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# The Paippalādasaṃhitā of the Atharvaveda : a new critical edition of the three 'new' Anuvākas of Kāṇḍa 17 with English translation and commentary

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**Citation**
Selva, U. (2019, June 11). *The Paippalādasaṃhitā of the Atharvaveda : a new critical edition of the three 'new' Anuvākas of Kāṇḍa 17 with English translation and commentary*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/73909

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**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

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**Author**: Selva, U.
**Title**: The Paippalādasaṃhitā of the Atharvaveda : a new critical edition of the three 'new' Anuvākas of Kāṇḍa 17 with English translation and commentary
**Issue Date**: 2019-06-11

Umberto Selva

# The Paippalādasaṃhitā of the Atharvaveda

## A New Critical Edition of the Three ‘New’ Anuvākas of Kāṇḍa 17

with English Translation and Commentary

U. SELVA

The Paippalādasaṃhitā of the Atharvaveda. A New Critical Edition of the Three ‘New’ Anuvākas of Kāṇḍa 17 with English Translation and Commentary

# The Paippalādasaṃhitā of the Atharvaveda
# A New Critical Edition of the Three 'New' Anuvākas of Kāṇḍa 17
# with English Translation and Commentary

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 11 juni 2019
klokke 11:15 uur

door

Umberto Selva

geboren te Biella (Piëmont, Italië)
in 1984

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Università degli Studi di Torino

Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici

Dottorato di ricerca in Lettere

Ciclo XXXI

Titolo della tesi:

# The Paippalādasaṃhitā of the Atharvaveda
# A New Critical Edition of the Three 'New' Anuvākas of Kāṇḍa 17
# with English Translation and Commentary

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2015–2018

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Alla zia Paola,
Alla nonna Dorina,
A tutto ciò che al mio ritorno
non ho più ritrovato.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*A hole in my stockings*
*A hole in my shoe*
*Will you spare a poor plough boy*
*A copper or two?*[*]

This dissertation is the result of three years of doctoral work and about as many years of learning under the guidance of my promotor Prof. Sasha Lubotsky at Leiden University. It is impossible to quantify the amount of time and dedication that Prof. Lubotsky patiently put into forming me as a scholar, the example and the support that he has offered me through the years, whilst I, just like a young *vratin*, was stepping from adolescence into adulthood. My gratitude can only fail to compare in size.

This book would also not have seen the light without the constant and unwavering support of Prof. Alessandra Consolaro, who acted both as teacher and guardian angel, and ensured that I could conduct my research in cotutelle between the University of Turin and Leiden University.

Several people have influenced the direction of my research and the development of my ideas over the years, and this is the place to thank them. First of all, my other Vedic teacher: Dr. Werner Knobl, who has guided me through the secrets of Vedic prose and has revealed to me the hidden beauty of Vedic poetry over numerous fun summers spent reading together, *non multa*, *sed multum*. Prof. Peter Bisschop, my Sanskrit teacher since my Research MA years, who sparked my interest in the Pāśupatas and taught me the rigorousness of scientific research. Prof. Arlo Griffiths, who kindly shared with me the photographs of the Odia manuscripts in his possession, and who welcomed me in his home in Lyon to discuss my work, offering invaluable suggestions. His edition of PS 6 and 7 set a standard that I constantly strived to emulate in my work. Dr. Velizar Sadovski, who initiated me into the tricky craft of reconstructing Indo-European culture and introduced me to the study of the Indo-European *Männerbund*. Prof. Tiziana Pontillo, with whom I enjoyed stimulating discussions about the Vrātyas. Dr. Duccio Lelli, who first inspired me to work on the Paippalāda, and who, in exchange for a simple homemade cup of chai, offered me a friendship that I am sure we will continue to enjoy in the years to come. Finally, Ms. Kristen De Joseph, whose contribution can hardly be estimated on the sole basis of the countless times she has patiently read, discussed, and copyedited my work. Her presence by my side during these last few years in Leiden has been essential, both to my intellectual and to my personal growth. To all these friends and teachers I offer my utmost gratitude.

I also wish to thank the many colleagues who have joined the weekly Paippalāda seminars hosted by me and Prof. Lubotsky over the last few years, and all the other colleagues across the world who have provided feedback and responded to my requests for advice: Dr. Kyoko Amano, Prof. Pinuccia Caracchi, Dr. Ruixuan Chen, Dr. Daniele Cuneo, Dr. Florinda De Simini, Dr. Riccardo Ginevra, Dr. Jeong-Soo Kim, Dr. Nirajan Kafle, Dr. Leonid Kulikov, Drs. Marianne Oort, Prof. Georges-Jean Pinault, Dr. Paola Rossi, Ms. Carmen Spiers, Dr. Kenji Takahashi, Mr. Xander Vertegaal, and others whom I am culpably forgetting. I am grateful to the members of the *promotie* and *oppositiecommissie* whom I have not yet mentioned, Dr. Alwin Kloekhorst, Dr. Gianni Pellegrini, Dr. Tijmen Pronk and Dr. Elizabeth Tucker. Lastly, I wish to thank the numerous friends and fellow students in Leiden and across the world with whom I have shared these years, as well my own students, who have made teaching one of the most enjoyable moments of this whole adventure.

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* Traditional Plough Monday rhyme.

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# INTRODUCTION

## 1. The Paippalādasaṃhitā of the Atharvaveda

### 1.1 Overview of the history of research

Since Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharyya's 1957–60 discovery of a series of palm-leaf manuscripts in the possession of Odisha brahmins who claimed affiliation with the Paippalādaśākhā of the Atharvaveda, a complete critical edition of the Paippalādasaṃhitā (PS) has been one of the most anticipated milestones in the field of Indology. Before this discovery, of the many Atharvavedic schools whose existence is mentioned by the tradition (see Lopez 2010: 6ff.), only the Śaunakīya was known to have survived to the modern day; the Saṃhitā of this school (ŚS), preserved in numerous mss., was first critically edited by Roth & Whitney in 1856. Other editions followed; these also included the Padapāṭha, the commentary attributed to Sāyaṇa, and made use of new and sometimes oral sources. Several ancillary texts affiliated with the same tradition were also edited, and a great number of studies have since emerged. On the other hand, only one ms. of a different recension of the Atharvaveda had been discovered, specifically in Kashmir near the end of the 19th century;[1] this was cautiously called "Kashmirian", although early evidence led to the suspicion that it was actually the recension belonging to the allegedly lost Paippalādaśākhā. The ms. (preserved in Tübingen and often referred to as the Tübingen ms.) contained the text of the Saṃhitā, mostly without accents, with neither Padapāṭha nor commentary, and proved to be extremely corrupt. Leroy Carr Barret's strenuous efforts towards a critical edition, carried out over the course of over 35 years (1905–40), did not suffice to produce a readable text. For these reasons, the 1957–60 discovery was welcomed with great enthusiasm by the scientific community: Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharyya was able to retrieve several palm-leaf mss. of the Paippalādasaṃhitā and witness the tradition first-hand, as it was still alive in Odisha at the time. The mss. he found did not mark the accents either, and also lacked both Padapāṭha and commentary, but preserved a much better version of the text than attested by the Kashmirian ms. alone. Bhattacharyya himself produced an initial critical edition of the first (1964), second, third, and fourth of the twenty books (all three published posthumously in 1970) that constitute the *saṃhitā*. His endeavour was then picked up by his son, Dipak Bhattacharya, to whom we now owe a complete edition of all twenty books in four volumes (1997, 2008, 2011, 2016).

In the course of the last twenty years, several scholars have committed to improving Bhattacharya's edition, providing translations into European languages, analyses of the metre, and commentaries based on the most up-to-date scholarship in the field. Thomas Zehnder edited kāṇḍa 1 in 1993 for his Lizentiatsarbeit (unpublished), as well as kāṇḍa 2, which was published in 1999; Carlos Lopez devoted his PhD to editing kāṇḍas 13 and 14 (2000; published in 2010); Alexander Lubotsky has edited kāṇḍa 5 (2002a); Arlo Griffiths has edited kāṇḍas 6 and 7 (PhD dissertation defended in 2004; revised and published in 2009); Philip Kubisch has edited the first 30 sūktas of kāṇḍa 20 (2012); Jeong-Soo Kim has edited kāṇḍas 8 and 9 (2014); Duccio Lelli has edited kāṇḍa 15 (2015); and others have worked on smaller portions of other books. A significant boost to the research was provided by Arlo Griffiths who, over the course of various field trips to Odisha,

1 See Whitney 1905: lxxix–lxxxix and Griffiths 2009 §1.2 for an account of the discovery and further references.

discovered and collected new codices, photographed them, and provided detailed descriptions (see Griffiths 2003a, which includes information on the dating of the mss. as well). These new sources have been used for some of the above-mentioned improved editions, and are being used by other scholars who are currently engaged in editing other books or portions of them.[2] Besides these editions, a fair number of studies have also appeared in recent years; these deal with the content of the Paippalādasaṃhitā, its language, its metrical structure, the history of its transmission, and the philological problems of its edition.

The present work strives to be a contribution to the research outlined above, as it aims at providing a new critical edition of the three anuvākas (3, 5 and 6) of PS 17 that have no parallel in the Śaunakasaṃhitā (ŚS), based on a few additional sources besides the ones employed by Bhattacharya for his critical edition (2011), and accompanied by a metrical analysis, a translation into English, and a commentary.

### 1.2 Kāṇḍa 17 and the three "new" anuvākas

Besides Barret's (1936) and Raghu Vira's (1936–42) editions, which were based only on the Kashmirian ms., the first critical edition of kāṇḍa 17 (and 18) also to account for the **O** sources was produced by Dipak Bhattacharya; it was published in 2011, although problems in the publication process delayed its actual appearance until 2013.

The title of the kāṇḍa, as found in the colophons of several mss. as well as in AVPariś 46.10.22 and ŚS 19.23.22, is *ekānṛcá* (or *ekānṛcakāṇḍa*), which is explained by Modak (1993: 181 fn. 120) as the kāṇḍa that "contains sūktas one of which consists of non-*ṛks* (i.e. *paryāyas*)"; similarly, Bhattacharya (2011: lviii) believes that "*ekānṛcá* may mean a kāṇḍa that has one hymn/anuvāka without a *ṛk*", which he thinks is consistent with the fact that the sixth anuvāka of PS 17 consists only of prose (see ibid. §3 and §4 for further details). In fact, anuvāka 6 consists only of prose, and anuvāka 5 consists of prose mixed with verse.

According to Bhattacharya's introduction (2011: xv), kāṇḍa 17 consists of 496 stanzas, divided into 55 sūktas, grouped into eight anuvākas. I present here a table (Table 1) based on Bhattacharya 2011: xv.

| PS 17 | | | ŚS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anuvākas | Sūktas | No. of stanzas | *Loci paralleli* | No. of stanzas |
| 1 | 1-6 | 60[3] | 12.1 | 63 |
| 2 | 7-11 | 44 | 10.7 | 44 |
| 3 | 12-15 | 40 | new | |
| 4 | 16-20 | 53 | 12.4 | 53 |
| 5 | 21-26 | 66 (mostly prose) | new | |
| 6 | 27-43 | 116 (prose) | new | |
| 7 | 44-49 | 57 | 12.2 | 55 |
| 8 | 50-55 | 60 | 12.3 | 60 |

Table 1. Structure of PS kāṇḍa 17 and correspondences in the ŚS.

2 An up-to-date list can be found at: https://www.atharvavedapaippalada.uzh.ch/en/stateOfArt.html

3 In my MA thesis (Selva 2014), I edited 59 stanzas in anuvāka 1 because of some uncertainty in the stanza division of the second decad. However, this needs to be revised. I now believe that 60 stanzas is the correct count.

Although the textual divisions are posterior to the composition of the original poems, they are not a detail of small importance: as Griffiths (2003b: 5) has put it, they "are an integral part of the tradition, being among those marks that distinguish individual schools from each other", and moreover, "given the way Vedic ritual manuals refer to mantras to be recited during the ritual and given the importance of an understanding of the procedure of the ritual in question to the exegesis of the mantras being used, precise knowledge of a mantra-text's divisions is a *sine qua non* for the interpretation of those manuals and rituals, and the mantra-text itself". The anuvāka subdivision presented in Table 1 corresponds to that which is found in the Vedavratavidhi section of the Karmapañjikā as regards kāṇḍa 17. I quote from Griffiths's edition (2003b: 17): *satyaṃ bṛhat* (17.1.1) || *tvam asy āvapanī* (17.6.10) || *kasminn aṅge* (17.7.1) || *asti vai tat* (17.11.4) || *antaḥpātre* (17.12.1) || *vāvadākā*[4] (17.15.10) || *dadāmīti* (17.16.1) || *yadi hutāṃ* (17.20.13) || *asṛṅ māṃsaṃ* (17.21.1) || *amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasya*[5] (17.26.21) || *indro vajraṃ* (17.27.1) || *prati tiṣṭhati prajayā* (17.43.1)[6] || *naḍam ā roha* (17.44.1) || *pūrṇaṃ nāri* (17.49.7) || *pumān puṃsaḥ* (17.50.1) || *ūrdhvāyai diśe* (17.55.10) ‖ 17 ‖ 8 ‖.

From Table 1 above, it can be observed that five out of eight anuvākas have a parallel in the ŚS.[7] Three, instead, lack any such parallel (although single stanzas or lines do have parallels in the ŚS or other texts) and, as such, have never been translated or studied in detail before. These three "new" anuvākas are the focus of the present study.

In Part I, I present a new critical edition of anuvāka 3. This chapter contains the longest AV collection of spells meant to repel Sadānuvās, a class of female demons who threaten the well-being of children and mothers.

In Part II, I present a new critical edition of anuvāka 5. This chapter is a composite collection of curses against enemies, spells to exorcise poor sleep (*duṣvápnyam*), and curses to send poor sleep to an enemy. The largest part of the text is composed in *yajus*-style prose intermixed with a few verses.

In Part III, I present a new critical edition of anuvāka 6. This is a single composition in *brāhmaṇa*-style prose illustrating a so-called *anaḍudvrata*, 'the observance of the draft-ox'. Acharya (2013) has included this text among others containing evidence for the existence of the archaic bull *vrata* belonging to the cult of Indra that provided the prototype for the later *pāśupatavrata*, which, in fact, according to Acharya, originally prescribed the imitation of the behaviour of a bull.

In Appendix I, I study the ideology and praxis of this archaic *vrata*, and trace its origins back to the initiatic practices of the Indo-European *Männerbund*. By highlighting the socio-economical factors that drove the development of the *Männerbund* from an institution devoted to the education of the youth to a warrior and ascetic brotherhood that provided a means of social mobility to marginalised people, I aim to uncover the dynamics that led to the re-elaboration of archaic Indo-European cultural practices into Vedic Vrātya culture and later Śaiva asceticism.

The *anaḍudvrata* is also the topic of a second Vedic text, the so-called Anaḍutsūkta, 'the hymn to the draft-ox' (ŚS 4.11 ~ PS 3.25). In Appendix II, I provide a new critical edition of the PS version, and present a new interpretation of the hymn based both on the comparison with PS 17

4 I edit 17.15.10a as *vāvadākām *alpabhāṣāṃ*.

5 This is the beginning of 17.26.21b. Like Bhattacharya, I reconstruct the text as follows: **amuṣmā āmuṣyāyaṇāyāmuṣyāḥ putrāya* ||.

6 This is the beginning of PS 17.43.7b. I edit *prati *tiṣṭhati prajayā paśubhir gṛhair dhanena ya evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti* ||.

7 On the Śaunakasaṃhitā, see the *editio princeps* by Roth & Whitney (1856), the revised edition by Lindenau (1924, 2nd ed. 1966), the edition by Shankar Pandurang Pandit (1894–98), and that of Vishva Bandhu (1961); the latter two also contain the Padapāṭha and Sāyaṇa's commentary. An extremely precious resource is Whitney 1905, which contains a lengthy introduction to the text and a literal translation of the first 19 books, as well as a rich commentary by the author himself, and by the editor, Charles Rockwell Lanman. See also Bloomfield 1899.

anuvāka 6 and the data from my cultural reconstruction, outlined in Appendix I, uncovering the connections between the *anaḍudvrata* and the celebrations of the solstices: the Gharma ritual at the summer solstice, and the celebrations of the twelve *vrátyā* nights of the winter solstice.

## 2. Materials for the constitution of the text

### 2.1 The manuscripts and the history of transmission

The currently accepted hypothesis on the history of the transmission of the PS has been outlined by Witzel (1985a); see also the additional information collected in Griffiths 2003a, 2004, 2009: xlv-xlviii and Lopez 2010. According to this hypothesis, the archetype of all the PS mss. would have been written in a late form of Gupta script (hence called *G) in western India (Gujarat) around 800–1000 A.D; from this archetype, the two extant traditions would have arisen, namely the Kashmirian tradition—represented by the Tübingen ms. and various late apographs[8]—and the Odisha tradition. These in turn are traced back to two hyparchetypes: the one referred to by the label *D, written in Devanāgarī script and dating to ca. 1350 A.D., would have preceded the Kashmirian tradition; one labelled *B, written in Proto-Bengali script and dating to ca. 1400 A.D., would have preceded all the O. mss.

#### 2.1.1 The Kashmirian tradition

In my edition, I use **K** as the sole representative of the Kashmirian Paippalāda tradition.

**K** With this siglum I indicate Bloomfield & Garbe's (1901) facsimile edition of the birchbark ms., written in Śāradā script, that was discovered in Kashmir in the 1870s. The ms. arrived in Rudolph Roth's possession in Tübingen in 1876, and has since then been preserved in the University Library at Tübingen. On the characteristics of this ms., I refer the reader to Whitney 1905: lxxix ff., to the preface of Bloomfield & Garbe 1901, and to Griffiths 2009: xxiii-xxiv §2.1.1; cf. also Barret 1936: 149, with specific reference to PS 17. An overview of the main orthographic peculiarities is given below, in §2.2. The Tübingen ms. contains a colophon that reports a date that has been interpreted to refer to 1419 A.D; evidence indicates that it may have been copied, together with this colophon, from an immediate antigraph (*K) dating to that period. The ms. itself dates to the early 16th century (see Witzel 1973–76, 1985a; Slaje 2005, 2007).
The seventeenth book begins on folio 212a, line 17 and ends on folio 227b, line 18. The kāṇḍa opens with the following words: "*oṁ atha saptādaśo kāṇḍaḥ likhyatvā ZZ ZZ* [18] *oṁ namo gaṇeśāya | oṁ namo jvā*[.]*ābhagavatyai | oṁ namas tilottamāyai ZZ* [19] *oṃ ...*" The colophon at f227b on line 17, reads: "*ZZ ZZ ity atharvaṇikapaippalādasākhāyaṃ sa*[18]*ptādaśakāṇḍas samāptaḥ Z Z*". Anuvāka 3 begins on folio 216b, line 17, and ends on folio 218b, line 2. Anuvāka 5 begins on folio 220a, line 5, and ends on folio 221b, line 4. Anuvāka 6 begins on folio 221b, line 4, and ends on folio 223a, line 11.
In reading the Śāradā text of this ms., I have frequently resorted to Barret's transcription (1936) for guidance, as well as to Raghu Vira's edition (1936–42). The reader will find a note in my apparatus whenever my readings of **K** differ from those found in these works.

8 See Witzel 1973–76.

### 2.1.2 The Odisha Tradition

The text of kāṇḍa 17 is preserved in the following eight Odia codices: **Ma$_4$**, **Ja$_{3a}$**, and **Mā$_2$**, which are in the possession of Dipak Bhattacharya, as well as **V/122**, **Ji$_4$**, **Pa**, **V/71**, and **JM$_3$**. Of these, I was only able to directly collate the latter five, photographs of which were provided to me by Prof. A. Griffiths. I have deduced the readings of **Ma**, **Ja**, and **Mā** from Bhattacharya's (2011) apparatus and edition. Most of these mss. have been described in Griffiths 2003a; my information on the mss. available to Bhattacharya is based on Bhattacharyya 1964: xviii ff., Bhattacharya 1997: xv ff., and 2011: xxxiv ff., as well as Lopez 2010: 41 ff. I shall give here a brief description of the mss., especially with regard to the portion of the text that I have edited. All original mss. are inscribed on palm leaves with iron styluses and written in Odia script. The text is unaccented.

#### 2.1.2.1 Description of the Odia manuscripts

**Ma** [= **Ma$_4$**] The siglum **Ma** indicates a set of five palm-leaf codices from Mahāntipaṛā,[9] near Balasore, Baleshwar District, Odisha, discovered by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya. The fourth of these codices (indicated by a subscript numeral 4) contains kāṇḍa 17 and 18 up to 18.56 (Bhattacharya 1997: xvi). Lopez (2010: 41) adds that the "folios are inscribed on both sides, labelled A and B probably by D.M Bhattacharya [*sic*!]. Each folio side generally has four lines of text". Bhattacharyya 1964: xviii reports that, according to the colophon, "the ms. was written in the 9th year of Śrīmad Balabhadra-Maharāja […] Sri Mahapatra calculates the year to be 1656 A.D."; the interpretation of the colophon has been debated, and several dates have been proposed, usually hovering around the mid-17th century. However, according to Griffiths (2003a: 358), "a certain dating has not yet been established".
According to Bhattacharya's apparatus, kāṇḍa 17 begins as follows: "*oṁ namo lakṣmīṇṛsiṃhāya | oṁ* …". The colophon at the end of kāṇḍā 17 is recorded as follows: "*55 || ṛ 10 || a 8 || 60 || ity ekāṇṛccakāṇḍaḥ ||*".
For practical reasons, in my apparatus I refer to this mss. with the same siglum used in Bhattacharya's apparatus, namely **Ma** without the subscript numeral.

**Ja** [= **Ja$_{3a}$** ] The siglum **Ja** indicates a set of three palm-leaf codices from Jagannathpur,[10] Odisha, brought to the attention of the scientific community by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya. The third of these codices, (**Ja$_3$**), consists of four mss. bound in one volume: the first of these mss. (**Ja$_{3a}$**) consists of 31 leaves (the last of which is blank) and contains the text of kānda 17. The three other mss. contain kāṇḍa 19, 16, 20, and 18 in this order.
According to Bhattacharya's apparatus, kāṇḍa 17 begins as follows: "*śrī gaṇeśaya namaḥ || oṁ namo brahmādevāya namaḥ oṁ* …" The colophon at the end of book 17 is recorded as follows: "*a 8 | 55 | ṛ 10 | śrī* |o|o|o|o|o|".
Again, for practical reasons, I have adopted in my edition the same notation that Bhattacharya uses in his edition, namely the siglum **Ja** without the subscript numeral and letter.

**Mā** [= **Mā$_2$** ] The siglum **Ma** indicates a set of palm-leaf mss. in two codices discovered by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya in Makanda, Baleshwar District, Odisha (Lopez 2010: 42; Mākanda in Mayūrbhañj District, according to Zehnder 1999: 19). The second of these codices contains kāṇḍas 17–20. Lopez (ibid.) reports that "folios are inscribed on both sides, labelled A and B probably by D.M. Bhattacharya [*sic*!]. Each folio-side generally has four

9 See Griffiths 2003a: 358. Other works following Bhattacharyya 1964: xviii wrongly report the name Mahantipura or Mahāntipur.

10 Thus Bhattacharya 1964: xviii; Zehnder 1999: 19 specifies "Jagannāthpur, nahe Pipili, Distrikt Puri".

lines of text. […] Each folio has two holes through which a string was run in order to tie together the entire book". According to Bhattacharya's apparatus, kāṇḍa 17 begins with a simple "*oṁ* …". The colophon at the end of kāṇḍa 17 is recorded as follows: "*55* || *r̥* || *ity ekānr̥cakāṇḍe aṣṭamo nuvākaḥ* || *ity ekānr̥cakāṇḍe samāptāḥ* || *śrī* || *śrī* ||".
Again, in my apparatus, I refer to this ms. just with the siglum **Mā**, as Bhattacharya does.

**V122** [= **V/122**] With this siglum I indicate a palm-leaf codex preserved at the Odisha State Museum in Bhubaneswar, where it is catalogued as V/122. In my apparatus, I adopt a siglum without the slash in order to avoid confusion with other signs. The ms. has been dated to ca. 1748 A.D. It comprises 131 folios, containing PS 19, 20, 17, and part of 18, in that order. A set of photographs in the possession of Prof. A. Griffiths were not used by Kubisch for the collation of his edition of PS 20.1–30 because their low resolution made it difficult to distinguish the akṣaras beyond doubt (Kubisch 2012: 5–6). More recently, Prof. Griffiths has received new, good-quality photographs from the Odisha State Museum, and kindly shared them with me in 2016.
Each folio is numbered in Odia numerals on the right margin of the recto, contains 4 or 5 lines of text on each side, and has one hole in the very centre, through which a string must have been run in order to bind the book together. Book 17 begins on folio 81r at the beginning of line 1, with the words: "*śrī gaṇesāẏa namaḥ* || …". The ending colophon on folio 104r reads "*ity ekānr̥cakāṇḍe aṣṭamo 'nuvākaḥ* || *8* || *ity ekānr̥cakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ* || *pippalādaśākhāẏāṃ ekānr̥cakāṇḍaḥ samāpto yaṃ* || (space) || *idaṃ po*(//)*staka likhitaṃ vipranārayaṇa ūpadhyā kur̥ṇiẏā sāsana arasosarāhāra* || *virakiśoravyo a 12 ṅka sna 112 sambata* (hole) *sāla vr̥ṣamāsā di 12 ne saptaṃ* | (for an interpreation of which, see Griffiths 2003a: 362–363). Anuvāka 3 begins on folio 86v, line 2 and ends on folio 88v, line 2. Anuvāka 5 begins on folio 91r, line 2 and ends on folio 94r, line 4. Here begins anuvāka 6, which ends on folio 98r, line 1.
Punctuation: **V122** frequently marks half-pādas with a dot above the last akṣara of a pāda, or with a small raised daṇḍa in between the two pādas. Single and double daṇḍas are mostly easy to distinguish, although double daṇḍas are often written very close to each other. Raised numerals are frequently found, marking stanzas with a number of hemistichs that differ from the expected two. Corrections in the margins are normally followed by a number (1 to 5) that indicates the line in the page that is being corrected. The precise locus where a correction is to be inserted is often indicated by a special sign (the *kākapada*: see Griffiths 2009: lxxxiv) that resembles a candrabiṇḍu (or an upside-down candrabiṇḍu, if placed under the line that it refers to), whose curved part points to the line. On the notations of hymn number and stanza count, see §2.1.2.2 below.

**Ji$_4$** The siglum **Ji** indicates a set of four palm-leaf mss. in the possession of Ānandacandra Paṇḍā, from the village of Jiuḷi (= Vīrayadunāthapuraśāsana), Mayūrbhañj District, Odisha. The subscript numeral "4" indicates the fourth of these codices, which has been dated to 1846 A.D., and which contains kāṇḍas 19, 16, 18, and 17 in this order (Griffiths 2003a: 350). Prof. Griffiths has provided me with photographs of this ms. taken in 2011, as well as photographs of black and white xeroxes of the same.
Each folio contains four lines of text on each side, and has one hole in the very centre, through which a string must have been run in order to bind the book together. Each folio is marked with Odia numerals on the right side of its verso: the numerals (126–154) on the folios containing book 17 have been crossed out on each folio, and corrected with a *secunda manu* numbering (143–171). Each folio is also numbered (*ter. manu*) on both recto and verso with Odia numerals indicating pages 1 to 57. The opening on page 1(=f143r) reads: "*śrī gaṇeśāẏa namaḥ* || ...". The ending colophon on page 57(=f171r) reads: || *ity akānr̥cakāṇḍe aṣṭamo'nuvākaḥ* || *8* || *ity ekānr̥cakāṇḍeḥ samāptāḥ* || # || ### || (space) || # ||. Anuvāka 3

begins on page 16, line 1 and ends on page 23, line 4. Anuvāka 5 begins on page 28, line 1 and ends on page 34, line 1. Anuvāka 6 begins right after and ends on page 41, line 3.
Punctuation: **Ji$_4$** often, but not consistently, makes use of superscript commas as pāda markers. It very rarely features single daṇḍas; a drop-shaped double daṇḍa (in which the two daṇḍa strokes touch at the top and at the bottom) is used both for marking the end of hemistichs as well as the end of the stanzas. Whenever a stanza features more or fewer than the regular two hemistichs, superscript numbers are placed above the final drop-shaped double daṇḍa, according to the number of hemistichs that should be included in such stanza. **Ji$_4$** never gives the total number of stanzas at the end of a sūkta, but only marks the end of the section with a notation of the following type: || *section number* ||, e.g. || 1 || (see also §2.1.2.2 below).

**Pa$_c$** With this siglum I indicate a PDF file, sent to me by Prof. Griffiths, containing black and white scans of xeroxes, made by Prof. Michael Witzel in 1983, of a modern hand copy (Pa copy) of ms. **Pa**. According to Lopez (2010: 43) and Zehnder (1999: 17), the palm-leaf ms. **Pa** originally comes from the village of Parikula, Baleshwar (Balasore) District, Odisha. According to Griffiths (2003a: 336 fn. 8), it now belongs to the schoolteacher A. K. Praharāj of Baripada; the latter is the author and current owner of the hand copy (Pa copy) of which Prof. Witzel made the xeroxes on which the PDF file I use is based.
Each page is numbered with Odia numerals in the top left corner. The PDF file in my possession contains only the 39 pages (folios numbered 1 to 40; folio 14 is missing) containing kāṇḍa 17. The opening on folio 1 (file page 1) reads as follows: "*oṁ namo lakṣmī nṛsiṃhāya* (//) – *e*([xxx] →)*kāṇṛ*[.]*kāṇḍaḥ prārabhyate* – (//) *saptadaśakāṇḍaḥ prārabhyate* | *oṁ* …" The ending colophon on folio 40 (file page 39) reads: "|| *55* || *ru 10* || *a 8* || [.]*0* || # (?) *ītyekānarkāṇḍaḥ samāpta* —". Anuvāka 3 begins on folio 10 (file page 10), line 7 and ends on folio 13 (file page 13), line 22. Anuvāka 5 beings on folio 18 (file page 17), line 1 and ends on folio 21 (file page 20), line 15. Anuvāka 6 begins on folio 21 (file page 20), line 16 and ends on folio 26 (file page 25), line 21. Each folio/page contains an average of 25 lines. The ms. shows a tendency to feature one hemistich per line. This practice, however, is not always upheld; instead, sometimes the scribe compresses the last few akṣaras of a hemistich in an attempt to fit them all into the remaining space without having to shift to the following line – a habit that may cause some trouble to the reader.
The style of handwriting is very clear and yields little confusion. Remarkable is the seemingly consistent spelling of *Xya* clusters (e.g. *sya*, *nya*, etc) by means of a *-ya* sign of the same height as the base akṣara (*X*), and which is placed to the right of the base akṣara, as opposed to the spelling of *Xva* clusters (e.g. *sva*, *nva*, etc.) by means of a subscript *-va* sign. (In other mss., the *-ya* sign also consists of a subscript sign and, given its similarity with the *-va* sign, the *Xya* and *Xva* clusters can easily be confused).
Punctuation is mostly consistent and only seldom wanting: the ms. employs subscript commas (as opposed to the superscript ones found in other mss.) to mark the end of a pāda, single daṇḍas at the end of a hemistich, and double daṇḍas at the end of a stanza. Superscript numerals above final daṇḍas indicating a different size of the preceding stanza are never found. Each section closes with a label of the type "|| *section number* || *ru 10* ||", although the actual numeral indicating the stanza count is sometimes omitted (see §2.1.2.2 below).

**V71** [= **V/71**] With this siglum I indicate a codex preserved at the Odisha State Museum of Bhubaneswar, and catalogued as V/71. In my apparatus, I adopt a siglum without the slash in order to avoid confusion with other signs. The date of this ms. is unknown, as no colophon gives any information in this regard. According to a record cited by Griffiths (2003a: 361 fn. 47), it was "purchased from Banamali Upadhyay, Vill. Makanda [Mārakaṇḍa? See ibid. fn. 48], PO Alada, Dt. Balasore, 30-3-63". It comprises 120 folios,

containing kāṇḍas 20, 17, 19, and 18. Prof. Griffiths has shared with me a set of photographs provided to him by the Odisha State Museum.

Each folio contains 4 or 5 lines of text on each side, and has one hole in the very centre, through which a string must have been run in order to bind the book together. The folios are numbered on the right margin of the recto. However, as Griffiths (2003a: 360) points out, the right margin of the first bunch of folios is broken off, so the numbering is only visible from folio 55 onwards. Therefore, the numbers of the folios that contain book 17 are almost always absent or only partly readable.

Kāṇḍa 17 begins on folio 24r, line 1 with the words: "*Oṃ namo brahma*[..]*dāẏa* || (space) || *oṃ* …" The ending colophon on folio 45v, line 4 reads: "| *55* || *ru* || *ityekanr̥cakāṇḍe aṣṭamonuvākaḥ* || *ityekānr̥cakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ* || # || ### || […". Anuvāka 3 begins on folio 29r, line 1 and ends on folio 30v, line 4. Anuvāka 5 begins on folio 33v at the beginning of line 2, and ends on folio 35v on line 5 below the hole. Anuvāka 6 begins right after and ends on folio 39r, line 1.

Punctuation: half-pādas are marked with a raised dot above the last akṣara of the pāda, or with a raised daṇḍa between the last akṣara of the pāda and the first of the next pāda. Sometimes we find a semicolon instead of the raised daṇḍa; this semicolon can also be superscript. Single and double daṇḍas are clearly distinguished. In most cases, the end of a section is marked as || *section number* || *ru 10* ||, e.g || *50* || *ru 10* || (see §2.1.2.2 below). Corrections in the margin are referred to in the text with a dot placed in between akṣaras.

**JM₃** The siglum **JM** indicates a set of five palm-leaf mss. in the possession of Dr. Jagabandhu Miśra, teacher at the Vedakarmakāṇḍamahāvidyālaya, Puri. The mss. are dated to 1911 (Griffiths 2003a: 352). With the subscript numeral "3", I indicate the third of these mss., which contains kāṇḍas 17 and 19 (ibid., 353) on 71 folios, photographs of which have been provided to me by Prof. Griffiths.

Each folio contains five lines of text on each side, and has one hole in the very centre, through which a string must have been run in order to bind the entire book together. Each folio has been numbered on the top left corner of the recto with Roman numerals, followed by the letter "A" indicating the recto. Kāṇḍa 17 is contained in folios 1r–26r. The opening reads: "*oṁ̐ namo brahmavedāya* || *śrī śubham astu* || *oṁ̐* ..."; the ending colophon reads: "|| *55* || *ru 10* || *ityr̥cakāṇḍe aṣṭamo nuvākaḥ* || o || *ityekānr̥cakāṇḍasa*(hole)*māptāḥ* || # || *śrī* || ### || # || # || *oṃ* …" (continues with kāṇḍa 19). Anuvāka 3 begins on folio 7v, line 1 and ends on folio 9v, line 4. Anuvāka 5 begins on folio 12v, line 2, after the hole, and ends on folio 15v, line 1. Anuvāka 6 begins right after, and ends on folio 18v, line 5.

Punctuation: **JM₃** regularly uses small superscript daṇḍas to mark the end of a pāda, single daṇḍas at the end of a hemistich, double daṇḍas at the end of stanzas (although in various portions, double daṇḍas are also found as hemistich markers), and superscript numbers above the final daṇḍas to indicate stanzas containing a number of hemistichs that is different from the expected two. The end of a sūkta is given as follows: || *section number* || r̥ 10 ||. However, occasionally, the number of the section is postponed; for instance, we find ||[3] ru 10 || 1 || and || ru 10 || 5 ||. Often, the scribe has introduced corrections by erasing an akṣara and writing the correct one to the right of it; sometimes it is indicated that the order of two akṣaras need to be inverted by writing small numerals above them: e.g., *va²pa¹sva* (=*pavasva*) in 17.2.2c.

### 2.1.2.2. The $O^A$ and $O^B$ subgroups

A full treatment of the genetic relationships between the **O** mss. will have to be postponed until a complete edition of the whole of kāṇḍa 17 is produced. Nevertheless, I can already provide the following data.

I have not observed any significant differences between my **O** mss. in relation to their respective northern or central provenance, as other scholars have (cf. Griffiths 2009: xxviii–xxiv, Lelli 2015: 12–15, Lopez 2010: 14ff.). Griffiths (2009: xxviii) notes that the northern and central mss. organise the information in the hymn colophons in a different way: northern mss. give the hymn number first, then the stanza count (the numeral is sometimes omitted, but the notation || r̥ || is mostly written out); the central mss. give the stanza count first, then the hymn number. All my **O** mss. are of northern origin, except for **$JM_3$** (see Griffiths 2003a: 337), but as can be seen from the following table, **$JM_3$** behaves like a northern ms. On the contrary, **V122** behaves like a central ms. in anuvākas 3 and 5, but like a northern one in anuvāka 6.

| | **V71** | **$JM_3$** (central) | **V122** | **$Ji_4$** | **$Pa_c$** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anuvāka 3 | | | | | |
| 17.12.10 | \|\| 12 \|\| 10 \|\| | \|\| 12 \|\| ru 10 \|\| | \|\| ru \|\| 12 \|\| | \|\| 12 \|\| | \|\| 12 \|\| ru 10 \|\| |
| 17.13.10 | \|\| 13 \|\| ru 10 \|\| | \|\| 13 \|\| 10 \|\| | \|\| ru \|\| 13 \|\| | \|\| 13 \|\| | \|\| 13 \|\| ru 10 \|\| |
| 17.14.10 | \|\| 14 \|\| ru 10 \|\| | \|\| 14 \|\| 10 \|\| | \|\| ru \|\| 14 \|\| | \|\| 14 \|\| | \|\| 14 \|\| ru 10 \|\| |
| 17.15.10 | \|\| 15 \|\| ru 10 \|\| | \|\| 15 \|\| ru 10 \|\| | \|\| ru \|\| 15 \|\| | \|\| 15 \|\| | \|\| 15 \|\| ru 10 \|\| |
| | | | | | |
| Anuvāka 5 | | | | | |
| 17.21.10 | \|\| 21 \|\| ru 10 \|\| | \|\| 21 \|\| 10 \|\| | \|\|[1] ru \|\| 21 \|\| | \|\| 21 \|\| | \|\| 21 \|\| ru 10 \|\| |
| 17.22.10 | \|\| 22 \|\| ru 10 \|\| | \|\| 22 \|\| ru 10 \|\| | \|\| ru \|\| 22 \|\| | \|\| 22 \|\| ° \|\| | \|\| 22 \|\| ru 10 \|\| |
| 17.23.7 | \|\| 23 \|\| ru 10 \|\| | \|\| 23 \|\| 10 \|\| | \|\| ru 9 \|\| 23 \|\| | \|\| 23 \|\| | \|\| 23 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.24.10 | \|\| 24 \|\| ru 10 \|\| | \|\| 24 \|\| ru 10 \|\| | \|\| ru (*space*) \|\| 24 \|\| | \|\| 24 \|\| | \|\| 24 \|\| ru 11 \|\| |
| 17.25.8 | \|\| 25 \|\| ru 8 \|\| | \|\| 25 \|\| ru 8 \|\| | \|\| ru (*space*) \|\| 25 \|\| | \|\| 25 \|\| | \|\| 25 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.26.21 | \|\| 26 \|\| ru \|\| | \|\| 26 \|\| ru \|\| | \|\| ru (*space*) \|\| 26 \|\| | \|\| 26 \|\| | \|\| 26 \|\| ru \|\| |
| | | | | | |
| Anuvāka 6 | | | | | |
| 17.27.4 | \|\| 27 \|\| | \|\| 27 \|\| ru 5 \| | \|\| ru \|\| 27 \|\| | \|\| 27 \|\| | \|\| 27 \|\| ru 4 \|\| |
| 17.28.33 | .] 28 \|\| ru \|\| | \|\| 28 \|\| ru (*space*) \|\| | \|\| 28 \|\| ru \|\| | \|\| [~~2~~]28 \|\| | \|\| 28 \|\| |
| 17.29.2 | \|\| 29 \|\| ru 2 \|\| | \|\| 29 \|\| ru 2 \|\| | \|\| 29 \|\| | \|\| | \|\| 29 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.30.4 | \|\| 30 \| ru 4 \|\| | \|\| 30 \|\| ru 4 \|\| | \|\| 30 \|\| 4 | \|\| 30 \|\| | \|\| 30 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.31.4 | \|\| 31 \|\| ru 4 \|\| | \|\| 31 \|\| ru 4 \|\| | \|\| ru \|\| 31 \|\| | \|\| 31 \|\| | \|\| 31 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.32.4 | \|\| 32 \|\| ru 4 \|\| | \|\| 32 \|\| ru 4 \|\| | \|\| 3[.] \|\| | \|\| [~~2~~] \|\| 32 \|\| | \|\| 32 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.33.4 | \|\| 33 \|\| ru 4 \|\| | \|\| 33 \|\| ru 4 \|\| | \|\| 3[.] \|\| ru \|\| | \|\| 33 \|\| | \|\| 33 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.34.5 | \|\| 34 \|\| ru 5 \|\| | \|\| 34 \|\| ru 5 \|\| | \|\| 33 \|\| ru \|\| | \|\| 34 \|\| | \|\| 34 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.35.12 | \|\| 35 \|\| ru 12 \|\| | \|\| 35 \|\| ru 12 \|\| | \|\| ru (//) 35 \|\| | \|\| 35 \|\| | \|\| 35 \|\| ru \|\| |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17.36.3 | \|\| 36 \|\| ru […] | \|\| 36 \|\| ru 3 \|\| | \|\| 36 \|\| ru \|\| | \|\| 36 \|\| | \|\| 36 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.37.4 | \|\| 37 \|\| […] | \|\| 37 \|\| ru 4 \|\| | \|\| 37 \|\| ru (*space*) \|\| | \|\| 37 \|\| | \|\| 37 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.38.7 | \|\| 38 \|\| ru 7 \|\| | \|\| 38 \|\| ru 7 \|\| | \|\| 38 \|\| ru (*space*) \|\| | \|\| 38 \|\| | \|\| 38 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.39.2 | \|\| 39 \|\| ru 2 \|\| | \|\| 39 \|\| ru 2 \|\| | \|\| 39 \|\| ru (*space*) \|\| | \|\| 39 \|\| | \|\| 39 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.40.9 | \|\| 40 \|\| ru 10 \|\| | \|\| 40 \|\| ru 9 \|\| | \|\| 40 \|\| ru (*space*) \|\| | \|\| 40 \|\| | \|\| 40 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.41.6 (N.B. **O** only has 5 lines) | \|\| 41 \|\| ru 5 \|\| | \|\| 41 \|\| ru 5 \|\| | \|\| 41 \|\| ru (*space*) \|\| | \|\| 41 \|\| | \|\| 41 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.42.7 | \|\| 42 \|\| 7 \|\| | \|\| 42 \|\| ru 7 \|\| | \|\| 42 \|\| ru (*space*) \|\| | \|\| 42 \|\| | \|\| 42 \|\| ru \|\| |
| 17.43.7 | \|\| 43 \|\| ru \|\| | \|\| 43 \|\| ru 8 \|\| | \|\| 43 \|\| ru (*space*) \|\| | \|\| (*space, hole*) \|\| 43 \|\| | \|\| 43 \|\| ru \|\| |

Table 2. Hymn colophons.

Once we look at the actual variants in the readings of the stanzas, a pattern is clearly visible: **Mā**, **V71** (both northern) and **JM$_3$** (central) must be grouped together against all the other mss., and there is evidence of their being derived from a single hyparchetype, which I shall call *β*. I call this subgroup **O$^{B}$**.

I refer to all the remaining mss.—**Ma** (northern), **Ja** (central), **V122**, **Ji$_4$**, and **Pa$_c$** (all three northern)—with the siglum **O$^{A}$**. However, the latter does not indicate a sub-branch proper, in the sense that it is hard to demonstrate that these mss. derive from a single hyparchetype *α* and not simply from the **O** archetype *B, like the **O$^{B}$** sub-archetype *β* does.

It has been argued that **Pa** might be a direct copy of **Ma** (Griffiths 2009: xxix; Lopez 2010: 21–23), but one also finds errors in **Ma** that are not shared by any other ms., including **Pa$_c$** (e.g. PS 17.7.8c: *$^{+}$svid*] *śvid* **Ja V122 O$^{B}$** *syud* **Ma** *syaśvid* **Ji$_4$** *sya* **Pa$_c$** *svad* **K**; PS 17.39.1 *yajūṃṣi* **K Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** *yajuṃṣi* **Ma** *yajuṣi* **Mā** *yajūṣi* **V71**; also relevant is the lacuna in 17.43.1, where **Ma** lacks the sequence "*na yena gaus tena*"). Such independent errors in **Ma** suggest that **Ma** cannot be the exemplar from which the other **O$^{A}$** mss. have been copied.

At the same time, in order to demonstrate the existence of *α,* we need to find cases of agreement between **K** and **O$^{B}$** (or cases in which **O$^{B}$** preserves the correct reading regardless of **K**) against an error in all the **O$^{A}$** mss. This shared error could then be ascribed to *α*. A possible case is perhaps 17.28.26, where **O$^{B}$** and **K** read *devā* (which is the correct reading), while all the **O$^{A}$** mss. have *devān*.

Among the **O$^{B}$** mss., **V71** and **JM$_3$** share further errors that suggest that they derive from a sister ms. of **Mā**: *β*$^2$. At the same time, in a number of cases, **JM$_3$** agrees with the **O$^{A}$** mss. against **Mā** and **V71**. It is perhaps possible that the scribe of **JM$_3$** collated other mss. together with *β*$^2$ (or a ms. copied from *β*$^2$) and corrected various readings accordingly.

The agreement of the **O$^{B}$** mss. normally yields a reading that is inferior to the variant preserved by the **O$^{A}$** mss. Among these, **Ma**, which is the oldest, seems by far the most reliable of all, while **Ji$_4$** is the most corrupted. **Pa$_c$** too features numerous lacunae and errors.

Below, I provide some evidence for the grouping outlined above.[11]

11 From the following overview, occasionally, some clearly secondary errors of **Ji$_4$** or **Pa$_c$** were omitted because of their irrelevance. The reader can retrieve the full data in the apparatus attached to the edited stanzas. The lists given in the tables below are not entirely complete, but are the result of a selection. Also, some cases have been left out because they were not self-explanatory, but would have required a more detailed explanation. Some of these cases are discussed in the comments on the stanzas. Not all the errors listed in the tables below bear the same weight: confusion between sibilants, between long and short vowels, and loss of anusvāra or visarga are extremely frequent and might not be considered sufficient in determining the genetic relationship

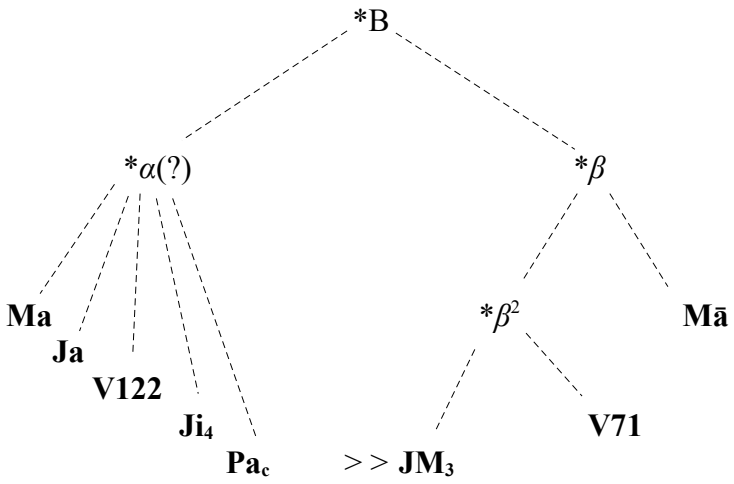


Figure 1. Stemma of the genetic relationship between the **O** mss. for PS 17.

a) Shared errors among **Mā**, **V71**, and **JM₃** against all other mss., proving the existence of *β*:

An example of an error that cannot be due to chance, but must indicate genetic relationship can be found in PS 17.28.27 (**O$^{A}$** °*mupāma*° vs **O$^{B}$** °*masāma*°):

Edition: tam *upāmantrayantāpuṇyayā
**O$^{A}$**: tamupāmantraẏantu puṇyaẏā **Ma Ja V122**
tamupāmantaẏantu puṇyaẏā **Ji$_4$**
tamupāmantraẏantu puṇyaṃẏā **Pa$_c$**
**O$^{B}$**: tamasāmantraẏantu puṇyaẏā **Mā**
tamasāma(ndra→*s.s.*)ntraẏantu puṇyaẏā **V71**
tamasāmantraẏantu puṇyāẏā **JM₃**
**K**: tamupāmantrayante puṇyayā **K**

Examples of this kind are found throughout PS 17, also in anuvākas not featured in this volume. For instance, in PS 17.7.5b, where **O$^{B}$** adds the syllable *sma*:

Edition: kva prepsan pavate
**O$^{A}$**: kva prepsan, pavate **[Ja] [Ma] Ji$_4$ Pac**
kva prepsa(*s.s.*:-n,)ddhavate **V122**
**O$^{B}$**: kva prepsasmanpavate **Mā V71**
pre[x]ps[x]asmanpavate **JM₃**
**K**: kva prepsaṃ pavate **K**

The division between **O$^{A}$** and **O$^{B}$** can also clearly be observed in the case of the spelling of *duṣvapnyam* (see §2.3.1 below).

Table 3 contains an illustrative list of cases from the anuvākas edited in this volume.

between manuscripts. However, the accumulation of such mistakes next to more significant ones is noteworthy.

| Line | Edition | $O^A$ | $O^B$ | K |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| 17.12.1 | *dūrśe | dūḥśe | duḥse | duśce |
| 17.12.5 | bastagandhāḥ | bastagandhāḥ | bastugandhāḥ | vastagandhās |
| 17.12.6 | sadānvāḥ | sadānvāḥ | sadānvā | sadānvāsas |
| 17.12.6 | sādānveyāṃ | sādānveẏāṃ | sādānveẏā | sadānveyā |
| 17.12.7 | durṇāmno | durṇṇāmno | durnāmno | durnāmno |
| 17.13.1 | abhiprahāyyā | abhiprahāyyā | abhiprahājyā | apiprāhyā |
| 17.13.2 | tā | tā | tāṃ | tā |
| 17.13.8 | pra mr̥śantu | pra mr̥śaṃtv | pra mr̥ṇaṃtv **Mā JM3**<br>pra muṇaṃtv **V71** | prāviśantv |
| 17.13.8 | arāyyaḥ | arāyyaḥ | arājyaḥ | arāyyāḥ |
| 17.14.4 | bhrūṇāny | bhrūṇāny | bhr̥ṇāny **Mā**<br>bhr̥ṇāṃny **V71 $JM_3$** | bhrūṇāny |
| 17.14.8 | ārehiṇīr | ārehiṇīr | ārohaṇīr | ārohiṇer |
| 17.14.10 | krūrādinīr | krūrādinīr | kūrādinīr **Mā JM3**<br>kurādinīr **V71** | churādinīr |
| 17.14.10 | savaḥ | savaḥ *rell.*<br>(śivaḥ **Ja** ) | śavaḥ | savaḫ |
| 17.15.1 | yāḥ … yāḥ | yāḥ … yāḥ<br>(yā … yāḥ **V122**) | yā … yā **Mā V71**<br>(yā … yaḥ **$JM_3$**) | yās … yās |
| 17.15.9 | nāmahūkāṃ | nāmahūkāṃ | nāmahukāṃ | nāmahukāṃ |
| 17.21.2 | $^{+}$āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ | āmuṣyāẏaṇam amuṣyāḥ | āmuṣyāẏaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ **Mā**<br>āmuṣyāẏaṇaṣyāmuṣyāḥ **V71 JM3** | āmuṣyāyeṇam amuṣyaḫ |
| 17.22.6 | svaḥkārebhyo | svaḥkārebhyo | svakārebhyo | svaḫkālebhyo |
| 17.23.3 | *paḍvīśād | paḍvīṣād **Ma Ja Pac**<br>paṛvīśād **V122**<br>paḍviṣād **Ji4** | paḍvīṣā | paḍbiṣād |
| 17.23.7 | anāyuṣṭayā | anāyuṣṭayā<br>(anājuṣṭaẏā **$Ji_4$**) | anājuṣṭaẏā | unā iṣṭayāvena |
| 17.25.6 | etaśebhiḥ | etaśebhiḥ | etasebhiḥ | ītaśebhiḫ |
| 17.28.26 | *viśve devā | viśvān devān | viśvān devā | viśvān devā |
| 17.28.28 | $^{+}$-pasmitaṃ | -paspr̥taṃ | -pasmr̥taṃ | -passitaṁ̃ |
| 17.30.2 | viśvāṣāḍ *yad | viśvāṣāḍyaur | viśvāṣāḍyor **Mā V71**<br>viṣvāṣāṛyor **$JM_3$** | viśvāṣātsaur |
| 17.31.3 | sūryasya | sūryasya | sūryaḥsya | sūryasya |
| 17.31.3 | raśmayaḥ | raśmaẏaḥ | raḥśmaẏaḥ **[Mā] V71**<br>rasmaẏaḥ **$JM_3$** | vaśmayat |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17.32.3 | sarvā anuprajāto | sarvā anuprajāto | sarvānuprajāto | sarvānuprasāro |
| 17.39.1 | asminn$^{+}$antar r̥caḥ | asminn anta r̥caḥ | asmin anta r̥caḥ | asmin antara r̥cas |

Table 3. **O$^{A}$** vs. **O$^{B}$**.

b) Features and errors shared only by **V71** and **JM$_3$** (and not **Mā**) suggesting that both mss. derive from a ms. $\beta^2$:

First of all, both mss. feature a lacuna in anuvāka 5. The whole of line 17.21.10 is missing in both **V71** and **JM$_3$**, but in both mss., the closing line count after 17.21.9 reads "|| 21 || ru 10 ||".

Secondly, in the same anuvāka, the two mss. abbreviate the refrain at 17.24.2, 3, 6, and 8 in (almost) the same way as opposed to the other mss. (note that Bhattacharya does not explicitly report **Mā**'s readings):

| **Line** | **All other O mss.** | **V71** | **JM$_3$** |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| 17.24.2 | adhi \|\| | adhi jāto \|\| | adhi jāto \|\| |
| 17.24.3 | -ā adhi \|\| | -ādhi \| | -ādhi \|\| |
| 17.24.4 | adhi \|\| | adhi \| | adhi \| |
| 17.24.5 | adhi \|\| | adhi \| | adhi \|\| |
| 17.24.6 | -o dhi \|\| | -o \| | -o \|\| |
| 17.24.7 | adhi / dhi \|\| | adhi \|\| | adhi \|\| |
| 17.24.8 | adhi \|\| | adhi jāto \| | adhi jāto si \|\| |
| 17.24.9 | adhi \|\| | adhi \| | adhi \|\| |

Table 4. Abbreviations of the refrain at PS 17.24.2–9.

Thirdly, the two mss. share a number of errors that can hardly be due to chance. For instance, in PS 17.21.1, all mss. read *asr̥ṅ*, but **V71** and **JM$_3$** have *askr̥ṅ*; in PS 17.14.2, all mss. read *kaṅkyekā*, but **V71** has *kaṃṅkmekā* and **JM$_3$** *kaṃṅkmaikā*; in PS 17.27.3, all mss. read *etāni trīṇi*, but **V71** has *etrāni triṇi* (with anticipation of *tr* and with short *i*), and similarly, **JM$_3$** has *etrā triṇi* (possibly with further loss of the syllable *ni*). See the following table for an illustrative list of cases:

| **Line** | **Edition** | **O$^{A}$ + Mā** | **V71, JM$_3$** | **K** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| 17.13.5 | *pratodinīr | pradodanī | pratodanīr | pralodinīṃ |
| 17.13.6 | kr̥ṇutāṇḍaraṃ | kr̥ṇutāṇḍaraṃ | kr̥ṇvutāṇḍaraṃ | kr̥ṇutāṃ duraṃ (→ *subs*. tvarāṃ) |
| 17.13.7 | maktyatho | maktyatho | makthyatho | manyatho |
| 17.13.9 | sarvāsāṃ | sarvāsāṃ | sarvasā | sarvāsāṃ |
| 17.14.2 | kaṅkyekā | kaṅkyekā | kaṃṅkmekā **V71**<br>kaṃṅkmaikā **JM$_3$** | kaṅkekāḷ |
| 17.14.2 | *arāyīḥ | rāẏī | rāẏa | rāyī |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17.14.6 | yāḥ | yāḥ | yā | yaḫ |
| 17.14.7 | gardabhīr | gardabhīr | gardibhīr | gardabhīr |
| 17.21.1 | asr̥ṅ | asr̥ṅ | askr̥ṅ | asr̥ṅ |
| 17.21.1 | +pestra- | preṣṭrya | preṣṭya **V71**<br>> preṣṭhya **JM₃** | peṣṭra |
| 17.21.5 | pūṣṇe | pūṣṇe | puṣṇe | pauṣṇe |
| 17.24.5 | varuṇānyā adhi | varuṇānyā adhi | varuṇānvādhi | varuṇānyādhi |
| 17.27.3 | etāni trīṇi | etāni trīṇi | etrāni triṇi **V71**<br>> etrā triṇi **JM₃** | etāni rasā trīṇi |
| 17.33.2 | +vr̥trasyāṅgā | vr̥trasyāṅgāḥ | vr̥rtraḥsyāṅgāḥ | vr̥ttrasyāṅgā |
| 17.34.2 | abravīt | abravīt | abravī | avravīt, |
| 17.34.7 | nāsike | nāsike | nāśike | nāsike |

Table 5. Errors shared by **V71** and **JM₃** against all other mss. including **Mā**.

c) Features and errors shared by **Mā** and **V71**, but not by **JM₃** (which instead agrees with the **O$^{A}$** mss.) further support the grouping together of **Mā** and **V71**, and at the same time suggest the influence of the rest of the **O** tradition on **JM₃**:

An interesting lacuna is found in PS 17.21.4a. This pāda is missing in both **Mā** and **V71**, but it features twice in **JM₃** (see my apparatus *ad loc*.).

Very frequently **Mā** and **V71** share an error, while **JM₃** seems to have been corrected and conforms to the majority of the **O** mss. For instance, 17.13.6, *randhayadhve* (*randhayadhve* **O$^{A}$ JM₃** vs. *ravayadhve* **Mā V71**); 15.13.8, +*apārogāñ … vr̥kṣāṇāṃ … gr̥haṃ …* (*apārogāṃ … vr̥kṣāṇāṃ … gr̥haṃ* **O$^{A}$ JM₃** vs. *apārogā … vr̥kṣaṇaṃ … gr̥ha* **Mā V71**); 17.15.6, *agniṣ *ṭā* (*agniṣṭvā* **O$^{A}$ JM₃ K** vs. *agniṣṭā* **Mā V71**); 17.15.9, +*udradantīm* (*udrayantīm* **O$^{A}$ JM₃** vs. *udrayantim* **Mā V71**; *ūpridantīm* **K**); 17.21.1, *-āmuṣyāḥ* **O$^{A}$ JM₃** vs. *-āmuṣyā* **Mā V71**; *-āmuṣyāḫ* **K**; 17.23.1, *yad *r̥tānr̥tam* (*yadr̥cānr̥tam* **O$^{A}$ JM₃** vs. *yadūcānr̥tam* **Mā V71**); 17.28.32, *parūṃṣi* **O$^{A}$ JM₃** vs. *paruṃṣi* **Mā V71**; 17.37.3, *āhur* **O$^{A}$ JM₃** K vs. *āhūr* **Mā V71**; and 17.42.4, +*sattrāyaṇāni* (*satrāyaṇāni* **O$^{A}$ JM₃** vs. *śatrāyani* **Mā** *śatrāya[x]ni* **V71**).

An interesting case is PS 17.23.1. Here we can clearly see the distribution **O$^{A}$** vs. **O$^{B}$** with regard to the spelling of *duṣvapnyam*; yet, **JM₃** agrees with the **O$^{A}$** mss. in reading a double *d* in *yaddu*°, whereas **Mā** and **V71** simplify the cluster to *yadu*° (see my apparatus *ad loc*.).

d) Errors found only in **Mā** not shared by **V71** and **JM₃**, showing that **Mā** cannot be **V71** and **JM₃**'s exemplar:

| **Line** | **Edition** | **All other O mss.** | **Mā** | **K** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| 17.12.1 | antaḥpātre | antaḥpātre | antapātre | antaḫpātre |
| 17.12.5 | āpatantīr | āpatantīr | āpatantī | apadannīr |
| 17.13.6 | mehatha | mehatha | sehadha | mehitā |
| 17.13.7 | pītvāva | pītvāva | pātvā | pīḍāva |
| 17.15.7 | eko | eko | ekā | eko |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17.21.3 | putram ā | putram ā | *om*. | putram ā |
| 17.22.9 | +ruruduṣīm | rurudhuṣīm | rurundhuṣīm | ruduṣīn |
| 17.23.1 | tad āpaḥ | tad āpaḥ | yad āpaḥ | tad āpaḥ |
| 17.23.2 | sapta | sapta<br>(saptaḥ **V71**) | taptaḥ | sapta |
| 17.25.7 | abhīyarṣi | abhīẏarṣi | abhiẏarṣi | adyanr̥thi |
| 17.26.11 | devā (= **K**) | devāni | devā (secondary) | devā |
| 17.28.1 | ud aiṅgayat tam | udaiṅgaẏattam<br>*rell*.<br>uṛyaiṅgaẏattam<br>**JM$_3$** | udaiṅgaẏatam | udīśayattam |
| 17.28.2 | amucyata | amucyata | amucyate | amucyata |
| 17.28.3 | *saṃśiñj° | siṃsiñj° **Ma Ja**<br>saṃsij°**JM$_3$ Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$**<br>saṃsiṃj°**V71 V122** | saṃsaṃj° | siṁñc° |
| 17.28.6 | asuraiḥ | asuraiḥ | aśuraiḥ | āsurais |
| 17.28.27 | haniṣyāmas | haniṣyāmas | haniṣyāsyāmas | hahiṣyāsas |
| 17.28.28 | vedotāpa° | vedotāpa° | vedo apa° | vedotāpa° |
| 17.31.1<br>(cf. 32.1) | viśvānare<br>(')kramata | viśvānare kramata | viśvānare hy<br>akramat | *om*. |
| 17.31.4 | +devayānāñ | devayānāṃ | devayānānāṃ | devayānāṃ |
| 17.34.4 | ūrdhvo | ūdhno | udhno | ūrdhvo |
| 17.35.4 | hy enam | hy enaṃ | hy ena | *om*. |
| 17.35.5 | prājānāt | prājānāt | prājanāt | *om*. |
| 17.36.3 | śraddhānīyo | śraddhanīẏo | śraddhāśraddhānīẏo | śraddhānīyo |
| 17.39.1 | yajūṃṣi | yajūṃṣi *rell*.<br>yajuṃṣi **Ma** | yajuṣi | yajūṃṣi |
| 17.40.7=8 | nābhyās | nābhyās *rell*.<br>nābhyāṃs **JM$_3$**<br>nāmbhāṃs **Ja** | nāmbhāṃs | *om*. |
| 17.43.1 | vratena yena | vratena yena<br>vrate **Ma** | vrateyena | |

Table 6. Errors found only in **Mā**.

### 2.1.3 Evidence for the Odia hyparchetype *B

The postulation of the existence of a common Odia hyparchetype can be supported by cases in which all the **O** mss. share an error or a lacuna, while **K** preserves the correct reading. For instance, the omission of 17.41.1 from the **O** mss. (see my comment *ad loc*.); the lacuna in 17.41.3 with the omission of *śatam anuvatsarāḥ* in all **O** mss.; 17.12.1, *rerihati* **K** vs. *reruhati* **O**; 17.13.2, *śacīpate* **K** vs. *śacīpateḥ* **O**; 17.13.9, *kanikradā* **K** vs. *kanikladā* **O**; 17.14.1, *arāyi kim* **K** vs.

*arāi*(/*ī*) *kīm* **O**; 17.14.10, *śavam atta* **K** vs. *śavam atra* **O**; 17.24.1, *vaiśvāṇarasyainaṃ* **K** vs. *vaiśvānaraḥsyainaṃ* **O**; 17.26.11, *devā* **K** vs. *devāni* **O**; 17.28.5, *dagdhaḥ* **K** vs. *jagdhaḥ* **O**; 17.28.29, *ādatta* **K** vs. *uttabhito* **O** (out of perseveration); 17.31.3, *yat* **K** vs. *yaḥ* **O**; 17.34.4, *ūrdhvo* **K** vs. *ūdhno* **O**; 17.35.7, *tau sruvau* **K** vs. *tau śruvau* **O**; and 17.38.2, *ūṣmā* **K** vs. *uṣmā* **O**.

Note also the following differences between **K** and **O**: 17.43.6, *yenainaṃ* **O** vs. *yenedaṃ* **K**, both possible correct readings; and the presence of *ca* in **K** (absent from **O**) in the formula *yo* (')*smān dveṣṭi yaṃ* (**K**: *ca*) *vayaṃ dviṣmas* in 17.43.2.

### 2.1.4 Evidence for the PS archetype *G

The postulation of a common PS written archetype can be supported by cases in which both **K** and **O** share the same errors (or slightly different errors from which the extant readings are derived), suggesting that such errors were already contained in the written archetype. For instance, 17.12.2, **karṇāṃ*, mss. *karṇṇā* **O**, *karṇā* **K**; **dr̥ṣadrathāsaham*, mss. °*mah*°; **khaḍūrīm*, mss. °*ḍur*°; 17.12.10, **satvaram*, mss. *chatvaraṃ* **O** *śchatvaraṃ* **K**; 17.13.3, **nir dravata*, mss. *ni dravata*; 17.14.1, *nis *tvauṣāmi*, mss. *nistauṣāmi* **O** *nistūṣāmi* **K**; 17.14.2, **abhiśrayāḥ*, mss. °*yā*; 17.15.5, **avahvarāṃ*, mss. *aiva*° **O**, *ayiva*° **K**; 17.15.6, *agniṣ *ṭā*, mss. *agniṣṭvā* (**Mā** and **V71** have *agniṣṭā*, but this must be secondary); 17.15.10, **alpabhāṣāṃ*, mss. *albha*°: 17.22.9, **amūm*, mss. *amum*; 17.22.9, **āsāktāṃ*, mss. *āso*°; 17.23.1, *yad *r̥tānr̥tam*, mss. *yadr̥cā*° **O**, *yadr̥jā*° **K**; 17.25.1, **mr̥je*, mss. *vrajet*; 17.25.6, **patarai*, mss. *prat*°; 17.26.1 (=26.21), **amuṣmā*, mss. *amuṣyā*°; 17.27.2, *yat *tigmavīryaṃ*, mss. *yatte*°; 17.27.4, **puṇyām̐l lokān*, mss. *puṇyāllokān*; 17.28.2, **sahasrabhr̥ṣṭir*, mss. *sahasrapr̥ṣṭir*; 17.28.26, **viśve*, mss. *viśvān*; 17.30.2, *viśvāṣāḍ *yad*, mss. *viśvāṣāḍyaur*(/*ḍyor*) **O**, *viśvāṣātsaur* **K**; 17.37.1, **juhūr*, mss. *juhur*; and 17.42.5, *eṣa *vā *anaḍvān*, mss. *eṣa vānaḍvān*.

However, in most cases where we assume that the archetype *G had a faulty reading and we intervene in the text with a conjecture, the Kashmirian and Odia branches preserve different faulty readings.

## 2.2 Orthography

The script and orthography of the **O** mss. have been described extensively in Griffiths 2009: xxix–xxxii §2.1.2.3–4. As regards **K**, I refer the reader to Griffiths 2009: xxiii–xxiv §2.1.1.1–2. I shall only summarise some of the most important features here; unless otherwise specified, I follow the editorial policies established by Griffiths 2009.

The Śāradā script distinguishes *v* and *b* with two different signs, but in practice their use in **K** is inconsistent, and plenty of times *v* will be found where *b* is expected. The clusters *-ṣṭ-* and *-ṣṭh-* are not distinguished; following Griffiths (2009), I have tried to select the appropriate transliteration each time. **K** distinguishes three kinds of final aspiration: jihvāmūlīya (*-ẖ*) before voiceless velars (*k*, *kh*), upadhmānīya (*-ḫ*) before voiceless labials (*p*, *ph*), and visarga (*-ḥ*) in pausa. I have consistently recorded these differences in my apparatus.

The O mss. do not distinguish *v* from *b*: following Griffiths (2009), I have tried to choose the appropriate transliteration each time; in case of very doubtful readings, I transliterate with *v*.

The vowel *r̥* is only spelled with a special akṣara (a subscript circle) if it follows a consonant (e.g *vr̥*), otherwise the mss. regularly write *ru* (the latter being the Odia pronunciation of the vocalic *r̥*). I always distinguish these two spellings in my transcription of the mss. readings in the apparatus, even when there is no doubt that the intended phoneme is *r̥*. For the sake of consistency, I also transcribe the akṣara indicating the stanza (*r̥k*) count in the colophons as *ru*, even though it is intended to be an abbreviation of *r̥k*.

The **O** mss. use only visarga (*-ḥ*), and do not distinguish other realisations of this phoneme.

The **O** mss. use two different akṣaras for the Vedic phoneme /l/: the akṣara *la*, pronounced [la] (alveolar/dental lateral approximant), is characterised by a pendulum attached to the bottom right; the akṣara *ḷa*, pronounced [ɭa] (retroflex lateral approximant), does not have the pendulum, and is the preferred spelling between vowels (although this is not always consistent). I always distinguish these two akṣaras in my transcription as *la* and *ḷa*.

The **O** mss. use two different akṣaras for the Vedic phoneme /ḍ/: the akṣara *ḍa*, pronounced [ɖa] (voiced retroflex stop), and the akṣara *ṛa*, which is identical to the preceding save for the presence of a dot or short vertical stroke underneath, and is pronounced [ɽa] (retroflex flap). The two akṣaras alternate inconsistently between vowels. I always distinguish them in my transcription. See also Griffiths 2009: lxix–lxxi §2.8(U).

The **O** mss. use two different akṣaras for the Vedic phoneme /y/: at the beginning of a word, they regularly employ the akṣara *ya*, pronouned [dʒa] (voiced palato-alveolar affricate), i.e. exactly like the sound corresponding to the akṣara *ja*. Word-internally, instead, they regularly employ a second akṣara, *ẏa*, which looks identical to *ya*, save for a pendulum attached to the bottom right. This akṣara *ẏa* is pronounced [ja], as we would normally expect from the Vedic phoneme /ya/. The regular distribution of these two akṣaras (word-initially vs. word-internally) is sometimes useful to determine where a word begins (although inconsistencies are found). Often, *ẏ* is used to fill a hiatus between two words, the first ending with a vowel, and the second beginning with a vowel: for instance, at 17.15.4, my edition reads *nāvyā* $^{+}$*ati*, **K** has *nāvyāti*, and the **O** mss. read *nāvyāẏati*. This might suggest that the scribes were dictated to. Because of the homophony between *ya* and *ja*, these two akṣaras are often confused: for instance, in the case of 17.23.4, $^{+}$*jāmiśaṃsād*, all mss. read *jāmi*°, but in V122 we find the error *yāmi*°. Somewhat interestingly, I find that the compound *devayāna*-, frequently attested in anuvāka 6 in the expression *devayāna path*, is unmistakably spelled with the akṣara *ya* (that is, not with the expected *ẏa*, word-internally and intervocalically), as if it consisted of two words, and hence pronounced [de:vadʒa:na]. I have not encountered any other such cases.

