās* ‘snakes and good people’ is attested three times (PS 9.25.6a, 10.14.2a, 16.84.7b), and always appears in connection with the compound *gandharvāpsaras-*. It also occurs in VaitS 7.22, GB 1.3.11x and AVParīś 45.2.9. The reading *pitṛn* in the ŚS, at the end of the line, is closer to the parallel passages, but the Fathers were already mentioned at 14.4c above.

d. The refrain is written in full here and at 14.11.d because the stanza 14.10 has a different final pāda. The same situation is found at 13.6–8.

#### 15.14.10 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 11.6.22, d: cf. ŚS 11.6.9d

yā devīḥ pañca pradiśo	#A
ye devā dvādaśa rtavaḥ	A
saṁvatsarasya ye daṁṣṭrās	+ #A
te naḥ santu sadā śivāḥ	A

They that are the five divine directions, that are the twelve divine seasons, that are the teeth of a full year: let them always be propitious to us.

devīḥ] **Or**, devīḥ **K** pañca] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, pañca **Ku** pradiśo] **Or**, pradiśa **K** dvādaśartavaḥ] dvādaśartavaḥ **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, dvādaśārtavaḥ **Mā**, dvādaśatuvaḥ **K** saṁvatsarasya] **K Or**, saṁvatsarasyaṁ **Pa** ye] **Or**, te **K** naḥ] **Or**, nas **K** ||] **KU JM Mā Ma Pa**, | **RM**, Z 10 Z **K**

ŚS 11.6.22

yā devīḥ pañca pradiśo yé devā dvādaśa rtávaḥ |  
saṁvatsarasya yé dāmṣṭrās té naḥ santu sādā śivāḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits *dvādaśartavaḥ* in **b**.

**b**. Bhattacharya edits *dvādaśartavaḥ*, but gemination of the dental in such clusters is merely an orthographic feature of the Orissa manuscripts (cf. i.a. PS 6.11.3d, 7.6.1b, 13.2.3b etc.). For the sandhi, cf. my note at 15.4a above. Note that also all the ŚS manuscripts read here *dvādaśa rtávaḥ* (see WHITNEY 1905: 643).

**c**. The expression *saṁvatsarasya dāmṣṭra-* (on which see GONDA 1984a: 13) also occurs at PS 1.63.2cd (≈ ŚS 10.5.43) *saṁvatsarasya* (ŚS *vaiśvānarasya*) *dāmṣṭrābhyām hetis taṁ sam adhād abhi* ‘The missile has snapped upon him with the two fangs of the full year’.

15.14.11 [**Anuṣṭubh**] ≈ ŚS 11.6.21

bhūtāṁ brūmo bhūtapatiṁ	#A
bhūtānām uta yas patiḥ	A
bhūtāni sarvā brūmas	A7
te no muñcant <sub>u</sub> v aṁhasaḥ	*A

Ghost we address, ghost-lord and [him] who is the lord of ghosts. All ghosts we address: let them free us from oppression.

bhūtānām] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, bhūtānāmm **Mā** muñcantv] **Ku [Ma] Pa K**, muñcatv **JM RM Mā** aṁhasaḥ || ॠ 11 || 14 || śrī || **Ku JM**, aṁhasaḥ | ॠ | 14 | śrī | **RM**, aṁhasaḥ || 14 || ॠ 11 **Mā [Ma]**, aṁhasaḥ || 14 || ॠ 11 \* || \* || **Pa**, Z kā 5 ZZZ iti tṛtīyonuvākaḥ pañcadaśaḥ ZZ **K**

ŚS 11.6.21

bhūtāṁ brūmo bhūtapatiṁ bhūtānām utā yó vaśí |  
bhūtāni sárva saṁgátya té no muñcantv aṁhasaḥ ||

**bc**. The ŚS reads *yó vaśí* ‘who is the ruler, the lord’ at the end of **b**. The two variants are metrically equivalent and synonymous, so it is difficult to say which one is authentic. At the end of **c**, the reading *saṁgátya* of the ŚS is metrically better than *brūmas* of the PS.

### 15.15. To the herb Arundhatī

PS 15, 16 and 17 form a composition of 28 connected stanzas, split over three hymns of ten, ten and eight stanzas, respectively (10 + 10 + 8).

The hymn, which praises the healing virtues of the herb *arundhatī*, can be divided into three or four parts. Until stanza 16.4 it is rather unitary: the redactor alternatively addresses the herb (stanzas 15.1–4, 15.7–9, 16.1–3) and a patient to be cured with the herb itself (stanzas 15.5–6, 10).

From stanza 16.4, the hymn acquires a formulaic character by means of a refrain repeated in pādas **cd** of every stanza until 17.7. Within this section, stanzas 16.4–17.4 form a subgroup in that they also share the same syntax and formulaic elements in pādas **ab**, while the three following stanzas form another subgroup in that they show a different structure in the first two verses. The stanza 17.8 then closes the hymn without the refrain.

There is no consensus at all as to what the word *arundhatī*- precisely refers to, although scholars have speculated on its etymology at length (cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: 62, ZYSK 1985: 198–99, HAJNAL 1999: 90f.). However, this hymn and passages like PS 1.85.4cd = 8.7.10cd \**imāṃ hy asmā oṣadhim ā harāmy arundhatīm* ‘For him I fetch this herb, Arundhatī’, and PS 8.7.9cd *kalmāṣapuccham oṣadhe jambhayāsy arundhati* ‘O herb, O Arundhatī, you will devour the spotted-tailed [viper]’ make it clear that *arundhatī*- must refer to a herb. As pointed out by ZYSK 1985: 97, “One of the most auspicious *oṣadhis* [...] is Arundhatī whose various forms were considered extremely efficacious in the treatment of broken limbs and flesh wounds. Because of her profound ability to bring about the cure of such infirmities, a mythology evolved, surrounding her and her various forms, which may be summarized as follows: She is described as a perennial, harmless, life-giving herb with a saving honey-sweet flower; and as *sahādevī*, she is said to protect quadrupeds (especially domestic ones), men and (small) birds from *yākṣma* and from harm. As *rōhanī*, she is the healer of the severed bone. In her form as *śilācī*, she is called the gods’ sister whose mother is the night, father, the cloud and grandfather, Yama [...]. As *lākṣā*, she is called the sister of the waters whose self has become the wind and is described as hairy-sided. As *śilācī* and *lākṣā*, she is said to be very beautiful, golden, sun-and fire-colored and goat-brown, to be born from the blood of Yama’s tawny horse and to be arising out of, mounting and creeping on trees. In the form of *viṣāṇakā*, she is said to have arisen from the fathers’ root; and as *pippalī*, she is mentioned as having been buried by the *āsuras* and dug up again by the gods”.

Many features mentioned in this description occur also in our hymn, such as the herb’s role of protector of bipeds and quadrupeds (15.155.2c), its healing power against *yākṣma* (15.17.8a) and its kinship with the gods (15.15.3ab). Moreover, when the redactor addresses the patient in stanzas 15.15.5–6, he invokes the waters, the wind, the sun and the night, which are all entities connected with the imagery of Arundhatī, as mentioned above.

Besides contributing to our knowledge of the properties and healing virtues of Arundhatī, this hymn confirms that there must have been a close connection between the herb and Rudra, as was already suggested by PS 2.20, a hymn for protection addressed to Rudra and Bhava-Śarva, which ends with a stanza in praise of Arundhatī (see ZEHNDER 1999: 65).

In our hymn, this connection is clearer and more deeply developed, as it takes the form of a list of seven names of Rudra occurring in the following order in stanzas 16.7–17.3: Bhava, Śarva, Rudra, Paśupati, Ugra, Mahādeva, Īśāna. The herb, it is said, can heal anyone who is

struck by these gods (viz. by their arrows). The mention of Rudra and his various forms is even more significant in that it echoes the occurrence of some of Rudra's embodiments referred to at 15.13.10ab, and also anticipates hymns 15.20–21, which are entirely devoted to Rudra.

Moreover, it is certainly not a coincidence that the list of the names of Rudra occurring in our hymn corresponds to the list found in the seven stanzas of ŚS 15.5, which belongs to the *vrātyakāṇḍa*; one of the principal divinities worshipped by the *vrātyas* was indeed Rudra, as hinted by his epithets in the long *Śatarudriya* litany that accompanies the 425 oblations to Rudra on the completion of the brick-piled fire altar. As I have already suggested in the Introduction, this correspondence, together with the large presence of Rudra in the hymns of the PS, may be considered a small piece of evidence that groups of Paippalādins could have shared (at least) some aspects of the *Vrātyas*' culture.

Finally, the hymn provides clear evidence that the herb *Arundhatī* was also used to cure a disease called *vātīkāra* (= *vātīkṛta*). The dictionaries translate it simply as 'eine bestimmte Krankheit' (PW) or 'a particular disease of the eyes' (MW), while the interpretations of the scholars fall broadly into two categories, depending on the etymology accepted for the first part of the compound, *vātī-*.

The majority of scholars have followed the explanation of Sāyaṇa, who connected the name of the disease with the word for 'wind', *vāta-* (for instance, *ad* ŚS 6.109.3c = PS 19.27.10c Sāyaṇa glosses *vātīkṛta* as *vātarogāviṣṭaśarīra* 'the body possessed by the wind-disease').

Although WHITNEY 1905: 313 already admitted that "*vātīkṛta*, like *vātīkārā*, is too doubtful to render" and "its derivation from *vāta* 'wind' is extremely unsatisfactory", most of the scholars have interpreted the word in such a way.

ZYSK 1985: 32 n. 9 renders the word as "a symptom of injury caused by a wound". Although he himself admits that the exact meaning of *vātīkṛta* is in question, he nevertheless proposes that it "may be rendered as 'that which is made to become wind', i.e. a type of stomach or intestinal upset" (p. 212), again defining it as "a symptom manifested by a victim of a wound [...] which suggests a type of dyspepsia" (p. 213).

FILLIOZAT 1949:140, discussing the compound *vātīkṛtanāśanī*, points out that "cette expression signifie 'qui détruit ce qui est transformé en vent' et non pas 'qui détruit ce qui est fait par le vent'. D'ailleurs ce composé qualifie un remède qui est dit au vers précédent 'remède du flux (diarrhéique, probablement)' *āsrāvabheṣajām*, et le vent en question est sans doute celui des intestins", adding in a footnote, "D'ailleurs *vātīkārā* [...] qui paraît être une autre forme de *vātīkṛta* — ne peut signifier que 'ce qui produit du vent'". According to him, this is the only possible interpretation: "Mais nous venons de voir que *vātīkṛta* était 'ce qui est transformé en vent' (il n'est pas grammaticalement possible de l'interpréter autrement)" (p. 141).

Along the same line of interpretation, WACKERNAGEL 1908: 131 (= 1969: 1352) renders *vātīkṛta-* as 'dem Wind ausgeliefert', while RENO 1957a: 65 translates it 'changé en vent', but rather inconsistently interprets the compound *vātīkṛtabheṣajī* as 'used (f.) as a remedy against *vāta* (plant)' (RENO 1957b: 99).

SCHINDLER 1980: 386 n. 7 rejects the meaning 'zum Wind machend' for *vātīkārā*, and cautiously suggests 'Windmacher', noting that "Anscheinend hat sich vor *kṛ-* der Ersatz von *-a-* durch *-ī-* vereinzelt auch auf Bildungen ausgebreitet, denen die Bedeutung 'machen' und nicht 'zu etwas machen' zugrunde liegt".

LUBIN 2007: 90–92 offers a more detailed study of the word; the core of his interpretation is based on an analysis of PS.15.16 ff. While the stanzas PS 15.16.4–6 show a connection between

the disease and shooting, making clear that anyone who is afflicted by *vātīkāra* must have suffered from a puncture wound, the following stanzas seems to establish a relationship between the disease itself and Rudra. Lubin concludes that “considering the nature of the injury and its effects, the word’s seeming connection with the wind, and the fact that it was considered an apt epithet for Rudra”, a meaning ‘lightning-bolt’, ‘lightning-striking’ is conceivable, also on account of the association of storms and wind with Rudra. He admits, however, that other interpretations are possible, and mentions two other possibilities, namely, that *vātīkāra* refers to an infection associated with a wound caused by an arrow or a bite, or to an outbreak of unopened sores, boils or pustules.

A different explanation has been proposed by HOFFMANN 1967: 26 note 3 (= 1976: 466 note 3) and accepted by Mayrhofer (cf. EWAia s.v. *vāta-*). According to Hoffmann, the name of the disease has nothing to do with the wind and should be connected with the root  $V\bar{A}^2$  ‘erlöschen, dahinschwinden, ermatten’.

Neither Hoffmann nor Mayrhofer have explained the form in detail, but it seems clear enough that they interpret *vātīkāra* / *vātīkṛta-* as meaning ‘procuring vanishment, fatigue’.

This etymological solution, which is more satisfactory, does not preclude the connection of the disease with a wound caused by an arrow (be it Rudra’s or not), a puncture wound or bite, as pointed out by Lubin.

This hymn is quite clearly linked with the preceding one: *ugra* in 15.1c and *ugreṇa* in 17.1a correspond with *ugraḥ* in 13.10b; *oṣadhe* in 15.1c, *oṣadhīḥ* in 15.6d and *oṣadhīm* in 15.7b with *oṣadhīr* in 13.1b; *vātaḥ* in 15.5c with *vātaṃ* in 13.5a; *bṛhaspatiḥ* in 15.5c with *bṛhaspatiṃ* in 13.1c and *sūryaḥ* in 15.1b, 5d with *sūryaṃ* in 13.1c.

#### 15.15.1 [Anuṣṭubh] a: PS 19.9.10a, ab: PS 7.11.10ab, c: cf. PS 7.11.10c

yāvad dyauryāvat prthivī	#A
yāvat paryeti sūryaḥ	*A
tāvat tvam ugra oṣadhe	A
pari pāḥy arundhati	*A

As far as the sky, as far as the earth [stretches forth], as far as the sun goes around: so far must you, O fearsome herb, protect [me] around, O Arundhatī.

yāvad] **RM**, yāva **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, yovad **K** dyaury] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, dyau **Mā** yāvat] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, yā **Mā** yāvat] **Or**, yavāt **K** tāvat] **K**, tāva **Or** tvam] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, tvām **Ku** ugra oṣadhe] **Or**, ugroṣadhī **K** arundhati] **K**, arundhati **Or** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z Z 1 Z **K**

As pointed out by GRIFFITHS 2009: 371, the text of this stanza is nearly identical to that of PS 7.11.10 *yāvad dyauryāvat prthivī yāvat paryeti sūryaḥ* / <sup>+</sup>*tāvat tvam ugra gulgulo parīmāṃ pāhi viśvataḥ* ‘As far as the sky, as far as the earth [stretches forth], as far as the sun goes around: so far must you, o fearsome Gulgulu, protect her here, all around’, and its structure is to be compared with that of PS 4.22.4 *yāvat sūryo vitapati yāvac cābhi vipaśyati* / *tāvad viśasya dūṣaṇaṃ vaco nir mantrayāmahe* ‘As far as the sun heats up, and as far as it overlooks: so extensive an utterance do we use as mantra, to spoil poison’, and PS 19.9.10 *yāvad dyauryāvat prthivī yāvad ābhāti sūryaḥ* / *tāvat sṛjāmi te viṣam yāvad arṣanti sindhavaḥ* ‘As far as the sky, as far as the earth [stretches forth] — as far as the sun gives light: so far do I hurl your poison [away], as far as the rivers flow’ (Griffiths’s translations). For the structure of the stanza, one

could compare also PS 5.27.3ac *yāvatī dyāvāprthivī varimṇā yāvad vā sapta sindhavo mahitvā / tāvatī nirṛtir viśvavārā* ‘As great as are Heaven and Earth in width, as much as are the seven rivers in greatness, so great is Nirṛti’ (Lubotsky). Pāda **c** occurs in similar passages in which a herb is part of a comparison expressed by *yathā... eva*: cf. PS 1.98.1c = PS 4.20.6c ≈ PS 19.41.17c *evā tvam ugra oṣadhe* ‘Thus you, O fearsome herb’. See further PS 11.12.1c *darbho ya ugra oṣadhis* ‘The *darbha* which [is] a fearsome herb’.

**15.15.2 [Anuṣṭubh]** ab: PS only, c: PS 1.65.3, cd: ṚV 10.97.20cd, TS 4.2.6.5, VSM 12.95cd

ariṣṭas t <sub>u</sub> vā khanat <sub>y</sub>	*#A
ariṣṭāya khanāmi tvā	+#A
dvipāc catuṣpād asmākaṁ	#A
sarvam ast <sub>u</sub> v anāturam	*A

Unharmd, he digs you up. I dig you up for the sake of (him) being unharmd. Let every biped and quadruped of ours be uninjured.

ariṣṭas] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] K**, ariṣṭās **JM Pa** tvā khanat<sub>y</sub>] **Or**, tvākhanat **K** ariṣṭāya] **Or**, pariṣṭāya **K**  
dvipāc] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, dvipā **Mā** asmākaṁ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, āsmākaṁ **JM** sarvam]  
**Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, sarva **JM**, sarvas **K** astv] **Ku Pa Mā [Ma]**, 'stv **JM**, asv **RM**, atv **K** anāturam]  
anāturam **Or**, anāparaṁ **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 2 Z **K**

ṚV 10.97.20 = TS 4.2.6.5, VSM 12.95 ≈ PS 1.65.3

mā vo riṣat khanitā yāsmāi cāhām khānāmi vaḥ |  
dvipāc catuṣpād asmākaṁ sārvaṁ astv anāturām ||

PS 1.65.3 (ab = PS 9.3.2cd, 19.42.15ab)

mā te <sup>+</sup>riṣam khanitā yasmai ca tvā khanāmasi |  
dvipāc catuṣpād asmākaṁ mā riṣad devy oṣadhe ||

**ab.** The first two pādas express the same idea of the parallel passages of the other Saṁhitās, but with a simpler, asyndetic syntax. In **a**, **K** reads *tvākhanat* ‘one dug you up’. The imperfect is very attractive here, in opposition to the present tense of the next line (especially if compared with a passage like ŚS 4.4.1 = PS 4.5.1 *yām tvā gandharvó ākhanad váruṇāya mṛtābhraje | tām tvā vayām khanāmasy oṣadhiṁ śepahārṣaṇīm* ‘We dig you up, the herb causing erection, which the Gandharva dug up for Varuṇa, whose virility was dead’). Note the chiasmic structure at the end of the two verses (*tvā khanaty — khanāmi tvā*).

**cd.** On Arundhatī as protector of cattle and men, see ŚS 6.59 ≈ PS 19.14.10–12, which I quote *in extenso*: *anaḍúdbhyas tvám prathamám dhenúbhyas tvám arundhati | ádhenave váyase śárma yacha catuṣpade || śárma yachatv oṣadhiḥ sahá devīr arundhatī | kárat páyasvantam goṣṭhám ayakṣmám utá pūruṣān || viśvárūpām subhágām achāvadāmi jīvalām | sá no rudrásyāstām hetím dūrám nayatu góbhyaḥ* ‘O Arundhatī, give protection to the draft-oxen first, to the cows, to the cow which yields no milk, to splendour, to the quadruped. May the herb Arundhatī, which stays with the gods,<sup>47</sup> give protection. It will make the cow-pen full of

<sup>47</sup> The translation follows the emendation of *sahá devīr* to *sahádevī*, for which see WHITNEY 1905: 325. He admits that *sahádevī* “may be here simply the name of the plant” (this is also the interpretation given by Sāyaṇa) “but yet probably with pregnant implication of its etymological sense”. BLOOMFIELD 1897: 490 proposed the slightly different emendation to *sahá devaír* ‘along with the gods’. In both cases, the meaning is in accord with the content



milk and the men free from *yakṣma*. I speak to the one having all forms, prosperous, full of life. So let it lead the missile thrown by Rudra far from our cattle'. A similar phrasing occurs also at ṚV 1.114.1cd *yáthā śám ásad dvipáde cátuṣpade víśvam puṣṭám grāme asmínn anāturám* 'so that weal there may be for the biped and the quadruped, [so that] every wealth in this village [may be] free of damage'. On the meaning of (*an*)*āturá-*, see ZYSK 1985: 316. Cf. also PS 15.16.1c below.

**15.15.3 [Anuṣṭubh]** a: PS 19.13.6b, d: ṚV 10.97.17d = TS 4.2.6.5 = ŚS 6.109.2d (for a cf. ŚS 5.5.1d = ŚS 6.100.3b = PS 6.4.1d, ṚV 2.32.6b = ŚS 7.46.1b = PS 20.11.12b; for c cf. ṚV 10.97.17c)

devānām asi svasā	A
marutām asi sañcarī	A
yañ jīvam aśnuṣe tvam	*A
na sa riṣyāti pūruṣaḥ	A

You are the sister of the gods, you are the companion of the Maruts. The man, whom you reach alive, will not get hurt.

devānām asi] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, devānāsi **RM**, tevānām **K** marutām] marṭām **Or**, ma . . . **K** sañcarī] **Or**, siñcanī **K** yañ] **Ku K**, yañ **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa** jīvam] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, jījavam **Pa** aśnuṣe] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, aśnuṣe **Mā** riṣyāti] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, riṣyati **RM**, riṣyāt **K** pūruṣaḥ] pūṛṣaḥ **Or**, pauruṣaḥ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

PS 19.13.6ab

asurāṇām asi duhitā devānām asi svasā |

ṚV 10.97.17cd = ŚS 6.109.2cd = TS 4.2.6.5

yam jīvam aśnāvāmahai ná sá riṣyāti pūruṣaḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits *sañcarī* in **b**.

**a.** Note the erroneous reading of **K** *tevānām*; the confusion between *-t-* and *-d-* in this same word occurs at 6.9a above. As in the parallel texts listed above, it seems that the redactor wants to establish a kinship between the plant and the gods.

**b.** The interpretation of this pāda is problematic because of the form *sañcarī*, which is the reading of all the Orissa manuscripts. I adopt it as the best one regarding both the formation and the meaning. It can be interpreted as a derivative from the verb *sámcar-* 'to go together, meet, join' (on the writing of *-mc-* as *-ñc-* in the Orissa manuscripts, see my note at 11.2c), meaning 'the one (f.) who moves together, companion' (for the formation in *-carī-*, see AiGr. II/2, § 250, pp. 402–403 and cf. the later attested formations *anucarī-* 'a female attendant', *sahacarī-* 'a female companion' etc.). The hapax *sañcarī*, which is the oldest attestation of this type of formation, could have had the function of highlighting the kinship between the plant and the gods.

It has to be noted that also the reading of **K** *siñcanī* is very attractive. Considering the mention of the Maruts, to whom the root *sic-* 'to pour' is often associated, and the use of the

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of PS 6.4.1, 15.15.3 etc., where the poet, ascribing divine relatives to the plant, seems to establish a kinship between the plant itself and the gods (see next stanza).

imperative (*anu*)*siñca* addressed to the plant at 15.9a, it would be tempting to adopt the reading of **K** and interpret it as a feminine formation in *-ī* with the suffix *-ana-* from the root *sic-*.

According to AiGr. II/2, § 89d, p. 203, radical nouns in *-ana-* can retain the nasal of the present stem, so that from the root *sic-* (present *siñcāti*) we have next to each others the “regular” formation with the root in the full grade *secana-* ‘sprinkling, watering’ and the formation with the nasal infix *siñcana-* ‘id’. As to the correspondent feminines, next to *secanī-* one would expect *siñcanī-*, the form actually attested in **K**. If the interpretation of the noun as *nomen actionis* is correct, the translation of the verse would be ‘You are the sprinkling of the Maruts’, which would suit the context as well. The only problem is that is not easy to explain the confusion between *rī* and *nī* in Oriya script, while the two akṣaras are very similar in the Śarada script. The reading of **K** could have been also favoured by the presence of the verb *anu siñca* at 15.9a.

#### 15.15.4 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, bc: PS 7.10.6bc

arundhatī nāmā <sub>a</sub> si	*#A
ṛtīyasyām ito divi	A
tatrāmṛtasya rohaṇam	A
tena tvāchā vadāmasi	A

You are called Arundhatī, in the third heaven from here. There is the mounting of immortality. Therefore we invite you.

arundhatī] **K**, arundhatī **Or** ito] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, ṛto **JM** rohaṇam] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, rohaṇam] **Ku**, rohaṇ[·}am] **RM** tvāchā] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, tvachā **Mā**, tvāschā **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z

PS 7.10.6

aśvattho devasadanāḥ ṛtīyasyām ito divi |  
tatrāmṛtasya cakṣaṇam tataḥ kuṣṭho jāyata |  
saḥ (...) ||

**bc.** On the tripartite division of heaven, cf. LÜDERS 1951: 57–62 and KLAUS 1986: 42–44. 173.

For the interpretation of these pādas, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 356–57, who discusses the formulaic elements of this stanza and the parallel passages in which they are attested. He notes that the opening *tatrāmṛtasya* ... is combined with various nouns (*cakṣaṇam*, *cétanam* etc.), but he does not quote this passage from PS 15, in which it is combined with the noun *rohaṇa-* ‘growing’. The occurrence of this noun, derived from the root *ruh-* ‘to ascend, mount, climb’, may conceal a reference to the name *róhaṇī*, with which the herb Arundhatī was also called. See ZYSK 1985: 198, “The word *róhaṇī*, being derived from the root *ruh*, ‘to grow’, seems to mean [...] ‘one who makes grow’, i.e. in the context with a broken bone, ‘a healer’”. Another interpretation of the name as ‘the one who climbs [the trees]’ could also have played a role here (as the herb was a kind of creeper plant). On the idea of mounting the heaven, the realm of immortality, cf. ṚV 1.52.9abc *bṛhát svāścandram ámavad yád ukthīyām ákrṇvata bhiyāsā róhaṇam diváh* ‘With fear they (the gods) made the mounting of heaven, which was high, self-brilliant, powerful, praiseworthy’. See also PS 2.20.5b = 9.11.10c (both of which refer to

Arundhatī) = 19.30.12d *amṛtasyeva vā asi* ‘Du gehörst wahrlich gewissermassen zur Unsterblichkeit’ (Zehnder).

### 15.15.5 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

<sup>+</sup> śaṁ ta āpo *hradyāḥ	*A7
<sup>+</sup> śaṁ te kulijyā uta	*A
śaṁ vātaḥ śaṁ bṛhaspatiḥ	A
śaṁ te tapatu sūryaḥ	*A

Weal for you [may be] the waters of the pond and weal for you [may be the waters] of the jugs.  
Weal [may be] the wind, weal [may be] Bṛhaspati; let the sun burn weal for you.

śaṁ ta āpo] śaṁ ta āpo **Or**, chandhāpo **K** \*hradyāḥ] hr̥dyāḥ **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, hr̥dyāḥ **JM**, dadyāś **K**  
śaṁ te] śaṁ te **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, śa{nt+e}nte **Pa**, chande **K** kulijyā] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, kuliyā **Pa**,  
kulajyā **K** vātaḥ] **Or**, vātaś **K** bṛhaspatiḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, bṛhaspati **Mā** śaṁ] **K**, śaṁ **Or** ||  
**Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, om. **K**

Bhattacharya edits *hr̥dyāḥ* in **a**.

This and the following stanza are addressed to the patient.

**a.** The reading *hr̥dyāḥ* of the majority of the Orissa manuscripts is not incorrect, but the mention of the water ‘of the heart’ (i.e. ‘internal’) does not suit the context. The emendation to \**hradyāḥ* ‘of the pond’ is supported by the parallel passage TS 7.4.13.1, which consists in a series of mantras accompanying offerings to the waters; among them, one recites *hr̥adyābhyah svāhā* ‘To [the waters of] the pond, hail!’. See further my comment on **b** below.