Bhattacharya does not distinguish between *ya* and *ẏa* in his apparatus. I always do, and when my mss. consistently point to the present of one over the other in one locus, I assume that Bhattacharya's mss. also featured it.

The **O** mss. frequently geminate several consonant clusters, such as *rtta*, *rṇṇa*, *rddha*, etc. for *rta*, *rṇa*, *rdha*, etc., but this is not consistent. Bhattacharya records this variation only occasionally, and mostly silently regularises it. When my mss. consistently show gemination, I generally assume that Bhattacharya's mss. also featured it. The **O** mss. have two different ways to spell the cluster *rṇṇa*, but I was not able to identify any pattern, therefore I do not record this distinction in my apparatus.

### 2.3 Sandhi

With regard to sandhi, I have followed the editorial policies established in Griffiths 2009: li-lxxi §2.8 (cf. Lopez 2010: 24ff.). I shall only spend a few words on the Abhinihita sandhi, for which I adopt the following rules (cf. Griffiths 2009:lv § (C)):

1. If *a*- is found in both **K** and **O** and the metre requires it, then I adopt it.
2. If *a*- is found in **K** only, or in **O** only, and the metre requires it, then I adopt it.
3. If zero or avagraha is found in the mss., but the metre requires a syllable, then I write [ $_{a}$- ].
4. If *a*- is found in all mss., but the metre requires elision, I write [ $^{a}$- ].
5. If avagraha is found in one or more mss. and the metre requires elision, then I adopt it and write [ ’ ].
6. If zero is found in all mss., but the sense requires an underlying *a*-, and the metre requires elision, I write [ (’) ].

The above rules are only applicable to verses where the metre provides a decisive criterion. Unfortunately, metrical arguments cannot help us in the case of prose text. As two of the anuvākas I edit in this volume consist mostly of prose, it would be desirable to find an alternative criterion with which to justify our editorial decisions, or at least identify a consistent habit that allows us to deduce a rule. Unfortunately, this has proved impossible. In fact, we find all kinds of variation. Sometimes, if we restrict our analysis to specific portions of the text, we do notice some consistency in both traditions: for instance, in kāṇḍikā 17.21, belonging to anuvāka 5, the **O** mss. have mostly *-o zero*, while **K** has *-o a-*, but this "habit" is not observed in other portions; in anuvāka 6, in almost all cases, we find *-o zero-* in both **O** and **K**. This fact most likely betrays the composite nature of the PS as a collection of independent texts from disparate origins, or texts that were not conceived as one single opus from the start.

Therefore, in the case of prose, unless there is full agreement between the mss. in reading *a-* (e.g. 17.28.7c, *bhūtvendro asurān*) or avagraha (I actually find no such case), I always write an apostrophe enclosed in square brackets, [']—hence also when there is in fact agreement on *-o zero-*.

### 2.3.1 The spelling *duṣvápnyam* vs. *duḥsvápnyam*

The case of the internal sandhi of the word for 'poor sleep' has been discussed in Griffiths 2009: lxviii §2.8(T). As this old compound is very frequent in anuvāka 5, it is worth treating this issue here. As a premise of the discussion, we can make the following observations:

- The edited text of the RV only features the spelling *duṣvápnyam*;
- The AV Pratiśākhya (ŚCĀ 2.4.6) recommends the spelling *duṣsvapnyam* (but this spelling is never found in any ms.);
- The ŚS mss. alternate *duṣvápnyam* with *duḥṣvápnyam* (the edition has *duṣvápnyam*);
- As Lubotsky (2002a: 171) notes, Bhattacharya's edition alternates between *ḥsva* (6x), *ḥṣva* (8x), and *ṣva* (1x).

The known cases from the available PS editions (except Bhattacharya's) are the following:

- PS 7.7.9a: duṣvapni **K** duḥṣvapniyam **O**; Griffiths edits $^{+}$duṣvapn$_{i}$yaṃ.
- PS 2.37.2: dviṣvapnīyasya **K** duḥṣvapnyasya **Ma1** duḥsvapnyasya **Ja1**, **Vā**, **Pa**; Zehnder 1999 edits duṣvapn$_{i}$yasya.
- PS 5.23.7: duḥsvapnyaṃ **K? O?** (Bhattacharya 1997); Lubotsky 2002a edits duḥsvapn$_{i}$yaṃ.
- PS 5.37.3: duṣṣvaptriṃ **K** duḥsvapnaṃ **Vā** duḥsvapnyaṃ *rell*.? (Bhattacharya 1997); Lubotsky 2002a edits duḥsvapn$_{i}$yaṃ.
- PS 8.3.6 duṣvapnyā **K** duḥsvapnyāt **RM** duḥsanyāt **Ku JM Ma Pa** duḥsvapnyāt **V126** duḥṣvapnyā **Mā**; Kim 2014 edits $^{+}$duṣvapnyāt.
- PS 15.4.2 duṣvapnyaṃ **K** duṣvapnyaṃ **Ku RM Mā** dusvapnyaṃ **[Ma] Pa**; Lelli 2015 edits duṣvapniyaṁ.
- PS 20.8.10 duṣvapnyā **K** duṣvapnyāt **Pa** duḥsvapnyāt **JM5 JMc**; Kubisch 2012 edits duṣvapnyāt.
- PS 20.16.5 duṣvapniṃ **K** duṣvapnyaṃ **Pa** duḥsvapnvaṃ **JM5** *om*. **JMc**; Kubisch 2012 edits duṣvapnyaṃ. This is a parallel of PS 5.34.7 ~ 4.17.5.
- PS 20.28.2: duṣvapnyaṃ **K** duṣvapnyaṃ **Pa** duḥpnvaṃ **JM5** duḥsvapnyaṃ **JMc**; Kubisch 2012 edits duṣvapn$_{i}$yaṃ.

We may note that only Lubotsky (2002a) has decided to adopt the spelling *ḥsva*. His decision was based on the observation that **K** often follows the RV. Therefore, Lubotsky deemed the Odia spelling *ḥsva* more original for the PS.

Griffiths (2009: lxix) has argued (against Bhattacharya and Lubotsky) in favour of the spelling *ṣva* on the basis of the following evidence, which, however, he deems "virtually nil":

1) there is one case of comparable external sandhi in PS 13.4.4 *rajjūḥ sma* → *rajjū ṣma* (rajjūṣma **O** *om*. **K**) in which the *ḥ* is omitted;

2) the **O** mss. consistently insert a *visarga*, but not in PS 15.4.2 (see above);

3) it is possible that *-ḥ-* is secondary, because elsewhere the least faithful of his mss. (**JM**, **RM**) sometimes insert a *visarga*, e.g. in PS 6.1.3c (Griffiths 2009: lxix fn. 104). If I understand this reference correctly, it concerns the sequence *svādoḥ svādīyaḥ*, preserved in **K** as *svādos svādīya* and in the majority of **O** as *svādo svādīyaḥ*, with the exception of **JM** and **RM**, which have *svādoḥ svādīyaḥ*. The implication is that the **O** archetype did not have the *-ḥ-*, and that (the normally unreliable) **JM** and **RM** inserted it—and that it is only by chance that they feature the correct reading here.

Thus, the norm has been to edit *duṣvapnyam* and to consider the *visarga* as secondary.

Kim (2014: 32), who also adopts *ṣva*, also notes other cases of internal secondarily inserted *-ḥ-*: "Der sekundär eingeführte Visarga findet sich z.B. in AVP 2.14.2d: **Or** *hataḥsvasā* (**K**: *hataśvasā*) für $^{+}$*hatasvasā*; 2.63.2d: **Or** *naḥśyetaḥ* (**K**: unleserlich) für **naśyetaḥ*; 2.89.1b,2c,5d: **Or** *duḥśya-* (**K**: *duṣva-*) für $^{+}$*duśya-*; 5.10.4b: **Or** *śasyaḥsrakvā* (**K**: *śaṣpassakvā*) für $^{+}$*śaṣpasrakvā*; AVP 5.19.8b; **Or** *ekaḥśnu-* (**K**: *ekasuni-*) für $^{+}$*ekaśnu-*; 13.1.2a: **Or** *tapaḥśramāv* (**K**: *tapasvamāv*) für $^{+}$*tapaśramāv* (Lopez 2010, 52: *tapaḥśramāv*)".

The word occurs 26 times in PS 17 anuvāka 5, so it is worth looking at the evidence in greater detail to see if it can support a particular editorial policy. I report all the occurrences in the table below.

From the first few occurrences in 17.23, a striking tendency is immediately visible: **K** mostly has *ṣva* and the **O$^{A}$** mss. (**Ma**, **Ja**, **V122**, **Ji$_4$**, **Pa$_c$**) regularly read *ḥsva*, while the **O$^{B}$** mss. (**Mā**, **V71**, **JM$_3$**) preserve *sva* (or other secondary variants). Note that this also mostly seems true for Bhattacharya's mss. (**Mā** and **Ja**, belonging to **O$^{A}$**, and **Mā**, belonging to **O$^{B}$**) when their readings are explicitly reported.

However, from 17.25 onwards, Bhattacharya never reports his manuscripts' readings, and always edits *ḥsva*. This would also suggest that **Mā**, which is the oldest ms. belonging to **O$^{B}$**, consistently preserves the reading *ḥsva*. However, my **O$^{B}$** mss. (**V71** and **JM$_3$**) regularly differ from the **O$^{A}$** mss.: they mostly preserve *sva* (or another secondary variant). It seems rather unlikely to me that **Mā** does not agree with them (especially with **V71**, which is always very close to **Mā**), and I cannot but wonder whether Bhattacharya has simply neglected to report **Mā**'s readings, perhaps because all the occurrences of 17.26 belong to a refrain for which he had decided to adopt the spelling *ḥsva*.

For this reason, in the table below, I include Bhattacharya's mss. only when he reports **Mā**'s reading explicitly in his apparatus. Obviously, in those cases in which he does so, **Mā** always differs from the adopted reading, which is always *ḥsva* (from which we can deduce that **Ma** and **Ja** read *ḥsva*).

The resulting picture is the following: **O$^{A}$** regularly has *ḥsva*, and **O$^{B}$** mostly *sva* (or a secondary spelling).

| **PS line** | **O mss.** | | **K** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **17.23.1** *duṣvapnyam | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyam **[Ma] [Ja]**<br>duḥsvapnyam **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | dvasvapnim **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dusvapnyam **Mā**<br>duspupnyam **V71**<br>dupsvapnyam **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.23.4** duṣvapnyād druho | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyādruho **Ma Ja**<br>duḥsvapnyādruho **V122**<br>dru(*subs.*→ du)ḥsvapnyādruho **Ji$_4$**<br>dyusvapnyādruho **Pa$_c$** | duṣvapnyāddruhe **K** |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **O$^{B}$** | dusvapnādruho **Mā**<br>(*subs*. du)spapnādruho **V71**<br>dusvapnyādruho **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.23.7**<br>$^{+}$duṣvapnyena | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyena **[Ma] [Ja]**<br>duḥsvapnyena **Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$**<br>duḥsva([x]ye→*subs*.pnye)na **V122** | duṣvapnena **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dusvapnena **Mā**<br>dduspa[xx]pnyena **V71**<br>dusvāpny[x]ena **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.25.1**<br>$^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$**<br>*om*. **Pa$_c$** | duṣvapniṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | duspapnyaṃ **V71**<br>dusvapanyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.25.7**<br>duṣvapnyaṃ | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvapnyaṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dusvapyna **V71**<br>duḥsvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.1 (1)**<br>*duṣvapnyaṃ | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$**<br>duḥsvapnya **Pa$_c$** | dussvapni **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dusvapnyaṃ **V71 JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.1 (2)**<br>$^{+}$duṣvapnyam \| | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvapnim, **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | du(*s.s.*→ḥ)svapnyaṃ **V71**<br>dusvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.6 (1)**<br>$^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Pa$_c$**<br>duḥsvapyaṃ **Ji$_4$** | duṣvapniṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | duṣvapnyaṃ **V71**<br>dupsvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.6 (2)**<br>$^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ \|\| | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā]**<br>*om.* **Pa$_c$** | duṣvaptriṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | duspa[x]pnyaṃ **V71**<br>dupsvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.7 (1)**<br>$^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvapniṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | duspapnyaṃ **V71**<br>dusvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.7 (2)**<br>$^{+}$duṣvapnyam \|\| | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvaptriṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | duspa[x]pnyaṃ **V71**<br>duḥsvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.8 (1)**<br>$^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvaptri **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | du[x]spapnyaṃ **V71**<br>duḥsvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.8 (2)**<br>*duṣvapnyam \|\| | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duḥsvaptriṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | duspapnyaṃ **V71** | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | duḥsvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.9 (1)** $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvapniṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dusvapnyaṃ **V71 JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.9 (2)** $^{+}$duṣvapnyam \|\| | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$**<br>duḥsvapnyaṃ parā duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122** | duṣvapniṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | duspapnyaṃ **V71**<br>dusvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.10 (1)** $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣupniṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dutsvapnyaṃ **V71**<br>dusvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.10 (2)** $^{+}$duṣvapnyam \|\| | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvapni **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dusvapnyaṃ **V71 JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.11 (1)** $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvapnim, **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | duspapnyaṃ **V71**<br>dusvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.11 (2)** $^{+}$duṣvapnyam \|\| | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvapniṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dusvapnyaṃ **V71 JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.12 (1)** $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvapniṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dusvapnyaṃ **V71**<br>dusva[x]pnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.12 (2)** $^{+}$duṣvapnyam \|\| | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvapniṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dusvapnyaṃ **V71 JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.13** *duṣvapnyam \|\| | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | *om*. **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dutsvapnyaṃ **V71**<br>dusvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.20 (1)** $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvapniṃ **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dussvapniẏaṃ **V71**<br>dusvapniẏaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.20 (2)** *duṣvapnyam \|\| | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duḥsvapnim, **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dussvapniẏaṃ **V71**<br>dusvapniẏa **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.21 (1)** $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja]**<br>duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvapnim, \| **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | dusvapniyaṃ **Mā**<br>dussvapniẏaṃ **V71**<br>dapsvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** | |
| **17.26.21 (2)** $^{+}$duṣvapnyam \| | **O$^{A}$** | duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja]**<br>duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** | duṣvapnim, **K** |
| | **O$^{B}$** | duḥsvapniyaṃ **Mā**<br>dussvapniẏaṃ **V71** | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | dupsvapiẏaṃ **JM₃** | |

Table 7. The spelling of *duṣvápnyam* in the mss. of PS 17 anuvāka 5.

Summing this up in further detail:

1) **K** mostly reads *ṣva*, but also, once each, *sva* (17.23.1), *ssva* (17.26.1 (1)), and *ṣu* (17.26.10 (1)). In two cases, 17.26.20 (2) and 17.26.8 (2), even **K** has *ḥsva*!

2) The **O$^{A}$** mss. always preserve *ḥsva*. The only exception is **Pa$_{c}$** *sva* in 17.23.4, but this must be secondary. Elsewhere, **Pa$_{c}$** always reads *ḥsva*.

3) The **O$^{B}$** mss. seem to generally preserve *sva*:

**V71** reads:

- *sva* in seven cases (17.25.7, 17.26.1 (1), 17.26.9 (1), 17.26.10 (2), 17.26.11 (2), 17.26.12 (1), 17.26.12 (2));
- *spa* in eleven cases (17.23.1 (*spu*), 17.23.4, 17.23.7, 17.25.1, 17.26.6 (2), 17.26.7 (1), 17.26.7 (2), 17.26.8 (1), 17.26.8 (2), 17.26.9 (2), 17.26.11 (1)). However, these can all be considered secondary errors for original *sva*, as the cluster *sva* is easily confused with *spa*: if the lower stroke of the *sa* extends too much to the right it may look like the crosswise stroke of the subscript *pa*;
- *ṣva* in 17.26.6 (1)—probably also just secondary for *sva*;
- *tsva* in two cases (17.26.10 (1), 17.26.13). The origin of this error is not clear to me. Could this point to an original cluster with three consonant?
- *ssva* in in four cases (17.26.20 (1), 17.26.20 (2), 17.26.21 (1), 17.26.21 (2)). Note that these occurrences are all consecutive and are found at the end of the series. The last two also correspond to **JM₃** *psva* and the last one to **Mā** *ḥsva*., so perhaps in this particular case, the **O$^{B}$** hyparchetype did have a heavier cluster. In 17.26.20 (2), **V71** *ssva* corresponds to **K** *ḥsva* (but **JM₃** regularly has *sva*);
- one time *sva* is corrected (superscript) to *ḥsva*, in 17.26.1 (2).

**JM₃** reads:

- *sva* in seventeen cases (17.23,4, 17.23.7 (*svā*), 17.25.1, 17.26.1 (1), 17.26.1 (2), 17.26.7 (1), 17.26.9 (1), 17.26.9 (2), 17.26.10 (1), 17.26.10 (2), 17.26.11 (1), 17.26.11 (2), 17.26.12 (1), 17.26.12 (2), 17.26.13, 17.26.20 (1), 17.26.20 (2);
- *ḥsva* in four cases (17.25.7, 17.26.7 (2), 17.26.8 (1), 17.26.8 (2)). We know that **JM₃** often agrees with **O$^{A}$** due to some kind of contamination. Could this be also an effect of contamination? Note that three of the four occurrences of *ḥsva* are in 17.26.7–8 (i.e. all in a row), and that in 17.26.8 (2), even **K** has *ḥsva*!
- *psva* in five cases (17.23.1, 17.26.6 (1), 17.26.6 (2), 17.26.21 (1), 17.26.21 (2)). Could this simply be anticipation of the following cluster *pnya*, with initial *p*? Note that two *psva* occurrences are both found in the same stanza, 17.26.1, and so are the last two in 17.26.21. The last occurrence corresponds to **V71** *ssva*, and in 17.26.21 (2) also to **Mā** *ḥsva*.

**Mā** reads:

- *sva* in four cases (17.23.1, 17.23.4, 17.23.7, 17.16.21 (2));
- elsewhere, Bhattacharya never reports its reading.
- *ḥsva* once, in 17.26.21 (2). This is problematic: if **Mā** has *ḥsva* here, then why should we doubt that it also has it in all of the occurrences that Bhattacharya does not report? But note that here it corresponds to **V71** *ssva* and **JM₃** *psva*, so perhaps the **O$^{B}$** sub-archetype really did have an extra consonant in the cluster in this particular locus.

It seems to me that we have two options for evaluating this distribution:

1) As the **O**$^{\mathbf{A}}$ mss. are generally more faithful than the **O**$^{\mathbf{B}}$ mss., we could consider the **O**$^{\mathbf{B}}$ mss. as featuring secondary corruptions, and the **O**$^{\mathbf{A}}$ mss. as preserving the original **O** spelling *ḥsva*. The scenario would be as follows: the **O**$^{\mathbf{B}}$ sub-archetype has lost the *-ḥ-* in most cases (perhaps with the exception of 17.26.21). How could this have happened? It could hardly have been a scribal mistake—in which case it could have happened in one instance of the word, but not all the time. Was the **O**$^{\mathbf{B}}$ sub-archetype dictated orally and inaccurately by someone who didn't pronounce the *visarga* correctly in this cluster? Note: if we trust Bhattacharya's apparatus, we have to postpone this scenario after **Mā** to the exemplar of **V71** and **JM**$_3$. **Mā** would then still preserve *ḥsva* in most cases (the cases of *sva* in **Mā** would have to be justified as random errors).

2) We regard the original **O**$^{\mathbf{B}}$ spelling *sva* also as the original **O** spelling. This spelling is closer to that of **K** *ṣva*. In fact, **O** *sva* could be a local pronunciation error for an original *ṣva*. Thus we should adopt the spelling *ṣva*. As for the **O**$^{\mathbf{A}}$ spelling, *ḥsva*, it must have been introduced secondarily. This would explain the uniformity of the evidence, and even the contamination in **JM**$_3$.

Based on comparison with the evidence from the occurrences of this word outside our anuvāka 5, scenario (1), after all, seems more probable to me.

If this is correct, the evidence collected here is further proof of the subdivision of the Odia tradition into two subgroups of mss. (**O**$^{\mathbf{A}}$ and **O**$^{\mathbf{B}}$), but it takes us back to the point of departure as regards our investigation into the spelling of the PS written archetype: if **K** featured the spelling *ṣva* and **O** the spelling *ḥsva*, which spelling should we adopt? After all, Griffiths' arguments, now backed by Kim's additional material, provide the most likely scenario. Therefore, in the following chapter, I will also adopt the spelling *duṣvapnyam*.

### 2.4. Spelling mistakes

Lists of spelling mistakes can be found in Lubotsky 2002a §6, Lopez 2010:32ff., Lelli 2015: 15ff., Witzel 1973–76. Kim *Schreib.* specifically focuses on **K**, whereas Kim *Auss.* focuses on the **O** mss. These works have often proven very useful when judging the manuscript evidence and attempting to emend a corrupt reading.

### 2.5 Punctuation in the mss.

Details on the habits of the individual mss. can be found above in the description of each ms. I shall add here some general remarks based on my observations of the mss. I have used.

The **O** mss. often mark the end of each single pāda with a special sign. Griffiths 2009: xxxii §2.1.2.6 calls this a "pāda-marker" and describes it as an apostrophe-like raised stroke. In some mss., this "apostrophe" can look more like a raised daṇḍa or a dot. It can be placed above the last akṣara of the pāda, in between the last akṣara and the first of the next pāda, or above an akṣara that represents sounds belonging to different pādas (as sometimes happens as a consequence of the *scriptio continua*). In **V71**, I have also found a semicolon-like sign placed in between the akṣaras or raised above. In **Pa**$_{\mathbf{c}}$, the pāda-marker looks like a subscript comma. In **Ji**$_4$, these commas may be confused with single daṇḍas. The use of all these different signs is inconsistent; very frequently they are omitted. Therefore, I generally do not report their presence, unless it is of some significance. However, their identification has been useful in dividing the pādas.

The **O** mss. normally use a single daṇḍa to mark the end of a hemistich, and a double daṇḍa to mark the end of the stanza. **Ji**$_4$ mostly has only double daṇḍas for both purposes.

Occasionally, superscript numerals are found on top of final daṇḍas in the **O** mss. These serve the following purposes: if the two preceding pādas constitute an independent stanza, the mss. write ||$^{1}$ (in which the numeral 1 indicates that the preceding stanza consists of "one hemistich"); if

the six preceding pādas constitute an independent stanza, the mss. write ||$^{3}$ (in which the numeral 3 means "three hemistichs"); if the eight preceding pādas constitute one independent stanza, the mss. write ||$^{4}$ (in which the numeral 4 indicates "four hemistichs"). The standard stanza is intended as consisting of two hemistichs (four pādas); in this case, no numeral is given. Stanzas with 3 or 5 pādas are also not marked in any particular way.

As the **O** mss. do not number each individual stanza, but only the whole "section" at the end, and it is sometimes difficult to decide how to divide the single stanzas, I have always reported the presence of single and double daṇḍas in my apparatus.

**K** employs daṇḍas and double daṇḍas (spelled with a *z*-like sign that I render with a capital *Z*, or *ZZ* if double) inconsistently. However, it often numbers each individual stanza. I have reported all of its punctuation and numbering. Oftentimes, when the last word of a hemistich ends in a consonant, the use of a virāma sign indicates the hemistich boundary. For instance, PS 17.1.3 reads *anvavindan, yā bibharti*: although the daṇḍa is omitted, the fact that a virāma is used instead of the cluster *-nyā-* is enough indication for us to understand that *anvavindan* closes the hemistich, and that *yā* opens the following hemistich. I note the virāma in my apparatus especially when it is used in this way. In **K**, the virāma looks like a backslash ( \ ). I transcribe it with a comma, in the same way as I transcribe virāmas found in the **O** mss. At any rate, this use of virāma in **K** is inconsistent, and junction clusters are also used across hemistich boundaries. I have tried to make everything explicit in my apparatus.

## 3. Presentation of the text

### 3.1 Layout of the edition

My edition of PS 17.1–6 follows the arrangement of the text as preserved by the manuscripts. Oftentimes, the order of the lines differs between the two traditions. In this case, I provide an overview of the differences at the beginning of the section, and if no criterion emerges by which to choose one version over the other, I generally follow the Odia order and give the **K** line numbering in between square brackets beside it.

Next to the stanza number and after a tilde (~), I provide references to the parallel passages.

Below, the edited text is presented as divided into pādas, each one marked with a letter; hemistichs are marked with single daṇḍas, and stanzas close with double daṇḍas. In the case of prose, I divide the text into sentences, and mark each one with a letter. Details of the actual punctuation employed by the mss. can be found in the critical apparatus. See §3.2 for a list of signs found within the edited text.

To the right of each pāda, a numeral indicates the number of syllables in the pāda, beside which a metrical analysis is provided (see §3.4).

Below the edited text, I provide an English translation, for which I have tried to follow Griffiths 's (2009: lxxx §4.4) model. Between round brackets, I add clarifications (e.g., I clarify who or what is implied by a demonstrative pronoun) or provide alternative interpretations (preceded by a forward slash). The text within the square brackets should be considered implied in the Vedic text, and is supplied by the translator. Within curly brackets, I give the translations of interpolations.

Below the translation, the reader will find the critical apparatus (see §3.3), preceded, when necessary, by notes concerning the state of the manuscripts (omissions, peculiarities, details on the punctuation, etc.).

The parallel passages are then provided in full (see §2.7).

Lastly, a commentary is given. At the beginning of the commentary, I provide details on how

BHATTACHARYA's edition differs from mine; unless stated otherwise, the texts of the two editions coincide. Then, I provide comments on the text: when a comment is preceded by a letter (in bold), it is intended to refer to the pāda or line corresponding to that letter.

### 3.2. Editorial signs in the edited text

| | |
|---|---|
| * | an asterisk denotes the emendation of readings that were already corrupt in the PS archetype (*G); |
| $^{+}$ | a raised plus sign denotes lighter emendations based on manuscript evidence. It is assumed that the emended text was the reading of the archetype; |
| †...† | between *cruces* are portions of text that were already corrupt in the archetype and have resisted attempts at emendation; |
| $_{a}$, $_{i}$, $_{u}$, etc. | subscript lowercase letters denote metrically restored syllables; |
| $^{a}$, $^{i}$, etc. | superscript lowercase letters denote metrically deleted syllables; |
| {…} | braces enclose interpolations; |
| ∘ ∘ ∘ | three rings indicate an abbreviation. |

### 3.3 The critical apparatus

My apparatus is implicit in that only the words for which variants are found in the mss. are reported. A word that is not reported in the apparatus is found as such in all mss. Every single entry of the apparatus is, however, explicit, in that the variants of all mss. are reported.

Entries are followed by a lemma sign: a closed square bracket (e.g., "agni]"). After the lemma sign, the variants are reported, each one followed by the siglum of the ms. in which it is attested. The order in which the sigla are listed is conventional: first, I list the $\mathbf{O^A}$ mss., starting from Bhattacharya's, then mine, from the oldest to the youngest (**Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$**), an order which also corresponds rather well to the general grade of reliability of the mss. Secondly, I list the $\mathbf{O^B}$ mss., ordered according to the same criteria (**Mā V71 JM$_3$**). Lastly, I give the reading of the Kashmirian ms., **K**. Thus, the order is as follows: **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$ K**. This standard order can of course change when a particular manuscript preserves the accepted reading, in which case I move it to the front.

I write the sigla of the mss. used by BHATTACHARYA (2011) between square brackets (e.g. **[Ja]**) if their readings are not explicitly reported in his apparatus, but I infer their readings from his negative apparatus. If all the **O** mss. preserve the same variant, I group them under the siglum **O** (or **[O]** in case the reading of Bhattacharya's mss. were not explicitly reported in his apparatus). If I have doubts as to the reading of Bhattacharya's mss., I add a question mark to the sigla (and sometimes also enclose them in round brackets).

The following is a list of all symbols that I employ in my apparatus:

| | |
|---|---|
| text] | the single right square bracket denotes an entry. The text preceding the right square bracket is the reading I adopt in the edited text; |
| [..] | between square brackets is one or more illegible or lost akṣaras. Each dot stands for one illegible akṣara; three dots, […], indicate an indefinite number of akṣaras; a |

notation like "[…" (or "…]") means that the remaining right (or left) part of the line is illegible or has been broken off;

[xx] between square brackets are one or more akṣaras erased by the copyist that are no longer readable. Each x stands for one erased akṣara;

[~~aa~~]bb this notation indicates that the text *aa* has been erased by the copyist with a stroke; the copyist has then continued to write the correct text. The erased akṣaras are still readable;

( ) the editor's comments are placed between round brackets. The following signs and abbreviations are found within such comments:

| | |
|---|---|
| → | *correxit*: e.g., *vapa*(→*pava*)*sva* or (*vapa*→)*pavasva* both mean that *vapasva* was corrected to *pavasva*; |
| ? | indicates a doubt in the interpretation of a reading; |
| *s.s.* | *supra scriptus*; |
| *subs.* | *subscriptus* |
| *om.* | *omisit*; |
| *vs.* | versus |
| // | indicates a shift to the following line in the ms.; |
| *leg.* | *legit*, *legunt* |
| space | indicates that extra space has been left between akṣaras; |
| Bhatt. | Bhattacharya's reading of **K**; |
| Barret | Barret's reading of **K**; |
| R-V | Raghu Vira's reading of **K**; |

, a comma indicates a virāma, especially when used as a punctuation mark in **K** (see §2.5);

Z indicates a punctuation sign found in **K** (see §2.5);

# indicates an ornament found in colophons; ### indicates a larger sized ornament.

### 3.4 Metrical Analysis

For an outline of the history of the study of Vedic metre, beside referring to the classical works on RV metre by Oldenberg (1988) and Arnold (1905), I point the reader to Kubisch 2007 and Lelli 2014, 2015, and forthc. on the methodological problems concerning Atharvavedic metre in particular. In my MA thesis (Selva 2014), I adopted a metrical analysis based on Kubisch 2007, although with some hesitation, because the proposed notation system, besides not being very transparent, fails to register possibly significant variation, especially in the bridges of trimeter pādas. Here, I revert to the notation employed in Zehnder 1999, Lubotsky 2002a, and Griffiths 2009 (see in particular Griffiths's treatment in §4.3), with minor adaptations.

Because most of the text edited in this volume consists of prose, we only find the following types of verses:

| | |
|---|---|
| 8 | Anuṣṭubh or Gāyatrī pāda with regular[12] cadence: [ ∪ – ∪ × ]; |
| 8# | Anuṣṭubh or Gāyatrī pāda with an alternative cadence; |
| 11 | Triṣṭubh pāda; |
| $11^{J}$ | Hendecasyllabic pāda with a Jagatī cadence: [ – ∪ – ∪ × ]; |
| 12 | Jagatī pāda |

12 The word "regular" is something of a misnomer: first, because we lack an in-depth study of AV metre that could tell us what is regular and what is not; secondly, because although the iambic one is the preferred cadence in AV hemistich-final pādas, odd pādas very frequently show alternative patterns.

To the right of the syllable count, I provide a full representation of the metrical structure between square brackets:

| | |
|---|---|
| – | indicates a long syllable; |
| U | indicates a short syllable; |
| × | marks the last syllable of a pāda; |
| \| | separates opening, bridge, and cadence. |

# PART I

## Anuvāka 3

## Against Sadānuvās

## Introduction

The following chapter consists of a series of stanzas containing charms meant to repel female demons who haunt houses and threaten the well-being of pregnant women and their children.

In much of South Asia, childbirth has historically been characterised by what anthropologists since Dumont (1972) have called 'pollution'. In fact, up to this day, childbirth is considered by the Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities of South Asia as causing one of the worst kinds of pollution (Rozario & Samuel 2002b: 185; see also the papers collected in Rozario & Samuel 2002a).

As Rozario & Samuel (2002b: 183f.) point out, pollution requires the seclusion of the mother not only during childbirth, but also for several days after the delivery, until purity is restored by the appropriate rituals. In communities that are less exposed to modern urban values, it may be considered shameful for the mother to give birth in a public space, such as a hospital. For this reason, and also because of the male medical personnel's reluctance to expose themselves to the polluting presence of birthing women, childbirth mostly takes place at home. Women are attended to by female relatives and by traditional birth attendants, healers, or midwives, who are called *dai* in North India. The latter are women who generally come from a low-class or untouchable caste, and rarely have formal medical training. Their service consists precisely of taking on the risks of pollution.

Such customs, attitudes, and beliefs have been studied by sociologists and anthropologists, often within projects aimed at developing policies to fight the phenomenon of the devaluation of women who work as midwives, as well as finding better ways to provide proper biomedical care to birthing women.

The attitudes and beliefs described above clearly arose in pre-modern societies, when childbirth was an even riskier event than now, and mother and child mortality rate was high. The high frequency of deaths and illnesses connected with childbirth were interpreted as manifestations of attacks on the part of evil spirits.

This is consistent with the Vedic belief according to which diseases in general are not seen as problems with physiological origins, as in modern Western medicine, nor as an imbalance of humours, as in the later Āyurveda medicine, but rather as caused by external demonic forces that penetrate the body of their victim from the outside (Zysk 1985: 8). This penetration (*ā-viś-*, *saṃ-kram-*, *upa-sṛj-*; see Das 2000a) could happen not only by means of physical contact, but also through seeing and hearing (Das 2003a: 37; Das 2000a: 68-69)—hence, perhaps, the numerous epithets in our hymn that describe the demonesses' ugly and fearsome appearance, as well as their noises. However, the phenomenon of contagion was mainly conceived as an act of seizing (*grah-*; see Das 2000: 65, 72; Emmerick 1993: 84ff.): "Disease itself was regarded in the Indo-Iranian period as being the manifestation of a supernatural entity, whose seizure of the person constitutes the notion of disease" (Emmerick 1993: 91).

Thus, during pregnancy and the days (though in some cases also months or years) following the delivery, the mothers and their children were thought to be highly susceptible to being attacked by evil spirits, in particular female demonesses.

Some of these demonesses came to be deified as child-protecting goddesses, and became the object of widespread worship. A famous case is the ancient Buddhist goddess Hāritī, whom the Pāli Canon and various Buddhist sources characterise as a child-eating demoness whom the Buddha converted into a child-protecting goddess. Her cult, attested all across North India—from Gandhāra

and Mathura in the first century BCE, to 11th c. Odisha (as evinced by her depiction at the Ratnagiri Buddhist complex)—spread alongside Buddhism throughout South and Southeast Asia, China and Japan, and survives today in Nepal and Bali (Samuel 2002; Strong 1992; deCaroli 2004). Her brahmanical equivalent, the ancient goddess Ṣaṣṭhī, whose *vāhana* is a black cat, is worshipped to this day as a protector of children and women by both Hindu and Muslim communities in much of North India, where she also bears the name of Bemātā, Baimātā, or Behamātā (Rozario & Samuel 2002b: 188; Samuel 2002; Samuel 2008: 248; Gadon 1997; Chawla 1994). Her original demonic nature is betrayed by the fact that popular NIA words for pollution caused by childbirth, such as Hindī *chaṭhī*, Bengali *chodi* or *chutti* (in Bengal, the rituals of purification that follow childbirth are called *chodi tula*, 'removal of pollution'), are actually derived from her Sanskrit name, Ṣaṣṭhī (Rozario & Samuel 2002b: 187-188). Her Bengali equivalent, the snake goddess Manasā, has an ambivalent character as well, being both a protector of children as well as a threatening patron of snakes (Samuel 1997: 3, 2002: 2).

These deities have traditionally been grouped together into sets of 'mother goddesses' (Kosambi 1960; Samuel 2008: 248), together with other disease-causing folk goddesses, such as Śītalā, the goddess of smallpox and cholera (Samuel 2008: 248, Samuel 2002: 2; Auboyer & de Mallman 1950; Dimock 1982; Ferrari 2009, 2015), and her South Indian equivalent Mariamman (Samuel 2008: 248). In medical texts as well as in mythological narratives, they are often treated as 'seizing' deities, and mentioned beside the planets (*graha*-), which are also supposed to affect the health and behaviour of people by 'grabbing' them with their influence (Samuel 2008: 249; Wujastyk 1997: 4).

Samuel (2008: 229ff.) has treated these deities and demonesses while investigating the origin of the Tantric Śakta wild goddesses, which he believes can be traced back either to goddesses of local folklore, the so-called *yakṣiṇīs*, or to the *ḍakiṇīs* who accompanied *kāpālika* and *bhairava* Śaivite ascetics, which he in turn correctly traces back to a Vrātya background. These ascetics seem to have inherited their Vrātya predecessors' privileged connection with the world of the dead, and as such they have specialised in dealing with the most inauspicious and polluting aspects of human life: as the male ascetics would attend to cremation grounds, their female counterparts most likely dealt with childbirth and illnesses, acting as healers and midwives. Perhaps further research on the ritual role of the women who would accompany the Indo-European *Männerbündler* and the Indian Vrātyas might shed light on later female Śaiva and Tantra figures. Here we broach the realm of the marginalised, the popular, the demoniac, a realm to which both the Vrātya warrior, the Atharvavedic healer, and the Śaivite ascetic belong. The Atharvaveda is the privileged *locus* in which the beliefs and practices of this marginal, popular, unorthodox world come to be re-elaborated into the brahmanical orthodoxy.

Samuel's (2008: 249) opinion that "it is not possible at present to say when the idea of female disease/demons arose, though if it were significant in the Vedic period one would expect more reference to it in sources such as the Atharvaveda, which is very concerned with countering diseases of all kind"[1] is certainly an understatement of the Vedic evidence. We may mention the Vedic Grāhi, 'seizure', another female disease-demon first attested in RV 10.161.1 (~ ŚS 3.11.1, 8.1.20), *muñcā́mi tvā havíṣā jī́vanāya kám ajñātayakṣmā́d utá rājayakṣmā́t | grā́hir jagrā́ha yádi vaitád enaṃ tásyā indrāgnī prá mumuktam enam*, "I release you, with an oblation, to living, from the unknown disease, from the kingly disease. Or if a Grabber has truly grabbed him in this way, from her, o Indra and Agni, release him" (J-B). This demoness is frequently mentioned in the AV: ŚS 2.9.1; 2.10.6,8 (~ PS 2.3.4,5); 3.2.5; 6.112-113; 8.2.12 (~ PS 16.4.2); 12.2.39; 12.3.18; 16.5.1; 16.7.1; 19.45.5; and PS 1.62.1; 5.17.6; 5.21.2; 15.4.5; 16.46.1; 16.48.

As for the child-threatening demonesses that are the topic of our chapter, they are often

1 Samuel (*ibid*.) mentions Richard Gombrich's suggestion that the belief in these demonesses may have become more widespread with increasing urbanisation if, as it is presumable, this implied an increase in the incidence of epidemics.

grouped under the common name of Sadānuvās (mostly spelled Sadānvās). We first find them mentioned in RV 10.155:

> 1. You one-eyed, deformed demoness, go to the mountain—you Sadānvā. With the warriors of Śirimbiṭha, with them we banish you.
> 2. She is banished from here, banished from yonder, having assailed all fetuses. Go at the demoness, o sharp-horned Brahmaṇaspati, and gore her.
> 3. That piece of wood over there that floats to the farther shore of the river with no man at the helm, grab hold of that, you with your evil jaws: with it go in the farther distance.
> 4. When you women with rusty "boxes" [=genitals], leaning forward, beat your breast, slain were all the rivals of lndra—with their ejaculations ["spurts"] (dissipated like) bubbles.
> 5. These (men) here have led the cow around; they have taken the fire around. They have made themselves fame among the gods. Who will venture against them? (J-B)[2].

These demonesses are the main addressees of a good number of AV hymns, namely ŚS 2.14 (~ PS 2.4), PS 1.36, 5.1, 5.9, 6.8, 10.1 and our PS 17.12–15, which is the only hymn that also addresses them as Bhaṇvās. A class of a similar kind of male demons, called Kaṇvas, is addressed in ŚS 2.25 ~ PS 4.13. Frequently, a female demoness called Arāyī is mentioned (a male Arāya also exists). All these hymns contain charms against miscarriage and the dangers connected with pregnancy. Other AV hymns with similar themes may be compared, in which similar demons and demonesses are found: ŚS 8.6 (~ PS 16.79–80, To guard a pregnant woman from demons), PS 6.14 (Against noxious creatures), 7.3 (Against creatures that threaten offspring), 7.11 (For safe pregnancy with bdellium), 7.13 (Against dog accompanied Apsarases). Sparse mentions of these demonesses may also be found in other hymns.[3] A short hymn of this kind also found its way into the RV, namely RV 10.162 (Against miscarriage), which we may quote in full:

> 1. In concert with a sacred formulation let Agni, demon-smasher, repel from here whatever evil-named affliction lies on your embryo, in your womb.
> 2. Whatever evil-named affliction lies on your embryo, in your womb, Agni, along with a sacred formulation, has banished the flesh-eater.
> 3. Who smites your (embryo) as it flies, when it is emplanted, as it squirms, who intends to smite your (embryo) when it is just born, that one we banish from here.
> 4. Who pries apart your thighs, lies between the married couple, who licks within your womb, that one we banish from here.
> 5. Who, having become brother, husband, lover, goes down on you, who intends to smite your offspring, that one we banish from here.
> 6. Who, having stupefied you with sleep, with darkness, goes down on you, who intends to smite your offspring, that one we banish from here (J-B)[4].

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2 RV10.155, *árāyi kā́ṇe vikaṭe giríṃ gacha sadānve | śirímbiṭhasya sátvabhis tébhiṣ ṭvā cātayāmasi* || 1 || *cattó itáś cattā́mútaḥ sárvā bhrūṇā́ny ārúṣī | arāyyàm brahmaṇas pate, tī́kṣṇaśṛṇgodṛṣánn ihi* || 2 || *adó yád dā́ru plávate síndhoḥ pāré apūruṣám | tád ā́ rabhasva durhaṇo téna gacha parastarám* || 3 || *yád dha prā́cīr ájagantóro maṇḍūradhāṇikīḥ | hatā́ índrasya śátravaḥ sárve budbudáyāśavaḥ* || 4 || *párīmé gā́m aneṣata páry agním ahṛṣata | devéṣv akrata śrávaḥ ká imā́m̐ ā́ dadharṣati* ||

3 On similar themes, the following hymns may also be mentioned: ŚS 2.13 (For long life of an infant; cf. ŚS 2.28); ŚS 1.11 (For successful childbirth), with sparse parallels in PS; ŚS 6.81 (~ PS 19.17.1–3, For successful pregnancy: with an amulet); and ŚS 6.110 (For a child born at an unlucky time).

4 RV 10.162, *bráhmaṇāgníḥ saṃvidānó rakṣohā́ bādhatām itáḥ | ámīvā yás te gárbhaṃ durṇā́mā yónim āśáye* || 1 || *yás te gárbham ámīvā durṇā́mā yónim āśáye | agníṣ ṭám bráhmaṇā sahá níṣ kravyā́dam anīnaśat* || 2 || *yás te hánti patáyantaṃ niṣatsnúṃ yáḥ sarīsṛpám | jātáṃ yás te jíghāṃsati tám itó nāśayāmasi* || 3 || *yás ta ūrū́ viháraty antarā́ dámpatī śáye | yóniṃ yó antár āréḷhi tám itó nāśayāmasi* || 4 || *yás tvā bhrā́tā pátir bhūtvā́ jāró bhūtvā́ nipádyate | prajā́ṃ yás te jíghāṃsati tám itó nāśayāmasi* || 5 || *yás tvā svápnena támasā mohayitvā́ nipádyate | prajā́ṃ yás te jíghāṃsati tám itó nāśayāmasi* || 6 ||

Demonesses of the kind described above are found also in a number of later sources across Indian literary history, and have several Eurasian parallels, from the Greek Gello, Mormo, and Lamia, to the Slavic *kikimora*, and possibly the Irish *banshee*, etc. The closest parallel to the Indian demonesses is perhaps the Central Asian demoness Al, known in Armenia as *al*; in Georgia as *ali*; in Iran as *āl*; in Tajikistan and Afghanistan as *ol*, *hāl* and *xāl*; in Dardic as *halmasti*; and in Turkic languages as *almasti* or *albasti* (see Asatrian 2001; Benveniste 1960). These demonesses "mainly appear with sharp fangs, disheveled hair, copper claws, iron teeth, the tusks of a wild boar and sagging breasts, resembling a crone. They are also endowed with clay noses and fiery eyes. The favorite pursuit of the *al* is the theft of the lung, liver and heart of women in childbirth, new mothers (i.e., women having just given birth) or pregnant women, as well as the destruction of newly-formed embryos in the womb, resulting in miscarriage" (Asatrian 2001: 149)—a description that is largely valid also for our Sadānuvās.

As for later Indian sources, in an article in which he addresses the question of what women in ancient India were told was happening when they had miscarriages, Wujastyk (1997: 3ff.) points out that, even though medical texts traditionally divide medical science into eight divisions, the divisions called Bhūtavidyā, 'science of evil spirits', and the Kaumārabhṛtya, 'science of nurturing children', are often treated together as a single topic, "since children and mothers are seen as being the people most vulnerable to demonic influence" (*ibid*. p. 4).

Wujastyk (1997: 4) discusses evidence from the Suśrutasaṃhitā, which mentions nine such demons, called *graha*, many of which are feminine: Skanda, Skandāpasmāra, Śakunī, Revatī, Pūtanā, Andhapūtanā, Śītapūtanā, Mukhamaṇḍikā and Naigameṣa. A much later medieval text, the Kumāratantra of Rāvaṇa (a short compendium specifically dedicated to these demons, which seems to have been extremely influential, as translations have been found in Tamil, Tibetan, Chinese, Cambodian and Arabic), mentions 12 such demonesses. These are called 'little mothers' (*mātṛkās*): Nandā, Sunandā, Pūtanā, Mukhamaṇḍitikā, Kaṭapūtanā, Śakunikā, Śuṣkarevatī, Āryakā, Sūtikā, Nirṛtā, Pilipicchikā and Kāmukā (Wujastyk 1997: 7–9). These texts provide a list of the symptoms that each demoness can cause to manifest in the child, and instructions on how they can be repelled. This is normally done by means of the moulding and venerating of an image, fumigation and, most importantly for us, chanting mantras (Wujastyk 1997: 8–9). A similar list, comprising names, symptoms, and treatments, is found in Agnipurāṇa 299 (see Gangadharan 1984–87, vol. 3, p. 820ff.): here we find 39 names of demonesses who may attack the child during the first ten days after birth, then during the first 12 months, then during the first 17 years of life.[5]

In the article quoted above, Wujastyk (1997: 10ff.) also mentions a third text, the Kāśyapasaṃhitā (7th c. AD?), which contains a chapter dedicated to one of these demonesses, Revatī, who is the protagonist of an interesting myth: during the battle between gods and demons, she sides with the gods, but notices that the demons killed are reborn as human and animal embryos. Therefore, she transforms herself into a miscarriage-causing goddess, Jātahāriṇī, 'she who takes away what has been born', or 'Childsnatcher' in Wujastyk's fitting rendering. The text explicitly maintains that whenever a miscarriage occurs, it is because the embryo was actually a former demon, and that miscarriages happen to bad women. We find no such moral implications in the Atharvaveda, of course.

The AV hymns dedicated to these demonesses preserve many similar names and epithets,

5 The names, according to Gangadharan's translation, are the following: 1st day, Pāpinī; 2nd day, Bhīṣaṇī; 3rd day, Ghaṇṭālī; 4th day, Kākolī; 5th day, Haṃsādhikā; 6th day, Phaṭkārī; 7th day, Muktakeśī; 8th day, Śrīdaṇḍī; 9th day, Ūrdhvagrāhī; 10th day, Rodanī; 1st month, Pūtanā; 2nd month, Mukuṭā; 3rd month, Gomukhī; 4th month, Piṅgalā; 5th month, Lalanā; 6th month, Paṅkajā; 7th month, Nirāharā; 9th month, Kumbhakarṇī; 10th month, Tāpasī; 11th months, Rākṣasī; 12th month, Cañcalā; 2nd year, Yātanā; 3rd year, Rodanī; 4th year, Caṭakā; 5th year, Cañcalā; 6th years, Dhāvanī; 7th year, Yamuṇā; 8th year, Jātadevā; 9th year, Kālā; 10th year, Kalahaṃsī; 11th year, Devadūtī; 12th year, Balikā; 13th year, Vāyavī; 14th year, Yakṣiṇī; 15th year, Muṇḍikā; 16th year, Vānarī; 17th year, Gandhavatī; then Pūtanā 'during the day' and Sukumārikā 'during the whole year'.

some of which are of rather difficult interpretation. Many feature the *ka*-suffix, which has long been described as belonging to a popular, colloquial register, and is especially typical of female speech (Jamison 2008 and 2009; Edgerton 1911; AiGr II.2 pp. 515–540 etc.). This suffix is employed as a diminutive in words for small animals, birds and insects, in some cases with an endearing nuance—but also, especially in the AV, with a pejorative nuance, in terms for vermin and other noxious creatures. The two functions can also be seen in how this suffix is used not only in personal names, nicknames, and terms of endearment, but also in names of demons, again with a derogatory, pejorative nuance. A famous example is the episode (RV 8.91.2) in which Apāla addresses Indra with the nickname *vīraká-*, both a fitting term of endearment in the mouth of a young girl, as well as a means to "verbally tame the formidable powers and sexual appetites of Indra and render him an approachable and non-threatening figure likely to aid a prepubescent girl" (Jamison 2008: 159).

A similar dynamic might be at play in our hymn. The domestic background of the Sadānuvā hymns is undeniable: note the frequent characterisation of the demonesses as haunting houses (*śālā*; see my comment on PS 17.12.10c below). Before being collected in the *saṃhitā* for the use of the Atharvan priests, these charms may have been used especially by women,[6] which would mean that we should be able to identify elements of colloquial female speech in these texts: quite conspicuous for instance is the use of *l*-variants as opposed to *r*-variants (e.g. 17.12.2 *ulukī* (**K**) vs. *urukī* (**O**); 17.12.9 *hvala* for *hvara;* 17.15.7 (**K** 17.15.6) *pulīkayā* for *purīkayā;* 17.15.8 *vicalantī* for *vicarantī*). Moreover, the charms are addressed to female demonesses, whose threatening power needs to be tamed. Thus, the use of the *ka*-suffix in the nicknames of demonesses might be explained as being due to female speech, or because these names are meant to have a pejorative nuance (cf. also variants like *-ākā*, e.g. *rodākā* in PS 17.12.8b; see AiGr II.2 §150), or because the speaker is trying to belittle the dangerous power of these evil spirits.

The reason for the importance afforded to the demons' names throughout Indian cultural history lies in the notion that knowing the (secret) name of a demon allows one to take control over them and thus repel them. This is also why the stanzas of our hymn largely consist of lists of such names and epithets (a telling epithet is *durṇāman*, 'ill-named'), and it also explains the poet's frequent claim to know the designations of the demonesses (*nāmadheyāni vidmasi*), as this implies that he can claim control over them.

As a general rule, the epithets found in our text describe supposed physical characteristics of the demonesses or highlight a particular aspect of their behaviour.

As far as their physical appearance is concerned, the epithets focus on the absence of typically human traits, on exaggerated, deformed features that convey a sense of danger, fear as well as repulsion:

1) absence of typically human traits: *anāsikā*, 'noseless/mouthless' (17.15.9c), *paruṣā*, 'pale like a dead person (?)' (17.13.2a);

2) exaggerated features, such as the ears: *karṇā*, 'long-eared' (17.12.2a); the hair: *keśinī*, 'long-haired' (17.12.2b), *dīrghakeśa*, 'long-haired' (17.12.7b), *vikeśī*, 'with dishevelled hair'

6 To this day, women perform special *vratas* or sacrifices to obtain domestic welfare (see Robinson 1985). These *vratas* are usually characterised by a four-part structure, consisting of a simple ritual (e.g. planting seeds in a consecrated vase to symbolise fertility), recitation of verses (often vernacular), the drawing of pictorial diagrams (to provide a seat for the invoked deity) and the recitation of a story about the meaning of the *vrata*. Traditionally, women are both the patrons and the performers of these *vratas* and sacrifices. Robinson (1985: 209) points out that "the traditional priestly disdain for *vratas* as a collection of trivial women's customs has recently given way to priestly appropriation of the practices. For example, during the 1960s, an increasing number of temple *purohits* (priests) at Calcutta's prominent Kalighat temple began to offer their services to women clients who wished to have any of several *vratas* performed in the temple setting for reasons of convenience and prestige. […] The modern arrangement is advantageous to temple priests in that they earn fees for their services as they do for other rites they perform at the temple." It is perhaps possible that the ancient Vedic charms against miscarriage witnessed a similar destiny before they were collected in the Atharvaveda.

(17.14.4a) (all also general characteristics of inhabitants of the wilderness); the teeth: *phāladatī*, 'ploughshare-toothed' (17.12.3a), *caturdaṃṣṭra* (m.), 'four-tusked' (17.12.7a), *udradantī*, 'otter-toothed' (17.15.9c)—all of these also portray the demons as dangerous devourers of humans (especially children; more on this below); the genitals (this is particularly relevant, as these demons target the reproductive abilities of people): thus we find the epithets *sthūlaśaṅkhā*, 'who has a large conch shell (i.e. vagina)' (17.13.4a) or *kumbhamuṣka* (m.) 'pot-testicled' (17.12.7a);

3) deformed features, e.g. their feet: *visṛkpadī*, 'duck-footed' (17.13.2b), *vṛṅktapadī*, 'with twisted feet' (17.15.9b);

4) repulsive features, e.g. their smell: *bastagandhā*, 'smelling like bucks' (17.12.5b), *alābugandhi*, 'smelling like bottle-gourds' (17.12.7c), *pāpagandhā*, 'who smells awful' (17.13.2a), cf. also 17.14.5ab;

5) fearsome features, e.g. their eyes: *bhīmacakṣu/us/as*(?), 'of terrible glances' (17.14.1a), *ghoracakṣu*, 'of fearsome glances' (17.14.4b);

6) as far general appearance, the demonesses might wear skin-clothes (*bastavāsinī*, 'wearing buckskin clothes' in 17.12.1d; cf. *dūrśe*, 'in a pelt', in 17.12.1b) or go around naked (*nagnā*, in 17.14.1b); in general they are *duḥsaṃkāśā*, 'of ugly appearance' (17.14.1a).

As far as behaviour is concerned, the main threat to humans originates in the Sadānuvās' habit of attacking embryos and children. In particular, they lick (*rih-*, *ā-rih-*, *pra-rih-*) the women's menstrual blood—the female equivalent of the male semen (see Slaje 1995)—thus making women barren (see my comment on PS 17.14.8 below). This is the idea behind expressions like *antaḥpātre rerihati*, 'constantly licking in the inside bowl (i.e. the uterus or vagina)' (17.12.1a) or epithets like *asṛṅmukha* (m.), 'blood-faced' (17.12.7b) and *abhiśrayā*, 'who clings onto [women]' (17.14.2b, 3a); cf. also 17.12.4d. Hence also the hidden sexual reference in words like *āvapana*, 'trough (in which the demons chew food like mares and she-donkeys), i.e. the vagina' (cf. *antaḥpātra*, 'the inside bowl, i.e. the vagina' quoted above), or in pādas like 17.12.9bc (*bhitsv antar vane hvala upa vṛkṣeṣu śerate*, 'inside the furrows, in the woods, in the recess, they lie by the trees' (see my comment *ad loc*.). In general, these demonesses torment women, hence epithets like *prakhidā*, 'tormentor' (17.14.2) and *pracaṅkaśā*, 'constantly staring [at women]' (17.15.5c).

Secondly, these demonesses 'grope for' (*pra-mṛś-*) embryos and feed on them (see my comment on PS 17.14.8 and PS 17.13.8cd below). This is why we find the epithets *sūtikaiṣī*, 'seeking a woman who has recently given birth' (17.14.2d), or *śiśumākā*, 'who makes children scream' (17.15.8b). Accordingly they are frequently portrayed as feeding on raw flesh (the flesh of embryos and children): *āmādinī*, 'eater of raw flesh'; *krūrādinī*, 'eater of bloody flesh'; *anagnigandhyādinī*, 'eater of what does not smell of fire (i.e. is uncooked)' in 17.14.10ab; *kaṅkī*, 'a female carrion-eating stork' (17.14.2a); *prakhādinī*, 'devourer' (17.15.3b).

As such, they attack women and their children in their own environment, i.e. in their houses (*śālā*, *gṛha*): e.g. *kim u śālāsv *ichatha*, "what do you seek in [our] houses?" asks the poet in 17.14.10; in 17.13.10, a haunted house is purified by means of a Sādanuvā-killing (*sadānvāghnī*) herb; and in 17.12.10c, the demonesses seek shelter in houses after being frightened by a storm. Conversely, in 17.13.3, the exorcist repels them by stating that "there is no refuge" for them "here" (*na va ihāsti nyañcanam*), i.e. in the human settlement. In 17.13.8c, he drives the demonesses towards someone else's corral (*gṛham*); in 17.14.1, a demoness is repelled thanks to the household fire.

Often, it is stressed that the demonesses wander and look for prey at night: 17.12.4 (*naktam ichanti*); 17.14.2 (*caranti naktam*); 17.15.6 (*sāyaṃ … rātrīṃ prerate*).

Among their victims are not only children and women, but also sleeping people (17.12.4); a man walking down a path (17.14.5); the body of the deceased (17.14.6); and boys and elders (17.15.3). They can even damage a chariot (*rathabhañjanī*, 'the demoness who makes a chariot break', in 17.14.3c) and interfere with the distillation of the *surā* liquor (17.13.5–7; more on this below).

Very frequent are references to the demonesses' noisy behaviour. We find descriptions like *yāsāṃ jātāni krośanti*, 'whose breed shriek' (17.12.9a) and *yāsāṃ ghoṣaḥ saṃgatānāṃ vṛkānām iva gaṅganaḥ*, 'whose noise, when they come together, is like the howling of wolves' (17.15.5ab), as well as epithets like *vakmakā*, 'little bad mouth' (17.12.1); *kraku*, 'howling' (17.12.2b); *rudatī*, 'crying' (17.12.8b); *ajamāyu*, 'who bleats like a goat' (17.13.5); *achavākā*, 'who says "this way!"' (17.13.9a); *vanekṛku*, 'howling in the forest' (17.13.9b); *hasanā*, 'laughing' (17.13.9c); *kanikradā*, 'constantly neighing (/whining)' (17.13.9c); *pratiśrukā*, 'the one who responds [to the scream of a child(?)]; (17.15.8b), *āvadantī*, 'who shouts' (17.15.10a); *nāmahūkā*, 'who calls names' (17.15.10a); and *vāvadākā*, 'the one who repeatedly utters sounds' (17.15.10a), but also *alpabhāṣā*, 'taciturn' (17.15.10a).

The demonesses often behave in a crazed way, as if out of control: *unmaditya* […] *śīrṣāṇy anyā anyāsāṃ vitāvantīr ivāsate*, 'having gone crazy […] they keep kind of *vi-tāv*-ing each other's heads' (17.14.4abcd); *āpatantīr vikṣiṇānā*, 'flying towards [here], striking death all around' (17.12.5).

Their behaviour is sometimes likened to that of animals: in 17.14.7, it is said that they are accustomed to chewing dried, ground [fodder] in a trough (i.e. the vagina) like mares [and] she-donkeys" (*vaḍavā gardabhīr iva*), and in 17.14.8 they lick the body of women like cows (*gāvaḥ … iva*).

The stanzas make frequent reference to the origins of the demonesses and what motives bring them to human settlements: in 17.15.7, it is said that "their cowherd alone knows where the Sadānuvās are born" (*gopā āsām eko veda yato jātāḥ sadānvās*); the following stanza, 17.15.8, calls them *caṇḍasya naptyaḥ*, 'granddaughter of Caṇḍa', hinting at a genealogy (cf. ŚS 2.14.2, in which they are called *magundyā duhitaraḥ*, 'daughters of Magundi'). A variety of sparse details is given in other stanzas: in 17.12.8, it is said that they are "born on a tuft of grass, on a tuft of hair" (*stambe jātā adhi bāle*; see my comment *ad loc.* for an interpretation); in 17.12.10, they are pushed to the settlement after having been frightened by a storm; in 17.15.6, they "emerge from their respective hideouts" (*yathāsthāmād … prerate*); 17.13.1 speaks of demonesses who arise from cultivated corn fields that are sown or dug up. Frequent are the references to the *śakadhūma*, 'the pile of cow dung' (*śakadhūmī* in 17.13.4c; cf. also 17.13.8) or the *khala*, 'the threshing floor' (cf. *khalājjātā* in 17.14.3), as places where the Sadānuvās are born and belong. It seems, in fact, that a variety of demons can arise from any typical item or place belonging to a typical Vedic rural settlement: this can be seen for instance in the list contained in PS 1.86.4 (Against the female demons called Kaṇvās): *yā tantiṣat khalasad yā ca goṣṭhe yā jātāḥ śakadhūme sabhāyām | prapāyām jātā uta yāś ca bhitsu tāś cātayāmaḥ śivatā no astu* ||, "The [demoness] who is sitting on the rope [to fasten the cattle], the one who is sitting on the threshing floor, and the one who is in the cowshed, those who are born in the pile of cow dung, in the assembly hall, those born in the water reservoir, those in the furrows, whom we frighten away—Let there be benevolence towards us!" (my transl.). I discuss this further in my comment on 17.13.4c. Interestingly, it seems that the Sadānuvās can also attack as a consequence of one's Fathers' guilt (*pitṛyāt* in 17.14.9a). According to 17.15.4, these demonesses can arise both in the realm of the Asuras (*dāsīr asurāṇāṃ* 'who are *dāsa* women of the race of the Asura demons), or be fashioned from the race of men (*manuṣyebhyaś ca yāḥ kṛtāḥ*)—a possible reference to man-made curses.

This brings us back to the idea that these demons, like any other (super)natural power, can be controlled. Taking control over them allows one to hurl them against an enemy in the form of a curse, as well as to repel them from one of their victims. Because, in the Vedic worldview, "disease" is nothing but the seizure of a victim on the part of a demon—as we have seen above—the process of healing is somewhat identical to that of an exorcism.

The above notions are rooted in what Das (1984: 234f; 2000: 70) has called a *magisches Weltbild*, a mode of looking at the world as wholly consisting of "powers" (i.e. with no distinction between living vs. non-living, corporeal vs. non-corporeal) in various states or forms, that can react

with each other as a consequence of imbalances or disturbances, out of their own volition or when forced to act, and that thus "penetrate" or "take control of" each other. "Since all actions, voluntary or involuntary, cause reactions, it is necessary to know all about such actions and reactions or at least to know which actions to avoid (so as not to cause unwanted reactions) or to do (so as to bring about desired reactions). […] We thus see that correct knowledge is might, as by means of it one can compel 'powers' or 'substances' to do as one wishes (these may of course also be coaxed, bribed, propitiated, begged etc. to act of their own free will […] but compulsion is more effective, though one can also bid them by means of a pact. […] Knowing something about a 'power' or 'substance' (especially something secret) gives one might over it, and also, because 'correct knowledge' itself is a 'power' or 'substance', [it gives one might] over 'truth' […]. This 'power' or 'substance' 'truth' seems to be able to compel all others, so that he who controls it properly controls all others too" (Das 1984: 235). This explains the importance of mantras as a means to control these demons, and thus as a healing remedy for the diseases that they induce.

Benveniste (1945) believed to have identified a shared Indo-European medical doctrine in texts like Videvdāt 7.44 (which he compared to Pindar's third Pythian ode [40–45] and others), which speaks of a 'medicine of the plants' (*uruuarō.baēšaza-*), a 'medicine of the knife' (*karətō.baēšaza-*), and a 'medicine of the spells' (*mąθrō.baēšaza*). Thus, this doctrine would consist of a tripartite classification of illnesses and cures based on the tripartite structure of society: 1) consumption or exhaustion of the body is cured by beneficial potions or by the application of remedies prepared from herbs, i.e. by resorting to the science of the cultivators; 2) ulcers and wounds, spontaneous or caused by weapons, require incisions with the knife, surgery, i.e. resorting to the dexterity of the warriors/surgeons; 3) curses and possessions require treatment by means of charms, i.e. they require resorting to the wisdom of the magicians/priests.

Regardless of whether one believes in the reality of a tripartite principle structuring the society of the earliest Indo-European peoples, Benveniste's analysis has the merit of highlighting a number of mechanisms by which these ancient peoples conceived medicine: in line with the power of analogy and opposition—which governs the fact that herbs can both poison a healthy person as well as return vigour to a sick person, or that knives can both hurt if used as weapons as well as heal the flesh if used as surgical instruments—incantations can function both as curses or as healing exorcisms. Indeed, Benveniste himself points out that charms were also used to heal wounds and fractures or to stop a haemorrhage. Incantations, indeed, were the most powerful of remedies, as they directly address the demonic power that is causing the disease.

The above observations explain the importance of the stanzas contained in our hymn and the other Sadānuvā hymns as some of the highest forms of Vedic medical science. Due to their peculiar content, style, and purpose, these hymns can be considered as belonging to the categories of *strīkarmāṇi* (cf. Bloomfield 1899 §53), as they pertain to women, and at the same time both *ābhicārikāni*, i.e. charms against demons (cf. Bloomfield 1899 §52), as well as *bhaiṣajyāni*, i.e. charms to cure diseases (cf. Bloomfield 1899 §50).

It is thus worth surveying the methods by which the Atharvavedic poet/priest, in his function of healer/exorcist, is able to repel the Sadānuvā demonesses and protect the threatened women and children.

1) The first concern of the Atharvavedic exorcist is completeness: the poet needs to make sure to address all the demonesses he aims to repel, without leaving any of them out. This is the sense of expressions such as *yati jātāni vas tati naśyatetaḥ sadānuvāḥ*, "As many sorts [that there are] of you, that many [of you] disappear from here!" (17.12.1gh, 17.13.9fg).

Accordingly, note the frequent use of the word *sarva*, 'all' (often next to *sākaṃ*, 'all together, at once'), e.g. *sarvāsāṃ bhaṇvā vaḥ sākaṃ nāmadheyāni vidmasi*, "O Bhaṇvā demonesses, we know *all* your names *together*!" (17.12.1gh, 17.13.9fg); *asātāḥ sarvā vo brūmo*, "We pronounce you *all* "empty-handed"!" (17.12.3c); *durṇāmnīḥ sarvā santokā*, "*all* the ill-named ones together with their offspring" (17.12.8c, 9d, 10d); *indro vaḥ sarvāsāṃ sākaṃ garbhān āṇḍāni*

*bhetsyati*, “Indra is going to split the embryos, the eggs of you *all together*!” (17.13.3cd); *sarvā yantu* ⁺*kurūṭinīḥ*, “let *all* of them go [away] as docile (?) [cows]!” (17.15.1c); *sarvāś caṇḍasya naptyo nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ*, “We make *all* the granddaughters of Caṇḍa, the Sadānuvās, disappear!” (17.15.8de).

Similarly, all the possible places from which the demons might approach need to be taken into account. This is especially clear from the ablative *yathāsthāmād* and *viśvād* in 17.15.6: *yāni … yathāsthāmād yakṣāṇi prerate agniṣ *ṭā sarvā sāhantyo viśvād rakṣāṃsi sedhatu*, “[Those] Yakṣás who emerge each from their respective hideouts … Let the overpowering Agni repel them all, the *rákṣas* demons, from every place”; *viśvād* is also used in 17.15.3cd, *tā indro hantu vr̥trahā yo devo viśvād rakṣāṃsi sedhati*, “Let Indra, the slayer of Vr̥tra, the god who repels demons away from everyone, slay them!”

Accordingly, when necessary, the Atharvavedic poet lists all the possible classes of the demons concerned: *yāḥ kumārīr yāḥ sthavirā yuvatīr yāḥ sadānvāḥ*, “Those Sadānuvās who are [either] little girls, elderly women, [or] young women” (17.15.1ab); *sadāṇvāḥ* ⁺*sādānveyān* ⁺*strīpuṃsāṁ ubhayān saha*, “The Sadānuvās, the descendants of the Sadānuvās, both the male and female ones, together” (17.12.6ab); *yāś ca dāsīr asurāṇāṃ manuṣyebhyaś ca yāḥ kr̥tāḥ | ubhayīs*, “Both those [demonesses] who are *dāsa* women of the race of the Asura demons, and those who have been [magically] created from the race of men” (17.15.4abc).

One remarkable stylistic trait of these stanzas is that they often feature epithets arranged in pairs, each epithet being either the opposite of or complementary to the other. This phenomenon too most certainly arises from the above-mentioned need for completeness: e.g. *rodākāṃ rudatīṃ tvat*, “either the one who makes [children/women] cry, or the one who herself is crying” (17.12.8b); **duḥsaṃkāśe bhīmacakṣo*, “O one of ugly appearance (i.e. bad when you look at her), O one of terrible glances (i.e. bad when she looks at you)” (17.14.1); *prayachantīṃ pratigrahāṃ* (17.15.5d); *śiśumākāṃ pratiśrukām*, “her who makes children scream, the one who responds [to the scream of a child]” (17.15.8b); *vāvadākām *alpabhāṣāṃ*, “The one who repeatedly utters sounds, the taciturn one” (17.15.10a).

A similar desire to be absolutely sure of covering all possibilities surely lies behind the use of lists of synonyms: *yā dhānyāt sambhavanti kṣetrād* ⁺*uptād v* ⁺*arpitāt | kr̥tād …*, “Those [demonesses] who arise from the corn field that is sown or dug up … cultivated” (17.13.1abc); *indro vaḥ … garbhān āṇḍāni bhetsyati*, “Indra … is going to split the embryos, the eggs of you” (17.13.3cd); *āmādinīḥ krūrādinīr anagnigandhyādinīḥ*, “O eaters of raw flesh, O eaters of bloody flesh, O eaters of what does not smell of fire (i.e. is uncooked)” (17.14.10). The means to repel the Sadānuvās also has to be complete; thus, in a stanza that uses fire to repel the demons, we find listed all forms of fire—*dhrājiṃ* ⁺*tviṣiṃ śucim agnim*, “The blaze, the flare, the glowing fire” (17.14.1)—as well as the people to be protected: *kumārān ekā sthavirān yā adanti ... tā indro ... sedhati*, “Those who eat boys and elders—Let Indra … slay them!”

2) Secondly, the exorcist may ask for help from a god. He may simply state that a god will harm the demons, or he may pray to the god so that the god may repel the demons. Thus, in 17.13.2cd, Indra is invoked as Śacīpati to drive away (*nir aja*, 2sg. impv.) the demonesses after striking them (*samarpayan*) with the *vajra*; in 17.13.3, the poet states that Indra is going to split (*bhetsyati*, 3sg. future) all the embryos and eggs of the Sadānuvās; in 17.13.4, the poet commands Indra to slay (*jahi*) and crush (*mr̥ṇīhi*) the demons with 2sg. imperatives; similarly, in 17.15.2, he commands Indra/Śakra in the form of Rudra, the shooter (*astā*), to hurl (*vi sr̥ja*, 2sg impv) his flare (*tviṣim*) at the demons and slay them (*hantu*, 3sg impv.) with the *vajra*, not to leave any remainder of them (*moc chiṣa*, *mā* + 2sg. aor. inj.) and to thresh (*phalīkuru*, 2sg. impv.) them. Indra Vr̥trahan is also invoked in 17.15.3 (*hantu*, 3sg. impv.), and is qualified as the god who repels demons (*yo devo viśvād rakṣāṃsi sedhati*).

Brahmaṇaspati is invoked in 17.14.4, in which the poet commands him to pierce the Sadānuvās [to drive them] away from the human embryos (*sadānvā barhmaṇaspate paro bhrūṇāny*

*arpaya*).

The god Agni is invoked in 17.14.1, so that the exorcist, speaking directly to the demoness, can say *nis *tvauṣāmi sadānve*, "I burn you completely, O Sadānuvā!" Agni Jātavedas is invoked in 17.14.5: *tā agniḥ sahatām ito jātavedāḥ sadānvāḥ*, "Let Agni Jātavedas vanquish them from here, the Sadānuvās." In 17.15.7, Agni is called 'overpowering' (*sāhantyaḥ*) and is invoked to repel (*sedhatu*) the Rakṣases.

3) It should be noted that, precisely because the Sadānuvās specifically aim at attacking children, the exorcist frequently executes analogical counter-attacks, aiming to harm the Sadānuvās' children. Alternatively, he makes sure to repel both the adult Sadānuvās and their children. This can be seen in the refrain at 17.12.8cd, 9de, 10de, *durṇāmnīḥ sarvāḥ santokā nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ*, "all the ill-named ones together with their offspring—We make the Sadānuvās disappear!"; the reference to *sadānvāḥ* $^{+}$*sādānveyān*, "The Sadānuvās, the descendant of the Sadānuvās" in 17.12.6a; and the threat at 17.13.3: *indro vaḥ sarvāsāṃ sākaṃ garbhān āṇḍāni bhetsyati* ||, "Indra is going to split the embryos, the eggs of you all together!".

4) The exorcist may repel the demoness simply with a statement of truth, i.e. by claiming to vanquish them, or by stating that their power is ineffectual: hence numerous refrains like *nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ*, "We make the Sadānuvās disappear" (17.12.2d, 12.8d, 12.9e, 12.10e, 13.4d, 13.5d, 13.7d, 14.7d, 15.5d, 15.8d, 15.9d, 15.10d ~ ŚS 2.14.1d); *tā ito nāśayāmasi*, "Them we make disappear from here!" (17.12.4f, 14.2e, 14.3e, 14.6e, 14.8e, 15.7e); and *durṇāmno nāśayāmasi*, "We make the ill-named ones disappear!" (17.12.7d). Along the same lines, compare statements like *asātāḥ sarvā vo brūmo*, "we pronounce you all 'empty-handed'!" (17.12.3), i.e., we magically make real the fact that you, Sadānuvās, have not made prey of any of our children. Similarly, the poet may describe his attack: *sahe sahasvān sahasā vi mṛdho hanmi rakṣasaḥ*, "I, strong with strength, overcome. One by one I strike the foes, the Rakṣases" (17.12.6cd). Statements like the above have a performative function: the exorcist repels the demons by saying that he is repelling them.

5) The exorcist may announce his action directly to the demoness: e.g. in 17.12.5cd, "I am going to stab you with a ritual knife like a sharp-horned bull" (*asinā totsyāmi tīkṣṇaśṛṅga iva ṛṣabhaḥ*); in 17.14.1, he claims: *nis *tvauṣāmi sadānve*, "I burn you completely, O Sadānuvā!". Thus, he ritually mimics their killing.

6) The exorcist can speak directly to the demons and command them to leave. Such is the case of the refrain *naśyatetaḥ sadānvāḥ*, "O Sadānuvās, disappear from here!" (17.12.1b, 17.13.9g, 17.12.3d, 17.13.1d). Similarly 17.13.3ab, *ut tiṣṭhata *nir dravata na va *ihāsti nyañcanam*, "Get up! Run away! There is no refuge for you here!"

7) He may command them with a 3rd person imperative: e.g. 17.13.8, $^{+}$*apārogāḥ chakadhūmān vṛkṣāṇāṃ yantu satvaram | atho* $^{+}$*durhārdaso gṛhaṃ pra mṛśantv arāyyaḥ* ||, "Let them of the trees (?) quickly go away to [someone else's] healthy heaps of cow dung. Then, let the evil-hearted Arāyī demonesses lay hold of [their] corral!"; 17.15.4, *tāḥ parā yantu parāvataṃ navatiṃ nāvyā* $^{+}$*ati* ||, "Let them both go away into the distance beyond 90 deep rivers!"; or with a negative imperative, as in 17.14.1e, *dhūmaṃ mābhi pra *gāyi*, "Let her not advance towards [our] smoke [i.e. our fire]!".

8) He may ask rhetorical questions: *kim ichanty *abhiśrayāḥ*, "What are the clinging ones seeking?" (17.14.2b); *kim u śālāsv *ichatha*, "What do you seek in [our] houses?" (17.14.10f); *dhrājiṃ* $^{+}$*tviṣiṃ śucim agnim arāyi kim ihechase*, "O Arāyī, what are you seeking here? The blaze, the flare, the glowing fire?" (17.14.1cd)—implying that the demonesses should not bother staying around any longer.

9) He may employ a magical herb (*oṣadhi*), as in 17.13.10, *sahasvatīṃ pra harāmīmāṃ śālāṃ viṣāsahim | sadānvāghnīm oṣadhiṃ jaitrāyāchā vadāmasi* ||, "I bring forth into this house the one possessing strength, the conquering one. We welcome the Sadānuvā-killing herb for the sake of victory." This is of course a statement of truth with a performative function: the exorcist effectively employs the herb, as he states that he is employing it. Perhaps also the *muṣṭāgreṇa* in 17.14.6d is to

be interpreted in this way.

10) The most peculiar method employed to repel the Sadānuvās is perhaps that of resorting to the compelling force of a social norm. This is the case in 17.14.9 and 10. The former stanza describes Sadānuvās who arise because of the guilt of the victims' Fathers (*yāḥ pitṛyāt saṃbhavanti*): these demonesses are qualified (somewhat euphemistically) as *indradānās*, 'gifts from Indra (?)', and the exorcist repels them by giving them back like a debt that has been paid (*apamityam ivābhṛtaṃ punas tā prati dadmasi*). By qualifying them as 'gifts from Indra', the exorcist means to generate the need for such debt to be paid back. Consequently, the exorcist returns the debt, i.e. the demonesses (presumably to Indra, who is often invoked as their destructor), and thus removes them from the victim. The conclusion of the transaction seems to guarantee that the demonesses will not come back to haunt the victim. The efficacy of such a method rests on the compelling power of the social norms that govern gift-giving and the extinction of debts.

Along similar lines, in 17.14.10, the exorcist commands the demonesses to ignore the living humans of the haunted settlement, and commands them instead to eat an exposed corpse (*amuṃ paretyoddhitaṃ śavam atta*) on the grounds that they are eaters of raw flesh, i.e. not eaters of living beings (*āmādinīḥ krūrādinīr anagnigandhyādinī*)—a statement of truth. However, the exorcist adds *sa vaḥ kevala ācāraḥ*, "That alone is your customary conduct." Thus, he is supporting his statement of truth by resorting to the compelling power of a social norm: the Sadānuvās ought to behave according to the traditional customary conduct that is proper to their social group (*ācāra*) (see my comment *ad loc*.).

The two stanzas mentioned above clearly constitute a pair: they come one after the other, and deal with a similar theme. This observation brings us to one last issue in need of discussion, namely that of the order of the stanzas. This does not appear to follow any overarching organisational principle. Quite certainly our anuvāka was not conceived as a single composition, but is rather a collection of charms used on a variety of occasions, and which were gathered together solely on the basis of their purpose: repelling the Sadānuvās.

However, we can frequently identify smaller groups of two or three stanzas associated with a single theme and which might indeed constitute a single composition. Besides the case illustrated above, another interesting case is that of 17.13.5–7. These three stanzas describe the Sadānuvās as they interfere with the production of the *surā* liquor. Specifically, the demonesses are said to make the various ingredients go bad, causing the resulting brew to be sour and eventually causing headache and abdominal pain to the drinkers. Notably, 17.13.6 and 7 also appear to be syntactically connected: the pronoun *yasya* in 17.13.6a probably refers to the drinker mentioned in 17.13.7, and *tasyāḥ* (f.) in 17.13.7 refers back to *surām* (f.) in 17.13.6e. It seems very likely that these stanzas formed a single composition.

Other small groups of stanzas may be identified, but they are in general less closely connected, and may simply have been placed next to each other on the basis of a shared theme or because of the presence of a particular linking element, a word, lexeme, or refrain contained in both stanzas. For instance, 17.12.8, 9 and 10 share the same pādas cd, with the refrain *durṇāmnīḥ sarvāḥ santokā nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ*, "all the ill-named ones together with their offspring—We make the Sadānuvās disappear!" Stanzas 17.13.2–4 all mention Indra: st. 2 mentions Śacīpati striking the demonesses with the *vajra;* st. 3 states that Indra is going to split the embryos, the eggs of the demonesses; and st.. 4 invokes Indra to slay and crush the demonesses. Both 17.14.1 and 2 contain the question *kim iṣ-*: *arāyi kim ihechase*, "O Arāyī, what are you seeking here?" (1d); *kim ichanty *abhiśrayāḥ*, "What are the clinging ones seeking?" (2b). At the same time, 17.14.2 and 3 share the refrain *tā ito nāśayāmasi*, "them we make disappear from here!". Both stanzas 17.14.5 and 6 contain the word *puruṣa-*, and may both in fact deal with connected themes: the birth of a man (5) and his death (6). Both 17.14.7 and 8 liken (with the particle *iva*) the Sadānuvās to animals: mares and she-donkeys (7) as wel as cows (8). We have already mentioned 17.14.9 and 10, which aim to repel the demons by means of social norms, but the immediately following stanza, 17.15.1, again

likens the demonesses to docile milch cows of good breed (⁺*kurūṭinīḥ kulīnā* **dhenuḥ*), as if re-connecting it with the preceding stanzas 17.14.7–8. Again stanzas 17.15.2 and 3 are connected by the mention of Indra. Stanzas 17.15.7 and 8 first mention the Sadānuvās' cowherd (*gopā*), who alone knows where they are born (7), then qualify them as 'granddaughters of Caṇḍa' (8); thus both stanzas deal with their genealogy.

More linking elements may be found by a close reading of the stanzas, although just as many elements can be found to be shared by stanzas located at distant positions in the text, as well as by stanzas in other Sadānuvā hymns (in particular with ŚS 8.6 ~ PS 17.16.79–80). In fact, all the AV hymns dealing with similar demonesses or with the dangers of childbirth appear to share a common vocabulary, common phraseology, formulas, and refrains. It is my hope that the above-sketched analysis can guide the reader not only through the anuvāka treated here, but also through the related Vedic hymns.

## Sūkta 12

**17.12.1** **ab**: ~ ŚS 11.9.15cd; **c**: ŚS 11.9.16a; **efgh**: ~ PS 17.13.9defg; **h**: ~ PS 17.12.3d, 17.13.1d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | antaḥpātre rerihati | 8# | [ – – – – \| – ∪ ∪ × ] |
| b | *dūrśe durnihitaiṣiṇi \| | 8 | [ – – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | uruṇḍe abhicaṅkrame | 8 | [ ∪ – ∪ ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | vakmake bastavāsini \| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| e | sarvāsāṃ bhaṇvā vaḥ sākaṃ | 8# | [ – – – – \| – – – × ] |
| f | nāmadheyāni vidmasi \| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| g | *yati jātāni $^{+}$vas $^{+}$tati | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| h | naśyatetaḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

O [demoness], constantly licking inside the inner bowl (i.e. the uterus or vagina), O [demoness], wearing a cloak, seeking what has been poorly hidden (i.e. the embryo in the mother's conspicuously prominent belly) / seeking what has been carelessly laid down (i.e. an unattended newborn); O Uruṇḍā, who constantly attacks; O little bad mouth, who wears buckskin clothes—O Bhaṇvā demonesses, we know all your names together! As many sorts [that there are] of you, that many [of you], O Sadānuvās, disappear from here!

N.B. **K** divides this stanza into two stanzas of four lines each. **K** then groups the Odisha st. 2 and 3 into one, numbered *Z 3 Z*. The Odisha division seems preferable, as both stanzas end in a command for the Sadānuvās to disappear. Also note that the end of Odisha st. 2 corresponds to the *prapāṭhaka* division, which is marked in the same locus in **K**.

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antaḥpātre] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** antapātre **Mā** antaḥpātre **K** • rerihati] **K** reruhati **O** • *dūrśe] dūḥśe **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** duḥse **Mā JM$_3$ V71** duśce **K** • durnihitaiṣiṇi |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** durvihitaiṣiṇi \| **Ji$_4$** tunnahiteṣiṇī (*leg.* R-V *vs.* ttannahiteṣiṇī *leg.* Barret, Bhatt.) \| **K** • uruṇḍe] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ūruṇḍe **Ji$_4$** ulaṇḍe **V122** duraṇḍe **K** • abhicaṅkrame] **Pa$_c$ V71** abhicaṃkrame **Ma Ja Ji$_4$ Mā JM$_3$** abhicaṃtrāme **V122** acaṅkrame **K** • vakmake] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vakmaṃke **Pa$_c$** vakṣamukha **K** • bastavāsini] vastavāsini **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vastavāsasi \|\| **Ji$_4$** vastavāsinīm, **K** • |] **Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** (**[Ma]**? **[Ja]**? **[Mā]**?) \|\| **V122 Ji$_4$** Z 1 Z **K** • sarvāsāṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$ V71** sarvā **Ji$_4$** • bhaṇvā] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$ V71** bhaśvāṇvā **Ji$_4$** • vaḥ sākaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vatsākaṃ **K** • nāmadheyāni] nāmadheẏāni **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** nāmadheyāni **JM$_3$**[7] namayeyāni **K** • |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** ˈ **JM$_3$** \|\| **Ji$_4$** • *yati jātāni] yadi jātani **[Ma] [Ja] V71 JM$_3$** yadi yātani **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** yadi jātoni **[Mā]** yāni jātāni **K** • $^{+}$vas $^{+}$tati] varttati **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** varttanti **Mā** vasvabhi **K** •

7 Here **JM$_3$** spells *namadheyāni* with the akṣara *yā*, not with the intervocalic *ẏā*.

naśyatetaḥ sadānvāḥ] **Ma Ja V122 JM$_3$** naśyateta sadānvāḥ **Pa$_c$ Mā** nasyatetaḥ sadānvāḥ **Ji$_4$** naśyetetaḥ sadānvāḥ **V71** naśyatetasmākaṃ nāmayeyāni vidmasi | yāni jātāni vasv abhi naśyatetasmadānvā **K** • ||] **Ma Ja Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** ||$^4$ **V122** ||$^3$ **Ji$_4$** | **Mā** Z 2 Z **K**

ŚS 11.9.15-16
*śvànvatīr apsaráso rū́pakā utā́rbude* |
antaḥpātré rérihatīṃ riśā́ṃ durṇihitaiṣíṇīm |
*sárvās tā́ arbude tvám amítrebhyo dṛ́śé kurūdārā́ṃś ca prá darśaya* ||15||
khaḍū́re 'dhicaṅkramā́ṃ khárvikāṃ kharvavāsínīm |
*yá udārā́ antárhitā gandharvāpsarásaś ca yé sarpā́ itarajanā́ rákṣāṃsi* ||16||

PS 17.13.9defg
sarvāsāṃ bhaṇvā vaḥ sākaṃ
nāmadheyāni vidmasi |
yati jātāni vas tati
naśyatetaḥ sadānvāḥ ||

Bhattacharya writes pāda **b** as *duhśe durnihitaiṣiṇi* |; he writes *vastavāsini* in pāda **d**, and *yati* jātāni vastati+* in pāda **g**. Note that Bhattacharya omits the daṇḍa after pāda **d**. He does not mention whether any of his mss. feature a raised number at the end of the stanza to indicate that the number of hemistichs should be three. Moreover, Bhattacharya's apparatus reads "*U. * abhicaṃkrame * ** |", but it is not clear whether this final daṇḍa belongs to the mss. (in which case it is not clear why he didn't adopt it—unless the omission is simply due to carelessness at the printing stage), or if it is a punctuation mark in Bhattacharya's apparatus (as is often the case). All my mss. feature a daṇḍa. **V122** ends the stanza with the raised numeral "4," indicating four hemistichs. Only **Ji$_4$** features the raised numeral "3", which would be consistent with Bhattacharya's choice. However, even this latter (and usually unreliable) ms. features a (double) daṇḍa after pāda **d** (it then omits the daṇḍa after *vidmasi*). In conclusion, I decide to adopt a daṇḍa after pāda **d**.

This stanza is aimed at repelling Sadānuva demonesses. The reciter first lists various names of demonesses (in the vocative case), then commands them to disappear. The logic behind this charm is based on the notion that the knowledge of someone's real (sometimes secret) name grants the reciter control over such person. It is precisely this notion that the reciter recalls by saying *sarvāsāṃ … vaḥ sākaṃ nāmadheyāni vidmasi*, 'we know all your names together'; he is confident that he can drive the Sadānuvās away, precisely because he knows their names and thus has power over them.

Note that of the eight pādas (4 + 4), only the first (pāda **a**) and fifth (pāda **e**) pādas have irregular cadences—certainly an intentional arrangement—and both start with a sequence of long syllables. Pāda **e** in particular contains only long syllables, perhaps a rhetorical device to further stress the reciter's claim to be able to overpower the demons by knowing every single one of their names.

**a**. The parallel at ŚS 11.9.15.c reads *antaḥpātré* with a single final accent, compelling us to regard it as one word, rather than a combination of *antár* plus the loc. of the noun *pā́tra-*.[8]

Wackernagel (AiGr II.1 §102eα p.258) lists *antaḥ-pātrá-* as a prepositonal Tatpuruṣa: when forming compunds of this category, the adverb *antár* can either mean 1) 'zwischen ...', e.g. *antar-deśá-*, 'zwischengegend' or 'the intermediate region of the compass' (cf. AV 4.40.8; i.e. a regular Karmadhāraya 'B that is A', 'a *deśa* that is *antár*'); or 2) 'innen ...', in which case the compounds mean 'the internal part of B', e.g. *antaḥ-pura-*, 'der innere Teil der Burg' or *antaḥ-pātrá-* 'der innere Raum eines Gefäßes'. Bloomfield's rendering, '(...licks) within the vessel', is based on the same interpretation. On the other hand, Whitney translates it as '(...licking) in the inner vessel', thus

8 Sāyaṇa's commentary on ŚS 11.9.15 features a different opinion; he reads two independent words: *pātre antaḥ madhye rerihatīṃ punaḥ-punar lihatīṃ*.

interpreting it as the locative of a Karmadhāraya compound meaning ‘a vessel (*pā́tra*) that is inside (*antár*)’.

Ultimately, both interpretations are grammatically possible.[9] However, Whitney’s interpretation seems preferable to me, as the ‘vessel that is inside’ is undoubtedly the ‘uterus’ or the ‘vagina’. Not only do we know that, in general, the Sadānuvās are a threat to women’s reproductive ability, but we know from several other stanzas that the Sadānuvās specifically lick (*rih-*, also with various preverbs; see my comment on 17.14.8d below) the women’s menstrual blood—which in the mind of the Vedic people was a kind of female semen (see Slaje 1995)—thus making women barren. This must be the meaning of this pāda.

Theoretically, we could have expected an accusative *antaḥ-pātrám* ‘(...licking) the bowl that is inside’ or ‘(licking) the inside of the bowl’. However, the root *lih-* can also occur with a loc. object (MW p.903,1), and at any rate the loc. may have been preferred in order to create a syntactical parallelism with pāda **b** (if this indeed contains a locative), or for other stylistic effect (all four initial words of the four initial pādas end in *-e*, loc. or voc., and the sequence *-re rerihati* appears as a double reduplication of the intensive!).

The form *rerihati* is the feminine vocative of an intensive active pres. ptc. *rerihat-* (f. *-at-ī*) from *rih-*, *réḷhi*. The form is well attested (3x already in RV) although a corresponding intensive present active is missing; only the intensive middle present *rerihyate* is attested, next to an intensive middle pres. ptc. *rerihāna-* (see Schaefer 1994: 174).

**b**. The second word of this pāda must be the feminine vocative of a demoness name. It can be interpreted as the feminine of a compound of *dur-nihita* and *eṣin-*; thus Bloomfield, ‘her that seeks out what has been carelessly hidden’ or Whitney, ‘seeking what is ill-deposited’. These literal translations may acquire some sense if we interpret *durnihita-* as indicating the embryo, ‘poorly hidden’ inside the conspicuously prominent woman’s womb, or perhaps the newborn ‘carelessly put down’ and unattended by the mother.[10]

As for the first word, the PS readings seem to require an emendation. The ŚS parallel reads *riśā́m*.[11] The word *riśā́-* is a hapax. PW glosses it as ‘die Rupfende, Zerrende’ on the basis of the root *riś-* ‘to tear, pluck’, and MW as ‘N. of a partic. small animal’.[12] If we accept that *riśā́-* is a ‘plucking demoness’ (Bloomfield translates it as “plucking sprite”), it is not inconceivable to regard the PS readings as the corruption of an original *riśé* (we expect a feminine vocative where the ŚS has feminine accusatives). We could explain the corruption as simply due to anticipation of the morpheme *dus-* from *durnihitaiṣini*. A stage at which *ri* became *ru* and favoured anticipation is also conceivable, but this common mistake (cf. pāda **a**: **K** *rerihati*, **O** *reruhati*) is likely connected with

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9 On the basis of the unaccented PS text, one might be tempted to interpret our compound as the feminine vocative of a substantivised governing compound **antaḥpatrā́-*, i.e. ‘she who is inside vessels’—one more demoness name in our list. Prepositional governing compounds (in which the first member is a preposition or an adverb, which governs the second member) are normally accented on the first member, unless the second member features an *-a-* or *-ya-*suffix, in which case the suffix is accented (e.g. *adhas-pad-á-*, ‘under the feet’, *prati-lomá-*, ‘against the hair, reversed’). These compounds are normally adjectives, but can be substantivised: e.g. *upānasá-*, an adjective meaning ‘being on/by a wagon’, in RV 10.105.4 (Macdonell 1910:175; cf. AiGr II.1 §48e p.111—yet, to be fair, both Geldner and J-B interpret it as a noun), but a noun meaning ‘the space on a wagon’ in ŚS 2.14.2. However, the final accentuation of the ŚS strongly contradicts this interpretation, as a vocative at the beginning of a pāda would have initial accentuation.

10 Sāyaṇa’s gloss on ŚS 11.9.15, “*duṣṭanikṣiptam icchantīṃ*,” is not particularly revealing.

11 Note that Sāyaṇa’s commentary does not read *riśā́m*, but *vaśāṃ*, acc. of *vaśā́-* f., ‘cow’—and is in fact then glossed with “*gām.*”

12 A possibly connected lemma, *riśā́das-*, is used in RV and AV as an epithet of the Ādityas or the Maruts (J-B comm. on RV 1.2.7), but its meaning is unclear. EWAia II 451 records two main interpretations: that of Hoffmann (1976: 564 fn.16) as ‘Speiserupfer’, **riśá-adas-* “Speise rupfend (etwa im Sinne von ‘wälerisch’)” (cf. AiGr II 1 p.316f.), and of Thieme (1938: 157ff.) as *ri*(<*ari-*)-**śādas* (cf. gr. κῆδος), ‘Sorge für den Fremdling hegend’, on the basis of an ethical interpretation of the role of the Gods, to whom the epithet is applied. Cf. also Pinault 1999.

Odia recitation practice, whereas in our case, the error must have occurred in the course of the oral transmission preceding the PS archetype. However, such an *ex post* explanation is not a conclusive argument. Moreover, given that ŚS *riśā́m* is a hapax, it is worth looking for alternative solutions.

Bhattacharya suggests considering the word *dūrśá-* n. 'garment, cloak', of which our text would obviously feature a locative. This word is actually found in PS 5.9.7, a hymn against Sadānuvās: *yā́ś celaṃ vasata uta yā́ nu* [+]*dūrśaṃ*[13] *nīlaṃ piśaṅgam uta lohitaṃ yā́ḥ | yā́ garbhā́n pramr̥śanti ' sarvā́ḥ pāpī́r anīnaśam* ||, "Those who are dressed in rags, and who [are dressed] in coarse cloth, [be it] deep blue, brown or red, who lay hold of the embryos, all the bad ones have I destroyed" (Lubotsky). It also appears in ŚS 4.7.6 (~ PS 2.1.5b) (Against poison): *pavástais tvā páry akrīṇan dūrśébhir*[14] *ajínair utá | prakrī́r asi tvám oṣadhé 'bhrikhāte ná rūrupaḥ* ||, "For covers (? *pavásta*) they bought thee, also for garments (? *dūrśá*), for goat-skins; purchasable (? *prakrī́*) art thou, O herb; spade-dug one, thou rackest not" (Whitney), "Für Decken (?) tauschten sie dich ein, für Kleidung und für Felle; getauscht bist du, Pflanze; mit Spaten Ausgegrabene, du wirst keine Schmerzen verursachen" (Zehnder). Zehnder (*ad loc*.) notes that Bloomfield (1897: 378) had proposed an interpretation of this stanza based on considering the three items as worthless objects of trade. It is perhaps possible that they are mentioned because they have a connection with the wilderness (perhaps that's where the mentioned herb is procured), as is suggested by the only other attestation of *dūrśá-*, namely ŚS 8.6.11b (~ PS 16.80.1b) *yé kukúndhāḥ kukū́rabhāḥ kŕ̥ttīr dūrśā́ni*[15] *bíbhrati | klībā́ iva pranŕ̥tyanto váne yé kurváte ghóṣaṃ tā́n itó nāśayāmasi* ||, "The *kukúndhas*, the *kukū́rabhas*, that bear skins (*kŕ̥tti*), pelts (? *dūrśá*), dancing on like impotent men, that make a noise in the forest—them we make disappear from here" (Whitney).

Thus, the *dūrśá*, like other hides (*ajína*, *kŕ̥tti*), is the garment of beast-like demons[16] who inhabit the forest (*vána*) where eunuchs dance (*pra-nr̥t-*); in fact, this reference to impotency might be relevant to our text. Note that ŚS 8.6 is a collection of spells to guard a pregnant woman from demons, and features plenty of lexical and content similarities with our anuvāka. Therefore, Bhattacharya might have the right idea. Of course, what we diagnosed above as anticipation of the morpheme *dur-*, could just as well be deliberate alliteration, and we could read our pāda **b** as **dūrśe durnihitaiṣini*. Thus the locative would translate as 'in a cloak', i.e. 'wearing a cloak', indicating that the demoness 'seeks what has been carelessly hidden / poorly laid down' is herself 'in a cloak', i.e. 'wearing a cloak'. Note that this is very much compatible with the image of the the buckskin-clothed demoness (*basta-vāsinī-*) mentioned in pāda **d**.[17]

**c**. The word *uruṇḍe* can be either a locative m. from *uruṇḍa-*, or a voc. f. of an unattested **uruṇḍā*. The masculine *úruṇḍa-* is attested at ŚS 8.6.15 (again the same hymn to guard pregnant women from demons), seemingly indicating a category of demons: *yéṣām paścā́t prápadāni puráḥ pā́rṣṇīḥ puró múkhā | khalajā́ḥ śakadhūmajā́ úruṇḍā́ yé ca maṭmaṭā́ḥ kumbhámuṣkā*[18] *ayāśávaḥ |*

13 **K** reads *duṣaṃ*, Bhattacharya's **O** mss. *dūraśaṃ*; Lubotsky also reports **V/123** *dūraśaṃ* and **Ku1** *dūrasaṃ*.

14 Zehnder (1999: 24) records the following variants: *duruśebhir* **Ja1**, **Vā**; *durr̥śebhir* **Ma1**; *duruśyebhir* **Pa**; *duruṣebhir* **K**.

15 Note that the ŚS commentary has *dūṣyāni*. Bhattacharya's **O** mss. have *duruśāni*, **K** *mūriśāni*.

16 The sequence *kuku*, clearly onomatopoeic, indicates the sounds of various animals (cf. *kukkuṭa* 'cock', *kukura*/*kukkura* 'dog'). I wonder whether these demons, wearing animal skins and making animal sounds, have something to do with Vrātya animal transformations. Maybe the reference to dancing eunuchs can be understood in this sense: recall the Vrātya category of the *jyeṣṭhās*, who are said to be *śamanīcāmeḍhra* (Falk 1986: 52), 'whose penis hangs down', i.e. impotent, socially precluded from intercourse, or practising abstinence (see Appendix 1).

17 An alternative emendation could be **dūṣye*, the feminine vocative of the adjective *dūṣya-* 'vile', lit. 'to be corrupted', based on the causative stem *dūṣaya-*. The first attestations of this adjective are late, but the causative stem is already attested once in RV 7.104.9b and fairly frequent in the AV, thus the formation is perfectly possible. Alternatively, a vocative **dūṣe*, from *dū́ṣi-*, f. 'corrupting' (adj.), 'toxic substance' (noun), could also be considered—perhaps as a demoness name—or a dative infinitive **duṣe*, 'aiming to corrupt', based on the root *duṣ-*.

18 This word is also found in out text at PS 17.12.7a below.

*tắn asyắ brahmaṇas pate pratībodhéna nāśaya* ||, "Of whom the front-feet are behind, the heels in front, the faces in front, who are threshing-floor-born, dung-smoke-born, who are *úruṇḍas* and *maṭmaṭas*, pot-testicled, *ayāśús* (impotent?)—these from her, O brahmaṇaspati, do thou make disappear by attention (?*pratibodha*)" (Whitney). If the *uruṇḍa* is a demon, it seems more reasonable at first sight to read two vocatives in our pāda and translate "O Uruṇḍā, O [demoness] who attacks."[19]

**d**. The first word of this pāda is doubtful. The mss. are in disagreement: *vakmake* **O**, *vakṣamukha* **K**. The reading of **K** does not fit the metre, nor it would be easy to explain the ending *-a*. Moreover, there is no such stem as **vakṣa*-, only *vákṣas*-, 'breast, chest', but this does not appear as *vakṣa*- in composition (actually, no such compound is attested in Vedic), although a **vakṣas-mukha*- (**vakṣomukha*-), 'with her face on her chest', might sound like a plausible demoness name.[20]

The Odisha reading looks like the voc. f. of an otherwise unattested *vakmakā*-, seemingly formed from the word *vákman*- with a *ka*-suffix. Epithets for demons and demonesses featuring the *ka*-suffix are frequent, as this suffix is used both with a pejorative sense and in nicknames with the aim of belittling and taming a dangerous entity's power (see my introduction to this chapter). The word *vákman*- is also a hapax, attested in RV 10.132.2.[21] It presumably belongs to the root *vac*-, and thus means 'speech'. If we assume a pejorative meaning for the *ka*-suffix, *vakmakā*- might be '(a demoness) who speaks bad words', 'little bad mouth'.[22]

The form *bastavāsini* must be a f. sg. voc. from a compound *basta-vāsinī*-. The corresponding masculine *bastavāsín*- is only attested in ŚS 8.6.12 (To guard pregnant women from demons) (~ PS 16.80.3c): *yé sū́ryaṃ ná títikṣanta ātápantam amúṃ diváḥ | arā́yān bastavāsíno durgándhīṃl lóhitāsyān mákakān nāśayāmasi* ||"They who do not endure yonder sun, burning down from the sky, the niggards, buck-clothed, ill-smelling, red-mouthed, the *mákakas*, we make to disappear" (Whitney). A compound *bastābhivāsín*- (the comm. reads *bastāvivāśin*-) is also attested in ŚS 11.9.22 (To Arbudi; another hymn with many lexical similarities to our text), *yé ca dhī́rā yé*

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19 I shall mention another possibility, although I prefer the solution outlined above. The ŚS parallel reads *khaḍū́re 'dhicaṅkramā́ṃ*, in which the second word, an acc. f., is syntactically connected with the rest of the stanza, while *khaḍū́re* appears to be a loc. sg. governed by it. The latter word is a hapax of obscure meaning (EWAia I p.443). Bloomfield translates 'mist' on the basis of Sāyaṇa's gloss, *dūrabhūtam kham khadūram ākāśe dūradeśe*; Whitney leaves it untranslated. Our anuvāka at PS 17.12.2c actually seems to feature a feminine *khaḍūrī*- (**khaḍūrīṃ*), but the context only suggests that it might be another name of a demoness. If PS *khaḍūrī* is a demoness, then ŚS *khaḍū́ra* could be a male demon. It is thus possible that the ŚS pāda means '[the demoness] that strides upon the male demon *khaḍū́ra*'. If this is the case, then, given the syntactic structure of pādas **ab** in our stanza, namely loc. + voc., I wonder whether we should actually take *uruṇḍe* as a loc. If there is a demoness who strides upon a *khaḍūra* demon, there might as well be a demoness attacking an *uruṇḍa* demon. After all, however, this solution seems less attractive to me. First of all, we expect our text to list demonesses who threaten children and women, rather than demonesses who threaten other demons. Secondly, if there exists a f. *khaḍūrī* demoness next to a m. *khaḍūra* demon, there might as well be a female **uruṇḍā* demoness next to a m. *uruṇḍa* demon. Third, in the ŚS parallel, the loc. *khadū́re* is certainly governed by the preverb *adhi* prefixed to (*a*)*dhicaṅkramā́ṃ*; in our text, however, the preverb *abhí* in *abhicaṅkrame* would rather call for an accusative. This suggests that the locative interpretation is less plausible.

20 Perhaps a **rakṣomukha* might also do, but there is little ground for such a conjecture.

21 Part of a hymn to Indra: RV 1.132.2, *svarjeṣé bhára āprásya vákmany uṣarbúdhaḥ svásminn áñjasi krāṇásya svásminn áñjasi | áhann índro yáthā vidé śīrṣṇā́-śīrṣṇopavā́cyaḥ | asmatrā́ te sadhryàk santu rātáyo bhadrā́ bhadrásya rātáyaḥ* ||, "At the match to win the sun, at the speech of the Propitiator, at the very anointing of the one who wakes at dawn [=Agni]—at the very anointing of the one being prepared [=soma]—on (that) day lndra is to be invoked by every head [=person], in the way that is known. Toward us only let your gifts be directed—the auspicious gifts of the auspicious one" (J-B).

22 Alternatively, we might perhaps conceive a corruption of *nagnaká*-; cf. ŚS 8.6.21 (from the hymn to guard a pregnant woman from demons), *pavīnasā́t taṅgalvàc chā́yakād utá nágnakāt | prajā́yai pátye tvā piṅgáḥ pári pātu kimīdínaḥ* ||, "From the rim-nosed, the the *taṅgalvà*, the shady and naked, from the *kimīdín*, let the brown one protect thee about for progeny, for husband" (Whitney).

*cā́dhīrāḥ párāñco badhirā́ś ca yé | tamasā́ yé ca tūparā́ átho bastābhivāsínaḥ | sárvāṃs tā́m arbude tvám amítrebhyo dr̥śé kurūdārā́ṃś ca prá darśaya* ||, "Both they who are wise and they who are unwise, those going away and they who are deaf, they of darkness and they who are hornless (*tūpará*), likewise those that smell of (?) the goat—all those (m.), O Arbudi, do thou make our enemies to see, and do thou show forth specters" (Whitney). Compare also *bastagandhāḥ* at 17.12.5b below.

Bhattacharya spells *vasta*° with *v*. The Odisha mss. do not distinguish *b* and *v*, and **K** also points to *v*, both here and in the case of *bastagandha*- at 17.12.5b below. However, according to EWAia II p. 216, the older spelling of the word for 'buck' is *bastá*-, and such is the spelling of the only RV attestation at RV 1.161.13 (to the Ṛbhus), a rather obscure stanza: *suṣupvā́ṃsa r̥bhavas tád apr̥chatā́gohya ká idáṃ no abūbudhat | śvā́nam bastó bodhayitā́ram abravīt saṃvatsará idám adyā́ vy àkhyata* ||, "After you slept, Ṛbhus, you asked this: "Who awakened us here, o Agohya?" The billy-goat [=the Sun?] said the dog [=the Moon?] was the awakener. Here today, after a year, you opened your eyes" (J-B). The same spelling is found in the ŚS, where this word only appears as the first member of the above-quoted compounds. Besides the above-quoted stanzas, the PS also has the following occurrence with initial *b*: PS 4.5.6a, *aśvasya r̥śyasya bastasya* (**K** *bhastasya*) *puruṣasya ca | ya r̥ṣabhasya vājas tam asmai dehy oṣadhe* ||, "Of the horse, of the male antelope, of the buck and of the man, the vigour of the bull, give that to him, O herb!"

**ef**. As highlighted above, these two pādas reveal the logic behind the magical power of this verse. In fact, it is only because he knows the demonesses' names and epithets that the poet is able to impose his will on them and ultimately chase them away.

The word *bhaṇvā*- is only attested in this anuvāka. It appear to be the name of another class of female demons, if not simply an alternative name for the Sadānuvās.

**g**. The emendations in this pāda were proposed by Bhattacharya (if I correctly interpret his spelling *vastati*+ as standing for $^{+}$*vas* $^{+}$*tati*).

**17.12.2** **d**: ~ PS 17.12.8d, 12.9e, 12.10e, 13.4d, 13.5d, 13.7d, 14.7d, 15.5d, 15.8d, 15.9d, 15.10d ~ ŚS 2.14.1d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | *karṇāṃ *dr̥ṣadrathāsaham | 8 | [ – – ∪ – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| b | urukīṃ keśinīṃ krakum \| | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | *khaḍūrīm ambarīṣiyaṃ | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | nāśayāmaḥ sadānuvāḥ \|\| ( **prapāṭhaka* \|\| ) | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

The long-eared one, the one who draws a grindstone-chariot, the little wide one, the long-haired one, the howling one, the *khaḍū́rī*, the *ambarīṣī*—we make the Sadānuvās disappear!

*karṇāṃ][23] karṇā **K Mā**? karṇṇā **[Ma]? [Ja]? V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** • *dr̥ṣadrathāsaham] dr̥ṣadrathāmaham **[Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** dr̥ṣadrathāmahyam **Ja** dupadrathāmaham **Mā** duṣadrathāmaham **V71** dr̥śadratāmahām **K** • urukīṃ] **[O]** ulukīṃ **K** • keśinīṃ krakuṃ \|] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** keśanīṃ kraku \|\| **Ji$_4$** keśinīṃ krakūṃ **K** • *khaḍūrīm] khaḍurīm **[Ma] [Ja] Mā JM$_3$** khaṛurīṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71** ṣaḍurim **K** • ambarīṣyaṃ] **[Ma]** aṃbarīṣvaṃ **Ja Mā V71 JM$_3$** ambarīṣvaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** aṃbarhiṣyan **K** • nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ] nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ **[O]** nāśayāmas sadānvā **K** • \|\| **prapāṭhaka* \|\| ] \|\| śrī \|\| viṣṇuḥ \|\| śrī \|\| **Ma Ja Mā** \|\| # \|\| **Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** \|\| ### \|\| **V122** \|\| **Ji$_4$** \|\| (*space*) \|\| # \|\| **V71** Z oṁ nāśayāmas sadānvā Z oṁ **K**

23 Bhattacharya's apparatus explicitly gives *karṇā* as the reading of **Mā** (it is silent about **Ja** and **Ma**). However, given that all my **O** mss. read *rṇṇā*, I suspect that Bhattacharya has ignored this particular (and very common) Odia spelling in this case.

Bhattacharya writes *karṇā dṛṣadrathāmaha murukī* in pāda **ab**, *khaḍurīm* in pāda **c**.

The label *prapāṭhaka*, 'lecture', indicates a textual division found consistently in both branches of the transmission. As such, it must go back to the archetype. See Griffiths 2003b: 2ff., Griffiths 2009: lxxii.

**a**. Given that—along the same lines as the previous stanza—pādas **b** and **c** contain demoness names, this time feminine accusatives, we would expect to find the same in pāda **a**. However, this proves very difficult without considering some emendations.

In a comment, Bhattacharya—who writes *karṇā* separately from *dṛṣadrathāmaha* and *murukī*—proposes to emend to **karṇāṃ* (I interpret this as the f. acc. of a demoness name *karṇā-*, 'the long-eared one'; cf. *karṇá-* 'long-eared', which is also the name of a Mahābhārata hero) or, alternatively, to interpret *karṇā* as an instrumental; he does not mention the possibility of reading an ablative *karṇād*. At any rate, neither option seems to yield much sense to me, and Bhattacharya's **karṇāṃ* seems the best guess, and requires the least heavy emendation.

The lightest possible intervention that could make the following part of the pāda intelligible is to emend **O** °*maham*, **K** °*mahām* to **saham*. The resulting text would read **dṛṣadrathāsaham*, the acc. sg. f. of a compound *dṛṣad-rathā-sah-*, a hapax. The compound *rathāsáh-* qualifies Vāyu's horses in RV 8.26.20, *yukṣvā́ hí tváṃ rathāsáhā*, "yoke the two that power the chariot" (J-B), "So schirre denn die beiden den Wagen bemeisternden (Rosse) an" (Geldner). Scarlata (1999: 608) explains this epithet as stressing not so much the fact that the horses are able to draw a chariot, since the chariot is famously a very light vehicle, but rather that they are in control of it, skillful in handling it.[24]

The word *dṛṣád-*, f., 'millstone, grindstone',[25] is mostly used in metaphors describing Indra or Agni smashing evil beings: e.g. RV 7.104.22 (~ ŚS 8.4.22 ~ PS 16.11.2), *úlūkayātuṃ śuśulū́kayātuṃ jahí śváyātum utá kókayātum | suparṇáyātum utá gṛ́dhrayātuṃ dṛṣádeva prá mṛṇa rákṣa indra* ||, "The owl-sorcerer, the owlet-sorcerer—smash them, and the dog-sorcerer and the wolf-sorcerer, the eagle-sorcerer and the vulture-sorcerer. As if with a mill-stone, pulverize the demonic power, Indra" (J-B); and PS 5.3.8, *methiṣṭhā *agnir aghalas tviṣīmān krimīṇāṃ jātāni pra +dunotu sarvā | bṛhaspater +medine jātavedā adṛṣṭān hantu dṛṣadeva māṣān* ||, "Let Agni, standing at the cattle-shed, fearful, vehement, burn all species of worms. Let Jātavedas smash the unseen for Bṛhaspati's friend, like beans with a grind-stone" (Lubotsky).

The last example shows that the *dṛṣád* was an everyday object. We know from various sources that the Sadānuvās originate from various items belonging to the typical environment of a Vedic rural settlement. Particularly illustrative is PS 1.86.4[26] (Against the female demons called Kaṇvās): *yā tantiṣat khalasad yā ca goṣṭhe yā jātāḥ śakadhūme sabhāyām | prapāyāṃ jātā uta yāś ca bhitsu tāś cātayāmaḥ śivatā no astu* ||, "The [demoness] who is sitting on the rope [to fasten the cattle], the one who is sitting on the threshing floor, and the one who is in the cowshed, those who are born in the pile of cow dung, in the assembly hall, those born in the water reservoir, those in the furrows, whom we frighten away—let there be benevolence towards us!" (my transl.). Therefore, we can perhaps make sense of an epithet such as *dṛṣadrathāsah-* 'drawing a grindstone-chariot' by picturing female demons who draw a grindstone as horses would draw a chariot.[27]

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24 Scarlata further notes that the compound can also be interpreted as being built on an accusative relation, 'conquering the chariots', in the sense conveyed by RV 10.178.1ab, *yám ū ṣú vājínaṃ devájūtaṃ sahā́vānaṃ tarutā́raṃ ráthānām*, "This god-sped prizewinner, victorious overtaker of (other) chariots" (J-B); or on an instrumental relation, 'winning with a chariot', as conveyed by RV 6.75.7ab, *tīvrā́n ghóṣān kṛṇvate vṛ́ṣapāṇayó 'śvā ráthebhiḥ sahá vājáyantaḥ*, "They make their sharp cries—the bullish-hooved *horses* along with the chariots, as they seek the prize" (J-B) (cf. also RV 8.22.15).

25 In RV, this word also appears in the compound *dṛṣádvatī*, 'the one full of stones', the name of a river (RV 3.23.4c). In the PS we find the compound *dṛṣadpiṣṭā*, qualifying the *surā* liquor as 'ground with a grindstone' in PS 5.10.1b.

26 As regards this stanza, see my comments on PS 17.12.9b, 17.13.4c, and 17.14.3d below.

27 I fail to see any solution in taking °*rathām* as an acc. f. sg.. The following *aham* would not fit the syntax. One

**b**. The Odisha mss. preserve a from with *r*, namely *urukīṃ*, whereas **K** has *ulukīṃ* with *l*. The Kashmirian reading could be easily emended to **ulūkīṃ*, possibly 'the little owl-looking one', based on *úlūka-* 'owl'. According to PW and MW, an identical formation, Ulūkī, is found in the Harivaṃśa and Viṣṇupurāṇa as the name of a 'primordial owl'. This does not help us much, although it goes to show that the formation is plausible. Theoretically, we could also make sense of the Odisha reading if we consider *urukī-* as being based on *uru-* 'wide', thus meaning 'the little wide one'.[28] As far as the meaning is concerned, neither solution appears evidently more preferable than the other; therefore, I opt for the Odisha reading, as it does not require any emendation. Note, however, that **K** *ulukīṃ* could also be perfectly correct if we take it as an *l*-variant of *urukī-* in colloqual female speech.

The epithet *keśinī-*, 'the long-haired one', is the most transparent in the entire stanza.

The word *kraku-* is obscure. I have found a correspondance only in the name Kraku(c)chanda (also spelled Krakutsanda, Kakucchanda, Kakutsanda, and in Pali Kakusaṃdha), "the name of a former Buddha, almost invariably the third before Śākyamuni" (BHSD, p. 169). As this is probably just an unrelated assonance, we should consider *kraku-* a hapax. We obviously expect this word to be another feminine epithet. The ending *-um* could of course be f. acc. (cf. *dhenúm*, f. acc. of *dhenú-*). **K**'s reading, *krakūm*, if it is not a corruption, only makes the feminine gender more explicit. There does not seem to be any ground for preferring one variant over the other.

More relevant is *kr̥ku-* (or *vane-kr̥ku-*?), probably just a variant of our *kraku-*, in PS 17.13.9b below. Notably, this stanza contains a number of epithets that are all based on noises that the demonesses make. In fact, it is very likely that both words are onomatopoeic. We may perhaps compare RV *krákṣamāṇa-* 'howling', said of Indra in RV 8.76.11;[29] *avakrakṣín-* 'howling', said of Indra when likened to a bull in RV 8.1.2;[30] and *vanakrakṣá-* 'howling in the wood', said of the soma (possibly as a bull) bubbling in a wooden vessel in RV 9.108.7[31] (see also EWAia I p. 407). My

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could consider a verb ending in *-mahe* or *mahai*—perhaps *arthāmahe* "we demand"? Theoretically, *r̥ṣadrathā-*, 'she who pushes a chariot'(?), could be an intelligible epithet—compare *r̥ṣad-gu-* 'he who pushes cattle' (Mbh), a proper name—but it does not sound so obviously suitable for a demoness. Perhaps *riṣad-rathā-*, 'destroying the chariot' (from *riṣ-*, intr. 'to get injured', but also tr. 'to hurt, destroy') would be more plausible. According to PW and MW, the name *r̥ṣadgu* mentioned above also appears in the variant *ruṣadgu-* and *uṣadgu-* in late sources (note that a variation of this kind could be relevant to our case, as *r̥* is pronounced and often spelled [ru] in Odia), but also as *ruśad-gu-*, built on *rúśant-* 'bright, white'; thus the meaning would be 'having white cattle'. Cf. also the proper name *uṣad-ratha-* (= *r̥ṣad-ratha*, 'pushing a chariot'?) in the Viṣṇupurāṇa, next to *ruśad-ratha-*, 'having a shiny (*rúśant-*) chariot', the name of a prince in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. Going back to our text, note that whereas **O** reads °*r̥ṣad*° with a retroflex, **K** has °*r̥śad*° with a palatal; confusion of the sibilants is a frequent phenomenon in both branches of the transmission. However, it seems even more unlikely that a demoness would be called **ruśadrathām*, 'her with a shiny chariot'. Semantically, one could imagine an unattested compound like *riśad-rathā-*, 'tearing(?) the chariot' (from *riś-*/*liś-* 'to tear, pluck'). Other similar sounding roots are *luṣ-*/*lūṣ-* 'to steal' (only mentioned in the Dhātupāṭha, however), or *ruṣ-*, which however is only intransitive in Vedic. The Dhāṭupāṭha also has a transitive *ruṣ-* (=*ruś*?) 'to hurt, kill'.

28 A stem *uruka-* is found at MS 1.5.11: 80,13, and is tentatively rendered by Amano as "Räumchen" (see Amano 2009: 200 fn. 352).

29 RV 8.76.11, *ánu tvā ródasī ubhé krákṣamāṇam akr̥petām | índra yád dasyuhā́bhavaḥ* ||, "Both the world-halves yearned after you as you howled, Indra, when you became the smiter of the Dasyus" (J-B).

30 RV 8.1.2, *avakrakṣíṇaṃ vr̥ṣabháṃ yathājúraṃ gā́ṃ ná carṣaṇīsáham | vidvéṣaṇaṃ saṃvánanobhayaṃkarám máṃhiṣṭham ubhayāvínam* ||, "Him, rumbling loudly like a bull, unaging, conquering territory as if (conquering) cow(s); making both: division by hate and unions by love—having it both ways, the most munificent one" (J-B).

31 RV 9.10.7–8, *ā́ sotā pári ṣiñcatā́śvaṃ ná stómam aptúraṃ rajastúram | vanakrakṣám udaprútam || sahásradhāraṃ vr̥ṣabhám payovŕ̥dham priyáṃ devā́ya jánmane | r̥téna yá r̥tájāto vivāvr̥dhé rā́jā devá r̥tám br̥hát* || "Press it, sprinkle it around, as one sprinkles a horse—(the soma that is stoma, i.e.,) the praise song that crosses the waters, crosses the airy realms, that is howling in the wood and swimming in the waters. The bull

translation is just tentative.

**c**. The Odisha mss. read *khaḍurīm* with short *u*. This reading evokes the word *khaḍū́re*, with long *ū*, found in ŚS 11.9.16,[32] a stanza that we have quoted above as a parallel to PS 17.12.1. This ŚS stanza (together with ŚS 11.9.15)[33] is a charm containing a list of names of demons and demonesses, and is meant to be recited with the aim of teasing such demons out of their hideout in order to chase them away. The word *khaḍū́ra-* (see footnote 19 above and EWAia I, p.443), a hapax, however, is not necessarily a demon's name: in fact, it appears as a locative governed by a demoness name in the syntagm *khaḍū́re 'dhicaṅkramā́ṃ*, 'her (acc.) who strides upon the *khadū́ra*'. Bloomfield tentatively translates this as 'mist' on the basis of Sāyaṇa's gloss, *dūrabhūtaṃ khaṃ khadūram* (sic!) *ākāśe dūradeśe*, whereas Whitney refrained from translating it at all. Clearly, Sāyaṇa's is a folk etymology based on the interpretation of *khaḍū́ra* as *khá-*, 'cavity, vacuity, empty space, ether, sky', plus *dūrá-*, 'distance'. This, of course, leaves both the retroflex *ḍ* (note that Sāyaṇa reads a dental *d*) and the accentuation unexplained. Thus, to imagine a *khaḍūrī-*, a 'demoness of the mist' or 'of the distant space', would be rather far-fetched (although it would fit semantically with the following *ambarīṣī-*, if this means 'demoness of the atmosphere'—see below). A connection with *khaṇḍ-* 'to break' (cf. *khaḍga-* 'sword') is perhaps a better guess: the epithet *khaḍūrī-* would perhaps be suitable for some aggressive demoness. At any rate, the PS feminine and the ŚS locative must be connected. Thus, I write **khaḍūrīm*, correcting the short *u* with a long *ū*.

The word *ambarīṣyam* (to be scanned as five syllables) appears to be the f. acc. of a *vṛkī-* inflected *ambarīṣī-*. This is presumably a feminine of the noun *ambarīṣa-*, which appears to be a 'frying pan' used in a fire ritual at TS 5.1.9.4 (see Keith 1914: 400), but also the proper name of a *ṛṣi*, composer of RV 1.100 and 9.98 (see also EWAia I, p. 99). It is not clear whether the proper name is directly derived from the word for 'frying pan', in which case our epithet could mean 'she who looks like a frying pan', or whether both the word for 'frying pan' and the proper name are derived from *ámbara-*. The latter word occurs only in RV 8.8.14, *yán nāsatyā parāváti yád vā sthó ádhy ámbare | átaḥ sahásranirṇijā ráthenā́ yātam aśvinā* ||, "When, Nāsatyas, you are in the far distance or when upon the circumference [?], from there drive here with your chariot with its thousandfold raiment, o Aśvins" (J-B). Geldner translates more explicitly with "Himmelszelt" (see also the comment *ad loc*.). This interpretation is also adopted by Mayrhofer (EWAia I p. 99), who glosses the term with 'Luftraum, Himmel, Luftkreis, Luft'. Given the occurrence of *ámbare* next to *parāváti*, it would seem attractive to interpret *khaḍūrī-* and *ambarīṣī-* as expressing similar or related concepts—a 'demoness of (or from) the distant space' and a 'demoness of (or from) the atmosphere'—but we have seen that such an interpretation of *khaḍūrī-* is unwarranted. Rather, given that the Sadānuvās are notorious for threatening mothers and children, I cannot but wonder

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of a thousand streams, growing strong through the milk, dear to the divine race, who born of truth through truth has grown strong as king, god, and lofty truth" (J-B).

32 Note that, interestingly, some of Whitney's mss. also read *ṣaḍū́re* (Withney 1905: 654), which is comparable to the reading we find in **K**: *ṣaḍurim*.

33 I report the text here once more, with Bloomfield and Whitney's translations for ease of reference: ŚS 11.9.15–16, *śvànvatīr apsaráso rū́pakā utā́rbude | antaḥpātré rérihatīṃ riśā́ṃ durṇihitaiṣíṇīm | sárvās tā́ arbude tvám amítrebhyo dṛśé kurūdārā́ṃś ca prá darśaya* ||15|| *khaḍū́re 'dhicaṅkramā́ṃ khárvikāṃ kharvavāsínīm | yá udārā́ antárhitā gandharvāpsarásaś ca yé sarpā́ itarajanā́ rákṣāṃsi* ||16||, "The dog-like Apsaras, and also the Rupakas (phantoms), the plucking sprite, that eagerly licks within the vessel, and her that seeks out what has been carelessly hidden, all those do thou, O Arbudi, make the enemies see, and spectres also make them see! (And also make them see) her that strides upon the mist, the mutilated one, who dwells with the mutilated ; the vapoury spooks that are hidden, and the Gandharvas and Apsaras, the serpents, and other brood, and the Rakshas" (Bloomfield); "Dog-accompanied Apsarases, she-jackals (*rūpaka*) also, O Arbudi, the *riśā́*, licking much in the inner vessel, seeking what is ill-deposited; all these (f.), O Arbudi, do thou make our enemies to see, and do thou show forth specters.16. Her that strides upon the *khaḍūra*, mutilated, wearing what is mutilated (?); the specters that are concealed, and what Gandharvas-and-Apsarases? [there are], serpents, other-folk, demons" (Whitney).

whether our reading is actually a corruption of an otherwise unattested compound with *ambā-*, ‘mother’, as first member, and perhaps a noun based on the root *riṣ-*, ‘to hurt’, as second member: something like *ambā-riṣī-* (<*ambā-riṣa-*), ‘hurting the mother’, with metathesis of the vowel length (note that **K** preserves a short *i*).

**17.12.3** **d**: ~ PS 17.12.1h, 13.1d, 13.9g

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | paṇḍugirāṃ phāladatīm | 8# | [ – ∪ ∪ – \| – ∪ ∪ × ] |
| b | asaṃsūktanigāriṇīm \| | 8 | [ ∪ – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | asātāḥ sarvā vo brūmo | 8# | [ ∪ – – – \| – – – × ] |
| d | naśyatetaḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

The *paṇḍu*-swallowing one, the ploughshare-toothed one, the one devouring the *asaṃsūkta* (?)—we pronounce you all “empty-handed”! O Sadānuvās, disappear from here!

paṇḍugirāṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** paṇḍūgirāṃ **Ji$_4$** paṇḍu[x]girāṃ **Pa$_c$** paṇḍugiryāṃ (*leg.* R-V, Bhatt. *vs*. Barret paṇḍugaryāṃ) **K** • phāladatīm][34] **[Mā] [Ma] V122** phālavatī **Ja** pāṃladratīm **Ji$_4$** pāṃladatīm **Pa$_c$** pāṃladantīm **V71** pāṃladantīṃ[~~sa~~]m **JM$_3$** pālajatīm **K** • asaṃsūktanigāriṇīṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** asausūktānigāriṇī **K** • |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** || **Ji$_4$** • asātāḥ] **[O]** āmātās **K** • vo brūmo] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] JM$_3$** vo [. .]o **V122** ṇyoso brūmo **Ji$_4$** vo brumo **Pa$_c$** vo br̥mo(?) **V71** vo vrūmo **K** • naśyatetaḥ sadānvāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ḷaśyatetaḥ sadānvāḥ **Ji$_4$** naśyatetas sadānvā **K** • ||] **[O]** Z 3 Z **K**

**a**. *paṇḍu-* (not to be confused with *pāṇḍu-* ‘pale’): MW and PW regard this as an incorrect reading of *paṇḍra-* or *paṇḍa-*, *paṇḍaka-*, late words meaning ‘eunuch, impotent man, weakling’ (see Das 2003b: 560ff.). As the Sadānuvās are dangerous to pregnancy, this might be the semantic field we need to consider.

The word *girá* (or *gilá*) only occurs at the end of compounds, and it is extremely rare. The oldest attestations are the compounds *saṃgirá-*, ‘swallowing up, devouring’, in ŚS 6.135.3 (~ PS 5.33.9) and 18.4.60 (~ PS 18.81.7), and *asaṃsūktagilá* (PS °*gira*), on which see below. Commenting on the above-quoted PS 5.33.9d, Lubotsky regards *girá* as a Vedic hapax and “no doubt a nonce form.” Nevertheless, considering the following words, we expect *-āṃ* to be an acc. f. ending from a stem *girá-* rather than the more common gen. pl. from *gír-*.

On *phāladatī*: the name of this demoness (*phāla-* m., ‘ploughshare, ploughblade’, *datī-* f. from *dant-* m., ‘tooth’) is given next to *ayodatī*, ‘iron-toothed’, as an example of a feminine Bahuvrīhi with *danta* as second member in the Kāśikāvr̥ttī on Pāṇini 5.4.143. Compare the epithet *udradantī-*, ‘otter-toothed’, found in 17.15.9c below.

**b**. This pāda is problematic. It seems to preserve the acc. f. of a compound *asaṃsūktanigārin-*. A similar compound, *asaṃsūktagilá-* (with *gilá-* in ŚS, *gira-* in PS), also a hapax, is found as an epithet of Rudra’s dogs in ŚS 11.2.30, *rudrásyailabakārébhyo 'saṃsūktagilébhyaḥ | idáṃ mahā́syebhyaḥ śvábhyo akaraṃ námaḥ*, “To Rudra's howl-making, unhymned-swallowing(?), great-mouthed dogs I have paid this homage” (Whitney) (~ PS

34 The spelling of *pha* and *pāṃ* in Odia are almost identically formed by a *pa* sign next to a raised circle. Rigorously speaking, in *phā* the daṇḍa indicating long *ā* should appear to the right of the circle (this is very clear in **V122**), in *pāṃ* to its left (as found in the other mss. I could consult). My transcription is based on this difference, but it should not be excluded that when I transcribe *pāṃ*, *phā* might have been intended by the scribe.

16.106.10, which reads *'saṃsūktagirebhyaḥ* with *r*). Whitney's tentative translation is inspired by Sāyaṇa's commentary. This is based on a very implausible analysis of *saṃsūkta* as being built from the preverb *sám* plus the noun *sūktá*, 'hymn' (lit., 'well spoken')[35]. Differently, PW glosses the compound with "Unverkleinertes, Ungekautes schlingend", analysing it as *a-saṃ°-gila*, but fails to provide a lemma (*a*)*saṃsūkta*. As Whitney comments, "How *asaṃsūkta* should come to mean 'unmasticated', as given in the Pet. Lexx., does not appear." Perhaps Böhtlingk and Roth were imaginging Rudra's dogs as becoming unleashed? At any rate, their gloss remains unexplained. The only possible lexeme from which *saṃsūkta* could theoretically be derived is *saṃ-sūc-*, 'to point out clearly, imply, betray, tell'. The root *sūc*, however, is only secondarily derived from the present *sūcayati*, 'to point out, indicate', which Mayrhofer (EWAia II p. 739) regards as a denominative of *sūcí́* 'needle, pointy object' (the corresponding attested verbal adjective being *sūcita*). Moreover, this verb is only attested in post-Vedic sources, and seems semantically unfit to explain our formations.

It should be noted that any attempt at emending[36] would have to face the problem of explaining how both formations would have been corrupted in both recensions—perseveration? Is one secondarily derived from the other? As such, emending here would entail reconstructing a proto-AV text, not simply the original PS reading or the reading of the PS written archetype.[37]

At any rate, comparison of the two compounds supports the analysis of *asaṃsūktanigāriṇī* as being formed by the obscure word *asaṃsūkta* and a feminine *-in-ī-* formation built on an unattested *nigāra-*, 'swallowing', from *ni-gr̥̄-* 'to gulp down'. As such, *nigārin-* is also unattested; however, its intended meaning must not diverge too much from the corresponding element *gilá-*/*girá-* in the parallel formation.

**c**. The word *asātāḥ*, a hapax, must be a bahuvrīhi compound (nom. f. pl.) built on the verbal noun *sātá-*, 'gained > gain, possession, wealth', with privative *á-*. Thus, the meaning must be 'whose gain is nil', i.e. 'empty-handed'. Clearly, it is implied that the ill-intentioned Sadānuvās had come to appropriate something (most likely, to devour children or lick the women's "semen"). However, by ritually stating that the Sadānuva's gain is nil, the reciter is magically making the Sadānuva's failure a reality.

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35 On compounds formed with *sám* as first member, see AiGr II, 1 p.73–77 and Schneider 2013: 203–204.

36 A very tentative emendation could be the following: in PS 17.14.10ab, below, we find the epithets *āmādinīḥ krūrādinīr anagnigandhyādinīḥ*, 'eater of raw flesh, eater of bloody flesh, eater of what does not smell like fire (i.e. is uncooked)'. I wonder if the word we are looking for may be semantically comparable to these epithets, the third one in particular. We could consider emending to *saṃśukta*, a verbal adjective derived from a lexeme like *saṃ-śuc-*, perhaps in the sense 'to burn completely' → 'to be fully cooked'; compare the inverse semantic extension in the case of the lexeme *sam-pac-*, 'to cook thoroughly' → 'to burn'. The meaning of the verbal noun *saṃ-śukta-* would thus be 'completely burnt', or rather 'fully cooked'. Finally *a-saṃśukta-gira-*/*nigārin-* would then mean 'devouring something not fully cooked', 'devouring what is uncooked'. To be fair, however, the lexeme *saṃ-śuc-* is only attested in one ŚB passage (8.6.1.22), with the meaning, 'to blaze together'. The passage in question describes two bricks that are likened to two fires: "Between (each) two he throws loose soil, for these two bricks being fires, he does so fearing lest these two fires should blaze up together (*saṃśocātaḥ*)" (Eggeling). Nevertheless, it is unquestionable that the preverb *sam* can express 'completeness', thus the meaning 'to burn completely' cannot be fully excluded on the basis of a single attestation of this lexeme in a late Vedic text from a different dialectal area, such as the ŚB. At any rate, mine remains a very speculative proposal overall.

37 Along these lines, with regard to PS 16.106.10, edited by Bhattacharya as *'+saṃsūktagirebyaḥ*, it seems reasonable to consider the **O** variant, *asaṃsuptakirebhyaḥ*, a corruption (**K** has *sausūktagirebhyaḥ*). The word *saṃsupta* is also attested only in post-Vedic texts.

**17.12.4** **f**: ~ PS 17.14.2e, 14.3e, 14.6e, 14.8e, 15.7e

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yāḥ śayānaṃ jambhayanti | 8# | [ – ∪ – – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | naktam ichant$_{i}$y āturam \| | 8 | [ – ∪ ∪ – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | atho janasya suptasya | 8# | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| ∪ – – × ] |
| d | mukhā hastān pra $^{+}$rihanti | 8# | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ ∪ – × ] |
| e | †datsudatkavanocitās† | 8 | [ – ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| f | tā ito nāśayāmasi \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Those [demonesses] who, at night, crush a man when he's lying, who seek a man who is sick, then lick the faces, the hands of the sleeping folk, †...†—Them we make disappear from here!

This stanza is missing from **Pa$_{c}$**.

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yāḥ śayānaṃ] yāḥ śaẏānaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ [Mā] V71** yāḥ śaẏanaṃ **JM$_{3}$** yāmanaṃ(→ yānanaṃ) **K** • jambhayanti] jambhaẏanti **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** jambhanti **Ji$_{4}$** jambhayanta **K** • naktam] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** nakam **Ji$_{4}$** • ichanty] **V122 JM$_{3}$** icha[x]nty **V71** ichaṃty **[Ja] [Ma] Ji$_{4}$ [Mā]** iśchantiy **K** • āturaṃ \|] **O** āturam, \| **K** • janasya suptasya] **[O]** danasya saptasya **K** • mukhā] **[O]** sukha **K** • hastān pra] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** hastā[~~ndra~~] **V122** hastāndra **Ji$_{4}$** hastāni pra **K** $^{+}$rihanti] līyanti **K** ruhanti **[Ja] [Ma] Ji$_{4}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** ruruhanti **V122** • †datsudatkavanocitās†] **[Ma] [Ja] JM$_{3}$ V71** datsukavanocitās **Mā** [.]tsudatkavanocitās **V122** hatsutatkavaẏo(taẏā?)nācitās **Ji$_{4}$** tatsadudakamanohitās **K** • tā ito nāśayāmasi] tā ito nāśaẏāmasi **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ [Mā] JM$_{3}$** tā ito nā[x]śaẏāmasi **V71** tā ito (*s.s.*→tamīto) nāśayāmasi **K** • \|\|] **[O]** Z 4 Z **K**

Bhattacharya reads *+icchanty* in **b**, *pra <u>rū</u>hanti* in **d**, and *datsudatkavanocitās* in **e** with no underlying.

Note that no manuscript preserves a daṇḍa after pāda **d**. Interestingly, pāda **d**'s cadence is irregular. As we generally find in the AV, irregular stanzas are common in odd pādas, whereas even pādas—or rather hemistich- or stanza-ending pādas—normally have a regular cadence; thus the irregularity of the cadence somewhat confirms that pāda **d** is not supposed to be closed by a daṇḍa.

**b**. With regards to demonesses roaming at night, compare PS 17.4.2b below.

**cd**. Bhattacharya suggests in a comment that **O** *ruhanti* might be an error for *rihanti*. I think that this suggestion is correct. The error is quite frequent (see Kim, *Auss*., p. 44), and it also occurs above, in 17.12.1a, where all **O** mss. read *reruhati* vs. **K** *rerihati*, which is correct. Therefore, I emend it accordingly. This appears to be the oldest attestation of the lexeme *pra-rih-* (according to PW, only *pra-lih-* is attested at SuśrS 2.450.1). On the semantics of *rih-* in relation to the Sadānuvās, see my comment on 17.14.8d below.

In the AV, the acc. pl. neuter *mukhā*, with the old ending *-ā*, is just as frequent as the new form *mukhāni*: the ŚS has *múkhā* twice (ŚS 6.106.2d ~ PS 19.33.4d; ŚS 8.6.15b ~ PS 16.80.2b) as well as *múkhāni* twice (ŚS 7.56.4 ~ PS 20.14.10b; ŚS 10.9.1 ~ PS 16.136.1a). In the PS, the old ending is found five times (in our line, in the two passages corresponding to the above-quoted ŚS occurrences, and also in PS 1.29.2b and PS 14.4.4c), while *mukhāni* is found three times: in the two stanzas cited above, plus PS 9.6.4d.

The fact that both *mukhā* and *hastān* are found in the plural (notably, the latter is not in the dual) compels us to take *janasya* in pāda **b** as having the collective meaning 'people, folk', rather than that of '(single) person'.

**e**. This pāda seems very corrupted. The **O** mss. point to *datsudatkavanocitās*, whereas **K** has *tatsadudakamanohitās*. Both variants seem to feature a feminine plural nominative *-ās* at the end of the pāda, most likely another epithet. The opening of the **O** variant might be the word *datsu* (loc. pl. of *dant-*), 'in the teeth'. This could make sense given that body parts are mentioned in the previous

line. The rest is obscure.[38]

**17.12.5** **d**: ~ PS 4.13.4b = 19.32.9b, 6.8.3b; cf. also PS 10.2.3ab

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | āpatantīr vikṣiṇānā | 8# | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ ∪ – × ] |
| b | bastagandhāḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | bhaṇvā *asinā totsyāmi | 8# | [ – – ∪ ∪ \| – – – × ] |
| d | tīkṣṇaśr̥ṅga iva rṣabhaḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

O Sadānvās, flying towards [here], striking death all around, smelling like bucks; O Bhaṇvās, I am going to stab [you] with a ritual knife like a sharp-horned bull.

N.B. Pādas **a** and **b** are missing from **Pa$_{c}$**.