**b.** The interpretation of *kulijyā* is problematic. It could be somehow related to *kulija-*, n. ‘a particular vessel’ (later ‘a sort of measure’), which is attested three times in the KauśS and from which derives the hapax *kulijinīr* found at PS 4.17.6e. In the three attestations of the KauśS, *kulija-* always appears as member of compounds: KauśS 12.6 *udakulija-* ‘a jug filled with water’, 12.7 *surākulija-* ‘a jug filled with Surā’, 43.3 *kulijakṛṣṭa-* whose meaning Caland was unable to determine exactly and which is probably a corrupt reading (see CALAND 1900: 147–148). The PS hapax *kulijin-* means ‘having, carrying a jug’, cf. PS 4.17.6cde *tās te viṣaṁ vi jahkira udakaṁ kumbhinīr iva kūpāt kulijinīr iva* ‘They have brought your poison backwards, like women carrying pots, like women carrying jugs [bring] water from a well’. If we assume that *kulijya-* is a -ya- derivative from *kulija-* meaning ‘relating, pertaining to a jug’, and that in this pāda the word *āpas* is to be understood again, the translation would be ‘and weal for you [may be] the ones (i.e. the waters) of the jugs’, with a parallelism between *hradyāḥ* and *kulijyā*.

Another solution would be to assume an ancient graphic mistake *y > jy* in both **Or** and **K** and emend the text to \**kulyā*, interpreting ‘[water] pertaining to the rivers, to the streams’. This emendation would be partially supported also by the reading *kuliyā* of **Pa** — no matter how casual it may be. The word *kūlya-*, which occurs also at PS 1.29.3a, is probably a late Vedic ya- derivative from *kulyā* ‘small river, canal’ (see EWAia I, 377 and ZEHNDER 1993: 54).

The TS passage quoted above would give another argument in favour of this emendation; among the series of mantra addressed to the waters, next to the one referring to the waters of the ponds, we find one mantra referring to the water of the stream (*kūlyābhyah svāhā* ‘To [the waters of] the stream, hail!’).

**d.** Cf. RV 8.18.9bc *śám naḥ tapatu sūryaḥ | śám vāto vātv arapā* ‘Weal for us may the sun burn, weal may the wind blow, not hurting’, ŚS 7.69.1ab *śám no vāto vātu śám nas tapatu sūryaḥ* ‘Weal for us may the wind blow, weal for us may the sun burn’, ŚS 8.2.14cd = PS 16.4.4cd *śám te sūrya ā tapatu śám vāto vātu te hṛdé* ‘Weal for you may the sun heat, weal may the wind blow in your heart’ and PS 6.23.7ab *aśam asyai vāto vātv aśam tapatu sūryaḥ* ‘Unfavorably may the wind blow for her, unfavorably may the sun burn’. On the verb *tapati*, see BLAIR 1961 (especially pp. 27, 35 and 118). The use of the word *śam* is common in this context because the waters, the sun and the wind were believed to have a beneficial power against enemies, diseases etc.

**15.15.6 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, b: ŚS 7.69.1d = PS 20.34.1d, d: cf. PS 16.4.4g

śam ta indrāgnī bhavatām	#A
śam rātrī prati dhīyatām	A
śam te prthivyām vīrudhaḥ	#A
śam u te santuṣv oṣadhīḥ	*A

Weal for you may Indra and Agni be, weal may the Night draw near. Weal for you [may be] the plants on the earth, and weal for you may be the herbs.

śam ta] **K**, śan ta **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, śan na **JM** indrāgnī] **Ku Mā [Ma] K**, indrāgī **JM**, indrāgnī **RM**, indrāgn{ī} **Pa** rātrī] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K**, rātri **JM**, ratrī **RM** prati] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, ti **RM**, pravi **K** śam] **Ku JM Pa [Ma] K**, śan **RM Mā** vīrudhaḥ] **K**, vīrdhaḥ **Or** śam u te] **Or**, saha vas **K** santv] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, syantv **Mā** oṣadhīḥ] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K**, oṣadhīḥ **JM**, oṣadhīḥ **RM** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z **K**

ŚS 7.69.1cd

āhāni śam bhavantu naḥ śam rātrī prāti dhīyatām ||

**b.** Whitney translates awkwardly, ‘Weal let the night be applied’, commenting, “All [*scil.* the parallel texts] have alike in **d** the strange expression *prāti dhīyatām*”. Griffith’s rendering ‘May night draw near delightfully’ seems better. On the meaning ‘to approach’ of the verb *pratidhā-*, used in the passive, see PW III, 921.<sup>48</sup>

Cf. also ŚaṅkhGS 4.18.2b ≈ PārGS 3.2.12b *suhemantaḥ suvasantaḥ sugrīṣmaḥ pratidhīyatān* ‘May a good winter, a good spring, a good summer draw near’.

**d.** The particle *u* is used here with clear conjunctive, not-coreferential role, in the context of a stylistic anaphora. On this resumptive use of *u* within a series of repeated terms and its connection with adverbs, see KLEIN 1985: 33, 35 and 1978: 124 ff.

**15.15.7 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, cd: PS 15.16.3cd, d: PS 5.23.2d, 11.6.10d

bahvīṣu hi tvām avidam	#A
oṣadhīm vīryāvatīm	*A
arundhati tvām āhārṣam	#A
ito mā pārayān iti	A

<sup>48</sup> The passive form *dhīyāte* has been studied by KULIKOV 2012: 102–105, who, however, does not quote any example of the verb with the prefix *prati*.

Since among many [plants] I have just found you, the powerful herb; O Arundhatī, I brought you here [with the intention]: “They will protect me from this”.

bahvīṣu] **Or**, bahvīkṛ **K** avidam] **Or**, avidha(→ga)m **K** oṣadhīm] **JM RM Mā [Ma]**, oṣadhiṃ **Ku, Pa**, oṣadhi **K** vīryāvatīm] vīryāvatīm **RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, vīryāvatām **Ku**, vi{m}ryāvatīm **JM**, vīryāvatī **K** arundhati] **K**, aṇdhati **Or** āhārṣam] **Or**, āhārṣim **K** pārayān] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, pārayā{m}n **RM ||] Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z K**

PS 5.23.2

satyajitam śapathayāvanīm sahamānām punaḥsarām |  
sarvāḥ sam +ahvy oṣadhīr ito mā pārayān iti ||

PS 11.6.10cd

āvitsi sarvā oṣadhīr ito mā pārayān iti ||

**d.** This pāda is out of place in this stanza, and it is clearly a quotation from the parallel passages listed above, where the subject of the action — in both cases, the herbs — is easily understood. The intention of the practitioner is obviously that the herb Arundhatī will grant protection.

#### 15.15.8 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

abhiprepseva jīvantam	+ #A
*avidasyed arundhatī	A
*eṣātividdhabheṣajī	A
devī vātīkṛtasya ca	A

Try to reach him while he is alive! Arundhatī is indeed inexhaustible. That one (f.) is the wounded-curing goddess and [the one curing] Vātīkāra.

abhiprepseva] **Or**, abhiprepsī upa **K** jīvantam] **Or**, jīvantim **K** \*avidasyed] abhi dasyed **Or**, agadhaś ced **K** arundhatī] **K**, aṇdhatī **Or** \*eṣātividdhabheṣajī] eṣā da vidvabheṣajī **Ku RM**, eṣā da bhidv(dy?)abheṣajī **JM**, eṣāt davidvyabheṣajī **Pa**, eṣā davidvyabheṣajī **Mā [Ma]**, eṣā ca viśvabheṣajī] **K** vātīkṛtasya ca] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, vātīkṛtasya ca **RM**, vātīkṛtaścana **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | Ku RM, Z K**

Bhattacharya edits *abhi dasyed* in **b** and *eṣādividdhyabheṣajī* in **c**.

**a.** The sequence *abhiprepseva* can be analyzed as *abhiprepsa* plus *iva*; the verbal form is an imperative of the desiderative from *abhiprāp-* ‘to reach, obtain’. The same 2<sup>nd</sup> singular imperative form, without preverbs, is attested at TB 2.7.14.1–2<sup>3x</sup> = PB 20.3.2<sup>3x</sup> (cf. HEENEN 2006: 89 ff.). Although the meaning of the compound verb does not differ significantly from that of the uncompounded one, the two preverbs, however, stress the directional sense of the action.

Cf. PS 1.80.3a *jarāmrtyuṃ prepsatu jīva eṣa* ‘This one, living, shall reach the death in old age’.

**b.** I emend the reading of **Or** *abhi dasyed* to *\*avidasyed* and interpret this sequence as *avidasyā + id*. The adjective *avidasyā-* means ‘not ceasing, inexhaustible’ and is attested at RV 7.39.6c, where it qualifies the word *rayi-*: *dhātā rayīm avidasyām sadāsām* ‘Give not ceasing, always lasting wealth’.

c. Bhattacharya proposes in the critical apparatus to read *eṣātividdhabheṣajī* ‘that one (f.) is the wounded-curing’. I tentatively adopt his emendation, even if all the Orissa manuscripts point to a form with initial *david-*. The reading of **K** is correct, but it is certainly the *lectio facilior*.

d. The syntax is not plain. An adjective like *bheṣajī* must be supplied, as if the redactor wants to create a *variatio* between the compound *viśvabheṣajī* and the construction with the genitive *vātīkṛtasya* [*bheṣajī*] (cf. PS 15.15.9c below).

On the word *vātīkāra* (= *vātīkṛta*), see the introduction to this hymn.

**15.15.9 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, bcd: PS 15.15.10bcd, c: ŚS 6.109.3c = PS 19.27.10c

anu śīṅca nas tat kur <sub>u</sub> v	*#A
agado vai bhaviṣyati	A
vātīkṛtasya bheṣajīy	*A
āgan devīy arundhatī	*A

Pour upon us, make this [for us]. Surely he will become free from disease. Arundhatī, the goddess curing Vātīkāra, has come here.

anu] Or, ani **K** śīṅca] **Ku JM [Ma] Pa K**, since **RM**, śīṅca **Mā** nas] **Or**, naś **K** tat kurv] **Or**, cakrurdhy **K** agado] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, aṣado **JM** bhaviṣyati] **Or**, bhaviṣyasi **K** āgan] **Ku [Ma]**, āgaṁ **JM Mā Pa K**, om. **RM** arundhatī] **K**, aṇdhatī **Or** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 10 Z Z kāṇḍa Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *bhaviṣyati* in **b**.

**b**. It seems clear to me that in pāda **b** we should follow the reading of the Orissa manuscripts and read *bhaviṣyati*, since the plant is addressed in pāda **a** but the following line obviously refers to the patient. In the next stanza, on the contrary, the patient is addressed in pāda **a** (*mā bibher na mariṣyasi*), so that *bhaviṣyasi* in **b** suits perfectly the context. Cf. PS 9.13.8ab *mā bibher na mariṣyasi jaradaṣṭir bhaviṣyasi* ‘Do not be afraid, you will not die. You will become one who attains old age’.

The word *agadā-* ‘free from disease’ is attested twice in the ṚV, 8 times in the ŚS and 18 times in the PS. Literally, it means ‘free from the *gada*-disease’, but it is not clear to which kind of disease *gada* refers (cf. EWAia I, 460, with references). It is probable that the original meaning of the word *agadā-* had already become opaque to the redactor, who used it in the sense of ‘healthy, sane’.<sup>49</sup>

**15.15.10 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, a: ŚS 5.30.8a, PS 2.2.3a, 9.13.8a (cf. PS 16.5.4b), bcd: PS 15.15.9bcd

mā bibher na mariṣyasīy	*A
agado vai bhaviṣyasi	A
vātīkṛtasya bheṣajīy	*A
āgan devīy arundhatī	*A

<sup>49</sup> KIM 2010: 217 analyzes the word *agadā* s.v. *vi-gadā*, but his interpretation is marred by a misunderstanding of the name of the disease as “*agadā*-Krankheit” (or are there just several misprints?) and by incorrect translations (e.g., ŚS 5.29.6–9 *agadò* ‘*yām astu* means ‘Let this one here be free from disease’ and not, as Kim translates it, “dieser soll die *agadā*-Krankheit sein”).

Do not be afraid, you will not die. Surely you will become free from disease. Arundhatī, the goddess curing Vāṭikāra, has come here.

*mā... arundhatī* om. **K** • bhaviṣyasi] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, bhavi{·}ṣya{·}si **Pa** āgan] **Ku [Ma]**, āgaṁ **JM Mā**, āgan **RM**, āga{ndh}n **Pa** arundhatī] aṇdhatī **Or** || | ṛ 10 || 15 || **Ku**, || ṛ 10 || 15 || **JM**, | ṛ | 15 | **RM**, || 15 || ṛ 10 || **Mā [Ma] Pa**

ŚS 5.30.8ab

mā bibher ná mariṣyasi jarādaṣṭim kṛṇomi tvā |

PS 2.2.3ab

mā bibher na mariṣyasi pari tvā pāmi viśvataḥ |

PS 16.5.4ab

so 'riṣṭa na mariṣyasi na mariṣyasi mā bibheḥ |

This stanza is not found in **K**.

## 15.16. To the plant Arundhatī (continued)

### 15.16.1 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

arundhatyaḥ saṁ vadante	+A
gāvaḥ pravrajīnīr iva	A
yam āturam abhigachāma-	°A
-āvataṁ *kṛṇavāmā tam	A

The Arundhatī herbs speak to each other like wandering cows: “We will stay near him whom we reach sick”.

arundhatyaḥ] arundhatyaḥ **Ku RM Pa [Ma]**, arundhatya **JM**, arundhatyaḥ **Mā**, arundhatyas **K** saṁ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, sam **Mā**, yaṁ **K** gāvaḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, gāvaṁ **JM**, grāvāḥ **K** pravrajīnīr] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, pravrajīnīr **RM** yam āturam] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, yam āTURam **Ku**, imā tvaram **K** abhigachāmāvataṁ] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, abhigachāmavataṁ **RM**, ivagaśchāmāvadhiṁ **K** \*kṛṇavāmā] kṛṇumāva **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, kṛ{ṇa}ṇumāva **Pa** tam] tam **Or**, tīm **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 1 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *kṛṇu māvataṁ* in **d**.

**a.** The verb *saṁvad-* ‘speak together’ is often followed by an instrumental (with or without *saha*: cf. ṚV 10.97.22a *ōṣadhayaḥ sām vadante sómena sahá rājñā* ‘The herbs speak together with Soma, [their] king’, ŚS 11.4.6b *abhívr̥ṣṭā ōṣadhayaḥ prāñéna sām avādiran* ‘The herbs, being rained, talked together with *prāñā*’), but it is attested also alone (cf. ŚS 6.109.2ab = PS 19.27.8ab *pippalyāḥ sām avadantāyatīr jánanād ádhi* ‘The berries talked together, coming from their birth’). In the medium, *saṁvad-* has a clear reciprocal meaning (see GOTÖ 1987: 282).

**b.** The word *pravrajīn-* ‘running after, wandering’, is attested in Vedic only three times, in a simile occurring in identical passages at PS 9.11.10b = 15.16.1b = 19.31.11b *gāvaḥ pravrajīnīr iva* ‘like wandering cows’. Commenting the occurrence of *pravrajā-* ‘bed of a river’ at ṚV 7.60.7c, KIM 2010:187 notes that “*pra-vrājā-* bezeichnet wohl einen Ort, wo der Flußlauf durch eine Freilassung aus der Enge seine Geschwindigkeit erhöht”; if this interpretation is correct, *gāvaḥ pravrajīnīr* may indicate cows that have left the fence and roam freely (cf. the meaning of the verb *pravraj-* ‘to go forth, proceed, depart from (abl.), set out for, go to, leave home and wander forth as an ascetic mendicant’).

Interestingly, in 9.11.10 Arundhatī is addressed, and 19.31.11 is about a plant which serves to cure the Vātīkāra.

**cd.** On *āturá-*, see PS 15.15.2d above and ZYSK 1985: 316. I analyze *abhigachāmāvataṁ* as *abhigachāma + āvataṁ*. The next sequence *kṛṇumāvataṁ* can hardly be correct, as it contains, in its second part, a repetition of *āvataṁ*. I emend the transmitted text to *\*kṛṇavāma* (1<sup>st</sup> plural present subjunctive of *kṛ-*) *tam*. Although the metre and the meaning are still not completely satisfactory, this emendation is supported by the use of the adjective *āvataṁkaraṇa-* ‘making proximity’, attested at PS 1.100.3b, 10.6.12d and 19.37.3d, to which the construction *āvataṁ \*kṛ-* corresponds.

### 15.16.2 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

imaṁ me tvaṁ +jarāmṛtyuṁ	+ #A
--------------------------	------



puruṣaṁ kṛṇuv oṣadhe |  
rājñī hi sarvāsām asiy  
oṣadhīnām \*arundhati ||

\*A  
\*#A  
A

O herb, make for me this man one who dies of old age. For surely you are the queen of all the herbs, O Arundhatī.

imaṁ] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, im{e}aṁ **Ku** tvaṁ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, tva **JM** jarāmṛtyuṁ]  
jarāmṛtyu **Or**, jarāmṛtyaṁ **K** puruṣaṁ] **K**, puṣaṁ **Or** oṣadhe] **Or**, audhe **K** rājñī] **JM RM Mā Pa K**,  
rājña **Ku [Ma]** hi] **Or**, om. **K** \*arundhati] arundhatī **Or K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 2 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *arundhatī* in **d**.

**a**. Cf. PS 15.6.1b *jarāmṛtyuṁ kṛṇuta* ‘Make [him] one who dies of old age’.

**d**. At the end of the verse, all the manuscripts read *arundhatī*. Although the nominative can be justified if we interpret ‘For surely you are the queen of all the herbs, [you are] Arundhatī’, the vocative is more natural here, and since the confusion of short and long *-ī-* is frequent both in **Or** and **K** (cf. the note at PS 15.19.6b), I have decided to emend the text.

**15.16.3 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, cd: PS 15.15.7cd, d: PS 5.23.2d, 11.6.10d

trāyamāṇā hiy asi  
jīvalā vīryāvatī |  
arundhati tvām āhārṣam  
ito mā pārayān iti ||

\*A7  
\*A  
#A  
A

For you are the protecting one, full of life, powerful. O Arundhatī, I brought you here [with the intention]: “They shall protect me from this”.

trāyamāṇā] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, trāyamāṇ{o}ā **Pa** jīvalā] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, jīva **JM** vīryāvatī]  
**Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, vīryāvatī **RM** arundhati] **K**, aṇdhati **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, aṇdhatī **RM**  
tvām...iti] tvām āhārṣam ito mā pārayān iti **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, tvām āhārṣam ito mā pārayān imita **JM**,  
tvaṁ tasyāmi viśasya viśadūṣaṇī **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

**ab**. The words *trāyamāṇa-* and *jīvalā-* are often used as epithets referring to plants (and to Arundhatī in particular). See GRIFFITHS 2009: 348 and 352, with exhaustive references.

**cd**. The manuscript **K** has two complete different pādas, *arundhati tvaṁ tasyāsi viśasya viśadūṣaṇī*, which are the refrain of the following stanzas; the refrain was probably anticipated here by a mistake of the copyist.

**15.16.4 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula]** PS only, cd: PS 15.17.7cd

digdhena ca viddhasya-  
-aghasyāghaviṣā ca yā |  
arundhati tvaṁ tasyāsi  
viśasya viśadūṣaṇī ||

A7  
A  
#A  
A

And of one pierced with an anointed [arrow] and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī, you are the poison-destroyer of that poison.

digdhena] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, dagdhena **Pa**, adigdhena **K** viddhasyāghasyāghaviṣā] **Ku RM Mā [Ma]**  
**Pa**, viddhasyāghasyāghaviṣā **JM**, viddhasyāghasyāghaviṣa **K** yā] **JM RM Mā [Ma]** **Pa K**, ŸĀ **Ku**  
arundhati] **K**, arundhati **JM Pa Mā [Ma]**, AṇDHATI **Ku**, arundhatī **RM** tasyāsi] **JM RM Mā [Ma]** **Pa K**,  
syā{·}ṣasi **Ku** viṣadūṣaṇī] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]** **K**, vi <?> **Pa** ||] **JM Mā [Ma]** **Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 4 Z **K**

For the analysis of this stanza and the following ones, see the Introduction to the hymn 15.15 and LUBIN 2007: 91–92. For the interpretation of *aghaviṣā*- as ‘a poisonous [arrow]’, see LUBOTSKY 2002: 102–103. Poisoned arrows are often mention in the RV and in the AV (cf. e.g. RV 6.75.15, ŚS 4.6 ≈ PS 5.8, PS 5.22 etc.).

#### 15.16.5 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only

āheyena ca daṣṭasya- + #A  
-aghasyāghaviṣā ca yā ° ° ° || A

And of one stung by a snake-bite, and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: (O Arundhatī...).

āheyena] **Or**, āhena **K** daṣṭasyāghasyāghaviṣā ca yā] **RM**, daṣṭasyāghasyāghaviṣā ca yā **JM**,  
daṣṭasyāghasya **Mā [Ma]** **Pa K**, daṣṭasyāghasya **Ku** ||] **Mā [Ma]** **Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **Ku JM**, | **RM**, Z **K**

#### 15.16.6 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only

vātīkāreṇa ca kṣiptasya- ° A  
-aghasyāghaviṣā ca yā ° ° ° || A

And of one struck by Vātīkāra and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: (O Arundhatī...).

vātīkāreṇa] **Or**, vācīkāreṇa **K** kṣiptasyāghasya **Ku Mā [Ma]** **Pa**, kṣiptasyāghaviṣa ca yā ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**,  
kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣa ca yā **RM**, kṣiptasya **K** ||] Z **K**

#### 15.16.7 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only

bhavana ca ° ° ° || A7

And of one struck by Bhava (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī... ).

bhavana ca] **RM [Ma]** **Pa K**, bhava{·}na ca **Ku**, om. **JM Mā** ||] **Ku [Ma]** **Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**, Z **K**

a. This stanza is not found in **Mā**. From this stanza until stanza 17.3 seven manifestations or embodiments of Rudra are mentioned (the various aspects of the god vary in number from seven to nine, and are not always listed in the same order: cf. ŚS 15.5, KauśS 51.8, VS 39.8 etc. and BLOOMFIELD 1897: 618). See also my Introduction to hymn 15.15.

#### 15.16.8 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only

śarveṇa ca ° ° ° || A7

śarveṇa ca] **Ku RM Mā [Ma]** **Pa K**, śarveṇa ca kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣa ca yā **JM** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma]** **Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**, Z **K**

And of one struck by Śarva (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).

**15.16.9 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only**

rudreṇa ca ° ° ° ||

A7

And of one struck by Rudra (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).

rudreṇa ca] ṛdreṇa ca **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, ṛdreṇa ca kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣa ca yā **JM**, om. **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**,

This stanza is not found in **K**.

**15.16.10 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only**

paśupatinā ca ° ° ° ||

°A

And of one struck by Paśupati (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).

paśupatinā ca kṣiptasya] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, paśupatinā ca kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣa ca yā **JM**, kṣiptasya **K** ||] ||<sup>kā</sup> ṛ 10 | 16 || **Ku**, ||<sup>kā</sup> ṛ 10 || 16 || **JM**, | ṛ | 16 | **RM**, || 16 || ṛ || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, Z **K**

### 15.17. To the plant Arundhatī (continued)

#### 15.17.1 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only

ugreṇa ca devena ca kṣiptasya ° ° ° ||

°A

And of one struck by the fearsome god (Ugra), (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).

kṣiptasya] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣa ca yā **JM**, kṣuptasya **K** ||] **Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **Ku JM**, | **RM**, Z **K**

#### 15.17.2 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only

mahādevena ca kṣiptasya ° ° ° ||

°A

And of one struck by Mahādeva (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).

kṣiptasya] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣa ca yā **JM**, kṣuptasya **K** ||] **Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **Ku RM**, Z **K**

#### 15.17.3 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only

īśānena ca kṣiptasya-  
-aghasyāghaviṣā ° ° ° ||

#A

And of one struck by Īśāna (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).

īśānena] **Mā [Ma] K**, īśānena **JM**, i{·}śānena **RM**, · · · **Ku**, nena **Pa** kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣā **Or**, kṣuptasya aghasyāghaviṣa ca yā **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**, | **K**

#### 15.17.4 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

yat pṛthivyām viṣam  
vīruts<sub>uv</sub> adhi yad viṣam ° ° ° ||

\*A7

°A

The poison which is in the earth, the poison which is in the plants: (O Arundhatī...).

pṛthivyām] **K Or**, pṛvyām **Pa** vīruts<sub>v</sub>] vīrtsv **Or**, vīrts **Mā** vīratsūr **K** adhi] **Ku Pa [Ma]**, adha hi **JM**, ahi **RM**, yadhi **Mā**, om. **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

With this stanza begins a new section of the hymn: this stanza and the following three show a different syntactical structure in pādas **ab**, while in pādas **cd** they repeat the same refrain as it is found in the preceding stanzas.

#### 15.17.5 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

yad oṣadhībhyah sambharanti  
brahmāṇo menaye viṣam ° ° ° ||

°A

A

The poison which the Brahmins collect from the herbs for a missile: (O Arundhatī...).

oṣadhībhyah] **Or**, oṣadhībhyas **K** sambharanti] **Ku, JM**, sambhavanti **RM**, sambharanti [**Ma**] **Pa K**, sambharantī **Mā** brahmāṇo] **Ku Pa Mā [Ma]**, brāhmaṇo **JM**, brahmaṇo **RM**, brāhmāṇo **K** menaye] **Or**, minaye **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**, | **K**

b. On the word *mení-*, see my comment at 23.1a. Here the word seems to have the concrete meaning of ‘missile weapon’.

#### 15.17.6 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

yad brāhmaṇāḥ sambharanti +A  
<sup>+</sup>tr̥ṣṭam āśīviṣam viṣam ° ° ° || A

The poison — the harsh venomous snake — which the priests collect: (O Arundhatī...).

brāhmaṇāḥ] **Ku JM Mā [Ma]**, brahmaṇāḥ **RM Pa**, brāhmaṇās **K** sambharanti] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, sambh{e}aranti **Pa**, sambharanti **K** <sup>+</sup>tr̥ṣṭamāśīviṣam] dṛṣṭamāśīviṣam **Or**, tiṣṭhamāśīviṣam **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K**

b. The word *āśīviṣá-* indicate ‘a kind of venomous snake’. In Vedic it is further attested only at ŚS 12.5.34 *ásamjñā gandhéna súg uddhriyámāṇāśīviṣá úddhṛtā* (≈ PS 16.144.3b) ‘Discord by smell. Pain when being taken up, a poison-snake when taken up’ (Whitney) and later, twice, in the Brāhmaṇas (AB 6.1.4 *āśīviṣo vai no rājānam avekṣate* ‘A venomous snake looks at our king’ and JB 1.287 *caturakṣarāṇi ha vā agre chandāmsy āsur ayajñavāhāny atha hendrasya tridive soma āsa taṁ hāgnayo gandharvā jugupur eta eva dhiṣṇyās ta u evāśīviṣaḥ* ‘In the beginning the meters were of four syllables [and] they did not convey the oblations [to the gods]; at that time Soma was in the third heaven of Indra; the Fires and the Gandharvas protected it; they are indeed the Dhiṣṇyas, but also the venomous snakes’). The manifold repetition of the word *viṣá-* ‘poison’ — which besides several other occurrences within the hymn appears also in the name of the snake — produces a distinct echo effect. Cf. ŚS 5.18.3 = PS 9.17.10 *āviṣṭitāghāviṣā pṛdākūr iva cármaṇā | sá brāhmaṇásya rājanya tr̥ṣṭáiṣā gaur anādyá* ‘An ill-poisonous [arrow], like a *pṛdākū*-snake [covered] with a hide, so this cow of the priest is harsh, not to be eaten, O noble’ (for the interpretation of this passage and some parallels, see LUBOTSKY 2002: 102–103).