---

āpatantīr] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ V71 JM$_{3}$** āpatantī **Mā** apadannīr **K** • vikṣiṇānā] **[Ja] [Ma] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** vikṣaṇānā **Ji$_{4}$** vakṣaṇānā **K** • bastagandhāḥ sadānvāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$** bastugandhāḥ sadānvāḥ **Mā V71 JM$_{3}$** vastagandhās sadānvā **K** • \|] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** \|\| **Ji$_{4}$** • bhaṇvā *asina] bhaṇvā sinā **[O]** bhaṇvāṁsinaha **K** • totsyāmi] **[O]** toścāmi **K** • tīkṣṇaśr̥ṅga] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] JM$_{3}$** tīkṣaṇaśr̥ṅga **V71** • \|\|] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] JM$_{3}$** \| **V71** Z(//)Z 5 Z **K**

PS 4.13.4b = PS 19.32.9b
tīkṣṇaśr̥ṅga ivarṣabhaḥ \|\|

PS 6.8.3b
sāsahāna ivarṣabhaḥ \|

PS 10.2.3ab
tīkṣṇaśr̥ṅga r̥ṣabhaḥ
*samudra ivākṣitodakaḥ* \|

Bhattacharya reads *vastagandhāḥ* in **b** and *(a)sinā* in **c**.

**a**. It is perhaps remarkable that the pres.ptc *āpatantī* also occurs in PS 15.18.4, which is part of a hymn against Apsarases that shows several lexical correspondances with ours: *dūrād enāḥ pratyāpaśyam āpatantīr *adho divaḥ* \| *devānāṃ havyamohanīr indro apsaraso hanat* \|\|, "I saw them from afar, flying towards [here], below the heaven. Indra will slay the Apsarases confusing [our] oblation to the gods" (Lelli).

The form *vikṣiṇānāḥ* is a pres. middle ptc. from *kṣi-* (pres. *kṣiṇāti*), 'to kill', with preverb *ví*. With my translation I try to convey the semantic contribution of the preverb.

**b**. The compound *bastagandha-* is a hapax. See my comment on 17.12.1d above.

**c**. As remarked multiple times, the name Bhaṇvā only occurs in this text.

An emendation to **asinā* seems necessary to me. In the RV, the *ási-* is a sacred ritual knife used to slaughter or sacrifice animals (by cutting their joints): see RV 1.162.20d (a horse), 10.79.6d

38 **O** might point to *vanocita-*, 'accustomed to the woods'(?), or *anucita-*, 'placed lengthwise or in rows'(?), or 'improper, wrong, unusual, strange' (MW); **K** to *manohita*, 'placed in the mind'(?) or *anuhita-*, 'placed along' (?). **K** may contain the words *tat sad udakam*. The string *datka* might be the word *datka-*, 'toothed' (?), 'little tooth'(?) (cf. an attested *a-dat-ka* 'toothless')—but with which syntactic function? The word *datka-* might also be a *ka*-suffixed formation built on the pres. ptc. of one of the *dā-* roots (cf. *ejatká-*, 'a kind of insect', in ŚS 5.23.7, from *ej-*, 'to stir, move'). However, none of these analyses yields much sense, and the line probably requires heavier emendations in order to be deciphered.

(a cow), 10.86.18c (an ass), 10.89.8b (joints, *párvan*). Compare the following ŚS pādas, where it is used to sacrifice a goat: ŚS 9.5.4ab, *ánuchya śyāména tvácam etā́ṃ viśastar yathāparv àsínā mā́bhí maṃsthāḥ* |, "Cut along this skin with the dark [metal], O slaughterer, joint by joint with the knife" (Whitney). In the AV, it also employed to cut the witchcraft's joints, an apotropaic use that is relevant to our text; cf. ŚS 10.1.20, *svāyasā́ asáyaḥ santi no gr̥hé vidmā́ te kr̥tye yatidhā́ párūṃṣi* | *út tiṣṭhaivá párehītó 'jñāte kím ihéchasi*, "There are knives of good metal in our house; we know thy joints, O witchcraft, how many they are; just stand up; go away from here; unknown one, what seekest thou here?" (Whitney). Similarly, in the Arbudi hymn, ŚS 11.9, the *ási-* is included in a list of equipment used to counter evil: ŚS 11.9.1, *yé bāhávo yā́ íṣavo dhánvanāṃ vīryà̀ṇi ca* |*asī́n paraśū́n a̍yudhaṃ cittākūtáṃ ca yád dhr̥dí* | *sárvaṃ tád arbude tvám amítrebhyo dr̥śé kurūdārā́ṃś ca prá darśaya*, "What arms [there are], what arrows, and the powers of bows, swords (*asi*), axes, weapon, and what thought-and-design in the heart — all that, O Arbudi, do thou make our enemies to see; and do thou show forth specters" (Whitney). In PS 15.23.2, this knife is employed to magically ward off hail (by magically cutting the clouds?): *asir me *tigmaḥ *svāyasa indrāgnibhyāṃ* [+]*susaṃśitaḥ* | *tena sedhāmi *hrāduniṃ kr̥ṣiṃ me māva gād iti sasyaṃ me mā vadhīd iti* ||, "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" (Lelli) (see also Lelli's comment *ad loc.*).

Remarkably, the form *totsyāmi* appears to be the only Vedic occurrence of a *sya*-future formation derived from the root *tud-*.

**d**. This pāda also occurs in PS 4.13.4b and 19.32.9b; compare also PS 6.8.3b, where *sāsahāna ivarṣabhaḥ* is said of a herb used against the Sadānuvās, and PS 10.2.3ab, *tīkṣṇaśr̥ṅga r̥ṣabhaḥ samudra ivākṣitodakaḥ* |, with *iva* in pāda b, most likely to be supplied in pāda a too.

The compound *tīkṣṇaśr̥ṅgá-* only appears in the ŚS with the accent on the first member (*tīkṣṇáśr̥ṅgāḥ*): in ŚS 19.50.2b (~ PS 14.9.2b), where the night is compared to a draft ox; and in the feminine (*tīkṣṇaśr̥ṅgī́-*, referring to herbs) in ŚS 4.37.6d (~ PS 12.7.10d; cf. the very similar 12.8.1cd) and ŚS 8.7.9b (~PS 16.12.9b). It is more common in the PS, where, besides the above-mentioned passages, it is also found in 5.9.4d, 6.8.6d and 14.9.2b, for a total of 10 occurrences including our pāda. Among these, PS 5.9.4 is particularly relevant, as it seems to have the same purpose as our text, namely, to drive off the Sadānuvās. The stanza reads: *na tā itthā na tā ihāva *māsatā *ukheva śr̥ṅgavac chiraḥ* | *sadānvā brahmaṇaspate tīkṣṇaśr̥ṅgodr̥ṣann ihi* || "Not in this way, not here will the horned head [i.e. the plant used in the ritual] give them space like an ukhā-pot. O Brahmaṇaspati with a sharp horn, keep piercing the Sadānuvās" (Lubotsky). Compare also PS 6.8.6, addressed against the Arā́ya demons, but part of a hymn against Sadānuvās: *ye 'rāyāś caratha pākasyechanta āsutim* | *tān agne kr̥ṣṇavartane tīkṣṇaśr̥ṅgodr̥ṣann ihi* ||, "You, Arāyas, who go around seeking out the (offering) drink (?) of an innocent man: o Agni, you whose path is black, who have sharp horns, keep goring them" (Griffiths). Compare also the very similar RV 10.155.2 (from the only Rgvedic hymn against the Sadānuvās): *cattó itáś cattámútaḥ sárvā bhrūṇā́ny ārúṣī* | *arāyyàm brahmaṇas pate tī́kṣṇaśr̥ṅgodr̥ṣánn ihi* ||, "She is banished from here, banished from yonder, having assailed all fetuses. Go at the demoness, o sharp-horned Brahmaṇaspati, and gore her" (J-B).

**17.12.6**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | sadān$_{u}$vāḥ [+]sādānveyān | 8# | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| – – – × ] |
| b | [+]strīpuṃsāṁ̀ ubhayān saha \| | 8 | [ – – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | sahe sahasvān sahasā | 8# | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| – ∪ ∪ × ] |
| d | vi mr̥dho hanmi rakṣasaḥ ‖ | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

The Sadānuvās, the descendants of the Sadānuvās, both the male and female ones, together—I, strong with strength, overcome. One by one I strike the foes, the Rakṣases.

sadānvāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** sadānvā **Mā V71 JM$_3$** sadānvāsas **K** • $^{+}$sādānveyān] sādānveẏāṃ **[Ma] V122 Pa$_c$** sādānveẏā **Mā V71 JM$_3$** sa(ā?)dānveẏāṃ **Ji$_4$** sadānveẏ(?)āṃ **Ja** sadānveyā **K** • $^{+}$strīpuṃsāṁ] strīpuṃsāṃ **K [Ja] [Ma] Ji$_4$** strīstrīpuṃsāṃ[x] **Pa$_c$** strīpuṃsā **Mā V71** strīpusāṃ **JM$_3$** • ubhayān saha] ubhaẏān, saha **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71** (**[Mā] [Ma] [Ja]**)[39] ubhaẏā saha **JM$_3$** ubhayāṃ saha **K** • |] **K [Mā] V71 JM$_3$ [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$** || **Ji$_4$** • sahe] **[Mā] V71 JM$_3$ [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** atho **K** • sahasvān sahasā] sahasvān, sahasā **V71 JM$_3$ V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** (**[Mā] [Ma] [Ja]**) sahasvān sāmaha **K** • vi mr̥dho] **[O]** vi mr̥do **K** • rakṣasaḥ] rakṣasā **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V71** Z 6 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *sādānveyāṃ strīpuṃsāṃ* and *vimr̥dho*.

This stanza is stylistically quite remarkable. There is a clear division between pāda **ab** and pāda **cd**. The former contain a list, which fulfils one of the frequent requirements of charms of this kind, namely that their efficacy covers all possible cases. By mentioning the Sadānuvās, their descendants, male and female, pādas **a** and **b** make sure that the charm is effective on all kinds of demons. Pādas **c** and **d** focus on the aim of the charm, namely the overcoming (*sah-*) of said demons. The *figura etymologica* built around the root *sah-* in pāda **c** is especially aimed at stressing the core purpose of the charm and magically strengthening its power. The centrality of the verb *sahe*, which begins the second half of the stanza, is highlighted by the pun with *saha* at the end of pāda **b**, which concludes and recapitulates the list in pāda **ab**, so that the couplet *sahe* | *saha* really captures the whole sense of the stanza, the overcoming of all the demons together. The alliteration of the sibilants (and nasals) also contributes to the same goal. Finally, note that the addressees of the charms, the Sadānuvās (female) and the Rakṣases (male), are mentioned at the very beginning and end of the stanza, a choice that once again stresses the centrality of the verb *sahe*. When we read the stanza, we can almost picture the demons converging towards the speaker during the first two pādas into the word *saha*, 'together', after which the power of the charm explodes with the verb "*sahe*!" The *figura etymologica* charges the speaker with power. The following slaying (*vi hanmi*) of the demons has them almost running away, leaving what remains of them off in the distance at the far end of the stanza (*rakṣasaḥ*).

**a**. The matronymic *sādānveyā-* is also attested at PS 16.8.10a, *sādānveyaṃ pra mr̥ṇa raka indra yātudhānakṣayaṇair mūraiḥ* |, "Crush the descendant of the Sādānuvas, O Indra; provide protection by means of impetuous destructions of sorcerers" (my transl.). Both **K** and **Ja** (**Ji$_4$** is not clear and often unreliable) have a variant with short *a*, but matronymics of this kind are normally formed with the vr̥ddhi grade (cf. *saiṃhikeya-* < Siṃhikā) and, given that the majority of the Odisha mss. have long *ā* (in both sub-branches), I'm inclined to regard the reading of **Ja** as secondary.

Given that pāda **b** seems to have two acc. pl. forms, the final *anusvāra* in *sādānveyāṃ* must conceal an acc. pl. ending *-ān*.

**b**. If we accept the reading *strīpuṃsāṃ*, I think we have no options but to interpret it as an acc. pl. (*strīpuṃsān*) agreeing with *ubhayān* and deriving from the late *a*-stem *strīpuṃsa-*, which is attested in the meaning 'man and wife' or 'both male and female'. The older formation, *strī́puṃs-* (ŚBr, LŚS), would yield *strīpuṃs-as* in the acc. pl. Both branches are unanimous; if the original reading was **strīpuṃsas*, then the error must be earlier than the reading of the PS archetype.

Griffiths (2009: lvi (D)), dealing with the sandhi of final *n* (in particular *-ān*) before a vowel, does not seem to consider the case that both branches have anusvāra, *-āṃ* V-. Griffiths considers the following categories of cases (I keep Griffiths's numbering, but I change the order of exposition for

39 Bhattacharya's apparatus does not explicitly confirm of deny whether his mss. employ a *virāma* to split the cluster *-ān, sa-*, as do the four manuscripts in my possession which preserve the nasal. The same is valid for the identical sandhi in the next pāda.

the argument's sake): 1) both branches have anunāsika, or one branch preserves it, and one branch doesn't: he reconstructs the anunāsika; 3) both branches have a dental: he adopts a dental; 4) equivocal cases in which the two branches show *-ān* V- versus *-ā* V-, or *-ān* V- versus *-ām* V-: in each case he believes that the dental is original; 2) one branch has anunāsika, the other a dental: here Griffiths evaluates each case separately. He points out that, in three out of the four cases discussed under (1), one notices a close syntactic nexus between the acc. pl. and the following word (in his cases, a postposition governing the acc. pl.), whereas in the cases under (3) and (4), no such close syntactic nexus is visible. Thus, as a working hypothesis, Griffiths proposes that, when evaluating the cases under (2), in instances showing a close syntactic nexus, we should expect anunāsika, whereas in instances lacking a close syntactic nexus, we should expect a dental.

As far as our case is concerned, both branches have anusvāra (*-āṃ* V-), a category not considered by Griffiths (we my call it category 5). It should be recalled that anusvāra can be used both for final *-n* as well as for anunāsika in both traditions, even though both traditions have a way to write anunāsika (**K** employs an inverted candrabiṇḍu, and the Odia mss. use "*-ṅ,*"). Now, it seems reasonable to me to consider *strīpuṃsān_ubhayān*, 'both the female and male ones', as a single syntagm, and thus expect anunāsika because of the stronger syntactic nexus. Moreover, in a similiarly ambiguous case at 15.5.6a (**O** *-āṃ a-*, **K** *-a a-*), with no explicit trace of a dental nasal (and no explicitly close syntactic nexus), Lelli (2015: 26) decides to restore the anunāsika. One may add a paleographical note: in cases where the mss. have *-āṃ* or *āṁ̐*, the following vowel is written as an independent akṣara (*a-*, *u-*, etc.); conversely, in those cases in which the mss. have a dental, the following vowel is part of the same akṣara as the dental: *-ā na-*, *-ā nu-*, etc. Therefore, at least as far as the written archetype is concerned, we can hardly reconstruct a dental in the cases under 1 and 5, unless we impose a heavier emendation. We would also need to assume that a scribe who copied from the written archetype had the two akṣaras *-Cā-na-* before his eyes, but modified the spelling to *-Cā-ṃ a-*, thus changing *na-* to *a-*. This is of course possible in the case that the text was dictated to the scribe, but it seems more likely to me that the written archetype already contained *-ṁ̐* or *-ṃ*. In my view, this suggests that when the text was dictated to the scribe who wrote the written archetype, no dental was pronounced in this case. Therefore, in conclusion, I restore the anunāsika. I follow Griffiths in marking all regularisations with a plus sign.

**d**. This is one of the rare instances of tmesis in the AV.

Among the many interpretations allowed by the versatile semantics of the preverb *ví*, it seems attractive to me to consider a distributive meaning for *vi-han-* in this particular case. The core semantics of the preverb *ví* is the expression of duality: with verbs for hitting, striking, breaking, etc., this can manifest itself both in the object (e.g. 'strike apart', 'break in two') or affect the action ('strike back and forth, here and there, all around' or even 'through, in between'); with multiple objects, however, the action can be distributive ('strike one by one'). This latter interpretation seems appropriate to me not only because we do have two objects (*mṛdhas*, and *rakṣasaḥ*, each itself a group including a further multiplicity of victims), but also because the purpose of the whole stanza is to overcome each and every Sadānuva, each one of their children, be they female or male.

**17.12.7** **ab**: ~ ŚS 11.9.17ab

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | caturdaṃṣṭrān kumbhamuṣkān | 8# | [ ∪ – – – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | dīrghakeśān asṛṅmukhān \| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | alābugandhīn undurān | 8# | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| – – ∪ × ] |
| d | durṇāmno nāśayāmasi \|\| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

The four-tusked ones, the pot-testicled ones, the long-haired ones, the blood-faced ones, the ones

who smell like a bottle gourd, the rats—we make the ill-named ones disappear!

caturdaṃṣṭrān] caturdaṃṣṭrān, **[O]** caturdauṣṭrān **K** • kumbhamuṣkān] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** sum[.]muṣkān, **V122** • dīrghakeśān asr̥ṅmukhān |] dīrghakeśāṅ, asr̥ṅmukhān, | **[Mā] V71 JM$_3$ [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$** dīrghaṃ keśāṅ, asr̥ṅmukhān, || **Ji$_4$** dirghakeśān amunsukhām, (*leg*. Bhatt. *vs*. R-V amunmukhām,) **K** • alābugandhīn][40] **[O]** alavugandhīn **K** • undurān] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** u[xxx]ndurāṃ **V122** undurāṃ **Ji$_4$** undurā **Mā** u[.]rā[. **V71** ansurān **K** • durṇāmno] durṇṇāmno **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$** du[xx]rṇṇāmno **Pa$_c$** durnāmno **K Mā JM$_3$** .]urnāmno **V71** • nāśayāmasi] **K** nāśaẏāmasi **[O]** • ||] **O** Z 7 Z **K**

ŚS 11.9.17
cáturdaṃṣṭrāṃ chyāvádataḥ kumbhámuṣkāṁ ásr̥ṅmukhān |
*svabhyasā́ yé codbhyasā́ḥ* ||

Bhattacharya writes *dīrghakeśāṁ asr̥ṅmukhān* in agreement with **O**.

Note that in this stanza, only male demons are listed.

**a**. Besides the ŚS parallel, where we also find *cáturdaṃṣṭra-*, the compound *kumbhámuṣka-*, 'pot-testicled', also appears in ŚS 8.6.15c ~ PS 16.80.2d, quoted above in my comment on PS 17.12.1c.

**b**. The sandhi between the two words in this pāda falls under category (2) of those described by Griffiths 2009: lvi (D), and is discussed in my comment on the previous stanza. In this category of cases, one branch features anunāsika, the other a dental. Griffiths's policy is to treat each case differently: his working hypothesis is to adopt the anunāsika if there is a close syntactic nexus between the two words, a dental if there is no such nexus. In our case no such nexus exists; therefore I adopt **K**'s reading, with a dental.[41]

**c**. The compound *alābugandhi-* is a hapax, but the word *alā́bu-*, 'bottle gourd', and the compound *alābupatrá-*, 'bottle-gourd vessel', are found in the prose of ŚS 8.10.29-33 (~ PS 16.135.8-9), which prescribes the ritual use of a vessel made with this fruit: *sód akrāmat sā́ sarpā́n ā́gachat tā́ṃ sarpā́ úpāhvayanta víṣavaty éhī́ti | tásyās takṣakó vaiśaleyó vatsá āsīd alābupātráṃ pā́traṃ | tā́ṃ dhr̥tárāṣṭra airāvató 'dhok tā́ṃ viṣám evā́dhok | tád viṣáṃ sarpā́ úpa jīvanti upajīvanī́yo bhavati yá eváṃ véda || tád yásmā eváṃ vidúṣe 'lā́bunābhiṣiñcét pratyā́hanyāt || ná ca pratyāhanyā́n mánasā tvā́ pratyā́hanmī́ti pratyā́hanyāt || yát pratyāhánti viṣám evá tát pratyā́hanti || viṣám evā́syā́priyaṃ bhrā́tr̥vyam anuvíṣicyate* [PS: *hanti*] *yá eváṃ véda* ||, "She [=the Virāj] ascended; she came to the serpents; the serpents called to her: O poisonous one! of her Takṣaka descendant of Viśala was young, the gourd-vessel [was] vessel; her Dhr̥tarāṣṭra son of Irāvant milked; from her he milked poison; upon that poison the serpents subsist; one to be subsisted upon becometh he who knoweth thus. Then for whomsoever that knoweth thus one shall pour out with a gourd, he should reject [it]. Should he not reject [it], he should reject [it] by [thinking]: with the mind I reject thee. In that he rejects [it], he thus rejects poison. Poison is poured out after the unfriendly foe of him who knoweth thus" (Whitney). Thus, the smell intended here might be a poisonous smell.

40 It is worth recalling here that the Odia script does not distinguish between *b* and *v*.

41 Note that in an identical context, the ŚS parallel (11.9.17b) features anunāsika: *kumbhámuṣkāṁ ásr̥ṅmukhān*.

**17.12.8** **cd**: ~ PS 17.12.9de, 12.10de; **e**: ~ PS 17.12.2d, 12.9e, 12.10e, 13.4d, 13.5d, 13.7d, 14.7d, 15.5d, 15.8d, 15.9d, 15.10d ~ ŚS 2.14.1d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | stambe jātā adhi bāle | 8# | [ – – – – \| ∪ ∪ – × ] |
| b | rodākāṃ rudatīṃ t$_{u}$vat \| | 8 | [ – – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | durṇāmnīḥ sarvāḥ santokā | 8# | [ – – – – \| – – – × ] |
| d | nāśayāmaḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Those [demonesses] born on a tuft of grass, [those born] on a tuft of hair; either the one who makes [children/women] cry, or the one who herself is crying; all the ill-named ones together with their offspring—we make the Sadānuvās disappear!

Bhattacharya notes that the lower half of each *akṣara*, in the portion corresponding to "*dhi bāle rodākā*" in **Ma** is effaced, making it hard to read. The very same portion is missing in **Pa$_{c}$**.

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stambe] **[O]** stambhe **K** • jātā adhi] **[Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** jātā a[.] [**Ma]** jātā a **Pa$_{c}$** jātādhi **K** • vāle] **[Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ V71 JM$_{3}$** vālo **Mā** [. .] **[Ma]** *om*. (*space*) **Pa$_{c}$** pāle **K** rodākāṃ] **K** rodākāṅ, **Ja V122 Ji$_{4}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** [. . . .] **[Ma]** *om*. (*space*) **Pa$_{c}$** • rudatīṃ] **[Ma] V122 Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** rudantīṃ **Ja** ruhatīṃ yaṃs **K** • tvat \|] **Ja** tvat \|\| **Ji$_{4}$** tvat\ \| **K** (tvata→)tvat \| **Ma** tvata \| **V122 Nā Mā V71 JM$_{3}$** tvata **Pa$_{c}$** • durṇāmnīḥ][42] durṇṇāmnīḥ **[Ma]? [Ja]? V122 Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$** durnāmṇīḥ **Mā V71 JM$_{3}$** durnāmnīs **K** • sarvāḥ] **[O]** sarvās **K** • santokā] **[Ja] [Ma] Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** saṃtokā **V122** sardhvo(→ndho)kā **K** • nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ] nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] JM$_{3}$** nāśayāma dānvāḥ **V71** nāśayāmas sadānvā **K** • \|\|] **[O]** Z 8 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *bāle* in pāda **a**, and *rodākāṁ̀* in agreement with **O** in pāda **b**.

**a**. The word *stambá-* indicates a 'tuft of grass', a 'bush' or other kinds of clumps or clusters. It is absent from the RV but occurs twice in the AV. Its core meaning is visible in the derivative *stambín-*, 'bushy', found in ŚS 8.7.4 (~ PS 16.12.4),[43] a hymn to the plants, or in the compound *darbhastambá-*, 'a bunch of Darbha grass' (TS 5.6.4.1.17; AB 5.23.9, etc.).

The obscure expression 'born on the tuft of grass', with reference to a demon, is found also in the now familiar hymn to guard pregnant women from demons: ŚS 8.6.5 (~ PS 16.79.5), *yáḥ kṛṣṇáḥ keśy ásura stambajá* (PS: *stambajā*) *utá túṇḍikaḥ* | *arā́yān asyā muṣkā́bhyāṃ bháṃsasó 'pa hanmasi*, "The *ásura* that is black, hairy, tuft-born, also snouted, the niggards we smite away from her pudenda, from her buttocks" (Whitney). Compare also from the same hymn the obscure stanza ŚS 8.6.14, which contains the only other AV occurrence of the simplex *stambá-*: *yé pū́rve badhvò yánti háste śṛ́ṅgāni bíbhrataḥ* | *āpākesthā́ḥ prahāsína stambé yé kurváte jyótis tā́n itó nāśayāmasi*, "They who go before a woman, bearing horns in the hand, stayers in the oven, laughing out, who make light in the tuft them we make to disappear from here" (Whitney).

The word *bā́la-* (spelled *vā́ra-* in the RV, but later found spelled either *vā́ra*, *vā́la* or *bā́la* ) indicates 'the long hair of an animal's tail', in particular horsetail hair (e.g. *áśvya-* in RV 1.32.2, *átya-* in 2.4.4, etc.; cf. Lit. *vãlas*, *valaĩ*, 'horsetail hair, cloth fringe, fishing line'; see EWAia p.545), a 'tuft of hairs'; the 'tail' itself (e.g. in ŚB 3.4.1.17 and ŚB 3.6.2.4)—although it is sometimes explicitly distinguished by a tail (*púcha*) (e.g. in ŚS 10.9.22 ~ PS 16.138.2; ŚS 9.7.8c ~ PS

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42 As in several other cases, Bhattacharya probably silently regularises the spelling *rṇṇ*. However, it is very likely that all the **O$^{A}$** mss. feature such a spelling in this case.

43 ŚS 8.7.4 (~ PS 16.12.4), *prastṛ́ṇatī stambínīr ékaśuṅgāḥ pratanvatī́r óṣadhīr ā́ vadāmi* | *aṃśumátīḥ kaṇḍínīr yā́ víśākhā hváyāmi te vīrúdho vaiśvadevī́r ugrā́ḥ puruṣajī́vanīḥ* ||, "The spreading, the bushy, the one-spathed, the extending herbs do I address; those riches in shoots, jointed, that have spreading branches; I call for thee the plants that belong to all the gods, formidable, giving life to men" (Whitney).

16.139.5a);[44] or a strainer made of animal hair. The latter is actually the most frequent meaning in RV, where the word features mostly in book 9 and indicates a strainer made of animal hairs employed to filter the soma. This strainer is almost invariably made of sheep fleece (*ávya-*, e.g. in RV 9.7.6, 9.12.4, 9.50.3, 9.64.5, etc.).

Note that the word is used interchangeably in the singular or in the plural in all the meanings described above. The plural, 'the hairs', is used metaphorically for 'a bunch of hairs, tuft' as well as 'tail', and when the poet says that the soma purifies itself 'in the hairs', a strainer made of multiple hairs is obviously intended.

The same word is also the name of the hair strainer used to purify the *surā* drink (Kolhatkar 1999: 124; Oort 2002: 356 and fn.7). As such, it is also mentioned (with the spelling *vā́la-*) in the Sautrāmaṇi section of the VS (19.88), as well as in ŚS 12.8.1.14, belonging to a chapter that describes the same ritual as a way to restore Indra's weakened power by offering the *surā*: *vā́lena pā́vayanti | go'śvásya vā́ etád rūpáṃ yád vā́lo go'śvénaivaìnaṃ punanti* ||, "They purify by means of a tail-whisk—such a tail-whisk doubtless is a form of kine and horses: with kine and horses they thus purify him [i.e. Indra]" (Eggeling). In translating a related passage, ŚS 12.7.3.11, Eggeling seems to make a distinction between *vā́ra*, 'tail', and *vā́la*, 'tail-whisk', but *vā́ra* could just be the old spelling preserved in the yajus mantra: *vā́reṇa śáśvatā́ tanéti vā́lena hy èṣā́ pūyáte*, "[the priest says] 'with the perpetual tail', for with a tail-whisk that (liquor) is purified" (Eggeling).

It seems indeed that *vā́ra* is the oldest spelling—or at least the standard RV spelling. In the AV we find the spelling *vā́ra* three times (ŚS 10.4.2 ~ PS 16.15.2; ŚS 20.129.18; PS 1.94.1c), the spelling *vā́la* only once (ŚS 9.7.8c ~ PS 16.139.5c), and the spelling *bā́la* five times (ŚS 10.9.3a ~ PS 16.136.3a; ŚS 10.9.22a ~ PS 16.138.2a; ŚS 12.4.7b ~ PS 17.16.8b; ŚS 10.10.1c ~ PS 16.107.1c; and also ŚS 10.8.25a).[45] Later, the spelling *vā́la* seems to become the most frequent. In our case, **K** has *p*, and the corresponding Odia akṣara can be read as both *b* and *v*. I follow Bhattacharya in writing *b*, as this seems to be the preferred spelling in the AV.

It is hard to tell what the significance of these two phrases is: perhaps 'born in the bush' refers to demons originating in the wilderness, while 'born in the tuft of hair' may refer to the impure residue collected in the hair strainer, especially if the dangerous *surā* drink is intended (note that PS 17.13.5–6 below also refers to the *surā*).

**b**. The epithet *rodākā-* is a hapax. It appears to be built on the causative stem of *rud-*, 'to cry, howl'. Thus it is perhaps a 'demoness who makes people (children? women?) cry'. The suffix *-āka-* can have a pejorative meaning (see AiGr II.2 §150 p.266-267). The next word, *rudatī*, is a regular present participle from the same root. Cf. the demoness Rodanī, who attacks children on their tenth day of life, according to the Agnipurāṇa (see the introduction to this chapter).

The **O** variant, *rodākāṅ* (with the spelling *-ṅ* for anunāsika), seems to point to an accusative plural masculine. This is unlikely to be correct. The reading of **K**, *rodākāṃ* (acc. sg. f.), is preferable.

The enclitic demonstrative *tva*, 'one, many a one', is often used pronominally or adjectivally

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44 Spelled *bā́la* in ŚS 10.9.22a (~ PS 16.138.2a) (on the offering of a cow and 100 rice-dishes), *yát te púchaṃ yé te bā́lā yád ū́dho yé ca te stánāḥ | āmíkṣāṃ duhratāṃ dātré kṣīráṃ sarpír átho mádhu* ||, "What tail is thine, what thy tail-tuft, what udder, and what thy teats—let them yield to thy giver curd, milk, butter, also honey" (Whitney); spelled *vā́la* in ŚS 9.7.8c (~ PS 16.139.5a) (prose; extolling the ox), *indrāṇī́ bhasád vāyúḥ* (PS *vātaḥ*) *púchaṃ pávamāno vā́lāḥ* ||, "Indrāṇī his buttock, Vāyu his tail, the purifying [soma] his whisk (*vā́lās*)."

45 ŚS 10.8.25 (part of the second Skambha-hymn): *bā́lād ékam aṇīyaskám utaíkaṃ néva dṛśyate | tátaḥ páriṣvajīyasī devátā sā́ máma priyā́* ||, "One thing is more minute (*áṇu*) than a child (*bā́la*), also one is hardly (*né'va*) seen; then that a more embracing deity, is she dear to me" (Whitney). Whitney interprets this occurrence as meaning 'child'—a meaning that is otherwise only first attested in Late Vedic sources—and records it as a separate item in his Index. However, I see no reason not to translate the first pāda as 'One thing is finer than a hair'. A similar metaphor is used for instance in ŚS 8.3.4.1, in which the bricks called Vālakhilyas are described as being laid down at a distance from each other that is equal to the width of a hair (*vālamātrá*).

in lists to express alternatives: ‘one... another one...’, ‘one X... another X’. The neuter can be used adverbially in a similar fashion. A few examples have been collected by Delbrück (1888: 26–27; he glosses with ‘bald... bald...’): e.g. RV 7.101.3a, *starī́r u tvad bhávati sū́ta u tvad*, “Sometimes he becomes a barren cow, sometimes he gives birth ” (J-B); ŚB 1.8.1.39, *prāṇéṣv evá hūyate hótari tvad yájamāne tvad adhvaryáu tvat*, “In the vital airs rather it is offered, partly in the Hotṛ, partly in the Sacrificer, partly in the Adhvaryu” (Eggeling). As far as our stanza is concerned, we probably need to imagine pāda **b** as shortened for *rudākām tvad rudantīṃ tvat*, which could mean ‘sometimes she is one who makes people cry, sometimes she is herself crying’, if only one demoness is intended. However, as multiple demonesses are referred to in pāda **a**, it is also possible that the *rudākā* and the *rudatī* are two different demonesses. Therefore, it may be preferable to translate as ‘Either the one who makes people cry, or the one who is herself crying’.

**c**. The dictionaries only record the compound *sa-toka-*, mfn., ‘together with progeny’. This is indeed the form that is attested in the ŚS. However, the PS regularly employs the variant *santoka-* (i.e. *saṃ-toka-*, sometimes spelled with *anusvāra* in some mss.): e.g. ŚS 6.56.1ab, *mā́ no devā́ áhir vadhīt sátokānt sahápuruṣān* ~ PS 19.9.13, *mā no devā ahir vadhīt santokāṃ +sahapūruṣān*, “Let not the snake, O gods, slay us with our offspring, with our men” (Whitney). Other PS occurences are: PS 5.26.4c, in which Varuṇa is invoked to slay the Arāti demoness and her projeny (*santokām*),[46] and PS 17.12.10d below. On the variation between *sam-* and *sa-* as the first member of compounds, see AiGr II, 1 p.73–77 and Schneider 2013: 203–204.

**17.12.9** **de**: ~ PS 17.12.8cd, 12.10de; **d**: ~ PS 17.12.2d, 12.8d, 12.10e, 13.4d, 13.5d, 13.7d, 14.7d, 15.5d, 15.8d, 15.9d, 15.10d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yāsāṃ jātāni krośanti | 8# | [ – – – – \| ∪ – – × ] |
| b | bhits$_u$v antar vane hvala | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | upa vr̥kṣeṣu śerate \| | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| de | ° ° ° \|\| | | |

[Those demonesses] whose breed shriek, inside the furrows, in the woods, in the recess, they lie by the trees; [all the ill-named ones together with their offspring—we make the Sadānuvās disappear!]

yāsāṃ jātāni krośanti] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yāsāṃ yātāni krośanti **V122** yāsā krośāni krośanti **Pa$_c$** yāsāṃ jātāni kroṣanti **K** • bhitsv antar vane hvala] **V122** bhitsvantarvanehyāla **Ma Ja Nā** tititsvataṃrvanehvala **Ji$_4$** bhitsvantarvanet, kala **Pa$_c$** bhitsvantahyorvale **Mā** bhitsvantarvane[.]la **V71** [~~tsva~~]bhitsvantarvanehvala **JM$_3$** hr̥śchaṃtujjalejvala **K** • upa] **[O]** rupa **K** • śerate] **[Mā] V71 JM$_3$ [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** merate **K** • \| ° ° ° \|\|] (**Mā? Ma? Ja?**) \|$^{kā}$ **V122** kā \| **V71** \|\|$^{kā}$ **JM$_3$** \|\| **Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** Z 9 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes pāda **b** as *bhitsvantarvanejvala*.

**bc**. Bhattacharya writes *jvala* on the basis of **K**. This however is not a known Vedic word—unless Bhattacharya was thinking of an *l*-variant of *jvara-*, ‘fever’, first attested in the SuśrS, but also found in AV in the compound *aṅga-jvará-*, ‘causing fever’ (MW), ‘waster of limbs’ (Whitney *ad* ŚS 5.30.8), ‘splitter of limbs’ (Whitney *ad* ŚS 5.30.9), ‘Gliederschmerz’ (EWAia II p. 607). Emending to **jvāla*, the sandhi form of loc. sg. *jvāle*, “in the flame”, does not seem to yield a suitable meaning, and would produce an irregular cadence.

46 PS 5.26.4, *śreṣṭho me rājā varuṇo havaṃ satyena gachatu | arātiṃ hatvā santokām ugro devo’bhi dāsatu* \|\|, “Let the highest king Varuṇa truly go to my call. Let the powerful god be inimical to Arāti by slaying her with [her] projeny” (Lubotsky).

I think the reading preserved in most **O** mss., namely *hvala*, is acceptable. It must be the loc. sg. (*hvale*) of an *l*-variant (most likely an instance of female speech) of the word *hvara*-, based on the root *hvar*-, 'to go in a crooked way'. The stem *hvara*- is not attested as a simplex, but we do find it from the early language onward as the second member of various compounds: *upahvará*- indicates a remote place in the mountains (*upahvaré girīṇā́m*) in RV 8.6.28a, a remote place in which Indra found the cows in RV 8.69.6d, the eddy of a river in RV 1.62.3c and 8.96.14b, and the "byways" (J-B, *upahvarés̱u*) on which the Maruts journey like birds in RV 1.87.2a; *pratihvará*-, 'slope, curve' occurs in RV 7.66.14ab, *úd u tyád darśatáṃ vápur divá eti pratihvaré* |, "This lovely marvel [=the Sun] arises on the curve of heaven" (J-B); compare also *ánavahvara*- and *avahvara*- discussed in my comment on 17.15.5c below. Note that all of the occurrences mentioned above are in the locative case. The meaning 'remote place, recess' for *hvara*- might be fitting in our line. This is most likely a euphemism for female genitals (more on this below).

The absence of the effect of the Nati rule in *vane* (not *vaṇe*) suggests that *antar* is to be taken as an independent word, rather than as the first member of a compound *antarvaṇa*- 'situated in the forest' (attested in Pāṇini). Most likely, as a postposition, it governs the preceding locative *bhitsu*.

The word *bhitsu* is the loc. pl. of the root noun *bhíd*-, f., 'splitting, crack'. The meaning 'splitting' is evident from the attested root compounds (see Scarlata 1999: 355–356 with references): *adribhíd*-, 'den Felsen aufspaltend'; *udbhíd*-, 'aufbrechend, Erschliesser, hervorbrechend, hervorsprudelnd'; *gotrabhíd*-, 'den Kuhpferch aufbrechend'; *pūrbhíd*-, 'die Wälle aufbrechend'. The simplex root noun occurs more rarely (1x in RV and 3x in PS), and its meaning is less clear.

RV 1.174.8c, recounting Indra's deeds, reads: *sánā tā́ ta indra návyā ā́guḥ sáho nábhó 'viraṇāya pūrvī́ḥ | bhinát púro ná bhído ádevīr nanámo vádhar ádevasya pīyóḥ* ||, "Dies sind deine alten (Taten), Indra. Neue (Wolken) sind gekommen. Überwinde die vielen Wolken, daß die Unfreude aufhöre. Brich die gottlosen Einbrüche (?) wie ihre Burgen; wende die Waffe des gottlosen Widersachers ab!" (Geldner). "These are your old (deeds), Indra; new ones have come: you overpowered and exploded the many (strongholds) for the lack of joy [/end of battle] (of the godless). You split the godless (clans) into pieces, like strongholds; you bowed the weapon of the godless reviler" (J-B). The phrase *bhinát … bhídaḥ* here looks like little more than a *figura etymologica*: 'split into splittings'.

A second AV occurrence (besides the one in our line, and a third stanza quoted below) is PS 1.86.4 (Against the female demons called Kaṇvās): *yā tantiṣat khalasad yā ca goṣṭhe yā jātāḥ śakadhūme sabhāyām | prapāyāṃ jātā uta yāś ca bhitsu tāś cātayāmaḥ śivatā no astu* ||, "The [demoness] who is sitting on the rope [to fasten the cattle],[47] the one who is sitting on the threshing floor, and the one who is in the cowshed, those who are born in the pile of cow dung, in the assembly hall, those born in the water resevoir, those in the *bhíd*-s whom we frighten away—let there be benevolence towards us!" (my transl.). This stanza might be an important parallel to our line. First of all, the Kaṇvā demonesses recall the Kaṇvas, male demons who are dealt with in a ŚS hymn (ŚS 2.25) that is traditionally employed against abortion. Secondly, the above stanza features a few lexical similarities with our hymn: the use of the verb *cat*- (see PS 17.12.10 below) or the mention of the pile of cow dung.[48] As far as the meaning of *bhíd* is concerned, it can be noted that all the other elements in the stanza appear to be everyday items belonging to a typical Vedic homestead. What kind of 'splitting' would fit such a context?

Schindler (1972: 34) mentions an additional JB occurrence that might shed some light on the

47 Cf. RV 6.24.4, *śácīvatas te puruśāka śā́kā gávām iva srutáyaḥ saṃcáraṇīḥ | vatsā́nāṃ ná tantáyas ta indra dā́manvanto adāmā́naḥ sudāman* ||, "The abilities that belong to you, the able one, o you of many abilities, are converging like streams of cattle. (They are) like cords for calves, Indra, binding without bonds, o you of good bonds [/gifts]" (J-B).

48 On the word *śakadhūma*-, see my comment on PS 17.13.4c below.

above stanza: JB 1.330 reads: *bhago vā asau, bhid iyam; pumān vā asau, strīyam*, "Zuteiler ist jener Himmel, Spalte diese Erde; Mann ist jener Himmel, Weib diese Erde" (Schindler). Schindler translates it as 'Spalte', but explicitly interprets the line "im sexuellen Sinn." It seems obvious to me that the 'splitting' of the earth (lit. 'this one here', *iyam*), conceived as a woman (*strī*), must be the 'furrow'.[49] Thus *bhitsu* in PS 1.86.4, quoted above, might indicate the furrows in the proximity of the settlement.

If this is correct, then we might have a key to interpreting the third and last AV occurrence of *bhíd*, namely *bhitsu* in PS 12.8.4 (cf. ŚS 4.37.10):[50] *avakādāṁ́ abhiśāco bhitsu dyotayamāmakān | gandharvān sarvān oṣadhe pra ṇudasva parā ṇaya* ||, "O herb, push away, lead away all the Gandharvas, who eat the *avakā* plant,[51] who torment/burn (**abhiśocān*? cf. ŚS), in the *bhíd*-s, the will-o'-the-wisps (?)"[52] (my transl.). Here it is also not clear whether *bhitsu* should be syntactically taken with the preceding or following word. However, if openings or cracks in the ground are intended, then *bhitsu* should perhaps be taken with the following *dyotayamāmakān* as indicating the so-called will-o'-the-wisps, or ephemeral fires, which may be caused by gases originating in the ground.

Finally, it is then perhaps conceivable that the reference to demons that appear 'inside the furrows, in the woods, in a recess' in our pāda **b** might also be a reference to the same phenomenon of ephemeral fires.

However, along the lines of Schindler's observation on the sexual meaning of *bhid* in the JB passage—and given the frequent sexual references in our hymn, especially in that it is meant to be used to ward off demons that threaten pregnancy—it seems very attractive to interpret *bhitsv antar*, 'inside the furrows', as meaning 'inside the vaginas'. Note that the related word *bhedá*-, 'splitting', also has a similar sexual meaning in RV 9.112.4: *áśvo vóḷhā sukháṃ ráthaṃ hasanā́m upamantríṇaḥ | śépo rómaṇvantau bhedaú vā́r ín maṇḍū́ka ichatī́ndrāyendo pári srava* ||, "The draft-horse seeks an easy-rolling chariot, beguilers a joke; the penis seeks the hairy split, the frog just seeks water. — O drop, flow around for Indra" (J-B).

Accordingly, the neighbouring words might also allow a sexual interpretation: *vana*- ('woods', i.e. the hairy bush around a woman's genitals?); *hvara*-, ('recess, remote place', another euphemism for female genitals?); *vṛkṣa*- ('tree', a penis?). That this interpretation is correct is in my view confirmed by the fact that the lexeme *upa-śī*- is most frequently used to describe a woman lying with a man (e.g. RV 10.18.8, ŚB 1.1.1.20, ŚB 4.1.5.9, etc.).

**17.12.10** **de**: ~ PS 17.12.8cd, 12.9de; **e**: ~ PS 17.12.2d, 12.8d, 12.9e, 13.4d, 13.5d, 13.7d, 14.7d, 15.5d, 15.8d, 15.9d, 15.10d ~ ŚS 2.14.1d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yā vātābhra utpatite | 8# | [ – – – ∪ \| – ∪ ∪ × ] |
| b | +cattā varṣeṇa vidyutā | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | śālā ichanti *satvaram \| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | durṇāmnīḥ sarvāḥ santokā | 8# | [ – – – – \| – – – × ] |
| e | nāśayāmaḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

49 This is a recurrent sexual mytheme in Indian literature: we may recall the figure of Sītā, 'Miss Furrow', who was in fact born from a furrow made by King Janaka while ploughing. It is also possible that in the quoted JB line, a certain parallelism is intended between Heaven, conceived as 'dispenser' (*bhaga*) of riches, and Earth, herself dispensing goods, i.e. agricultural products that emerge from the cultivated furrows.

50 ŚS 4.37.10, *avakādā́n abhiśocā́n apsú jyotayamāmakā́n | piśācā́nt sárvān oṣadhe prá mṛṇīhi sáhasva ca* ||, "The *ávakā*-eating ones, scorching, making light (?) in the waters—all the *piśācá*s, O herb, do thou slaughter and overpower" (Whitney).

51 Apparently, this *avāka* or *avakā* plant is the same as the *paruṣṇī- śīpālā*- (or *śaivala* or *śaivāla*), on which see my comment on 17.13.2 below. It is not clear why the Gandharvas would eat it.

52 Conjecture by Roth quoted by Whitney (1905: 213), commenting on ŚS 4.37.10.

Those [demonesses] who—when winds and storm clouds have risen—frightened away by by the rain, by the lightning, hastily seek [shelter in people's] houses. All the ill-named ones, together with their offspring—we make the Sadānuvās disappear!

vātābhra utpatite] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vātābhra utpa[x]tite **V122** vātābhra upatite **Ji$_4$** vātābhra utpatite | **Pa$_c$** vātātradutpantite **K** • +cattā] carttā **O** catvā **K** • vidyutā][53] **K Mā** vidyutāḥ **V71 JM$_3$ Ja Ma V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** • ichanti] **[O]** santi **K** *satvaram] chatvaraṃ **O** śchatvaraṃ **K** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** || **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • durṇāmnīḥ][54] durṇṇāmnīḥ **V122 Pa$_c$ [Ja]? [Ma]? [Mā]?** durnāmnīḥ **V71** durnāmnī **JM$_3$** durṇṇāmnāḥ **Ji$_4$** durnāmnīs **K** • sarvāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** sarvā **Ji$_4$** sarvās **K** • nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ] nāśaẏāmaḥ sadānvāḥ **[Ma] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** nāśaẏamaḥ sadānvāḥ **JM$_3$** nāśaẏ(?)āmaḥ sadānvā **Ja** nāśaẏāma sadānvāḥ **Ji$_4$** nāśaya nas sadānvā **K** • ||] || ru 10 || **Ma Mā** || 12 | ru 11 | **Ja** || ru || 12 || **V122** || 12 || **Ji$_4$** || 12 || ru 10 || **Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** || 12 || 10 || **V71** Z 10 Z **K**

Bhattacharya reads *cattā*+ in **b**, *icchanti satvaram* with no emendation sign in **c**.

**a**. The compound *vātābhrá-* as such does not occur anywhere else. However, we find *vātābhrajā́-* in ŚS 1.12.1[55] (~ PS 1.17.1): *jarāyujáḥ prathamá usríyo vr̥ṣā *vātābhrajā́ stanáyann eti vr̥ṣṭyā́ | sá no mr̥ḍāti tanvà r̥jugó rujáṉ yá ékam ójas tredhā́ vicakramé* ||, "First born of the afterbirth, the ruddy (*usríya*) bull, born of wind and cloud (?), goes thundering with rain; may he be merciful to our body, going straight on, breaking; he who, one force, hath stridden out threefold" (Whitney). Whitney's translation is based on Weber's (1858a: 406) and Bloomfield's (1886: 470) emendation of the editio princeps's reading *vā́tabhrajā* to *vātābhrajā́* on the basis of ŚS 1.12.3c[56].

Indeed, in stanza 3 of the same hymn, we find the same concept expressed by two compounds, *abhrajā́* and *vātajā́*: ŚS 1.12.3 (~ PS 1.17.3), *muñcá śīrṣaktyā́ utá kāsá enaṃ páruṣparur āvivéśā yó asya | yó abhrajā́ vātajā́ yáś ca śúṣmo vánaspátīnt sacatāṃ párvatāṃś ca* ||, "Release thou him from headache and from cough—whoever hath entered each joint of him; the blast (? *śúṣma*) that is cloud-born and that is wind-born, let it attach itself to forest-trees (*vánaspáti*) and mountains" (Whitney).

The rain clouds (*abhrā́ṇi*) are also described as 'wind-hurried' (*vā́tajūtāni*) in ŚS 4.15.1 (~ PS 5.7.1), a hymn for abundant rain: *samútpatantu pradíśo nábhasvatīḥ sám abhrā́ṇi vā́tajūtāni yantu | mahaṛṣabhásya nádato nábhasvato vāśrā́ ā́paḥ pr̥thivī́ṃ tarpayantu* ||, "Let the misty directions fly up together; let the clouds, wind-hurried, come together; let the lowing cows of the resounding misty great bull, the waters, satiate the earth" (Lubotsky transl. of the PS parallel).

That *vātābhrá* indicates stormy clouds[57] is also clear from the occurrence of *abhrá-* next to *vidyút-* and *varṣá-* in ŚS 11.7.21 (~16.84.1), where the three items are conceptually conceived as a group (next to similar groups of stones and herbs): *śárkarāḥ síkatā áśmāna óṣadhayo vīrúdhas tr̥ṇā | abhrā́ṇi vidyúto varṣám úcchiṣṭe sáṃśritā śritā́* ||, "Pebbles, gravel, stones, herbs, plants, grasses, clouds, lightnings, rain—in the remnant [are they] set together, set" (Whitney).

53 Barret's reading of **K**, *vidyuta*, must be a misprint. Given the unanimity of all the other mss., it is very likely that **Mā**'s reading, *vidyutā*, is secondary, and due to loss of *visarga*.

54 Again, Bhattacharya probably silently regularises the spelling °*rṇṇ*°. Notably, in all cases (17.12.7d, 17.12.8c and here), the two Odisha sub-branches seem clearly divided: **O$^A$** preserves retroflex °*rṇṇ*°, **O$^B$** has °*rn*°. However, in this last case, we have to deduce from Bhattacharya's implicit apparatus that **Mā** has °*rṇ(ṇ)*°. I suspect that Bhattacharya might have failed to report a reading °*rn*° for **Mā** here.

55 This stanza belongs to a short hymn about the bolt of lightning conceived as causing fever. The hymn is used to heal *takmán*. See Whitney 1905: 12–13 with references.

56 Vishva Bandhu (1960: 87) reports the following readings: *vā́tavrajā*, *vā́tabhrajā*. Whitney (1905: 13) reports that Sāyaṇa reads *vātavrajās* and explains it as "going swiftly like the wind" or "having a collection of winds," taking the bull mentioned as "the sun"; he adds that Roth had translated it as "with scorching wind," emending to *vātābhrajjās*.

57 The word *abhrá-* is explained as **ap-bhrá-*, "Wasser tragend," by Thieme (1985: 537[=1995: 1049]) and *ṇb$^h$-ró- in EWAia I p. 94. Cf. Lat. *imber*, Gr. ἀφρός.

**b**. The emendation to *+cattā* was proposed by Bhattacharya. This is the nom. f. pl. of the verbal adjective of the root *cat-*, 'to scare away, cause to hide' (attested forms: pres. ptc. *cátant-* RV+, caus. pres. *cātayāmasi* RV+). Note that *cātana* is an Atharvavedic category of spells aimed at banishing evil forces, i.e. exorcisms (see KauśS 8.25; cf. Bloomfield 1899: 66, Modak 1993: 59). This form in fact occurs in exorcisms, e.g. in RV 10.152.2 (the only Ṛgvedic hymn against the Sadānuvās), which reads *cattó itáś cattámútaḥ sárvā bhrūṇā́ny ārúṣī | arāyyàm brahmaṇas pate tī́kṣṇaśṛṇgodṛṣánn ihi* ||, "She is banished from here, banished from yonder, having assailed all fetuses. Go at the demoness, o sharp-horned Brahmaṇaspati, and gore her" (J-B). In these lines, *catta-* is used to exorcise the Sadānuvās from the dwellings of the living (similarly, ŚS 2.14.2 (~ PS 2.4.4) (Against Sadānuvās). … *gṛhébhyaś cātayāmahe* ..., "we frighten you away from [our] houses"). Our stanza seems to describe the opposite situation instead, namely when a storm causes the scared Sadānuvās to find shelter in the dwellings of the living, haunting them.

The formula *varṣeṇa vidyutā* is found in PS 15.19.5 (Against Apsarases), *yā uttarād ācaranti varṣeṇa vidyutā saha idam uluṅgulukābhyo apsararābhyo 'karaṃ namaḥ* ||, "Who approach from the North with the rain, with the lightning: (I paid homage here to the Uluṅgulukā Apsarases)" (Lelli), which, testifying to how all these anti-demon hymns share a similar poetic language, in turn resembles PS 1.36.4 (Against Sadānuvās), *yā uttarād ācaranty adharād vā sadānvāḥ aśmānaṃ ṛcchantīr yantu yo 'yaṃ svādāv* $^{+}$*anādyaḥ* ||, "Those [demonesses] who approach from the North or from the South: let them reach the stone, this one which is inedible in sweetness."

**c**. The faulty reading *ichanti chatvaraṃ* of **O** and *santi śchatvaraṃ* of **K** must be due to early perseveration of the syllable *cha* (then perhaps geminated in sandhi). Bhattacharya correctly writes *satvaram*, but omits the emendation sign *****, which is necessary as the written archetype must already have featured *cha*° in place of *sa*°.

Whereas the word *gṛhá-* indicates the 'house' in general,[58] the word *śā́lā-* designates the profane habitation as opposed to cultic constructions (Renou 1939: 482). The invocation *mā́nasya patni* (voc.), addressed to the *śā́lā* at ŚS 3.12.5 (For the building of a house), suggests that this word actually indicated only one specific part of an ensemble (Renou 1939: 499). The meaning 'house' might in fact be a secondary *pars pro toto* designation of the entire house after the single part. This word notably occurs in ŚS 8.6, the above-mentioned hymn against demons threatening pregnant women and which has many parallels with ours. ŚS 8.6.10 reads: *yé śā́lāḥ pariṅ́tyanti sāyáṃ gardabhanādínaḥ | kusū́lā yé ca kukṣilā́ḥ kakubhā́ḥ karúmāḥ srímāḥ | tā́n oṣadhe tváṃ gandhéna viṣūcī́nān ví nāśaya* ||, "They who dance around the dwellings (*śālā*) in the evening, making donkey-noises, they that [are] *kuśūlās* (granaries) and *kukṣilās* (paunchy), exalted (*kakubha*), *karumas*, *srimas*, these, O herb, with thy smell do thou make to disappear scattered" (Whitney). Both this and our stanza seem to express a worry about demons and demonesses who threaten women in their own houses. On this theme, see also ŚS 2.14.2 (~ PS 2.4.4) (Against Sadānuvās) (… *gṛhébhyaś cātayāmahe*..., "we make you hide away from [our] houses") and ŚS 2.14.4 (~ PS 5.1.4), *bhūtapátir nír ajatv índraś cetáḥ sadā́nvāḥ | gṛhásya budhná ā́sīnās tā índro vájreṇā́dhi tiṣṭhatu* ||, "Let the lord of the beings and Indra drive out from here the Sadānuvās, who sit at the bottom of the house. Let him (Indra) subdue them with the *vajra*" (Lubotsky). From the same PS hymn, 5.1.1cd, 5.1.2a read: *yo asyai nama it karad aped asya gṛhād ayat* || *apehi no gṛhebhyo*, "She will certainly go away from the house of this [man], who will pay her homage. Go away from our homestead!" (Lubotsky); and again, PS 5.1.5ab, *apetetaḥ sadānvā ahiṃsantīr imaṃ gṛham* |, "Go away from here, O Sadānuvās, not harming this house" (Lubotsky). On the same theme, compare PS 17.13.8, 17.13.10 and 17.14.10 below; see also the exorcism at ŚS 14.2.19 (~ PS 18.8.10), to be employed by a bride to purify her house when she first moves in.

58 In early Vedic, it is actually found mostly in the plural, in the meaning 'estate', 'homestead' (see Rau 1957: 37ff.), i.e. the complex of the various fenced areas and constructions constituting the settlement (cowpen, barn, etc.); while the singular indicates a single 'fenced area, corral'.

**d**. On *santokā* see my comment on PS 17.12.8c above.

## Sūkta 13

**17.13.1** **d**: ~ PS 17.12.1h, 12.3d, 13.9g

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yā dhān$_{i}$yāt sambhavanti | 8# | [ – – ∪ – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | kṣetrād $^{+}$uptād $^{+}{}_{u}$v $^{+}$arpitāt \| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | kṛ̥tād abhiprahāy$_{i}$yā | 8 | [ ∪ – ∪ ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | naśyatetaḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Those [demonesses] who arise from the cornfield that is sown or dug up; those [demonesses] who are to be sent forth against [an enemy, away] from the [field that is] cultivated. O Sadānuvās, disappear from here!

yā dhānyāt] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** yā[.]ṣākmat **V71** • sambhavanti] **K** saṃbhavanti **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** saṃbhavaṃti **Ja** • kṣetrād $^{+}$uptād $^{+}$v $^{+}$arptitāt \|] kṣetrāduptāvyārpitāt | **Ma Ja Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** kṣatrādṛ̥ptāvyarpitāt \|\| **Ji$_4$** kṣetrāduptārva(rda?)rpitāt | **V122** kṣettrāt(*vs.* kṣetrāt Barret, Bhatt.)pitādva(*space*)rpitā **K**[59] • abhiprahāyyā] **[Ja] [Ma]** abhiprahāryā **Pa$_c$** abhiḥ prahāyyā **Ji$_4$** abhiḥ prahājyā **V122** abhiprahājyā **Mā V71 JM$_3$** apiprāhyā **K** • naśyatetaḥ sadānvāḥ] **[O]** naśyatetas sadānvā **K** • \|\| **[Mā] JM$_3$ [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** \| **V71** Z 1 Z **K**

Bhattacharya reads *saṃbhavanti* in a and *uptādvarpitāta*+ in b, the latter probably a misprint for *-arpitāt*.

**b**. Note that the **O** mss. read °*ptāvyā*°, whereas **K** has °*ptādva*°. As we most definitely need to read an ablative *uptād*, the question is whether the original cluster was *dvy* or *dv*, i.e. whether it's easier to explain **O** *vy*, **K** *dv* from an original *dvy* or from an original *dv*. Assessing this is crucial to deciding whether to adopt *uptād vyarpitāt* (or *vyārpitāt*) or *uptād v arpitāt*. In my view, the most plausible scenario is one according to which the original cluster was *dv* (as in **K**), as this could easily have been confused with *vy* in the **O** tradition. Thus I assume °*uptādvarpitāt* > °*uptāvyarpitāt*, and I emend to $^{+}$*uptād* $^{+}$*v* $^{+}$*arpitāt*. Bhattacharya's *uptādvarpitāta*+ also features the conjunction *u*; Bhattacharya's *arpitāta* is probably just a misprint for *-arpitāt*.

Moreover, reading *vyarptitāt* (or *vyārptitāt*) would pose the problem of how to interpret the lexeme *vy-ṛ̥-* (*vy-ā-r-* is not attested). In the RV, it carries the meaning 'to open (e.g. a door)' (RV 1.69.10a, […] *dúro vy ṛ̀ṇvan*, "they open the doors" ; RV 1.128.6g, *dvā́rā vy ṛ̥̀ṇvati*; RV 10.25.5b, *vy ṛ̀ṇvire*; RV 3.30.10b, *vy ā̀ra*; RV 1.139.4a, *vy ṛṇvathas*). These forms are classified under $^{1}$*ar-* (*h$_3$er-) in Lubotsky 1997 (followed by Kim, *Index*), and under $^{2}$*ar-* (*h$_1$er-) by Kümmel (2000: 103f; LVV p. 11). The only occurrence of the lexeme in the AV is the following, and in my view it seems

59 In **K**, the akṣaras °*dva*° and °*rpi*° are separated by a large space in which two more akṣaras could fit. Nevertheless, the space is not empty; the two akṣaras are in fact united by the upper line from which they "hang down."

best ascribed to [1]*ar*- (*h$_3$er-): ŚS 7.44.1cd (~ PS 20.16.3cd, *índraś ca viṣṇo yád ápaspṛdhethāṃ tredhā́ sahásraṃ ví tád airayethām* ||, "O Viṣṇu, Indra also, what ye fought, a thousand—that did ye triply dispersed"; "O Indra und Viṣṇu, als ihr in Wettstreit geraten wart, da habt ihr das Tausend dreifach aufgeteilt" (Kubisch). Neither of the above meanings seem very suitable for our line.

On the other hand, the causative *arpaya*- is generally employed in the AV to describe the violent action of piercing by means of a weapon (and it is thus best classified as belonging to [2]*ar*- (*h$_1$er-) 'to hit'[60]): e.g., ŚS 10.9.1b (~ PS 16.136.1b), *sapátneṣu vájram arpayaitám* |, "Cast this thunderbolt on [our] rivals." Compare also the lexeme *sam-ṛ*-, used in the causative with *vajram* in a similar fashion in PS 17.13.2, below. Similarly, ŚS 5.19.2b (~ PS 9.18.8b) (part of a series of curses against oppressors of brahmins), *yé bṛhátsāmānam āṅgirasám ā́rpayan brāhmaṇáṃ jánāḥ | pétvas téṣām ubhayā́dam ávis tokā́ny āvayat* ||: "The persons who pierced Bṛhatsāman, the descendant of Aṅgiras, the Brāhmaṇa—a ram with two rows of teeth, a sheep devoured their offspring" (Bloomfield). Among other attestations, we find PS 17.14.4 *sadānvā brahmaṇaspate paro bhrūṇāny arpaya*, "O Brahmaṇaspati, pierce the Sadānuvās [to drive them away] away from the embryos" (my transl.); cf. also PS 2.85.1c.

Interestingly, however, we find a similar causative form employed in a stanza belonging to the Earth hymn, in which the Earth is being dug up: ŚS 12.1.35cd (PS 17.4.4cd), *yát te bhūme vikhánāmi kṣipráṃ tád ápi rohatu | mā́ te márma vimṛgvari mā́te hṛ́dayam arpipam* ||, "What I dig up of you, O Earth, let it quickly grow back; let me not pierce through a vital spot of yours, oh cleansing one, [nor] through your heart." It is possible that the poet is aiming for a wordplay between the more violent meaning of *arpaya*-, namely 'pierce (with a weapon)', and another meaning, one that would naturally occur to a native speaker of Vedic if the verb were used with *bhūmi* as object. This meaning must be close to that of *vi-khan*-, 'to dig up', namely 'to pierce the ground', likely by means of a shovel or harrow, both instruments whose use requires a motion comparable to that of piercing with a weapon. Thus, the *kṣetra- arpita*- of our stanza must be a 'field that is dug up (with a shovel)' or 'tilled (with a harrow)'.

The Sadānuvās are called *kṣetriyā́*- in ŚS 2.14.5 (~ PS 2.4.2) (Against Sadānuvās), *yádi sthá kṣetriyā́ṇāṃ yádi vā púruṣeṣitāḥ | yádi sthá dásyubhyo jātā́ náśyateṭaḥ sadā́nvāḥ* ||, "If ye are of the endemic (? *kṣetriyā́*) ones, or if sent by men; if ye are born from the barbarians (*dásyu*) disappear from here, O *sadā́nvās*" (Whitney); "Ob ihr nun vom Kṣetriya-Leiden her seid, oder ob von Menschen ausgesandt, oder ob ihr von den Dasyus abstammt; verschwindet von hier, Sadānuvās" (Zehnder). Both Whitney and Zehnder adhere to the interpretation according to which the *kṣetriyá* referred to here is an illness (on this interpretation, see Zehnder 1999: 30; on the illness, see Zysk 1985: 20ff.). However, in light of our stanza, a more literal interpretation is perhaps possible: "If you originate in the field …"

**c**. The verbal adjective *kṛtá*- is attested in the meaning 'cultivated' (MW) at least in Manu 10.114 (discussing the brahmins' means of subsistence): *akṛtaṃ ca kṛtāt kṣetrād gaurajāvikam eva ca | hiraṇyaṃ dhānyamannaṃ ca pūrvaṃ pūrvam adoṣavat*, "(Accepting) an untilled field is not as much of a fault as (accepting) a tilled one; a cow, a goat, a sheep, gold, grain, and cooked food—each (is less of a fault to accept) than the one that follows it" (Doniger & Smith 1991: 197).

The lexeme *abhi-pra-hay/hi*- (pres. *hinoti*) is attested in the verbal noun *abhiprahita*- in ŚS 10.1.15 (~ PS 16.36.5d) (Against witchcraft, *kṛtyā́*): *ayáṃ pánthāḥ kṛtyéti tvā nayāmo 'bhipráhitāṃ práti tvā prá hiṇmaḥ | ténābhí yāhi bhañjaty ánasvatīva vāhínī viśvárūpā kurūṭínī* ||, "Saying 'this is the road, O witchcraft' we conduct thee; thee that wast sent forth against [us] we send forth back again; by that [road] go against [them], breaking, like a draft-cow with a cart, all-formed, wearing a wreath (?)" (Whitney). In this stanza, an enemy has sent (*hi*-) forth (*prá*-) the witchcraft against

60 In the AV, the causative *arpaya*- (verbal noun *arpita*-) occurs as a simplex as well as with the preverbs *ā́*, *adhy-ā́*, *ní*, *práti*, and *sám*. Kim, *Index*, classifies them all under [1]*ar*- (*h$_3$er-), and similarly the equivalent RV forms are classified under [1]*ar*- (*h$_3$er-) in Lubotsky 1997 (although Lubotsky has since changed his mind). However, they are best ascribed to [2]*ar*- (*h$_1$er-).

(*abhí*-) the reciter, who then sends (*hi*-) her forth (*prá*-) back again (*práti*). Therefore, even though in our stanza, the ablative *kr̥tād* suggests that these demoness are to be sent *away* from it, the preverb *abhi* suggests that the intention is to send them against an enemy. Exorcising demons or curses by sending them against someone else is typical of AV magic.

The formation *abhiprahāyya*- is a gerundive. A form without the preverb *abhi* occurs in the Vrātyakaṇḍa in the meaning 'messenger' (< 'one to be sent forth'): ŚS 15.3.10 (~ PS 18.29.1l), *tásya devajanā́ḥ pariṣkandā́ ā́sant saṃkalpā́ḥ prahāyyà víśvāni bhūtā́ny upasádaḥ* ||, "Of him [i.e. the vrātya] the god-folk were the footmen, resolves the messengers, all beings the waiters" (Whitney).

**17.13.2**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yāḥ paruṣāḥ pāpagandhāḥ | 8# | [ – ∪ ∪ – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | $^{+}$sadārūkṣā visr̥kpadī \| | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | tā vajreṇa samarpayan | 8 | [ – – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | nir ajetaḥ śacīpate \|\| | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Those deathly pale (?) [demonesses], who smell awful, always rough, duck-footed—them, striking with the *vájra*, drive away from here, O lord of might.

N.B. Pāda **b** is unreadable in **Ma**. **Pa$_c$** features a lacuna from after *pāpa*... to ...*kpadī*.

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yāḥ paruṣāḥ] [**Ma] [Mā]** yāḥ puruṣāḥ **Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** yā puraṣā **V71** yāḥ puruṣāḥ **K** • pāpagandhāḥ] **[Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** pāpagandhāḥ […] **Ma** pāpa(// *space*) **Pa$_c$** pāpagaṃ ° ° ° ° ° (//) ° ° **K**[61] • $^{+}$sadārūkṣā] sadārukṣā **[Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** […] **Ma Pa$_c$** sadākūkṣā **K** • visr̥kpadī] **[Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** […] **Ma** (*space*)kpadī **Pa$_c$** visarpatī **K** • \|] **K [Mā] V71 JM$_3$ [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$** \|\| **Ji$_4$** • tā] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** tāṃ **Mā V71 JM$_3$** • samarpayan niratejaḥ] samarpayanniratejaḥ **[Mā] V71 JM$_3$ [Ma] [Ja] V122** samarpayanniratejа **Pa$_c$** samarpayanvirajetaḥ **Ji$_4$** samarpayantirajetaś **K** • śacīpate] **K** śacīpateḥ **O** • \|\|] **[O]** Z 2 Z **K**

Bhattacharya reads *rukṣā* in pāda **b**.

**a**. Even though **K** and most of the **O** mss. preserve *puruṣāḥ*, **Ma** and **Mā**'s reading *paruṣāḥ* (notably preserved in the older mss. of the two Odisha sub-branches) can be regarded as the *lectio difficilior*. Moreover, the pronoun *yāḥ* points to a feminine plural, but *puruṣāḥ* can only be masculine (the corresponding feminine stem, already attested in RV, is *púruṣī*-). On the other hand, the old feminine form (RV, AV) of the adjective *paruṣá*-, 'grey, dirt-coloured' (EWAia II p.95), is *páruṣṇī*-, with seven occurrences in RV, six of which are the feminine name of a river, Páruṣṇī, the modern Ravi (RV 4.22.2, 5.52.9, 7.18.8,9, 8.74.15, 10.75.5; the remaining occurrences of *páruṣa*- in RV refer to 'grey' cattle: f. at 8.93.13, *ukṣán*- m. at RV 5.27.5, and *gáu*- m. at RV 6.56.3); the

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61 In **K**, the sequence *pāpagaṃ* is followed by five small dots up to the end of f217a line 15, then two more dots at the beginning of line 16. I wonder if this could suggest that **K**'s antigraph featured seven illegible *akṣaras*. However, this is incompatible, on the one hand, with the corresponding Odisha text, which has four akṣaras, and on the other hand with the metre of the two lines, which implies no more than three missing syllables (exactly what the four Odia akṣaras supply). It might be that the two dots at the beginning of f217a16 correspond to the first two syllables of pāda **b** (presumably *sadā*), but it seems reasonable to believe that **K**'s copyist simply added enough dots at the end of f217a15 to fill the space left before the margin. It is interesting that **Pa$_c$** has a somewhat corresponding, though larger *lacuna*: from *pāpa* (at the end of p. 11, line 3) up to *kpadī* (which is preceded by some empty space in line 4). In **Ma**, too, the whole of pāda **b** is unreadable (Bhattacharya's apparatus reads: **Ma** *"gandhāḥ X X . . padī" iti naṣṭam*).

younger feminine *paruṣā*-, as recorded by PW, MW, is regularly found in the later language, in which we find the form *paruṣṇī* only in the restricted use of river name. In the AV, the old feminine *páruṣṇī* is found once in ŚS 6.12.3, referring to a "grey" plant, the *śīpālā*, or *blyxa octandra*, a grey=green weed growing in pools, but the feminine *paruṣā* does not occur. Therefore, in adopting the reading *paruṣāḥ* without any emendation, we need to assume that this alternative feminine was already possible at the time of the AV. Perhaps the different morphological form was due to a specialised meaning: whereas *páruṣṇī* was still the general feminine form of the word for 'grey', in the vocabulary of the AV poets, *paruṣā* referred specifically to a personified grey demoness.

The few other AV occurrences of the adjective are the following: ŚS 5.22.3ab defines *tákman*, 'fever' (to which the hymn is dedicated), as *yáḥ paruṣáḥ pāruṣeyó 'vadhvaṃsá ivāruṇáḥ*, "who [is] grey, son of the grey one [and] red like (saw-)dust" (Zysk 1985: 41). ŚS 10.4.2 is a rather obscure stanza belonging to a hymn against poisonous snakes: *darbháḥ śocís tarū́ṇakam áśvasya vā́raḥ paruṣásya vā́raḥ | ráthasya bándhuram*, "Darbhá-grass, brightness, young shoot (?*tarū́ṇaka*); horse's tail-tuft, rough one's tail-tuft; chariot's seat (?*bándhura*)" (Whitney). Here *paruṣásya* is again perhaps best interpreted as a reference to grey coloured cattle.

After this survey, it is still not evident why a demoness would be called *paruṣā*. One last occurrence may give us a hint. In ŚS 8.8.4, part of a hymn "to conquer enemies" that the Kauśikasūtra employs in an army rite (KauśS 16.9-20; summarised by Lanman in Whitney 1905: 502f.), a grey net is invoked to make the enemies grey as well (i.e. dead?): *paruṣā́n amū́n paruṣāhváḥ kṛṇotu hántv enān vádhako vadhaíḥ | kṣipráṃ śará iva bhajantāṃ bṛhajjāléna sáṃditāḥ* ||, "Let the one named Grey make those men grey; let the killer slay them with deadly weapons; let them be divided quickly like a reed, tied together with a lofty net" (my transl.). If I am correct in interpreting 'to make the enemies grey' as meaning 'to make the enemies dead', then it is possible that in our stanza the grey colour is intended to evoke a pallor comparable to that of a dead person, which sounds like a plausible feature for a deadly demoness.[62]

**b**. Bhattacharya adopts the **O** reading, *rukṣā*. The word *rukṣá*-, interpreted as a derivative from *ruc*- (EWAia II p.452), is only attested in RV 6.3.7b, where Agni is described: *vṛ́ṣā rukṣá óṣadhīṣu nūnot* |, "der glänzende(?) Stier brüllt in den Pflanzen" (Geldner). If we accept this reading

62 Other solutions involving emendation do not seem to yield significantly more attractive meanings. We might consider emending to the related word **pāruṣyāḥ*. The noun *pā́ruṣya*- occurs in ŚS 12.5.30 (~ PS 16.144.1), belonging to a prose section that describes the brahmin's cow as embodying a number of dangerous entities that may harm whoever should steal it: *pāpmā́dhidhīyámānā pā́ruṣyam avadhīyámānā* ||, "[She is] evil when being set on, harshness when being set down" (Whitney). However, to suppose there are demonesses called *pāruṣyāḥ*, 'harshnesses', seems rather contrived to me. We might then consider emending to **paruṣyāḥ*. The word *paruṣya*- only occurs in AB 3.34.2, belonging to a section that describes how Prajāpati's seed first turned into coal and was then turned into various beings: *yāni parikṣāṇāny āsaṃs te kṛṣṇā pasavo 'bhavan ' yā lohinī mṛttikā te rohitā atha yad bhasmāsīt ' tat paruṣyaṃ vyasarpad gauro gavaya ṛśya uṣtro gardabha iti ye caite 'ruṇāḥ paśavas te ca*, "The extinguished coals became black cattle; the reddened earth ruddy (cattle). The ash which there was crept about in diverse forms, the buffalo, the Gayal, the antelope, the camel, the ass, and these ruddy animals" (Keith). Keith takes *paruṣyaṃ* adverbially ("in diverse form"). PW glosses it with 'bunt, mannichfaltig' and treats it as a derivative from *páruṣ*-, 'joint, knot, limb'. EWAia II p. 95 glosses it with "rauh, struppig (AiBr)", in connection with "*paruṣiman*- m. 'Struppigkeit' (AiBr)" (glossed by PW with "rauhes Aussehen (im Gegensatz zu der Glätte und Fülle des wohlgenährten Viehes", with reference to AB 4.26, *tasmād etayor eva śaiśirayor māsayor āgatayor ye caiva grāmyāḥ paśavo ye cāraṇyā aṇimānam eva tat paruṣimāṇaṃ niyanti*, "Therefore in these months of the cool season the cattle of the village and of the wild become thin and shaggy" (Keith). It would not be implausible to have a 'shaggy demoness', but this solution is no more attractive than just leaving *paruṣāḥ* without resorting to emendation. Lastly, one could wish to emend to **puruṣyāḥ*: the word *puruṣyà* is absent from the AV, and found only in RV 7.29.4, where it refers to the Ṛ̊ṣis as "Menschensöhne" (Geldner). PS 17.15.4b below mentions demonesses "who have been [magically] created from the race of men (*manuṣyebhyaś ca yāḥ kṛtāḥ*), as opposed to those who act as "*dāsa* women of the race of the Asura demons". Thus, *puruṣyāḥ* demonesses could similarly be "demonesses born from men." This kind of argument might work as an ex-post explanation, but is no more compelling that our interpretation of *paruṣāḥ* as 'deathly pale'. Thus, I prefer to keep the text without emending.

and interpretation for our text, we would have to imagine a "shining" demoness, which doesn't seem too plausible to me given the context. Differently, J-B interpret the RV occurrence as a loc. sg. of a variant of *vṛkṣá-*: "(that) bull keeps roaring in the tree, in the plants" (J-B). If this is correct, then we need to look elsewhere. PW suggests that *rukṣá-* might be a variant of *rūkṣá-*, which is widely attested (Br+) both in the literal meaning, 'rough, dry to the touch, arid, dreary', or 'emaciated, thin' when referring to physical appearance (esp. in medical texts), as well as metaphorically, 'harsh, unkind, cruel', said of persons and speech. This range of meanings would fit much better as a name or a characteristic of a demoness. I therefore propose to emend to *+rūkṣā* on the basis of **K** *kūkṣa*, which in fact preserves a long vowel (the initial *k* is probably due to assimilation).[63] I opt for translating with 'rough', as it can refer to both physical appearance or behaviour—although all the other items in the two pādas seem to describe physical characteristics.

It is likely that *sadā* and *rūkṣā* here form the compound *sadārūkṣā*. Compare the compounds *sadāpṛṇá-*, *sadā́vṛdha-*, *sadāsáḥ-*, and *sadāsá́-*, all found in RV (not in the AV), and possibly also *sadānvā-*, if based on *sadā* and the root *nu-*.

The compound *visṛkpadī* is a hapax. Although other compounds with *padī* as the second member do occur, (e.g. *ghṛtápadī* in RV 10.70.8), *visṛ́j-* is never attested in compounds, nor as a root noun (although we find other root compounds with *sṛ́j-*: *niḥsṛ́j-*, *saṃsṛ́j-*). The meaning is not immediately evident. The lexeme *vi-sṛj-* is constructed with a body part as the object in ŚB 3.6.3.21, in which the sacrificer is instructed to relax his fingers at the end of a ritual phase that required him to clench his fists: *athā́trāṅgúlīr vísṛjate*, "he now loosens his fingers" (Eggeling). The literal meaning must be 'to stretch out'. Thus, it is possible that our *visṛkpadī* means 'stretching out [her] feet'. As the whole stanza is devoted to highlighting some uncharming characteristics of the Sadānuvās, I wonder if this compound could mean 'duck-footed'. Compare also the epithet *vṛ́ktapadī*, 'having twisted feet', in 17.15.9b below.

**d**. The compound *śacīpati-* can be an epithet of Indra or the Aśvins, but the reference to the *vájra*, Indra's weapon, leaves no doubt as to the interpretation here. Indra is also invoked in the next stanza.

**17.13.3** ~ KauśS 13.24[116].7; **ab**: ~ PS 20.29.3ab; **bc**: ~ PS 9.6.3bc

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | ut tiṣṭhata *nir dravata | 8# | [ – – ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ ∪ × ] |
| b | na va *ihāsti nyañcanam \| | 8# | [ ∪ ∪ ∪ – \| – – ∪ × ] |
| c | indro vaḥ sarvāsāṃ sākaṃ | 8# | [ – – – – \| – – – × ] |
| d | garbhān āṇḍāni bhetsyati \|\| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Get up! Run away! There is no refuge for you here! Indra is going to split the embryos, the eggs of you all together!

*nir dravata] ni dravata **K Ma Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā** ni dravataḥ **Ja** ni dra[x]vata **V122** nni dravata **V71 JM$_3$** • va *ihāsti nyañcanam] vai hāsti nyañcanaṃ **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** vai hāsta nyañcanaṃ **Mā** va hyāstvinviḍañcanam,(=Griffiths *vs*. Barret, Bhatt. °vipañca°) **K** • \|] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** \|\| **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • indro vaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** i[.]ndro vaḥ **V71** indro vas **K** • bhetsyati] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** bhetsati **Ji$_4$** bhaśchasi **K** • \|\|] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** \| **V71** Z 3 Z **K**

63 I wonder if the shortening could have been favoured by a tendency to an iambic rhythm in the opening. It is, however, more likely that the error occurred in the written transmission.

KauśS 13.24.7 = 116.7 (Bloomfield 1890a: 269)
ut tiṣṭhata nir dravata
na va ihāstv ity añcanam |
indro vaḥ sarvāsāṃ sākaṃ
garbhān āṇḍāni bhetsyati
*phaḍ ḍhatāḥ pipīlikā iti* ||

PS 20.29.3ab
ut tiṣṭhata nir dravata
na va ihāsti nyañcanam |
*amuṣya vittam abhi vaḥ suvāmi*
*†tad anuvadhvaṃ sudatīr ahinas tat†*

PS 9.6.3
*indrāmitrā indrahatā*
na va ihāsti nyañcanam |
indro vaḥ sarvāsāṃ sākaṃ
*śakras tṛṇeḍhu vṛtrahā* ||

Bhattacharya reads +*nirdravata* (Griffiths 2004: 90, **nir dravata*) in **a**, +*ihāsti* in b (Griffiths has no emendation sign).

A first edition of this stanza, and the parallel from book 20, was presented by Griffiths in his survey of Paippalāda mantras in the Kauśikasūtra (2004: 89f.). His edition was based on the readings of **JM**, **Ji**$_4$, **V122**, **Pa**, and **K**. Griffiths provides no translation. Kubisch translates the parallel of pādas **ab** (20.29.3ab) as follows: "Erhebt euch! Lauft heraus! Hier gibt es keine Zuflucht für euch."

**a**. The emendation **nir*, first proposed by Griffiths (ibid.), is supported by the KauśS and the PS parallel at 20.29.3ab (here, once again, the **O** mss. consulted by Griffiths and Kubisch preserve *ni*, but **K** has *nir*), as well as by the absence of the lexeme *ni-dru-* from the PS (Griffiths ibid.).

Note that the lexeme *nir-dru-* is used in a hymn against various diseases, in which said diseases are ordered to leave the sick person's body with the formula "let them run out, out of the orifice", *nír dravantu bahír bílam* (see ŚS 9.8.11a, 13–18d ~ PS 16.75.1a, 3-8d; note that the diseases referred to in the second group of verses are female).

**b**. In commenting on the KauśS reading, *na va ihāstv ity añcanam*, Bloomfield (1890a: 269) suggests emending it to *na va ihāstu nyañcanaṃ*. This corresponds to the PS text, with the only difference that the present *asti* is preserved, rather than the imperative *astu*.

Bhattacharya writes +*ihāsti* with a plus sign; Griffiths does not write any emendation sign. However, the **O** spelling °*vaihāsti*° consists of three akṣaras, namely *vai*, *hā*, and *sti*. If we believe that the archetype preserved the correct reading, it must have featured four akṣaras: *va*, *i*, *hā*, and *sti*. Thus, at least a plus sign is necessary. If we believe that the archetype already featured the incorrect spelling with three akṣaras, then an asterisk is required. Since **K** has *va*, *hyā*, *sti* (**K** also reads *va*, *hyā*, *sti* at 9.6.3 and *va*, *hyā*, *stvi* at 20.29.3), it seems easier to explain **K** *vahyāsti* as being due to metathesis of the semivowel from *vai hāsti*, rather than from *va ihāsti* (which contained no semivowel). This kind of error could have arisen when the text was dictated to the scribe who wrote **K**. This means that the written archetype likely already had *vai hāsti*, just as we find in the **O** mss. Thus, if we restore *va ihāsti*, we are reconstructing a stage that is earlier than that of the written archetype, and, accordingly, we need to mark our emendation with an asterisk.

On the sequence °*stinya*° PS ~ °*stvitya*° KauśS, the following remark by Griffiths (ibid.) is worth quoting in full: "Besides the simple error *nya* → *tya*, all KauśS mss. share the surprising insertion of a *v*, to give the same sequence °*āstvi*° that is found also (two out of three times) in **K**. This interesting case of correspondence between the Kashmir and KauśS transmissions was already pointed out by Witzel in 1985[=1985a] (p. 266f.). It seems to imply some kind of contact between

the KauśS sources and predecessors of our **K**."

On *nyáñcana-*, see KUIPER 1953: 41f and KUIPER 1958 with references.

Note that this is one of the very few instances in this hymn in which we find an irregular cadence in an even pāda at the end of a hemistich (cf. PS 17.14.6b, PS 17.15.9b).

**cd**. As noted by GRIFFITHS (2004: 89) with regards to the KauśS parallel, the reading *āṇḍāni*, which is preserved by the PS, is found only in the KauśS ms. **Bü**, whereas all the other mss. read *āṃgāni*, except one that reads *āṃjāni*.

The threat of Indra splitting the Sadānuvās' embryos and eggs seems to be a retaliation for the fact that these demonesses threaten human children. A similar curse is found in PS 2.85.1.

**17.13.4** **d**: ~ PS 17.12.2d, 12.8d, 12.9e, 12.10e, 13.5d, 13.7d, 14.7d, 15.5d, 15.8d, 15.9d, 15.10d ~ ŚS 2.14.1d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | indra jahi sthūlaśaṅkhāṃ | 8# | [ – ∪ ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | mr̥ṇīhi durṇaśīṃ kuham \| | 8 | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | *arāyyaṃ śakadhūm$_{i}$yaṃ | 8 | [ ∪ – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | nāśayāmaḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

O Indra, slay her who has a large conch shell (vagina?); crush the hiding one who is hard to find; the Arāyī́ demoness, the one who belongs to the pile of cow dung—we make the Sadānuvās disappear!

sthūlaśaṅkhāṃ] sthūḷaśaṅkhāṃ **V122** sthūḷaśaṃkhāṃ **Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** sthūḷa[x]śaṃkhāṃ **Pa$_c$** sthūḷaśa(ṅgā →)ṅkhāṃ **V71** sthūlaśaṃkhā **Ma Ja Mā** sthūraśaṅkaṃ **K** • mr̥ṇīhi] **[O]** mr̥ṇīha (= R-V, BHATT. vs. mr̥ṇīhi BARRET) **K** • durṇaśīṃ kuham |] durṇṇaśīṃ kuhaṃ **Ma Ja V122 Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** durṇṇaṇī ṇr̥īṃ(? ṣṭhīṃ?) kuhaṃ || **Ji$_4$** durniśīṅkuham, | **K** • *arāyyaṃ] rāyaṃ **K** arāẏīṃ **[Ma] V122 Ji$_4$** arāẏāṃ **Ja Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** • śakadhūmyaṃ] **K [Ma] Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** śakadhūmaṃ **Mā** • nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ] nāśaẏāmaḥ sadānvāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** nāśaẏāmaḥ sanvāḥ **JM$_3$** nāśayās sadānvā **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** || yāḥ pu || **V122**[64] | **V71 JM$_3$** Z 4 Z **K**

Bhattacharya reads *sthūlaśaṃkhāṃ* in pāda **a**, *arāyīṃ* in pāda **c**.

**a** The compound *sthūlaśaṅkhā-*, literally 'a woman with (a) large conch shell(s)', is glossed by MW as 'a woman having a large vulva'. The compound is only attested once in the Karṇaparvan of the Mbh (st. 8.30.21): here the text describes the country of the Bāhlīkas as being inhabited by depraved women, who, intoxicated, throw away their clothes to sing and dance. The text reports the nostalgic speech of a Bāhlīka man who has dwelt for some time in Kurujaṅgala (in the country of the Kuru, farther east?) and longs for his home country: Mbh 8.30.21, *śatadrukanadīṃ tīrtvā tāṃ ca ramyām irāvatīm gatvā svadeśaṃ drakṣyāmi sthūlaśaṅkhāḥ śubhāḥ striyaḥ* ||, "Having crossed the river Śatadru and the pleasant Irāvatī, having gone to my home country, I will see those beautiful women *with large conch shells*" (my transl.). PW and MW do not record any sexual meaning for the word *śaṅkha-*, 'shell', although MW's gloss seems fitting here[65]. Certainly interesting and possibly relevant for the interpretation of our stanza is the vulgar and highly sexualised tone of the Mbh

64 It looks as if the copyist of **V122** started copying stanza 17.13.2a again by mistake.

65 A puzzling passage is Harivaṃśa (Bhaviṣyaparvan) 116.35, which, while describing a series of instances of corrupt behaviour typical of the end of the Kali-Yuga, reads *ekaśaṅkhās tathā nāryo* …, "then women have only one conch shell". If *śaṅkha-* indicated the vagina, this passage would not make sense. Perhaps 'adorn themselves with only one conch shell'? I am not able to judge, however, why such habit would be listed among instances of corruption.

passage.

**b**. The compound *durṇaśa*-, 'difficult to attain, access, find' occurs once in ŚS 5.11.6 (in the dialogue hymn between Varuṇa and Atharvan), *ékaṃ rájasa enā́ paró anyád ásty enā́ pará ékena durṇáśaṃ cid arvā́k | tát te vidvā́n varuṇa prá bravīmy* […] ||, "There is one other thing beyond the welkin; there is something hard to attain, hitherward from what is beyond; this I Varuṇa, knowing it, proclaim to thee. […]" (Whitney).

The variant *dūṇáśa*- is found once in RV, also in a mystical hymn: RV 3.56.8, *trír uttamā́ dūṇáśā rocanā́ni tráyo rājanty ásurasya vīrā́ḥ | ṛtā́vāna iṣirā́ dūḷábhāsas trír ā́ divó vidáthe santu devā́ḥ* ||, "Threefold are the highest realms of light, difficult to reach; (there?) rule/ shine three heroes of the Lord. Truthful, vigorous, difficult to deceive—three times a day let the gods be at the rite" (J-B).

Of course, our stanza does not share such a mystic tone: in fact, our f. *durṇaśī*- must simply indicate a demoness who is hidden (see my comment on *kuham* here below) and difficult to locate and flush out.

The RV also features the adjective *dūṇā́śa*- (6x), which carries the same meaning as the variants with short *a*, and which is mostly used to qualify things that one aspires to get: in RV 9.63.11c, it qualifies "wealth" (*rayím*); RV 7.32.7d mentions the "patrimony" (*gáyam*) of one who is difficult to get at (*dūṇā́śaḥ*); in 6.45.26a, it qualifies "partnership" (*sakhyám*) with Indra; in 7.18.25d the *kṣatrám;* in 6.27.8d the *dákṣiṇā*. One last occurrence might be compared to our stanza, as here this adjective qualifies an enemy: RV 1.176.4, *ásunvantaṃ samaṃ jahi dūṇā́śaṃ yó ná te máyaḥ | asmábhyam asya védanaṃ daddhí sūríś cid ohate* ||, "Smash anyone who doesn't press soma, anyone difficult to get at who is no joy to you. Give his possessions to us, even though he will laud himself as a patron" (J-B).

The word *kuham* is a hapax. Both **K** and **O** preserve the ending *-am*: if we want to interpret this as a feminine accusative in conformity with the neighbouring words, we need to assume a stem *kuh*- (a f. root noun). A root *kuh*- has been posited (it is also found in the Dhātupāṭha) on the basis of Cl. Skt. *kuhayate*, 'to deceive with tricks', as well as a family of words such as *kuhaka*-, m., 'cheater, fraudster' (Up+), *a-kuhaka*- 'not a charlatan' (SuśrS), *kuhana* and *kuhanikā*, 'trickery, deception' (Lex.), Pāli *kuhanā*, f. 'fraud', and possibly also skt. *kuhara*-, n., 'cavity, hole' and *kuhū́*, f., 'the goddess of the new moon < the hidden one(?)' (to whom ŚS 7.47 is dedicated; this word is also found in TS and various Brāhmaṇas). This root has been variously explained (see W-P II p.550, KEWA III p. 249f, EWAia I p. 383, with references) as inherited and cognate with Gr. κεύθω, 'to hide', or as a dialectal variant of *guh*- 'to hide', or rather as secondarily derived from the above-quoted words, which in turn might be based on the interrogative *kúha*, 'where?' (Mayrhofer leans towards this latter explanation). At any rate, in order to interpret our *kuham* as f. acc., we need to posit a synchronic root *kuh*-, 'to cheat' or 'to hide', and thus a root noun *kuh*-, f., 'cheating' or 'hiding' (agent noun).[66] Given the neighbouring *durṇaśīṃ*, 'hard to find', it seems attractive to interpret this *kuh*- as indeed related to *guh*-, 'to hide', or *kúha*, 'where?', and thus meaning 'hiding'.

**c**. On the Arāyī́ demoness (a male Arā́ya also exists), see the Griffiths's (2009: 104) comment on PS 6.8.6a. Bhattacharya writes *arāyīṃ*, but this word follows the *vṛ́kī*-inflection: nom. *arāyīḥ* (PS 17.15.1.e), voc. *arāyi* (PS 14.1d, RV 10.155.1a), acc. *arāyyàm* (RV 10.155.2c, trisyllabic), nom. pl. *arāyyaḥ* (PS 17.13.8d, etc.), acc. pl. *arāyīḥ* (PS 17.14.2d). However, we also find the *devī*-inflected acc. sg. *arāyīṃ* (**O** *arāẏīṃ*, **K** *rāyīṃ*) in PS 17.15.10 below. We have three options here: 1) to emend to **arāyyaṃ* (*vṛ́kī*-inflected acc. sg. f. of *arāyī́*-); 2) to accept the *devī*-inflected acc. sg. f. *arāyīṃ*, preserved in some of the **O** ms. (in particular in **Ma**, the oldest and most reliable one), perhaps as a peculiarity of our text, as it is attested in PS 17.15.10 below; or 3) to emend to $^{+}$*arāyaṃ*, acc. sg. masculine from *arā́ya*-, the male Arā́ya demon (see e.g. Griffiths's

66 Possibly attested in the compound *viṣū-kuh*-, 'nach beiden Seiten zerfallend, zweispältig" (PW), found in ĀśvŚS 5.3 (*viṣūkuham iva dhanvanā vyastāḥ paripanthinam*, "zerschneide mit dem Pfeile in zwei Stücke," PW); according to PW, also in LāṭyŚS 3.11.3 (*parāvada durhārdo ye viṣūkuhaḥ*).

comment on PS 7.19.5a). The latter decision would force us to take *śakadhūmyaṃ* as the acc. sg. m. of an otherwise unattested *ya*-derivative, *śakadhūmya-*, based on *śakadhū́ma-* (instead of an acc. sg. f. from *śakadhūmī-*, as I propose below and as is favoured by the metre). As pādas **ab** only include feminine nouns, and since pāda **d** only addresses the female Sadānuvās, I prefer to discard option (3). I also prefer to discard option (2), because, differently from PS 17.15.10 below, where the ms. evidence is unanimous, here we find both the ending *-yaṃ* in **K** as well as *yāṃ* in both sub-branches of the **O** mss. This seems to suggest that the written archetype had at least *arāyaṃ*. Therefore I prefer to write **arayyaṃ*, assuming simplification of the cluster.[67]

The word *śakadhūmyaṃ* (five syllables)[68] must be the acc. of a *vr̥kī*-inflected feminine stem *śakadhūmī-*, based on the m. *śakadhūma-*. The latter is generally regarded as a compound of *śákar/n-* (*śákr̥t-*), 'dung', and *dhūmá-*, 'smoke' (EWAia II p. 602; cf. the phrase *śakamáyaṃ dhūmáḥ*, 'the smoke made of dung', in RV 1.164.43 ~ ŚS 9.10.25), and it has been given a variety of interpretations based on its very few attestations. Much of the discussion has revolved around hymn ŚS 6.128, in which something (or someone) called *śakadhūma* is called the "king of constellations" (*nakṣatrarājan*),[69] and invoked to bring auspicious days (or good weather? *bhadrāhá-*); according to Weber, this was actually the fire lit before dawn; for Bloomfield, a weather prophet; for others indeed, a constellation or the Milky Way, etc. A summary of the sources and the interpretations can be found in Charpentier 1936, who himself proposes an identification with the Kr̥ttikās, the Pleiades.

Regardless of the particular function of the *śakadhūma* asterism in ŚS 6.128, most scholars agree that the basic meaning is 'dung smoke'. More precisely, if Caland (1900: 16 fn.13, 175 fn. 8) is correct, it rather indicates 'a piece of dried cow dung'. These items are a part of daily life in rural India even today, as they are employed for multiple purposes, from fuel for kindling fires (thanks to their high methane content) to construction material. Shaped like flat patties, they can often be seen stacked up in large piles in rural settlements.

This seems to be the best way to interpret the occurrence of *śakadhūma* in PS 1.86.4 (Against the female demons called Kaṇvās): *yā tantiṣat khalasad yā ca goṣṭhe yā jātāḥ śakadhūme sabhāyām | prapāyāṃ jātā uta yāś ca bhitsu tāś cātayāmaḥ śivatā no astu* ||, "The [demoness] who is sitting on the rope [to fasten the cattle],[70] the one who is sitting on the threshing floor, and the one who is in the cowshed, those who are born in the pile of cow dung, in the assembly hall, those born in the water reservoir, those in the furrows, whom we frighten away—let there be benevolence towards us!" (my transl.). Here, all the elements that are mentioned are typical items or locations in a rural settlement: the threshing floor, the cowshed, the water reservoir, the furrows,[71] even the *sabhā́*, the men's assembly hall situated to the south of the Vedic settlement. Thus, I think it is likely that here *śakadhūma* indicates the stack or pile of ready-to-use cow-dung patties that certainly no Vedic village lacked. It would thus be a case of metonymy: 'cow-dung smoke' for 'the patty of cow dung that produces smoke' or 'the stack, the pile, or cow-dung patties'.

The AV also features the compound *śakadhūmaja-* qualifying demons in ŚS 8.6.15 ~ PS 16.80.2 (again the same hymn to guard pregnant women from demons), seemingly indicating a category of demons: *yéṣām paścā́t prápadāni puráḥ pā́rṣṇīḥ puró múkhā | khalajā́ḥ śakadhūmajā́*

67 But note that in PS 17.13.8, the mss. faithfully preserve the cluster in *arāyyaḥ* (some mss. spell it *jya*).

68 This scansion produces a regular Anuṣṭubh cadence. As this is not a hemistich-final pāda, an irregular cadence would also be allowed. In fact, it is also theoretically possible to read *arāyiyaṃ śakadhūmyaṃ* [ ∪ – ∪ – | ∪ ∪ – × ].

69 *nakṣatrarāje* (voc.) in ŚS 6.128.4c. Also ŚS 6.128.1ab, *śakadhū́maṃ nákṣatrāṇi yád rā́jānam ákurvata […]*, "When the constellations made Śakadhū́ma their king …"

70 Cf. RV 6.24.4, *śácīvatas te puruśāka śā́kā gávām iva srutáyaḥ saṃcáraṇīḥ | vatsā́nāṃ ná tantáyas ta indra dā́manvanto adāmā́naḥ sudāman* ||, "The abilities that belong to you, the able one, o you of many abilities, are converging like streams of cattle. (They are) like cords for calves, Indra, binding without bonds, o you of good bonds [/gifts]" (J-B).

71 On this interpretation of *bhíd-*, see my comment on PS 17.12.9b above.

*úruṇḍā yé ca maṭmaṭā́ḥ kumbhámuṣkā ayāśávaḥ | tā́n asyā́ brahmaṇas pate pratībodhéna nāśaya* ||, "Of whom the frontfeet are behind, the heels in front, the faces in front, who are threshing-floor-born, dung-smoke-born, who are *úruṇḍas* and *maṭmaṭas*, pot-testicled, *ayāśús* (impotent?)—these from her, O Brahmaṇaspati, do thou make disappear by attention (?*pratibodha*)" (Whitney). According to what we have argued above, the *śakadhūmajā́ḥ* demons might be 'born in the pile of cow-dung patties', just like some are *khalajā́ḥ*, 'born on the threshing floor'.

Thus, the *śakadhūmī* demoness of our stanza must herself 'consist of dung smoke' or look like or belong to 'a piece or a pile of cow dung'.

**17.13.5** **d**: ~ PS 17.12.2d, 12.8d, 12.9e, 12.10e, 13.4d, 13.7d, 14.7d, 15.5d, 15.8d, 15.9d, 15.10d ~ ŚS 2.14.1d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | kimāsutāṃ *nagnahv$_{i}$yam- | 8# | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| – – ∪ × ] |
| b | $^{+}$ajamāyuṃ ca $^{+}$nighnatīm \| | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | viṭiṭiṅgāḥ *pratodinīr | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | nāśayāmaḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

The demoness who makes the liquor go bad, the one who is a [bad] ferment, and the one who bleats like a goat while knocking you out; the Viṭiṭiṅgās (?) who carry a goad—we make the Sadānuvās disappear!

kimāsutāṃ *nagnahvyam] kimāsutāṃ nagnahvaẏam **Ma Ja Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā JM$_3$** kimāsutrāṃ nagnahvaẏam **V122** kimāsutāṃ nagnaddāẏam **V71** kimāsutārdhvagnihvam **K** • +ajamāyuṃ ca] ajamāyuñ ca **K** ajamāẏaṃ ja **O** • $^{+}$nighnatīm |] naghnatīṃ | **Ma Ja V122 Pa$_c$ Mā** naghatīṃ || **Ji$_4$** naghr̥tīṃ | **V71 JM$_3$** nighnatī | **K** • viṭiṭiṅgāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** viṭiṭiṅgā **Pa$_c$** viṭiṭiṅkaḥ **K** • *pratodinīr] pradodanī **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā** pratodanīr **V71 JM$_3$** pralodinīṃ **K** • nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ ||] nāśaẏāmaḥ sadānvāḥ || **[O]** nāśayāmas sadānvā Z 5 Z **K**

Bhattacharya reads +*nagnahvamajamāyuṃ ca nighnatīm*+ | and **pratodinīr*.

This stanza and the next two (17.13.6 and 7) form a group dealing with demonesses who interfere with the process of brewing and the distillation of the *surā* liquor.

**a**. The word *āsuta*-, 'pressed, distilled, brewed', is the verbal adjective derived from *ā-su*-, (pres. *āsunoti*), 'to press out, to distil' (cf. *āsutí*-, f., 4x in RV). It is found in PS 5.10.4, where the *surā* liquor, to which the hymn is dedicated, is described as *patra āsutā*, "brewed in a cup", and *viṣāsutā*, "a poison brew". The word *kimāsutā*- is most certainly a compound of the type formed with the interrogative *kím* or *kád* as first member (see AiGr II,1 p. 83f.), which generally conveys a derogatory meaning: e.g. *kim-puruṣá*-, 'mongrel' (< lit. 'What sort of human?') (Br+), or *kad-ratha*-, 'a bad chariot' (< lit. 'What sort of chariot?') (ŚaṅkŚS). These can be Tatpuruṣas, as in the previous examples, or Bahuvrīhis: e.g. *kiṃ-śilá*-, '[a land] characterised by a gravelly soil (*śilā́*-'stone')' (< 'What kind of stone?') (TS, VS, MS +). Thus, *kimāsutā*-, f., could refer to a poorly distilled *surā* (f.) as 'bad liquor' (< 'What sort of liquor') or (more likely in our case) to a demoness 'whose liquor is bad' or rather 'who makes the liquor go bad'.

The *surā*, which is produced by distillation of a preparation of grains, is made to ferment with the *nagnáhu*, a ferment made of pulses and spices (see Oort 2002). Bhattacharya writes +*nagnahvam*, the acc. sg. nn. of *nagnáhu*-. However, we most likely need another feminine epithet here. Perhaps **O** *nagnahvaẏam* (four syllables) can underlie an accusative *nagnahvyàm* (=*nagnahvíyam*) from a *vr̥kī*-inflected *nagnahvī́*-, '[a demoness] who is in the ferment' or 'who herself is a (bad) ferment'. I emend accordingly.

In fact, it seems very attractive to consider this as a case of ellipsis[72] (gapping) of the first member, and supply *kim-* also as a first member in composition with the second word: *kim-āsutāṃ* (*kim-*)*nagnahvyam*, "The demoness who makes the liquor go bad, the one who makes the ferment go bad" (< "The what-sort-of-liquor (f.), the what-sort-of-ferment (f.)"). The word *kimnagnahvī-* would simply be a feminine of *kimnagnahu-*, 'bad ferment' (< 'what sort of ferment?'), to be interpreted as a Bahuvrīhi, just like *kimāsutā-*.

**b**. The Bahuvrīhi compound *ajá-māyu-*, 'whose bleating is like that of a goat', 'bleating like a goat', is not attested elsewhere in the AV, but it is found twice in the famous frog hymn, RV 7.103, in st. 6 and 10—qualifying the frogs and the brahmins (next to *gó-māyu-*), who chant, intoxicated by the arrival of the rainy season and by the soma respectively. In our stanza, this compound most likely hints at intoxication by liquor.

The emendation to $^{+}$*nighnatīm* was proposed by Bhattacharya. The position of *ca* suggests that *ajamāyuṃ nighnatīṃ* is to be taken as a single syntagm.

**c**. The word *viṭṭiṅgā-* is a hapax of obscure meaning.

The emendation to **pratodinīr* was proposed by Bhattacharya. The word *pratodá-*, m., 'goad' or 'whip for animals', is attested in the Vrātyakaṇḍa refrain at ŚS 15.1.7, 15.2.7, 15.2.14 and 15.2.20, belonging to a portion in which each item of the equipment of a wandering Vrātya is equated with various entities. Here the goad (*pratodá*) is equated with the storm (*reṣmán*): *mātariśvā ca pávamānaś ca vipathavāhaú vā́taḥ sā́rathī reṣmā́ pratodáḥ kīrtíś ca yáśaś ca puraḥsaraú* ||, "Matariśvan and Pavamāna (the 'cleansing' wind) the two drawers (*-vāhá*) of the rough vehicle, the wind the charioteer, the whirlwind the goad, both fame and glory the two forerunners" (Whitney). In a similar fashion, ĀpŚS 22.5.5 lists the *pratodá* among items of the equipment of a Vrātya. Falk (1986: 24) also refers to PB 17.1.14 and KātyŚS 22.4.10. The derivative *pratodín-*, 'carrying a goad', 'who pokes with a goad', only appears as second member of the compound *śroṇi-pratodín-*, referring to *rákṣāṃsi* in ŚS 8.6.13 (again, a hymn against demons threatening pregnant women that has many parallels with ours): *yá ātmā́nam atimātrám áṃsa ādhā́ya bíbhrati | strīṇā́ṃ śroṇipratodína índra rákṣāṃsi nāśaya* ||, "They who, putting their excessive self on the shoulder, carry [it], thrusters-forth of women's hips O Indra, make the demons disappear" (Whitney). The reference to the women's hips is particularly relevant. In any case, if this goad or whip is used by both Vrātyas and Rakṣasas, it must belong to the world of the wilderness, and it is thus not implausible to imagine a demoness called *pratodinī-*.

Bhattacharya writes **pratodinīr*, with an asterisk, as neither of the mss. available to him preserves a voiceless dental *t* (**Ma**, **Ja**, **Mā** have *d*, **K** has *l*). His decision remains valid even with the addition of **V71** and **JM$_3$** *pratodanīr*, as this must be a secondary and late **O$^{B}$** "error" (or rather a correction!). Note that **Mā** (the oldest **O$^{B}$** ms.) has *d* like all of the **O$^{A}$** mss; it is of course theoretically possible that **Mā**'s *d* is an error, and that **V71** and **JM$_3$** preserve the **O$^{B}$** hyparchetype's correct reading, *t*, although it seems unlikely to me that **Mā** would have precisely the same error shared by all of the **O$^{A}$** mss.

On the other hand, it is not to be excluded that the suffix vowel *a* in *-a-nī-*, preserved by all of the **O** mss., is correct, and that **K** *-i-nī-* is secondary. As such, *pratodanī-* would be the feminine of an *ana*-formation, *pratodana-*, 'poking' (action noun), or in this case rather 'poker' (agent noun), with the vocalism of the causative stem (*pra-tod-aya-*), no differently from the noun *pra-tod-á-*. In this case, we would have to emend to **pratodanīr*. Nevertheless, as this latter stem is so far unattested, I follow Bhattacharya.

72 On ellipsis and related phenomena in Vedic, one may consult Geldner 1919, Renou 1955a, Gonda 1960 and Dunkel 1976.

**17.13.6**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yasyāsutaṃ randhayadhve | 8# | [ – – ∪ – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | yūyaṃ bhaṇvāḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | tr̥ṣṭaṃ kr̥ṇut$_{a}$āṇḍaraṃ | 8# | [ – – ∪ ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | yadā rasena tr̥pyata- | 8 | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| e | -āt surām ava mehatha \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Whosever brew you take under your control (/prepare), you, O Bhāṇvās, O Sadānuvās, make it sour [and] "with balls" (?). When you are satisfied with the sap, you piss down the *surā* liquor.

N.B. **JM$_3$** identically repeats pāda **cde** twice. **Pa$_c$** repeats both this whole stanza and the next (i.e. it reads 17.13.6 then 7, then again 6 then again 7), without any differences.

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yasyāsutaṃ randhayadhve] yasyāsutaṃ randhaẏadhve **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** yasyāsutaṃ raddhaẏadhve **V122** yasyāsutaṃ ravaẏadhve **Mā V71** yasyāṃsurabhaṃdhayaddhve **K** • yūyaṃ bhaṇvāḥ] yūẏaṃ bhaṇvāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā]** kṣūẏaṃ bhaṇvāḥ **Ji$_4$** yūẏaṃ bhaṇvā **JM$_3$** [.]ū[. .] **V71**[73] yuṃya bhaṇvās (= Bhatt. vs. bhaṇvas Barret) **K** • sadānvāḥ |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** sadānvāḥ \|\| **Ji$_4$** sadānvā \| **K** • tr̥ṣṭaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** tr̥ṣṭa **Ji$_4$** triṣṭhaṃ **K** • kr̥ṇutāṇḍaraṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** kr̥ṇutāṇḍabhāṃ **Ji$_4$** kr̥ṇvutāṇḍaraṃ **V71 JM$_3$** kr̥ṇutāṃ duraṃ (→ *subs*. tvarāṃ) **K** • yadārasena] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yadāsyena **Ji$_4$** yabhārasena **K** • tr̥pyatātsurāmava] **[O]** tr̥pyatāmasurāpava **K** • mehatha] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** sehadha **Mā** mehitā **K** • \|\|] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** \| **V122** Z 6 Z **K**

Bhattacharya reads *yadārasena tr̥pyatāt* in pāda **d**, *surāmava me hatha* in pāda **e**.

**a**. This stanza most certainly forms a triad with the preceding and the next one, as all deal with the theme of the Sadānuvās' interference in the production of the *surā* liquor and the effects of their intervention. The feminine *tasyāḥ* in PS 17.13.7a also refers syntactically to the feminine *surām* in our pāda **e**. Similarly, the apparently suspended genitive *yasya* in our pāda **a** most likely refers to the person who, in the next stanza, is said to be in pain after having drunk of the liquor.

On the causative stem *randhaya*-, 'to make weak, make subject, subdue', see Jamison 1983: 144. The middle forms are rare (1x in RV, 3x in PS), but they convey the same meaning as the active ones: see RV 3.30.16d, *jahí rákṣo maghavan randháyasva*, "Smash the demonic force, bounteous one, make them subject to you" (J-B), PS 3.27.6a, *jahi śatrūn aprati*[74] *randhayasva*, "Slay the enemies without opposition" (my transl.), PS 9.4.7b, *sahānyān randhayādhvai*, 'Zusammen werdet ihr andere in eure Gewalt bringen' (Kim), PS 19.3.11b, *asurān randhayāsai*, "you will subdue the Asuras" (my transl.). It is then possible that the meaning of our pāda **a** is "Whosever brew you subdue/take under your control," in the sense that the Sadānuvās interfere with the distillation process (see my comment on pāda **e** below).

A derived meaning 'cook, prepare (food)'[75] for *randh*- is also recorded (see MW *s.v.*, W-P II p. 439, KEWA III p. 40, EWAia II p. 431) with reference to MānGS 2.9.7–8: *avaśiṣṭaṃ bhaktaṁ randhayati | śvo'vaśiṣṭaṃ bhaktaṃ randhayitvā* […] *piṇḍān nidadhāti*, "He prepares the remaining food. The following day, having prepared the remaining food […] he places some balls of rice and

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73 The space occupied by the unreadable sequence in **V71** cannot possibly be enough for both the missing words.

74 Bhattacharya writes *prati*. Carmen Spiers informs me that the reading *śatrūn aprati* is only preserved in ms. **Ek$_2$** (other mss. have *prati* or *'prati*), but that it could also be a case of omission of *virāma* in the preceding *śatrūn*. At any rate, the metre requires an extra syllable, and the lexeme *prati-randh*- is not attested, therefore *aprati* is definitely to be preferred.

75 Perhaps a semantic shift 'make weak' > 'make soft' > 'make (food) soft' > 'cook (food)', rather than 'unterwerfen > schlagen > zubereiten, kocken' (as reported by EWAia II p. 431)

flour" (my transl.). This meaning is also attested by a variety of related words, such as *randhana-*, n., 'destruction'(TS), but also 'cooking, preparation' (comm.), *randhi-*, f., 'subjugation' in RV, but later 'cooking, readying' in BhP (see the above-quoted sources for references); it is also preserved in various NIA languages, e.g. in Hindī *rāṁdhnā*, 'to cook, prepare food'. As pāda **a** of our stanza features the acc. object *asutaṃ*, 'brew, infusion', this latter meaning of *randh-* may have also been intended. In fact, the poet may have purposefully intended to make a pun between the idea of cooking and that of taking control of the process against the will of the victim.

**c**. The adjective *tr̥ṣṭá-* describes a harsh flavour or smell (and also by extension 'harshness of speech', e.g. *vācás tr̥ṣṭáṃ* in RV 10.87.13b ~ ŚS 8.13.12b ~ PS 16.7.2b). It often qualifies something inedible and poisonous: e.g. RV 10.85.34ab (about the polluted bride's garment), *tr̥ṣṭám etát káṭukam etád apāṣṭhávad viṣávan naítád áttave* |, "This is rough; this is sharp, barbed, poisonous: it is not for eating" (J-B); ŚS 5.18.3 (~ PS 9.17.10), *áviṣṭitāghāviṣā pr̥dākū́r iva cármaṇā | sā́ brāhmaṇásya rājanya tr̥ṣṭaiṣā́ gaúr anādyā́* ||, "Just like an ill-poisonous adder enveloped with [cow-] skin[76], this cow of the brahman, O noble, is harsh, not to be eaten" (Whitney). Poisonous animals are characterised as having a sharp bite (*tr̥ṣṭádaṃśman*) in ŚS 12.1.46ab (~ PS 17.5.4ab), belonging to the hymn to the Earth: *yás te sarpó vr̥ścikas tr̥ṣṭádaṃśmā hemantájabdho bhr̥maló gúhā śáye* |, "Your serpent, [your] scorpion of sharp bite lies hidden, torpid, crushed by the winter" (my transl.). See also Griffiths 2009: 440 with additional references.

The last word of the pāda might be *aṇḍaram* or *āṇḍaram*. The first option does not seem attractive,[77] while the latter, though unattested, may be interpreted as a *ra*-formation based on the noun *āṇḍa*, 1) 'egg', 2) 'testicle' (normally used in the dual). For similar formations, see AiGr II,2 §686 p. 856ff. One may compare *muṣkara-*, 'testiculatus (PW), male, animal with testicles', derived from *muṣká-*, 'testicle, scrotum'. Cf. e.g. TS 5.5.1.1, […] *aindrā́ḥ paśávo yé muṣkarā́s | yád aindrā́ḥ sánto 'gníbhya ālabhyánte devátābhyaḥ samádaṃ dadhāti* |, "The male animals belong to Indra; in that being Indra's they are offered to the fires, he causes strife among the deities" (Keith). Thus, an *āṇḍara-* liquor is perhaps a liquor "with balls," i.e. strong, suitable for men only[78].

In conclusion, both *tr̥ṣṭam* and *āṇḍaram* are adjectives, object predicates governed by *kr̥ṇuta* and agreeing with *āsutam* in pāda **a**.

**d**. Bhattacharya writes *tr̥pyatāt* as in the **O** mss. The form *tr̥pyatāt* may at first glance be interpreted as a *-tāt* imperative from the root *tr̥p-* '+ ins.)'. Such an imperative formation can be used for the 2nd person singular, dual. or plural (see Baum 2006: 35–37). Here we would certainly need to interpret it as a 2nd person plural. Baum (ibid.) points out that the *-tāt* imperative has a tendency to show up in the apodosis of conditional (*yád*) or temporal (*yadā́*) clauses. However, here we would seem to find it in the protasis introduced by *yadā*. This is impossible (cf. Delbrück 1888: 325, 590).

The sequence is best analysed as *tr̥pyata_āt*, in which the second part is the conjunction *ā́t*, 'afterwards', which is frequently constructed in correlation with *yadā́*. The first part can either be a 2pl imperative or a 2pl injunctive. Since an imperative would be impossible in a *yadā́* phrase, we must take it as an injunctive. As the correlative *ā́t* phrase features a present *mehatha*, one wonders whether it would be attractive to emend *tr̥pyata* to a present **trpyatha*: alternation between indicative and imperative is very frequent, also in the 2pl *-tha* vs *-ta* (see Ved. Var. I p. 23). The same may be valid for *kr̥ṇuta* in pāda **c**, which can hardly be an imperative (why would the poet command the Sadānuvās to interfere with one's brewing process?), and must be interpreted as an injunctive or emended to **kr̥ṇutha*. It is true that injunctives are increasingly more rare in the AV, but they are nevertheless found even in prose, and given the present stage of our knowledge, it is

76 Differently, Kim (2014: 350): "Umhüllt [ist] der [Pfeil] mit schlimmem Gift wie die Pr̥dāku-Schlange mit [ihrer] Haut ..."

77 PW and MW record *aṇḍara-*, m., as the name of a tribe (*gaṇa*) (they also record a denominative *aṇḍarāya*(*te*), 'to behave like an *aṇḍara*'). This meaning does not seem suitable for our stanza.

78 That drinking the *surā* liquor makes men aggressive is evident throughout PS 5.10.

hard to tell whether an injunctive would be out of place here. Until the use of the injunctive in the AV is studied in more detail, it seems safer to avoid emending, and rather accept both *kr̥ṇuta* and *tr̥pyata* as injunctives here.

The next question is whether we should read *yadā_arasena* or *yadā rasena.*[79] The word *arasá*, 'sapless', is found very frequently in the AV, especially in incantations to render some kind of poison (or threat in general) 'powerless'. Compare for instance ŚS 4.6.6 (~ PS 5.8.5), *arasás ta iṣo śalyó 'tho te arasáṃ viṣám | utā́rasásya vr̥kṣásya dhánuṣ ṭe arasārasám* ||, "Your tip, O arrow, is powerless, and also your poison is powerless. And your bow, O powerless one, is powerless, [made] of a powerless tree" (Lubotsky). Similar examples are countless. Thus, our line could be translated as "When you are satisfied with something sapless, then piss the *surā* liquor." This perhaps could be interpreted as a charm aimed at preventing the demons from making the *surā* poisonous.

We do find one collocation of *rása-* with *tr̥p-*, namely in ŚS 10.8.44 (belonging to a mystic hymn): *akāmó dhī́ro amr̥taḥ svayaṃbhū́ rásena tr̥ptó ná kútaś canónaḥ | tám evá vidvā́n ná bibhāya mr̥tyór ātmā́naṃ dhī́ram ajáraṃ yúvānam* ||, "Free from desire, wise (*dhī́ra*), immortal, self-existent, satisfied with the sap, not deficient in any respect—knowing that wise, unaging, young soul, one is not afraid of death" (Whitney). This expression probably has to do with the idea of *rása* as a nourishing essence proceeding from the waters or from herbs and delivering good health to people (via medicinal herbs) or to the earth (via the rain, etc.) (e.g. ŚS 1.5.1, ŚS 3.31.10, ŚS 4.35.3, ŚS 9.4.5, etc.). In fact, the *rása* is one of the constituents of an individual, as can be seen from the following stanza from a funeral hymn: ŚS 18.2.24, *mā́ te máno mā́sor mā́ṅgānāṃ mā́ rásasya te | mā́ te hāsta tanvàḥ kíṃ canéhá* ||, "Let nothing whatever of thy mind, nor of thy life (*ásu*), nor of thy members, nor of thy sap, nor of thy body, be left here" (Whitney). It does not seem suitable for our line to take the phrase *yadā rasena tr̥pyata* as simply having a meaning along the lines of "when you are healthy, full of energy."

It is noteworthy that the *rása*, being a constituent of the human body, can also be stolen by ill-intentioned beings. The following stanza, belonging to a hymn "against various evils with a plant," mentions a demoness, who, although not explicitly called Sadānuvā, aims to eat the *rása* of a child, and is compelled to eat her own child: ŚS 1.28.3 (= ŚS 4.17.3 ~ PS 5.23.3[80]), (Against various evils with a plant): *yā́ śaśā́pa śápanena yā́ghāṃ mū́ram ādadhé | yā́ rásasya háraṇāya jātám ārebhé tokám attu sā́* ||, "She that hath cursed with cursing, that hath taken malignity as her root, that hath seized on [our] young to take [its] sap—let her eat [her own] offspring." It is possible that the reciter of our stanza is hoping that the Sadānuvās will be content with drinking the sap of the *surā* liquor, and stay away from the human sap.

More simply, our stanza might just be describing the Sadānuvās as busy with preparing the *surā* liquor: at the moment when they are satisfied with the "sap, essence" of the drink (or with its "taste"—this is another possible meaning for *rása*), they shall finish distilling it. The whole stanza would just be the prelude to the following one, which describes a man who has drunk from the liquor (*tāsyāḥ* in 17.13.7a clearly refers back to *surām* in 17.13.6d) and is now in pain, lying down with a headache.

**e**. The root *mih-* is employed to describe the process of distillation of the *surā* liquor in PS 8.12.12ef, *madhye satasya *mastiṣko anaḍvān iva mehatu*, "Let the brain (=the name of the top-pot) piss into the middle of the *sata* pot like an ox" (transl.: Lubotsky 2002a: 63). In order to produce the *surā* liquor, a mash of fermented grains, fruits, and water is heated up inside a receptacle placed over the fire. The alcohol vapours of the heated mash rise up to the cold bottom of a water-filled pot (*mastiṣka*, 'brain, skull', i.e. the condenser) placed on the top rim of the heated receptacle. Here the vapours condense and finally drip (the upper pot "pisses", *mih-*) into another smaller pot (*sata*, the

79 Another option is to read *yadā* (or even *yad ā*) *rase na tr̥pyata*, "when (/if) you are not satisfied with the sap."

80 PS 5.23.3: *yā śaśāpa śapanena yā vā gha mūram ādadhe | yā vā rasasya *prāśāyārebhe tokam attu sā* ||, "She who has cursed with a curse, or she who has held a root, or she who has taken hold of [our children] for eating the sap—let her eat [her own] offspring" (Lubotsky).

receiver) placed right underneath the condenser (see Oort 2002).

**17.13.7** **d**: ~ PS 17.12.2d, 12.8d, 12.9e, 12.10e, 13.4d, 13.5d, 14.7d, 15.5d, 15.8d, 15.9d, 15.10d ~ ŚS 2.14.1d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | tasyāḥ pītvā$_{a}$vamakt$_{i}$y | 8# | [ – – – – \| ∪ ∪ – × ] |
| b | atho śīrṣakt$_{i}$y ā śaye \| | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | tā ekā$_{a}$nnadūṣaṇīr | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | nāśayāmaḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Having drunk of that [*surā* liquor], he has pain in the lower [abdomen] (?); then he is lying there having a headache. Them who spoil [it] for the drinking mates—we make the Sadānuvās disappear!

N.B. **Pa$_{c}$** repeats pāda **cd** (and the following stanza, 17.13.8) identically after 17.13.9c.

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tasyāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** tasyā **V122** yasyāḥ **K** • pītvāva] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_{c}$ V71 JM$_{3}$** pātvā **Mā** pīḥtvāva **Ji$_{4}$** pīḍāva **K** • maktyatho] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_{c}$ [Mā]** makthyatho **V71** ma[x]kthyatho **JM$_{3}$** makyatho **Ji$_{4}$** manyatho **K** • śirṣaktyā] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** śīrṣantyā **Ji$_{4}$** • śaye] **K** śaẏe **[O]** • \|] **K [Ma] [Ja] Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** \|\| **V122 Ji$_{4}$** • tā ekānnadūṣaṇīr] **[Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$ [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$** tā ekānnad(u→)ūṣaṇīr **V122** etānnadūṣaṇīṃ **K** • nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ \|\|] nāśaẏāmaḥ sadānvāḥ \|\| **[Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$ [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$** nāśaẏāmaḥ sadānvāḥ[x] \|\| **Pa$_{c}$** nāśayāmas sadanvā Z 7 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *pītvāva <u>ma</u>kty* in pāda **a**.

**ab**. This stanza is certainly the continuation of the preceding one. The genitive *tasyāḥ* in pāda **a** clearly refer to the *sūrām* (f.) mentioned in PS 17.13.6e.

The sequence *śīrṣaktyā* may be intepreted as the ins. sg. of *śīrṣaktí*, 'headache' (on *śīrṣaktí-*, see Kuiper 1939). As for the sequence *avamakty*, it would seem to underlie *avamaktī*, nom. m. sg. of the unattested *avamaktin-*. It seems attractive to interpret this as based on (an also unattested) *avamakti-*, 'pain in the lower part (*avama*) [of the body]', 'pain in the lower [abdomen]' or 'pain in the lower [parts]', thus maybe 'stomachache' or 'pain when urinating'[81]; in turn, this formation would be based on *avama-*, 'lower', and perhaps a stem *kti-*, 'pain', extrapolated from a re-analysis of *śīrṣaktí-*, 'headache' (*śīrṣ-aktí-*) as *śīrṣa-ktí-*, or in fact built from *avamá* and *aktí*, but with shortening of the *a* analogically to *śīrṣaktí*—unless we want to emend to *avamākty*.

In fact, we know from PS 5.10.10 (belonging to a hymn to the *surā* liquor) that drinking the *surā* liquor can cause racking pain (*pra-rup-*, caus.): *asimatīm iṣumatīm un nayāmi satād adhi | mādayābhi mādayāhir +ivainān pra ropayānyo 'nyasya moc chiṣan* \|\|, "The knife-sharp, arrow sharp [Surā] do I raise up from a *sata*-pot. Make [them] intoxicated, make [them] tipsy. Like a snake, cause them racking pain, let them leave nothing of each other" (Lubotsky).

On *in*-formations based on *i*-stems, see AiGr II,2 §212c p. 329. Semantically, we may compare *balāsin-*, 'suffering from the *balā́sa* disease',[82] which shows that a formation like X-*in-* can mean 'suffering from X'.

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81 Compare PS 7.15.6, in which the pain of the body is distinguished from that of headache: PS 7.15.6, *uṣṇīṣaṃ tvā śīrṣaktyā vāsas tvā +tanvāmayāt | candraṃ hiraṇyam andhyāt *karṇādattaṃ śukraṃ bhrājad bādhiryāt pātu dakṣiṇā* \|\|, "A sacerdotal fee [offered to me by you], the turban must protect you from head-ache, the dress [must protect] you from body-pain, the shining gold from blindness, the brightly glittering [ring] that is taken from the ear [must protect you] from deafness" (Griffiths).

82 See Zysk 1985: 32

If the above is correct,[83] it would also be attractive to interpret *śīrṣaktyā* as *śīrṣaktī_ā*, in which *śīrṣaktī* would be the nom. sg. m. of an (unattested) stem *śīrṣaktin-*, 'having a headache', parallel to *avamaktin-*, 'having pain in the lower part of the body', while *ā* would function as a preverb of *śaye*[84]. However, the lexeme *ā-śi-* normally expresses the idea of "*enter* a place to lie in it', or 'lying *inside* a place', and generally governs an object: cf. PS 5.12.1[85], PS 5.12.6a (~ ŚS 5.25.9b, PS 12.4.7b)[86], ŚS 9.3.21 (~ PS 16.40.8)[87], ŚS 12.4.19ab (~ PS 17.17.8ab)[88], and ŚS 5.17.12ab[89]. Therefore, it seems preferable to me to take *śīrṣaktyā* as an instrumental and *śaye* as a simplex.

Moreover, Knobl (2007b: 119–120[=2009: 59-60] and fn. 45; 2009b) has pointed out that the simplex *śay-* (which he interprets as a departicular root meaning 'to be lying there') is most often used with a markedly depreciatory sense, i.e. it describes a way of lying "in an awkward, or shameful, or downright abject kind of state [or] in a rather unpleasant state" (Knobl 2007b: 120 with examples).

**c**. I tentatively take *ekānnadūṣaṇīr* as the nom. sg. f. of a (otherwise unattested) f. compound, *ekānna-dūṣaṇī-*, in turn built from *ekānna-*, adj., 'commensal, dining mate',[90] and *dū́ṣaṇa-*, 'spoiling, corrupting' (AV+). It seems that the intended meaning is that the demons, by spoiling the liquor and causing a hangover, ruin the experience of the drinking mates. In fact, I prefer to translate *ekānna-* with "drinking mates" in this particular case, even though the word is etymologically based on the root *ad-* 'to eat', as clearly the situation portrayed here is that of people drinking liquor together.

**17.13.8**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | $^{+}$apārogāñ chakadhūmān | 8# | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – – × ] |
| b | vṛ̥kṣāṇāṃ yantu satvaram \| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | atho $^{+}$durhārdaso gṛ̥haṃ | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | pra mṛ̥śant$_{u}$v arāy$_{i}$yaḥ \|\| | 8 | [ ∪ – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

83 One may of course speculate on possible emendations: as confusion between the akṣaras *ma* and *sa* (or other sibilants) is frequent, one may propose **avaśaktin*, 'without energy (*śákti*)', **avasakthin* 'down to his thighs (*sákthi*)', or **avasaktin* 'hanging down (?)' (< *ava-sañj-*).

84 By the opposite reasoning, one might wish to emend *avamaktyatho* to *avamaktyātho* (=*avamaktyā_atho*) to have a perfect parallelism between *śīrṣaktyā* and *avamktyā* (ins. of *avamakti-*).

85 PS 5.12.1 (for successful conception) *vṛ̥ṣā $^{+}$jajñe madhavāno 'yaṃ madhumatībhyaḥ | sa u te yonim ā śayāṃ baḍ *dakṣaḥ puruṣo bhavan* ||, "The bull Madhavāna is born from the sweet (f.) ones. Let him descend into your womb, forsooth becoming a dexterous man" (Lubotsky).

86 PS 5.12.6a (~ ŚS 5.25.9b, PS 12.4.7b), *garbhas te yonim ā śayāṃ garbho *jarāyv ā śayām* |, "May an embryo get into your womb, may an embryo get into the afterbirth" (Lubotsky).

87 ŚS 9.3.21 (~ PS 16.40.8) (to accompany the release of a house), *yā́ dvípakṣā cátuṣpakṣā ṣáṭpakṣā yā́ nimīyáte | aṣṭā́pakṣāṃ dáśapakṣāṃ śā́lāṃ mā́nasya pátnīm agnír gárbha ivā́ śaye* ||, "[The dwelling] which is fixed with two sides, with four sides, which with six sides—the eight-sided, the ten-sided dwelling, the mistress of the building, Agni lies in like an embryo" (Whitney).

88 ŚS 12.4.19ab (~ PS 17.17.8ab) (About the cow belonging exclusively to the brahmin), *duradabhnaínam ā́ śaye yācitā́ṃ ca ná dítsati* |, "Door-damaging (?) she lies on him, if he is not willing to give her when asked for" (Whitney)—perhaps better: "Breaking through the door she lies inside him (i.e. his house) ..." unless we want to emend to **durdabhnā*, 'hard to deceive" (cf. Whitney 1905: 649).

89 ŚS 5.17.12ab (on the brahmin's wife), *nā́sya jāyā́ śatavāhī́ kalyāṇī́ tálpam ā́ śaye* |, "Not on his couch lies a beautiful hundred-bringing wife" (Whitney).

90 This meaning is recorded by MW (p. 230): "having or eating the same food, a messmate". However, no references are provided.

Let them of the trees quickly go away to [someone else's] healthy heaps of cow dung. Then, let the evil-hearted Arāyī́ demonesses lay hold of [their] corral!

N.B. After 17.13.9c, **Pa$_c$** repeats 17.13.7cd a second time and then repeats this stanza without variants.

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$^+$apārogāñ chakadhūmān] apārogāṃ chakadhūmān **Ma Ja Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** a(*s.s.*→)pārogāṃ chakadhūmān **V122** apāṃropāṃ chakadhūmān, **Ji$_4$** apārogā chakadhūmān **Mā V71** apārogāṃ śakadhūmāṃ **K** • vr̥kṣāṇāṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** vr̥kṣaṇaṃ **Mā V71** • yantu] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yanti **Ji$_4$** yānti **K** • satvaram] satvaram, **K** chatvaraṃ **O** • |] **K Ma Ja V122 Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** || **Ji$_4$** • $^+$durhārdaso] durhārdaśo **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** dūhādaśo **Mā** dr̥hādaśo **V71** dr̥hārdaśo **JM$_3$** druhāṃdaso (= R-V, Bhatt. *vs*. druhaṃdaso Barret) **K** • gr̥haṃ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** gr̥ha **Mā V71** • pra mr̥śantv] pra mr̥śaṃtv **Ma Ja Pa$_c$** vra mr̥śaṃtv **V122** pra muṣaṃtv **Ji$_4$** pra mr̥ṇaṃtv **Mā JM$_3$** pra muṇaṃtv **V71** prāviśantv **K** • arāyyaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$** arā(yyaḥ → *s.s.*) jyaḥ[x] **V122** arāyaḥ **Ji$_4$**[91] arājyaḥ **Mā V71 JM$_3$** arāyyāḥ **K**

Bhattacharya writes *apārogāñchakadhūmān* in pāda **a**, *durhārdaso* in pāda **c**, neither with an emendation sign.

As is often the case in the AV, this stanza seems to be both a charm to repel demons as well as a curse, in that the repelled demons are sent to haunt someone else. Thus, the reciter invites the Arāyīs to haunt a healthy pile of cow dung, i.e. one that is not yet haunted, perhaps near a victims' house, and to lay hold of the house of a victim. For another possible interpretation, see my comment on pāda **c** below.

**a**. The compound *a-roga-*, adj.,'free from disease, healthy', is first attested in Manu (1.83 referring to people; 7.226 referring to a king) and SuśrS (PW). However, in the AV we find both *róga-*, 'disease, infirmity' (multiple occurrences); the compound *roga-nā́śana-* (once in ŚS 6.44.2d ~ PS 20.34.8e); and the compound *á-rogaṇa-*, 'freeing from disease' in ŚS 2.3.2 (~ PS 1.8.2e=PS 19.33.14e), qualifying a medicine, and in PS 15.21.3b, qualifying the benevolent forms of the two Rudras, Bhava, and Śarva.

On *śakadhū́ma-*, see my comment on PS 17.13.4c above. Notably, this pāda qualifies the Arāyī́ demonesses as belonging to the *śakadhū́ma*!

I standardise the sandhi *-n ś-* to *-ñ ch-* with a plus sign (see Griffiths 2009: lix §(F)).

I am not aware of any other occurrence of *śakadhū́ma* in the plural. In fact, I wonder whether pāda **a** is corrupted, and the original text read an ablative sg. *arogāc chakadhūmād*. The meaning would slightly change the sense of the stanza to being a charm to simply repel the demons without sending them to haunt someone else: "Let them of the trees go away *from* [our] healthy heap of cow dung". This would support my suggestion to emend to *pra *mr̥ṣyantu* (see below), as the whole stanza would then simply be aimed at repelling the demons from the reciter's house.

**b**. I hesitate on how to interpret the gen. pl. *vr̥kṣāṇāṃ*. Clearly it would not make sense to take it with *śakadhūmān*, "the cow-dung heaps of the trees." I tentatively take it as referring to the implicit subject of *yantu* ("Let them of the trees go"), who must be the demons. It might refer to demons or demonesses that belong to the forest (cf. PS 17.13.9b below: *vanekr̥kur*, "a demoness who howls in the forest"; see my comment *ad loc*.), or it could perhaps be a euphemism for demons or demonesses that attach to men's penises (cf. PS 17.12.9c above: *upa vr̥kṣeṣu śerate*, "they lie near the trees (penises?)"?. Nevertheless, the syntax is odd.

**cd**. Both traditions clearly point to *gr̥haṃ*. Nevertheless, it would seem very attractive to emend *gr̥haṃ* to **garbhaṃ*, 'embryo', as the lexeme *pra-mr̥ś-* is frequently used in the Sadānuvā hymns to describe how these demonesses attack embryos. On the lexemes *pra-mr̥ś-* (as well as

91 Note that **Ji$_4$** reads *arāyaḥ* without the intervocalic akṣara *ya*, pronounced [ja], but rather with the akṣara *ya*, pronounced [dʒa].

*prati-mṛ́ś-*; both are attested in the hymn for protection of pregnant women, at ŚS 8.6.6 ~ PS 16.79.6 and ŚS 8.6.18 ~ PS 16.80.9, respectively), see the evidence collected in Griffiths's (2009: 173) comment on PS 6.14.3. Griffiths proposes the meaning 'to grope for (an embryo)' and connects it with the usage of *rih* (with various preverbs) (see my comment on PS 17.14.8d below). The object of *pra-mṛ́ś-* is indeed frequently *garbham*: e.g. PS 5.9.7cd (Against Sadānuvās), *yā garbhān pramṛ́śanti ' sarvāḥ pāpīr anīnaśam* ||, "[Those] who lay hold of the embryos, all the bad ones have I destroyed" (Lubotsky). See also PS 17.14.8a below.

In fact, if we keep *gṛ́ham*, **K** *prāviśantu*—to be emended to $^{+}$*praviśantu*, "Let them enter"—would seem more attractive. However, it is also possible that this is a mistake triggered by the presence of *gṛ́ham*.

Alternatively, we may wish to emend *pra mṛ́śantu* to *pra *mṛ́syantu*. Pādas **cd** would then translate as: "Then, let the evil-hearted Arāyī́s forget [our] house!" This emendation would be supported by an emendation of *arogāñ chakadhūmān* to an abl. sg., **arogāc *chakadhūmād* (see my comment on pāda **a** above).

On the *vṛ́kī*-inflected *arāyī́-*, see my comment on 17.13.4c above.

**17.13.9** **defg**: ~ PS 17.12.1efgh; **g**: ~ PS 17.12.3d, 17.13.1d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | tāsām *ekā$_{a}$chavākā | 8# | [ – – – – \| – U – × ] |
| b | śaṅkāvaṅkā vanekṛ́kur | 8 | [ – – – – \| U – U × ] |
| c | hasanaikā kanikradā \| | 8 | [ U U – – \| U – U × ] |
| d | sarvāsāṃ bhaṇvā vaḥ sākaṃ | 8# | [ – – – – \| – – – × ] |
| e | nāmadheyāni vidmasi \| | 8 | [ – U – – \| U – U × ] |
| f | yati jātāni vas tati | 8 | [ U U – – \| U – U × ] |
| g | naśyatetaḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – U – – \| U – U × ] |

Among them, there is one who says "this way!", one who is crooked with fear (?), one who howls in the forest; one who laughs, one who constantly neighs (/whines)—O Bhaṇvā demonesses, we know all your names together! As many sorts [that there are] of you, that many [of you], O Sadānuvās, disappear from here!

N.B. After pāda **c**, **Pa$_{c}$** repeats 17.13.7cd, 17.13.8 (the whole stanza), and again 17.13.9abc, after which it concludes this stanza with the remaining pādas **defg**. Differences in readings in the repeated portion are marked here with the siglum **Pa$_{c}$(2)**.

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tāsām *ekāchavākā] tāsāmekāchavakā **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** tāsāmekāchava **Pa$_{c}$(2)** tāsāmikātmavṛ́kā **K** • śaṅkāvaṅkā] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ JM$_{3}$** śaṅkā **V122** śaṅkāṃ **Pa$_{c}$** śaṅkāṃvaṅkā **Pa$_{c}$(2) V71** śakāṃvakāṃ **Mā** śakāvaṅkā **K** • vane kṛ́kur] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** vanekṛ́ku **Pa$_{c}$(2)** vanetrapuru **K** • hasanaikā] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ [Mā] V71** hanaikā **JM$_{3}$** haśanaikā **Pa$_{c}$** hiśanaikā **Pa$_{c}$(2)** hāṃśanīkā **K** • kanikradā] **K Ji$_{4}$** kanikladā **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** kanikḷavā **V122** • \|] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** \|\| **Ji$_{4}$** *om*. **K** • sarvāsāṃ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ [Mā]** sarvasā **V71 JM$_{3}$** • bhaṇvā] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** bha([x] → *s.s.*)ṇvā **V122** bhaṃṇḍā (*vs*. bhaṃḍā Barret, Bhatt.) **K** • vaḥ sākaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** vatsākaṃ **K** • nāmadheyāni] **K** nāmadheẏāni **[O]** • \|] **K [Ma] [Ja] Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** \|\| **V122 Ji$_{4}$** • yati] **Ma Pa$_{c}$** yadi **K Ja V122 Mā V71 JM$_{3}$** yatidi **Ji$_{4}$** • vastati] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** varttastatidi **Ji4** vasyati **K** • naśyatetaḥ sadānvāḥ] **[O]** paśyateta sadanvā (= R-V, Bhatt. *vs.* paśyatetas sadanvā Barret) **K** • \|\|] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_{c}$ [Mā]** \|\|$^{3}$ **V122 Ji$_{4}$ JM$_{3}$** \| **V71** Z 9 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *ekā chavakā* in pāda **a**, and writes *yati jātāni vastati* in pāda **f**.

It seems that most of the epithets in this stanza have to do with words, sounds, and noises.