#### 15.17.7 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

yaḥ kṣipto mṛtyunā yakṣmair + #A  
yo daṣṭas tr̥ṣṭadamśmabhiḥ | A  
arundhati tvaṁ tasyāsi #A  
viṣasya viṣadūṣaṇī || A

Who was struck by death, by the *yakṣmas*, who was stung by those biting roughly: O Arundhatī, you are the poison-destroyer of that poison.

yaḥ] **Or**, ma **K** kṣipto] **Or**, kṣupto **K** yakṣmair yo] **JM**, yasmair yo **Or**, ya · e · o **K** daṣṭas] **JM RM**, daṣṭaḥ **Pa**, daṣṭaḥ **Ku [Ma]**, dṛṣṭas **K Mā** tr̥ṣṭadamśmabhiḥ] · ṣṭadamśmabhiḥ **Ku**, tr̥ṣṭadamśubhiḥ **JM**,

tr̥ptadaṁśmabhiḥ **RM**, tr̥ṣṭāptadaṁśmabhiḥ **Pa**, tr̥ptadaṁśmabhiḥ **Mā**, tr̥ṣṭa(→pta)daṁśmabhiḥ [**Ma**],  
 tyāṣṭhadaṁśmabhiḥ **K** arundhati] **K**, aṇḍhati **Or** viṣadūṣaṇī ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, viṣadūṇī **JM** ||  
**Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *mṛtyunā yasmair* in **a**.

**a**. The manuscript **JM** is the only one that has preserved the correct reading *yakṣmair* (cf. pāda **a** of the next stanza). **K** is broken at the beginning of *folio* 163b20 and the only visible letters on the birchbark are *mṛtyunāya • e • o*, which are at any rate compatible with the reading of **JM**. Note the change from the neuter forms of the relative pronoun to the masculine ones.

### 15.17.8 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, d: ŚS 5.30.6d

saṁ jihīṣvāmukthā yakṣmād	#A
ārukṣo lokam uttamam	A
apā jīvasi pātreṇa-	+ #A
-adhi jīvapurā ihi	A

Rise up, you have been released from *yakṣma*. You have ascended the highest world. You live through the water, through the cup. Go to the strongholds of the living ones.

jihīṣvāmukthā] **Ku JM Mā [Ma]**, jihīmukthā **RM**, jihīṣvāmu{gth}kthā **Pa**, jīṣmāmuktvā **K** yakṣmād] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, ya{·}kṣmād **RM**, yaṣmād **K** ārukṣo] āṛkṣo **Or**, āṛṣyo **K** apā jīvasi] **Or**, apāvakīya **K** pātreṇādhi] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, pātreṇā 'dhi **JM**, svāpātreṇādhi **K** ihi] **Or**, hi **K** || || 8 || 17 || **Ku**, || 9 || 17 || **JM**, | 9 || 17 || **RM**, || 17 || 9 || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, Z 6 Z kā 3 Z **K**

ŚS 5.30.6

ihāidhi puruṣa sārveṇa mānasā sahā |  
 dūtāu yamāsya mānu gā ādhi jīvapurā ihi ||

**a**. Cf. ŚS 2.10.6a (≈ PS 2.3.5a) *āmukthā yāḥṣmād duriṭād avadyād* ‘You have been released from *yakṣma*, from danger, from shame’.

**b**. Cf. ŚS 17.8c = PS 18.55.2d *hitvāśastiṁ dīvam ārukṣa etām* ‘Having left behind the curse, you have ascended this heaven’. Note the further occurrence of a verb from the root *ruh-* (*ārukṣo*), which refers to the patient, but again contains an allusion to one of the names of the herb (see my comment at 15.15.4bc).

**c**. The word *pātra-* means ‘a drinking vessel, a cup’. It is worthwhile noting that it is used in connection with the word *viṣā-* ‘poison’, occurring many times in this hymn, at ṚV 10.136.7cd ≈ PS 5.38.7cd *keśī viṣāsya pātreṇa yād rudrēṇāpibat sahā* ‘When the one with long hair drank the poison together with Rudra out of the cup’.

**d**. This pāda is to be compared with ŚS 5.30.6cd (= PS 9.13.6cd) *dūtāu yamāsya mānu gā ādhi jīvapurā ihi* ‘Do not go after Yama’s two messengers, go to the strongholds of the living ones’ and ŚS 2.9.3b (≈ PS 2.10.5b) *ādhi jīvapurā agān* ‘He had attained the strongholds of the living ones’ (ZEHNDER 1999: 45–46: ‘Zu den Festungen der Lebenden ist er gelangt’). PS 15.15.17d, not quoted by Zehnder, is another passage in which *jīva-purās* is used “als Metapher des Überlebens”.

## 15.18. Against Apsarases

PS 18 and 19 are a single composition of 22 connected stanzas (10 + 12). The last four stanzas of hymn 19, however, are repeated from 7.13.11–14, and can be considered a later addition; without them, the hymn conforms to the norm of eighteen stanzas per hymn expected by the title of the *kāṇḍa*. The hymn is divided into two parts: the first part consists of stanzas 18.1–9 and the second part of stanzas 18.10 and 19.1–12, which are linked by a refrain that occurs in the last two *pādas* of every stanzas (on the type of abbreviation found in this hymn, see Introduction, p. 30).

As regards the content, the hymn is addressed against the Apsarases and might seem out of place in this “Rudraic section” of the fifteenth *kāṇḍa*, as suggested also by the lack of clear links with the preceding hymn. Nevertheless, the entire hymn is full of Rudraic elements, such as the use at 18.2b of the adjective *śikhaṇḍīn-* ‘crested’, which usually describes Rudra’s hairstyle; the mention of *vidyūt-* ‘thunder’ at 19.5b, *vāta-* ‘wind’ and *reṣmān-* ‘storm’ at 19.8b, all elements which are often related to Rudra as a storm god; the occurrence of the compound *nīlavyakta-* ‘blue ornaments’ at 19.7b, whose first member is the same of Rudra’s epithet *nīlagrīva-* ‘blue necked’, and of the expression *dūrād enāḥ pratyapaśyam* ‘I saw them from afar’ at 18.4a, which is parallel to PS 14.3.1 = NU 1.1 *apaśyam tvāvarohantam* ‘divataḥ pṛthivīm iva / apaśyam asyantam rudram nīlagrīvam śikhaṇḍīnam ‘I saw you descending from heaven down to earth. I saw Rudra, the blue-necked one, the crested one shooting [his arrows]’ (LOPEZ 2010: 144).

On the one hand, therefore, the inclusion of this hymn within the section of “Rudraic hymns” can be perfectly justified; on the other hand, the hymn offers new important evidence for our understanding of many features of the Apsarases, although some details remain obscure.

The Apsarases addressed in this hymn form a group of 80, and are called *Uluṅgulukā-* ‘belonging to Uluṅgula’, a name which is probably an epithet or a proper name of a Gandharva (see my comment at 18.6c).

The table below shows the data concerning the Apsarases that can be collected from this hymn.

DESCRIPTION	PLACES	ACTIVITIES
They wear big golden ornaments.	Heaven.	They can reach everyone and seek in particular the absent-minded men, in order to confuse their mind and disturb the sacrifice to the gods.
They wear dark blue ornaments.	Intermediate space.	They dance.
	Ocean.	They swing in a swing.
	Lakes.	They make grimaces.
They have various hairstyles (crested, long hair etc.).	Rivers.	They make loud noises.
	Fords.	
	They come from all the four cardinal directions (East, South, West, North).	

As pointed out by GRIFFITHS 2009: 383, several hymns in the PS are dedicated to the Apsarases (e.g. 1.29, 1.89, 12.7–8, 7.13), and “thematic and verbatim correspondences are noticeable also in the various PS hymns to the *Sadānuvās* [...] to the *Kaṇvās* [...] and to other noxious female creatures”.

As already said, there are no clear links with the preceding hymn, except for the mention of Indra in 18.2a, 4a and the occurrence of *vātena* in 19.8b, which corresponds to *vātaḥ* in 15.5c. The hymn, however, is quite clearly linked to more distant hymns through *dūrad* in 18.4a (cf. 11.9d) *samudram* and *samudrād* in 18.5d and 19.11a (cf. 14.3c), *sūryasya* and *sākaṃ* in 19.2b (cf. 13.1c, 14.5c), *antarikṣa* in 19.8a (cf. 13.5b), *nādīḥ* in 19.9a (cf. 14.3c) *ghoṣān* in 19.11b (cf. 10.7a, 12.3b). The list of the direction found in every first pāda of stanzas 19.2–5 (*purastād*, *adharād*, *paścād*, *uttarād*) is found identical in 11.1ac. Note also the occurrence of the compound *gandharvāpsaraso* in 13.4a.

#### 15.18.1 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, b: cf. ŚS 1.11.5a

apsaraso vi vo yakṛd	A
vi vo bhinadmi mehanam	A
vi caṇḍālaṃ viy arjunam	*A
vi vavṛtraṃ bhinadmi vaḥ	A

O Apsarases, I split open your liver, your urethra. I split open your ... (?).

vi vo...mehanam] **Or**, divo divo hi kṣattrivo hi bhinadmi mehanam **K** vi caṇḍālaṃ] **Ku JM RM Pa**, caṇḍālaṃ **Mā [Ma]**, vya taṇḍālaṃ **K** vy arjunam] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, vy{u}arjunam **JM**, vy arjunam **K** vi vavṛtraṃ] [**Mā, Ma**] **Pa**, vi vavṛtraṃ **Ku RM**, vi vavṛtraṃ **JM**, upa vṛtraṃ **K** bhinadmi] **Or**, bhinadmi **K** vaḥ] **Or**, va **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z I Z **K**

**ab.** For the structure of this stanza, cf. ŚS 1.11.5 *vī te bhinadmi méhanam vī yónim vī gavīnike | vī mātāraṃ ca putrāṃ ca vī kumārāṃ jarāyuṇāva jarāyu padyatām* ‘I split open your urethra, your womb, your [two] ureters; [I split open] the mother and her son, the boy from the afterbirth. Let the afterbirth fall’. Cf. also ŚS 1.3.7ab (= PS 1.4.4ab, 20.42.3cd ≈ PS 19.20.13cd), addressed to a patient who suffers from urinary retention: *prā te bhinadmi méhanam vārtraṃ veśantyā iva* ‘I split up your urethra like the dam of a lake’.

On the word *méhana-* ‘urethra’, cf. LELLI — DE JOSEPH forthc.

Although this hymn is clearly directed against the Apsarases, who are said to be struck by Indra, and are constantly requested to go away to distant places, the two actions described in these pādas do not necessarily have a violent connotation. The expression *mehanam vibhid-* (or *prabhid-*), at least, is always used in curative contexts to favour a patient’s urination or a child’s birth; the action of splitting open the liver could be of course interpreted as more damaging, but it is not excluded that it aims at an appeasing effect, as for example the release of bile.

**c.** The meaning of this pāda and of the following one is unclear. For the sake of symmetry, one would expect other body parts to be mentioned, but the text does not seem to support this hypothesis. At the beginning of the verse one can read *caṇḍālaṃ* following **Or**, or *+taṇḍālaṃ* following **K**.

The word *caṇḍāla-* means ‘an outcast, man of the lowest and most despised of the mixed tribes (born from a Śūdra father and a Brahman mother)’, but this definition does not make any sense in the context of this stanza. Moreover, its etymology is not clear; according to EWAia, it is likely to be a pre-Aryan tribe’s name and has no connection with *cāṇḍa-* ‘name of a demon, fierce, passionate, violent’ (this connection was suggested in AiGr II/2, § 158b, p. 269 and § 178a, pp. 288–89, and would be of some value if *caṇḍāla* could be related to the mention of the



liver in pāda **a** and interpreted as the name for the gallbladder; can the action of splitting it open be another way to to appease the Apsarases?).

On the basis of the reading of **K**, Barret proposes to read *tanḍālam*, but admits that the meaning is not clear at all (could it be a formation from *tanḍ-* ‘beat’?).

As regards the word *arjuna-*, whose meaning must be ‘white, whitish, made of silver’, it can refer to the swing of the Apsarases, or to nuts used as musical instruments, as suggested by two parallel stanzas addressed to the Apsarases as well, ŚS 4.37.5 *yātra vaḥ preṅkhā hāritā árjunā utá yātrāghāṭāḥ karkaryāḥ saṁvādanti / tát páretāpsarasah prátibuddhā abhūtana* ‘Where your swings yellowish and whitish [are], and where cymbals and lutes sound together, there go away, O Apsarases. You have been recognized’, and PS 12.7.8 *yatra vo ’kṣa haritā arjunā \*aghāṭayaḥ karkaryaḥ saṁvadanti / tát páretāpsarasah prátibuddhā abhūtana* ‘Where your nuts yellowish and whitish, your cymbals and lutes sound together, there go away, O Apsarases. You have been recognized’. Could then *caṇḍāla* be the name of another instrument?

**d.** Note that the spelling *ttr* instead of *tr* is usual in **K**. On account of the parallel passages quoted above, would it be conceivable to read *vartram* and reconstruct the verse as *vi + iva + vartram* ‘I split you open like a dam’?

**15.18.2 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, b: cf. ŚS 4.37.4b = PS 12.7.7b, cd: cf. ṚV 10.155.4cd

viśvajanyāḥ pāñcajanya	+ A
mahārukmaḥ śikhaṇḍinīḥ	A
sarvā indrasya vajreṇa	+ #A
hatā budbudayātavaḥ	A

The ones relating to all men, the ones relating to the five races of men, the ones having big golden ornaments, the crested ones: all whose witchcraft is a bubble were struck by Indra’s cudgel.

viśvajanyāḥ] **Or**, viśvajanyāḥ **K** pāñcajanya] **Or**, pañcanya **K** mahārukmaḥ] mahārkmāḥ **Or**, mahārukma **K** śikhaṇḍinīḥ] **Or**, śikhaṇḍinī **K** vajreṇa] **Or**, vajreṇā **K** budbudayātavaḥ] **RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, budbudayātavāḥ **Ku**, budbudayātava **JM**, budbudayātava **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 2 Z K**

ṚV 10.155.4cd

hatā indrasya śātravaḥ sārve budbudāyāśavaḥ ||

**a.** With this stanza begins the description of the Apsarases. The two adjectives *viśvājanya-* and *pāñcajanya-* qualify the Apsarases as ‘relating to all men’ and ‘relating to the five races of men’, which seems to mean ‘relating to everybody’, ‘pertaining to all’, pointing at their capacity to reach all men in order to mess up their sacrifices and bewitch their mind (cf. next stanzas). Compare the use of *pāñcajanya-* next to the locative plural *jāneṣu* at ṚV 5.32.11ab *ékaṁ nú tvā sātptim pāñcajanyaṁ jātām śṛṇomi yaśāsaṁ jāneṣu* ‘I hear that you alone were born as might lord [ruling] over the five races, honoured among the people’. See also PS 15.19.12a, where the Apsarases are said to go ‘from man to man’ (*janamjanam*).

**b.** The compound *mahārukma-* is a hapax. The word *rukma-* (on which see RAU 1973: 54–55) indicates silver or golden ornaments used for chariot, horses and especially worn by the Maruts on the chest (cf ṚV 1.64.4b, 1.166.10b, 5.54.11b) or over the arms (ṚV 8.20.11b). On account of this PS passage it seems likely that this kind of ornaments was used also by females.

On *śikhaṇḍin-*, see KUIPER 1955: 152–154, who identifies *śikhā-* (in *viśikhā-* ‘with loose topknot’<sup>50</sup>) as a non Indo-Aryan word. The adjective clearly refers to some kind of (non Indo-Aryan?) hair styles. It is usually applied to Rudra: see PS 14.3.1cd = NU 1.1.cd *apaśyam asyantam rudram nīlagrīvaṃ śikhaṇḍinam* ‘I saw Rudra shooting [his arrows], the blue-necked one, the crested one’, ŚS 11.2.12a = PS 16.105.2a.; Rudra is further called *nīlaśikhaṇḍa-* ‘blue-crested’ at ŚS 2.27.6ab = PS 2.16.4ab *rúdra jālāṣabheṣaja nīlaśikhaṇḍa kármakṛt* ‘Rudra, possessing soothing medicines, blue-crested, performer of (magic) actions’, PS 14.4.1a = NU 2.11a 5a, PS 14.4.5a = NU 2.15a, PS 20.62.7c = NU 3.26c, ŚS 11.2.7a = PS 16.104.7a. At PS 20.55.10a = NU 3.23a and PS 20.60.7a = NU 3.24a the compound qualifies Śarva as an embodiment of Rudra (similarly at ŚS 6.93.1b = PS 19.14.13b). At ŚS 4.37.7a = PS 12.7.9a *śikhaṇḍin-* refers to the Gandharvas. Both the golden ornaments and the tufts of hair of the Apsarases are confirmed by iconographic evidences, since they are usually represented wearing ornaments and having up to six braids of hair on their head.

This pāda can be compared to ŚS 4.37.4ab = PS 12.7.7ab *yátrāśvatthā nyagródhā mahāvṛkṣāḥ śikhaṇḍīnaḥ* ‘Where the Áśvatthas [are], the Nyagrodhas, the great trees, the crested ones’, in which the adjective, rather strangely, refers to the trees.

**d.** The reading *budbudayātavaḥ* is common to all the manuscripts. This compound is a hapax to be compared with *budbudayāśavaḥ* ‘whose semen is a bubble, impotent’ attested in the late “atharvanic” hymn ṚV 10.155.4cd: *hatā́ índrasya śátravaḥ sárve budbudáyāśavaḥ* ‘All Indra’s enemies, whose semen is a bubble, were struck’.

An emendation to *\*budbudáyāśavaḥ* is not convenient here, because such an epithet does not fit to female beings. I tentatively translate this compound as a Bahuvrīhi meaning ‘whose witchcraft is a bubble (i.e. ineffective)’, but there could be also an alternative interpretation, which would consist in including this compound in the series *ulūkayātu-* ‘a demon in the shape of an owl’, *kokayātu-* ‘a demon in the shape of a cuckoo’, *gṛdayātu-* ‘a demon in the shape of a vulture’, *śvayātu-* ‘a demon in the shape of a dog’. But what kind of demon would be a ‘demon in the shape of a bubble’?

### 15.18.3 [Gāyatrī] PS only

andhācīm asitācīm	A7
ulūkhalasya budhnena	+#A
avaitam vatsapam jahi	A

Strike down with the bottom of a mortar the darkish one (f.), the blackish one (f.), that *vatsapa*.

andhācīm] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K**, andācīm **JM RM** asitācīm] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, om. **Pa** ulūkhalasya] **JM [Ma] Pa**, ulukhalasya **Ku**, ūlūkhalasya **RM Mā**, ullūkhalasya **K** budhnena] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, badhnena **JM** avaitam] **Or**, ahitam **K** jahi] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, jadi **Pa** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

**a.** The two adjectives *andhācī-* and *asitācī-* are *hapax legomena*, formed respectively from *andhā-* ‘dark’ and *ásita-* ‘black’ with the suffix *-añc-* ‘going to, direct to, turned to’, thus

<sup>50</sup> As Werner Knobl informs me (*per litteram*, March 2014), the Bahuvrīhi compound *vi-śikhā-* cannot mean ‘having no tuft of hair, bald’, as the use of *vi-* as a negative prefix is rare in Vedic (the only example is *vy-ēnas-* ‘without guilt’). At ṚV 6.75.17b *vi-śikhā-* has to be interpreted as ‘mit aufgelöstem Haarbusch’ (Geldner). Therefore the compound means ‘with loose, disheveled topknot (tuft of hair)’.

indicating a particular shade of color that is close to the one indicated by the adjective used as base (cf. *śvityāñc-* ‘whitish’ :: *śvitrá-* ‘white’ and AiGr. II/2, § 56, pp. 152 ff.). It is not easy to decide whether *andhācī-* and *asitācī-* are proper names of two Apsarases or just two epithets. Compare the parallel stanza 18.7, which has three pādas as well and begins with the two vocatives *āskandike viskandike* ‘O Here-Jumper, O There-Jumper’, which are possibly two other names of the Apsarases. On the association of the Apsarases with darkness see 15.19.4b below.

c. The addressee of the imperative *jahi* is probably Indra (cf. *indrasya vajreṇa hatā* at 18.2d and *indro... hanat* at 18.4d).

The word *vatsāpa-* is attested at ŚS 8.6.1d = PS 16.79.1d, where it denotes a *durñāman* demon in a charm used to protect a pregnant woman. It occurs also at PS 6.14.5b in a hymn against noxious creatures, full as well of previously unattested words (see GRIFFITHS 2009: 169 ff.). Its connection with the Apsarases, besides the fact of being a malignant creature to ward off, is not clear.

#### 15.18.4 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, d: PS 1.89.3d

dūrād enāḥ pratyapaśyam	+A
āpatantīr *adho divaḥ	A
devānām havyamohanīr	A
indro apsaraso hanat	A

I saw them from afar, flying towards [here] below the heaven. Indra will slay the Apsarases confusing [our] oblation to the gods.

dūrād] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, dūrād **RM** enāḥ] enāḥ **K**, enā **Or** pratyapaśyam] **Or**, prapaśyam **K** āpatantīr] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, āpatantīr **RM** \*adho] atho **Or K** devānām] **Or**, devānā **K** havyamohanīr] **Or**, havyamohanīm **K** indro] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, indre **JM** apsaraso] **Or**, psaraso **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *atho divaḥ* in **b**.

a. The enclitic pronoun *ena-*, almost always used substantively, obviously refers to the Apsarases.

Although the issue of the aspectual functions of the Vedic imperfect is still under dispute, it would be very attractive to assign to this form the connotation of a visionary experience, which seems to be vividly remembered and to some extent repeated at the moment of reciting the verse. HOUBEN 2000: 518–519, has pointed out this value of the Vedic imperfect: “Already Oldenberg drew attention to the occurrence of this word in another hymn of Dirghatamas, viz., 1.163 (vss. 5 and 7) and spoke of an “Ausdrucksgewohnheit” (habit of expression) of the author. In 1.163 it occurs even a third time: in vs. 6. In 1.164 we have already seen one other occurrence: in vs. 31 (here accented at the beginning of the pada). In addition, vs. 43 has *ārād apaśyam* ‘I saw from afar’ In most of these occurrences (especially those in 1.163), as in many of the other sixteen occurrences in the RV, the context favors the acceptance of *apaśyam* with the connotation of a visionary experience [...]” which seems to be either “an idiomatic exception to the general rule, or rather an exemplary instance of a durative use of the imperfect”. It is worth it to point out the occurrence, both in our passage and in RV 1.164.43, of an adverb expressing distance or remoteness (*dūrād*, *ārād*).

Cf. also the parallel construction of PS 14.3.1 = NU 1.1 *apaśyam tvāvarohantam 'divataḥ prthivīm iva | apaśyam asyantam rudram 'nīlagrīvaḥ śikhaṇḍinam* 'I saw you descending from heaven down to earth. I saw Rudra, the blue-necked one, the crested one shooting [his arrows]' (Lopez).

**b.** The reading *atho* of **Or** may be due to perseveration from PS 1.29.1b and 7.13.3.b, two passages for which the reading *adho* is also attested and almost certainly correct. **K**, which at PS 1.29.1b and 7.13.3.b has the correct reading *adho*, shows again the same mistake at PS 15.21.7b, where the reading *atho divaḥ* is again to be emended to *\*adho divaḥ*.

**c.** The compound *havyamohana-* 'bewildering/confusing the oblations' is a hapax. Whereas *havyā-* 'oblation', is attested from the ṚV onwards alone and in compounds (both as first and second member), *mohana-* is never attested in the ṚV nor in the ŚS (where we find at 8.8.9c the synonym *móha-* 'loss of consciousness, bewilderment', used in a military context as a weapon — a magical charm — to be cast against an hostile army). In the PS it is attested three times, always as a second member of a compound: beyond 15.18.4, it is found at 3.6.5a *senāmohanam kṛnv* 'make the bewilderment of the army' = 'bewilder the army' and 20.55.9d *tat satyam cittamohanam* 'that [is] the truth that bewilders the mind'. In KauśS 3.1 the hymns ŚS 3.1 and 3.2 are qualified as *mohanāni*, i.e. formulas to be recited in order to bewilder an enemy.

The word *mohana-* seems thus to denote especially (but not exclusively) a magical power of a formula by which one is able to cause the victim (an enemy, a rival or an hostile army) to lose the normal control of his mind and senses. According to my interpretation, at PS 15.18.4c *havyamohana-* is a Tatpuruṣa used in the function of a Nomen Agentis, meaning 'bewildering/confusing the oblations'. This compound is to be compared with the compound *manomúh-* 'mind-confusing' attested at ŚS 2.2.5b = PS 1.7.5b, which refers to the Apsarases as well. It is worth noting that the Apsarases against which this hymn is directed are depicted in the last stanza in the action of "going from man to man, greedily seeking out the absent-minded one" (15.19.12ab).

**d.** This pāda, found identical at PS 1.89.3d, is to be compared also with PS 7.13.1d *indro +api +kṛtac chiraḥ* 'Indra shall cut off the head', in which the intervention of the god is directed against the Apsarases as well. Note that at the beginning of the verse the Orissa manuscripts do not apply abhinihita sandhi between *indro* and *apsaraso*; this sandhi is certainly metrically preferable.

#### 15.18.5 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, a = PS 1.29.2c

āhatā apa tā itaḥ	A
khalād <sup>i</sup> va yātudhānīyaḥ	/*A
amuṁ gachata pūruṣam	A
samudram apa gachata	A

Them, beaten up, [remove] away from here, like sorceresses from the threshing-floor. Go to that man over there, go away to the ocean.

āhatā apa tā itaḥ] **Or**, ahatāpatāyati **K** amuṁ] **Or**, imaṁ **K** gachata] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, gachati **JM**, om. **K** pūruṣam] pūṣam **Ku Mā [Ma]**, pū(→u)rṣam **Pa**, puṣam **JM RM**, om. **K** samudram] **Or**, om. **K** apa] **RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, ava **Ku JM**, om. **K** gachata] **RM**, gachati **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, gaśchataḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *gacchati*<sup>+</sup> in **d**.

**a.** A verb should be supplied. The comparison with the sorceresses suggests a verb like ‘remove, drive away’ to be understood — as the sorceresses would not go voluntarily away from the threshing-floor. Accordingly, I interpret *tā* as an accusative plural. The corrupt reading of **K** *ahatāpatāyati* may suggest to read *yantu* instead of *itaḥ*, so that the whole pāda would be *āhatā apa tā yantu* ‘Being beaten off, let them go away’.

**d.** The singular *gacchati* is impossible here. Note that instead of the two pādas **cd**, **K** has only *imaṁ gaśchataḥ*, since the copyist must have skipped from the first *gachata* in pāda **c** to the second one at the end of pāda **d** (“saut du meme au meme”). On the association of the Apsarases with the ocean, cf. PS 15.19.11 below and GRIFFITHS 2009: 395–6.