**a**. **O** preserves *ekāchavakā*, **K** *ekātmavr̥kā*. One possibility is to read, as in **K**, *ātmavr̥kā-* 'oneself's wolf', which would be a hapax. However, one wonders why we don't have *ātmavr̥kī-* instead. Comparing the two branches, one might wish to emend to **śālāvr̥kā* (if **O** *ch* is a corruption of an original *ś*), but once again the attested word for 'she-jackal' is *śālāvr̥kī*. Rather, given that the following words seem to refer to noises, it seems attractive to read the second part of the word as *-vākā*, f. from *vāka-*, 'saying, sounding'. In fact it would be easy to emend to **achavākā* (or **achāvākā*). The *a(c)chāvāká-*, 'he who says "*áchā*!"'[92], is one of the RV priests who assist the Hotr̥ during the soma ritual. Besides reciting various *śāstrāṇi*, his main task is to officially invite and welcome the Adhvaryu priest to the soma drinking. It seems implausible that a demoness would be named after such priest. We may simply imagine a demoness "who says 'this way!'" and invites people to a dangerous place, perhaps in the forest (see pāda **b**). At any rate, this seems to me the lightest[93] emendation possible by which we could obtain an understandable reading from this line.[94]. It is perhaps remarkable that in the next stanza (PS 17.13.10d), a magical herb is welcomed (*achā vadāmasi*) into a house in order to repel the demonesses that are haunting the house.

**b**. The sequence *śaṅkāvaṅkā* might be a single word, perhaps one more onomatopoeic feminine epithet, or perhaps two words: *śaṅkā́-* f., 'fear, doubt' (Br+), and *vaṅkā-*, a hapax, possibly based on *vañc-*. The semantics of this root have been studied by Elizarenkova & Toporov 1979: it can express the idea of 'going in a twisted way', both in a positive sense ('to be nimble, dexterous') or in a negative way ('to be dodgy, indirect, crooked'). I tentatively inteprret our word as a compound meaning 'crooked with fear'. However, of all the epithets in this stanza, this would be the only one that does not have to do with sound.

The word *kr̥ku-* (necessarily feminine) is a hapax. Compare, however, *kraku-* (which also must be feminine) in 17.12.2b above. Surely, both terms are onomatopoeic, if not variant spellings of the same word. See my comment *ad loc.*, in which I compare the various formations based on an onomatopoeic root *krakṣ-*, 'to howl'. Notably, we also find the compound *vanakrakṣá-*, 'howling in the wood' (i.e., bubbling in the wooden vessel), said of the soma (likened to a bull) in RV 9.108.7. An even more interesting piece of comparison is the compound *vanakrośa-*, describing a demon in PS 6.14.6, translated with "Forest-Shriek(er)" by Griffiths. References to demons inhabiting the forest are innumerable. See also *vr̥kṣāṇāṃ* in the preceding stanza, PS 17.13.8b. It is thus possible that we should consider *vane* not as a separate word, but as the first member of a compound *vane-kr̥ku-* (cf. *vane-já-* 'born in the woods' in RV 6.3.3d, and 10.97.7a; a similar compound with inflected first member, *khalājjātā-*, 'born on the threshing floor', occurs in PS 17.14.3c below).

**c**. The word *hasaná-*, occurring in RV 9.112.4, has been interpreted by some as 'laughter', by others in a sexualised sense as 'laughing woman' (see KEWA III p. 585); cf. *hasrá*, describing a woman laughing in a seductive way in RV 1.124.7; cf. also the etymologically related Av. *jahī-* and *jahikā-*, 'prostitute'. Laughter has frequently been considered inappropriate behaviour (or inappropriately seductive, in the case of women) throughout the history of Indian culture, as can be deduced from a variety of evidence: from the degrading function of laughing at someone in classical drama, to the prescription of Pāśupata ascetics to worship Paśupati with laughter.

A masculine adj., *kanikrada-*, occurs in VS 13.48, qualifying a horse: *imáṃ mā́ hiṁsīr ékaśaphaṃ paśúṃ kanikradáṃ vājínaṃ vā́jineṣu*, "Harm not this animal whose hooves are solid, the courser neighing in the midst of coursers" (Griffith). The formation is based on the intensive stem (see Schaefer 1994: 109f.) of the root *krand-*, 'to make a noise', 'neigh (like a horse)', 'creak (as a wheel)', 'lament, cry, weep, whine'.

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92 Also spelled *ácha*.

93 The cluster *tma* in **K** might be a scribal error for *tsa*, which in turn frequently represents the pronunciation variant of an original cluster *cha*.

94 A less light emendation could be **śabdakā*, 'little bad word'.

That the only occurrence of *kanikrada-* is used to describe a neighing horse might suggest that we should also imagine a neighing demoness. Indeed, in the majority of the AV occurrences, the intensive of this root is used to describe the sound of a horse (see PS 5.2.8d, 8.20.5c, etc.). A lustful man is described as a neighing horse in ŚS 2.30.5 (to secure a woman's love): *éyám agan pátikāmā jánikāmo 'hám ā́gamam | áśvaḥ kánikradad yáthā bhágenāháṃ sahā́gamam* ||, "Hither hath this woman come, desiring a husband; desiring a wife have I come; like a loud-neighing (krand) horse, together with fortune have I come" (Whitney). It is thus possible that our *kanikradā* carries a sexual meaning just like the preceding *hasanā*.

At the same time, the semantic field of 'lamenting, whining' expressed by *krand-* might also be intended in opposition to the laughing expressed by the preceding word. Cf. RV 10.95.13, in which a broken-hearted Purūravas is said to cry like a screeching wheel: *práti bravāṇi vartáyate áśru cakrán ná krandad ādhyè śivā́yai | prá tát te hinavā yát te asmé párehy ástaṃ nahí mūra mā́paḥ* ||, "[Urvaśī:] "I'll give him an answer when he lets his tear roll. Like a wheel he screeches for kindly care. I will send it [=child] to you, that thing of yours that's with us. Go away home. For you will not attain me, you fool" (J-B).

**defg**. See my comments on PS 17.12.1efgh above.

**17.13.10**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | sahasvatīṃ pra harāmi- | 8# | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| ∪ ∪ – × ] |
| b | -imāṃ śālāṃ viṣāsahim \| | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | sadān$_{u}$vāghnīm oṣadhiṃ | 8# | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| – – ∪ × ] |
| d | jaitrāyāchā vadāmasi \|\| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

I bring forth into this house the one possessing strength, the conquering one. We welcome the Sadānuvā-killing herb for the sake of victory.

sahasvatīṃ] **[O]** sahasvīrī **K** • harāmīmāṃ] **Ma Ja V122 Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** harāmīmoṃ **Ji$_4$** harāmīmā **Mā V71** praharāmimāṃ **K** • śālāṃ viṣāsahiṃ |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** śālāṃ viṣāsahiṃ || **Ji$_4$** [śa]śālāṃ vi[ṣa]ṣāsahiṃ | **V71** śālāṃ viṣāsahīm, **K** • sadānvāghnīm oṣadhiṃ] **[[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā]** sanvāghnīm oṣadhiṃ **Ji$_4$** sadānvāghnī[..]ṣadhiṃ **V71** sadānvāghnīm oṣadh(ī→)iṃ **JM$_3$** sadānvāghnīm oṣadhīṃ **K** • jaitrāyāchā] jaitrāẏāchā **[O]** jāitrāyāśchā **K** • ||] **[Ma]? [Ja]?** || 13 || ru 10 || **Mā V71 Pa$_c$** || 13 || 10 || **JM$_3$** || ru || 13 || **V122** || 13 || **Ji$_4$** Z 10 Z phaśca 2 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *harāmīmāṃ*, as he does not split pāda **a** from pāda **b**, and writes *jaitrāyācchā+ vadāmasi* in pāda **d**.

This stanza seems to imply a ritual by which a herb is brought (thrown?) into a haunted house to exorcise the Sadānuvā demonesses.

**ab**. A comparable construction with *pra-hṛ-* and double accusative (acc. of object and acc. of destination)[95] is found in PS 11.10.3ab, *nainam aśnīyād abrāhmaṇo, na gṛhān pra haret svān*: "A non-brahmin should not eat it (*enam*); he should not bring [it (reading *enam* again)] into his own homestead" (my transl.).[96]

95 Elsewhere in the AV, *pra-hṛ-* is found with the following constructions: 'strike something (acc.) with something (ins.)' (e.g. in ŚS 7.56.8a); 'hurl something (acc.) at someone (dat.)' (e.g. ŚS 10.5.50a ~ PS 16.132.6a); or 'insert something (acc) in something (loc.)' (e.g. ŚS 14.2.38d ~ PS 18.10.9d).

96 The alternative option would be to consider the two epithets *sahasvatīm* and *viṣāsahim* as qualifying the house (*śālām*), while pādas **ab** would then have to be rendered with something like "[With a herb] I strike this strong and conquering house." This seems implausible to me, especially in light of the habit of characterising herbs as "victorious" (see below).

On *śā́lā-*, ‘house’, see my comment on PS 17.12.10c, which also deals with demonesses haunting houses. Cf. also PS 17.13.8 above.

**c**. On the alternation between the short *i*-stem *óṣadhi-* (in RV only sg.) and long *ī*-stem *óṣadhī* (in RV only plural, in AV also sg.) see my comment on PS 17.21.7 below. Here the **O** mss. preserve the more archaic short *i*-stem singular, whereas **K** has the newer long *ī*-stem singular. It seems easier to justify the **K** variant as influenced by the neighbouring long vowels, and take the **O** reading as the *lectio difficilior*. I find no better criterion by which to make an editorial decision.

A herb is also employed against the Sādanuvās in PS 5.1.6–8 and PS 6.8, both featuring frequent repetition of forms related to the root *sah-*, aimed at enhancing the overpowering quality of the herb. The use of herbs to exorcise demons is very common. See for instance ŚS 2.25 (~ PS 4.13) in which a spotted-leafed plant (*pṛśniparṇī-*) is employed against the Kaṇva demons and to prevent abortion. In our stanza, instead, a herb seems to be used to exorcise demonesses who haunt a house. On this theme, see my comment on PS 17.12.10c above.

## Sūkta 14

### 17.14.1

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | *duḥsaṃkāśe bhīmacakṣo | 8# | [ – – – – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | nagne bhaṇve sadān$_{u}$ve \| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | dhrājiṃ $^{+}$tviṣiṃ śucim agnim | 8# | [ – – ∪ – \| ∪ ∪ – × ] |
| d | arāyi kim ihechase \| | 8 | [ ∪ – ∪ ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| e | dhūmaṃ mā$_{a}$bhi pra *gāyi | 8# | [ – – – ∪ \| ∪ ∪ – × ] |
| f | nis *tvauṣāmi sadān$_{u}$ve \|\| | 8 | [ ∪ – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

O one of ugly appearance, O one of terrible glances, O naked one, O Bhaṇvā, O Sadānuvā; O Arāyī, what are you seeking here? The blaze, the flare, the glowing fire? Let her not advance towards [our] smoke [i.e. our fire]! I burn you completely, O Sadānuvā.

Bhattacharya writes *duḥśaṅkāśe* in pāda **a**, omits the daṇḍa after pāda **b**, and writes *kimihecchase*+ in pāda **d**, *dhūmam* in pāda **e**, and *ni stauṣāmi* in pāda **d**.

*duḥsamkāśe] duḥ(śaṃ→*s.s.*)saṃkāśe **V122** duḥśaṅkāśe **[Ma] [Ja]** duḥśaṃkāśe **Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** duścakāśe **Mā** duśśaṃkāśe **V71** duśvaṃkāśe **JM$_3$** yaścaṅkāśe **K** • nagne] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ragne **V122** raragne **K** • bhaṇve] **[O]** bhaṃṇva **K** • sadānve] **[O]** sahānve **K** • \|] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā]** \| **JM$_3$** \|\| **V71 Ji$_4$** $^{\|}$ **V122** • dhrājiṃ $^{+}$tviṣiṃ] dhrājiṃ dviṣiṃ **O** vrajintviṣyaṃ **K** • śucim] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ś[.]cim **Pa$_c$** • agnim arāyi] **K** agnimarāi **Ma Ja Mā** agnimarāī **V71 V122** agni(*s.s.*→)ḥmarāi **JM$_3$** agniṃmarāī **Ji$_4$** agnisamarāī **Pa$_c$** • kim] **K** kīm **O** • ihechase] **O** ihekṣase **K** dhūmaṃ mābhi] **[O]** dhūmamābhi **K** • pra gāyi*] pra gāi **O** pra gāhya **K** • nis *tvauṣāmi] nistauṣāmi **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71** nistaumiṣāmi **Mā** nistau(space)ṣāmi **JM$_3$** nistūṣāmi **K** • sadānve] **[O]** mahānve **K** • \|\|] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā]** \|\|$^{3}$ **V122 Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** \|\| 3 \|\| **V71** Z 1 Z **K**

In this stanza, a single demoness is repelled by means of fire. Given the Sadānuvās' habit of haunting women and children in their own houses, it is possible that the fire intended here is the household fire.

**a**. All of the **O$^{A}$** mss. point to °*ḥśaṃ*° or °*ḥśaṅ*° with a palatal; both **K** (*śc*) and **O$^{B}$** (*śc*, *śś*, *śv*) point to a different cluster in which the initial *ḥ* was assimilated to the following sibilant. I think it is safe to say at least that the written archetype had already preserved a corrupted reading with *ś*. Only **V122** corrects *śaṃ* to *saṃ*, but this is definitely an educated correction. In conclusion, I believe that it is necessary to mark our emendation with an asterisk, as we are reconstructing the original text, before the written archetype.

The word *duḥsaṃkāśe* must be the voc. sg. of the feminine epithet *duḥsaṃkāśā*. The compound *duḥ-saṃkāśa*-, 'of ugly appearance', is not attested elsewhere. However, both the verbal

lexeme *saṃ-kāś-*, ‘to appear, be visible’, and the noun *sáṃkāśa-*, ‘appearance, look, aspect’, are attested in the AV, and so is the compound *mádhu-saṃkāśa-*, ‘of lovely appearance’ (ŚS 7.31.1 ~ PS 20.31.8a; PS 1.55.3a), which conveys precisely the opposite meaning of our *duḥsaṃkāśa-*. Cf. also *mádhu-saṃdṛś-* (PS 4.20.d, 6.6.1d) and *mádhu-saṃdṛśa-* (ŚS 1.34.3d).

The form *bhīmacakṣo* can either be the sandhi form of a feminine vocative *-as* from the stem *bhīmacakṣas-* (nom. f./m. *bhīmacakṣās*, voc. *bhīmacakṣas*; see Whitney, *Grammar* §418 p. 156), or it can be the regular *-o* voc. of the f. stem *bhīmacakṣus-* or *bhīmacakṣu-*: with the latter, we may compare the form *ghoracakṣavaḥ*, ‘the [demonesses] of fearsome eyes/glances’, in PS 17.14.4b, below, which most certainly belongs to a *u*-stem feminine *ghoracakṣu-*. In the AV, we find both compounds with *-cakṣas- (uru-cákṣas*, *ghorá-cakṣas-*, *nṛ-cákṣas-*, *viśvá-cakṣas-*), *-cakṣus-* (*ághora-cakṣus-*, *ádabdha-cakṣus-*, *jarā-cakṣus-*, *vi-cakṣus-*), as well as *-cakṣu-* (*sahasra-cakṣu-*, ‘thousand-eyed’, attested multiple times, and *muni-cakṣu-*, ‘muni-eyed(?)’, once in PS 5.34.5b). As the compound in our line is not attested elsewhere, we have no means to tell which is the correct stem. And even if we had another attestation, we would not be completely sure, as variation is possible even within the same text, as can be seen in the case of *ghorá-cakṣas-*, *ghora-cakṣu-* and *ághora-cakṣus-*.

**b**. The feminine of the adj. *nagná-* ‘naked’ is found only once, in a hymn against the *árāti* (f.): ŚS 5.7.8 reads *utá nagnā́ bóbhuvatī svapnayā́ sacase jánam | árāte cittám vī́rtsanty ā́kūtim púruṣasya ca* ||, “Likewise, greatly making thyself naked, thou fastenest on (*sac*) a person in dreams, O niggard, baffling the plan and design of a man” (Whitney).

Bhattacharya omits the *daṇḍa* at the end of pāda **b**, as it does not occur in any of his mss. I find a single or double *daṇḍa* in several of my mss. The same mss. also feature the numeral “3” at the end of the stanza. This, together with the fact that this division is attested in both Odisha sub-branches, suggests that we should write a *daṇḍa* instead.

On *bhaṇvā-*, see my comment on PS 17.12.1e above.

**cd**. The word *dhrā́ji-*, f., indicates a ‘rush, gust, force (of wind)’ (e.g. RV 10.136.2 ~ PS 5.38.2) or a ‘burst (of flame)’ (see examples below): in particular, this word is often employed in charms in which the force of the wind or a burst of flame are invoked to repel enemies: e.g. ŚS 3.1.5, *indra sénāṃ mohayāmítrāṇām | agnér vā́tasya dhrā́jyā tā́n víṣūco ví nāśaya* ||, “O Indra, confound the army of our enemies; with the blast of fire, of wind, make them disappear, scattering” (Whitney); PS 5.20.1, *paro ’pehi paraś cara paras tarda parastaram | agner vātasya dhrājyā apa bādhe ahaṃ tvām* ||, “Go far away, move far away, away, O borer, still farther away. I repel you with the force of fire, of wind” (Lubotsky).

Thus, like the examples just quoted, pādas **cd** are clearly a threat addressed to the demoness. In pāda **d**, the reciter asks her what she is looking for, but this is just a rhetorical question. The answer was already given in pāda **c**: she is only going to find a burning fire ignited to repel her.

The emendation to $^{+}$*tviṣiṃ* was proposed by Bhattacharya, and it is certainly correct. The *tvíṣi-*, ‘energy, impetus, vehemence, sprightliness, liveliness’, is a typical characteristic of fire, and can be translated as ‘flare, brightness’: e.g. RV 5.8.5d (to Agni), *tvíṣiḥ sā́ te titviṣāṇásya nā́dhṛṣe* ||, “When you have flared, that flare of yours is not to be challenged” (J-B). Compare also the use of the root noun *tvíṣ-* in RV 8.43.3: *ārokā́ iva ghéd áha tigmā́ agne táva tvíṣaḥ | dadbhír vánāni bapsati* ||, “Like brilliants, certainly, are your sharp scintillations, Agni. With their teeth they snap at the woods” (J-B); or the use of *tveṣá-* in RV 3.22.2, *ágne yát te diví várcaḥ pṛthivyā́ṃ yád óṣadhīṣv apsv ā́ yajatra | yénāntárikṣam urv ā̀tatántha tveṣáḥ sá bhānúr arṇavó nṛcákṣāḥ* ||, “O Agni, worthy to receive the sacrifice, your luster, which is in heaven and on earth, which is here among the plants and the waters, and by which you have stretched throughout the wide midspace—that is glittering, undulating radiance watching men” (J-B).

On the *vṛkī*-inflected word *arāyí-*, see my comment on 17.13.4c above.

**e**. Bhattacharya writes *dhūmam māmbhi pra gāyi**, emending **O** *gāi* and **K** *gahya* to **gayi*, the (otherwise unattested) passive aorist injunctive of the root *gā-*, ‘to make a step, advance’, with

preverbs *abhi* and *pra*. The lexeme *abhi-pra-gā-* is attested in PS 20.18.1a (the ŚS parallel, 6.37.1, has *upa-pra-gā-*), in which a curse is described as approaching the reciter, who tries to avert it and direct it against the curser: ŚS 6.37.1–2 (~ PS 20.18.1-2): *úpa* (PS: *abhi*) *prā́gāt sahasrākṣó yuktvā́ śapátho rátham | śaptā́ram anvichán máma* (PS: *yātu*) *vṛ́ka ivā́vimato gṛhám || pári ṇo vṛṅgdhi* (PS: *vṛṅdhi*) *śapatha hradám agnír ivā* (PS: *iva*) *dáhan | śaptā́ram átra no* (PS: *tvaṃ*) *jahi divó* (PS: *divyā*) *vṛkṣám ivāśániḥ* ||, "Hither hath come forth, having harnessed his chariot, the thousand-eyed curse, seeking after my curser, as a wolf the house of a sheep-owner. Avoid us, O curse, as a burning fire a pond; smite our curser here, as the bolt from heaven a tree" (Whitney); "Hergekommen ist der tausendäugige Fluch, nachdem er [seinen] Streitwagen angespannt hat. Dem Flucher nachspürend ziehe er [zu ihm], wie ein Wolf zum Haus von jemandem, der Schafe hat. Umgehe uns, o Fluch, wie das brennende Feuer einen See. Den Flucher hier schlage du, wie der himmlische Donnerkeil einen Baum" (Kubisch). Whereas the preverb *úpa* in the ŚS version simply expresses the fact that the curse has come "by, near", in the PS the preverb *abhi* highlights the fact that the curse has approached "inimically", "against" the reciter. This is how I interpret *abhi* in our line as well: the implied subject must be the Sadānuvā demoness, who is to be kept away from the reciter's fire, implied by the metonymy of the smoke.

The construction [ *mā́* + aor. inj. ] conveys a negative command with the particular aim of preventing an action from happening (preventive function; see Hoffmann 1967b). As for the semantics of the passive aorist of *gā-*, we may compare that of the passive aorist of *gam-*, *agāmi*: Kümmel (1996: 18) describes *agāmi* (only attested in RV 6.16.19) as "agentiv", and glosses it with 'ist gekommen': RV 6.16.19, *ā́gnír agāmi bhā́rato vṛtrahā́ purucétanaḥ | dívodāsasya sátpatiḥ* ||, "Agni has come here [Kümmel (1996: 40): "ist jetzt hergekommen"], the one belonging to the Bharatas, obstacle-smasher, manifest to many, lord of the settlements of Divodāsa" (J-B). Kümmel (ibid.) ultimately likens its meaning to that of the root aorist active *agan*. Thus, we may compare RV 7.50.1, in which we find the injunctive *gan* used in a negative imperative construction with preventive function: RV 7.50.1ab, *ā́ mā́m mitrāvaruṇehá rakṣataṃ kulāyáyad viśváyan mā́ na ā́ gan* |, "Guard me here, Mitra and Varuṇa. Do not let the nesting or the swelling thing come upon us" (J-B). In conclusion, I take our *mā_abhi pra gāyi* to mean "Let [the Sadānuvā] not advance (inimically) against...". The preceding *dhūmaṃ* must be an acc. of destination, thus "… against the smoke". The word *dhūmaṃ* must metonymically stand for *agnim*, just like *dhrā́jiṃ*, *tviṣiṃ* and *śucim* in pāda **c**.

**f**. This pāda is problematic. The forms *stauṣāmi* (**O**) and *stūṣāmi* (**K**) do not exist as such. The syntagm *ni-stu-* (*ni-ṣṭu-*) is actually never attested in Vedic. It is only mentioned by Pāṇini (8.3.70), in the context of an explanation of how roots with initial *s-* change it to *ṣ-* when preceded by the preverbs *pari*, *vi*, and *ni*.[97] In fact, the phenomenon described by Pāṇini is the norm in the Paippalāda (see for instance PS 17.3.8d *ni ṣīdāmi*), and it can also occur when the preverb *ni* does not immediately precede a verb, but another word: e.g. ŚS 8.4.10d ~ PS 16.9.10d *ní ṣá hīyatāṃ tanvà tánā ca*, "Let him be degraded with self and with posterity" (Whitney). Therefore, the reading *ni stauṣāmi* without retroflexion, as adopted by Bhattacharya, is extremely improbable.

The lightest emendation might be *nis *tvauṣāmi* (*=tvā_oṣāmi*), "I burn you out/away/completely." This conjecture is both syntactically consistent with the following vocative singular *sadānuve*, as well as thematically consistent with the fact that the whole stanza revolves around fighting a demoness with fire. The lexeme *nir-uṣ-* is not attested, but we may compare the following stanzas, both belonging to hymns against sorcerers and demons, in which the lexeme *ny-uṣ-* is employed to express threats against such evil beings: ŚS 8.3.21 (~ PS 16.8.1), *tád agne cákṣuḥ práti dhehi rebhé śaphārújo yéna páśyasi yātudhā́nān | atharvaváj jyótiṣā daívyena satyáṃ dhū́rvantam acítaṃ nyòṣa* ||, "Set thou in the reciter, O Agni, that eye with which thou seest the hoof-breaking sorcerers; Atharvan-like, with brightness of the gods, scorch (*uṣ*) down the truth-damaging fool (*acít*)" (Whitney); ŚS 8.4.1 (~ PS 16.9.1), *índrāsomā tápataṃ rákṣa ubjátaṃ ny*

97 The forms *niṣṭauti* and *nyaṣṭaut* are given as examples.

*àrpayataṃ vṛ̥ṣaṇā tamovṛ́dhaḥ | párā śṛ̥ṇītam acíto ny òṣataṃ hatáṃ nudéthāṃ ní śiśītam attríṇaḥ* ||, “O Indra-and-Soma, burn the demon, oppress (*ubj*) [him]; put (*arpay-*)[98] down, ye two bulls, them that thrive in darkness; crush away, scorch down the fools (*acít*); slay, push, pin (*śā*) down the devourers” (Whitney).

**17.14.2** **e**: ~ PS 17.12.4f, 14.3e, 14.6e, 14.8e, 15.7e

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | kaṅk$_{i}$y ekā prakhidaikā | 8# | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ ∪ – × ] |
| b | kim ichant$_{i}$y *abhiśrayāḥ \| | 8 | [ ∪ – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | caranti naktaṃ durṇāmno | 8# | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| – – – × ] |
| d | *$_{a}$rāyīḥ sūtikaiṣ$_{i}$yas | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| e | tā ito nāśayāmasi \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

One is a carrion-eating stork, the other is a tormentor; what are the clinging ones seeking? The ill-named ones roam about at night. The Arāyī́ demonesses who are after pregnant women—them we make disappear from here!

kaṅkyekā] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** kaṃṅkmekā **V71** kaṃṅkmaikā **JM$_3$** kaṅkekāḫ **K** • prakhidaikā] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** prakṣidaikā **JM$_3$** priṣad aikāḫ **K** • kimichanty] **Ja** kimichāṃty **Ji$_4$** kimitsyaṃ(*s.s.*: tsyaṃ)ty **V122** kimitsyaṃty **Pa$_c$** kimitsyanty **Mā Ma** kimitsānty **JM$_3$** kimuśchrayanty **K**[99] • *abhiśrayāḥ] abhiśraẏā **[O]** abhiśchrayā **K** • naktaṃ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** nakta[. **V71** • durṇāmno] durṇṇāmno **Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** durnnāmno **Mā Ma** durnāmno **JM$_3$** . . .] **V71** durnamno (*vs*. durnāmno Barret, dunnamno R-V, Bhatt.) **K** • *arāyīḫ] rāyī **K** rāẏī **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** rāẏa **V71 JM$_3$** • sūtikaiṣyastā ito] **[O]** sūtakīṣyastayito **K** • nāśayāmasi ||] nāśaẏāmasi ||**[O]** nāśayāmasi Z 2 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *+kimicchantyabhiśrayā* in pāda **b**, *rāyī(ḥ)* in pāda **d**.

**a**. The epithet *kaṅkī-* must be based on *kaṅká-*, a carrion-eating bird (EWAia I p. 289), according to Fitzgerald (1998) the ‘greater adjutant stork’. See my comment on PS 17.22.10, in which this bird appears next to other carrion birds in a curse against an enemy.

**b**. The epithet *prakhidā-* must be based on the lexeme *pra-khid-*, attested in VS 16.46 (belonging to the Śatarudrīya), in which Rudra is praised as follows: […] *náma ākhidaté ca prakhidaté* […], “homage to him who troubles and to him who afflicts” (Griffith).

Bhattacharya writes *abhiśrayā*, most likely another epithet in the nom. f. sg. However, the verb *ichanti* is in a 3rd pl. person. This might not be too much of a problem if one considers that three demonesses are mentioned (*kaṅkyā*, *prakhidā*, and *abhiśrayā*). However, strictly speaking, we have three syntactically independent sentences here: two nominal sentences (*kaṅkī_ekā*, and *prakhidā_ekā*), and a third sentence with a 3rd pl. verb. In this case, even though both traditions point to *-ā*, I think we should correct to **abhiśrayāḥ* (nom. f. pl.) in order to have a plural subject (as in pāda **c**). This is requires only a light emendation, as *visarga* is frequently lost in pausa.

The stem *abhi-śraya-* is not found elsewhere, with the exception of the next stanza, where we find the acc. sg. f. *abhiśrayām*, used as a demoness epithet. The simplex *śraya-* is also not attested as such, but we find other compounds such as *apa-śrayá-* ‘bolster, cushion(?)’, in ŚS 15.3.8 ~ PS 18.29.1j, and *sa-pari-śraya-*, ‘with an enclosure’, in ŚB 14.9.4.22, which show that *śraya-* must be derived from *śri-*, ‘to lean’ (rather than *śrī-* or *śrā-*, but see footnote 101 below). Thus,

98 The stem *arpaya-* is better translated as “hit, pierce”; see my comment on PS 17.13.1b above.

99 The extra *repha* in the cluster *śchra* in **K** is perhaps due to anticipation of the similar cluster in the following word.

*abhi-śraya-* may be interpreted as derived from the lexeme *abhi-śri-*, lit. 'lean against', but glossed by PW with 'herbeiführen, vereinigen mit', and MW with 'to spread, extend (as brightness)', with reference to the aorist in ŚS 13.2.9 (to the Sun) only: *út ketúnā bṛhatā́ devá ā́gann ápāvṛk támo 'bhí jyótir aśrait* |, "The god hath come up with great show (*ketú*); he hath wasted away the darkness, hath set up (*abhi-śri*) the light" (Whitney). Whitney adds in his comment that *abhi-śri-* means "more literally 'fasten on, affix' (to the sky)"). To understand why such a lexeme would be suitable for a demoness epithet, we may compare the lexeme *anu-śi-*, attested in ŚS 8.6.19 (from the hymn to protect pregnant women from demons, which we have quoted many times; see also my comment on pāda **d** below): here demons are said to kill babies by lying down next to (*anuśérate*) women who have just given birth, as in ŚS 8.6.19ab, *yé amnó jātā́n māráyanti sū́tikā anuśérate* |, "They who suddenly make die those that are born, [who] lie by the bearing [women]" (Whitney). Compare also the semantics of the root *sac-* (mid.), 'to fasten on to, to possess someone', e.g. in ŚS 5.7.8 (quoted above, in my comment on PS 17.14.1b), where the *nagnā́- árāti-* possesses a person in their sleep, or in ŚS 4.37.11bc (another hymn against various demons), which reads *gandharváḥ sacate stríyas | tám itó nāśayāmasi*, "the *gandharvá* fastens upon women; him we make disappear from here" (Whitney). Thus the *abhiśrayā-* must be a demoness who leans against women or fastens herself to women.

**c**. With regard to demonesses roaming at night, compare PS 17.12.4b above.

**d**. On the Arāyī́ demoness, see my comment on PS 17.13.4c above.

The word *sūtikaiṣyas* is the acc. pl. of. of a *vṛkī*-inflected *sūtikaiṣī-* (hapax), 'seeking a woman who has recently given birth', a compound based on the root noun *iṣ-*, 'seeking', and *sūtikā-*, f., 'a woman who has recently given birth'. The only attestation of this latter word in the AV occurs in ŚS 8.6.19 (which I quote above with regard to the semantics of *anu-śi-*), belonging to the same hymn to protect women from demonesses: *yé amnó jātā́n māráyanti sū́tikā anuśérate | strī́bhāgān piṅgó gandharvā́n vā́to abhrám ivājatu* ||, "They who suddenly make die those who are born, who lie by the bearing [women] — the Gandharvas, woman-seekers (?), let the brown one drive, as the wind a cloud" (Whitney). Remarkably, the epithet *strī́bhāgān*, attributed to the Gandharvas in this stanza, seems to convey the same meaning as our hapax *sūtikaiṣ-*.

**17.14.3** **e**: ~ PS 17.12.4f, 14.2e, 14.6e, 14.8e, 15.7e

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | apakrathām abhiśrayām | 8 | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| b | ānṛtyantīṃ $^{+}$kutūhalām \| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | kusūlīṃ $^{+}$rathabhañjanīṃ | 8 | [ ∪ – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | khalājjātās trikūk$_{u}$vas | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| e | tā ito nāśayāmasi \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

The one who chokes [her victims], the one who clings to [women], the curious one who comes dancing, the Kusūlī (?), the one who makes the chariot break, those who are born from the threshing floor, the Trikūkus (?)—them we make disappear from here!

apakrathām] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** apakrathom **Ji$_4$** apakrathā[x]m **Pa$_c$** apakrātām **K** • abhiśrayām] **K** abhiśrayā́m **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** abhiśayā́m **Ji$_4$** • ānṛtyantīṃ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ānṛtyantī **Ji$_4$** • $^{+}$kutūhalām] kutūhalam, **K** kṛtohalāṃ | **Mā V71** kṛtohaḷāṃ | **Ma Ja** kutohaḷāṃ | **Pa$_c$** kutohalāṃ | **JM$_3$ V122** kutohayaṃ || **Ji$_4$**[100] • kusūlīṃ] **Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** kusū[x]līṃ **V71** kusūḷīṃ **Ma** kusulīṃ **Ja** kusulī **V122 Ji$_4$** kusūlāṃ **Mā** kuśūliyaṃ **K** •

100Note that *kutohayaṃ* in **Ji$_4$** is not spelled with the intervocalic akṣara *ẏa* [ja], but with the akṣara *ya* [dʒa]. This is very likely a scribal mistake for *ḷa*.

[+]rathabhañjanīṃ] rathabhañjanīṅ **V71** rathabha[.]nīṅ **JM$_3$** rathabhañjanīṃṅ **V122** rathabhaktinīṅ **Ji$_4$** ratharbhañjanīṅ **Pa$_c$** (rathabhajjanīṅ **Mā**? **Ma**? **Ja**?) rasabhañjanīṃ **K** • khalājjātās trikūkvas] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ V71** khalājātāstikūkvas **Mā Pa$_c$** khalājjātāsikūkvas **JM$_3$** khalāñ jātās trivrūkyas **K** • tā ito nāśayāmasi] tā ito nāśayāmasi **[Mā] V71 JM$_3$ [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** tā ito nāśayā[x]masi **V122** tāyito nāśayāmasi **K** • ||] **Mā V71 JM$_3$ [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** Z 3 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *kutūhalām+* in pāda **b**, *rathabhajjanīṃ* in pāda **c**, and *trikūkvas* in agreement with the Odisha mss. in pāda **d**.

**a**. The root *krath-*, glossed by the dictionaries with 'rejoice', is only attested in TB 2.3.9.9 (*krāthayed*), although Gotō (1987: 121 fn.126) regards it as a mistake for *kvath-* 'boil', used metaphorically. The root *klath-* 'sich drehen oder ballen' (PW) occurs once in VSM 39.5, where the different states of a milk offering (when prepared, heated, poured, etc.) are equated with various deities: *mārutáḥ kláthan* (= *kláthat*), "the Maruts when the milk is clotting" (Griffith). Both of these roots seem out of context in our text. According to PW, Pāṇini's Dhāṭupāṭha mentions the roots *krath-*, *klath-*, *knath-*, with the meaning 'hurt, injure' (*hiṃsārthe*), but they are never attested in Vedic. In the Mbh we find Krātha used as a proper name (the name of a sub-race of the Yādavas, descendants of a Kratha, and also the name of Skanda's retinue; see MW), while the form *krathana* is found in the Carakasaṃhitā as an adj., 'one who is in danger of suffocation', and as a neuter noun, 'interruption of breath'. The compound *apa-kratha-* is a hapax. I translate tentatively sticking to the attested meaning of the Carakasaṃhitā, which appears to be a technical meaning derived from the more general one attested in Pāṇini. Our demoness might be a demoness who chokes her victims.[101]

On *abhiśrayā-*, see my comment on the previous stanza.

**b**. Renou (1957a: 83) glosses the epithet *kutūhalā* with "wonderful"; Mayrhofer (EWAia I p. 364) glosses the adj. *kutūhala-* with "wunderbar, ungewöhnlich". In classical sources, we also find the neuter noun *kutūhalam*, indicating something able to excite curiosity or someone's interest towards something unusual. Mayrhofer (ibid.) also compares *kutūhalin-* 'eine ungewöhnliche Erscheinung teilnahmsvoll verfolgend', *kautūhala-*, n., 'Interesse, Verlangen, Neugier', *kautuka-*, n., 'Neugier, Interesse', etc. I translate this epithet with 'the curious one' to allow both interpretations.

As regards the lexeme *ā-nṛt-*, compare ŚS 4.37.7 (~ PS 4.28.7), part of a hymn against supernatural beings: *ānṛ́tyataḥ śikhaṇḍíno gandharvásyāpsarāpatéḥ | bhinádmi muṣkáv ápi yāmi śépaḥ* ||, "Of the hither-dancing, crested Gandharva, Apsaras-lord, I split the testicles, I bind fast (?) the member" (Whitney).

**c**. Bhattacharya writes *kusūlīṃ*, even though none of his mss. has this reading (**Ma** has *kusūḷīṃ*, **Ja** *kusulīṃ*, **Mā** *kusūlāṃ*), because he is silently normalising *ḷ* to *l*.

Mayrhofer (EWAia I p.382f.) mentions a series of words (all possibly related to each other) indicating female demons: *kusitā́yī* (MS), *kusidā́yī* (KS), *kústā* (MS), *kusulī* (AV) and *kusū́la* (AV). In particular, the word *kusū́lā* (a feminine *ā*-stem) is found in ŚS 8.6.10c (belonging to the hymn to protect pregnant women), part of a stanza that I have quoted in full in my comment on PS 17.12.10c above, and which contains several obscure names for demonesses. I assume that our *ī*-stem is an alternative but equivalent designation for the same being.

Bhattacharya writes *rathabhajjanīṃ*. However, an emendation sign is necessary, as only **K** features a final anusvāra, while the **O** mss. have final *ṅ* (in the cluster *ṅkha*). Moreover, none of my mss. read the cluster *jj*, but only *ñj*; Bhattacharya does not explicitly report his reading in his apparatus, and I wonder if the cluster *jj* in his edition is a misprint for *ñj*, as clearly an *ī*-stem from *bhañjana* (another demoness's name) is most likely the correct reading. The compound *ratha-*

101 An alternative idea would be to interpret *apakrathā-* as based on *krath-=kvath-*, 'to boil' in parallel to interpreting *abhiśrayā* as based on *śrā-* (*śṛṇāti*) 'to cook'. Thus *apakrathā*/*apakvathā-* could be a 'demoness who spoils the boiling/decoction (*kvatha*)' and *abhiśrayā-* maybe 'a demoness who roasts [her victims]'?

*bhañjana-* is a hapax.

**d**. The phrase *khalāj jātās* (perhaps rather a compound *khalāj-jātā-*) resembles the compound *khala-já-* 'born in the threshing floor', found in ŚS 8.6.15 (~ PS 16.80.2), a stanza from the hymn for the protection of pregnant women that I have quoted in full in my comment on PS 17.12.1c and PS 17.13.4c and referred to several times, as it contains various names and epithets of demonesses that recur in our text, including *śakadhūma-já-* and *khala-já-*. Compare *khala-sad-*, '[a demoness] sitting on the threshing floor' in PS 1.86.4 (also quoted in my comment on PS 17.13.4c, to which I refer the reader), which illustrates how demons can originate in various locations within a rural settlement. The following occurrence of *khála-* is also noteworthy, as it belongs to a hymn against Apsarases that has several lexical correspondences with ours: PS 15.18.5 reads *āhatā apa tā itaḥ khalād iva yātudhānyaḥ | amuṃ gachata pūruṣaṃ samudram apa gacchata* ||, "Them, beaten up, [remove] away from here, like sorceresses from the threshing floor. Go to that man over there, go away to the ocean" (Lelli).

The **O** mss. point to *trikūkvas*, while **K** has *trivrūkyas*, two variants that are not so easily reconciled. **K** *trivrūkyas* might underlie *trivr̥kyas*, acc. pl. f. of *tri-vr̥kī-*, 'she who has three wolves' (?); **O** *trikūkvas* might be an acc. pl. f. of a *tri-kūku-*, 'who has three daughters'. The latter meaning would be based on an unattested **kūku-* 'Mädchen, Tochter', assumed on the basis of the late stem *kūkuda-* 'einer, der seine Tochter wohlausgestattet zur Ehe übergibt', attested by various lexicographers (see PW *ad loc*., and EWAia III p. 116, from which I take the glosses quoted above). However, we have no other arguments in favour of this tentative etymology. Moreover, I find it somewhat odd that such an epithet would be used in the plural, implying the existence of multiple demonesses, each one having three daughters. We could also consider heavier emendations: e.g. to **trikakudas*, 'three-headed, three-humped' (with metathesis of the vowel colour?); cf. ŚS 5.23.9, *triśīrṣā́ṇaṃ trikakúdaṃ krímiṃ sārā́ṅgam árjunam | śr̥ṇā́my asya pr̥ṣṭír ápi vr̥ścāmi yác chíraḥ* ||, "The three-headed, the three-humped (*-kakúd*), the variegated, the whitish worm—I crush the ribs of it; I hew at what is its head" (Whitney). However, this emendation would yield an irregular cadence. This might not be a problem, as pāda **d** does not end the hemistich. However, the metre seems unusually regular in our stanza (also in pāda **a** and **c**), which makes such a conjecture less attractive. At any rate, either solution is speculative. I tentatively accept the Odisha reading, as it might be correct without emendation.

### 17.14.4 (K 17.14.6)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yā vikeśīr unmaditya- | 8# | [ – ∪ – – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | -urarā ghoracakṣavaḥ \| | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | śīrṣāṇ$_i$y anyā anyāsāṃ | 8# | [ – – ∪ – \| – – – × ] |
| d | vitāvantīr ivāsate \| | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| e | sadānvā brahmaṇaspate | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| f | paro bhrūṇāṇ$_i$y arpaya \|\| | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Those [demonesses] who have dishevelled hair, having gone crazy, the Urarās with fearsome glances, they keep kind of *vi-tāv*-ing each other's heads. O Brahmaṇaspati, pierce the Sadānuvās [to drive them] away from [human] embryos.

yā vikeśīr] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yā vi([x]→*s.s.*)keśīr **V122** yā vikeśā **Pa$_c$** • unmadityorarā] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$** unmadityorā **Mā V71** unmadityocarā **JM$_3$** anmadityorarā **Pa$_c$** unmr̥tyoranā **K** • ghoracakṣavaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** ghoracakṣa(*s.s.*→)vaḥ **JM$_3$** ghoraca(kṣavaḥ→)kr̥vaḥ **K** • |][**Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** || **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • śīrṣāṇyanyā

anyāsāṃ] **[Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śīrṣṇāṇyanyā anyāsāṃ **Ja** śīrṣāṇyānyānyāsāṃ (*vs* śīrṣāṇyanyānyāsāṃ BARRET) **K** • vitāvantīr] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vitāvatrīr **V122** • ivāsate |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ivāsate || **Ji$_4$** • sadānvā] **[O]** sadanvā **K** • brahmaṇaspateparo] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** brahmaṇaspate[.]ro **V71** brahmaṇaspa **Pa$_c$** vrahmaṇaspatepado **K** • bhrūṇānyarpaya] **K** bhrūṇānyarpaẏa **[Ja] V122** bhr̥ṇānyarpaẏa **Mā** bhr̥ṇāṃnyarpaẏa **V71 JM$_3$** bhrūṇāṃnyarpakmaṣaṃẏa **Ji$_4$** rpaẏa **Pa$_c$** (illegible) **[Ma]** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā]** ||$^3$ **V122 Ji$_4$ V71 JM$_3$** Z 6 Z **K**

**a**. The word *vikeśī-*, 'with dishevelled hair', is typically used to characterise both mourning and wailing women, as well as sorceress or demonesses. For a survey of its uses see my comment on PS 17.22.9 below.

This is the only Vedic attestation of the absolutive *unmaditya*. The lexeme *un-mad-*, however, is well attested in the AV, although mostly in rather specific texts, such as ŚS 6.111, a short hymn to cure insanity, PS 5.17, against possession by a demon, and in ŚS 6.130.4, a spell to make a man fall crazily in love.

I dissolve the sandhi between pādas **ab** as *unmaditya_urarā*, taking the absolutive as ending in *-ya* with short final *a*, as is the norm in the AV (see WG §993a, p. 357).

**b**. The word *urarā-* is obscure. One wonders whether it could belong to the same family as the Uruṇḍā (PS 17.12.1c) and the Urukī (PS 17.12.2b), or whether it could be connected to *úras-*, 'breast', and thus indicate a demoness characterised by large breasts or somehow dangerous to women's breasts.

On *ghoracakṣu-*, see my comment on "*bhīmacakṣo*" in PS 17.14.1 above.

**cd**. A proper understanding of these pādas depends on the intepretation of *vitāvantīr*. This must certainly be a pres. ptc. from a verbal lexeme *vi-tāv-*. An overview of the discussion of this alleged lexeme can be found in GRIFFITHS (in prep.);[102] I shall summarise the main points. HOFFMANN dedicated a short article (1963: 94f=1975: 158f.) to the form *vitā́vati*, which occurs in two stanzas belonging to the long hymn on Agni Kravyād, which also forms the seventh anuvāka of PS 17 (Sūktas 44-49 ~ ŚS 12.2). Stanza ŚS 12.2.38 (~ PS 17.48.8) reads: *múhur gŕ̥dhyaiḥ prá vadaty ártim mártyo nítya | kravyā́d yā́n agnír antikā́d anuvidvā́n vitā́vati* ||, "A mortal, going down to mishap, speaks forth repeatedly with greedy ones (? *gŕ̥dhya*); whom (pl.) the flesh-eating Agni, from near by, after-knowing, follows (? *vi-tāv*)" (Whitney). The same refrain is found in ŚS 12.2.52 (~ PS 17.48.10ab, 9cd[103]), *préva pipatiṣati mánasā múhur ā́ vartate púnaḥ | kravyā́d yā́n agnír antikā́d anuvidvā́n vitā́vati* ||, "He desires, as it were, to fly forth with his mind; repeatedly he returns again—they whom the flesh-eating Agni, from near by, after-knowing follows" (Whitney). Whitney's translation was tentative, and Hoffmann tried to do away with the problem of assuming a verbal lexeme *vi-tāv-* by interpreting *vitā́vati* as a locative of the adj. *tā́vant-*, reinforced by the preverb *ví-*, in the meaning "in noch so großer Entfernung" (clearly in opposition to *antikā́d*). Mayrhofer (EWAia I p. 645) accepted this interpretation rejecting the idea of a root *tāv*.

However, these authors did not consider further PS attestations of related forms, which can hardly be explained without positing a verbal lexeme *vi-tāv-*: namely, our stanza, in which the form *vitāvantīr* cannot but be regarded as the nom. pf. f. of a pres. ptc. of such a lexeme, as well as PS 10.1.5 (also belonging to a hymn against the Sadānuvās), edited by GRIFFITHS (ibid.) as **tasyātta putrān bhrātr̥̄ṃś ca tasya goṣṭhaṃ vitāvata | yaś ca sato nāstivākī yaś cāsāv ahavirgr̥haḥ | durṇāmnīs tatra gachata tatra sarvāḥ paretana* ||, "Eat his sons and his brothers, *vi-tāv* his cow-pen. Both he who says that what exists, does not, and yonder house of one without oblations: go there, all you ill-named ones, go away there" (Griffiths). Here, *vitāvata* must be a 2pl person imperative (just like *atta*, *gachata*, and *paretana*). As GRIFFITHS (ibid.) rightly points out, "these passages force us to accept a stem *tāv*, but it is difficult to connect this with *tav*$^{i}$ 'to be strong'" (see EWAia I p.

102 I am grateful to Prof. A. Griffiths for sharing with me a draft of his edition of PS 10.1.

103 PS 17.48.9ab, preceding the refrain, reads: *te deveṣv ā vr̥ścante pāpaṃ jīvanti sarvadā* |.

638f.).

From these few occurrences, it is just as difficult to uncover the semantics of this root. It is something that Agni Kravyād (on which see my comment on PS 17.21.1) does to a mortal who commits sin; it is something demons can do to someone's cow pen; it is something demonesses can do to each other's heads when they go crazy. All we can tell is that it is most likely something negative. Perhaps interesting is the fact that *vi-tāv-* occurs twice next to a form of the root *ad-*: next to the epithet *kravyā́d* in the refrain from the Agni Kravyād hymn, and next to the imperative *atta* in PS 10.1.5. Given this uncertainty, I refrain from translating.

It seems more attractive to take the 3pl person *āsata* as an auxiliary constructed with the pres. ptc. *vitāvantīr* and expressing continuous action, rather than taking the verb as literally meaning "they are seated".

**ef**. Pāda **e** appears to be octosyllabic without the need to restore a syllable in the word Sadān(u)vā, which must then be read as three syllables.

The word *bhrūṇá-*, 'embryo', next to a form of the verb $^{2}$*ar-* and an invocation to Brahmaṇaspati is also found in the only Rgvedic hymn against the Sadānuvās. RV 10.155.2 reads *cattó itáś cattā́mútaḥ sárvā bhrūṇā́ny ārúṣī | arāyyàm brahmaṇas pate tī́kṣṇaśṛṇgodṛ́ṣánn ihi* ||, "She is banished from here, banished from yonder, having assailed all fetuses. Go at the demoness, o sharp-horned Brahmaṇaspati, and gore her" (J-B).

Note that in the stanza just quoted, Brahmaṇaspati fights the Sadānuvās with a sharp horn (on this, see my comment on 17.12.5d). This sheds some light on what action is implied by the causative *arpaya* (from $^{2}$*ar-*), 'strike, pierce'. On the semantics of the caus. stem *arpaya-* in general, see my comment on PS 17.13.1b above, in which I show that it frequently involves hitting something with a sharp weapon or tool. The collocation *bhrūṇa-* $^{2}$*ar-* in particular is also found in PS 3.16.4, *nābhūd ahir bhrūṇam ārad ahir adrim arasāvadhīt* |, "The serpent did not show up, [nor] did it pierce the embryo. The serpent wounded a stone with powerless [venom]" (my transl.). This is a typical AV spell that aims at preventing (or repairing the consequences of) an unwanted event by stating that it did not happen or that the victim was someone/something else (here, for instance, a stone, not the embryo). The piercing referred to here must obviously involve the serpent's teeth, another pointy object. One last occurrence is the difficult PS 2.85.1; see Zehnder's discussion *ad loc*. The frequency of this collocation suggests that it is a fixed expression, perhaps even a technical term for causing an abortion by means of a pointy tool. It is perhaps not by chance that in RV 10.155.2 above, Bṛhaspati is portrayed as sharp-horned, as the intention might be to make the Sadānuvā suffer the same kind of pain she inflicts (*ārúṣī*, $^{2}$*ar-*) on her victims. This must be the same logic behind our stanza, in which the object of *arpaya* is not the embyros (*bhrūṇāni*, acc. pl. n. governed by *paras*) but the Sadānuvās (acc. pl. f.) of pāda **e**.

**17.14.5 (K 17.14.7)**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yāsāṃ gandho nānārūpaḥ | 8# | [ – – – – \| – – – × ] |
| b | paryaiti puruṣaṃ pathi \| | 8 | [ – – ∪ ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | tā agniḥ sahatām ito | 8 | [ – – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | jātavedāḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

[They] whose varied smell surrounds a man down the path—let Agni Jātavedas vanquish them from here, the Sadānuvās.

nānārūpaḥ] **[[Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā] JM$_3$ [Ma]** nā[. .]paḥ | **V71** nānārūpaḥ **K** • paryaiti] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** paryai[.] **V71** paraitu **K** • pathi] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$**

paryati[.] **Ji$_4$** paryeti **Pa$_c$** prati **K** • |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** || **Ji$_4$** • tā agniḥ] **[O]** tāgnis **K** • jātavedāḥ sadānvāḥ] **[O]** jātavedās sadānvā **K** • ||] **[O]** | stāv ito nāśayāmasi Z 7 Z **K**

**ab**. As regards the smell of demons and demonesses, compare the epithet *pāpagandhāḥ* in PS 17.13.2a and *alābugandhīn* in PS 17.12.7c above.

I wonder if the path intended is that of a man on his way to be born. Compare the next stanza, which mentions a dead person (*puruṣa*) burning on a pyre. It is possible that these two stanzas form a pair concerning the first and last moments of life.

**d**. Scholars generally agree in considering Agni's epithet *jā́tavedas*- as a bahuvrīhi, but differ in their interpretation of the two members of the compound along the following lines: *jātá*- can either be an adjective meaning 'born' or 'innate', or a substantive meaning 'creature', 'offspring', while *védas*- can mean 'knowledge' (if derived from *vid*- 'to know') or, more likely, 'possession' (if from *vid*- 'to find'). Therefore the following translations have been proposed: "knower of the creatures/generations/of (all) beings" (Keith, Macdonell, Böhtlingk, Eggeling, etc.), "finder of creatures" (Shende), "having whatever is born as property" (Whitney, Haug), "having innate wisdom/wise at birth" (Bloomfield, etc.).[104] In her dedicated monograph (1981: 353), Findly argues for the meaning "'whose possessions are the creatures', 'in whose possession are the creature' or more colloquially, the fire 'in charge of the creatures'", with particular reference to Agni Jātavedas' functions of 1) granting unbroken ritual presence over generations of Aryan worshippers; 2) granting the continuity of the generations of Aryan families via offspring; 3) caring for and regulating the relationship with the ancestors (*pitṛ́*-s), i.e. granting the continuity of the lineage in the afterlife.

Whatever the original meaning of the compound, Eggeling (1885=ŚB part II p. xxxi) was right in pointing out that "at the time of Yaśka—who (7, 19) proposes five different derivations for the term […]—the real meaning of the compound was unknown; and even at the time of the hymns, the epithet seems to have been understood in different ways." In fact, Vedic poets and ritualists seem to deliberately play with different meanings. Some text explicitly connect it with the root *vid*-, 'to know' (e.g. RV 6.15.13[105] and 10.15.13[106]); other times the epithet is connected with the root *vid*-, 'to find' (e.g. in AB 3.36.1–2).[107] Thus, regardless of the original meaning, the epithet was interpreted in various ways early on.

However, what is relevant for us is that the functions of this form of Agni were rather well defined, and have been correctly described by Findly (1981) as outlined above. The one that is most relevant for our stanza is the second function, which Findly describes as that of "the keeper of the family" (p. 360ff.). Findly refers to a variety of stanzas in which the intimacy of Agni Jātavedas with the domestic sphere is stressed in stanzas such as RV 10.110.1ab, *sámiddho adyá mánuṣo*

104For a survey, see Findly 1981: 349f with bibliography.

105RV 6.15.13, *agnír hótā gṛhápatiḥ sá rā́jā víśvā veda jánimā jātávedāḥ | devā́nām utá yó mártyānāṃ yájiṣṭhaḥ sá prá yajatām ṛtā́vā* ||, "Agni is the Hotar, the houselord; he is the king. He knows all the creatures, as Jātavedas. He who is of gods and of mortals the best sacrificer, let him, the truthful one, set the sacrifice in motion" (J-B).

106RV 10.15.13, *yé cehá pitáro yé ca néhá yā́ṃś ca vidmá yā́ṁ̃ u ca ná pravidmá | tváṃ vettha yáti té jātavedaḥ svadhā́bhir yajñáṃ súkṛtaṃ juṣasva* ||, "Both the forefathers who are here and those who are not here, both those whom we know and those whom we do not know, *you* know how many they are, o Jātavedas. Through your own powers [/at *svadhā*-calls], enjoy the well-performed sacrifice" (J-B).

107AB 3.36.1–2: *jātavedasyaṃ śaṃsati, prajāpatiḥ prajā āsṛjata, tāḥ sṛṣṭāḥ parācya evāyan, na vyāvartanta, ta agninā paryagachat, tā agnim upāvartanta, tam evādyāpy upāvṛttāḥ, so 'bravīj: jātā vai prajā anenāvidam iti, yad abravīj, jātā vai prajā anenāvidam iti, taj jātavedasyam abʰavat, taj jātavedaso jātavedastvaṃ*, "He recites (a hymn) to Jātavedas; Prajāpati created offspring; they created went away and returned not. Them he surrounded with Agni; they came up to Agni; to him to-day even they come up. He said 'Offspring born by him I have found'. In that he said 'Offspring born by him I have found', that became (the hymn) to Jātavedas; that is why Jātavedas has his name" (Keith).

*duroṇé devó devắn yajasi jātavedaḥ* |, "Kindled today in the dwelling of Manu, as god you sacrifice to the gods, o Jātavedas" (J-B); RV 6.12.4b ~ 7.12.2b, *agní ṣṭave dáma ắ jātávedāḥ* |, "Agni is praised in the house as Jātavedas" (my transl.); and others in which he is called *dámūnas*- and *dámya*-, or described as protector of the descendants of Manu and their offspring (cf. RV 10.4.7, *bráhma ca te jātavedo námaś ceyáṃ ca gī́ḥ sádam íd várdhanī bhūt | rákṣā ṇo agne tánayāni tokắ rákṣotá nas tanvò áprayuchan* ||, "Sacred formulation and homage and this song here shall always be strengthening for you, o Jātavedas. Guard our progeny and posterity, o Agni, and guard our own bodies unremittingly" (J-B)), who in turn kindle him generation after generation (*jánmañ-janman níhito jātávedāḥ*, e.g. RV 3.1.20–21). Therefore it seems absolutely plausible that Agni Jātavedas is invoked in our stanza against the offspring-threatening Sadānuvās precisely because he is in charge of granting the continuity of the pious family through progeny who in turn will attend to him.

Moreover, Findly points out (p. 367) that Jātavedas is considered the 'protector of (our) bodies' (cf. RV 5.4.9d, 6.48.2d, 10.4.7d), and—probably insofar as he is in charge of granting the continuity of the lineage of the Aryan worshippers—also a protector against sorcerers or demons (ibid. p. 364 and 369ff.). In particular, in RV 10.87 ~ ŚS 8.3 ~ PS 16.6–8, a hymn dedicated to Agni in his function as a demon-slayer, Agni is explicitly called Jātavedas. In the stanzas of this hymn shared by RV, the inimical entities are sorcerers (*yatudhắna*-).[108] However, in a stanza from the same hymn but only found in AV, Agni Jātavedas is invoked against the demons called *kimīdíns*.[109]

In the AV, Agni Jātavedas is also invoked against *yatudhắnas* in ŚS 1.7.2, 5, 6 (~ PS 4.4.2, 5, 6; stanza 2 also mentions *kimīdíns*)[110] and *piśācás*[111] in ŚS 5.29.10 (~ PS 12.19.2ab, 12.18.9cd) and

108RV 10.87.2 (~ ŚS 8.3.2 ~ PS 16.6.2), *áyodaṃṣṭro arcíṣā yātudhắnān úpa spṛśa jātavedaḥ sámiddhaḥ | ắ jihváyā mū́radevān rabhasva kravyắdo vṛktvy ápi dhatsvāsán* ||, "Possessing jaws of metal, (first) brush the sorcerers with your flame, o Jātavedas, when fully kindled. (Then) with your tongue seize hold of those who have fools for gods. Having wrenched the flesh-eaters, stick them in your mouth" (J-B); RV 10.87.5 (~ ŚS 8.3.4 ~ PS 16.6.4), *ágne tvácaṃ yātudhắnasya bhindhi hiṃsrā́śánir hárasā hantv enam | prá párvāṇi jātavedaḥ śṛṇīhi kravyắt kraviṣṇúr ví cinotu vṛkṇám* ||, "Agni, split the skin of the sorcerer. Let the murderous (arrow-)point smite him with its blaze. Cleave his joints, Jātavedas. When he is hewn apart, let the flesh-eater, craving his bloody flesh, open him up" (J-B); RV 10.87.6 (~ ŚS 8.3.5 ~ PS 16.6.6) *yátredắnīm páśyasi jātavedas tíṣṭhantam agna utá vā cárantam | yád vāntárikṣe pathíbhiḥ pátantaṃ tám ástā vidhya śárvā śíśānaḥ* ||, "When now you see him standing still or moving about, o Agni Jātavedas, or flying along the paths in the midspace, as archer pierce him with your missile, sharpening it" (J-B); RV 10.87.7 (~ ŚS 8.3.7 ~ PS 16.6.7), *utắlabdhaṃ spṛṇuhi jātaveda ālebhānắd ṛṣṭíbhir yātudhắnāt | ágne pū́rvo ní jahi śóśucāna āmắdaḥ kṣvíṅkās tám adantv énīḥ* ||, "And, Jātavedas, with your spears recover what was seized, from the sorcerer who seized it. Constantly blazing in front, o Agni, smite him down. Let the mottled vultures that eat raw meat eat him" (J-B); RV 10.87.11 (~ ŚS 8.3.11 ~ PS 16.7.1) *trír yātudhắnaḥ prásitiṃ ta etv ṛtáṃ yó agne ánṛtena hánti | tám arcíṣā sphūrjáyañ jātavedaḥ samakṣám enaṃ gṛṇaté ní vṝndhi* ||, "Three times let the sorcerer who smites truth with untruth meet your onslaught, o Agni. Sizzling him with your flame, o Jātavedas, wrench him down for the singer before his very eyes."

109ŚS 8.3.25 (~ PS 16.8.6), *yé te śṛ́ṅge ajáre jātavedas tigmáhetī bráhmasaṃśite | tā́bhyāṃ durhā́rdam abhidā́santaṃ kimīdínaṃ | pratyáñcam arcíṣā jātavedo ví nikṣva* ||, "Your two horns, unaging, oh Jātavedas, sharp weapons, whetted by *bráhman*—with them, with [your] flame, oh Jātavedas, pierce (*vi-nikṣ*-?) the attacking ill-intentioned one, the advancing *kimīdín*" (my transl.).

110ŚS 1.7.2, 5, 6 (~ PS 4.4.2, 5 ,6), *ā́jyasya parameṣṭhin jā́tavedas tánūvaśin | ágne taulásya prā́śāna yātudhắnān ví lāpaya* || 2 || […] *páśyāma te vīryàṃ jātavedaḥ prá ṇo brūhi yātudhắnān nṛcakṣaḥ | tváyā sárve páritaptāḥ purástāt tá ắ yantu prabruvāṇắ úpedám* ||5|| *ắ rabhasva jātavedo 'smā́kārthāya jajñiṣe | dūtó no agne bhūtvā́ yātudhắnān ví lāpaya* || 6 ||, "O most exalted one, Jātavedas, self-controller, Agni, partake of the sacrificial butter, of the sesame oil (?), make the sorcerer cry out. […] We would fain see thy heroism, O Jātavedas; proclaim to us the sorcerers, O men-watcher; let them all, burnt about by thee in front, come to this place, proclaiming themselves. Take hold, O Jātavedas; thou wast born for our purpose; becoming our messenger, O Agni, make the sorcerers cry out" (Whitney).

111ŚS 5.29.10 (~ PS 12.19.2ab, 12.18.9cd), *kravyắdam agne rudhiráṃ piśācáṃ manohánaṃ jahi jātavedaḥ | tám índro vājī́ vájreṇa hantu chináttu sómaḥ śíro asya dhṛṣṇúḥ* ||, "The flesh-eating, bloody, mind-slaying *piśācá* do thou slay, O Agni, Jātavedas; let the vigorous Indra slay him with the thunderbolt; let bold Soma cut [off] his head" (Whitney); PS 5.40.3, *brahmaṇokhām adhi dadhāmy agnau bhūmyāṃ tvā bhūmim adhi dhārayāmi* |

PS 5.40.3.

In conclusion, the fact that Agni Jātavedas protects the continuity of the lineage, and the fact that he is also frequently invoked for protection against demons, explain why he is invoked in our line against the demons that precisely threaten the offspring grant continuity to the desired lineage.

**17.14.6 (K 17.14.5)** **e**: ~ PS 17.12.4f, 14.2e, 14.3e, 14.8e, 15.7e

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yāḥ puruṣaṃ dahyamānaṃ | 8# | [ – ∪ ∪ – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | śūnyam agnau jighatsanti \| | 8# | [ – – – – \| ∪ – – × ] |
| c | bhaṇvā $^{+}$niḫkuṣṭhā nāmāsi | 8# | [ – – – – \| – – – × ] |
| d | muṣṭāgreṇa sadān$_{u}$vās | 8 | [ – – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| e | tā ito nāśayāmasi \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Those [demonesses] who wish to devour an absent (i.e. dead) man who is being burned in a fire—you are Bhaṇvā Niḫkuṣṭhā by name!—with the top of the *muṣṭa* (?) we make them, the Sadānuvās, disappear from here!

N.B. Pāda **e** and part of pāda **d** are missing in **Pa$_{c}$**.

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yāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ [Mā]** yā **V71 JM$_{3}$** yaḫ **K** • śūnyam] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ JM$_{3}$** sūnyam **Mā V71** • jighatsanti |] **[Ma] [Ja]** [.]ghatsanti | **V122** gachanti || **Ji$_{4}$** jighatsa[x]nti | **Pa$_{c}$** jighatsaṃti | **Mā V71** jighatsaṃnti | **JM$_{3}$** jighatsvanti | **K** • bhaṇvā $^{+}$niḫkuṣṭhā] bhaṇvā niṣkuṣṭā **[Ma] [Ja] V71 JM$_{3}$** bhaṇvā nikr̥ṣṭā **V122** bhaṇvā ṣkaṣṭā **Ji$_{4}$** bhaṇvā nipkuṣṭā **Mā** bhaṇḍā naḫ̲kuṣṭa(/ṣṭha) **K** • nāmāsi] nāmasi $^{|}$ sa **Ja** nāmāsa **Ma V122 Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$ Mā V71 JM$_{3}$** nāmāmsi **K** • sadānvās] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** sadā(//)[.](*s* ***Pa$_{c}$*** *e*) **Pa$_{c}$** • tā ito nāśayāmasi] tā ito nāśayāmasi **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ [Mā] JM$_{3}$** tā īto nāśayāmasi **V71** *om*. **Pa$_{c}$** tāyito nāśayāmasi **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ [Mā] JM$_{3}$** | **V71** *om*. **Pa$_{c}$** Z 5 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *niṣkuṣṭā* in pāda **c**.

This stanza seems to deal with demonesses threatening the body of a dead person (*puruṣa*) that is being burned on a pyre. If we are correct in interpreting the preceding stanza as regarding a person (*puruṣa*) on his path to being born, the two stanzas would appear to form a pair concerning the beginning and the end of a person's life.

**b**. The adj. *śūnya-*, 'empty', is not attested in the RV or elsewhere in the AV, which only feature the noun *śū́na-*, 'emptiness, absence'. Only the compound *śūnyaiṣī́-* is attested in ŚS 14.2.19 (~ PS 18.8.10), belonging to the wedding hymn: *út tiṣṭhetáḥ kím ichántīdám ā́gā aháṃ tveḍe abhibhū́ḥ svā́d gr̥hā́t | śūnyaiṣī́ nirr̥te yā́jagánthót tiṣṭhārāte prá pata méhá raṃsthāḥ* ||, "Stand up from here; desiring what hast thou (f.) come hither? I [am] thine overcomer, O Iḍā, out of [my] own house; thou that hast come hither, O perdition, seeking the empty—stand up, O niggard; fly forth; rest not here" (Whitney). As Whitney reports in his comment, this stanza is an exorcism, meant to accompany, "according to KauśS 77.16, a complete sprinkling of her new home by the bride". This certainly makes it relevant to our investigation into demons who endanger the lives of women and their children. Now, it is the person (*puruṣa*) being burned in a fire (certainly a pyre) that is is qualified as *śūnya*, 'empty', or rather 'absent' in our stanza: this must indicate the dead body, qualified as 'empty' in the sense of 'devoid of life', or as 'absent' in the sense of 'departed'. It is

*agniḥ pacan rakṣatv odanam imaṃ rakṣaḥpiśācān nudatāṃ jātavedāḥ* ||, "With (this) formula I put the pot on the fire: onto the Earth I bring you, earth (= clay, the pot). Let the cooking Agni protect this gruel, may Jātavedas push away demons and Piśācas" (Lubotsky).

certainly relevant that in the exorcism belonging to the wedding hymn quoted above, it is Nirṛti, the personification of dissolution and death, who is qualified as *śūnyaiṣī́-*, 'seeking the empty'. This epithet must mean 'seeking the empty [body of a dead person]', 'seeking the absent (i.e. the dead)'.

The desiderative of the root *ghas-* (on which see Heenen 2006: 127f.) is also used in PS 7.11.6 (For safe pregnancy: with bdellium), *yas tvā svapnena tamasā mohayitvā nipadyate | prajāṃ yas te jighatsati tam [ito nāśayāmasi]* ||, "The one that confounds you with sleep and darkness, and lies down with you, that wants to devour your offspring: that one [we cause to vanish from here]" (Griffiths). From the same stem, compare the epithet *jighatsú-*, 'desirous of devouring', found in a list of Sadānuvā epithets at ŚS 2.14.1 ~ PS 2.4.1 (Against Sadānuvās).

**c**. I take this pāda as a syntactically independent aside. However, given that pāda **b**, rather unusually, features a metrically irregular cadence at the end of the hemistich, I wonder if the original reading of pādas **ab** was *yā … jighatsati*, "The [demoness] who wishes to devour …", which would naturally continue with pāda **c** as its main clause: "You are …".

The reading of the second word in this pāda is uncertain: the **O** mss. point to *niṣkuṣṭā*, while **K** has *naẖkuṣṭa*(/*ṣṭha*) (note that *ṣṭa* and *ṣṭha* are not distinguished in **K**). The lexeme *niṣ-kuṣ-*, 'to tear, pull out, extract, husk, shell', is only attested in late sources, and its verbal adjective is *niṣkuṣita-*. Thus, we might try to emend to *⁺niḥkuṣṭhā*. The dictionaries (see esp. KEWA I p. 246f.) record several lexemes homophonous with *kuṣṭha-*: 1) *kuṣṭha-*, n., 'leprosy' (SuśrS+); 2) *kúṣṭha-*, m., a curative herb, possibly from the Saussurea genus, used to treat *takmán* (AV, KauśS, SuśrS); 3) *kúṣṭha-*, m., 'the prominent part of anything, mouth of a basket' (Br+), probably related to *kúṣṭhikā-* f., 'dewclaw'; 4) *kúṣṭha-*, m., a fraction of one twelfth, also derived from *kúṣṭhikā-*; 5) *kúṣṭha-*, m., with specific reference to VS 25.6[112] *kúṣṭhābhyām*, 'the two cavities of the loins' (N.B.: of the sacrificial horse). This latter meaning is based on the commentary interpretation, but it is considered "ganz unsicher" by Mayrhofer (KEWA ibid.), who instead also connects this word with *kúṣṭhikā-*, 'dewclaw'. Nevertheless, in the VS list, the term appears in a list after hips, thighs, groins and buttocks (see footnote 112), so there is a good chance that it would refer to the same area of the body. If the word is related to *kúṣṭhikā-*, indicating some kind of prominent part, I wonder if the two *kuṣṭhas* intended here are the two prominent parts of the hip bone, the ilia, which are clearly visible both in the body of a horse and in that of a human. Thus, perhaps, *niḥ-kuṣṭhā-*, 'she who has no hip bones', would perhaps not be too odd an epithet for a demoness who harms the bodies of women in their most intimate parts.

Note that PS 6.8.8d (belonging to a hymn against Sadānuvās) mentions a demoness *kuṣṭhī*, which Griffiths (2009: 108) tentatively interprets as a "noxious female spirit of skin-disease".