#### 15.18.6 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

divaṁ gachantu divyāḥ	*#A
saro gachantu sārasīḥ	A
uluṅgulasya yo gr̥has	A
tad u gachant <sub>u</sub> v āsurīḥ	*A

Let the heavenly ones (f.) go to the heaven, let the ones (f.) coming from a lake go to the lake. Where the house of Uluṅgula [is], there let the female demons go.

divaṁ] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, diva **Pa** gachantu] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, gantu **JM**, gaśchantu **K** divyāḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, divyā **Mā**, divyās **K** gachantu] **Or**, gaśchantu **K** sārasīḥ] **Or**, sārasī **K** uluṅgulasya] **Ku Pa [Ma]**, uluṅgulasya **JM**, ulūṅgulasya **RM**, ulūkhalasya **Mā**, ulaṁ ālasya **K** gr̥has] **Or**, gulas **K** u gachantv] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, u gachant{u}v **Pa**, agaśchanty **K** āsurīḥ] **Or**, āsuraiḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z Z **K**

**c.** The Apsarases addressed in this hymn are called *Uluṅgulukā*- ‘belonging to Uluṅgula’ (cf. 18.10e below); for this value of the suffix *-ka-*, see AiGr. II/2, § 362f, p. 526: “Seltener tritt *-ka-* an eine Personenbezeichnung in der Bedeutung ‘zu der betr. Person in Beziehung stehend, ihr zugehörig’”. As regards the formation, one would expect a feminine derivative in *-ikā-* (according to AiGr. II/2, § 199b, pp. 314–15), but *-uka-* is often found instead of *-ikā-* (AiGr. II/2, § 293a, pp. 482–83), and the two preceding *-u-* could have affected the color of the vowel before the suffix. The name Uluṅgula could be analyzed as *uru(m)gula-* ‘having a broad glans’, as an epithet or proper name of a Gandharva (Praust p. c.). The spelling *ulu-* instead of *uru-* can be interpreted as a feature of women’s speech.

#### 15.18.7 [Gāyatrī] PS only, b: cf. PS 15.18.9b

āskandike viskandike	#A
arācīr apa *nṛtyantu	+#A
sāraṅgeṇa śunā saha	A

O Here-Jumper, O There-Jumper: let them dance away into the distance, together with the dappled dog.

āskandike] **Or**, yaskandīke **K** viskandike] **Or**, vaskandīke **K** \*nṛtyantu] nṛtyatu **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, nṛtyata **Pa**, nṛtyataś **K** sāraṅgeṇa] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, sā(→sī)raṅgeṇa **Pa**, śārīgeṇa **K** śunā] **K**, sunā **Or** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 7 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *nṛtyatu* in **b**.

**a.** This stanza is parallel to 15.18.3, which has three pādas as well and begins with two vocatives, too. The two vocatives *āskandike viskandike* ‘O Here-Jumper, O There-Jumper’ are possibly two other names of the Apsarases or just epithets. See my comment under 18.3a.

**b.** The singular *nṛtyatu* is impossible here. On the association of the Apsarases with dancing, cf. PS 15.18.9 below and GRIFFITHS 2009: 388.

**c.** GRIFFITHS 2009: 385 suggests that ‘the dappled dog’ is the sun, as it seems clear also from the next stanza.

**15.18.8 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, b: PS 19.16.16b, c: PS 8.7.6d, 19.16.16c, d: PS 16.14.6d, 19.16.1d, 19.24.3d

yaḥ sāraṅgo hiraṇyadañ	A
+śvā divyaḥ pariplavaḥ	*A
tasyāhaṁ nāma jagrabha-	A
-asmā ariṣṭatātaye	A

I have grabbed the name of the dappled dog, having golden teeth, heavenly, floating around, for the safety of this one here.

yaḥ] **Or**, yaś **K** sāraṅgo] **Or**, śāṅgam **K** hiraṇyadan] hiraṇyadañ **K Or** +śvā] svā **Or**, aśvā **K** divyaḥ] **Or**, divyaḥ **K** tasyāhaṁ] **Ku JM RM K**, tasyāhan **Mā [Ma] Pa** jagrabhāsmā ariṣṭatātaye] jagrabhāsmāriṣṭatātaye **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, jagrabha asmā ariṣṭatātaye **JM**, jagrabhā ’smā ariṣṭatātaye **RM**, jagrabhā asmā ariṣṭatātaye **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 8 Z **K**

**cd.** On the expression *nāma grabh-*, see HOFFMANN 1975: 300 f., and cf. PS 19.24.3 *yad gulgulu saindhavam yad vā ghāsi samudriyam / ubhayor agrabhaṁ nāmāsmā ariṣṭatātaye* ‘Whether you are the bdellium coming from the Sindhu or, verily, the one coming from the ocean, I have grabbed the name of both ones, for the safety of this one here’.

A closer parallel passage is PS 19.16.16 *yaḥ piśaṅgo \*ayodaṁṣṭrāḥ śvā divyaḥ pariplavaḥ / tasyāhaṁ nāma jagrabhāsmā ariṣṭatātaye ayaṁ no jīvatād iti* ‘I have grabbed the name of the tawny dog, having iron teeth, heavenly, floating around, for the safety of this one here [with the intention]: let this one [patient] of ours live!’.

This stanza seems to confirm the identification of the dog with the sun and hints at the presence of a patient involved in a ritual (cf. the use of *amum* at 15.18.5c).

**15.18.9 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, b: cf. PS 15.18.7b

†adīyānte viraṇī †	*A7
parācīr apa nṛtyata	A
śṛṇāmi ghorā vaḥ *prṣṭīr	#A
brahmaṇā kīkasā uta	A

... (?) dance turning away. O terrible ones, with a formula I break your ribs, and your vertebrae.

adyām te] **Or**, kaṅkate **K** viraṇī] **Or**, vīṇa **K** parācīr] **Or**, parācāir **K** nṛtyata] **Ku** Mā [Ma] Pa, nṛtyatu **JM RM**, nṛtyataś **K** śṛṇāmi] **JM RM Mā** [Ma] Pa **K**, śṛṇāmi **Ku** ghorā] **Ku JM RM Mā** [Ma] **K**, ghora **Pa** vah] **Or**, va **K** \*pṛṣṭīr] pṛṣṭī **Ku RM Mā** [Ma] Pa **K**, pṛṣṭi{h} **JM** ||] **Ku Mā** [Ma] Pa, | **JM RM**, Z 9 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *adyām te viraṇī* in **a**.

**a.** The reading *adyām te viraṇī* is transmitted by all the Orissa manuscripts, while **K** reads *kaṅkate vīṇa*. Barret proposes “something like *ye ’kaṅkate vīṇāḥ*”. I can offer no convincing solution for the interpretation of this pāda. The first part of the verse may contain a verbal form or a combination of *adya* ‘today’ + *ante* ‘at the end’. As regards *viraṇī*, one could think of the verb *viraṇ-* ‘to cause to sound, play upon a musical instrument’, and emend to \**viraṇaniḥ*, which would give the verse the correct number of syllables. Another possibility is also the noun *vīraṇī-* f. ‘a side glance’, which could correspond to the expression found at 19.6b *sācy \*akṣī karikratīḥ* ‘constantly making sidelong glances’, but again the text would be not grammatically correct.

**b.** On the association of the Apsarases with dancing, see my note at 15.18.7b above.

**c.** Both **K** and **Or** read *pṛṣṭī*, but a dual is hardly conceivable here. Besides being never attested in the dual, the word *pṛṣṭī-*, meaning ‘rib’, is often found in the plural as object of the verb *śṛ-* ‘to crush, break’ (cf. RV 10.87.10c = ŚS 8.3.10c = PS 16.6.10c, ŚS 2.7.5d = PS 20.18.4d, ŚS 2.32.2c = 5.23.9c = PS 7.2.6c, ŚS 6.32.2b, 6.50.1b etc. etc.). The emendation to \**pṛṣṭīr* is thus highly recommended.

**15.18.10 [Mahāpaṅkti]** PS only, ef: PS 15.19.1cd, f: ŚS 2.2.5d

ekatrimśad aśvavatīś	#A
catasra uta guṅguvaḥ	A
śivā daśa +śrutā daśa	A
keśinīḥ pañcaviṁśatiḥ	A
idam uluṅgulukābhyo	#A
apsarābhyo ’karaṁ namaḥ	A

Thirty-one rich in horses and four Guṅgūs, ten benevolent, ten famous, twenty-five having long hair. I paid homage here to the Uluṅgulukā Apsarases.

ekatrimśad] **Or**, ekatnyamśa(→rṇyamśa)d **K** aśvavatīś] **Or**, agvavatī **K** uta guṅguvaḥ] **Or**, udakaṅguvaś **K** +śrutā] śṛtā **JM RM Mā** [Ma] Pa, śṛtā **Ku**, srutā **K** keśinīḥ] keśinīḥ **Mā** [Ma] **K**, keśanīḥ **JM RM Pa**, ke · · Īḥ **Ku** pañcaviṁśatiḥ] **JM Mā** [Ma] Pa, PAṆCAVIṂŚATIḥ **Ku**, pañcaviśamtiḥ **RM**, pañcaviṁśatiḥ **K** idam] **Or**, yadim **K** uluṅgulukābhyo] **Or**, uluṅgulukābhyo **K** apsarābhyo] **Or**, psarābhyo **K** karaṁ] **Ku JM Mā** [Ma] **K**, karan **RM Pa** ||] ||<sup>kā</sup> 11 || 18 || **Ku**, || 9 || 18 || **JM**, | 18 | **RM**, || 18 || 11 || **Mā** [Ma] Pa, Z 10 Z **K**

ŚS 2.2.5cd

tābhyo gandharvābhyo ’psarābhyo ’karam námaḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits *śṛtā* in **c**.

**b.** The plural *guṅguvaḥ* refers to the members of a mythical tribe, the descendants of Guṅgu, at RV 10.48.8ab *ahám guṅgúbhyo atithigvám íškaram íṣaṁ ná vṛtratúraṁ vikṣú dhārayam* ‘For

the Guṅgus I established (king) Atithigva like nourishment, I put among the clans the one overcoming enemies'. Cf. also PS 2.65.1f *viśas tvā sarvā anu guṅgavo bhavantu* 'Let all the clans, the Guṅgus, devote themselves to you'. The mention of this mythical clan is slightly out of the context and could be justified on account of the two adjectives *viśvājanya-* and *pāñcajanya-* that qualify the Apsarases at 18.2a. It seems that the word is used as an epithet of four Apsarases here.

c. The correct reading is clear, since the Oriya vowel sign *-ṛ-* is pronounced [ru] and the confusion between *-ṣ-* and *-s-* is very frequent in **K**.

ef. The total number of Apsarases is thus 80. These two pādas are the refrain repeated in the following twelve stanzas.



## 15.19. Against Apsarases (continued)

**15.19.1 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, a: cf. PS 5.9.6b, cd: PS 15.18.10ef

yāḥ preṅkhe preṅkhayante A7  
santāne mālavā iva ° ° ° || A

Who swing in a swing, like girls from Mālava (?) in a line. (I paid homage here...).

yāḥ] Or, yāḥ K preṅkhe] Or, prayamkhe K preṅkhayante] Or, prayamkhayante K santāne] Or, santvānena K mālavā iva] Or, mālāvāyavaḥ K || Mā [Ma] Pa, ||<sup>kā</sup> JM, | Ku RM, Z 1 K

PS 5.9.6b

yāḥ preṅkhe +preṅkhayanta uta yā nu ghorāḥ |

a. The Apsarases and the Gandharvas are often associated with a ‘swing’ in the PS: besides the identical verse PS 5.9.6b, cf. PS 7.13.4ab *yāsām preṅkho divi baddho antarikṣe hiraṇyayaḥ* ‘They [Apsarases] in the intermediate space whose golden swing is tied in the sky’ and PS 12.7.5ab *yatra preṅkho gandharvāṇām divi baddho hiraṇyayaḥ* ‘Where the Gandharvas’ golden swing is tied in the sky’.

b. The translation I give here was proposed by GRIFFITHS 2009: 388.

**15.19.2 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, a: PS 1.29.1a = 1.36.1a, ab: PS 7.13.2ab

yāḥ purastād ācaranti +A  
sākaṁ sūryasya raśmibhiḥ ° ° ° || A

Who approach from the East together with the rays of the sun: (I paid homage here...).

yāḥ] Or, yāḥ K ācaranti] Or, ācaranty K sākaṁ] Or, āra K sūryasya] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, s{u}ūryasya Pa || Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, ||<sup>kā</sup> JM, | RM, Z 2 Z K

PS 1.29.1

yāḥ purastād ācaranti nīcaiḥ sūryād adho divaḥ |  
etam apsarasām vrātaṁ brahmaṇāchā vadāmasi ||

PS 7.13.2ab

yāḥ purastād ācaranti sākaṁ sūryasya raśmibhiḥ |

a. This pāda is identical with PS 1.29.1a, 1.36.1a, PS 7.13.2a. The first pādas of PS 15.19.2–5 are found in the same sequence at PS 1.29.1–2 and PS 1.36.1–4.

b. As noticed by GRIFFITHS 2009: 386, this pāda features the same content as ŚS 4.38.5ab *sūryasya raśmīn ānu yāḥ sañcāranti mārīcīr vā yā anusañcāranti* ‘[The Apsarases] that move along the rays of the sun, or that move along [its] beams’.

**15.19.3 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, a: PS 1.29.2a = 1.36.2a

yā adharād ācarantīy \*+A  
anasā +chadiṣā saha ° ° ° || A

Who approach from the South with a cart, with a canopy: (I paid homage here...).

yā adharād] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, yā a · rād **Ku**, yādharād **K** anasā] **Or**, arasāt **K** +chadiṣā] chadisā  
**Or**, saruṣā **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

b. The word *ānas-*, which in the ṚV often refers to Uṣas-Sūryā's chariot, is defined in EWAia as 'Lastwagen, Troßwagen, Reisekarren; im Gegensatz zum Streit- oder Rennenwagen, *rātha-*'; *chadīs* means 'cover', 'roof of a carriage', 'roof'. These two words are attested together also at ṚV 10.85.10ab *māno asyā āna āsīd dyāur āsīd utā chadīḥ* 'Her [of Sūryā] mind was the bridal cart, the canopy thereof was heaven'. Since the Gandharvas and the Apsarases are sometimes requested to be propitious to a passing wedding procession (cf. ŚS 14.2.9), this stanza may contain an allusion to this function of the Apsarases. For the association of the Apsarases with chariots, see also GRIFFITHS 2009: 389.

**15.19.4 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, a: PS 1.36.3a

yāḥ paścād ācarantīy A7  
andhena tamasā saha ° ° ° || A

Who approach from the West together with the darkness, with the gloom: (I paid homage here...).

yāḥ] **Or**, yāḥ **K** ācarantīy] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, ācarantīy **RM** tamasā] **JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, tamaSĀ  
<?> **Ku**, ta{·}masā **Pa** ||] **Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **JM**, | **RM**, om. **Ku**, Z **K**

PS 1.36.3

yāḥ paścād ācaranti purastād vā sadānvāḥ |  
aśmānam ṛchantīr yantu yo 'yam svādāv +anādyah ||

b. This stanza is to be read in parallel with PS 15.19.2. Since the East is naturally associated with the rays of the sun, the West is seen as the kingdom of darkness. The Apsarases are called *tāmiṣṭicayaḥ* 'dusky' at ŚS 2.2.5a = PS 1.7.5a.

**15.19.5 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, a: PS 1.36.4a

yā uttarād ācaranti +A  
varṣeṇa vidyutā saha ° ° ° || A

Who approach from the North with the rain, with the lightning: (I paid homage here...).

uttarād] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, uttarā{diā}d **Pa** varṣeṇa] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, varpeṇa **Pa** vidyutā]  
**Or**, vidyutās **K** ||] **Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **Ku JM**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K**

PS 1.36.4ab

yā uttarād ācaranti adharād vā sadānvāḥ |

**15.19.6 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, b: PS 7.13.7b

yā adhastād udvīkṣante #A  
sācīy \*akṣī karikratīḥ ° ° ° || \*A

Who look upward from below, constantly making sidelong glances: (I paid homage here...).

adhastād] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, a{·}dhastād **RM** udvīkṣante] **Or**, udīkṣante **K** sācy \*akṣī] sācyakṣi  
**Or**, sācakṣu **K** karikratīḥ] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, karikratīḥ **RM**, kanikratī **K** || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **Ku JM**,  
| **RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

PS 7.13.7ab

yā vṛkṣaṁ parisarpanti sācy +akṣī karikratīḥ |

Bhattacharya edits *sācyakṣi* in **b**.

**b**. For the interpretation of the word *sācī-*, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 390–1. Bhattacharya edits *akṣi* here and at PS 7.13.7b, where the readings of the manuscripts are the same. As stated by Griffiths, “It is clear that we rather need a dual here, which is provided by the archaic form *akṣī* (AiGr. III, § 158, p. 303). Confusion of short and long *ī* is rampant in the Orissa manuscripts and may have been caused here by the fact that the form *akṣī* was no longer known to the reciters (having been replaced by *akṣiṇī*)”. For the idea of the Apsarases making grimaces and other demoniac gestures, cf. PS 1.29.2b *jihmā mukhā karikratīḥ* ‘[The Apsarases] constantly making their mouths obliques/making grimaces’.

#### 15.19.7 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

yā upariṣṭād avekṣante °A  
nīlavyaktāni bibhratīḥ ° ° ° || A

Who look down from above, wearing dark-blue ornaments: (I paid homage here...).

upariṣṭād] **Or**, upariṣṭhād **K** avekṣante] **Or**, avīkṣyante **K** nīlavyaktāni] **Ku JM RM Pa K**, nīlavyaktāni  
**Mā**, nīlavyaktāni **[Ma]** bibhratīḥ] **Or**, bibhratī **K** || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **Ku JM**, | **RM**, Z 6 Z **K**

**b**. The meaning of the compound *nīlavyakta-*, which is a hapax, is difficult. The first member is clear: it is the adjective *nīla-*, which means ‘blue, dark-blue’. The second member is more problematic; *vyākta-* means ‘adorned, beautiful, manifested, visible’, and I interpret the neuter plural as ‘beautiful things, ornaments’ (see KUIPER 1953: 87 = 1997: 272). Cf. also the noun *vyāñjana-* ‘decoration, ornament’, which derives from the same verb *vyañj-* ‘to decorate, adorn’.

#### 15.19.8 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

yā antarikṣe īrayanti +A  
vātena reṣmaṇā saha ° ° ° || A

Who raise (the waters?) in the intermediate space, with the wind, with the storm: (I paid homage here...).

antarikṣe] **K**, antarikṣa **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, āntarikṣa **JM** rayanti] **K**, īrayanti **Or** vātena] **Ku JM Mā**  
**[Ma] Pa K**, vātenā **RM** reṣmaṇā] **Ku JM RM Pa K**, reṣmaṇā **[Mā, Ma]** || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, ||<sup>kā</sup> **Ku JM**, |  
**RM**, | **K**

Bhattacharya edits *antarikṣa īrayanti* in **a**.

**a.** The text of the Orissa manuscripts is problematic. The verb *īrayati* ‘raises’, ‘sets in motion’ is always transitive (cf. INSLEY 1967: 253–54 and JAMISON 1983: 124), so we would expect an object here, but it is difficult to determine which word should be understood. In PS 5.7.4a — a verse which appears in a hymn for abundant rain — *ud īrayata marutaḥ samudratas* ‘Raise, o Maruts, [the waters] from the ocean’, *āpas* can be understood because it occurs as object of the same verb in a stanza of the same hymn (PS 5.7.10b); in our hymn, on the contrary, this is the only occurrence of the verb. The best solution seems to follow the reading of **K** and edit *\*rāyanti* (‘they bark’; cf. RENOU 1957c: 111), which is better also for the metre (the text of **Or** would give an extended Anuṣṭubh pāda, while that of **K** gives an Anuṣṭubh pāda with a final trochaic rhythm).

#### 15.19.9 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

yā nadīr iti catasraḥ

PS 7.13.11ab (+ different refrain)

yā nadīḥ pratigāhante	+ #A
saṁrabhya kaṇṇyā iva	*A
[idam uluṅgulukābhyo	#A
apsarābhyo ’karaṁ namaḥ    ]	A

Who plunge into the rivers, like girls holding on to each other: (I paid homage here...).

yā nadīr iti catasraḥ] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] K**, yā nadīr iti catasraḥ **Pa RM** idam uluṅgulukottarāḥ **Ku Pa [Ma]**  
idam uluṅgulukottarā **JM RM**, idam ulukottarāḥ **Mā**, idam uluṅgulukottarā **K** || || ṛ || 19 || **Ku**, || ṛ || 12 || {9}  
19 || **JM**, | ṛ || 19 || **RM**, || 19 || ṛ || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, Z 8 Z kāṇḍaḥ 5 Z Z iti caturtho nuvāka pañcadaśaḥ Z **K**

**ab.** All the manuscripts have the pratīka *yā nadīr* plus *iti catasraḥ*, which refers back to PS 7.13.11–14; the difference between these two sets of four stanzas consists in the refrain of pādas **cd** and it is indicated by the addition of *idam uluṅgulukottarāḥ* after the pratīka (cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: XLII–III).

On the association of the Apsarases with rivers, cf. next stanza and ŚS 4.37.3ab (≈ PS 12.7.3ab) *nadīm yantv apsarāso pām tārām avaśvasām* ‘Let the Apsarases go to the stream, to the loud (?) down-blowing of the waters’ (Whitney).

#### 15.19.10 [Anuṣṭubh] = PS 7.13.12ab (+ different refrain)

yās tīrthāni vigāhante	+ #A
a’ghnīyāḥ *śvasatīr iva ° ° °	*A

Who dive into the fords, like snorting cows: (I paid homage here...).

**b.** The emendation has been proposed by Bhattacharya who, inconsistently, edits *śvasatīr* at PS 7.13.12b.

**15.19.11** [Anuṣṭubh] = PS 7.13.13ab (+ different refrain), a: PS 15.23.13a, 19.20.14a, 19.33.15a ≈ RV 7.55.7b = PS 4.6.1b

yāḥ samudrād uccarantīy	*+A
uccair ghoṣān karikratīḥ	A
[idam uluṅgulukābhyo	#A
apsarābhyo 'karam namaḥ    ]	A

Who rise up from the ocean, constantly making loud noises: (I paid homage here...).

**a.** On the association of the Apsarases with the ocean, see PS 15.18.5 above, ŚS 2.2.3 (≈ PS 1.7.3) *anavadyābhiḥ sám u jagma ābhir apsarāsv āpi gandharvā āsīt | samudrā āsām sádanam ma āhur yātaḥ sadyā ā ca párá ca yānti* ‘He became united with those irreproachable ones. The Gandharva was there, among the Apsarases. Their seat — they say to me — is in the ocean, from which they always come and go’ and PS 12.7.4a *yatrāmartyā apsv antaḥ samudre* ‘Where the immortal ones (scil. Apsarases) [are], under the waters, in the ocean’.

**b.** On the noise of the Apsarases, see the parallel passages quoted and translated by GRIFFITHS 2009: 384–5. To those passages one could add also ŚS 2.2.5 = PS 1.7.5, which is closer to our text as it refers to the Apsarases too: *yāḥ klandās tamiṣṭcayo akṣakāmā manomuhāḥ | tābhyo gandharvapatnībhyo apsarābhyo 'karam namaḥ* ‘Who [are] noisy, dusky, fond of dice, mind-confusing: I paid homage here to these Apsarases, the Gandharvas’ wives’. Cf. also ŚS 5.20.1a = PS 9.27.1a *uccairghoṣo dundubhīḥ satvanāyān* ‘The war-drum, sounding aloud, warrior-like’ and ŚS 9.1.8ab = PS 16.32.8ab *hiṅkáríkratī brhatī vayodhā uccairghoṣābhyéti yā vratām* ‘She who crying much, high, bestowing strength, sounding aloud, goes along the course (?)’, in which the compound adjective *uccairghoṣa-* ‘sounding aloud’ is equivalent to the phrase *uccair ghoṣān kṛ-* found in our pāda.

**15.19.12** [Anuṣṭubh] = PS 7.13.14ab (+ different refrain), b: cf. PS 6.14.6c

yā gachanti janam janam	A
ichantīḥ prayutam bahu	A
idam uluṅgulukābhyo	#A
apsarābhyo 'karam namaḥ	A

Who go from man to man, greedily seeking out the absent-minded one: I paid homage here to the Uluṅgulukā Apsarases.

**b.** Following DELBRÜCK 1888: 185, I take *bahu* adverbially. For other occurrences of the expression *prayutam ichati* in the PS and of similar images of demons bothering sleeping or absent-minded persons, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 177.

## 15.20. To Rudra

PS 15.20 and 21, which contain ten and eight stanzas respectively, must be considered a single hymn that conforms to the norm of 18 stanzas per hymn expected in this *kāṇḍa*. It is significant that the norm concerning the number of stanzas is observed in this particular hymn, as it is dedicated exclusively to Rudra and represents, so to speak, the core of the section I have designated as the “Rudraic hymns” of *kāṇḍa* 15.

The hymn is very composite: the first seven stanzas, with the sole exception of stanza six, attested only here in the PS, are an original, skilful and to some extent playful rearrangement of ṚV 2.33, a hymn dedicated to Rudra. The eighth stanza contains an homage to the lightning, while stanzas nine and ten are again addressed to Rudra, who is requested to bestow protection and ward off the *yakṣma*. At the beginning of the “new hymn”, Rudra is addressed with the epithet *paśupati* ‘lord of cattle’, used in the dual (*paśupati* ‘the two lords of animals’), with reference to Bhava and Śarva, two embodiments of the god himself, who are praised in order that they protect the cattle and are benevolent.

There are a few clear links with the preceding hymn: *paśyasi* in 20.7e corresponds to *paśyam* in 18.4a; *namas* in 20.8ac to *namaḥ* in the refrain of hymn 19 (pāda **d** of every stanza); *adho divaḥ* in 21.7b occurs also at 18.4b; *divaḥ* in 21.7b and *divi* in 21.8d correspond to *divaḥ* in 18.4b and *divaṁ* in 18.6a. The verb *jaghnatus* in 21.2c echoes the three forms of the root *han-* found at 18.2d (*hatā*), 3c (*jahi*) and 4d (*hanta*).

### 15.20.1 [N.N.] PS only, cf. ṚV 2.33.2

tvaj jātā rudra śantamā	A
t <sub>u</sub> vaṁ hi no babhuryā bheṣajebhiḥ	*Ta
vi yakṣmān yāvayāsmad v <sub>i</sub> y +amho	*T3
v <sub>i</sub> y amīvāś cātayāsmad viṣūcīḥ	*+Ta

O Rudra, the most beneficent ones (medicines) are born from you. Since you would sustain us with [your] medicines. Keep the forms of *yakṣma* away from us, [keep] away distress; make the diseases flee from us in all directions.

rudra] **K**, ṛdra **Or** śantamā] **K**, santamā **Or** tvaṁ] **Or**, no **K** babhuryā] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, babhuryā iraya Mā, babhūjyā **K** vy yakṣmān] vy yakṣmām **Or**, vīkṣmān **K** yāvayāsmad] **Or**, yāvayāssad **K** vy +amho] vy aṅgo **Ku JM RM**, yaṅgo **Mā [Ma] Pa**, vy oho **K** vy amīvāś] **Or**, mevaś **K** viṣūcīḥ] **Ku JM RM**, viṣucīḥ **Mā [Ma] Pa**, viṣūcī **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM Z 1 Z K**

### ṚV 2.33.2

tvādattebhī rudra śāntamebhiḥ śatām hīmā aśīya bheṣajébhiḥ |  
vy āsmād dvéṣo vitarām vy amho vy amīvāś cātayasvā viṣūcīḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits *babhuryā* in **b**, *vyakṣmām* in **c** and +*viṣūcīḥ* in **d**.

**a.** I interpret *jātā* and *śantamā* as two nominative neuter plurals that refer to an understood noun *bheṣajā* ‘medicines’, which can be easily inferred from the next pāda (*bheṣajebhiḥ*) and from the parallel Ṛgvedic passage. This Anuṣṭubh line is a recast version of the Triṣṭubh line ṚV 2.33.2a *tvādattebhī rudra śāntamebhiḥ* ‘O Rudra, with the most beneficent (medicines) given by you’.

b. I translate *babhuryā* as a 2<sup>nd</sup> singular perfect optative active from the root *bhr̥-*. As regards the reduplication, forms with *ja-* and *ba-* are both already attested for the perfect stem of this root in the ṚV (with *ba-* only in the middle; cf. KÜMMEL 2000: 338–343). Kümmel’s statement that active forms with *b-* reduplication are found from the ŚB onwards needs to be corrected, since the PS provides the earliest attestation of this type of formation. For the root form, cf. the desiderative *búbhūr̥ṣati* (attested from the Brahmaṇas onwards), and for the meaning ‘to sustain, to protect’, cf. my comment at PS 15.10.4b. The particle *hi* occurs with an optative also at 15.20.4a.

As noted in Bhattacharya’s critical apparatus, the manuscript **Mā** adds the word *iraya* ‘raise’ after *babhuryā*, which is probably a gloss of this uncommon verbal form.

c. The form *vyakṣmāṁ* is clearly an accusative plural (the use of the *anusvāra* is a common spelling for the final nasal in **Or**, especially after long *-ā*; cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: LVI–LVIII. In this case, moreover, the correct ending is preserved in **K**). I do not mark such cases as an emendation (see also under 15.22.1bc below). At the end of the line, Bhattacharya edits <sup>+</sup>*vyamho*, which is confirmed by the Ṛgvedic parallel. As regards the metre, this Triṣṭubh catalectic pāda could be regularized by reading *yakṣmān* (see KUBISCH 2007: 7–8 and PS 15.22.4ad below), which would make the opening regular.

d. The evidence of the Orissa manuscripts makes the “+”-sign before *viṣūcīḥ* unnecessary.

#### 15.20.2 [Triṣṭubh] PS only, ab: cf. ṚV 2.33.3ab

tvaṁ devānām asi rudra śr̥aiṣṭhas	*Ta
*tavastamas tavaśām ugrabāho	Ta
hṛ̥ṇīyasā manasā modamāna	Ta
ā babhūvitha rudrasya sūnoḥ	*+Tb

O Rudra, you are the chief of the gods, the strongest among the strong ones, O you having powerful arms. Enjoying in your very angry mind, you are born from the son of Rudra.

devānām] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, devānā{m} **Pa** rudra] ṛdra **Or**, rudraś **K** śreṣṭhas] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, śreṣ{ṭa}ṭhas **JM** \*tavastamas] tavastavas **Ku RM [Ma]**, tavaś **JM Mā Pa**, tapastavas **K** tavaśām] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, tavaśā **Mā** hṛ̥ṇīyasā] **Or**, hariṇīyasā **K** modamāna] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, modamānā **RM K** ā] **Or** (om. **K**) babhūvitha] **Or**, babhūvyathā **K** rudrasya] **K**, ṛdrasya **Or** sūnoḥ] **Or**, sūno **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM Z 2 Z K**

ṚV 2.33.3ab

śreṣṭho jātāsya rudra śriyāsi tavāstamas tavaśām vajrabāho |

Bhattacharya edits *tavastayas* in **b**.

a. The word *śreṣṭha-* is often to be read *śr̥aiṣṭha* for the sake of the metre (e.g. at ṚV 4.1.6a, 5.82.1c, 6.16.26a, 68.2a, 10.76.2a). In the ṚV, it is found twice in the cadence, as in our stanza, viz. at 6.16.2a *krátvā dā astu śreṣṭho* and 10.63.16a *svastír id dhí prāpathe śreṣṭhā*.

b. In the critical apparatus, Bhattacharya admits that the text is emendable according to ṚV 2.33.3b. The mistake of the manuscripts was obviously favoured by the long sequence of identical akṣaras at the beginning of the line (*s//ta-va-sta-ma-sta-va-sā*).

c. The form *hṛ̥ṇīyasā* is problematic. Following DELBRÜCK 1874: 204–5, NARTEN 1982: 141 interprets the form *hṛ̥ṇīyāmāna-* (ṚV +) as a denominative formation from an unattested noun

\**hr̥ṇi-* ‘anger, wrath’, built from the present stem *hr̥ṇīte* (root *hr̥-*; from the same present stem, through \**hr̥ṇā-*, the forms *hr̥ṇāyánt-*, *durhaṇāyánt-*, *durhr̥ṇāyú-* and *durhaṇāyú-* are derived). If we accept that the noun \**hr̥ṇi-* could have served as a quasi-root for denominative formations, the form *hr̥ṇīyasā* could then be interpreted as an instrumental singular of an adjective *hr̥ṇīyas-*, formed from \**hr̥ṇi-* plus the comparative suffix.

Cf. PS 3.26.1a ≈ VS 3.41, ĀpŚS 6.27.5, LātŚS 3.3.1, ŚāṅkhGS 3.7 *gr̥hān aimi*<sup>+</sup> (ĀpŚS *āgām*) *manasā modamāna* (ĀpŚS *modamānaḥ*) ‘I come to the house enjoying in my mind’ (≈ ŚS 7.60.1c *gr̥hān āimi sumānā vādamāno* ‘I come to the house well-willing, greeting’).

**d.** The restoration of *rudrá-* as *rudrā-*, which was probably an imitation of that of *índra-* as *índra-*, is already found in the ṚV, predominantly after a late caesura (cf. ARNOLD 1905: 98 and PRAUST 2000: 430 ff.).

The 2<sup>nd</sup> singular perfect of *bhū-* is attested in the ṚV with the following distribution: 20× *babhūta*, 2× *babhūvitha*; this distribution is completely reversed in the PS: *babhūta* 1×: *babhūvitha* 17× (in the ŚS the distribution portion is 1× : 3×).

Note that the phrase ‘You are born from the son of Rudra’ contains a paradox. How can Rudra be born from his own son? The expression *rudrásyā sūnú-* usually refers to the Maruts (e.g. ṚV 1.64.12b, 1.85.1b, 5.42.15b, 6.50.4a, ecc.), whose mention, however, does not fit the context here.

### 15.20.3 [Triṣṭubh] PS only, a: cf. ṚV 2.33.4c, b: cf. ṚV 2.33.6a, c: cf. ṚV 2.33.3c

tvaṁ hi no vīrāṁ īraya bheṣajebhir	+T2
ún no bhavantu maghavo marutvan	Tb
karā naḥ pāram amhasaḥ sūvasti	*Tb
viśvā abhītīr apa sedhāsmat	*Tb

With your medicines pray set in motion our heroes. O bountiful, attended by the Maruts, let them raise us. You will lead us to the opposite side of distress, to well-being; drive away from us all the attacks.

vīrāṁ] **K**, vīrāṁ, **Or** īraya] **Ku RM Mā [Ma]**, iraya **JM Pa**, īre **K** bheṣajebhir uruṁ no] **K**, bheṣajebhir ānvo **Ku**, bheṣa{·}jebhiṇno **JM**, bheṣajebhiṇvo **RM**, bheṣajebhiṇvā **Pa**, bheṣajebhiranyo **Mā**, bheṣajebhiṇvo **[Ma]** bhavantu] **JM**, bhavantU **RM Pa**, bhavant{u}a **Ku**, bhavanta **Mā [Ma]**, vaṁna **K** marutvan] marutvaṁ **K**, maṭvaṁ **Or** karā] **Or**, kacā **K** naḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, na **Mā**, naḥ **K** pāram] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, pāra(→ta)m **Mā**, pātum **K** amhasaḥ] **Or**, amhasa **K** viśvā abhītīr] viśvā abhītīr **Ku Pa Mā [Ma]**, viśvā abhitir **RM**, viśvāṁ abhitir **JM**, viśvābhītīr **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM Z 3 Z K**

ṚV 2.33.3cd

pārṣi naḥ pāram amhasaḥ svastī viśvā abhītī rāpaso yuyodhi ||

ṚV 2.33.4cd

ún no vīrāṁ arpayā bheṣajebhir bhiṣáktamaṁ tvā bhiṣájāṁ śṇomi ||

ṚV 2.33.6ab

ún mā mamanda vṛṣabhó marútvān tvákṣīyasā váyasā nádhamānam |

Bhattacharya edits *uruṁ no bhavantamaghavo marutvaṁ* in **b**.



a. This pāda is to be compared with ṚV 2.33.4c *ún no vīráṁ arpayā bheṣajébhir* ‘Raise up our heroes with your medicines’. At PS 1.95.1d the verse occurs nearly identically as in the ṚV, the only difference being the use of *īraya* instead of *arpaya* (on which see ZEHNDER 1993: 166). Our passage is a step further from the original source; besides having *īraya* as in PS 1.95.1d, the beginning of the pāda seems to be a repetition of 15.20.1d (*tvaṁ hi no babhuryā bheṣajebhiḥ*), as suggested by the use of *hi* with an imperative (on which see DELBRÜCK 1888: 522) and by the metre (dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda with pentasyllabic opening — with irregular rhythm — trisyllabic break and a Triṣṭubh cadence). Note that the same pāda-opening occurs also in the next stanza.

b. The interpretation of this verse is difficult. I follow the reading of **JM**, which seems to be the manuscript with the best text as regards both the meaning and the metre (note that in **Or**, the vowel sign -ṛ- is pronounced [ru]).

Although it is metrically awkward, the occurrence of *amhasaḥ* in the next line is semantically functional in creating the well-known opposition between ‘wide space’ and ‘narrowness’.

For the vocative *maghavas*, from *maghavan-*, due to the influence of *vant-* stems, see AiGr. III, § 144, p. 264. Also *marutvan* shows the later vocative ending *-van*, which is attested from AV onwards (see AiGr. III, § 142, p. 258).

c. This pāda is identical with the Ṛgvedic parallel except for the initial verb. Instead of *pārṣi*, the PS has *karā*, which I interpret as a 2<sup>nd</sup> singular aorist subjunctive with double characterization.

d. This pāda is a variation of ṚV 2.33.3d *vísṁvā abhītī rāpaso yuyodhi* ‘Ward off all the attacks of injury’. The PS variation arises from a different segmentation of the sequence *abhītī rāpaso*, re-interpreted as *abhītīr āpa* followed by a verb.

#### 15.20.4 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī] PS only, a: cf. ṚV 2.33.7d

<i>t<sub>u</sub>vaṁ hi no vṛṣabha *cakṣamīthā</i>	*(+ #)Ta
<i>asmai rudrāy<sub>au</sub>ogrāya mīdhuṣe  </i>	*J1c
<i>kṣayadvīrāya pra bharāmahe matim</i>	Jb
<i>yathā naḥ śam aso dvipade śam catuṣpade   </i>	°Ja

O bull, may you become indulgent to us. To this one, to Rudra, the mighty, the patron, to the ruler of men we bring praise, so that you be auspicious to our biped, auspicious to our quadruped.

\*cakṣamīthā] cakṣimeṣṭhā **Or**, cakṣaseṣṭhā **K** asmai] **Or**, yusme **K** rudrāyogrāya] **K**, ṛdrāyogrāya **Or** mīdhuṣe] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] K**, mīdhuṣe **RM?**, mīdu(→su)ṣe **Pa** kṣayadvīrāya] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, kṣayadvīr{o}āya **Pa**, kṣīravīrāya **K** pra] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, prā **Pa** bharāmahe matim] **JM K**, tarāmahe matim **Ku RM**, tarāmahetim **Mā [Ma] Pa** naḥ śam aso] naś śam aso **K**, nas tamaso **Or** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM Z 4 Z K**

Bhattacharya edits *cakṣimeṣṭhā* in a.

a. The verbal form should be a 2<sup>nd</sup> singular optative perfect middle from *kṣam-* ‘be indulgent’ (note that the reading of **K** has the *-a-* of the root), so I emend the text according to the parallel Ṛgvedic passage 2.33.7d *abhī nū mā vṛṣabha cakṣamīthāḥ* ‘O bull, now may you become indulgent to us’. It is worth noting that the redactor addresses Rudra twice with the perfect optative accompanied by the particle *hi* (here and in the first stanza).

d. This pāda is extended (14 syllables). The unanimous reading of all the manuscripts advises against any deletion, but both *naḥ* and the second *śam* seem superfluous.

#### 15.20.5 [N.N.] ṚV 2.33.7abc

kuva te śu rudra hasto	*+A
mṛdayāko jalāṣaḥ	!A7
apabhartā rapaso daivyasya	*+Ta

O Rudra, merciful one, where is indeed your soothing hand, which takes away the ailment of the gods (coming from the gods)?

te śu] **Or**, cetu **K** rudra] **K**, ṛdra **Or** hasto] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, dasto **Pa** mṛdayāko] **Or**, mṛlayāko **K** jalāṣaḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, jalāsa(→ṣa)ḥ **JM** apabhartā] **Ku RM Mā [Ma]**, apabhartā **JM Pa**, apibhartā **K** rapaso] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, ra{·}paso **Ku** daivyasya] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, daivasya **Pa** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM Z 5 Z K**

#### ṚV 2.33.7

kvā syā te rudra mṛlayākur hāsto yó āsti bheṣajó jalāṣaḥ |  
apabhartā rāpaso dāivyasyābhī nú mā vṛṣabha cakṣamīthāḥ ||

The first two pādas of this stanza are a rearrangement of ṚV 2.33.7ab, while the third one is identical to ṚV 2.33.7c.

a. As regards *teṣu*, a locative plural ‘among them’ is out of place here and semantically awkward. On the other hand, the Ṛgvedic parallel suggests the interpretation of *te* as the second singular pronoun meaning ‘of you, yours’, and my translation follows this interpretation, although the sequence *te śu* is rare and occurs only once in the ṚV (in which the distribution of the two words is 10× *sú te*: 1× *te sú*: 1× *té sú*: 1× *té sú*; could our passage be reminiscent of ṚV 1.169.5c *té sú ṇo marúto mṛlayantu* ‘Let these Maruts be merciful to us’?).

b. The term *jalāṣa-* ‘soothing, healing’ refers to Rudra himself at ṚV 7.35.6c = ŚS 19.10.6c = PS 12.16.6c *śām no rudró rudrébhir jalāṣaḥ* ‘Weal [may be] for us Rudra, the healer, with the Rudras’. The compound *jalāṣabheṣaja-* ‘whose medicines are soothing’ always refers to Rudra, viz. at ṚV 1.43.4b, 8.29.5b, ŚS 2.27.6 = PS 2.16.4a, PS 5.22.9c, 14.3.3c, 20.62.2a.

#### 15.20.6 [Virāj] PS only, a: cf. ŚS 2.10.5b

pra yakṣmaḥ pra nirṛtir etuv asmat	*+(#)Ta
+seneva sṛṣṭā pracatām amīvā	Tb
ārādhvaṁ sanā vṛjanā *jahīta	+Tb

Let the *yakṣma*, let Nirṛti go away from us. Let the disease [go away] stealthily, like a shot spear. Be satisfied forever, leave our settlements.

pra] **Or**, pari **K** yakṣmaḥ pra nirṛtir] **Ku JM [Ma] Pa**, yakṣma pra nirṛtir Mā, yakṣmaḥ pra nirṛter **RM**, nidadhir **K** +seneva] senova **Or**, syeneva **K** sṛṣṭā] **Or**, siṣṭhā **K** pracatām] **Or**, pṛtadān **K** amīvā] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, amīvāṁ **Mā**, amīvāḥ **K** ārādhvaṁ] **JM K**, ārād dhvaṁ **RM**, ārād dhat **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa** sanā] **Or**, sainā **K** vṛjanā] **Or**, vratanā **K** \*jahīta] jahīti **Or**, jaitāḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM Z 6 Z K**

Bhattacharya edits *sr̥stā* and *catāmamīvā* in **b**, *ārāddhat sanā* and *jahīti* in **c**.

**a.** Since the second *pra* belongs with *etu*, it would be better to have the caesura after the third syllable, but the prosodic structure of the line does not allow it.

**b.** In the critical apparatus, Bhattacharya proposes the reading *catān amīvāḥ*. I interpret *pracatām* as an adverb (hapax) meaning ‘stealthily’, derived from *pracatā* ‘id.’ with addition of the final *-m*, which is the typical adverbial termination.

**c.** In the first part of the verse, the manuscripts **JM**, **RM** and **K** seem to have preserved a better reading *ārā(d)dhvam*, a 2<sup>nd</sup> plural imperative aorist from the verb *ā-rādh-* ‘to conciliate, be satisfied’. The addressees of this imperative are the three malevolent entities mentioned in pādas **a** and **b** (*yākṣma*, *Nīrṛti*, the disease).

At the end of the line the form *jahīti* is grammatically impossible and calls for an emendation to a 2<sup>nd</sup> plural *\*jahīta*, slightly supported by the reading *jaitāḥ* of **K**.

**15.20.7 [N.N.] abc:** cf. ṚV 2.33.10abc, de: ŚS 11.2.25bc = PS 16.106.5df

arhan dhanur hitam bibharṣy	*°A
arhan niṣkam rajatam viśvarūpam	Ta
arhann idam dayase viśvam ejan	Ta
na te dūram na pariṣthāsti te bhava	Jb
sadyaḥ *sarvām pari paśyasi bhūmim	#Ta

Being venerable, you carry your speeding bow; being venerable, [you carry] your silver necklace, glittering; being venerable, you cut in pieces this [world] everything that moves. There is nothing far for you, nothing impeding for you, O Bhava. At once you look over the whole earth.

arhan] aṣham **Ku JM RM Mā Pa**, aṣhad (→ham) [**Ma**], aham **K** hitam] **Ku JM RM Mā Pa**, ha(→di)tam [**Ma**], haritam **K** arhan] arham **Ku [Ma] Pa**, aham **JM RM Mā K** viśvarūpam] viśvarūpam **K**, viśvaṣṣam **Ku JM Mā [Ma]**, viśvaṣṣam **RM Pa** arhann idam] aṣhann idam **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, aṣhamnn idam **Mā**, arhamnn idam **K** dayase] **Or**, te **K** viśvam] **Or**, viṣam **K** ejan] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, eja{m}n **Pa**, ejam **K** na] **Or**, nu **K** pariṣthāsti] **JM RM Mā Pa**, pariṣthasti **Ku**, pariṣtāsti [**Ma**], pariṣthāsthi **K** \*sarvām] sarvām **Or K** paśyasi] **Or**, paśyāmi **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM Z 7 Z K**

ṚV 2.33.10

ārhan bibharṣi sāyakāni dhānvārhan niṣkām yajatām viśvārūpam |  
ārhann idām dayase viśvam ābhvam ná vā ójīyo rudra tvád asti ||

ŚS 11.2.25bc = PS 16.106.5df

nā te dūrām ná pariṣthāsti te bhava sadyaḥ sárvaṁ pári paśyasi bhūmim |

Bhattacharya edits *sarvām* in **e**.

**a.** Cf. also ŚS 11.2.12a = PS 16.105.2a, which is about Rudra too: *dhānur bibharṣi hāritam hiranyāyam* ‘You carry your yellowish, golden bow’. This extended Anuṣṭubh pāda seems indeed an incomplete trimeter, since the sequence *hitam bibharsī* would be a perfect fit in a cadence.

b. On the word *niṣkā*, see OBERLIES 1992, who suggests that it indicates an ornament that “vom Nacken und Hals auf die Brust *herabhängt*” (p. 11). In the PS passage, this ornament is qualified as being made of silver (*rajatam*), while in the ṚV it is said to be ‘worthy of worship, adorable’ (*yajatam*).

c. At the end of the verse, the PS has the variant *ejan* instead of *ābhvaṃ* ‘immense (power)’ in the ṚV. The expression *viśvam ejat* (with which compare the compound *viśvamejaya-* ‘making everything tremble’) occurs in the cadence of Triṣṭubh lines also at PS 14.2.5c, 16.69.9b, 17.1.4c.

e. Here and at PS 16.106.5f, Bhattacharya edits *sarvān*, which is the reading of all the manuscripts, but is not grammatically correct. This mistake, which is found also in the majority of the ŚS manuscripts, must be very old and already present in the archetype of the Ur-AV. Note that the cadence of this verse is wrong.

**15.20.8 [Anuṣṭubh]** ≈ ŚS 1.13.1 = PS 19.3.9; a: PS 16.21.2c, b: PS 16.21.2b, ab: VSM 36.21ab, PS 15.23.11ab

namas te astu vidyute	A
namas te <sup>+</sup> stanayitnave	A
namas te astv aśmane	*A
yena pradiśam asyasi	A

Homage be to your lightning, homage to your thunder; homage be to your bolt with which you shoot into the intermediate direction.

astu] **Or**, stu **K** vidyute] **Ku Mā [Ma] K Pa**, vidyate **JM RM** <sup>+</sup>stanayitnave] stanaitnave **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, stanaitnavo **Pa**, stanayitnuve **K** astv] **Or**, stv **K** aśmane] **K**, asyane **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, a{sta}syane **JM** yena] **Or**, yenā **K** pradiśam asyasi] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, pradiśam asya{·}si **RM**, dūrāt pradijassasi **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM Z 8 Z K**

ŚS 1.13.1

nāmas te astu vidyūte nāmas te stanayitnāve |  
nāmas te astv aśmane yēnā dūḍāśe āsyasi ||

Bhattacharya edits *pradiśam asyasi* in **d**.

b. In the Orissa manuscripts, the form *stanayitnave* is spelled with the usual simplification *ayi > ai* (cf. the spelling of this same word at 15.12.3a, 15.23.11b).

d. The verb *as-* ‘to shoot’ is generally followed by a noun in the dative or locative case; since this is not the case, I interpret *pradiśam* as an accusative of direction, but it should be noted that **K** has a different text, *yenā dūrāt pradijassasi*, emended by Barret to *yenā dūrāt praty asyasi* ‘With which you shoot from afar’ (see also WHITNEY 1905: 14), which yields a good sense too. In this case it is very difficult to decide whether **Or** or **K** has preserved the more original text. I adopt the text of the Orissa manuscripts because it does not require any emendation and is quite satisfactory as regards the meaning. For the construction of the verb *as-* with an instrumental, besides the parallel ŚS passage quoted above, cf. ṚV 2.24.8c *tāsya sādhvīr iṣavo yābhir āsyati* ‘Leading straight to the goal are his arrows, with which he shoots’.

**15.20.9 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only

mā devānām ugra rājann	+A
asmākaṁ puruṣā riṣan	A
rakṣāṁsi; y asmad yakṣmāṁś ca	*#A
nāśayāmasi brahmaṇā	#A

O powerful king of the gods, let our men not get hurt. With a formula do we make disappear the demons and the forms of *yakṣma*, away from us.

devānām] **Or**, devānāmm **K** rājann] **Or**, rājam **K** puruṣā] **K**, puṣṣā **Or** riṣan] riṣam **K**, ṛṣan **Or** rakṣāṁsi] **Or**, rakṣāṁsi **K** asmad] **Or**, yasmā **K** yakṣmāṁś] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, yakṣmāś **Ku**, rakṣāṁsi **K** ca] **Or**, om. **K** nāśayāmasi] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, nāsa(→śa)yāmasi **Pa ||] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, | JM RM Z 9 Z K**

Bhattacharya edits <sup>+</sup>*riṣan* in **b**.

**b**. The confusion *r* :: *ri* is quite common in the Orissa manuscripts: cf. e.g. 6.12.7b, 7.8.8d, 7.10.2c (and probably also 23.12d).

The expression *mā* [...] *puruṣo* <sup>+</sup>*riṣat* is frequent in the PS (cf. i.a. 4.22.5d, 7.7.6d).

#### 15.20.10 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

brahmaṇeto nāśayāmo	+A
yat kiṁ cāṅgeṣu v āmayat	*A
śalyān yakṣmasyātho ropīs	#A
tā ito vi nayāmasi	A

With a formula we make disappear from here whatever hurts in the limbs. We remove from here the splinters of the *yakṣma* and also the pains.

brahmaṇeto] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, brahm{e}aṇeto **Ku** nāśayāmo] **K**, nāśayāmo **Or** yat] **Or**, yadi **K** kiṁ] **JM RM K**, kiṅ **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa** cāṅgeṣv] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, cāṅgoṣv **Ku** āmayat] **Or**, āruhat **K** <sup>+</sup>śalyān] śalyāṁ **JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, śatyā **Ku**, śatnyāṁ **Pa** yakṣmasyātho] **Or**, yakṣm{ā}asyātho **Pa**, yakṣmasyāto **K** tā] **Mā [Ma]**, tāṅ **Ku JM RM Pa**, ta **K** ||] || ṛ 10 || 20 || **Ku**, || ṛ || 20 || **JM**, | ṛ | 20 | **RM**, || 20 || ṛ || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, Z 10 Z **K**

**c**. Bhattacharya adopts (with all the manuscripts) the reading *śalyāṁ*, which is obviously to be understood as an accusative plural. On the meaning of *śalyā-*, see GRIFFITHS-LUBOTSKY 2014. They consider PS 15.20cd a passage in which, for this word, “a meaning such as ‘splinter’, or in any case a ‘foreign body’ less directly associated with arrows, might be preferable”. Although this may be true, it should be noted, however, that the use of *śalyā-* in this hymn could have been suggested by the frequent mention of the arrows and missiles of Rudra-Bhava: cf. 20.6b, 7a and stanza 15.13.10 above. For the association of *śalyā-* with diseases, cf. PS 1.46.2cd *\*māsyā susron nāśayā vyadhmano viṣam bahiḥ śalyāś caratu rogo asmāt* ‘Let no [blood] of his flow forth: make the poison disappear from the wound. Let the tip, the disease go outside out of him’ and PS 7.15.4b *śalyān yakṣmān vi vṛhāmo vyaṁ te* ‘We pull out from you the [arrow] tips, the forms of *yakṣma*’ (Griffiths’s translations).

The rare word *rōpi-* ‘acute pain’ is associated with Rudra — addressed as Bhava — also at ŚS 2.11.3b = PS 16.104.3 *krāndāya te prāṇāya yāś ca te bhava rōpayah | nāmas te rudra*

*kṛṇmaḥ sahasrākṣāyāmartya* ‘To your cry, your breath and the pains that are yours, O Bhava: we pay homage, O Rudra, having thousand eyes, immortal’.

On the syntax of *átho* in the sequence X + Y *átho* Z, cf. KLEIN 1985: 84–85.

**d.** The pronoun *tā* is in grammatical agreement with the feminine plural *ropīs*, but refers *ad sensum* also to the masculine plural *śalyān*.

## 15.21. To Rudra (continued)

**15.21.1 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, c: ŚS 16.6.4a, PS 18.50.4a, 20.18.5a, KS 22.5:61.3, VSM 15.15–16 etc.

nayāmi vām paśupatī	#A
ghṛtenājyena vardhayan	A
yaṁ dviṣmo yaś ca no dveṣṭi	+#A
tasya *dveṣaḥ <sup>+</sup> kariṣyathaḥ	A

I lead you two, O lords of animals, increasing [you] with ghee, with *ājya*. You two will make hostility to him whom we hate, and who hates us.

nayāmi] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, nayā{sa}mi **RM vām Or**, tvām **K paśupatī] Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, paśupatīm **Mā vardhayan] Mā [Ma] K**, varddhayan **Ku JM RM Pa yaṁ] Ku JM RM Mā K**, yan **[Ma]**, ya **Pa \*dveṣaḥ veśaḥ Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, deśaḥ **Mā**, veśaḥ **K <sup>+</sup>kariṣyathaḥ] kariṣyatha Or**, kariṣyatāḥ **K ||] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, | JM RM, Z 1 Z K**

Bhattacharya edits *veśaḥ* in **d**.

**a.** Note the uncommon occurrence of the verb *nī-* ‘to lead’, which is never applied to a situation when a mortal would lead a god. Besides maybe having a specific ritual meaning, the verb is probably used here also in opposition to the expression *vi nayāmasi*, occurring at the end of the preceding stanza; after having removed the *yakṣma*, the officiant is ready to guide the two gods (to the sacrifice?).

The name *paśupati* ‘lord of the cattle’ is a common epithet of Rudra; the dual *paśupatī* must refer to Bhava and Śarva, two embodiments of Rudra himself (cf. 15.16.7a, 8a, 10a).