**d**. The mss. unanimously preserve *muṣṭāgreṇa*, which must be the instrumental of a compound *muṣṭa-agra-*, of which the first member is obscure.[113] I refrain from emending[114] in the remote possibility that the tip of a particular plant is intended. Cf. e.g. *kuśāgra-*, n., 'the sharp point of the Kuśa grass' (Mbh), used in various Tantric purification rituals.[115] We may perhaps notice the assonance between …*kuṣṭā*/*kuṣṭhā*… in pāda **c**, and *muṣṭā*... in pāda **d**.

112This passage belongs to a section (VS 25.1–9) on the Aśvamedha, in which each body part of the sacrificed horse is assigned to deities or deified items (Griffith 1899: 224): VS 25.6.a: *marútām̐ skándhā víśveṣāṃ devā́nāṃ prathamā́ kī́kasā rudrā́ṇāṃ dvitī́yādityā́nāṃ tr̥tī́yā vāyóḥ púccham agnī́ṣómayor bhā́sadau krúñcau śróṇibhyām índrābr̥haspátī ūrúbhyāṃ mitrā́váruṇāv algā́bhyām ākrámaṇam̐ sthūrā́bhyāṃ bálaṃ kúṣṭhābhyām* |, "The shoulders belong to the Maruts; the first rib-cartilages to the All-Gods; the second to the Rudras; the third to the Ādityas; the tail belongs to Vāyu; the hind-quarters to Agni-Soma. I gratify the two Curlews with the hips; Indra-Br̥haspati with the thighs; Mitra-Varuṇa with the groins; Approach with the buttocks; Strength with the two cavities of the loins" (Griffith).

113It is unlikely to be related to the root *muṣ-*, 'to steal', whose verbal adj. is *muṣitá-* (RV+), although in the classical language we do find the variant *muṣṭa-*. The verbal adj. *muṣitá-* is found as the first member of compounds in the meaning 'bereft of'. Semantically, this seems unsuitable for our line.

114One might wish to emend to **muṣṭy-agreṇa*, 'with the top of the fist', as some kind of threat. Cf. *aṅguly-agrá-*, 'the tip of the finger' (Br+).

115Dr. Nirajan Kafle, personal communication.

**17.14.7 (K 17.14.4)** **d**: ~ PS 17.12.2d, 12.8d, 12.9e, 12.10e, 13.4d, 13.5d, 13.7d, 15.5d, 15.8d, 15.9d, 15.10d ~ ŚS 2.14.1d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yā ucitā āvapane | 8# | [ – ∪ ∪ – \| – ∪ ∪ × ] |
| b | śuṣkaṃ khādanti $^{+}$maṣmasaṃ | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | vaḍavā gardabhīr iva \| | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | nāśayāmaḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

The [demonesses] who are accustomed to chewing dried, ground [fodder] in a trough like mares [and] she-donkeys—we make the Sadānuvās disappear!

yā ucitā āvapane] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā]** yā uvitā āvapane **Ji$_4$** yā ucitā āva[x]pane **Pa$_c$** yā ucitā āpavane **JM$_3$** yā ūcitā ā[.]pane **V71** yāducittāvapane **K** • śuṣkaṃ] **[O]** śuṣka **K** • maṣmasaṃ][116] **JM$_3$ [Ma]? [Ja]? V122** muṣasaṃ **Ji$_4$** [x]maṣ[.]ṃ **Pa$_c$** ma(~~ṣma~~)ṣmasaṃ **V71** vaṣmuṣāṃ **K** • vaḍavā] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] JM$_3$** vaṛavā **V71 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** vaṛāvā **V122** vaḷavā (=Bhatt. *vs*. vaḷardhā Barret) **K**[117] • gardabhīr iva] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā]** gardabhīva **Ji$_4$** gardibhīr iva **V71 JM$_3$** • \|] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** ṃ **JM$_3$**[118] \|\| **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ] nāśaẏāmaḥ sadānvāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** nāśaẏāma sadānvāḥ **Pa$_c$** nāśayāmas sadanvā **K** • \|\|] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** \| **V71 JM$_3$** Z 4 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *maṣmasaṃ* with a dental sibilant in pāda **b**.

A similar animal metaphor is found in the next stanza, in which the demonesses are likened to cows, accustomed (*ucita*-) to licking. There the demonesses/cows are explicitly said to lick the bodies of women. Here, most likely, the trough (*āvapanam*) is similarly a metaphor for the uterus or the vagina.

**a**. On *āvápana*-, n. 'vessel, jar', compare the unique feminine *āvápanīḥ* at ŚS 12.1.61 ~ PS 17.6.10, belonging to the Earth hymn, in which the earth is called *āvápanīr jānānām*, 'receptacle, manger of people'.

**b**. The word *maṣmaṣa*- is known from its use in a construction with *kṛ*- in the meaning 'to grind to powder' (KEWA II p. 604, EWAia II p. 335; on similar "'*wiederholende*' *Onomatopoetika*", see Hoffmann 1952 = 1975 p. 35f.). Zehnder (1993: 54) mentions the following variants: *maṣmaṣā́-kṛ*- in ŚS, KS, TĀ; *masmasā́-kṛ*- in TS, VS, ŚB; and *mṛśmṛśā-kṛ*- in MS. The PS has *mṛśmaśā-karaṃ* (**O**) vs. *mṛsmisāgaraṃ* (**K**) at 1.29.3.

The AV occurrences are the following: ŚS 5.23.8 (against worms) (ab ~ PS 7.2.9, also against worms; cd ~ PS 1.29.3cd, To the Apsaras), *ható yévāṣaḥ krímīṇāṃ ható nadanimótá* \| *sárvān ní maṣmaṣā́karaṃ dṛṣádā khálvāṁ̀ iva* \|\|, "Slain is the *yévāṣa* of the worms, slain also the *nadanimán*; I have put them all down, smash (*maṣmaṣā́*)! like *khálva*-grains with a millstone" (Whitney). The PS parallel at 1.29.3 reads *yāḥ kulyā yā vanyā yā u conmādayiṣṇavaḥ* \| *sarvās tā mṛśmaśākaraṃ* (**K** *mṛsmisāgaram*) *dṛṣadā khalvāṁ̀ iva* \|\|, "Welche zu den Bächen, welche zum Wald gerhören und auch welche aufregen wollen, alle diese habe ich zermalmt, wie *khalva*-Körner mit dem Mühlstein" (Zehnder).

Our mss. preserve *ṣ*-*s* in **O**, *ṣ*-*ṣ* in **K**. As all the variants mentioned by Zehnder feature the same sibilant twice, and since the ŚS has *ṣ*-*ṣ*, I reject Bhattacharya's choice of writing *maṣmasaṃ*, and write $^{+}$*maṣmaṣaṃ* instead.

**c**. The word *vaḍavá* appears in many variants: *vaḍabá*, *baḍavá*, *baḍabá*, etc. (see PW s.v. *vaḍava* and EWAia II p. 494).

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116Bhattacharya points out that the sequence *maṣmasaṃ* in **Ma** and **Ja** is half cut off.

117**K** employs a special sign for *ḷa* here. See Zehnder 1999: 21 and Griffiths 2009: lxix §(U).

118What looks like a minuscule *ṃ* in **JM$_3$** (*ivaṃ*!), if it is not an inserted nasal favoured by the following *n*-, could perhaps be a hastily written *daṇḍa*.

**17.14.8** **e**: ~ PS 17.12.4f, 14.2e, 14.3e, 14.6e, 15.7e

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | garbhān ekāḥ *pratimarśaṃ | 8# | [ – – – – \| ∪ ∪ – × ] |
| b | yā adanti sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \| | 8 | [ – ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | ucitās tan$_{u}$vaṃ striyā | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | gāva ārehiṇīr iva | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| e | tā ito nāśayāmasi \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Those particular Sadānuvās who eat the embryos, groping for [them], accustomed to licking the body of a woman like cows—them we make disappear from here!

ekāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ekaḥ **K** • *pratimarśaṃ] pratimorśaṃ **[Ma]** pratimorṣaṃ **Ja Ji$_4$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** pratimośaḥ **Pa$_c$ Nā** pratimṛśaṃ **K** • yā adanti] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ V71 JM$_3$** yā ādanti **Mā** yātādranti **Pa$_c$** vyāvarti **K** • sadānvāḥ] **[O]** sadānvā **K** • \|] **K [Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** \|\| **V122 Ji$_4$** • ucitās] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ucittās **V122** uritās **Ji$_4$** ucitas **K** • tanvaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** tandha **V71** tanvo **K** • striyā] **K** striẏā **[O]** • gāva] gāvā **O** gava **K** • ārehiṇīr iva] **[Ma] [Ja] V122** āreha[x]ṇīr iva **Pa$_c$** ārohiṇī[x]r iva **Ji$_4$** ārohaṇīr iva **Mā V71 JM$_3$** ārohiṇer ivā **K** • tā ito] **[O]** tā yito **K** • nāśayāmasi \|\|] nāśaẏāmasi \|\| **[O]** nāśayāmasi Z 8 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *prati morśaṃ (← mṛśaṃ)* in pāda **a**, *gāva* in pāda **b**.

**a**. The lexemes *prati-mṛś-* and *pra-mṛś-* are frequently used in the Sadānuvā hymns to describe how these demonesses attack embryos, and as such they appear frequently with the word *gárbha-* as object: e.g., ŚS 8.6.18 (~ PS 16.80.9), belonging to the familiar hymn for the protection of pregnant women, *yás te gárbhaṃ pratimṛśā́j jātáṃ vā māráyāti te | piṅgás tám ugrádhanvā kṛṇótu hṛdayāvídham* \|\|, "Whoever shall handle the embryo, or shall make it born dead—let the brown one, with formidable bow, make him pierced to the heart" (Whitney). In the same hymn, at ŚS 8.6.6a (~ PS 16.79.6), the child-threatening demonesses are called *pramṛśántaṃ*. Cf. also PS 5.9.7cd (Against Sadānuvās), *yā garbhān pramṛśanti sarvāḥ pāpīr anīnaśam* \|\|, "[Those] who lay hold of the embryos, all the bad ones have I destroyed" (Lubotsky). Griffiths's (2009: 173) has collected evidence of these expressions in his comment on PS 6.14.3, and has proposed the translation 'to grope for (an embryo)'.

I emend to the adverbial *-am* gerund **pratimarśam* (on this formation, see WG §995 p. 359). This form is not attested elsewhere.

**cd**. Bhattacharya writes *gāva*, but since the **O** mss. read *gāvā*, while **K** has *gava*, an emendation sign is necessary.

The same demons and demonesses who 'grope for' the embryos (*pra*/*prati-mṛś-*) are also known for licking the intimate parts of women, as we have already seen in PS 17.12.1a. In particular, they make women sterile by licking (simplex *rih-* or *ā-rih*, but also *prati-rih-*: cf. PS 7.19.5) their menstrual blood, which was considered a kind of female semen, just as important for conception as male semen is. On this topic, see Slaje 1995 and the examples collected in Lubotsky's (2002a: 170f.) comment on PS 5.37.2, a stanza belonging to a hymn for the birth of a song, and which may be worth quoting here as an example of this idea: *yady … durṇāmāno vā ṛtviyam asyā *rihanti… ayaṃ tā nāṣṭrā apa hantv agniḥ* \|\|, "If … the demons lick her procreative fluid … let this Agni destroy these perditions" (Lubtosky).

The compound *ārehin-* is a hapax, but we find *lehin-* as the second member of compounds in the later language. As far as the lexeme *ā-rih-* is concerned, it is used only once in RV, in the hymn against miscarriage, so precisely in the same context as we have in our stanza: RV 10.162.4 reads *yás ta ūrū́ viháraty antarā́ dámpatī śáye | yóniṃ yó antár āréḷhi tám itó nāśayāmasi* \|\|, "Who pries apart your thighs, lies between the married couple, who licks within your womb, that one we banish

from here" (J-B).

The same lexeme occurs in the AV, in the compound *āréhaṇa*-, which is used in a similar context as above in PS 7.11.4 (For safe pregnancy: with bdellium): *yas ta* $^{+}$*ūrū ārohaty asṛk te rehaṇāya kam | āmādaḥ kravyādo ripūṃs tān ito nāśayāmasi* ||, "The one that mounts your thighs in order to lick your blood, the treacherous eaters of raw [meat], eaters of bloody flesh: them do we cause to vanish from here" (Griffiths).[119]

**17.14.9**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yāḥ pitr$_{i}$yāt saṃbhavanti- | 8# | [ – – ∪ – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | -indradānāḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | apamityam ivābhṛ̥taṃ | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | punas tā prati dadmasi \|\| | 8 | [ ∪ – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

The Sadānuvās who come into being because of the [guilt] of [our] Fathers as gifts from Indra, them we give back like a debt that has been paid.

yāḥ] **[O]** yāḫ **K** • saṃbhavantīndradānāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** saṃbhavantīndra[.]nāh **V122** saṃbhavantindradānāh **Pa$_c$** sambhavantīndrajānas **K** • sadānvāḥ] **[O]** sadānvā **K** • \|] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** \|\| **Ji$_4$** • apamityam] **[O]** apamṛ̥tyum **K** • ivābhṛ̥taṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ivābhūtaṃ **Pa$_c$** ivāhatuṃ **K** • tā] **[O]** tvā **K** • dadmasi] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** dadhmasi **K Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** da[.]masi **V122** • \|\|] **[O]** Z 9 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *saṃbhavantīndrajā naḥ* in pāda **ab**.

**a**. On *pítrya*- as indicating the Fathers' sin, a guilt inherited from the Fathers, compare for instance ŚS 6.120.2cd ~ PS 16.50.10 (To reach heaven): *dyaúr naḥ pitā́ pítryāc cháṃ bhavāti jāmím ṛ̥tvā́ mā́va patsi lokā́t* ||, "May our father heaven be weal for us from paternal [guilt], let me not fall down from their world" (Whitney).

**b**. The reading of this pāda is uncertain. **K** has *indrajānas*, which Bhattacharya interprets as *indrajā naḥ*; **O** points to *indradānāḥ*. If we follow Bhattacharya, the line must mean, "The Sadānuvās who come into being from the [guilt] of our Fathers (*naḥ pitryāt*, lit. "our [guilt] from the Fathers") and who are born from Indra."

The compound *indra-já*-, 'born from Indra', is actually attested in ŚS 4.3.7 (Against wild beasts and thieves): *yát saṃyámo ná ví yamo ví yamo yán ná saṃyámaḥ | indrajā́ḥ somajā́ ātharvaṇám asi vyāghrajámbhanam* ||, "What thou contractest (*sam-yam*) mayest thou not protract (*vi-yam*); mayest thou protract what thou dost not contract; Indra-born, soma-born art thou, an Atharvan tiger-crusher" (Whitney). However, rather than indicating a demon, here it is the *ātharvaṇá* (possibly a 'descendant of Atharvan') who is characterised as Indra-born. This makes me hesitate to accept Bhattacharya's reading.

A similar puzzling meaning would follow from emending to +*indrajānāḥ*: "The Sadānuvās whose origin is Indra …" (?). Moreover, no such compound, nor similar compounds with *jāná*- as a second member, are attested in Vedic.

Accepting the **O** reading, *indradānāḥ*, poses a new set of problems. First of all, the

119The same compound is used in a different context in ŚS 6.9.3 (~ PS 2.90.4) ("To win a woman's love"): *yā́sāṃ nā́bhir āréhaṇaṃ hṛ̥dí saṃvánananaṃ kṛ̥tám gā́vo ghṛ̥tásya mātáro 'mū́ṃ sáṃ vānayantu me* ||, "They whose navel is a licking, in [whose] heart is made conciliation—let the kine, mothers of ghee, conciliate her yonder to me" (Whitney), "Die Kühe, deren Zusammengerhörigkeit in Ablecken zum Ausdruck kommt, in deren Herz gegenseitige Zuneigung gelegt ist, die Mütter des Ghees, die sollen die N.N. mir zugeneigt machen" (Zehnder). The comm. glosses *āréhaṇaṃ* with *āsvādanīyaṃ*, 'something to be enjoyed by tasting' (Whitney 1905 *ad loc*.), but I think Zehnder's interpretation is more plausible.

compound *indra-dāna-* is not attested. However, *dāná-* does form compounds in Vedic: e.g. *sahásra-dāna-*, 'bestowing a hundred gifts' (RV 3.30.7d, 7.33.12b), *vasu-dā́na-*, 'bestowing wealth' (ŚS 6.82.3a ~ PS 19.17.6a). Secondly, we might interpret this compound in various ways. As a Tatpuruṣa, 1) 'a gift from Indra', 2) 'a gift for Indra'; as a Bahuvrīhi, 3) 'whose gift is Indra', 4) 'who is related to Indra's gift'. Given that pādas **cd** mention returning (*punar prati-dā-*) the demonesses like a debt (*apamitya*) that has been paid (*ā-bhṛ-*), it is perhaps conceivable that the same Sadānuvās are here called 'gifts from Indra' or 'gifts for Indra'. What seems to be intended is that, because of the guilt inherited from the Fathers, Indra has punished the reciter by cursing him to be haunted by the Sadānuvās. Now the reciter speaks humbly or euphemistically of such a curse as a "gift", which he pays back by repelling the Sadānuvās. The reciter is certainly counting on the fact that once a debt is paid, a gift reciprocated, then the transaction will be concluded without any lingering obligations. Thus, he sort of drives the Sadānuvās away with the compelling force of a social norm.

**c**. PW and MW record a compound *apamitya-*, n., 'Schulden', 'debt' with reference to ŚS 6.117.2. However, the edition reads *apamítya*, which Whitney interprets as an absolutive: ŚS 6.117.2 (For relief from guilt or debt), *ihaívá sántaḥ práti dadma enaj jīvā́ jīvébhyo ní harāma enat | apamítya dhānyàṃ yáj jaghásāhám idáṃ tád agne anṛṇó bhavāmi* ||, "Being just here we give it back; living, we pay it in (*ni-hṛ-*) for the living'; what grain I have devoured having borrowed [it], now, O Agni, I become guiltless as to that" (Whitney). As in our stanza, both **O** and **K** preserve the final *-m*, it seems attractive to leave the text as it is, and write *apamityam*, indeed assuming a neuter stem *apamitya-*, 'debt'.

The meaning 'pay' for *bhṛ-* is only attested from Manu and the Epics onwards (PW). I have not found any example of *ā-bhṛ-* meaning 'pay', but it seems that we are forced to accept this meaning, as reading *abhṛtam*, 'unpaid', 'an unpaid person',[120] would make little sense.

**17.14.10**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | āmādinīḥ krūrādinīr | 8# | [ – – ∪ – \| – – ∪ × ] |
| b | anagnigandh$_{i}$yādinīḥ \| | 8 | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | amuṃ parety$_{a}$oddhitaṃ | 8 | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | śavam atta sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \| | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| e | sa vaḥ kevala ācāraḥ | 8# | [ ∪ – – ∪ \| ∪ – – × ] |
| f | kim u śālās$_{u}$v *ichatha \|\| | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

O eaters of raw flesh, O eaters of bloody flesh, O eaters of what does not smell of fire (i.e. is uncooked), O Sadānuvās, having gone away [from here], eat that exposed corpse over there. That alone is your customary conduct, so what do you seek in [our] houses?

N.B. In **Ji$_4$**, pādas **abc** are repeated again after PS 17.15.1c, with some variations.[121] I report these

120This meaning is in Manu 8.231: *gopaḥ kṣīrabhṛto yastu sa duhyāddaśato varām | gosvāmanyanumate bhṛtyaḥ sā syāt pāle'bhṛte bhṛtiḥ*, "A hired cowherd who is paid in milk may, with the consent of the owner, milk the best of ten (cows); this should be the pay for a herdsman who is not paid (in any other way)" (Doniger & Smith 1991: 153). We would then have to translate with "Them we give back like a debt to a person who has not [yet] been paid [back]."

121Note that PS 17.15.1d should start with *kulīnādhena*, but **Ji$_4$** has *kṛ°*, then continues with the repetition *°rādinīr* etc., and then picks up from *°līnādhena*, after the interpolation. Therefore, it is not clear whether we should take the initial *kṛ°* as part of a word *kṛrādinīr*, which would be a variant of *krūrādinīr* in stanza 17.14.10, or as part of a *kṛlīnādhena*, variant of *kulīnādhena*. in 17.15.1. It is possible that both words in **Ji$_4$**'s exemplar read *kṛ*, which was the source of the interpolation (I follow this scenario in my apparatus), but it is also

variants with the label **Ji$_4$(2)**.

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āmādinīḥ krūrādinīr] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$** āmādinīḥ kūrādinīr **Mā JM$_3$** āmādinīḥ kurādinīr **V71** āmādinīḥ charādinīr **Ji$_4$** kṛ̊rādinīr **Ji$_4$(2)** āmādinīś churādinīr **K** • anagnigandhyādinīḥ] **[Ma] V122 Pa$_c$ Ji$_4$(2) [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** anagnigandhyākidinīḥ **Ji$_4$** anagnigandhyādinī **K Ja** • |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** || **Ji$_4$(2)** • amuṃ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** amu **Ji$_4$ Ji$_4$(2)** • paretyoddhitaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Ji$_4$(2) [Mā] V71** parotyoddhitaṃ **Pa$_c$** pacaratyoddhitaṃ **JM$_3$** parebhyo hutaṃ **K** • śavamatta] **K** śavamatra **O** • sadānvāḥ] **[O]** syadānvā **K** • |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** || **Ji$_4$** • savaḥ] **Ma V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** śavaḥ **Mā JM$_3$** saśvavaḥ **V71** śivaḥ **Ja** savaḥ **K** • kevala ācāraḥ] **[Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** kevaḷa ācāraḥ **Ma** kevala āścararaḥ **Pa$_c$** kevalācara **K** • śālāsv *ichatha] śālāsvitsatha **Ma Ja Mā V71** śāśāsvitsatha **JM$_3$** śālāsvitsaḥ[x]taḥ **Ji$_4$** śālā[~~tsvi~~]svitsyatha **Pa$_c$** śālāsy uśchitaḥ **K** • ||] ||$^3$ 14 || ru 10|| **Ma Ja Mā** || 14 || ru 10|| **Pa$_c$ V71** || 14 || 10 || **JM$_3$** || 14 || **Ji$_4$** Z Z 10 phaśca Z 3 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *śavaḥ* in pāda **e** and *śālāsvicchatha*$^+$ in pāda **f**.

This stanza has been cited and translated by Griffiths (2009: 277) in his comment on PS 7.3.1 (belonging to a hymn against creatures that threaten offspring) as follows (note that Griffiths reads *śavaḥ* in pāda **e**, instead of *savaḥ* or *sa vaḥ* as I do): "You Sadānuvās who eat raw [meat], who eat bloody flesh, who eat what does not smell like fire: go away and eat yonder exposed corpse. The corpse is [your] only diet, so what do you seek in [our] dwellings?" (Griffiths).

**ab**. The three compounds in the first two pādas are all hapax legomena. The final member, *ādin-* (< *ad-*, 'to eat'), is also extremely rare, both as a simplex (occurring only once, in ĀpDhS 2.28.5) as well as in composition. The RV features the compound *kevalādín* in the maxim at RV 10.117.6d (In praise of generosity), *kévalāgho bhavati kevalādī́*, "Who eats alone has only evil" (J-B), but the word *ādin-* is otherwise completely absent from the ŚS; it is found in PS only in the compound *pramṛ̊śyādin-*, 'who eats what must be groped for' (Griffiths 2009: 172) at PS 6.14.3 (Against noxious creatures), and in the compound *puruṣādin-* at PS 9.6.9 (Against parasitic worms), *ye vaḥ santi sapta jātā adṛ̊ṣṭāḥ puruṣādinaḥ* […], "Die Unsichtbaren, die eure sieben Arten sind [zeichnen sich dadurch aus, daß sie] Menschen verzehren [...]" (Kim). Compare also *prakhādinī* (< *pra-khad-*) at 17.15.3, below.

The compounds *āmādin-* and *krūrādin-* can be compared with the compounds *āmā́d-* and *kravyā́d-*. The former is first attested in RV 10.87.7 (To Agni demon-smiter), *utā́labdhaṃ spṛ̊ṇuhi jātaveda ālebhānā́d ṛ̊ṣṭíbhir yātudhā́nāt | ágne pū́rvo ní jahi śóśucāna āmā́daḥ kṣvíṅkās tám adantv énīḥ* ||, "And, Jatavedas, with your spears recover what was seized, from the sorcerer who seized it. Constantly blazing in front, o Agni, smite him down. Let the mottled vultures that eat raw meat eat him" (J-B). Here it qualifies carrion birds, but it is frequently found in AV hymns as an epithet of demons, such as in PS 7.3.3–4, belonging to a hymn against creatures that threaten offspring, in which it occurs next to *kravyā́d*, 'eater of bloody flesh' (also an epithet of demons, as in ŚS 8.6.6b and PS 7.11.1, 3, but most often it is an epithet of Agni; see Geib 1975 and my comment on PS 17.21.1 below): *nir āmādo nayāmasi niṣ kravyādo gṛ̊hebhyaḥ | sasyādo nāma ye deva te agne mā dabhan tvām || āmādaś ca kravyādaś ca sasyādaś cobhayān saha | prajāṃ ye cakrire bhāgaṃ tān ito nir ṇayāmasi* ||, "We lead out the eaters of raw [meat], out the eaters of bloody flesh from [our] homestead. Let those not deceive you, o god Agni, that are called crop-eaters. Suppress the eaters of raw [meat], and the eaters of bloody flesh, and the crop-eaters, both kinds [of them]. Those that have made [our] offspring their share, them we lead out of here" (Griffiths). Similarly, compare PS 7.11.4 (For safe pregnancy: with bdellium), *yas ta* $^+$*ūrū ārohaty asṛ̊k te rehaṇāya kam | āmādaḥ kravyādo ripūṃs tān ito nāśayāmasi* ||, "The one that mounts your thighs in order to lick your blood, the treacherous eaters of raw [meat], eaters of bloody flesh: them do we cause to vanish from here" (Griffiths). See also PS 6.14.9c, 7.3.1c, 2d. Griffiths (2009: 277) notes that *āmā́d-* can also be an

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possible that the copyist mistook a subscript *u* for a subscript *ṛ̊*.

epithet of Agni, as in TS 1.1.7.1. Compare also ŚS 8.6.23 (from the hymn to protect pregnant women), *yá āmáṃ mā́ṃsam adanti paúruṣeyaṃ ca yé kravíḥ | gárbhān khā́danti keśavā́s tā́n itó nāśayāmasi* ||, "They who eat raw meat, and who the flesh of men, the hairy ones [that] devour embryos — them we make to disappear from here" (Whitney). The idea is clear: the Sadānuvās and similar demons eat the raw flesh of embryos and children.

Just like the two epithets in pāda **a**, the form *anagnigandhi̯yādinīḥ* must be a voc. pl. f.. The compound *anagnigandhyādin-* is a hapax, and is best interpreted as having the following structure: [[*an-*[*agni-gandhi*]]*ādin*], '[eater of [what does not [smell of fire]]]. Griffiths's (2009: 277) translation "who eat what does not smell like fire" is certainly correct. This word surely indicates something that has not been touched by fire, i.e. something uncooked, raw: once again, human meat, no doubt in particular that of embryos and children.

**cde**. The term *ācāra-* indicates a customary norm, i.e. based on a traditional practice regarded as proper, good, and as such followed by powerful, respected, and authoritative people, who in turn set the behavioural standard for the larger community.[122] That the notion of *ācāra* specifically concerns a delimited group is stressed by Davis (2010: 149), who points out that it "refers precisely to the caste, lifestage, and community-bound rules that together constitute the substantive rules of law pertinent to an individual and to the groups to which he or she belongs." Moreover, "*ācāra* always possesses a normative and obligatory quality that is not necessarily implied by custom alone" (Davis 2010: 145). Thus, clearly, in pronouncing our stanza, the reciter aimed to impose on the Sadānuvās the compelling authority of their own customary norm, which is —as the reciter claims—to feed on corpses rather than on living human children. Once again, as in the previous stanza, the Sadānuvās are driven away by resorting to the pressure of a social norm.

In the RV, the rare lexeme *ud-dhā-* simply means 'raise' (the penis in RV 10.101.12; vigour, *vayás*, in RV 3.18.4); the verbal noun appears in RV 8.51.2, where someone who was lying down, *śáyānaṃ*, is made to rise up, *úddhitam*. We find the same meaning also in the AV ('raise' a hall, *mā́nasya pátnī-,* ŚS 9.3.6 ~ PS 16.39.6; the *védi* at ŚS 19.42.2; less clearly, the Fathers at ŚS 18.2.34 ~ PS 18.66.7b). A similar meaning is found in ŚB 5.1.5.1–2, where someone is said to mount a cartwheel that is set up (*uddhita-*) on a post.

However, the lexeme also conveys a more specialised meaning, namely 'to expose (a dead body)'. Besides burial and cremation, which are the two most common methods of disposing of the body of a deceased person in Vedic India, exposure is also mentioned in the AV (see Zimmer 1879: 408; Macdonell & Keith 1912: I, 8; Keith 1925: 417). In particular, the lexeme *ud-dhā-* occurs in ŚS 18.2.34 (*yé níkhātā yé pároptā yé dagdhā́ yé códdhitāḥ | sárvāṃs tā́n agna ā́ vaha pitŕ̥n havíṣe áttave* ||), which is believed to list four methods of disposing of the body: *níkāta-*, 'buried'; *dagdhá-*, 'cremated'; *páropta* (<*vap-*), possibly 'cast away'; and *úddhita-*, 'exposed'. On exposure as an Indo-Iranian tradition, see my comment on 17.22.10 below. On the other hand, there is no evidence of the practice of exposing children, that is, of abandoning them alive in a remote place, as we find for instance in the custom of Ancient Greece.

The question naturally arises as to whether the aim of these pādas is to redirect the Sadānuvās towards the corpse of an adult or that of a child. We might imagine that the intention is to divert the Sādanuvās from a living child towards the body of a dead child, possibly to the child of an enemy—this is not made explicit, even though the demonstrative *asaú-* normally serves this purpose[123]—so that they would attack the dead, leaving the living alone. Alternatively, the exposed

122The literature on *ācāra*, particularly in relation to *dharma* and *smr̥ti*, as a normative practice that constitutes a source for Hindu law, is rather broad. See especially Davis 2010: 144ff., as well as Lariviere 2004, Wezler 2004, Olivelle 2006 and 2018.

123As is well known, the demonstrative *asaú-* can be used as a placeholder for the name of a person, which is to be supplied during the actual recitation of the spell (see my comment on PS 17.21.2b). We may then wish to translate *amuṃ paretya* with "having gone away to N. N.". However, such N. N. is most certainly the same individual as the one that is an *uddhitaṃ śavam*, thus *amuṃ* can simply be an adjective of *śavam*, "that over there."

corpse must be intended as that of an adult man (the corpse of an enemy?). However, this seems less likely, as the Sadānuvās definitely prefer to feed on children.

It is also possible that it is not the corpse of a human child that is intended here with *śavam*, but that of a baby animal: ŚB 4.5.2.13 discusses what to do in case a cow is found to have been pregnant only after she has been sacrificed; one of the options that is considered (with their religious advantages and risks) is to expose, i.e. raise (*ud-dhā-*), the embryo on a tree.[124] Csaba Dezső informs me that he has witnessed the practice of hanging up the bodies of dead animals, wrapped in cloth, on banyan trees in India. Although I have no further information about this practice in modern India, it seems attractive to consider that the corpse intended in our stanza is in fact that of a baby animal who is offered to the demons so that they leave the humans babies alone.

Bhattacharya writes *śavaḥ* (with **Mā**; cf. **Ja** *śivaḥ*, and contra **Ma** *savaḥ*) *kevala ācārāḥ*, and Griffiths (2009: 277) reads the same, translating "The corpse is [your] only diet." However, availing ourselves with additional manuscript evidence, we may notice that *savaḥ*, the reading preserved by the oldest and usually most reliable ms., **Ma**, is also the prevailing reading among $\mathbf{O}^{\mathbf{A}}$ mss. (with the exception of **Ja**). The variant with *śa-* seems to belong to $\mathbf{O}^{\mathbf{B}}$, and might be regarded as a scribal error. Indeed, **K** also reads *savaḥ̲*, supporting the view according to which the original reading contained a dental sibilant. The reading *savaḥ* can certainly be considered the *lectio difficilior*, as *śavaḥ* can easily be explained as due to perseveration from the preceding pāda **d** (*śavam atta sadānuvāḥ*). The stem *savá-*, however, does not seem to yield much sense in this context: perhaps we may wish to translate with "[Your] customary conduct is [my] command (*savaḥ*) only." It seems more attractive to me to read *sa vaḥ* as separate words: "That (*sa*) is your (*vaḥ*) customary conduct." In this way, also have the advantage of not having to supply the necessary word "your" as Griffiths is forced to do in his translation.

**f**. I have touched on the theme of the Sadānuvās haunting houses several times in my comments above: see PS 17.12.10, 17.13.10 (possibly also 17.13.8, if the reading *gṛham* is correct).

Similar questions (*kim iṣ-*) are asked in 17.14.2b and 17.14.1d.

As regards *ichatha*, **O** writes *tsa*, while **K** has *ścha*. Even though these are common variants, an asterisk is necessary to mark the emendation.

124ŚS 4.5.2.13, *tádāhuḥ kvaìtaṃ gárbhaṃ kuryādíti vṛkṣá evaìnam úddadhyur antárikṣāyatanā vai gárbhā antárikṣam ivaitad yád vṛkṣás tád enaṃ svá evā̀yátane prátiṣṭhāpayati tádu vā́ āhuryá enaṃ tátrānuvyāháred vṛkṣá enam mṛtám úddhāsyantī́ti táthā haivá syāt*, "Here now they say, 'What is he to do with that embryo?' They may expose it on a tree; for embryos have the air for their support, and the tree is, as it were, the same as the air: thus he establishes it on its own support. But, say, they, if, in that case, an one were to curse him, saying, 'They shall expose him [according to Eggeling, referring to both the sacrificer and the embryo] dead on a tree', then verily it would be so" (Eggeling). In the following paragraphs (14–16), other options are illustrated: throwing the embryo into the water, burying it in a molehill, or offering it to the Maruts in the fire of the animal sacrifice.

## Sūkta 15

### 17.15.1

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yāḥ kumārīr yāḥ sthavirā | 8# | [ – ∪ – – \| – ∪ ∪ × ] |
| b | yuvatīr yāḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \| | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | sarvā yantu $^{+}$kurūṭinīḥ | 8 | [ – – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | kulīnā *dhenuḥ sarpat$_{u}$v | 8# | [ ∪ – – – \| – – ∪ × ] |
| e | arāyīr abhibhā itaḥ \|\| | 8 | [ ∪ – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Those Sadānuvās, who are [either] little girls, elderly women, [or] young women—let all of them go [away] as docile (?) [cows]! Let the Arāyī́ demoness, the apparition, creep [away] from here as a milch cow of good breed.

N.B. At the beginning of pāda **d**, **Ji$_4$** features an interpolation: see my apparatus of stanza 17.14.10 above.

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yāḥ kumārīr] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** yā(*s.s.* →)ḥ kumā(r̄r̄)rīr **V71** yaḥ kumārīr **K** • yāḥ sthavirā] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** yā sthavirā **V122 Mā V71 JM$_3$** yāstvavirā **K** • yuvatīr] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** suvatīr **V122** • yāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$** yaḥ **Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** yā **Mā V71** yās **K** • sadānvāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** sadānvā **K V71** • \|] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** \|\| **Ji$_4$** • yantu] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** yanttu **V71** yanti **Ji$_4$** • $^{+}$kurūṭinīḥ][125] **Ja?** kuruṭīnīḥ **Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** kuruṭinīḥ **Ma V122 Pa$_c$** kuruṭanīḥ **Mā V71** kurūṭunī **K** • kulīnā *dhenuḥ] kulīnādhenu **K** kulīnādhena **Ja V122 Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** kuḷīnādhena **Ma Nā** kr̥̊līnādhena **Ji$_4$** • sarpatv] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** svapitv **Ji$_4$** sarpatu **K** • arāyīr] arāẏīr **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71** arāẏār **JM$_3$** arāẏaṃr **Ji$_4$** arāyā **Pa$_c$**[126] rāyī **K** • abhibhā itaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** cabhibhā itaḥ **Pa$_c$** raṣibhā hitā **K** • \|\|] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** \| **V71** Z 1 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *kurūṭinīḥ*+ in pāda **c**, and *kulīnādhenu* in pāda **d**.

**a**. According to PW, the meaning ‘old’ for *sthávira* is only attested from the Brāhmaṇas onwards. Indeed, in the RV and generally also in the AV, we find the older meaning ‘thick, big, strong’ (often an attribute of Indra). However, the fact that in our stanza *sthavirā-* occurs next to *kumārī-*, ‘little girl, virgin’ and *yuvatī-*, ‘young woman’, leaves no doubt that age is concerned. The PS, in fact, contains two more stanzas in which *sthávira-* has the same meaning.

The first stanza is PS 9.6.11 (Against the parasite worm), *adr̥̊ṣṭebhyas taruṇebhyo*

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125**Ja**’s reading in Bhattacharya’s apparatus corresponds to the accepted reading, but it is followed by a question mark. It is not clear what this means. If **Ja** reads *kurūṭinīḥ*, then Bhattacharya does not need to use a plus sign. Perhaps Bhattacharya is unsure about **Ja**’s reading, and uses a plus sign on the basis of the other mss. This is not made explicit, however.

126Note that **Pa$_c$** does not spell *arāyā* with the intervocalic akṣara *ẏa* [ja], but with *ya* [dʒa].

*yuvadbhya sthavirebhyaḥ | āhārṣam ugrām oṣadhiṃ yebhyo bimbīvadhaḥ kr̥taḥ* ||. Kim (2014: *ad loc*.) translates as follows: "Gegen die Unsichtbaren, seien sie Neugeborene, seien sie Junge, seien sie Dick-gewordene, gegen diejenigen, gegen die eine Mordwaffe aus der Bimbi-Pflanze beritgemacht ist, habe ich die gewaltige Heilpflanze herbeigeholt." However, the neighbouring *táruṇa*-, 'newborn, young, tender', and *yúvan*, 'youth, young adult', suggests that *sthávira*- does not simply concern size, but also age.

The second stanza in which *sthávira*- means 'old, elder' is PS 17.15.3 below, which mentions demonesses who feed on boys (*kumārān*) and elders (*sthavirān*). Once again, the opposition is one of age.

**c**. The word *kurūṭínīḥ* occurs in ŚS 10.1.15 (~ PS 16.36.5d) (Against witchcraft, *kr̥tyā́*): *ayáṃ pánthāḥ kr̥tyéti tvā nayāmo 'bhipráhitāṃ práti tvā prá hiṇmaḥ | ténābhí yāhi bhañjaty ánasvatīva vāhínī viśvárūpā kurūṭínī* ||, "Saying 'this is the road, O witchcraft' we conduct thee; thee that wast sent forth against [us] we send forth back again; by that [road] go against [them], breaking, like a draft-cow with a cart, all-formed, wearing a wreath (?)" (Whitney). Whitney's tentative gloss is based on a supposed connection to the late words *kirīṭa*-, 'diadem', and *kirīṭin*-, 'wearing a diadem' (cf. EWAia I p. 372).

It is certainly remarkable that both the above stanza and ours contain a cow metaphor. The purpose of the above stanza is to send the *kr̥tyā́* back along the way whence she came, thus she is likened (and magically turned into) a docile cow. All the qualities that are ascribed to her, if they are not simply typical characteristics of a cow, must be positive: thus, *ánasvatī* and *vāhínī* might simply characterise the cow/witchcraft as 'a draft-cow with a cart', but also highlight the fact that she is a healthy cow who is *able* to draw a heavy cart. Similarly, *viśvárūpā* is commonly used for 'speckled' cows or a mythical cow created by the Ṛbhus (see RV 4.33.8, 1.161.6). Thus, *kurūṭínī* must also express either a common characteristic of a cow, or some positive quality that is helpful for the reciter to make sure that the *kr̥tyā́*/cow will be able to go all the way back where she came from. Note also that both in this stanza and in ours, the cows are invited to go (*yāhi*, *yantu*). Clearly both stanzas must express the same idea. Thus, in our stanza the Sadānuvās of all ages are invited to go as/being *kurūṭinī* (docile?) cows (subject predicate).

**d**. The cow metaphor continues in pāda **d**, in which the Arāyī́ demoness is likened to a milch cow of good breed (*kulīnā dhenuḥ*) and is invited to creep away as such. Clearly it is implied that a cow of good breed is docile and can be controlled. This must be the same logic that drives the poet to qualify the demonesses in pāda **abc**, and the *kr̥tyā́* in ŚS 10.1.15 (~ PS 16.36.5d), as *kurūṭinī*. Thus, I take *kulīnā dhenuḥ* as subject predicate, just as I take *kurūṭinī* as subject predicate in the previous sentence.

The emendation to **dhenuḥ* is necessary, as no ms. preserves the visarga. Absence of *visarga* before initial *s*- is a common phenomenon.

**e**. On the Arāyī́ demoness, see my comment on PS 17.13.4c above.

The compound *abhi-bhā́*- means 'apparition, portent', in particular an inauspicious, dangerous one, and is not infrequently found in AV spells to ward off evil beings. Compare for instance ŚS 11.2.11cd (To Bhāva and Śarva): *sá no mr̥ḍa paśupate námas te paráḥ kroṣṭā́ro abhibhā́ḥ śvā́naḥ paró yantv agharúdo vikeśyàḥ* ||, "do thou be gracious to us, O lord of cattle; homage to thee; away let the jackals, the portents (*abhi-bhā́*), the dogs go, away the weepers of evil with disheveled hair" (Whitney).

**17.15.2**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | tābh$_i$yo rudro vi sṛ̨ja | 8# | [ – ∪ – ∪ \| – ∪ ∪ × ] |
| b | tviṣim *adhvagaghātinīm \| | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | tā astā hantu vidyutā | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | vajreṇānaparādhinā \| | 8 | [ – – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| e | tāsāṃ tvaṃ śakra moc chiṣa | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| f | indra bhaṇvāḥ phalīkuru \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

As Rudra[, O Indra,] hurl at them the flare that kills travellers! Let the shooter (i.e. Indra) slay them with the lightning bolt, the infallible *vájra*! O powerful one, you do not leave any remainder of them! O Indra, thresh the Bhaṇvās!

tābhyo] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** tābhyo[x] **V71** pābhyo **V122** • visṛ̨ja tviṣim] **[O]** visṛ̨ṇatvamagham **K** • *adhvagaghātinīm] addhikaghātinīṃ **Ja Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** addikaghātinīṃ **Ma** addhikaghā(ẏi→*s.s.*)tinīṃ **V122** addhakaghātinīṃ **Pa$_c$** addhikaghātanīṃ **Mā V71** adhyaghaghātvinī **K** • \|] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** \|\| **Ji$_4$** • tā astā] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** tā āstā **Mā** tāstvā **K** • hantu vidyutā] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** hanta vidyurā **Ji$_4$** • \|] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** \|\| **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • tāsāṃ tvaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** tāsāntaṃ **K** • śakra] **[O]** nakra(<śakra) **K**[127] • mocchiṣa][128] **V71** mocchisa **Ji$_4$** mochiṣa **JM$_3$ V122 Pa$_c$** (? **[Mā]? [Ma]? [Ja]?**) mośchiṣam **K** • bhaṇvāḥ] **[O]** bhaṇṭhā(/ṇdhāḥ?) (vs bhaṇṭhāṣ Bhatt., bhaṅdhāṣ (typo?) Barret, bhaṇḍhāḥ R-V ) **K** • phalīkuru] **K [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** phaḷīkuṃru **Ma** pha(li→)līkuru **V71** pālīkuru **Pa$_c$** \|\|] **[Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā]** \|\|$^3$ **Ma V122 Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** \|\| 3 \|\| 3 \|\| 3 \|\| **V71** Z 2 Z **K**

Bhattacharya reads *vi sṛ̨ja(t) tviṣim adhvaga+ghātinīm* in pāda **ab**, and *mocchiṣa+* in pāda **e**.

**abcd**. I take the initial *tābhyaḥ* as a dativus incommodi, 'against them (f.)', i.e. against the Bhaṇvās mentioned in pāda **f**.

The word *rudro* (=*rudraḥ*) is a nominative, and must stand in adposition to an implicit *indraḥ*. The references to the *vidyút-* and *vájra-* in pādas **c** and **d** leave no doubt as to the fact that the 'thrower' (*ástṛ̨-*) of pāda **c** is Indra (mentioned in pāda **f**—note also the typical epithet Śakra in pāda **e**). Moreover, the *tvíṣi-* of pāda **b** must also refer the lightning bolt: the *tvíṣi-* 'energy, impetus, vehemence, sprightliness, liveliness' is a characteristic of fire (see my comment on 17.14.1c above), and can thus be translated with 'flare, scintillation, brightness'; the *vájra*, being the lightning bolt, is a form of fire (see e.g. PS 17.27.2, 17.28.3–5). Thus, the command *visṛ̨ja* ("hurl!") must also be addressed to Indra.

However, Indra behaves like Rudra insofar as he "kills the travellers": in fact, the compound *adhvagaghātin-*, 'killing one who goes down a road', is only found in PS 16.104.7 (abd ~ ŚS 11.2.7abd) (To Rudra, Bhava, and Śarva), in which it qualifies Rudra, *astrā nīlaśikhaṇḍena sahasrākṣeṇa vājinā* | *rudreṇādhvagaghātinā* (ŚS has *rudréṇārdhakaghātínā*) *tena mā sam arāmahi* |, "With the thrower who has a blue hair lock, who is thousand-eyed, vigorous; with Rudra who kills travellers; may we not come into conflict with him!" One may also recall the Śatarudrīya, in which Rudra, "who dwells on paths and roads" (VS 19.37), is described as protector of thieves, robbers and killers (VS 19.20–21, etc.).

The "travellers" must be the same demonesses who are invited to go away in the previous stanza.

The lexeme *apa-rādh-* means both 'miss (a target)' or 'commit sin, offence' (PW). Clearly

127I agree with Barret's impression that **K** only apparently reads *nakra*: the first akṣara looks like *na* only due to defacement, but the ms. originally read *śa*.

128Bhattacharya writes *mocchiṣa+*, with a plus sign, but does not report the readings of his mss in the apparatus.

both meanings are implied here, as on the one hand the *vájra* never fails to hit its target, and on the other hand, slaying the demons is not a sin. The compound *an-apa-rādhin-* is a hapax, but we find a similar formation, *anaparāddha-*, in ŚB 2.1.2.19, referring to a *nakṣatra* that is 'faultless', i.e. it helps the sacrificer to avoid sins and ritual faults if he decides to set up his fires under it.

**e**. Bhattacharya writes *mocchiṣa+* in pāda **e**, but does not report the readings of his mss. Presumably they featured the akṣara *ch*, which he restores to *cch*. At any rate, the emendation sign is not necessary in light of the new ms. evidence.

The lexeme *phalī-kr̥-*, 'to separate the grain from the husks, to thresh, to winnow', is attested in the AV in the derivative *phalīkáraṇa-* in ŚS 11.3.6 (~ 16.53.3i).[129]

**17.15.3** **d**: ~ PS 17.15.6d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | kumārān ekā sthavirān | 8# | [ ∪ – – – \| – ∪ ∪ × ] |
| b | yā adanti *prakhādinīḥ \| | 8 | [ – ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | tā indro hantu vr̥trahā | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | yo devo viśvād rakṣāṃsi sedhati \|\| | 11$^{J}$ | [ – – – – – – – \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Those particular [demonesses], devourers, who eat boys and elders—let Indra, the slayer of Vr̥tra, the god who repels demons away from everyone, slay them!

sthavirān] **K** sthavirāṃ **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā V71** sthavirāṃne **JM$_3$** • yā adanti] **[O]** yādanti **K** • prakhādinīḥ*] prakhādinīṃ **O** praghātinī **K** • \|] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** \|\| **Ji$_4$** • tā] **[O]** tān **K** • hantu] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** hanta **Ji$_4$** • vr̥trahā] **[O]** vr̥ttrahā **K** • yo] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ryaṃ **Ji$_4$** • rakṣāṃsi] **[O]** rakṣāṃdra **Ja** rakṣaṁsi **K** • sedhati] **[Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** sidhati **Ja** sedhata **Mā** sedhatu **K** • \|\|] **[O]** Z 3 Z **K**

PS 17.15.6cd
*agniṣ *ṭā sarvā sāhantyo*
viśvād rakṣāṃsi sedhatu \|\|

**a**. On *sthávira-* in the meaning 'old, elder', see my comment on 17.15.1 above.

**b**. The emendation to **prakhādinīh* was proposed by Bhattacharya on the basis of the **O** evidence. One based on **K**, **praghātinīḥ*, would seem grammatically just as sound—the lexeme *pra-han-*, 'smite forth, away', is also fairly frequent in the AV. On the other hand, the lexeme *pra-khād-* is not found in the AV, and occurs only in RV 1.158.4d, in which Agni is said to chew at the earth (*prá yád ... khā́dati kṣā́m*, "When he [i.e. Agni] … chews at the earth" (J-B)). It is of course possible that a corruption from *praghātinīḥ* to *prakhādinīḥ* was triggered by the neighbouring *adanti*. Nevertheless, *prakhādinīḥ*, 'devourers, chewers', seems semantically more suitable as a Sadānuvā name: compare PS 17.14.7, above, in which the demonesses are described as animals chewing (*khādanti*) in a trough (probably a metaphor for female genitalia), or in general the frequent stress on the Sadānuvās' licking (PS 17.12.1, 17.12.4, 17.14.8d) or eating (PS 17.14.6b, 17.14.8ab, 17.14.10ab). For this reason, I accept Bhattacharya's emendation. He is most certainly

129This line belongs to a hymn aimed at extolling the rice dish (*odaná*), and in particular belongs to a section in which various deities and entities are equated with parts of the rice plant, tools used in the preparation of the rice dish and stages of the preparation: ŚS 11.3.3–6, *cákṣur músalaṃ káma ulū́khalam || dítiḥ śū́rpam áditiḥ śūrpagrāhī́ vā́tó 'pāvinak || áśvāḥ káṇā gā́vas taṇḍulā́ maśákās túṣāḥ || kábru phalīkáraṇāḥ śáro 'bhrám ||*, "Sight the pestle, desire the mortar. Diti the winnowing basket, Aditi the basket-holder; the wind winnowed. Horses the corns, kine the grains, flies the husks. *Kábru* the hulls, the cloud the stalk" (Whitney).

right in correcting to a nom. pl. f.

**d**. This pāda is metrically irregular: it counts 11 syllables, but the cadence is not that of a Triṣṭubh, but rather that of an Anuṣṭubh or Jagatī. Compare, in fact, PS 17.15.6d, which reads *viśvād rakṣāṃsi sedhatu* and is a regular Anuṣṭubh. Perhaps our verse was composed as a variation of the latter. However, our line appears irregular even if we take it as a hypometrical Jagatī ($11^{J}$), as the second syllable after the caesura (after the fifth syllable—or the third?) is long—though exceptions to this rule are frequent in the AV. Note that the next stanza also features a longer final pāda (8 + 8 + 8 + 12), which however is a regular Jagatī.

The ablative *viśvād* seems best rendered here as "from everyone", because the demonesses are portrayed as attacking people (boys and elders): as such, they need to be repelled "from everyone". Conversely, in PS 17.15.6d, below, the demoness are portrayed as emerging from their hideouts, and, therefore, it makes sense that they should be repelled "from every place" (*viśvād*).

**17.15.4** **cd**: ~ ŚS 8.5.9ef; **d**: ~ ŚS 10.1.16c

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yāś ca dāsīr asurāṇāṃ | 8# | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ ∪ – × ] |
| b | manuṣyebhyaś ca yāḥ kr̥tāḥ \| | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | ubhayīs tāḥ parā yantu | 8# | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – – × ] |
| d | parāvataṃ navatiṃ nāv$_{i}$yā $^{+}$ati \|\| | 12 | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| ∪ ∪ – \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Both those [demonesses] who are *dāsa* women of the race of the Asura demons, and those who have been [magically] created from the race of men—let them both go away into the distance, beyond 90 deep rivers!

yāś ca] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** yośca **Ji$_{4}$** • yāḥ kr̥tāḥ] **[O]** yāḥ̲ kr̥tāḥ **K** • manuṣyebhyaś ca] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** manuṣyebhyaḥś ca **Ji$_{4}$** m(u →)anuṣyebhyaś ca **Pa$_{c}$** • \|] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** \|\| **Ji$_{4}$** *om*. **K** • ubhayīs tāḥ] ubhaẏīs tāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_{c}$** [**Mā]** ubhaẏās tā **V71** ubhaẏāṃs tāṃ **JM$_{3}$** ubha īsthāḥ **Ji$_{4}$** ubhe hastāḥ̲ **K** • parā yantu] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** parā yantra **Ji$_{4}$** parā yanti parā yanti **K** • parāvataṃ] **[O]** parāvatiṃ **K** • navatiṃ nāvyā $^{+}$ati \|\|] navatiṃ nāvyāẏati \|\| **V122 Ji$_{4}$** navatin nāvyāẏati **Mā Ma Ja Pa$_{c}$** na[.]ti[.]āvyāẏati \|\| **V71** navati nāvyāẏati \|\| **JM$_{3}$** navatiṃ nāvyāti Z 4 Z **K**

ŚS 8.5.9ef
ubháyīs tā́ḥ párā yantu parāváto navatíṃ nāvyà́ áti ||

ŚS 10.1.16c
páreṇehi navatíṃ nāvyà́ áti

Bhattacharya writes *nāvyā ati** in pāda **d**.

**a**. This pāda is reminiscent of a series of stanzas in PS 8.16 (containing exorcisms that make use of the Cukākaṇī herb), in which the *dasyūnāṃ dāsī*, 'the *dāsa* woman of the Dasyu race', is described as crawling (*sŗp*-) into deep places (*gahana*-, *kevaṭā*-) and into the *strīṇāṃ putrasuvanaṃ*, 'the place that serves women to produce a son', according to Kim's (2014: 157) interpretation. The stanzas (PS 8.16.5, 6, 8) read as follows: *anusŗptāṃ gahaneṣu dhrūkṣṇāṃ pāpīṃ śimidvatīm* \| *tām etāṃ dasyūnāṃ dāsīṃ pra dahātaś cukākaṇi* \|\| 5 \|\| *yā strīṇāṃ putrasuvanaṃ kevaṭān upasarpati* \| *tām etāṃ dasyūnāṃ dāsīṃ pra dahātaś cukākaṇi* \|\| 6 \|\| […] *yadāsyāḥ srakve dahed yadā mūrdhānam agninā* \| *athaiṣā dasyūnāṃ dāsī putthagi ni layiṣyate* \|\| 8 \|\|, "Treibe durch Brand diese Dāsa-Frau des Dasyu-Volkes von dort fort, die an den tiefen Stellen entlang kroch, die

heimtückische, die bösartige, die [reichlich] mit śímid-versehene, du Cukākaṇī! Treibe durch Brand diese Dāsa-Frau des Dasyu-Volkes von dort fort, die zum Erzeugungsort einens Sohnes für die Frauen, [nämlich] zu den Vertiefungen hinschleicht, du Cukākaṇī! […] Sobald sie (?) in ihrem Maul, sobald [sie (?)] mit dem Feuer den Kopf verbrennt, wird sich diese Dāsa-Frau des Dasyu-Volkes verstecken, du Putthagī!"

Also relevant is PS 6.14.7 (belonging to a hymn against noxious creatures), in which the male Arāya demon, described as eating boys, is called *dāsa āsuraḥ*. The stana reads as follows: *yaḥ* $^{+}$*kumārāñ janasyātti taruṇān dāsa āsuraḥ | arāyaḥ keśy aghalo yo janān hanty* $^{+}$*atti ca tam ito nāśayāmasi* ||, "The Asurian fiend who eats a man's young boys, the hairy, dreadful Arāya who slays and eats men: him do we cause to vanish from here" (Griffiths).

That *gahana*, *kevaṭā* and *putrasuvana* are euphemisms for female reproductive organs seems evident, and it is possible that the *dāsī́* intended here is of the same kind intended in our stanza, i.e. a Sadānuvā demoness: perhaps a demonic personification of the low-caste midwives who were hired to attend women during delivery because of the pollution connected to childbirth (see my introduction to this chapter). The fact that these women were exposed to such dangerously polluting elements must have made them dangerous as well. We can also imagine that complications or accidents that might happen during the delivery would be blamed on them or on demonesses attacking the birthing woman through them.

In the AV, the *dāsī́*-, 'a barbarian woman, a low-caste woman, a slave', is invariably characterised as impure or dangerous. For instance, in ŚS 12.3.13.cd (~ PS 17.51.3cd), ritual tools touched by a *dāsī́* need to be cleansed;[130] in ŚS 5.13.8 (~ PS 8.2.7), the poison of *dāsī́* is rendered "sapless" (*arasá*);[131] and sometimes unwanted instances of misfortune are exorcised from the victim and redirected to a *dāsī́*: e.g. in ŚS 5.22.6-7 (~ PS 12.1.8-9), the fever (*tákman*) is sent away to the *dāsī́*.[132] In PS 5.26.5, the Arāti demoness that the poet wishes to have slain is likened to a *dāsī́* who has committed a transgression (*ā́gas*). The stanza reads, *deṣṭrī ca yā sinīvālī sapta ca śrotyā yāḥ | arātiṃ viśvā bhūtāni ghnantu dāsīm *ivāgasi* ||, "The directress Sinīvālī and the seven streams, let all the beings slay Arāti, like a *dāsa* woman because of a transgression" (Lubotsky). Note that Sinīvālī is the new-moon goddess who presides over fertility, fecundity, birth and offspring (Macdonell 1897: 125; Macdonell & Keith 1912: II, 449). That this particular goddess is mentioned here next to *dāsī́* is certainly no chance, and strengthens the connection of the *dāsī́* with birth. Such a connection is also evinced by PS 9.23.6 (belonging to a series of expiation spells), *sakhyur jāyāṃ svāṃ dāsīṃ sūtikāṃ lohitāvatīm aśuddhāṃ yad upeyima | ayaṃ mā tasmād odanaḥ pavitraḥ pātv aṃhasaḥ* ||, "If we sexually approached a companion's *dāsa* wife, who is bloody, impure, being one who has just given birth, let this purifier, the rice porridge, protect me from that anxiety" (my transl.). Compare also ŚS 12.4.9 (~ PS 17.16.9) (belonging to the hymn about the Brahmin's cow that forms the fourth anuvāka of PS 17), in which the *dāsī́* is blamed for the birth of something deformed (*aparūpa*) and sinful: *yád asyāḥ pálpūlanaṃ śákr̥d dāsī́ samásyati | tátó 'parūpaṃ jāyate tásmād ávyeṣyad énasaḥ* ||, "If the lye, the dung of her [i.e. the brahmin's cow] a

130ŚS 12.3.13.cd (~ PS 17.51.3cd): *yád vā dāsy àrdráhastā samaṅktá ulū́khalaṃ músalaṃ śumbhatāpaḥ* ||, "when the barbarian woman (*dāsī́*) with wet hands smears over—cleans, ye waters, the mortar [and] pestle" (Whitney).

131ŚS 5.13.8 (~ PS 8.2.7): *urugū́lāyā duhitā́ jātā́ dāsy ásiknyā | pratáṅkaṃ dadrúṣīṇāṃ sárvāsām arasám viṣám* ||, "Daughter of the broad-knobbed one (?), born of the black barbarian (f.)—of all of them (f.) that have pierced defiantly (?) the poison [is] sapless" (Whitney, who emends to *dāsyā́ áskiknyāḥ*); "Die Tochter der Urugūlā, die als eine Dāsa-Frau des schwarzen [Clans (?)] Geborene, die schleichend Bohrende; diese hat jetzt die Schlangen unschädlich gemacht."

132ŚS 5.22.6: *tákman vyàla ví gada vyàṅga bhū́ri yāvaya | dāsī́ṃ niṣṭákvarīm icha tā́m vájreṇa sám arpaya || tákman mū́javato gacha bálhikān vā parastarā́m | śūdrā́m icha prapharvyàṃ tā́ṃ takman ví̀va dhūnuhi* ||, "O fever, trickish one, speak out (?); O limbless one, keep much away (?); seek the fugitive (?) barbarian woman; make her meet a thunderbolt. O fever, go to the Mūjavants, or to the Balhikas, further off; seek the wanton Śūdra woman; her, O fever, do thou shake up a bit" (Whitney).

barbarian woman flings together, then is born what is deformed, what will not escape from that sin" (Whitney).

**b**. The word *kṛtāḥ* can perhaps be explained by interpreting *kṛ-* in the sense of 'making [magically]', a meaning that can be seen in *kṛtyā́*, 'witchcraft' (cf. Lat. *factura* > Ita. *fattura*, 'witchcraft, spell'). The idea of demons as being summoned by a curse is common in the AV.

This might be the idea behind the compound *púruṣeṣitāḥ*, 'sent by men (instrumental relation)/from men (ablative relation)', which characterises the Sadānuvās in the following stanza: ŚS 2.14.5 (~ PS 2.4.2) (Against Sadānuvās), *yádi sthá kṣetriyā́ṇāṃ yádi vā púruṣeṣitāḥ | yádi sthá dásyubhyo jātā́ náśyatetáḥ sadā́nvāḥ* ||, "Ob ihr nun vom Kṣetriya-Leiden her seid [or "those who come from the soil"?[133]], oder ob von Menschen ausgesandt, oder ob ihr von den Dasyus abstammt; verschwindet von hier, Sadānuvās" (Zehnder). Note also the reference to Sadānuvās born from the *dásyu* race (*dásyubyo jātā́ḥ*), which stands next to *púruṣeṣitāḥ* just like our *dāsīr asurāṇāṃ* is found next to *manuṣebhyaḥ kṛtāḥ*.

On the basis of comparison with the semantics of the compound *púruṣeṣita-*, and with the phrase *dásyubhyo* (abl.) *jātā́ḥ*, I believe that our *manuṣyebhyaḥ* should be taken as an ablative (as in my translation), rather than as a dative ("created for men").

**cd**. The emendation to *ati* was proposed by Bhattacharya, who marks it with an asterisk. A plus sign seems sufficient to me, as both branches show typical errors that may occur in hiatus: **K** merges the vowels (*nāvyāti*), while **O** inserts a *ẏ* (on this phenomenon, see my Introduction §2.2). It seems reasonable to assume that the written archetype preserved the correct reading, which was then corrupted in the two branches in different ways.

Pādas **cd** have an exact parallel in ŚS 8.5.9ef. The full stanza (belonging to a hymn against witchcraft with an amulet) reads, *yā́ḥ kṛtyā́ āṅgirasī́r yā́ḥ kṛtyā́ āsurī́r yā́ḥ | kṛtyā́ḥ svayáṃkṛtā yā́ u cānyébhir ā́bhṛtāḥ | ubháyīs tā́ḥ párā yantu parāváto navatíṃ nāvyà áti* ||, "The witchcrafts that are of the Angirases, the witchcrafts that are of the Asuras, the witchcrafts that are self-made, and those that are brought by others let these, of both kinds, go away to the distances, across ninety navigable [streams]" (Whitney).

The formula *parā i- navatíṃ nāvyà áti* is also found in ŚS 10.1.16c. The full stanza (part of a hymn against witchcraft) reads, *párāk te jyótir ápathaṃ te arvā́g anyátrāsmád áyanā kṛṇuṣva | páreṇehi navatíṃ nāvyà áti durgā́ḥ srotyā́ mā́ kṣaṇiṣṭhāḥ párehi* ||, "Offward is light for thee, hitherward is no road for thee; make thy goings elsewhere than [toward] us; go thou by a distant [road] beyond ninety difficult navigable streams; do not wound thyself; go away" (Whitney). The number 90 seems to stand simply for 'a very high number' here, and it is otherwise only used in the AV in rather obscure formulas that involve other numbers and sequences of numbers (ŚS 5.15.9, 5.19.11, 6.25.3, 19.47.3).

The word *nāvyā-*, 'navigable', indicates a river that is deep enough to be navigable, and as such one that is unfordable. The idea behind the spell is thus to send the demonesses far away beyond a great number of rivers that cannot easily be crossed, should the demonesses desire to come back.

A similar image, also involving a river, is found in RV 10.155.3 (the only RV hymn against Sadānuvās), a stanza which has a parallel in PS 6.8.7 (Against Sadānuvās); *adó yád dā́ru plávate síndhoḥ pāré* (PS *madhye*) *apūruṣám | tád ā́ rabhasva durhaṇo téna gacha* (PS *yāhi*) *parastarám* ||, "That piece of wood over there that floats to the farther shore of the river with no man at the helm, grab hold of that, you with your evil jaws: with it go in the farther distance" (J-B)

The idea of sending demons away into the distance or to a remote place is a recurring one. See e.g. ŚŚ 2.25.5ab (Against Kaṇvas and abortion), *párāca enān prá ṇuda káṇvān jīvitayópanān* |, "Thrust them forth to a distance, the life-obstructing *kánvas*" (Whitney). Sometimes the evil beings are sent to or into a mountain: e.g., from the same hymn, 2.25.4ab, *girím enāṁ ā́ veśaya káṇvān jīvitayópanān* |, "Make them enter the mountain, the life-obstructing *kánvas*" (Whitney); RV

133On this alternative interpretation of the pāda, see my comment on PS 17.13.1b.

10.155.1b, *giríṃ gacha sadānve* |, “Go to the mountain, O Sadānuvā!” Sometimes the destination is the ocean: PS 15.18.5 (Against Apsarases), *āhatā apa tā itaḥ khalād iva yātudhānyaḥ | amuṃ gachata pūruṣaṃ samudram apa gacchata* ||, “Them, beaten up, [remove] away from here, like sorceresses from the threshing floor. Go to that man over there, go away to the ocean” (Lelli).

**17.15.5 (K 17.15.7)** **d**: ~ PS 17.12.2d, 12.8d, 12.9e, 12.10e, 13.4d, 13.5d, 13.7d, 14.7d, 15.8d, 15.9d, 15.10d ~ ŚS 2.14.1d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yāsāṃ ghoṣaḥ saṃgatānāṃ | 8# | [ – – – – \| – ᴜ – × ] |
| b | vr̥kāṇām iva gaṅgaṇaḥ \| | 8 | [ ᴜ – – ᴜ \| ᴜ – ᴜ × ] |
| c | pracaṅkaśām *avahvarāṃ | 8 | [ ᴜ – ᴜ – \| ᴜ – ᴜ × ] |
| d | prayachantīṃ pratigrahāṃ | 8 | [ ᴜ ᴜ – – \| ᴜ – ᴜ × ] |
| e | nāśayāmaḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ᴜ – – \| ᴜ – ᴜ × ] |

Whose noise, when they come together, is like the howling of wolves; the one who constantly stares straight [at women], the devious one; the one who takes, even though she holds her hands forward [as if to present a gift]—we make the Sadānuvās disappear!

ghoṣaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ghosaḥ **Ji$_4$** ghoṣā **K** • saṃgatānāṃ] **Ma Ja Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** sa(*s.s.*→)ṅ(?)gatānā **V122** saṅgatānāṃ **Ji$_4$** saṃgatānā **Mā V71** saṅgatā **K** • vr̥kāṇām iva] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vr̥kāṇā(ṃ→)m iva **Pa$_c$** vr̥kān āpi va (= Bhatt., Barret, *vs* vr̥kānām iva R-V) **K** • gaṅgaṇaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** (~~ga~~→*s.s.*)gaṅgaṇaḥ **V122** gaṅgaṇa **K** • |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** || **Ji$_4$** • pracaṅkaśām *avahvarāṃ] pracaṅkaśāmaivaharāṃ [**Ma**] pracaṃkaśāmaivaharāṃ **V122 Mā V71 JM$_3$** pracaṃkaśāmaivaharām **Pa$_c$** pracakaśāmaivaharāṃ **Ja** pracaṃkaśāmaivaharās **Ji$_4$** mr̥caṃkaśāmayivāraṃ **K** • prayachantīṃ][134] praẏachantīṃ **V122 Mā? V71 JM$_3$** praẏ(?)achantīm **Ma** prayyachantim **Ja** pāẏachantis **Ji$_4$** praẏachantam **Pa$_c$** prayaśchantīṃ **K** • pratigrahāṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** patīgrahā **Ji$_4$** pratigrahā **K V122** • nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ] nāśaẏāmaḥ sadānvāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** nāśaẏāmasadānvāḥ **V71** vāśayāmas sadānvā **K** • ||] **[O]** Z 7 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *pracaṅkaśāmaivaharāṃ +prayacchantīṃ* in pādas **cd**.

**b**. On *gaṅgana-*, ‘howling’, a word that is found only in PS, see Griffiths 2009: 181 on PS 6.14.9e, Lubotsky 2010: 47, Hoffmann 1952: 255f.[= 1975:36f.].

**c**. The compound *pra-caṅkaśa-* is not attested as such. However, we find the negated compound *á-pra-caṅkaśa-* in ŚS 8.6.16 (~ PS 16.80.7)[135] (belonging to the hymn for protection of pregnant women that I have frequently quoted above): *paryastākṣā́ ápracaṅkaśā astraiṇā́ḥ santu páṇḍagāḥ | áva bheṣaja pādaya yá imā́ṃ saṃvívr̥tsaty ápatiḥ svapatíṃ stríyam* ||, “With eyes cast about, not looking forward (? *ápracaṅkāśa*), womenless be the eunuchs; make to fall down, O remedy, him who, not her husband, tries to approach this woman that has a husband” (Whitney). In this stanza a potential harasser is cursed to be a eunuch (*páṇḍaga-*), of which *ápracaṅkaśa* is an attribute. Whitney’s tentative translation seems plausible: the impotent man casts his eyes around without daring to stare forward at women. Whitney (*ad loc.*) notes that the commentary reads *pracaṅkaśās* instead of *apracaṅkaśās*, and “strangely” glosses it with *prakṣīṇorupradeśās*, which

134Bhattacharya’s edition features the emendation $^{+}$*prayacchantīṃ*, but his apparatus only reports the readings of **Ma** and **Ja**, not **Mā**. As the other two mss. of **O$^{B}$** read *prayachantīṃ*, I assume that this is also the reading of **Mā**, and that Bhattacharya used a plus sign to mark the emendation *ch* > $^{+}$*cch*.

135Bhattacharya writes pādas PS 16.80.7ab as $^{+}$*paryastākṣāḥ pracaṅkaśā straiṇāḥ santu paṇḍagāḥ* |, but the text is probably to be emended in agreement with the ŚS parallel.