**b.** For a discussion of the words *ghṛtā-* and *ājya-*, see GONDA 1980: 176 (with note 4). These two words “are said to be interchangeable, although [*ājya*] is ritually prepared (consecrated) butter, [*ghṛta*] not”. They often occur together, already at ṚV 10.79.5b *ājyair ghṛtāir juhōti pūṣyati* ‘He sacrifices offering oblations with *ājya*, with ghee; he nourish [him]’; cf. also ŚS 19.27.5ab = PS 10.7.5ab *ghṛténa tvā sám ukṣāmy āgne ājyena vardhāyan* ‘I besprinkle you with ghee, O Agni, increasing [you] with *ājya*’, PS 9.3.5ab *ājyena ghṛtena juhomi kilāśabheṣajam* ‘With ghee, with *ājya* I offer in sacrifice the remedy against leprosy’ (cf. also PS 16.24.8ab, 76.1ab, 7a, etc.).

**d.** The reading *veśaḥ* of all the Orissa manuscripts (with the exception of **Mā**) means ‘neighbour, dependent, vassal’ (cf. ŚS 2.32.5 = PS 2.14.3cd *hatāso asya veśāso hatāsaḥ pāriveśasaḥ* ‘Struck are his neighbours, struck the further neighbours’, with Whitney’s comment *ad loc.*, and the parallel Avestan word *vaēsa* ‘servant’ mentioned by ZEHNDER 1999: 52).

This reading, although satisfactory in meaning, seems impossible for two reasons; first of all, it is not grammatically correct, because *veśa-* (also *veśās-*) is masculine, and a nominative does not fit here; the preceding genitive, then, is syntactically awkward.

The emendation to *\*dveṣas* has been proposed by Barret. It is supported by the initial *d-* of the reading of **Mā** and suggested by the common confusion of the sibilants in the manuscripts. Moreover, *dvéṣa-(s)-* can be neuter, and interpreted as an accusative singular, which fits in the formula *dveṣa-(s)- kṛ-* ‘make hostility’. Cf. PS 1.3.2d *apa dveṣāmsy ā kṛdhi* ‘drive away hostilities’. Cf. also ŚS 3.30.1b = PS 5.19.1b *ávidveṣam kṛṇomi vaḥ* ‘I make for you non-

hostility’, ŚS 5.21.1cd *vidveṣām káśmaśam bhayām amitreṣu ní dadhmasy* ‘We put among our enemies mutual hate, fear, confusion’, with the use of the root *dhā-* instead of *kr-*. This expressions usually requires a dative or a locative, but it is common that the genitive functions as a dative in Vedic (SPEIJER 1886: 96 ff., DELBRÜCK 1888: 162).

### 15.21.2 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

adhi brūtaṁ paśupati	#A
dvipade me catuṣpade	A
prasūtau yatra jaghnatus	A
tato me mā paraṁ riṣat	A

O you two lords of animals, speak in favour of my biped, in favour of my quadruped. When the two, being requested, have slain, then may what is further of mine not get hurt.

brūtaṁ] **Ku JM RM Mā Pa K**, vṛtaṁ [Ma] paśupati] **Ku JM RM [Ma] K**, yaśupat{i} Pa, paśupatiṁ **Mā** dvipade] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K**, dvipado **JM RM** prasūtau] **Or**, prasūto **K** jaghnatus] jaghnatas **K** me] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, mo **JM** paraṁ] **K**, taraṁ **Or** riṣat] **Or**, vṛṣā **K** ||] **Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku JM RM**, Z 2 **K**

Bhattacharya edits *mātaram riṣat* in **d**.

**ab.** Bhava and Śarva are described as lords of both bipeds and quadrupeds at ŚS 4.28.1–7c = PS 4.37.1–7c *yāv asyēśāthe dvipádo yáu catuṣpadaḥ* ‘(you two) who rule over these bipeds [and] quadrupeds’. Cf. also ŚS 11.2.1 = PS 16.104.1 *bhāvāśarvau mṛḍātaṁ mābhī yātaṁ bhūtapatī pásupatī námo vām | prátihitām āyatām mā ví srāṣtam mā no hīmsiṣtam dvipádo mā catuṣpadaḥ* ‘O Bhava and Śarva, be gracious; do not drive against [us]; O lords of beings, O lords of cattle, homage to you! [The arrow] that is fitted, that is thrown, do not let fly; do not harm our bipeds, [do not harm] our quadrupeds.’.

**d.** The meaning of this pāda is difficult. It is clear that *mā* goes with *riṣat* and the whole expression means, ‘May it not get hurt’. The reading *taraṁ* of the Orissa manuscripts yields little sense, while the reading *paraṁ* of **K** can possibly be understood as an adjective used as a noun and governing the genitive *me*, so that the verse would mean, ‘May what is further of mine (besides bipeds and quadrupeds) not get hurt’. I prefer this interpretation, although it is far from satisfactory. Alternatively, *paraṁ* can be connected with *tatas*, thus forming a common adverbial expression (*tatas paraṁ*) meaning ‘after that’; in this case, however, the word *me* would be left over.

### 15.21.3 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, d: cf. 21.5e

yā vām <sup>+</sup> rudrā <sup>*</sup> śivās <sup>*</sup> tanūr	A
yā vām santīy <sup>+</sup> arogaṇāḥ	*A
yā vām āyusmatīs tanūs	A
tābhir no mṛḍataṁ yuvam	!A

O you (two) Rudras, be you two merciful to us with these forms of yours, which are beneficent, which are not causing disease, which provide long life.



<sup>+</sup>rudrā] ḡdraḥ **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, ḡdra **JM RM**, rudrās **K** \*śivās \*tanūr] śivā tanū **Or K** santi <sup>+</sup>arogaṇāḥ] santi rogaṇāḥ **Or**, santi arogiṇī **K** āyusmatī] **Ku JM Rm [Ma] Pa**, āyāvāmāyusmatī **Mā**, āyusmatī **K** tanūs] **K**, tanus **Or** tābhir no] **Or**, tābhin no **K** mṛḍataṁ] **Or**, mṛtaṁ **K** yuvam] yuvaṁ **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, yu{·}vaṁ **Ku** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *rudraḥ* in **a** and *santi rogaṇāḥ* in **b**.

**a.** The nominative singular *rudraḥ* of **Or** does not fit here. The verb in the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural (*santi*, in **b**) requires a nominative plural, and the form *tanūs* is attested as a nominative plural also at KauśS 131.2 (cf. AiGr. III, § 98, p. 190). Therefore, I have emended the readings of the mss. *śivā tanū*, which must already have been corrupt in the archetype, to \*śivās \*tanūr, and I interpret *rudrā* as a vocative dual. Cf. PS 14.3.8a *yā te rudra śivā tanūr* ‘That benign form of yours, Rudra’ (in the singular), which could also have been the source of the mistake in our passage (perseveration).

Since the addressees, in the vocative, are Bhava and Śarva, a dual would have been natural also for the mention of their bodies, but it is conceivable that this stanza refers to the various forms and physical aspects that Rudra can assume.

**b.** In the critical apparatus Bhattacharya proposes the reading *arogaṇāḥ*, which I adopt as clearly correct and confirmed by the reading of **K** *arogiṇī*.

#### 15.21.4 [Prastārapadā] PS only

na praminanti vratino vratāni	+Tb
satyaṁ jinvanto vidathā vadantaḥ	Tb
yasyeme rodasī ubhe	A
saṁyukte manasā hṛdā	A

The ones observing a vow do not violate their vows, furthering truth, announcing distributions of wealth. He whose both these surfaces (heaven and earth) are united in mind, in heart [...]

minanti] **Or**, mṛḡānti **K** vratino] **Or**, vrajino **K** jinvanto] **Or**, janvanto **K** yasyeme] **K Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, yaseme **JM**, yasyame **RM** rodasī] **Or**, rudasī **K** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, | **K**

**a.** On the expression *vratām/vratā(ni) + (pra) mī-*, which is a fixed collocation occurring 16 times in the ṚV, cf. THIEME 1941: 82–116 = 1971: 7–41, SCHMIDT 1958 and BRERETON 1981: 87. In the PS it also occurs at 5.32.2c *yo ’sya <sup>+</sup>vratam pramināti kaś ca* ‘Whoever violates his vow’, 18.57.5c (= ŚS 18.1.5c = ṚV 10.10.5c) *nakir asya praminanti vratāni* ‘No one violates his vows’, 19.47.5a (= ŚS 19.59.2a = ṚV 10.2.4a) *yad vo vyaṁ pramināma vratāni* ‘When we violate your vows’. Cf. also the important parallel passage ṚV 3.28.4cd, in which the verb is found in connection with *vidátha-*: *ágne yahvásyā táva bhāgadhéyaṁ ná prá minanti vidátheṣu dhīrāḥ* ‘O Agni, the wise ones, during the distributions of wealth, do not diminish the portion of yours, the swift one’.

According to my interpretation, the people mentioned in this stanza are the Vrātyas themselves, who are bound by a common vow to the observation of certain rules (cf. FALK 1986: 17 ff.).

**b.** The word *vidátha-* has been discussed by THIEME 1949: 35–49 and by KUIPER 1974: 129–132, who conclusively proves that the meaning of this word is ‘distribution’, ‘distribution of

wealth'. The expression *vidátham* (*ā*)*vad-* means 'to announce a *vidátha*', 'to announce a distribution of wealth', as a manifestation of vitality and prestige of the giver.

**cd.** These two *pādas* belong syntactically to the next stanza.

**15.21.5 [N.N.] PS only, e: cf. 21.3d, fg: PS 5.17.8ef**

sa prajānām prajāpatiḥ	A
sādhu rakṣati varṣati	A
sa veda ratnabheṣajam	A
devebhyas pariṣy ābhṛtam	*A
tena no mṛdataṁ yuvam	!A
jīvātave na martave	A
atho ariṣṭatātaye	A

[He whose both these surfaces (heaven and earth) are united in mind, in heart,] he is the (progeny-)lord of progenies, he protects the right, he rains. He knows the choice medicine brought from the gods. With that let you two be merciful to us, for life, not for death, and for safety.

prajānām] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, prajānā **Mā** prajāpatiḥ] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, prajāpati **Pa K** sādhu] **Ku JM RM [Ma] K**, sādhu **Mā**, om. **Pa** rakṣati] rakṣati(→tī) **Ku Mā**, rakṣatī **JM RM**, rakṣatī(→tī) **[Ma]**, om. **Pa**, varṣati **K** veda] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, deva **Ku** ratnabheṣajam] **JM RM Mā [Ma]**, ratnabheṣa{·}jam] **Ku**, ra{·}ktatnabheṣajam] **Pa**, ratnabheṣajam] **K** pariṣy] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K**, pariṣy **JM**, pariṣy **RM** mṛdataṁ] **Or**, mṛlātām] **K** yuvam] yuvam, Z 4 Z **K**, yuvam] **Or** martave] **K**, martave] **Or** atho] **K**, tho] **Or** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z **K**

**c.** For the construction *prajānām prajāpati-*, literally 'progeny-lord of the progenies', see WATKINS 1995: 242 ff = 1997: 216 ff.: "The genitive construction with a compound of *pati-* 'lord' as in *gañānām gāṇapati-* 'throng-lord of throngs' is by no means unique in the Rigveda, though it is clearly somewhat stereotyped and both formally and semantically restricted. [...]. Of the 17 Rigvedic examples of the construction, 10 are in the vocative or accompany a second person pronoun, and of the oldest 8 examples, in the family books, 7 are vocatives or accompany a second person pronoun. All are gods. The construction therefore clearly is originally most at home in the liturgy". The expression *prajānām prajāpati-*, which has not been taken into account by Watkins, occurs two more times in the PS, at 11.1.11ab *ā te nayāmi vṛṣaṇam yaḥ prajānām prajāpatiḥ* 'I lead here your bull, who is the lord of progenies' and 16.37.2ab *indrāgnī asmān rakṣatām yau prajānām prajāpatī* 'Let Indra and Agni protect us, the two ones who are the lords of progenies'. Although Watkins states that this construction "is commonest in triṣṭubh lines where it conveniently fills the seven syllables after the caesura", in the PS it occurs only in Anuṣṭubh *pādas*. In the context of this stanza it refers to Rudra, as is confirmed by the mention of the medicine (*ratnabheṣaja-*, which is an hapax) in *pāda e*.<sup>51</sup>

**ef.** The expression *jīvātave na martave 'tho ariṣṭatātaye* occurs as such at PS 5.17.8ef, and it has been described by LUBOTSKY 2002: 90 as "an AVP variant [...] of the formula ṚV

<sup>51</sup> GONDA 1986: 25 quotes four *pādas* from PS 15.21.5, but his interpretation is wrong. He states that "In AVP 15, 21, 5 Prajāpati is even regarded as producing rain alone: 'Prajāpati with mind (*manas*) and heart of whom both heaven and earth are united, rains, rains properly'". As I have pointed out above, Rudra is concerned here, not Prajāpati; moreover, the reading of **K** (which has twice *varṣati*) is not correct.

10.60.8de (repeated 9de, 10cd) *jīvātave ná mṛtyávē 'tho ariṣṭātātaye*, with a nonce form *martave*". The same expression is indeed attested also at PB 1.5.18. The meaning of *átho* in this sentence has been discussed by KLEIN 1985: 84, who made very convincing arguments against Geldner's interpretation of the particle in the sense of 'sondern' and against the violation of the pāda structure (Geldner assumes the structure (*jīvātave*) (*ná mṛtyávē |'tho ariṣṭātātaye*) with enjambement). Geldner's solution seems very unlikely, as the opposition between *jīvātave* and *mṛtyávē* is clear, there are no other examples of *átho* in the sense of 'sondern' and the sequence *átho ariṣṭātāti-* is found in additive conjunction with a preceding term also at RV 10.137.4ab *ā tvāgamam śāntātibhir átho ariṣṭātātibhiḥ* 'I have come to you with benefits and safeties'.

#### 15.21.6 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

saguṇāsa āsate	A7
sam <sub>i</sub> yuktā balāya kam	A
teṣāṃ yad indriyaṃ *bṛhad	A
ati rocati rocanā	A

Those of matching qualities sit together, united for the sake of the strength. What is the great power of them outshines the stars.

saguṇāsa āsate] **Or**, saguṇāsāsate **K** \*bṛhad] vṛhac **Or K** ati] ati **Or**, aTI **Ku**, ita **K** rocati] **Or**, ROcati **Ku**, rocita **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *vṛhacatirocatirocanā* in **cd**.

**a.** It is not clear who is the subject of the action, but probably the same persons mentioned in 21.4. This is the earliest attestation of the word *saguṇa-*.

**b.** Note the occurrence of the same word *saṃyukta-* used in 21.4d, as if the redactor wants to compare the harmony between these men to that of the couple heaven and earth.

**cd.** In order to have two Anuṣṭubh pādas in **cd**, the first word of the sequence *vṛhacatirocatirocanā* must belong to pāda **c**. I emend the text according to PS 19.48.18a *mayi tyad indriyaṃ bṛhat* 'In me [is] that great power', in which the expression *indriyaṃ bṛhan* occupies the same position in the verse. The mistake of the manuscripts was probably favoured by the repetition of the same syllables in the sequence (c)**ati rocati**.

Cf. ŚS 4.28.1b (≈ PS 4.37.1b) *yáyor vām idám pradīśi yád virócate* '(Bhava and Śarva), in whose control is what shines forth here'. In the AV, the word *rocaná-* 'bright, shining' can mean also 'stars' when used in the neuter plural (cf. ŚS 4.10.2, 6.31.2, 6.75.3, 19.7.1).

#### 15.21.7 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, d: cf. 21.8a

ye te rocane bṛhatī	#A
antarikṣe *adho divaḥ	A
tābhyām upa pra yāhi naḥ	A
sarvavīrāṃ ariṣyataḥ	A

Your two high stars that are in the intermediate space, below the heaven: from them drive down towards us, who are accompanied by safe and sound heroic sons, unhurt.

ye te] **Or**, ete **K** bṛhatī] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, bṛhat{i}ī **Pa** \*adho] atho **Or K** divaḥ] **K**, diśaḥ **Or**  
 upa pra yāhi naḥ] **Or**, aprahinas **K** sarvavīrāṁ] **Mā [Ma] K**, sarvavīrāṁ **Ku JM RM Pa** ariṣyataḥ] **Or**,  
 ariṣyate **K** ||] **JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **Ku RM**, Z 6 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *atho* in **b**.

**b**. On the emendation \**adho*, see my comment on 18.4b above.

**c**. The addressee of the imperative must be Rudra.

**d**. On *sārvavīra-*, see GONDA 1955b: 56–57, who criticizes the translations of MW ‘all-heroic, consisting of or relating to or accompanied by or leading all men or heroes’ and the renderings by Whitney-Lanman ‘having all heroes’, ‘preserving heroes’, ‘with all his heroes’, pointing out that, according to original meaning of *sārva-* ‘undivided, complete, uninjured’, the compound must express “the idea of ‘with complete, saved men (heroic sons)’, i.e. ‘with the full number of them safe and sound’”.

#### 15.21.8 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, a: cf. 21.7d

sarvavīrā ariṣyanto	+ #A
rocane adhi tasthima	A
†yathā nas tṛṣṇamad vasu	A
divi kṣipadbhyo apsu yā†	A

Accompanied by safe and sound heroic sons, unhurt, we rely on [these] two stars. So that our wealth ... (?) in the sky ... (?) in the waters.

sarvavīrā] **Or**, sarvavīrāṁ **K** ariṣyanto] **Ku Pa Mā [Ma] K**, ariṣyato **JM RM** rocane] **Or**, rocano **K**  
 tasthima] **Or**, tasthimā **K** tṛṣṇamad vasu] **Ku JM RM Pa**, tṛṣṇamad yasu [Mā? Ma?] tripunavad vasu **K**  
 divi] **Or**, divaḥ **K** kṣipadbhyo] **Pa Mā [Ma]**, kṣipadbhyo **Ku JM RM**, kṣubhyo **K** apsu] **Or**, psu **K** yā]  
**Ku Mā [Ma]**, jā **JM RM**, ŷ{u}ā **Pa**, sūryaḥ **K** ||] || r̥ ? || 21 || **Ku**, || r̥ || 21 || **JM**, | r̥ | 21 | **RM**, || 21 || r̥ || **Mā**  
**[Ma] Pa Z Z K**

Bhattacharya edits *tṛṣṇamadvasu* in **cd**.

**cd**. The reading of the Orissa manuscripts **Mā** and **Ma**, according to Bhattacharya’s critical apparatus, is uncertain: *tṛṣṇamadyasu*? The interpretation of these corrupt pādas is unclear to me. After *yathā* one would expect a subjunctive, which may be concealed in the sequence *tṛṣṇamad* (*tṛṣṇavad*?). The form *kṣipadbhyo* may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from *kṣip-* ‘throw, wound’, meaning ‘from the ones wounding’.

## 15.22. Against hail, for the protection of the crop

PS 15.22–23 belong together as one single composition of 23 connected stanzas split over two hymns of ten and 13 stanzas, respectively.

This hymn, which has no parallel in the Śaunakīyasamhitā, deals with a ritual against bad weather, especially against thunderbolts; it is a charm for the protection of the crop, sortable among those hymns, quite common in both recensions of the Atharvaveda, aiming to secure prosperity against various dangers (*puṣṭikarmāṇi*).<sup>52</sup> The uniqueness of PS 15.22–23 lies in the fact that, as far as I am aware, it is the only example in all the Vedic corpus of a charm explicitly addressed against hail. It is true that at least two others hymns, ŚS 1.13 ≈ PS 19.3.4–6, 9<sup>53</sup> and ŚS 7.11 were used in the KauśS (38.8–10) in a ritual which could have been performed against hailstorm. CALAND 1900: 129 had already suggested, on the basis of Dārila's corrupted commentary, that the ritual prescriptions of the KauśS probably were directed to warding off the hail from the crop and that the word *aśāni*- might mean 'hailstone' rather than 'thunderbolt' in that context. However, if in this case the situation remains ambiguous — because the ŚS hymns quoted by the KauśS mention clearly the thunderbolt and not the hail as a dangerous atmospheric agent, they don't have clear references to the hail and their ritual application against hailstorm could therefore also be considered a later development — there can be little doubts about PS 15.22–23, where the hail is specifically named and described with an amazing realism.

Although a detailed comparative approach falls outside the purpose of this commentary, it should be stressed that spells for the protection of the crop against bad weather and hail are attested in many Indo-European and non-Indo-European linguistic areas. Many common magical features and ritual parallel practices have been studied in order to show how the mechanism of these kind of incantations works.<sup>54</sup> If, on the one hand, the Atharvaveda and its ancillary literature provided much material for comparison, on the other hand the ancient Indian literature seemed to lack completely spells against hail, so well attested in other traditions like the Roman and the Greek ones.<sup>55</sup> This situation has now changed, and in this respect PS 15.22–23 is even more precious and worth studying, since it offers the Indian (and more specifically Atharvavedic) counterpart of a tradition of charms known as φυλακτήρια, κωλυτήρια or κωλύματα, designed to protect who pronounced them from a potential threat — in this case, from hail. It is indeed thanks to the comparison with other traditions that we can understand some difficult and at first sight unintelligible passages of our hymn.

The hymn is closely connected with the preceding one through repetition of several words and similar expressions: cf. 23.11ab *namas te astu vidyute namas te stanayitnave* and 20.8ab *namas te astu vidyute namas te +stanayitnave* or the couple *dvipad-catuspad* in 23.11c, which occurs also in 20.4d and 21.2b. The word *ghṛteṇa* in 22.3c corresponds to *ghṛteṇ[a]* in 21.2b; *vidyotamāna* in 22.6a and *vidyutam* in 22.7a, 8a to *vidyute* in 20.8a; *stanayan* in 22.6a to *stanayitnave* in 20.8a; *dhanvāni* in 22.7d to *dhanur* in 20.7a; *namo* in 22.8c to *namas* in 20.8ac; *mṛḍayāta* in 23.4a to *mṛḍayāko* in 20.5b and *mṛḍataṁ* in 21.3d, 5e; *aśmabhiḥ* in 23.3b, 4b to

<sup>52</sup> See, e.g., ŚS 3.17 ≈ PS 2.22, ŚS 3.24 ≈ PS 5.30, ŚS 4.15 ≈ PS 5.7, ŚS 6.142 ≈ PS 20.49, ŚS 7.11 ≈ PS 20.2.9, ŚS 7.18 ≈ PS 20.8.3, 20.4.7.

<sup>53</sup> Note that ŚS 1.13.1ab ≈ PS 19.3.9ab occur also in our hymn at 15.23.11ab.

<sup>54</sup> See FERNÁNDEZ NIETO 2010, with exhaustive literature.

<sup>55</sup> See FEHRLE 1912, FIEDLER 1930, MACCARTNEY 1934.

*aśmane* in 20.8c; the verbs *yāvayāta* in 22.3d, *yāvayāmasi* in 23.3d, 4d and *yāvayād* in 23.13c to *yāvay[a]* in 20.1c; *nāśayāmasi* in 23.8d to the same form in 20.9d and *nāśayāmo* in 20.10a.

### 15.22.1 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

indrāgnī huve prathamau	#A
hvayāmi marutaḥ śivān	A
hvayāmi viśvān devān	A7
imaṁ homam avantu me	A

Indra and Agni I call as first, I call the Maruts, the propitious ones, I call the All-gods. Let them help this oblation of mine.

indrāgnī] **Ku JM RM [Ma] K**, indrāgn{i}ī **Pa**, indrānī **Mā** prathamau] **Or**, prathamo **K** marutaḥ] marṭaḥ **Or**, māruta **K** śivān] śivām **K**, **Or** viśvān] **JM RM Pa**, viśvā{d}n **Ku**, viśvām **Mā [Ma]**, viśvā **K** imaṁ] **Or**, imo **K** homam] **Or**, hosam **K** avantu] **K**, atu **Ku**, antu **JM RM**, aṁtu **Mā [Ma] Pa** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 1 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *śivām* at the end of **b** and *viśvām* in **c**.

**bc.** Both in *śivām* and *viśvām* underlining is unnecessary. As regards *śivām*, the reading is clear and it is with no doubts an accusative plural, since the use of *anusvāra* is a common spelling, both in **K** and **Or**, for the final nasal (especially after a long *-ā*, cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: LVI-LVIII). Then the majority of the Orissa manuscripts read *viśvān*, and the reading of **Ma** and **Mā** could easily be explained with the same ‘spelling-argument’.

The order in which the gods are named is not random but neither is it strictly respected in the following stanzas: Agni is mentioned in all the first five stanzas but Indra only in stanza nine; the All-Gods are nowhere mentioned as Viśvedeva, though a comprehensive list of divinities is found in stanza four, in which Agni is again addressed. The Maruts, then, appear only after this general list of divinities. The order in which the gods are listed in the first stanza reflects their ritual importance, and the hierarchy thus established corresponds to the role they generally play in the sacrifice. The central role of Agni in this field is confirmed by the following two stanzas, in which his supremacy is justified from an ontological point of view.

What it is more significant is how many times these gods are named throughout the hymn and as it is natural in a charm against bad weather, the Maruts, the storm-gods *par excellence*, are mentioned more than the other gods (seven times in total), almost always in connection with atmospheric phenomena. Frequent references to the Maruts are even more understandable in this hymn because they are closely and specifically connected with hail.

**d.** Note the frequent confusion between *-ma-* and *-sa-* in the reading of **K** *hosam*. The verb *avantu* is transmitted correctly only in **K**, since all the Orissa manuscripts have lost the middle syllable of the word (see Introduction, p. 12).

### 15.22.2 [Triṣṭubh] PS only

tvaṁ prathamo amṛtatvam agne	*+Tb
devo devatvaṁ prathamo jigetha	Tb
tava divi hṛdayaṁ saṁ babhūva	+Ta
sa naḥ śivā {āpo} jātavedo ni yacha	+#°Ta

You, O Agni, have won as first immortality, [you have won] as first god the godhead; your heart is joined with the sky. So, O Jātavedas, bring down to us the propitious waters.

amṛtatvam] Or, mṛtatvam K agne] Or, agni K devatvaṁ] Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, de{t}va{m}tvaṁ JM  
jigetha] Or, jigethaḥ K tava] Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K, ta Pa divi] Ku JM RM Pa K, di Mā [Ma] sa]  
Or, ma K śivā āpo] Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, śiva āpo JM RM, śivāpo K yacha] Or, yaścha K ||] Ku Mā [Ma]  
Pa, | JM RM, Z 2 Z K

**ab.** This stanza is linked to the preceding one through the repetition of the word *prathama-* in the first two pādas (anaphora), which stresses the priority of Agni among the other gods. On the idea of the gods attaining immortality, cf. ṚV 3.60.2d *téna devatvám ṛbhavaḥ sām ānaśa* ‘With this, O Ṛbhus, you attained the godhead’, ṚV 10.53.10d *yéna devāso amṛtatvám ānaśúḥ* ‘With which the gods attained immortality’ and PS 2.73.1b *yenāgre devā amṛtatvam āyan* ‘With which the gods in the beginning reached immortality’, PB 22.11.2<sup>p</sup> *etena vai devā devatvam agacchan* ‘With that indeed the gods obtained the godhead’.

**c.** The construction of the verb *sámbhū-* with locative is rare; it is found, e.g., at ŚS 12.3.51a = PS 17.41.1a *eṣā tvacām púruṣe sām babhūva* ‘That one among the skins is united with the man’.

**d.** This verse has thirteen syllables, with an early caesura and a Triṣṭubh cadence. The more probable solution for restoring the metre of this pāda is to consider the word *āpo* an interpolation, a gloss that explained the word *śivā* and later found its way into the text. A possible source for this interpolation could be PS 8.8.11a = ŚS 19.2.5a *tā apāḥ śivā apó* (which is a problematic verse as well, see WHITNEY 1905: 900). If we admit that *āpo* is an interpolation, there are two possible explanations for this nominative form: either “*śivā(h)*: (This are) the waters” is meant (as a gloss), or an accusative is intended and the gloss thus attests the use of the nominative plural *āpas* as an accusative plural. This use is already attested six times in the ṚV (*maṇḍalas* I and X, the latest additions) and sixteen times in the AV; it is also found in the PS (besides our passage, cf. PS 5.7.10b). See AiGr. III, § 25, p. 61 and § 131, p. 240.

### 15.22.3 [Triṣṭubh] PS 12.18.1, ab: ŚS 4.39.9ab

agnāv agnir ity ekā

agnāv agnir ity ekā] RM Pa Mā [Ma] K, agnāv a{ri}gnir ity ekā Ku, agnāv agnir ity eka JM ||] Ku JM  
Mā [Ma] Pa, | RM, Z 3 Z K

PS 12.18.1

agnāv agniś carati praviṣṭa	T1
ṛṣīṇām putro adhirāja eṣaḥ	Tb
tasmai juhomi haviṣā ghr̥tena	Tb
mā devānām yūyavad bhāgadheyam	Ta

Agni, the son of the Ṛṣis, that sovereign king, moves around having entered into the fire. To him I sacrifice with an oblation, with ghee: let the portion of the gods not be removed.

**a.** All the manuscripts read *agnāv agnir ity ekā*. On this type of abbreviations in the manuscripts, cf. p. 29–30. The stanza is repeated from PS 12.18.1 and occurs further at PS

20.45.9. Discussing the relation between gods and powers, GONDA (1957a: 68) observes, “The divinity and the element are distinguished in such a way that the former is described as having ‘entered’ into the latter: AV 4,39,9 ‘Agni is continually to be found in the fire’ (*agnāv agniś carati praviṣṭaḥ*; more ‘literally’: ‘Agni continues having entered into the fire’).”

c. The expression *tasmai juhomi haviṣā ghr̥tena* is common in the PS, and besides the two passages just mentioned is attested, with variants, at PS 2.52.1c *tebhyo juhomi haviṣā ghr̥tena*, PS 2.61.2d *yasmai carāmi haviṣā ghr̥tena*, and PS 16.99.4d *tābhyo juhomi haviṣā ghr̥tena*. I translate *haviṣā ghr̥tena* ‘with an oblation, with ghee’, according to the traditional interpretation of *ghr̥tena* as a specification of *haviṣā*. An alternative interpretation has been proposed by OLSEN 2011, who suggests that in this and other cases *ghr̥tá-* might have an adjectival/participial function in the sense of ‘sprinkled’, and that the phrase *haviṣā ghr̥tena* could be rendered ‘with a sprinkled oblation’, concluding (p. 175) that “in any case contexts like this illustrate the potentially fluid borderline between noun and verbal adjective, ghee being the (sprinkled) libation par excellence”.

ŚS 4.39.9

agnāv agniś carati práviṣṭa ṛṣṭīnām putró abhiśastipā u |  
namaskāreṇa nāmasā te juhomi mā devānām mithuyā karma bhāgām ||

**15.22.4 [Triṣṭubh]** PS only, ab: cf. PS 1.14.3ab

ye devā divi +ṣṭha ye pr̥thivyām	+#T3
jātavedo ya urāv antarikṣe	+Ta
ye giriṣu parvateṣv apsu antas	*+Ta
te devā aśaniṁ yāvayātha	T3

O gods who are in the sky, who [are] on earth, who [are] in the wide atmosphere, O Jātavedas; who are in the mountains, in the rocks, in the waters: O gods, you will keep the thunderbolt away!

+ṣṭha] ṣṭa **Or**, ṣṭhā **K** pr̥thivyām] **JM RM Mā [Ma]**, **K**, pr̥thiVYĀM **Ku**, pr̥thivyā **Pa** ya] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, yañ **Mā** urāv] **Ku RM Pa [Ma]**, uttarāv **JM**, ttarāv **Mā**, udāv **K** antarikṣe] **Or**, antarikṣa **K** ye] **Or**, yad **K** giriṣu] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, giṣu **JM** apsv antas] **JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, āpsantas **Ku**, apsasantas **Pa** devā aśaniṁ] **Or**, devāśane **K** yāvayātha] **Or**, yāvayād itaḥ **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 4 Z **K**

**ad.** Pādas **a** and **d** are two catalectic Triṣṭubh lines with a trisyllabic opening followed by a trisyllabic break (a creticus in pāda **a**, an anapest in pāda **d**). The metre of these two pādas could be easily regularized by reading *devā* before the caesura in both cases. Cf. also 15.20.1c above.

The Viśvedevas addressed in the first stanza of the hymn are here invoked again in this general list of deities. The gods are grouped according to the traditional partition of their abodes. Cf. ṚV 1.108.11ab *yād indrāgnī divi ṣṭhó yāt pr̥thivyām yāt párvateṣv ósadhīṣv apsu* ‘If, O Indra and Agni, you are in the sky, if you [are] on earth, if you [are] in the rocks, in the herbs, in the waters’, ṚV 5.60.6ab *yād uttamé maruto madhyamé vā yād vāvamé subhagāso divi ṣṭhā* ‘If, O wealthy Maruts, you are in the highest, or in the midmost, or in the lowest sky’, ṚV 6.52.13ab *viśve devāḥ śṛṇutémām hávam me yé antárikṣe yá úpa dyávi ṣṭhá* ‘O All-Gods, listen to this invocation of mine, you who are in the atmosphere, who are above the sky’. Cf. also the



very similar passage PS 1.14.3ab: *ye devā divi śtha ye pṛthivyām / ye antarikṣa oṣadhīṣv apsu* ‘O gods who are in the sky, who [are] on earth, who [are] in the atmosphere, in the herbs, in the waters’.

#### 15.22.5 [Triṣṭubh] PS only

mitraṁ digbhiḥ kṛṇuṣva jātaveda	+ #Ta
āśābhir mitram adhipā vipāścīt	Tb
mā no himsīr divyenāgninā *sasyaṁ	(+ #)Ta
yena yanti maruta spardhamānāḥ	+Ta

Make an alliance with the quarters, O Jātavedas, an alliance with the regions, O wise king. Do not harm our crop with the celestial fire, with which the Maruts keep competing.

mitraṁ] **Or**, mittram **K** digbhiḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, digbhyaḥ **JM**, digbhyaḥ **K** jātaveda] **Or**, jātavedā **K** mitram] **Or**, mittram **K** vipāścīt] **Or**, vipāśyat **K** himsīr] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, himsīr **JM**, himsī **K** \*sasyaṁ yena] sasyāṁ yena **Ku Mā [Ma]**, sasyāṁ jena **JM RM**, sasyā yena **Pa**, sasyena **K** yanti] **Or**, yantu **K** maruta] **K**, maṛta **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, ma{·}ṛta **RM** spardhamānāḥ] **Mā [Ma]**, sparddhamānāḥ **Ku JM RM**, spaddhi(→rddha)mānāḥ **Pa**, spardhamānā **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *sasyām* in c.

c. The sequence short-long-long-anceps is very rare in a Triṣṭubh cadence (0,12% out of the total in the ṚV, see VAN NOOTEN-HOLLAND 1994: XVII). A similar case with strange measuring of *agnínā* is found at ŚS 11.2.26b = PS 16.106.6c *mā naḥ sām srā diviyénāagnínā* ‘Do not hit us with the celestial fire’.

The reading *sasyām* is impossible, since *sasyá-* ‘crop’ is only neuter. **K** reads *sasyena*, which does not help because this univerbation shows a graphical omission of (part of) an akṣara at the end of the word *sasya-*. The only correct transmitted reading is that of **Pa**, *sasyā*, which could be interpreted as an archaic neuter plural. I prefer the emendation to *sasyaṁ* because the form *sasyā* is actually never attested, while *sasyam* occurs twice within this same hymn, at PS 15.23.2e *sasyaṁ me mā vadhīd iti* ‘May it not destroy my crop’ and 15.23.10d *idaṁ +sasyam upā cara* ‘Come near to this crop’. The emendation is suggested also by ŚS 7.11.1cd *mā no vadhīr vidyūtā deva sasyāṁ | mótā vadhī raśmībhiḥ sūryasya* ‘O god, do not destroy our crop with the lightning and do not destroy [it] with the beams of the sun’, where the lightning and the sunbeams are again concerned.

d. The same combination of the verb *i-* with the participle *spardhamāna-* is found at ŚS 3.2.6ab = PS 3.5.6ab *asáu yā sēnā marutaḥ páreṣām | asmān áity abhy ójasā spárdhamānā* ‘O Maruts, that army of [our] adversaries over there, that keeps competing against us with power’. The interpretation of this verse is dubious: the idea could be that the Maruts, with their lightnings, compete with the celestial fire, viz. the sun. For the association of the Maruts with lightnings, cf. the epithet *ṛṣṭívidyut-* ‘having lightnings as spears’ applied to them at ṚV 1.168.5a.

#### 15.22.6 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

vidyotamāna stanayan	#A
vṛṣevaiṣi kanikradat	A
bhīmaḥ parjanya te rathaḥ	A

Flashing, thundering, you advance like a neighing stallion. Fearsome is your chariot, O Parjanya. So let it grant us protection.

stanayan] **K**, stanāya **Or** bhīmaḥ] **Ku Mā [Ma]**, abhīmaḥ **JM**, bhīmaḥ **RM**, bhī{va}maḥ **Pa**, bhīmaḥ **K** parjanya] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, paryanya **Mā** rathaḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, rath{e}aḥ **JM**, rathaś **K** sa u] **Or**, śa u **K** naḥ śarma] **Or**, naś śa **K** yachatu] **Or**, yaśchatu **K** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 6 Z **K**

b. An alternative translation would be ‘You keep neighing like a stallion’.

On the intensive *kanikradat*, see SCHAEFER 1994: 109–110. Cf. ṚV 9.28.4a *eṣā vṛṣā kánikradat* ‘This neighing stallion’.

c. For Parjanya’s chariot, cf. cf. ṚV 5.83.7ab *abhí kranda stanāya gárbham á dhā | udanvātā pāri dīyā ráthena* ‘Roar out, thunder, place the embryo. Fly around with your chariot abounding in water’.

#### 15.22.7 [Purastādbṛhatī] PS only, a: cf. PS 15.22.8a

ye vidyutam aśanim ātanvanti	+ #Ta
marutaḥ salilād adhi	A
kṛṣyai no viśvavārāyā	+ #A
ava dhanvāni tanvatām	A

Let the Maruts who stretch (as a bow) the lightning [and] the thunderbolt from the ocean (the salty one) loosen [their] bows for the sake of our all-beneficent agriculture.

ye] **Or**, yo **K** vidyutam] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, vidytutam **Ku?**, vidvatam **K** marutaḥ] maṛtaḥ **Or**, marutas **K** kṛṣyai] **Or**, kṛṣim **K** viśvavārāyā ava] **Or**, viśvavārāyāva **K** dhanvāni] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, dhanvā{vi}→ni **JM**, danvāni **K** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 7 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *avadhanvā ni tanvatām* in **d**, but the reason of underlying is unclear, being perhaps only due to a wrong division of the words.

a. Note that at the beginning of the pāda **K** reads *yo* (cf. my note at PS 15.22.8a below). This Triṣṭubh line is probably not original and one of the two objects of the action — *vidyutam* or *aśanim* — may be a secondary interpolation not belonging to an old stage of transmission, triggered from the first pāda of the next stanza.

The verb *ātan-* is used in its technical meaning ‘to stretch [a bow for shooting]’, since the Maruts are represented while shooting the lightnings with their bows.

b. The heavenly waters are meant.

c. On the epithet *viśvavāra-* ‘all-beneficent, bestowing all treasures’, see GONDA 1959: 115, 119 and 139. This adjective occurs often in the ṚV (35×), and it qualifies almost exclusively the gods, a property or possession (*rayi-*); once it refers also to the chariot (6.37.1a), once to the sacrificial ladle (5.28.1c), etc. In the ŚS it is attested only eight times in similar contexts and in all these passages *viśvavāra-* has a general meaning, pointing to abundance of wealth that is not further specified. In this PS passage, however, it may have a very concrete meaning, referring primarily to the fruits of the soil (which will eventually bring wealth as well).

**15.22.8 [N.N.] PS only, a: cf. PS 15.22.7a**

ye vidyutam aśanim pātayantṛy	*Ta
antarikṣād uta vātād divaś ca	Ta
tebhyo marudbhyo namo astv ojase	*Jb

The ones who make the lightning, the thunderbolt fly from the intermediate space and from the wind and the sky: homage be to the Maruts, to strength!

ye] **Ku JM RM Pa K**, yo **Mā [Ma]**? aśanim] **Or**, aśanam **K** pātayanty] **K**, ātānty **Ku Pa Mā [Ma]**, ātānty **JM**, ātanvānty **RM** vātād divaś] **Pa**, pātādviva(→pa?)ś **Ku**, pātāvivaś **JM RM**, pātādvivaś **Mā [Ma]**, vātādivaś **K** marudbhyo] marḍbhyo **Ku Mā [Ma]**, marḍbhyo **JM RM Pa**, grḍbhyo **K** astv] **RM**, stv **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 8 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *yo vidyutam aśanim ātānty* in **a**.

**a**. The Orissa manuscripts **Mā** and **Ma**, by reading *yo*, show here the same mistake made by **K** at the beginning of PS 15.22.7a, but the subject of the action is clearly the Maruts, so that in both cases we must read *ye*, according to the reading of all the other manuscripts. At the end of the pāda, **K** has probably preserved the original reading, which I adopt in the text. A similar syntagma is found at ŚS 11.2.26c ≈ PS 16.106.6d *anyātrāsmād vidyútam pātayaitām* ‘Make that lightning fly elsewhere than on us’.

**d**. Note that **RM** is the only manuscript that does not apply *abhinihita* sandhi between *namo* and *astv*, as required by the metre.

**15.22.9 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only; c: PS 15.23.12f**

tā yantu svaramṛtāḥ	*A
syonāḥ śivatamāḥ pathā	A
mā na indra yavaṁ vadhīr	A
mitram enena kṛṇmahe	A

Let them go over the path well-adorned, gentle, very propitious. O Indra, do not destroy our barley. We make an alliance through this [spell].

yantu] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, ayantu **Mā**, yanti **K** svaramṛtāḥ] **Or**, svaramṛtā **K** syonāḥ] **Or**, syonāś **K** śivatamāḥ] **Or**, śivatamāḥ **K** pathā] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa K**, pathāḥ **JM RM** mā] **Or**, sā **K** na] **Or**, nā **K** yavaṁ] **Or**, imarṁ **K** vadhīr] **Ku JM Mā [Ma]**, vadhīrm **Pa**, vadhī **RM K** mitram] **Or**, mitram **K** kṛṇmahe] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, kṛ{ṇ}mahe **Ku** || **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 9 Z **K**

**ab**. At the beginning of pāda **a**, all the manuscripts read *tā*. As suggested by Zehnder (*per litteras*, November 2012), the subjects of the action could be the lightnings, which are set in motion by the Maruts (cf. pādas **ab** of the two preceding stanzas). For the idea of lightnings that are going, cf. ṚV 9.41.3c *cāranti vidyúto diví* ‘Lightnings are moving around in the sky’. The adjective *svaramṛta-* ‘well-arranged’, ‘well-prepared’, ‘well-adorned’ (past passive participle of *áram kṛ* ‘arrange, prepare’ with *su-* ‘well’) is attested at ṚV 1.162.5c, in which it refers to the sacrifice and at ŚS 10.1.25a = PS 16.37.5a, in which it refers to *kṛtyā* (f.) ‘witchcraft’. In this case, with reference to the lightnings, it may mean ‘shaped in a form, that

they will not harm our crop (*vel sim.*)'. Another possibility would be to emend *tā* in *\*te* and take as subject the Maruts, whose paths in the sky are often mentioned, along with their decoration, garlands and other ornaments, but this seems a too heavy and unnecessary emendation (moreover, the Maruts can hardly be called 'well-arranged'.) In order to avoid the presence of *sa/ta* pronoun at the beginning of a line, which is strange, one can think of another verbal form, e.g. *gāyantu* (cf. PS 5.7.5a *gaṇās tvopa gāyantu mārutāḥ* 'Let the troops of the Maruts sing to you'). The whole would then mean: 'Let them (the Maruts) sing well-prepared, gentle, propitious [songs] on their way'.

**15.22.10 [N.N.] PS only, ab: PS 7.7.1ab**

darbho agra oṣadhīnām	+A
śatakāṇḍo ajāyata	A
sa devaiḥ prahito (')yam āgan svastaye	N.N.
vṛṣā mṛdbhiḥ saha +saṁvidānaḥ	T1

The *darbha* grass, hundred-jointed, was born at the head of the herbs. So this one, sent by the gods, has come for well-being, the bull, joined together with lumps of clay.

agra] **Or**, gra **K** śatakāṇḍo] **Or**, śakāṇḍo **K** devaiḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, daivaiḥ **JM**, devaiḥ **K** prahito] **JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, {tṛ}prahito **Ku** āgan] **JM RM Mā [Ma]**, āgana **Ku Pa**, āgaṁ **K** svastaye] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, svasteṃ **JM** mṛdbhiḥ] **K**, mṛdbhiḥ **Ku Mā [Ma]**, mṛdbhiḥ **Pa**, mabhiḥ **JM RM** saha] **Or**, maha **K** +saṁvidānaḥ] samvidānaḥ **Or**, saṁvidhānaḥ **K** ||] | ṛ | 22 || **Ku**, || ṛ 9 || 22 || **JM**, | ṛ | 22 | **RM**, || 22 || ṛ || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, Z 10 Z **K**

**PS 7.7.1**

darbho agra oṣadhīnām śatakāṇḍo ajāyata |  
sa sahasravīryaḥ pari ṇaḥ pātu viśvataḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits *marudbhir* in **d**.

**ab.** For the analysis of these two pādas, cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: 317–8. Cf. also ŚS 19.32.1 = PS 11.12.1 *śatākāṇḍo duścyavanāḥ sahasraparṇa uttirāḥ | darbho yā ugrā oṣadhis tām te badhnāmy āyuṣe* 'Hundred-jointed, difficult to be felled, having thousand leaves, uplifting (?); the darbha grass that is a fearsome herb, that I bind on you for longevity'. On the idea of the supremacy of the darbha grass among other herbs, cf. PS 1.87.1a *tvaṁ darbhāsi patir oṣadhīnām* 'O darbha, you are the lord of the herbs'.

**c.** The metrical analysis of this pāda is problematic. In all probability, *svastaye* has four syllables, so we get an Anuṣṭubh-pāda in the second half: *ayam āgan svastaye*. The first three words are comparable to PS 1.95.4a (= PS 3.10.3a) *yā devaiḥ prahiteṣuḥ patāt*, which is metrically problematic as well (no caesura after 4 or 5 syllables). A similar pāda is PS 11.11.4a *agnir no dūtaḥ prahito (')yam āgan*, seemingly a Triṣṭubh pāda with *prahito* in the break.

**d.** The reading *marudbhir* of the Orissa manuscripts is better for the metre but, in my opinion, is the *lectio facilior* compared to the reading of **K** *mṛdbhiḥ* 'with lumps of clay'. Clods of clay or earth were used in ceremonial purifications, because they were believed to dispel evil and have beneficial powers, and are also often related to (medicinal) plants (see GRIFFITHS 2009: 88).

## 15.23. Against hail, for the protection of the crop (continued)

### 15.23.1 [N.N.] PS only

vṛṣākṣasyāsurasya menir asi	N.N.
tām *tvā tathā veda	N.N.
†karṇasya kauvidasyevamāśā†	N.N.
tām mābhy ava gā dvādaśāhnāni vi rakṣe	N.N.

You are the *mení*-power of the bull-eyed *asura*. I know you thus as such ... (?). Do not go down to it (f.), I protect the periods of twelve days (?).

vṛṣākṣasyāsurasya] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, vṛṣākṣasyāsurasya Mā, vṛṣākhyasyāsurasya **K** tām \*tvā] tām tvayā **Ku Mā [Ma]**, tām tvaṣā **RM Pa**, tā tvaṣā **JM**, tānvā **K** veda] **Ku RM K [Ma]**, vedi (→da) Mā, vedi **JM Pa** karṇasya] **Or**, katamasya **K** kauvidasyeva] **Or**, kovidasyova **K** māśā] māśā **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, māśāḥ **RM**, māśāt **K** mābhy ava gā] **Ku [Ma] Pa**, mābhy ava śā Mā, mābhy agā{syā} **JM**, tvāmābhy ava gā **RM**, nābhy amakāna **K** dvādaśāhnāni] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, dvādaśāhnoni **JM**, dvādaśāhnani **K** vi rakṣe] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, vi rakṣase **JM**, vṛkṣaye **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 1 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *tvayā* in **b**.

**a.** The compound *vṛṣākṣa*- ‘bull-eyed’ links this stanza with the preceding one, where the *darbha* grass is compared to a bull (*vṛṣa*-). The word *mení*- has been discussed at length by JAMISON 1996, GRIFFITHS 2009: 145–46, and RONZITTI 2006: 150–163 (see also HOFFMANN 1975 : 56–57). It indicates “the power or embodiment of negative exchange, of thwarted exchange. It is the dangerous force that is created when the standard system of tit-for-tat is interfered with. The threat of it enforces behavior in exchange relations, and when released, it can become the vehicle of requital for violations of these same relations” (JAMISON 1996: 193).

**b.** I decide to slightly emend the text and read *tām \*tvā tathā veda* ‘I know you (scil. the *mení*) thus’, for which cf. PS 3.30.4b *tām tvā svapna tathā vidma* ‘We know you thus as such, O sleep/dream’ and PS 20.59.7ab *agner hr̥dayam asi vidyut +tat tvā tathā veda* ‘You are the heart of Agni. That lightning knows you thus’.

Note also that the reading of **K** *tānvā* is quite near to *tām \*tvā*.

**c.** The readings of this verse are obscure. The first word, *karṇa*-, means ‘ear’ or ‘having long ears, furnished with chaff (as grain)’. If we assume the meaning ‘having long ears’, the epithet could refer to the *asura* mentioned in pāda **a**. The word *kauvida*- looks like the vṛddhi formation of *kovida*- ‘skilled, learned in’. At the end of the verse there are various possibilities, but I would suggest to read <sup>+</sup>*māśā*- ‘months’ (a form of *māśa*- ‘bean’ seems less probable).

**d.** Cf. PS 8.19.8ab *daśarātreṇa saṁmito dvādaśāhena kalpate* ‘Dem Daśarātra-Opfer entsprechend richtet sich [der Ziegenbock] nach dem Dvādaśāha-Opfer’ (KIM forthc.) and PS 14.6.4ab *śataudanā dvādaśāhena saṁmitā śataṁ pṛṣṭhāni sasrje svaryatī* ‘The heaven-going *śataudanā*-cow emitted one hundred *pṛṣṭha*-*sāmans*, measured out in twelve-days’ (Lopez). The mention of periods of twelve days could refer to the *dvādaśa* ritual, which, as pointed out by LOPEZ 2010: 188, “is the basic paradigm of a *sattra*, a soma sacrifice that lasts at least 12 days. All the performers of the *sattra* must be consecrated Brahmins”.

### 15.23.2 [Pañkti] PS only

asir me *tigmaḥ *svāyasa	#A
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indrāgnibhyām +susamśitaḥ	A
tena sedhāmi *hrādunim	#A
kṛṣim me māva gād iti	A
sasyam me mā vadhīd iti	A

My knife is sharp, made of good metal, well sharpened by Indra and Agni. With that I ward off the hail [with the intention]: may [the hail] not go down to my field, may [the hail] not destroy my crop.

asir me] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, asirm me **Pa**, asṛime **K** \*tigmaḥ \*svāyasa] tigmasyāyasa **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, tigmasyāyamsa **JM** tigmasyāhatam **K** indrāgnibhyām] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, indrāgnibhyām **RM** +susamśitaḥ] susamśita **Or**, suśamśataḥ **K** sedhāmi] **Mā [Ma] Pa**, sehāmi **Ku JM** sehami **RM?**, sedāma **K** \*hrādunim] hādunim **Ku JM RM**, dādunim **Mā [Ma] Pa**, yudāditi **K** kṛṣim] **Or**, kṛṣin **K** māva gād] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa**, māva śād Mā, mā vadīr **K** sasyam] **Or**, śasyan **K** vadhīd] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, vadrīd **JM**, vadīr **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **RM**, Z 2 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *tigmasyāyasa* in **a** and *dādunim* in **c**.

**a.** Bhattacharya suggests in the critical apparatus the reading *tigmaḥ svāyasaḥ*, which I adopt in the text for several reasons (on the sandhi, see GRIFFITHS 2009: LXVIII). First of all, one could interpret the sequence *tigmasyāyasa* as *tigmasya + ayasa[h]*, and translate ‘my knife is of sharp metal’, but a genitive here is syntactically awkward (the genitive of material does not occur at all in Vedic, and is rare even in later Sanskrit). Then one has to consider that the confusion between -sy- and -sv- is a common mistake, both in **K** and **Or**. Finally, the adjective *svāyasa-* ‘of good metal’, refers to *asi-* also at ŚS 10.1.20a = PS 16.36.10a *svāyasaś asāyaḥ santi no grhé* ‘In our house there are knives of good metal’.

On the word *asī-*, see THIEME 1958: 514f. In the RV, this word is attested four times (only in the latest portions, at 1.162.20, 10.79.6, 10.86.18, 10.89.8) and it always denotes a ‘knife for cutting up slaughtered animals’, a ‘knife for severing the joints’; here, as well as in other passages of the PS (e.g. 5.15.9c, 6.23.10d = 19.47.8a), it seems to mean simply ‘knife’, without involving the idea of cutting the flesh of a victim nor the presence of sacrificial animals. In this stanza, however, the knife — whose sharpness is particularly emphasized — is certainly used in a ritual context; in my opinion, in a ritual against hail, it had the specific function of “cutting” the hail cloud, in order to destroy it and prevent hail from falling down. The same practice of cutting hail clouds by means of an axe, hoe or knife has been recorded in rituals against hailstorms in the Slavic tradition (in north-western Serbia, for example, a *gradobranitelj* ‘hail defender’ is a man who can avert hailstorms performing various magical practices, including weaving a knife against a hail cloud, or placing it on the ground with the blade turned towards the cloud).

**b.** The readings of the manuscripts *susamśita* (**Or**) and *suśamśataḥ* (**K**) attest again the frequent confusion of the sibilants, especially in the context before *i/y* (see my note at 12.2d).

**c.** Bhattacharya proposes in the critical apparatus the reading *udādunim*, which is not really clear (should it be interpreted as *ud + āduri-* ‘attentive’, ‘destroyer (of enemies)’?). The emendation to *\*hrādunim*, which suits perfectly the context (see the preceding note), sheds light on the whole hymn and is confirmed by the content of the following stanzas, has been suggested to me by Lubotsky (March 2011). The word *hrādūni-* is already attested twice in the RV, one time as a separate word and one time as first member of a compound. At RV 1.32.13ab ≈ PS

12.13.3ab the hail is mentioned together with other atmospheric agents used by Vṛtra in the battle against Indra: *nāśmai vidyūn ná tanyatūḥ siṣedha ná yām mīham ákirad dhrādúniṁ ca* ‘Nicht furchtete ihm Blitz und Donner, nicht Nebel und Hagel, den er ausstreute’ (Geldner); at RV 5.54.3c the compound *hrādunīṽṛt-* ‘covered or hidden by hail’, ‘whirling the hail’ refers to the Maruts, and is again associated with lightning, winds and storm: *vidyūnmahaso náro áśmadidyavo vātaviṣo marútaḥ parvatacyútaḥ | abdayā cin múhur ā hrādunīṽṛta stanáyadamā rabhasā údojasaḥ* ‘Die blitzstrahlenden Männer mit den Steingeschossen, heftig wie der Wind, Berge erschütternd, die Marut, die, obwohl sie Wasser geben wollen, im nu Hagel herbeirollen, von donnernder Wucht, wild, kraftgehoben’ (Geldner). The word is never attested in the ŚS; in the PS, besides this passage and 12.13.3b quoted above, it occurs in the plural at 11.16.8a *ugrā vai nāmaitā āpo yad<sup>+</sup> dhrādunayas tāsām maruto adhipatayaḥ* ‘Mighty indeed are those waters by name; the Maruts are overlords of them, which are hails’.

It is then attested three times in the MS, once as first member of a compound, at 3.6.10: 74.2 (*hrādúnihatā-*), and twice as separate word, at MS 3.15.8:180.2 and MS 4.4.1:51.1.

Strong evidence supports the correctness of this emendation. First of all, three manuscripts, namely **Ku**, **JM** and **RM** point to an initial *h-*; these three Orissa manuscripts represent the “central Orissa” tradition, which has often preserved a better text in comparison with the “northern Orissa” tradition, to which Bhattacharya’s collation is here limited.

Furthermore, the initial cluster *hr-* is often simplified or misunderstood in the Orissa manuscripts, e.g. at PS 5.7.13c (in which instead of *hradasya*, two manuscripts from Orissa read *drudasva* and *bhr̥dasva*, and in all occurrences of the word for ‘hail’ (besides 15.23.2c, cf. PS 11.16.8a, where the initial *hrā-* of ‘hail’ is written *vrā-* in all the Orissa manuscripts, and PS 12.13.3b, where the word is written with initial *drā-*). This could also suggest that the word *hrādúni-* was not familiar to the redactors of the PS.

Evidence of content is even more convincing, as it becomes clear in the next stanzas.

### 15.23.3 [N.N.] PS only, cf. PS 15.23.4

marutaḥ pari vṛndhi no	A
divaḥ kṣudrebhir *áśmabhiḥ	A
udumbarasya śākhayā cakṣuṣā-	Tb
-áśaniṁ yāvayāmasi	A

O Maruts, spare (sg.) us with the little stones of the sky. With a branch of the Udumbara tree, with the sight, we keep off the thunderbolt.

marutaḥ] mar̥taḥ **Ku JM Mā [Ma]**, mar̥{to}taḥ **Pa**, mar̥ta **RM**, marataḥ **K** pari vṛndhi no] **Or**, pravṛghno **K** divaḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, diva **JM** kṣudrebhir \*áśmabhiḥ] kṣudrebhiraśmibhiḥ **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, kṣudr(+e)bhiraśmibhiḥ **Pa** cakṣuṣāśaniṁ] **Mā [Ma] Pa**, vicakṣuṣāśaniṁ **JM RM**, (+vi)cakṣuṣāśa(→śa)niṁ **Ku**, cakṣuṣāśanaṁ **K** yāvayāmasi] **Or**, yāvayād itaḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 3 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *kṣudrebhiraśmibhiḥ* in **b** (but in the critical apparatus he proposes the reading *áśmabhiḥ*).

**a.** The 2<sup>nd</sup> singular is no doubt wrong here, because the addressee of the imperative is plural. It is probably due to perseveration from PS 12.1.10d = PS 5.21.6d *tābhi śma pari vṛndhi naḥ*

‘Spare us with them’. The plural form of this imperative, still addressed to the Maruts, is attested at RV 1.172.3b *pāri vr̥ṅkta*.

**b.** The mistake of the reading *kṣudrebhiraśmibhiḥ* in all the manuscripts was probably due to the interpretation of the sequence as *kṣudrebhi raśmibhiḥ* (from *raśmi*- ‘string’, ‘rope’, ‘ray of light’). The ‘little stones of the sky’, just as the ‘white stones of the sky’ mentioned in the next stanza, are obviously the hailstones.

**c.** *Cakṣus*- and *vicakṣus*- (23.4c) are two difficult words, which probably had a technical meaning in the rite. The two synonymous words *cakṣas*- and *vicakṣas*- are found together in a formula at MS 1.5.11:80.11–13 (cf. ĀpŚS 6.19.1): *dhārmo mā dhārmaṇaḥ pātu vīdharmo mā vīdharmāṇaḥ patvāyusca prāyusca cākṣaś ca vicākṣaś ca prāṇ cāpāṇ corukā ity* ‘Die Ordnung soll mich von der Ordnungsstütze her schützen. Der Verteiler soll mich von der Verteilung her schützen. Die Lebenszeit und die lange Lebenszeit, der Blick und der scharfe Blick, das vorwärts gehende und das rückwärts gehende Räumchen’ (AMANO 2009: 200; CALAND 1921: 203 translates the two words as ‘meine Sehkraft’ and ‘meine scharfe Sehkraft’, but admits that “die Deutung der Sprüche ist schwierig”).

#### 15.23.4 [Bṛhatī] PS only, cf. PS 15.23.3

maruto *mṛdayata no	!A
divaḥ śukrebhir aśmabhiḥ	A
udumbarasya śākhayā vicakṣuṣā-	Ja
-aśanīm yāvayāmasi	A

O Maruts, be merciful to us with the white stones of the sky. With a branch of the Udumbara tree, with a clear sight, we keep off the thunderbolt.

maruto] **K**, mar̥to **Or** \*mṛdayata] mṛdayāta **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, mṛda(+yā)ta **JM**, mṛlayāti **K** divaḥ] **Or**, divaś **K** śukrebhir aśmabhiḥ] **K**, śukrebhiraśmibhiḥ **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, śukr(+e)bhiraśmibhiḥ **Pa** vicakṣuṣāśanīm] **Or**, vicakṣuṣāśanām **K** yāvayāmasi] **Or**, yāvayād itaḥ **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 4 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *śukrebhiraśmibhiḥ* in **b** (but in the critical apparatus he keeps proposing the reading *aśmabhiḥ*).

**a.** Note the unusual lengthening in the reading *mṛdayāta* of **Or**. **K** has a subjunctive form, but it does not fit syntactically. The form of the Orissa manuscript cannot be correct, and an emendation to \**mṛdayata* seems the best solution, although other emendations are possible (e.g. to \**mṛdayātha*, 2<sup>nd</sup> plural subjunctive; I prefer the imperative as the same mood is found in the parallel pāda 23.3a above). A similar phrase occurs at PS 2.70.4c *devā maruto mṛlata naḥ* ‘O gods Maruts, be merciful to us’.

**b.** The correct text is preserved in **K**, which reads *śukrebhiraśmabhiḥ* (Barret’s transcription — *śukrebhiraśmibhiḥ* — is wrong). Note that the instrumental does not suit the verb *mṛd*-, and was probably used by the redactor to maintain the parallel with the preceding stanza.

**c.** I interpret *vicakṣuṣ*- as synonymous of *vicakṣas*- ‘clear sight’; see the note at 23.3c above.

#### 15.23.5 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, cd: cf. PS 15.23.6cd

*vartrād *vartram ā krāma	A7
parvatād adhi parvatam	A



girau pratiśrutā satī  
vṛkṣān bhañdhi mā yavam ||

A  
A7

Step from dam to dam, from rock to rock. Even though being echoed on a mountain, shatter the trees, not the barley.

\*vartrād \*vartram] varttād varttam **Ku JM Pa**, varttad varttam **RM**, vartād vartam **Mā [Ma]?**, vantā bhuvantam **K** girau] **Or** giro **K** pratiśrutā] **K**, pratiśrtā **Or** vṛkṣān] **Or**, vṛkṣām **K** bhañdhi] **Or**, bhamabdhi **K** mā] **Or** sā **K** yavam **Or**, vayam **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 5 Z **K**

In stanza five begins the so-called *apopompé* formula, which is developed in four stanzas. In general, anyone who pronounces this kind of formula wants to banish the malignant powers to a destination where they cannot harm any living being; hence we constantly find them being sent to the desert, uninhabited mountains, the sea or the end of the earth.

Note that stanzas five and six show a symmetric pattern.

Bhattacharya edits *vartād vartam* in **a**.

**a.** The emendation is quite certain, since the mistake in the Orissa manuscripts could be due to the simplification of the cluster *-rt(t)r-*. Compare the variant readings PS 1.4.4b *varttam* vs. ŚS 1.3.7b *vārtram*. The same construction X-ablative + X-accusative ‘from X to X’ is found at PS 15.4.1a *ṛṇād ṛṇam* and 4.14.7a *hastād dhastam sam ayo bhriyamāṇo* ‘You will become united, being carried from hand to hand’ (Griffiths — Lubotsky 2014).

**c.** Bhattacharya edits *pratiśrtā*. The Oriya vowel sign *-r-* is pronounced [ru], so that there are no real variants for this word and there is not textual problem; underlining is unnecessary. Cf. also 23.6c.

**d.** Cf. PS 5.20.7cd *atho vṛkṣasya phalgu yad ghuṇā adantu mā yavam* ‘Let the *ghuṇas* eat a little bit of the tree, but not the barley’.

### 15.23.6 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, cd: cf. PS 15.23.5cd

ādāmānā tvā +sam dyāmi	*#A
†yāvanyā pari bhūrṇīyām†	*A
sānu pratiśrutā satī	A
tṛṇam bhañdhi mā yavam	A7

I bind you together with a bond. ... (?). Even though being echoed on a mountain-ridge, shatter the grass, not the barley.

ādāmānā] **JM**, a(→ā)dāmānā **Pa**, ā(→a)dāmānā **[Ma]**, adāmānā **Ku RM Mā**, yadānyā **K** +sam dyāmi] sandyāmi **Ku [Ma] Pa**, sandhyāmi **JM RM Mā**, satyāni **K** yāvanyā] **Ku RM Mā [Ma]**, yāvaNYĀ **JM**, yā(→lā?)vanyā **Pa**, yāvanyā **K** bhūrṇīyā] **K**, bhūrṇīyām **Ku RM Mā [Ma]**, bhaRṇYĀm **JM**, bhuṇīyām **Pa** sānu] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, sanau **JM**, māno **K** pratiśrutā] pratiśrtā **Or**, pratiśrutas **K** satī] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, sat{i}ī **Pa** tṛṇam] **Or**, taṇam **K** bhañdhi] **Or**, bharamagdhi **K** yavam] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, yāvam **Pa**, vayam **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 6 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *adāmānā* in **a**, *yāvanyā* in **b** and *pratiśrtā* in **c**.

**a.** The compound *adāman-* ‘an unbounded one’ could also have a factitive meaning, viz. ‘the one that does not bind’, thus denoting the spell itself. Following a suggestion by Sadovski (p.

c. September 2012) I decide to adopt the reading *ādāmnā*, which is a hapax, of the manuscripts **JM, Pa** (*post correctionem*) and **Ma** (*ante correctionem*): the expression ‘to bind with bond’ is very common in Indo-Iranian ritual tradition and has parallels also in ancient Greek magical texts. It is noteworthy that in our passage the syntagma ‘to bind + (with) bond(s)’ is not expressed with words derived from different roots, as is usual in this kind of formulae, but both the words for ‘bond’ and ‘to bind’ derive from the same root *dā-* (< PIE *\*deh<sub>1</sub>-*) ‘to bind’ and create a proper *figura etymologica*. On the root *dā-* ‘to bind’, see KUIPER 1974: 121 ff.

b. Note the (uncertain) reading *yā(→lā?)vanyā* of **Pa**. On the basis of this reading and of the content of the following stanza, I would propose to read *lāvanyāḥ*, from *lāvanya-* n., ‘saltiness, the taste or property of salt’. The word *bhūrṇyām* can only be locative singular from *bhūrṇi-* ‘restless, active, excited, rash’, but *pari* never takes the locative. So one possible solution is to read *\*lāvanyāḥ pari \*bhūrṇyāḥ*. ‘at the salty impetuous one’, with ablative singular feminine, referring to *dyu-* f. ‘heaven’ (cf. *divas pari*).

c. Bhattacharya suggests, both for pāda 23.5c and 23.6c, the reading *pratiśritā*, which makes no sense. See my comment at 23.5c.

### 15.23.7 [Prose] PS only

uśatī nāmāsi salindā nāma	P
anyām *āsām gacha yaṁ dviṣmas taṁ gacha	P

You are called the wishing one, *salindā* you are called. Go to another region, go to that one whom we hate.

uśatī] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, uśaddhī **JM?**, uśatī **K** salindā] **Or**, sadimḍā **K** \*āsām] āsām **Or K** gacha] **Or**, gaścha **K** yaṁ] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, ya **Pa** gacha] **Or**, gaścha **K** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 7 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *āsām* in **b**.

The metrical analysis of these two pādas is problematic. Since total lack of caesura is very rare (cf. KUBISCH 2007: 7), in pāda **a** the caesura could be generated by reading *uśatī nāmāsi salindā nāma*. In pāda **b** there is no correct metre at all, because the last but one syllable (*gacha*) is long *positione*, so it is not a Jagatī, and a Triṣṭubh with twelve syllables must have an opening of five syllables. Maybe we could assume these two lines to be prose.

**a**. I propose to analyze the hapax *salindā-* (f.) as *sal-ind-ā*, and identify its first part with the Indo-European word for ‘salt’, PIE *\*sal-*. This proper name, here used as an epithet, could have preserved the ancient name for ‘salt’ that is also found in other Sanskrit words (*sarīt-*, *salilā-/sarirā-*, *sarṣāpa-*, according to the interpretation of THIEME 1961). For the suffix, cf. AiGr. II/2, § 224, p. 353, where *-inda-* is defined as “Ausgang einiger etymologisch undurchsichtiger Personen- und Volksnamen”. Addressing the hail as ‘the salty one’ is no surprising even at first sight, in that hailstones look indeed like pieces of salt, but there is also a more convincing evidence supporting this hypothesis. The notion ancient Indians had about salt has been brilliantly investigated by SLAJE 2001 in a series of articles devoted to the interpretation of Yājñavalkya’s Saindhava Dṛṣṭānta in BĀU II 4,12. In order to make entirely clear the famous simile about the dissolution of salt into water, Slaje has come to the conclusion that for ancient Indians salt was “nothing but a certain state of water changed to a solid form” (p. 33), “conceived as being indeed substantially the same as water, albeit in a particular crystallized

state of water, similar to, e.g., ice or hailstones as a frozen state of water” (p. 42). It is worth quoting also Slaje’s observations on the connection between hail and salt, which are basically two changed states reached by the originally liquid manifestation of water through the influence of heat: “Solid manifestation of water were explained as caused by the influence of heat through an obstruction of its natural liquidity. The argument covering hail-stones etc. is based upon the causal factor ‘heavenly fire’ (*divya tejas*). Heavenly fire is what comes from the sun or appears as lightning. Lightning and hail-stones quite often occur simultaneously, as is well known. The inference based upon an observation of nature and immediately suggesting itself was, therefore, that this heavenly fire through contact effects a solid form of the water atoms [...]. Water, the natural liquidity of which had thus been obstructed, would fall down from heaven in its hardened form of hailstones. [...] it is a matter of everyday experience that here on earth heat causes also a change of the natural liquidity of water in that it ‘transforms’ water to ‘solid salt’: fire as an earthly manifestation (*bhauma tejas*) [...], as Śaṅkara has it explicitly, causes a change of the natural liquidity of (salty) water to solid lumps of salt. Therefore, heavenly fire causes the solidification of water in the form of hail, fire in the form of salt” (SLAJE 2001: 34–35). The almost total identification established between the two substances may thus provide a convincing explanation for the epithet *salindā-* applied to hail (cf. the occurrence of the word *salilā-* at 22.7b and possibly of *lāvaṇya-* at 23.6b).

**b.** The emendation is quite obvious, since both in **K** and **Or** the sibilants are often confused.

#### 15.23.8 [Pañkti] PS only, a: ŚS 6.29.3d = PS 20.28.8b

parācīm anu saṁvataṁ	A
parācīm anu saṁvidaṁ	A
parācīy anu ni drava	*A
itas tvā nāśayāmasi	A
brahmaṇā vīryāvataḥ	*A

Turning away, run to a region away, to a property away. With a powerful spell we cause you to disappear from here.

saṁvataṁ] **Or**, savyataṁ **K** parācīm anu saṁvidaṁ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, parācīm anu saṁvidaṁ parācīm a{·}nu saṁviDAṁ **JM**, om. **K** anu ni drava] **Or**, anundrava **K** itas] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa**, ita{·}s **JM**, yadas **K** brahmaṇā] **Or**, vrahmaṇā **K** vīryāvataḥ] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, vīryāvataṁ **JM** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 8 Z **K**

**abc.** Note the accumulation of figures of speech, which gives the first three pādas of this stanza a formulaic character, also from a rhetorical point of view. There are two series of anaphora, involving the words *parācīm/parācī* and *anu*. The repetition of the same word declined in different cases at the beginning of the three verses (*parācīm/parācīm/parācī*) gives rise to a polyptoton, and the words *saṁvataṁ* and *saṁvidaṁ* at the end of pādas **a** and **b** offer a good example of homoioteleuton and paranomasia at the same time. For pāda **a**, cf. also R̥V 1.191.15d *pārācīr ānu saṁvataḥ* ≈ PS 4.17.5d *apācīm anu saṁvatam*.

#### 15.23.9 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

vār bhavo <sub>au</sub> dakaṁ bhava-	*A
-udakasyodakaṁ bhava	A

kṣudrāt kṣodīyasī bhūtvā-  
-athehy adhamam tamaḥ ||

+ #A  
\*A

Become water, become [a little amount of] water, become [a little amount of] water of [a little amount of] water. Having become smaller than small, then go to the lowest gloom.

vār] **Ku JM RM Mā Pa K**, vā **Mā** bhavadakasyodakam bhava] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa K**,  
bhavadakasyodakam so bhava **JM** kṣudrāt] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, kṣudrā **RM K** bhūtvā athehy]  
bhūtvāthehy **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, bhūtvā 'thehy **JM RM**, bhūtvā yathey **K** adhamam] **Ku K**, adhaman **JM**  
**Pa**, dhaman **RM [Ma]**, amadhaman **Mā** ||] **Ku Mā [Ma] Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 9 Z **K**

a. I prefer the metrical scansion *bhava-udakam* rather than assuming a disyllabic scansion of *vār* (on which see LUBOTSKY 1995: 231). Also the metre of pāda **a** of the next stanza suggests the first solution. As pointed out by LUBOTSKY 2013: 1, *udakā-* “usually has a different shade of meaning [compared to *udān-*], viz. ‘a limited amount of water (esp. for drinking)’ (...) This means that the suffix *-ka-* does not have the collective meaning here (as assumed by AiGr. II/2, p. 529), but rather diminutive”. My translation is rather artificial, but since the diminutive meaning of *udakā-* is particularly evident in this passage, it should be somehow expressed. For a parallel passage, in which the diminutive meaning of *udakā-* is very clear, cf. ŚS 4.16.3cd *utó samudráu vārunasya kukṣī utāsmīnn ālpa udaké nīlīnaḥ* ‘Also the two oceans are Varuṇa’s paunches; also in this petty water is he hidden’ (Whitney).

Is here for *udakā-* a meaning ‘brine’ = ‘water tasting extremely salty’ conceivable (see SLAJE 2001: 40–42)?

c. Cf. my comment at 11.9d.

### 15.23.10 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

syonā bhava śivā bhava  
śivāc chivatarā bhava |  
phenān mṛdīyasī bhūtvā-  
-idam +sasyam upā cara ||

A  
A  
+ #A  
A

Become gentle, become propitious, become more propitious than propitious. Having become softer than foam, come near this crop.

śivā] **Or**, śagmā **K** bhava] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa K**, bhavā **RM** śivāc chivatarā] śivāśachivatarā **Ku**, śivāt  
śivatarā **JM RM**, śivā chivatarā **Mā [Ma] Pa**, śivāś chivatarā **K** phenān] **Or**, phenād **K** mṛdīyasī] **Or**, im  
ṛjīyasī **K** sasyam] śasyam **Or**, sāśyam **K** upā] **Or**, upa **K** cara] **Or**, cāra **K** ||] **Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa**, |  
**RM**, Z 10 Z **K**

b. Cf. my comment at 11.9d.

c. The wish that hail becomes softer than foam, before falling on the crops, is expressed with an amazing realism. For the image of foam as something flimsy and harmless, cf. ṚV 1.104.3ab *áva tmānā bharate kēta vedā áva tmānā bharate phēnam udān* ‘Sie führt selbst den Schaum mit sich, die Absicht erratend, sie führt selbst den Schaum auf ihrem Wasser mit sich’ (Geldner) and PS 2.2.3cd = PS 9.10.1cd *rasam viśasya nāvidam udnaḥ phenam adann iva* ‘I have not

found the essence of the venom, like one who eats the foam of water’ (ZEHNDER 1999: 25 comments, “Gemeint ist ‘du bist so wenig vergiftet wie einer, der... isst’”).

**15.23.11** [N.N.] PS only, ab: cf. ŚS 1.13.ab = PS 15.20.8ab, 19.3.9ab, VSM 36.21ab; a: PS 16.21.2c, b: PS 16.21.2b

namas te astu vidyute	A
namas te stanayitnave	A
namas te agne dūrehete kṛṇmo	(+#)Tb
mā no himsīr dvipado mā catuṣpadaḥ	Ja

Homage be to your lightning, to your thunder! We pay homage to you, O Agni, whose arrows fly to a distance. Do not harm our bipeds, do not [harm] our quadrupeds.

namas] **Ku JM RM Mā** [Ma] **K**, manas **Pa** astu] **Or**, stu **K** namas] **Ku JM** [Ma] **Pa K**, manas **RM**, om. **Mā** stanayitnave] **Mā** [Ma] **Pa K**, stanayitnave **Ku JM RM** te agne] **Or**, tagne **K** dūrehete] **Ku Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, dūrehyete **JM**, dūrehate **RM**, dūreheti **K** kṛṇmo] **Ku Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, kṛṇvo **JM RM K** ||] **Ku Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, | **JM RM**, Z 11 Z **K**

c. The compound *dūreheti*- ‘whose arrows fly to a distance’ is attested twice in the PS; besides this passage, it occurs at at PS 4.37.5b, where it is used as an epithet of Bhava and Śarva. It is attested also later in PārGS 3.14 *dūrehetir indriyavān patatri te no ’gnayaḥ paprayaḥ pārayantu* ‘The one whose arrows fly to a distance, the mighty one, the winged one; let these fires, the promoters, promote us’.

d. Cf. ŚS 11.2.1d = PS 16.104.1d *mā no himsiṣṭam dvipādo mā catuṣpadaḥ* ‘Do not harm our bipeds, do not [harm] our quadrupeds’.

**15.23.12** [Mahāpañkti] PS only; f: PS 15.22.9c

prati tvā sahasā sahaḥ	A
sahasā prati rudhmasi	A
aīndram idaṁ saho mahad	A
bhūmyās *tavo divi śritam	A
aphālakṛṣṭam ā krāma	+ #A
mā na indra yavaṁ vadhīḥ	A

With power we ward you off, with power, O power. This is the great power coming from Indra, the strength of the earth, lying in heaven. Step to [the field] tilled without a plough. O Indra, do not destroy our barley.

sahasā sahaḥ sahasā] **Or**, sāsaḥ sahaḥ saḥāṁ saḥā **K** prati rudhmasi] ṛdhmasi **Or**, pratiroddhum asi **K** aīndram idaṁ] **Ku RM Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, aīmidam **JM**, ihendram idaṁ **K** saho mahad] **Ku Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, saho sahat **JM RM**, somahad **K** \*tavo] tava **Ku JM RM Mā**, tavaṁ [Ma] **Pa**, tabhūr **K** śritam] śritam **RM Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, śritām **JM**, śṛtam **Ku**, śrutam Z 12 Z **K** aphālakṛṣṭam] **Ku Mā** [Ma] **Pa K**, apālakṛṣṭam **JM**, apāmlakṛṣṭam **RM** ā krāma] **Ku JM RM Mā** [Ma], ā krām{ā}a **Pa**, akrāma **K** yavaṁ] **Or**, imam **K** vadhīḥ] **Ku JM RM** [Ma] **Pa K**, vadhī **Mā** ||] **Ku JM Mā** [Ma] **Pa**, | **RM**

Bhattacharya edits *tavaṁ* in d.

b. For the loss of the nasal in *rudhmas(i)*, due to dissimilation, see HOFFMANN 1952/57: 130–31 = 1976: 366 and 1975: 235 note 12.

d. The emendation to *\*tavo* it is far from being certain. At the end of the line **K** reads *śrutam*, which could be in accord with the reading of **Ku** *śṛtam* (the Oriya vowel sign -ṛ- is pronounced [ru]), but probably the latter is to be considered a graphic mistake due to the confusion *r :: ri*, which is common in the Orissa manuscripts (cf. PS 15.10.9b). On the expression *divī śritá-*, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 82.

**15.23.13 [Anuṣṭubh]** PS only, a: PS 7.13.13a, 15.19.11a, 19.20.14a, 19.33.15a ≈ ṚV 7.55.7b = PS 4.6.1b

yāḥ samudrād uccarantīy	*+A
+utsebhyo yā nadībhīyah	*A
atyantaḥ sarpo vaidyuto	#A
+aśanīm yāvayād itaḥ	A

Whatever [waters] rise from the ocean, from the springs, from the rivers: the endless, flashing snake will keep the thunderbolt away from here.

yāḥ] **Or**, yās **K** samudrād] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma] K**, samudrad **Pa** uccarantīy] **Or**, uścanty **K** +utsebhyo] achebyo **Or**, utsabhyo **K** nadībhīyah |] **Or**, nadībhīyah Z 13 Z **K** atyantaḥ] **Ku JM RM Mā [Ma]**, atyan(·) **Pa**, atyantas **K** sarpo] **Ku RM Mā [Ma] K**, sarvo **JM**, (·)po **Pa** aśanīm] śanīm **Or**, aśanaīm **K** itaḥ] **Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K**, itiḥ **Mā** ||] || ṛ 13 || 23 || a 5 || ? 3 || **Ku**, || ṛ 10 || 23 || **JM**, ||| ṛ || 23 || **RM**, || 23 || ṛ 13 || a 5 || **Mā [Ma] Pa**, Z **K**

b. The word *utsa-* ‘spring’, ‘fountain’ is often metaphorically applied to the clouds (e.g. ṚV 1.64.6d, 5.57.1d, ŚS 4.15.7, 9, etc.).

cd. The connection between pādas **ab** and **cd** is unclear to me, and maybe they did not belong together originally. Could the phrase *atyantaḥ sarpo vaidyuto* be interpreted as a description of the knife with which the hail is averted?

The text of kāṇḍa 15 here comes to an end. The manuscripts give the following colophons:

**Ku**: aṣṭādaśarccakāṇḍa samāptaḥ || \* | śrī || \*

**JM**: hariḥ oṃ utsara || śrīḥ || aṣṭādaśarccakāṇḍa samāptāḥ || śrī oṃ ||

**RM**: | \* | aṣṭādaśarccakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ || \* || bhīmasyāpi raṇe bhaṅgo munerapi matibhramah | yadi śuddhamaśuddham vā mama doṣo na vidyate | \*

**Mā**: aṣṭādaśarccakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ || bhīmasyāpi raṇe bhaṅgo munerapi matibhramah | yadi śuddhamaśuddham vā mama doṣo na vidyate || 1 ||

**[Ma]**: aṣṭādaśarccakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ ||

**Pa**: aṣṭādaśarccakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ || \* ||

**K**: Z ity atharvaṇikapippalādayaś śākhāyām pañcadaśaḥ kāṇḍas samāptaḥ ZZZ kāṇḍaḥ 15 ZZ ZZ