Whitney does not translate. This gloss must mean “whose region of the thigh has been destroyed”, possibly a reference to the eunuchs’ castration. The commentator must have interpreted *pracaṅkaśa-* as based on the root *kaś-*, ‘to strike, hurt’. However, this root is not attested in Vedic, and (*a*)*pracaṅkaśa-* is best explained as an intensive formation based on the root *kāś-*, ‘to be visible’. This is how Debrunner (AiGr II.2 p. 84) and Mayrhofer (EWAia I p. 344) classify it. However, their gloss, ‘ohne Sehkraft’, does not seem plausible to me, given the context in which the term appears, and I prefer Whitney’s interpretation. That the meaning of the intensive of *kāś-* is ‘to look at’ (‘beschauen, betrachten’) has been argued by Schaefer (1994: 102ff.). Accordingly, our *pracaṅkaśā* must be a demoness who harasses women by constantly staring at them.[136]

Bhattacharya writes *aivaharāṃ*, but judges the reading doubtful. In his comment, he proposes to emend to **ahivārāṃ*, which must mean ‘whose tail is like that of a snake’. Such compound is unattested, but the formation would be totally regular,[137] and the meaning does not seem less implausible than that of the other colourful epithets we have encountered so far.

Another possibility is to emend to **avahvarāṃ*: the compound *ava-hvara-* is unattested as such, but it forms the basis of the attested *án-ava-hvara-*, ‘not crooked, straightforward’, found once in RV 2.41.6 (To various gods, here in particular to Mitra and Varuṇa), *tā́ samrā́jā ghr̥tā́sutī ādityā́ dā́nunas pátī | sácete ánavahvaram* ||, “These two sovereign kings, whose potion is ghee, Ādityas, the lords of the drop, accompany him who does not go astray” (J-B). Mitra and Varuṇa preside over proper behaviour, thus, one who is *ánavahvara-* must be one whose conduct is ethically sound. Thus, the epithet *avahvarā* would characterise a demoness as ‘devious’, ‘behaving deviously’. As can be seen from pāda **d** (and in many other cases in this hymn), epithets often come in pairs and describe parallel or opposite characteristics. It seems attractive to think that the poet aimed to play with the semantics of the preverbs *prá* and *áva*, with the purpose of highlighting the opposition between the fact that the demoness constantly stares (*kāś-*) forward (*prá*) in a straight direction towards the woman she is harassing, while at the same time she goes down (*áva*) a crooked (*hvar-*) path by behaving in a devious way. The emendation to **avahvarāṃ* also has the advantage of yielding a regular cadence ( ⏑ – ⏑ × ), as opposed to *aivaharāṃ* ( – ⏑ ⏑ × ) and **ahivārāṃ* ( ⏑ ⏑ – × ).

**d**. I suspect that this pāda is hardly an innocuous reference to presenting (*pra-yam-*) and accepting (*prati-gr̥h-*) gifts. I wonder if the poet is once again aiming at a wordplay, taking the two epithets in the sense of ‘holding [the hands] forward’ and ‘grabbing back’, with an eerie reference to the Sadānuvās’ habit of groping for embryos (see my comment on PS 17.14.8a above). Accordingly, I take *prayachantīṃ* not as an independent epithet but as a present participle describing a circumstance that is subordinate to *pratigrahām*; in particular I take this present participle as having concessive meaning. The sense of the two epithets must be the following: “even though she is holding [her hands] forward [as if to present a gift] (*prayachantī*), she is one who takes [i.e. grabs the embryo] (*pratigrahā*).”

**17.15.6 (K 17.15.5)** **d**: ~ PS 17.15.3d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yāni sāyaṃ yathāsthāmād | 8# | [ – ⏑ – – \| ⏑ – – × ] |
| b | rātrīṃ yakṣāṇi prerate \| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ⏑ – ⏑ × ] |
| c | agniṣ *ṭā sarvā sāhantyo | 8# | [ – – – – \| – – – × ] |
| d | viśvād rakṣāṃsi sedhatu \|\| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ⏑ – ⏑ × ] |

[Those] Yakṣás who emerge, each from their respective hideouts in the evening [and] at night—let

136It should also be noted that the attested intensive stem of *kāś-* has the form *cākaś-*: *cākaśīti*, *acākaśām*, *cākaśat-* (RV+), *cākaśyáte* (Br+).

137On the word *vā́ra-* and its variant spellings, see my comment on PS 17.12.8 above.

the overpowering Agni repel them all, the *rákṣas* demons, from every place!

sāyaṃ] sāẏaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** śāẏaṃ **JM$_3$** śāṃ **K** • rātrīṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** rātriṃ **Ji$_4$** rātrī **K** • prerate |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** prerat[x]e | **V71** prerato(/te | ?) **Ji$_4$** • agniṣ *ṭā] agniṣṭā **[Mā] V71** agniṣṭvā **K Ja Ma V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** • sāhantyo] **[O]** santyo **K** • sedhatu] **[O]** sīdhatu **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** Z 5 Z **K**

PS 17.15.3cd
*tā indro hantu vṛtrahā*
yo devo viśvād rakṣāṃsi sedhati ||

**a**. The compound *yathāsthāmá-* only occurs in the one-stanza hymn ŚS 7.67 (~ PS 3.13.6): *púnar maitv indriyáṃ púnar ātmā́ dráviṇaṃ brā́hmaṇaṃ ca | púnar agnáyo dhíṣṇyā yathāsthāmá kalpayantām ihaívá* ||, “Again let sense (*indriyá*) come to me, again soul, property, and *brā́hmaṇa* (sacred knowledge); let the fires of the sacred hearth again officiate just here in their respective stations” (Whitney). PW glosses it by simply referring to the preceding lemmata, *yathāsthāná*, ‘the right or proper place’ (and related adverbial forms in *-am*, ‘according to place’). This interpretation is followed by Whitney in his comment *ad loc*., and by AiGr II.2 §92 p. 206. On compounds of this kind, see AiGr II.1 §122d p. 325.

**b**. The accusative of the word *rā́trī*/*i-* (on the alternation between the two stems, see AiGr III §95 p. 185 and Kulikov 2010: 174 fn. 1) is regularly used adverbially in the sense ‘at night’ or ‘on [a particular] night’, e.g. in ŚS 1.16.1, *yé ’māvāsyàṃ rā́trim udásthur vrājám attríṇaḥ | agnís turī́yo yātuhā́ só asmábhyam ádhi bravat* ||, “What devourers, on the night of the new moon, have arisen troopwise (?)—the fourth Agni is the demon-slayer; he shall bless us” (Whitney); ŚS 16.7.9, *yád adóado abhyágachaṃ yád dóṣā́ yát pū́rvāṃ rā́trim* ||, “What I went at on such-and-such an occasion, what at evening, what in early night” (Whitney).

**c**. The adjective *sāhantyá-* is attested as an epithet of Soma, who is asked to subdue the Asuras in ŚS 6.7.2a (~ PS 19.3.11a); as epithet of Agni Vaiśvānara, as bestower of *rāṣṭram* at PS 6.9.3 (For a king); and of Agni in TS 2.2.3.4, with an offering to acquire strength. The variant *sahantyá* also exists: in both RV 1.27.8 and RV 8.11.2, it is an epithet of Agni, and so it is in TS 1.5.10.2. In TS 3.1.10.3 it is instead an epithet of Viṣṇu.

Bhattacharya writes *agniṣ ṭā* with no emendation sign; however, the akṣara *ṣṭā* is found only in **Mā** (as implied from the omission of its reading from Bhattacharya’s apparatus) and in **V71**, while the third **O$^B$** ms., **JM$_3$**, shows, as is often the case, contamination from **O$^A$**. As all the other mss. of the usually more reliable **O$^A$** sub-branch, as well as **K**, have *ṣṭvā*, I wonder how likely it is that the PS archetype **G** (or even the Oriya archetype **B**) actually read *ṣṭā*. It would be easier to explain **Mā** and **V71**’s reading, *ṣṭā*, as an error caused by the omission of the subscript element *-v-*, or perhaps as a deliberate restoration of the correct reading. Whatever our interpretation of the **O$^B$** data, the alternative scenario (i.e. assuming that the same mistake, *ṣṭā* > *ṣṭvā*, occurred in both **K** and **O$^A$**) seems unlikely. Therefore, I think that we need to assume that the written archetype **G** contained a reading that was already corrupted, *ṣṭvā*. Moreover, while we certainly adopt the correct reading, *ṭā*, we do so not on the basis of **Mā** and **V71** (whose reading may be correct by chance), but only after grammatical and paleographic considerations. For this reason, we need to mark *ṭā* with an asterisk as a conjecture. As for the error *agniṣṭā* > *agniṣṭvā* (pre-dating the written archetype), it might be due to perseveration during the period of oral transmission: the PS contains the phrase *agniṣ ṭvā* six times (2.26.1c, 18.12.7c, 18.13.1d, 19.30.1c, 19.35.11a, 20.64.10a), in every case at the beginning of a hemistich (after a daṇḍa or at the beginning of a stanza).

**17.15.7 (K 17.15.6)** **e**: ~ PS 17.12.4f, 14.2e, 14.3e, 14.6e, 14.8e.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yā ṛkṣīkāḥ kalīlāndā | 8# | [ – – – – \| ∪ – – × ] |
| b | apsu jātāḥ pulīkayāḥ \| | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | gopā āsām eko veda | 8# | [ – – – – \| – – – × ] |
| d | yato jātāḥ sadānuvās | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| e | tā ito nāśayāmasi \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Those [demonesses] who are Ṛkṣīkās, Kalīlāndās, Pulīkayās born in the waters, their cowherd alone knows where the Sadāṇuvās are born—them we make disappear from here!

ṛkṣīkāḥ] rukṣīkāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ruyākāḥ **Pa$_c$**[138] raksīkaḥ **K** • kalīlāndā apsu] kalīlā(nvā→*subs*.)ṇḍā 'psu **V122** kalīlāndāpsu **[Ja] Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** kalīlāndhāpsu **Mā** kaḷīḷāndāpsu **Ma** kalīṇḍayāṣṭu **Ji$_4$**[139] kalilāntāpsu **K** • pulīkayāḥ] pulīkaẏāḥ **[Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** puḷīkāẏāḥ **Ma** pulīkaẏā **JM$_3$** purīkayā **K** • |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** || **V71 JM$_3$** (**Mā?**) **Ji$_4$** • gopā āsām] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** topā āsām **Ji$_4$** gopā āsyām **Pa$_c$** gopāsām **K** • eko] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** ekā **Mā** • yato] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yatoṃ **Ji$_4$** yato **Pa$_c$** • jātāḥ sadānvāstā ito] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] JM$_3$** [~~jātā~~](//)jātāḥ sadānvāstā ito **Pa$_c$** jātāḥ sadānvā ˈ stā ito **V122 V71** jātaḥ sadānvāḥ ˈ || stā ito **Ji$_4$** jātas sadānvā | stā yito **K** • nāśayāmasi] **K** nāśaẏāmasi **[O]** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** | **JM$_3$** Z 6 Z **K**

Bhattcharya writes *kalīlāndā(a)psu* in pāda **ab**.

**a**. The *ṛkṣī́kā-* is an evil female being—the word is possibly connected with *ṛkṣá-*, 'bear' (f. *ṛkṣī́-*), with the suffix *-ka* (see the introduction to this chapter)—and it is generally found in lists among various other evil beings associated with the wilderness: e.g., in ŚS 12.1.49 (~ PS 17.5.7) (to the Earth), *yé ta āraṇyā́ḥ paśávo mṛgā́ váne hitā́ḥ siṃhā́ vyāghrā́ḥ puruṣā́daś cáranti | uláṃ vṛ́kaṃ pṛthivi duchúnām itá ṛkṣī́kāṃ rákṣo ápa bādhayāsmát* ||, "Those sylvan animals of yours, those wild beasts found in the woods, the lions, the tigers, who go about eating men; O wide one, drive away from here, from us, the ulá, the wolf, misfortune, rhe *ṛkṣī́kā*, the *rákṣas* demon!" (my transl.). Cf. also ŚB 13.2.4.2, […] *nárkṣīkāḥ puruṣavyāghrā́ḥ parimoṣíṇa āvyādhínyastáskarā áraṇyeṣvā́jāyeran* […], "no ogres, man-tigers, thieves, murderers, and robbers would come to be in the forest" (Eggeling); similarly also ŚB 13.2.4.4. In VS 30.8, belonging to a portion on the Puruṣamedha in which various types of people are sacrificed to various deities, a descendant of the Niṣādas, the aboriginal tribes, is offered to the Ṛkṣīkās.[140] See also ŚS 18.2.31b ~ PS 18.66.4b; PS 20.40.10a.

The word *pulīkayā-* is attested with various spellings, and seemingly indicates some kind of aquatic being. With the spelling *purīkáyā-*, it is found in ŚS 11.2.25 (~ PS 16.106.5, which reads *pulīkayā*) (belonging to a hymn to Rudra, Bhava, and Śarva), in which it is associated with the waters and other aquatic beings: *śiṃśumā́rā ajagarā́ḥ purīkáyā* (PS: *pulīkayā*) *jaṣā́ mátsyā rajasā́ yébhyo ásyasi | ná te dūráṃ ná pariṣṭhā́sti te bhava sadyáḥ sárvān pári paśyasi bhū́miṃ pū́rvasmād dhaṃsy úttarasmin samudré* ||, "The dolphins (*śiśumā́ra*), boas (*ajagará*), *purīkáyas*, *jaṣás*, fishes, *rajasás*, at which thou hurlest: there is no distance for thee nor hindrance for thee, O Bhava; at once thou lookest over the whole earth, from the eastern thou smitest in the northern ocean". With the spelling *kulīkáyā-*, we find it in TS 5.5.13.1, belonging to a section on the horse sacrifice in which all kinds of beings are listed as appropriate sacrificial victims for various deities (e.g. a boar for

138Note that *ruyākāḥ* in **Pa$_c$** is spelled with the akṣara *yā* [dʒa:], not with intervocalic *ẏā* [ja:]. This is most likely a scribal error for *kṣī*.

139Note that *kalīṇḍayāṣṭu* in **Ji$_4$** is spelled with the akṣara *yā* [dʒa:], not with intervocalic *ẏā* [ja:].

140VS30.8 […], *ṛkṣī́kābhyo náiṣādaṃ puruṣavyāghrā́ya durmádaṃ gandharvāpsaróbhyo vrā́tyaṃ* […], "for Ṛkṣīkās a Niṣāda's son, for the Man-tiger a madman, for Gandharva and Apsarases a Vrātya […]" (Griffith).

Indra, a black antelope for Varuṇa, a deer for Yama, etc.); once again it is associated with the waters: *apā́ṃ náptre jaṣás | nākró mákaraḥ kulikáyas té 'kūpārasya*, "To the offspring of waters a fish; the crocodile, the dolphin, the Kulīkaya are for the ocean" (Keith). Mayrhofer (KEWA I p. 240 and EWAia I p. 375) also mentions the variants *kulīpáya-* and *pulīraya-*. Cf. also *kulī́kā-*/*pulī́kā-*, 'a kind of bird' (KEWA ibid.). The preference for the consonant *l* over the *r* in our stanza might be an instance of female speech.

The word *kalīlānda-* is a hapax. The etymology is unclear.

**cd**. The *gopā-*, 'cowherd' mentioned in this pāda may be the Caṇḍa mentioned in the next line (PS 17.15.8d ~ ŚS 2.14.1c), in which the Sadānuvās are called *caṇḍasya naptyaḥ*, 'granddaughters of Caṇḍa', or the Magundi of stanza ŚS 2.14.2, in which they are called 'daughters of Magundi' (*magundyā duhitaraḥ*). There exist other male figures who seem to have the role of protector of a group of demonesses: for instance, Uluṅgula (=*uru(ṃ)gula*, 'having a broad glans', according to Karl Praust; see Lelli 2015: 194), mentioned in PS 15.18.6, and into whose ranch (*gṛha-*) the *uluṅgulukā* Apsarases (PS 15.18.10) are invited.

**17.15.8** **de**: ~ ŚS 2.14.1cd; **d**: ~ PS 17.12.2d, 12.8d, 12.9e, 12.10e, 13.4d, 13.5d, 13.7d, 14.7d, 15.5d, 15.9d, 15.10d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | guruchāyām ūrdhār$_{i}$yaṃ | 8# | [ ∪ – – – \| – – ∪ × ] |
| b | śiśumākāṃ pratiśrukām \| | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | atiduhnāṃ vicalantīṃ vitūlumām \| | 12 | [ ∪ ∪ – – \| ∪ ∪ – \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | sarvāś caṇḍasya napt$_{i}$yo | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| e | nāśayāmaḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

The [demoness] casting a large shadow, the Ūrdhārī (?), she who makes children scream, the one who responds [to the scream of a child], the Atiduhnā (?), she who wanders around, the Vitūlumā—we make all the granddaughters of Caṇḍa, the Sadānuvās, disappear!

guruchāyām ūrdhāryaṃ] guruchāẏāmūrddhāryaṃ **[O]** guruśchāyāmūladāyaṃ **K** • śiśumākāṃ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** śisumākāṃ **V71** • pratiśrukāṃ] **[O]** pratiśrukā **K** • \|] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** \|\| **Ji$_4$** *om*. (*space*) **JM$_3$** *om*. **K** • atiduhnāṃ] **[Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** atiduhnām, **Ma** atiduhmā **K** • vicalantīṃ] **[Ja] V122 [Mā] JM$_3$** vicalantīm, **Ma** vicaḷanti **Ji$_4$** vicalantīm **Pa$_c$** vicalantiṃ **V71** vyatarantīṃ **K** • vitūlumām \|] vitūlumāṃ \| **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** vitūlumāṃ $^{|}$ **Ji$_4$** vitulumāṃ \| **Mā V71 V122** vyatulimām, \| **K** • caṇḍasya] **[O]** caṇḍasa **K** • naptyo] **K [Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** naptryo **Ja** • nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ] nāśaẏāmaḥ sadānvāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** nāśa(*s.s.*→)ẏāmaḥ sadānvāḥ **V71** nāśayāmas sadānvā **K** • \|\|] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** \|\|$^{3}$ **V71 JM$_3$ V122 Ji$_4$** Z 8 Z **K**

ŚS 2.14.1
*niḥsālā́ṃ dhṛṣṇúṃ dhiṣáṇam ekavādyā́m jighatsvàm* \|
sárvāś cáṇḍasya naptyò nāśáyāmaḥ sadā́nvāḥ \|\|

Bhattacharya writes +*gurucchāyāmūrddhāryaṃ* in pāda **a**, *atiduhnāṃ* in pāda **c**.

The parallel at ŚS 2.41.1 (belonging to a hymn against Sadānuvās), quoted above, is translated by Whitney as follows: "The expeller, the bold, the container, the one-toned, the voracious—all the daughters (*naptī́*) of the wrathful one, the *sadā́nvās*, we make to disappear."

**abc**. All the epithets in these pādas are hapax legomena.

The first, *guruchāyā-* seems easily analyzable as formed from *gurú-*, 'heavy' (in this case

perhaps ‘large’?) and *chāyā́*-, ‘shadow, shade’.

The second epithet might read *ūrdhāryaṃ*-[141] or *mūrdhāryaṃ*-,[142] depending on whether we assume loss of anusvāra after *guruchāyā*°. Neither form is understandable as such, but I cannot offer any emendation with confidence.[143] At any rate it must be the accusative of a *vṛkī*-inflected *ī*-stem.

The third epithet, *śiśumākā*-, most likely contains the word *śíśu*-, m., ‘child, infant’. This is consistent with the Sadānuvās’ being demonesses who attack pregnant women and their children. However, the formation is unclear: it could be parsed as *śiśu-māka*- or *śiśum-āka*-. In either case, the second member is not an attested word. We might interpret the former as based on the root [1]*mā*- (pres. *mímāti*), ‘to bellow, bleat, roar, scream’ (cf. *ajámāyu*-, ‘bleating like a goat’, in 17.15.5b above) with the typical *ka*-suffix (see my introduction to this anuvāka). Thus, perhaps, ‘the little child-screamer’, i.e. ‘she who screams like a child’, ‘she who screams at children’ or ‘she who makes children scream’.[144]

That the meaning of *śiśumāka* might have to do with sound is also suggested by the neigbouring epithet *pratiśrukā*- (indeed, as we have seen, these epithets come in pairs or groups dedicated to a specific theme), which can be interpreted as a *ka*-suffixed formation based on the lexeme *prati-śru*-, ‘to listen (act.)/ be audible (mid.)’.[145] The active is specifically used in the sense of ‘to pay heed to, take notice of, respond to (a call or request)’, as can be seen from RV 1.25.20, in which the poet tells Varuṇa, *sá yā́mani práti śrudhi*, “listen in response to my entreaty” (J-B); and in ŚS 9.6.50 (~ PS 16.116.2), in which a servant listens and responds (*pratiśṛṇoti pratyā́śrāvayati*) to the call (*ā-śravay*- in ŚS 9.6.49) of the house master (or in which the Agnhīdh is summoned by the Adhvaryu; see Whitney *ad loc.*). The *pratiśrukā*- might then be a demoness ‘who responds [to the noise/cry/scream of a baby]’, i.e. who is attracted to her prey, the children, by their noise.[146]

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141Gemination of dentals in clusters is typical of the Odia mss.’s spelling; therefore we can restore *rdh* from *rddh*.

142The reading of **K**’s *m)ūladāyaṃ* is actually intelligible: *mūla-dāya*-, ‘giving roots’. However, such a compound is unattested, and the meaning does not seem suitable in our line. Moreover, it would require emendation to **mūladāyāṃ* to fit in the syntax of the stanza, and the pāda would still be one syllable too short.

143The former might be emended to **ūrdhvaryaṃ*, from a feminine stem, *ūrdhvarī*-, ‘the upright one’ (?) based on *ūrdhvá*-, ‘upright, erect, high, above’ (note however that no stem *ūrdhvara*-/*ī*- is attested), or tentatively to *ūrdhvārī*-, the feminine of a stem, *ūrdhvāra*-, formed by *ūrdhvá*- and *ā́rā*-, ‘awl, piercing tool’. This rare word occurs only in the Pūṣan hymn, RV 6.53: Pūṣan holds it to pierce the hearts of the Paṇís (st. 5 and 6) or to impel the *bráhman* (the *ā́rā*- is called *brahmacódanī*-); it might be the same as the goad (*áṣṭrā*-) that Pūṣan holds in st. 9 (cf. Geldner 1951: 157). Geldner (ibid.) reports that Sāyaṇa describes the *ā́rā* as a rod with a metal point, and identifies it with the *pratodá*. Now the Sadānuvās are called *pratodinī*-, ‘carrying a goad’, in 17.13.5c above (see my comment *ad loc.*). It would thus seem plausible here to have an epithet *ūrdhvāra*-, ‘the one with an upright awl’, ‘holding an awl upright’. The alternative, *mūrdhāryaṃ*, might be similarly interpreted as formed from *mūrdhán* (*mūrdha*- in composition), ‘head’, and *ā́rā*; the resulting compound would perhaps best interpreted as an inverted Bahuvrīhi meaning ‘whose head is an awl’ or, with locative relation, ‘having a (severed) head on her awl’ (cf. the type *dhanur-hasta*-, ‘having a bow in one’s hands’). However, it is likely that *ā́ra*- would remain -*ārā* in a feminine compound, and not change to -*ārī* on the model of a masculine compound in -*āra* (AiGr II.1 §37a p. 89; WG p. 514f.). Thus, this solution remains tentative. I am inclined to favour a solution involving the word *ūrdhvá*-, as it would make sense to explain the epithet *guruchāyā*, ‘casting a large shadow’, if we imagine a demoness who stands upright, high above, or holding an awl upright, or something along these lines.

144This epithet is also strongly reminiscent of the word *śiśumāra*-, ‘the Gangetic porpoise, dolphin, alligator’ (depending on the interpretation), which was early on given the folk etymology of ‘child (*śiśu*) killer (*māra*)’. This would be a good epithet for a Sadānuvā, and one wonders whether the poet might have intended to make a pun. However, in the AV (ŚS 11.2.25 ~ PS 16.106.5, quoted in full in my comment on PS 17.15.7b above), this word still preserves the original spelling *śiṃśumāra* (as found in RV1.116.18.d). Cf. also Pāli *suṃsumāra*.

145For the middle meaning, cf. RV 1.169.7ab, in which the rumbling sound of the approaching Maruts “is heard” (*práti … śṛṇve*): *práti ghorā́ṇām étānām ayā́sām marútām śṛṇva āyatā́m upabdíḥ* |, “The trampling of the antelopes of the fearsome, irrepressible Maruts is heard opposite as they come here” (J-B).

146Note that the hail (*hrādúni*) is qualified as “echoed (*pratiśruta*-) on a mountain” in PS 15.23.5c, 6c (i.e. the reciter, by stating that the hail is echoed on a mountain, makes the hail stay away from his own barley crop).

The reading of first word in pāda **c** is uncertain: the **O** mss. have *atiduhnām*, while **K** has *atiduhmā*. We can identify the preverb *áti*, 'beyond, excessively', a feminine accusative ending *-ām*, and possibly the root *duh-*, 'to give milk, to milk', but neither *duhnā-*, nor *duhmā-* are known formations. In a comment, Bhattacharya proposes **atidurghnāṃ*, which I interpret as 'very difficult to slay'. This is a creative solution, but I find no instance of *áti* and *dur* used in the same compound in Early Vedic, nor any attestations of a stem *durghna-*, which makes this solution less attractive.[147] Nevertheless, this word must be an acc. f. epithet.

The word *vicalantīṃ* is the accusative feminine of the pres. ptc. of *vi-cal$^{i}$-*. The variation between *car$^{i}$-* and *cal$^{i}$-* is old: the RV (which in general prefers *r*-variants) always has *r*, but also the form *calācalá-* (RV 1.164.48d); the AV has numerous occurrences of both variants. However, a pattern can be discerned, in that the variant *car$^{i}$-* occurs across the entire collection, whereas the variant *cal$^{i}$-* is restricted to a few texts: in particular, PS 5.34, where we find the caus. imperatives *abhi cālaya* (st. 7) and *prati cālaya* (st. 8), is a charm against female rivals, and contains numerous features of female speech. Lubotsky (2002a: 156) considers the preference for *l* over *r* as one of these features. Thus it is very much possible that our *vicalantī-* is a variant of *vicarantī-* in female speech.

At any rate, hardly any semantic difference is noticeable between *vi-car$^{i}$-* and *vi-cal$^{i}$-* in the AV, where they both mean 'to wander, roam'. Interestingly, *vi-car$^{i}$-* only occurs twice (in ŚS 4.21.4 and 20.127.11), whereas *vi-cal$^{i}$-* is found more frequently: in fact, the numerous occurrences of *vi-cal$^{i}$-* account for almost all of the occurrences of the root *cal$^{i}$-* in the AV. Moreover, the vast majority of the the occurrences of *vi-cal$^{i}$-* are found in the Vrātyakāṇḍa (ŚS 15, PS 18.27–43), where the lexeme (or the variant *anu-vi-cal$^{i}$-*) is used to describe the Vrātya's wandering.[148] Once again, this must be a stylistic preference of this particular text, a colloquialism that can perhaps be explained by the specific social composition of the audience of the Vrātyakāṇḍa, namely the younger generation undergoing initiation in the wilderness or other categories of people living outside society. In conclusion, the variant *vi-cal$^{i}$-* is not a separate lexeme from *vi-car$^{i}$-*, nor that it is the preferred AV form, but rather a specific sociolectal form preferred in specific texts directed to specific audiences. Thus, our *vicalantīṃ* is best explained as female speech, as suggested above.

The word *vitūlumā-* might perhaps be related to *vitūla-*, "a demonic dog" according to Griffiths (2009: 180), commenting on PS 6.14.9c. The whole stanza reads: *vitūlaṃ bhasvam ākhidaṃ vanakrośaṃ ca roruham | āmādaṃ prayutaiṣaṇaṃ paryundānaṃ paridravaṃ vṛkasya *nyañcaṃ gaṅgaṇaṃ tān ito nāśayāmasi* ||, "The chewing, robbing Vitūla, and the ever climbing (?) Forest-Shriek(er); the eater of raw (flesh), that seeks out the absent-minded [person]; the one running around, wet all over; the deep howling of a wolf: these we do cause to vanish from here" (Griffiths).

**d**. On the phrase *caṇḍasya naptyaḥ*, see my comment on *gopā* in the previous stanza. The word *caṇḍa-* is attested in Epic Sanskrit with the meaning 'wrathful', in Pāli 'fierce', etc. Its etymology is controversial; see EWAia I p. 525.

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Could the *pratiśrukā* demoness then be 'one who echoes', or 'one who echoes [the cry of a baby]'?

147 This epithet might make sense if read together with the following, *vicalantīṃ*, as we could imagine that a demoness who constantly "moves here and there" would be more difficult to hit. However, the meaning of *vi-cal$^{i}$-* seems to be rather 'to wander, roam'.

148 The AV also features the compounds *ávicācala-* in ŚS 10.8.4 (~ PS 16.101.7) and *ávicācalant-* in ŚS 6.87.1–2 (~ PS 19.6.5–6; ~ RV 10.173.1–2 have *ávicācali-*).

**17.15.9** **d**: ~ PS 17.12.2d, 12.8d, 12.9e, 12.10e, 13.4d, 13.5d, 13.7d, 14.7d, 15.5d, 15.8d, 15.10d ~ ŚS 2.14.1d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | āvadantīṃ nāmahūkāṃ | 8# | [ – ∪ – – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | taṃstanīkāṃ vṛ̀ṅktapadīm \| | 8# | [ – ∪ – – \| – ∪ ∪ × ] |
| c | $^{+}$udradantīm $^{+}$anāsikāṃ | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ ‖ | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

The [demoness] who shouts, the one who calls names, the Taṃstanīkā (?), the one with twisted feet, the otter-toothed one, the noseless (mouthless?) one—we make the Sadānuvās disappear.

āvadantīṃ] **V122 JM$_3$** āvadantiṃ **Mā V71** āvadantīn **Ma Ja Ji$_4$** āva[x]dantīn **Pa$_c$** yāvantīn **K** • nāmahūkāṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** nāmahukāṃ **K Mā V71 JM$_3$** • taṃstanīkāṃ] **[Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** (*illegible*) **Ma** *om*. (*space*) **Pa$_c$**[149] tvaṃstanīkāṃ **K** • vṛ̀ṅktapadīṃ |] vṛṃktapadīṃ | **[Mā] V71 JM$_3$ [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** (*illegible*) **Ma** vṛ̀[.]padīṃ ‖ **Ji$_4$** (*space*)ktapadīṃ | **Pa$_c$** vṛm̀ndhapatīm\ | **K** • $^{+}$udradantīm] udraẏantīm **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** udraẏantim **Mā V71** ūpridantīm **K** • $^{+}$anāsikāṃ] anāsitāṃ **O** anāmikān **K** • nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ] nāśaẏāmaḥ sadānvāḥ **[O]** nāśayānnas sadānvā **K** • ‖] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** | **JM$_3$** Z 9 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes +*āvadantīṃ* in pāda **a**. and *vṛṃktapadīm* in pāda **b**.

**a**. The lexeme *ā-vad-* is well attested in the AV, but no other pres. ptc. is found.

The epithet *nāmahūka-* is a hapax. It must be a *ka*-suffixed formation based on the root *hav$^{i}$-*, ‘to call’. The phrase *nā́ma hav$^{i}$-*, ‘to call by name’, is found in RV 7.56.10a (*priyā́ vo nā́ma huve*, “I call the dear names of you [Maruts]”); in the refrain of ŚS 17.1.1–4 ~ PS 18.54.1-4 (*tíṣṭyaṃ nā́ma hva* (PS: $^{+}$*hvaya*) *índram āyuṣmān bhūyāsam* ‖, “I call praiseworthy Indra by name; my I have a long lifespan”); and ŚS 7.20.4a ~ PS 20.5.5a (*yát te nā́ma suhávaṃ ... ’numate*, “Your well-invoked name, O Anumati […]”). Knowing someone’s (secret) name may allow a magician to claim control over that person. We may guess that our demoness’s threat derives from the fact that she knows people’s names. However, all the above quotations are invocations to a deity. Nowhere do we find evidence of the same implications for magical practices as we often see in the case of the phrase *nā́ma grabh$^{i}$-* (see Griffiths 2009: 95 on PS 6.7.7d, with references), or in the case of formulas like PS 17.24.1a, *vidma te svapna janitraṃ*.

**b**. The compound *vṛ̀ṅkta-pad-* is a hapax. It resembles the epithet *visṛ̀kpadī*, ‘stretching out [her] feet, duck-footed (?)’, in 17.13.2b above. The first member appears to be a verbal adjective from *vṛ̀j-*, ‘to twist’, normally spelled *vṛ̀ktá-*, but here remodelled on the present stem (*vṛ̀ṅkte*). I silently restore the velar nasal *ṅ* where the mss. have *ṃ* or *ṁ̀*.

The previous observation might lead us to consider whether the word *taṃstanīkāṃ* (in **O**; *tvaṃstanīkāṃ* in **K**), most certainly another female epithet, may contain a similar verbal adjective as first member (from *taṃs-*, ‘to shake’? Note that no verbal adjective of this root is attested). The second part of the word might be the word *anīka-*, ‘face’, but accepting this would require emending the length of the vowel at the juncture of the two members (**taṃstānīkāṃ*?). I find no textual arguments in support of this emendation. Therefore, this epithet remains obscure to me.

**c**. The emendations to $^{+}$*udradantīm* and $^{+}$*anāsikāṃ* were proposed by Bhattacharya. With the former epithet, compare *phāladatī*, ‘ploughshare-toothed’, in 17.12.3a above. The latter may be interpreted as *a-nāsika-* or *an-ās-ika-* (with derogatory suffix *-ika-*). This ambiguity resembles the one that sparkled a controversy about the phrase *anā́so dásyūn* (RV 5.29.10), interpreted early on as ‘the noseless (*a-nā́s-*) Dasyus’ (i.e. flat-nosed, supposedly a derogatory feature of non-Aryan aboriginals), and later reinterpreted as ‘the mouthless (*an-ā́s-*) Dasyus’ (i.e. unable to speak Vedic, babblers; an etymology inspired by that of the word “barbarian”) (see EWAia I p. 182).

149Interestingly, **Ma** and **Pa$_c$** have a similar lacuna here.

**17.15.10** **d**: ~ PS 17.12.2d, 12.8d, 12.9e, 12.10e, 13.4d, 13.5d, 13.7d, 14.7d, 15.5d, 15.8d, 15.9d, ~ ŚS 2.14.1d

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | vāvadākām *alpabhāṣāṃ | 8# | [ – ∪ – – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | †vijavrāṃ labruvaṃ lavuṃ† \| | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | arāyīṃ vācamejayāṃ | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | nāśayāmaḥ sadān$_{u}$vāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

The one who repeatedly utters sounds, the taciturn one, †…†, the Arāyī́ demoness who makes [the women's] voice tremble [in fear]—we make the Sadānuvās disappear!

vāvadākām] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** vāvadakām **Mā** • *alpabhāṣāṃ] albhaṣāsāṃ **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** albh[.]aṣāsāṃ **V71** albhaṣā[x]sāṃ **V122** albhagāsāṃ (=BHATT., R-V *vs*. albagāsāṃ BARRET) **K** • †vijavrāṃ†] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vijavāṃ **Pa$_c$** • †lavruvaṃ†] **[Ma] V122 Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** lavṛvaṃ **Ja Ji$_4$** lavrīvaṃ **Nā** lavrṛvaṃ **Mā** cavūṃ **K** • †lavuṃ† \|] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** lavuṃ \|\| **Ji$_4$** bavrūm\ \| **K** • arāyīṃ] arāẏīṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** arāẏāṃ **Pa$_c$** rāyīṃ **K** • vācamejayāṃ] vācamejaẏāṃ **[O]** vātamejayān **K** • nāśayāmaḥ sadānvāḥ] nāśaẏāmaḥ sadānvāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** nāśaẏāmasadānvāḥ **V71** nāśayāmas sadānvā **K** • \|\|] \|\| **Ma Ja [Mā]** \|\| 15 \|\| ru 10 \|\| **V71 JM$_3$** \|\| ru \|\| 15 \|\| **V122** \|\| 15 \|\| **Ji$_4$** \|\| 15 \|\| ru 10 \|\| **Pa$_c$** \| Z 10 Z phaśca 4 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *albhaṣ̲āsāṃ* in pāda **a**, *vijavrāṃ labruvaṃ lavuṃ* in pāda **b**.

**abc**. The most transparent of the epithets contained in these pādas is *vācamejaya-* in pāda **c**. This must be formed from a fossilised accusative *vā́cam* and the form *ejaya-*, 'causing to tremble'; compare the name of the famous Mahābharata king Janamejaya, 'who makes people tremble'. Thus our demoness is called 'she who makes [people's] voice tremble [in fear]'. In our case, the people whose voice tremble are most likely women.

It is possible that the other epithets also have to do with sound. The first one, *vāvadāka-*, is based on the intensive stem of the root *vad-* ('to utter a sound, make a noise'). This root is especially used for the noises of animals (or the sound of drums, the crackling of fire, etc.) in opposition to human speech (*vac-*). According to SCHAEFER (1994: 178), the intensive of *vad-* does not emphasise an increase in volume, but rather has a repetitive-iterative function.

The reading of the second word of pāda **a** is corrupted. If the theme of the stanza is sound, and the neighbouring epithet conveys the idea of repeatedly making sounds, a solution for this second epithet could be emending to **alpabhāṣām*. The stem *alpabhāṣa-* is not attested, but we do find *alpa-bhāṣin-*, 'taciturn' in CarS 1.30.79d.

The second pāda remains obscure to me.[150] I report the text as Bhattacharya has it. Note that the cadence appears to be regular.

The word *arāyī́-* generally follows the *vṛkī*-inflection (see my comment on PS 17.13.4c above). Here, however, the mss. unanimously preserve a *devī*-inflected acc. sg. f..

150Bhattacharya seems to identify three words, *vijavrām* (an acc. f. of an *ā*-stem?), *labruvaṃ* (an acc. of a f. stem *labru-*? Perhaps to be connected to *rabh-* or *grabh-*? Perhaps, since the theme of the stanza seems to be sound, we might wish to investigate a connection of this word with the root with *brū-* 'to tell') and *lavuṃ* (an acc. of a f. stem *lavu-*?).

The text of kāṇḍa 17, anuvāka 3 comes to an end here. The mss. give the following colophons:

iti saptādaśakaṇḍe tr̥tīyo nuvākasamāptaḥ Z (*space*) Z **K**

a 3 || **Ma Ja Pa$_c$**
ityekānr̥cakāṇḍe tr̥tīẏo'nuvākaḥ || **V122**
ityekanr̥cakāṇḍe tr̥tīẏonuvākaḥ || 3 || ### || **Ji$_4$**

ityekānr̥cakāṇḍe tr̥tiẏ(?)o'nuvākaḥ || **Mā**
ityekānucakāṇḍe tr̥tiẏo'nuvākaḥ || **V71**
ityekanr̥cakāṇḍe tr̥tīẏānuvākaḥ || # || # || **JM$_3$**

# PART II

## Anuvāka 5

## Curses and nightmares

## Introduction

This fifth anuvāka contains a variety of material that is heterogeneous in both form and content. The first two kāṇḍikās (21, 22) of the six that constitute the anuvāka consist of *yajus*-style prose, and contain curses against enemies. The remaining four (23, 24, 25, 26) share an underlying theme: *duṣvápnyam*, poor sleep, and sleep haunted by nightmares; kāṇḍikās 24 and 26 consist of *yajus*-style prose, while 23 and 25 mix prose with verses, some of which are also quotations from the RV.

The AV contains numerous texts about poor sleep (*duṣvápnyam*). These are either exorcisms that are meant to repel it, or curses by which to inflict poor sleep on an enemy. Often the two aims are combined: in order to free someone from poor sleep, the affliction is transferred to an enemy. Cf. ŚS 6.46 (~ PS 19.46.10–12); ŚS 16.5, 6, 7 (~ PS 18.49, 50, 51); and ŚS 19.56 (~ PS 3.8), 57 (~ PS 3.30). We also find various scattered stanzas, sometimes present in only one of the two recensions, e.g. PS 7.7.9a, ŚS 6.121.1, ŚS 7.83.4, ŚS 10.5.24 (~ PS 16.130.2), ŚS 16.6.2 (~ PS 18.50.1b), ŚS 13.1.58 or the one-stanza hymn ŚS 7.100.1 (~ PS 20.36.4). Many of these texts present common features, as will be illustrated in my commentary below.

One Ṛgvedic hymn, RV 10.164, authored by Pracetas Āṅgirasa, is labelled *duḥsvapnaghnam*, 'slaying poor sleep', by the Anukramaṇī, but it differs quite significantly from the above-listed AV hymns: its "unifying theme […] is all sorts of mental and verbal action, whether harmless of hostile, whether done consciously (awake) or not (asleep), or even both (the 'waking dream' [*jāgratsvapnáḥ*] of v. 5)" (J-B: 1645). Another interesting hymn connected with sleep is ŚS 4.5 (~ PS 4.6). This is an incantation to induce sleep. The KauśS (4.12[36].1) lists it in a chapter on women's rites, and attributes it the effect of "putting to sleep a woman and her attendants [her mother, father, dog, the *viśpáti*, her relatives, etc.], in order to approach her safely" (Whitney 1905: 151). Thematically comparable are also the AV hymns to the night, ŚS 19.47–48 (~ PS 6.20–21, and 49–50 (~ PS 14.8–9), which, however, mostly consist in requests for protection from the dangers of the night.

## Synopsis

Kāṇḍikā 21, divided into ten lines, contains curses against enemies, and is fully composed in *yajus*-style prose. This genre has been described by Renou (1955b: 74-80 §4–9). It comprises prose formulas that are meant to be recited in solemn or domestic rituals, just like the *ādhvaryava yajuses* contained in the YV texts (Renou 1955b: 74). They share a number of linguistic peculiarities, and make use of a typical set of formulas and rhetorical devices, some of which can also be found in our text.

One of these is the formula *amúm āmuṣyāyaṇám amúṣyāḥ putrám* (also found in other grammatical cases), which identifies the victim of a curse by means of his name (to be supplied in place of the demonstrative *asáu-*, *amúm*, 'that one'), by his lineage on his father's side (*āmuṣyāyaṇá-*, 'descendant of such-and-such (m.)'), and by his lineage on his mother's side (*amúṣyāḥ putrá-*, 'son of such-and-such (f.)'). As such, the formula as it is preserved in the text is just a placeholder for the victim's actual name, patronymic and matronymic, which are meant to be spelled out during the actual recitation of the mantra (see my comment on 17.21.2b below). This

formula is the unifying element of the 22 lines contained in kāṇḍikās 21 and 22, as it is found in all of them.

Another trait typical of the *yajus*-style prose that we find in our text is the use of 1st person sg. performative verbs, such as *ā vṛścāmi*, 'I cut down (a victim before a deity) (i.e. I bring a victim under the wrath of a certain deity)', found in 21.2, 3, 5–10, and throughout 22.1–5. By claiming to perform an action, the reciter wishes to magically bring about its effect. In some cases, such as with the verb *vidhyāmi*, 'I pierce', the use of effigies representing the victim is not to be excluded (see my comment on 17.24.1f.).

Also typical is the presence of 2nd person verbs by which the reciter directly addresses a deity (in the voc.; elsewhere, he might address an enemy, a demon, a patient, etc.): thus, in 21.4, a "swift-bowed and swift-handed" deity is requested to pierce (*pra vidhya*) the vital organs of a victim.

Another typical trait is what Renou calls '*écholalie*' (1955b: 76), that is the insistent (sometimes obsessive) repetition of words, sentences, or formulas. This can take a variety of forms. A frequent one is the "*ūha*". This term indicates the modifications that a *mantra* can undergo in order to be adapted to new ritual conditions and purposes, but Renou (1955b: 75) adopts it rather loosely as a technical term to describe a particular form of *écholalie*, namely the phenomenon by which a group of words or an entire sentence or formula is repeated multiple times, with the sole modification of a single word (or a small group of words). Renou (1955b: 80) considers these *ūha* compositions to be the original source of the AV *yajus*-style prose: this is because the desire to replace one word (e.g., the name of the addressed deity) with other words and yet keep the rest of the formula unchanged (to preserve its magical efficacy, I would add) was an obstacle to maintaining or producing a constant metrical structure. In fact, according to Renou, the monotonous character of this type of phrase suggests that they did not develop secondarily from a versified form, but that the authors deliberately opted to use prose.

Much of kāṇḍikās 21 and 22 (in particular, 21.2–3, 5–10, and 22.1–5) contains one such *ūha* composition, in which the formula *amum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram ā vṛścāmi* is preceded in each line by a different deity name in the dative (e.g., in 21.5, we find *pūṣṇe dhātre savitre tvaṣṭre;* in 21.6, *uṣase ['']hne rātraye sūryāya*; in 21.7, *vīrudbhya oṣadhībhyo vanaspatibhyo vānaspatyebhyo*; and so forth).

Kāṇḍikā 22, also divided into ten lines, begins with the *ūha* described above (22.1–5). This is followed by three groups of lines (22.6, 7, 8) that comprise an extended variation of the same *ūha* according to the following structure:

a. *ye* X *cakrur*, ye X *jajñuḥ* |
   'Those who have crafted X, those who have generated X'
b. *tebhyaḥ* X-*kṛdbhyaḥ* X-*kārebhyo ['']mum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram ā vṛścāmi* |
   'Before such X-crafters, X-makers, I chop down such-and-such, etc.'
c. *te* X-*kṛtaḥ* X-*kārā amum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṃ parā bhāvayantu* ||
   'Let them, the X-crafters, the X-makers, destroy such-and-such, etc.'

Finally, two more curses are found, 22.9 and 22.10, which also contain the *amum* formula, but differ from the previous ones in that they treat the enemy/victim as already dead—a magical verbal device to actually bring about someone's death. Thus, 22.9 describes a woman, with dishevelled hair, devoid of ornaments, and covered in ash, as she mourns the victim, and 22.10 describes carrion-eating birds gathering around the victim's funeral pyre.

Kāṇḍikā 23, divided into seven lines, contains a mix of prose and verse.

23.1–4 form a group of prayers to the Waters: 23.1 is a four-line Anuṣṭubh stanza with no parallels; 23.2 is prose (or perhaps two stray lines of 7 and 8 syllables?); 23.3 is another Anuṣṭubh stanza with numerous parallels in both PS, ŚS, and RV; 23.4 is again prose. Nothing suggests that

that they were conceived as a single composition, nor that the bits of prose are appendices to the verses. The only reason they fit with the rest of our anuvāka is the references to poor sleep in 23.1 (in which the Waters are asked to wash away the impurity produced by poor sleep) and 23.4 (in which the Waters are asked to release one from poor sleep and a sibling's curse).

23.5 is a single-line prose prayer to Indra, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati, and Savitṛ for splendour (*varcas*), and does not seem connected with the rest of the text.

23.6 is a statement with which to single out an enemy (*asau me bhrāṭṛvyo 'sau sapatnaḥ*). It seems connected with the following 23.7, in which the same enemy (referred to with the anaphoric *tam*) is the victim of five threats (note the performative verbs: *tam hanmi*, ... *vidhyāmi*, … *abhy apa nudāmi*), the second of which is *taṃ* $^{+}$*duṣvapnyena vidhyāmi*, 'I pierce him with poor sleep', which may justify the inclusion of this text in our anuvāka.

Kāṇḍikā 24 is fully devoted to addressing poor sleep. It is divided into ten subsections, each being a repetition of the first one with the sole modification (*ūha*) of two elements in the opening formula. The structure is the following:

1) With the opening formula (lines abc), the reciter claims magical control over Sleep (*svapna*, personified) on the grounds that he knows Sleep's genealogy:

a *vidma te svapna janitraṃ*
'We know, O Sleep, your pedigree'

b X(gen. m.) *putro 'sy* Y(abl. f.) *adhi jāto yamasya karaṇaḥ* |
'you are son of X(m.), born from Y(f.), Yama's agent'

c. *taṃ tvā svapna tathā vidma* |
'You, as such, O Sleep, we know in that way'

2) Secondly (lines de+f), the reciter claims good sleep for himself (*yo bhadraḥ svapnaḥ sa mama*) and sends bad sleep to an enemy (*yaḥ pāpas taṃ dviṣate pra hiṇmaḥ | tam asmai gamayāmas*).

3) Thirdly (lines g–o), we find a series of curses that the reciter employs to harm the victim by sending a number of other disgraces to him. Remarkable are the wordplays *abhūti*, *nirbhūti*, and *parābhūti*, already noted by Renou (1955: 90 fn. 1) as a typical trait of AV *yajus*-style prose, and the performative use of the verbs *vidhyāmaḥ*, *ā vṛścāmaḥ*, etc.

The following nine paragraphs repeat the whole structure with no variation in parts 2 and 3, modifying only the identity of the father and mother of Sleep in the initial formula. For a list of Sleep's "parents" see my comment on 23.1 below.

Kāṇḍikā 25, divided into eight parts, is again a mix of prose and verse.

25.1 is a two-line prose prayer/curse addressed to heaven and earth, day and night, and the night sky, so that they transfer poor sleep from the reciter to a victim (we find the *amum* formula here again).

25.2 is a quotation of an Anuṣṭubh verse from book 15 (PS 15.4.2, also found in ŚS 19.45.2), which contains a similar curse to transfer poor sleep to a victim.

The following five verses are taken from the RV.

25.3 and 4 are the two opening Gāyatrī verses (3x8) of RV 10.57, a spell "seeking the return of 'mind' to a person or persons in some distress" (J-B: 1468), and also the two closing verses of the first ŚS Rohita hymn (13.1.59–60). In both cases they seem to be secondary additions. They are concerned with ritual correctness and the success of sacrifice, and the reason for their presence in our anuvāka is not entirely clear (see the discussion in my comment on 25.3).

25.5, 6, 7 are also Ṛgvedic stanzas, corresponding to RV 10.37.1, 2b + 3, and 4 respectively. Like the whole of RV 10.37, they are dedicated to the sun, and it seems reasonable to assume that they have been included in our anuvāka because they were used to invoke the power of sunlight to ward off nightmares.

Finally, 25.8 is again a *yajus*-style prose formula, a curse to hurl (*pra hiṇmaḥ*) a number of disgraces (*anirām amīvām anāhutim*, 'want of nourishment, disease, lack of oblation') at an enemy —we find the *amum* formula here again as well. Poor sleep is not mentioned here.

Kāṇḍikā 26, divided into 21 paragraphs, contains one more *ūha* composition. A single formula, again an exorcism/curse to transfer poor sleep to someone else, is repeated 21 times, with the sole modification of the deity addressed and the agreeing verb:

a X-Y (Dvandva, dual.) *vahatam* / Z(pl.) *vahata* / W(sg.) *vaha duṣvapnyam*
'O X-Y(dual.)/Z(pl.)/W(sg.) carry poor sleep!'

b *parā vahatam* / *vahata* / *vaha duṣvapnyam* |
'Carry poor sleep away [from here]'

c *amuṣmā āmuṣyāyaṇāyāmuṣyāḥ putrāya* ||
'to such-and-such etc.'

Note that after an initial series of dual deities (26.1–6), the last pair of which is given the epithet *deva-* (*devāśvinā*), all the other lines (26.7–21) open with the vocative *deva* (or pl. *devāḥ*, *devīḥ*) before the deity's name, thus forming a long anaphora.

## Kāṇḍikā 21

### 17.21.1 [prose]

a asr̥ṅ māṃsaṃ tvacaṃ ⁺peṣṭraṃ mastr̥haṇaṃ ⁺majjñaḥ śarīram |
b agniḥ kravyād ⁺attv amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ putrasya ||

Let Agni Kravyād ('eater of bloody flesh') eat the blood, the flesh, the skin, the meat, the brain, the marrow, the body of that one, the descendant of such-and-such [father], the son of such-and-such [mother].

asr̥ṅ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]?** askr̥ṅ **V71 JM$_3$** • māṃsaṃ] mām̐saṃ **K** māsaṃ **V71 JM$_3$ V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** (māṃsaṃ **[Ja]? [Ma]? [Mā]?**) • ⁺pestraṃ mastr̥haṇaṃ] preṣṭryamastr̥haṇaṃ **Ja Ma V122 Ji$_4$ Mā** preṣṭryaṃ mastr̥haṇaṃ **Pa$_c$** preṣṭya | mastr̥haṇaṃ **V71** preṣṭhya[x]mastr̥haṇaṃ **JM$_3$** peṣṭrasamtr̥ṇaṃ (*leg*. Bhatt. = R-V *vs*. peṣṭrasambhr̥ṇaṃ Barret) **K** • ⁺majjñaḥ] majñaḥ **[Ja] [Ma] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$ Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** ma[x]jñaḥ **V122** saṃsā **K** • śarīram |] śarīraṃ | **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śarīraṃ || **Ji$_4$** śarīram, | **K** • agniḥ] **[O]** agniḫ **K** • ⁺attv] atv **K Mā V71 Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** a[x]tv **JM$_3$** • amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ] amuṣyāmuṣyāẏaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$** āmuṣyāmuṣyāẏaṇasyāmuṣyā **Mā** āmuṣyāmuṣyāẏaṇaṣyāmuṣyā **V71** āmuṣyāmuṣyāẏaṇaṣyāmuṣyāḥ **JM$_3$** amuṣyāẏaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ **Pa$_c$** āmuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasyāmuṣyāḫ **K** • putrasya] **[O]** putrasyā **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā** | **V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya reads *peṣṭramastr̥haṇaṃ ma(j)jñaḥ* in **a** and *attv* in **b**.
Griffiths & Lubotsky 2000–01: 201 read *peṣṭraṃ mastr̥haṇaṃ*, ⁺*majjñaḥ* and ⁺*attv* ⁺*amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ*

I suspect that the fact that all of Bhattacharya's **O** mss. read *māṃsaṃ*, whereas all of those available to me read *māsaṃ*, indicates a misprint in Bhattacharya's apparatus. I therefore chose to edit on the sole basis of the mss. available to me. Griffiths (2009: lix §2.8(E)) points out that the spelling of *ṃs* as *m̐s* is quite common in **K**. We can safely edit *ṃs* with no emendation sign.

With regards to the manuscripts' habit of spelling geminated clusters as simple clusters (in our case *ttv* as *tv*), I follow Griffiths's (2009: lxv §2.8(O)) policy of adding a plus sign when no manuscript shows gemination (which is the most common situation).

**a**. On the rare and obscure word *péṣṭra-* (which occurs only here, in ŚS 4.12.2 ~ PS 4.15.5, and in ŚS 6.37.3cd ~ PS 20.18.5cd ~ RVKh 4.5.18cd), see EWAia II p. 168, 170, Zysk 1985: 199, and the comment on PS 4.15.5 in Griffiths & Lubotsky 2000–01: 201. Like several before them (e.g. Bloomfield 1897: 387f, AiGr II, 2 §517aα p. 702f), the latter authors disregard the PW's conjectured meaning, 'Knochen', and rather connect this word with *piśitá-* n, *péśī-* f. '(cut up) meat' and the root *piś-* 'to carve'. Griffiths & Lubotsky (ibid.) also provide the following translation: "Let

Agni, the eater of bloody flesh, eat the blood, the flesh, the skin, the meat, the brain, the marrows, the body of N.N., descendant of N.N., son of N.N.”.

This is the oldest attestation of the word *mastr̥háṇ-*, which is otherwise found only in KauśS 2.2[11].16. The reliability of the KauśS reading was securely established by Eichner-Kühn (1976), who correctly recognised the stem *mastr̥háṇ-* as perfectly corresponding to YAv. *mastərəγan-* ‘brain’. In an unpublished paper, Lubotsky (2008) proposed to interpret it as a compound **mast-(m)r̥g$^{h}$-n-*, ‘brain pan’, in which the first member is possibly the same element **mast-* found in Skt. *mastiṣká-* ‘brain’ (< PIE **masti*; cf. Toch.A *mäśśunt* ‘marrow’ < **mesti-uent-*), and the second member is derived from PIE **mre*/*og$^{h}$n-* (cf. Gr. βρεχμός, ‘front part of the head’, Mod.E. *brain* < OE *brægen* ), in which the initial *m-* would have been lost by dissimilation.

The word *majján-* ‘marrow’ (PIE **mosg$^{h}$-en-*; cf. YAv. *mazga* ‘marrow, brain’ < **mosg$^{h}$-o-*) is countable and not infrequently found in the plural referring to the marrow of single bones. The attested plural forms in AV are *majjñas*, *majjábhyas*, *majjásu*; in the RV (10.68.9d), only the sg. form *majjā́nam* is found. It should be noted that the spelling *jñ* for geminate *jjñ* is common in the **O** mss., as is the case for most geminate clusters (I follow the policy of Griffiths 2009: lxv §(O), which consists of standardising to *jjñ* and adding a plus sign), but it is also frequent in the ŚS tradition. Whitney, for example, remarks that all his mss. for ŚS 2.17.2 read *majñás*; for other occurrences, see Whitney 1881: 216, which also lists *majñā́* in ŚS 4.12.3–4.

**b**. *kravyā́d* is the epithet generally attributed to Agni in his role of cremation fire. Therefore, this paragraph could be interpreted as a curse: a wish to see one’s enemy dead and consumed by the cremation fire.

However, Geib (1976) has shown that the role of Agni Kravyād as cremation fire is later and secondary: in fact, *kravyā́d* did not originally describe Agni as the devourer the body of the deceased, but rather captured the dangerous aspect of fire as a threat to living beings, including people. Geib starts from an etymological analysis of the epithet, which he considers to be a compound of the root noun *ad-* ‘eater’ (*nomen agentis* of ‘to eat’) and *kravyá-* (PS+ as simplex)-, a stem derived by thematisation of *kravi-* (only attested in the compound *á-kravi-hasta-*, ‘whose hands are not bloody’) and related to *kravís-* ‘bloody, raw flesh’ (especially indicating the bloody flesh of a sacrificial victim); this in turn is ultimately connected with PIE **kreuh$_2$-*, whose derivatives indicate ‘blood’ or ‘raw meat’, ‘meat in which blood runs’ (cf. Lat. *cruor*, ‘blood from a wound’, OIr. *crú*, ‘gore, blood’, Gr. κρέας, ‘meat’, etc.).

Thus, Geib argues, it is unlikely that *kravyá-* in the compound *kravyā́d* indicated the body of the deceased, in which blood no longer runs (and which is of course neither wounded during the funeral rites), but rather, either the flesh of a sacrificial victim offered in the course of the funerary rites (a goat or a cow, according to RV 10.16.4, 7, and ĀśGS 4.3.19ff.), or, in a more general sense, the flesh of any living being in whom blood normally runs and who can be harmed by fire. In fact, Geib points out that the epithet *kravyā́d* itself is often applied also to demons that attack living beings such as people, cattle, and other creatures (e.g. RV 10.87.19, RV 7.104.2, ŚS 3.28.2, ŚS 12.3.43, ŚS 5.29.8ff.)[1], and that Agni himself—no differently from such demons—may harm living beings, and thus be addressed as *kravyā́d*.

Especially telling is the hymn ŚS 12.2 ~ PS 17.44–49 (anuvāka 7 in our book), dedicated to Agni Kravyād, which is a composite collection of stanzas meant for a variety of ritual applications but, according to Geib, ultimately of two kinds: 1) healing spells to drive Agni Kravyād away from humans and animals whom the fire has attacked and whose health he is threatening (e.g. ŚS 12.2.15, *yó no áśveṣu vīréṣu yó no góṣv ajāvíṣu | kravyā́daṃ nír ṇudāmasi yó agnír janayópanaḥ* ||, “The flesh-eating one that is in our horses, heroes, that is in our kine, goats-and-sheep, do we thrust out—the fire that obstructs the people” (Whitney)) and 2) lustration spells to purify a victim killed by Agni Kravyād and protect the survivors from further attacks by banning the dangerous fire to the

1 I may add that the child-threatening Sadānuvas who are the topic of PS 17 anuvāka 3 are also called *kravyā́d* in RV 10.162.2, ŚS 8.6.6, PS 7.11.1, 3, 4 and *āmādinīḥ krūrādinīr* in PS 17.10.14 (see my comment *ad loc*.).

afterlife with the deceased (e.g. ŚS 12.2.5, 8–10). Geib argues that it is in the context of these latter spells that the connection between Agni Kravyād and funerary rites was established, although originally Agni Kravyād did not devour the corpse, but rather carried it into Yama's realm, just like Agni Jātavedas was invoked to carry the funerary oblation to the gods. Compare RV 10.16.9 (~ ŚS 12.2.8 ~ PS 17.44.8), in which the dangerous Agni Kravyād and the positive Agni Jātavedas are clearly contrasted, in order to drive away the former and make room for the latter: *kravyā́dam agním prá hiṇomi dūráṃ yamárājño gachatu ripravāháḥ | ihaívā́yám ítaro jātávedā devébhyo havyáṃ vahatu prajānán* ||, "Flesh-eating Agni I send off in the distance. Carrying away defilements, let him go to those who have Yama as king. Here let only this one, the other Jātavedas, carry the oblations to the gods, knowing what's ahead" (J-B).[2]

Returning to our curse, it is entirely possible that Agni is invoked here as *kravyā́d* with reference to his dangerous demonic nature, and thus instigated to harm the reciter's enemy while he is still alive.

On the *asaú- āmuṣyāyaṇá- amúṣyāḥ putrá-* formula, which is typical of the *yajus*-style AV prose (Renou 1955b: 79), see my introduction to this chapter and my comment on the following stanza.

### 17.21.2 [prose]

a prātaryāvadbhyo devebhyaḥ sāyaṃyāvadbhyo devebhyo viśvadānīṃyāvadbhyo devebhyaḥ |
b amum $^{+}$āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram ā vṛścāmi ||

I chop down such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother], before the gods who ride [their chariots] in the early morning, before the gods who ride in the evening, before the gods who ride all the time.

prātaryāvadbhyo] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** prātaryāvadbhoḥ **V71** • devebhyaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** deve[~~bhyaḥ~~]bhyaḥ **V71** devebhy(o→)aḥ **Pa$_c$** devebhyas **K** • sāyaṃyāvadbhyo] sāẏaṃyāvadbhyo **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** sāẏaṃyāvabhyo **V71** sām̆yāvadbhyo **K** • viśvadānīṃyāvadbhyo] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** viśvadānīṃyāvabhyo **V71** viśvadānīyāvadbhyo **K** • devebhyaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** dev(a →)ebhyaḥ **V71** devebhya **K** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** || **Ji$_4$** [x] | **Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • amum $^{+}$āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ] amum āmuṣyāyeṇam amuṣyaḥ **K** amuṣyāmuṣyāẏaṇam amuṣyāḥ [**Ja**] [**Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** amuṣyāmuṣyāẏaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ **Mā** amuṣyāmuṣyāẏaṇaṣyāmuṣyāḥ **V71 JM$_3$** • ||] **[O]** Z **K**

Bhattacharya reads *amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram* with **Ja** and **Ma**.

**a**. According to AB 2.15, the 'gods who ride in the early morning' (*prātaryā́van-*; also four occurrences in RV) are Agni, Uṣas and the Aśvins (on the meaning of the similar epithet *prātarítvan-*, found in RV 1.125, see J-B p. 289ff.); next to this group of gods, the 'gods who ride in the evening' (*sāyaṃyā́van-*) are also mentioned in TB 2.1.5.10 in relation to the Agnihotra ceremony. Note that in the above passages, the attested stems are old formations with the suffix *-van* (AiGr II.2 §716 p. 894); this suffix forms *nomina agentis* that are mainly found as second

2 In the same hymn, I may add, it is Agni Jātavedas (and not Kravyād) who is said to 'cook' (*śrā-*) the corpse: RV 10.16.1cd–2ab, *yadā́ śṛtáṃ kṛṇávo jātavedo'them enam prá hiṇutāt pitṛ́bhyaḥ || śṛtáṃ yadā́ kárasi jātavedo'them enam pári dattāt pitṛ́bhyaḥ* |, 'When you will make him cooked to readiness, Jātavedas, then impel him forth to the forefathers. When you will have made him cooked to readiness, Jātavedas, then deliver him to the forefathers' (J-B). For further connections between Agni Jātavedas and funerary rites, see Findly 1981: 364ff.

members of compounds, just as in our case here (on this type of compound, see AiGr II 1 §75ff. p. 174ff.). However, the dental *-d-* in °*vadbhyo*° shows that the compounds in our line are formed with the suffix *-vant*. There is a tendency in the Vedic language to confuse the two suffixes, a phenomenon that ultmately leads to the disappearance of all *van*-stems (with the exception of Indra's epithet *maghávan*-; see AiGr II.2 §718d p. 901, §721a, b p. 903–905). Therefore, the presence of forms with a dental in our line seems to point to a relatively late date for our text. This is the only occurrence of these compounds in the AV.

**b**. This formula is typical of the *yajus*-style AV prose (see the introduction to this chapter and Renou 1955b: 79) and generally shows the following structure:

| [*asaú*] | [*āmuṣyāyaṇá*-] | [[*amúṣyāḥ*] | *putrá*-] |
|---|---|---|---|
| such-and-such.M.CASE$_i$ | descendant.of.such-and-such.M.CASE$_i$ | such-and-such.F.GEN | son.M.CASE$_i$ |
| name | father's lineage | mother's lineage | |

The first, second and fourth constituents normally agree in gender (m.), number (sg.) and case, just as below in 17.21.1b (in the genitive), 17.21.3a (in the accusative), 17.25.1b (in the locative) and 17.25.8 (in the dative), and their relationship is adpositional, whereas the third constituent is dependent on the fourth: 'such-and-such man, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother]'. Thus the formula consists of three syntagms: the first one introduces the person (the victim of a curse, the beneficiary of a healing spell, etc.); the second illustrates his lineage from the father's side (by means of the compound *āmuṣyāyaṇá*-); the third illustrates his lineage from the mother's side (by means of the phrase *āmúṣyāḥ* (gen.f.) *putrá*-). At a first glance, the first constituent/syntagm could also theoretically be interpreted as an adjective referring to *putrá*- ('such-and-such son of such-and-such [mother], descendant of such-and-such [father]') or even to *āmuṣyāyaṇá*- ('such-and-such descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother]'), but such interpretations are incorrect, as *asaú*- is simply a placeholder that is meant to be replaced by the actual proper name of the victim/beneficiary when the formula is recited (just as the second and third constituents are meant to be replaced by the actual lineage names). The first element (*asaú*-, the proper name) can, however, be omitted: e.g., ŚS 10.5.36 *āmuṣyāyaṇásyāmúṣyāḥ putrásya*.

If we accept the reading of **Ja** and **Ma** (now confirmed by the other **O$^{A}$** mss.), as Bhattacharya does, the resulting formula would be the following:

| *amuṣya* | *āmuṣyāyaṇam* | *amuṣyāḥ* | *putram* |
|---|---|---|---|
| such-and-such.M.GEN | descendant.of.such-and-such.M.ACC | such-and-such.F.GEN | son.M.ACC |

The question then arises what the meaning of the first constituent, the genitive *amuṣya*, should be. It cannot be the proper name of the curse's addressee (indicated by the accusative *putram*). We would then have to regard it as dependent on *putram*, just like the feminine *amuṣyāḥ*, or supply a second *putram*: "[the son] of such-and-such [father], the descendant of such-and-such [father], the son of such-and-such [mother]". This cannot be correct, as both the first and second syntagms would thus redundantly refer to the person's lineage from the father's side. It would also go against the normal practice, according to which the first of the four constituents consists of the name of the victim. Moreover, as I have explained above, in all the occurrences of this formula, the first two constituents always agree with the fourth (*putra*-), and their relation is adpositional. I therefore accept the reading of **K**, editing the first element of the formula as *amum* in agreement with *putram*. As regards the second element, both traditions (**K** and **O$^{A}$**) point to an accusative, and we can safely disregard the readings of the **O$^{B}$** mss. as faulty. Note that Bhattacharya seems to follow this same line of reasoning in emending the faulty ms. reading *amuṣyāḥ* to **amuṣmā* (=*amuṣmai*) in PS 17.25.8b, 17.26.1b and 17.26.21b below.

On the semantics and syntax of *ā-vraśc*- with the dative, see Kulikov 2012: 255ff. with

references. This idiom is not easily translatable: according to the most widespread interpretation, it employs the metaphor of cutting down a tree to express the action of making someone kneel down before a deity (in the dative), or of letting them be subdued by such deity. Hence, glosses such as ‘anheimfallen (machen)’ (Narten, together with Ludwig), ‘to make a prey to’, ‘to fall victim to’ (Keith) or ‘to fall/bring under the wrath of’ (Whitney), ‘to cut down before’ (J-B). I translate with ‘to chop down before’ in an attempt to preserve the tree metaphor.

### 17.21.3 [prose]

vaiśvānarāya kṣipradhanvane [’]mum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram ā vr̥ścāmi ||

I chop down such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother], before Vaiśvānara, before the one armed with a swift bow.

vaiśvānarāya] **K** vaiśvānarāẏa **[O]** • [’]mum] mum **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** mam **Ji$_4$** amum **K** • āmuṣyāyaṇam] **K** āmuṣyāẏaṇam **[O]** • amuṣyāḥ] **[O]** anuṣyāḥ **K** • putram ā] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **Mā** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā]** ||$^1$ **V122** || 1 || **Ji$_4$** | **V71 JM$_3$** *Z* **K**

Bhattacharya reads *kṣipradhanvanemum*°.

**a**. Two questions arise: who are the deities referred to by these two epithets and, secondly, how many deities are being addressed here—one or two?

I shall start by discussing the second epithet. The bahuvrīhi compound *kṣiprádhanvan*- ‘whose bow is swift’ is found in RV 9.90.3, referring to Soma (portrayed as one of the warriors that make use of the bow in battle): *śū́ragrāmaḥ sárvavīraḥ sáhāvāñ jétā pavasva sánitā dhánāni | tigmā́yudhaḥ kṣiprádhanvā samátsv áṣāḷhaḥ sāhvā́n pr̥tanāsu śátrūn* ||, “Having a horde of champions, having hale heroes, purify yourself as victorious conqueror and winner of stakes, with your sharp weapons and snapping bows invincible in combats, vanquishing your rivals in battles” (J-B). In ŚS 11.4.23 (~ PS 16.23.3), it is employed as an attribute of the *prāṇá* (also identified as a warrior) to which the hymn is addressed: *yó asyá viśvájanmana īśe víśvasya céṣṭataḥ | ányeṣu kṣiprádhanvane tásmai prāṇa námo ’stu te* ||, “He who rules over this (all) derived from every source, and over everything that moves—reverence be to thee, O Prāṇa, that wieldest a swift bow against others (the enemies)” (Bloomfield); cf. “He who is lord of this that has every [kind of] birth, of every stirring thing to thee being such, O breath, having a quick bow among the unexhausted (? *ánya*), be homage” (Whitney).

In PS 5.22.8, the same compound refers to Rudra and Bhava: *yāv īśānau carato dvipado ’sya catuṣpadaḥ | yā ugrau kṣipradhanvānau tābhyāṃ rudrābhyāṃ haviṣā vidhemānyatrāsmad aghaviṣā vy etu* ||, “We would like to bring worship with an oblation to the two: Rudra [and Bhava], who constantly rule over this two-footer and four-footer, who are mighty, with a quick bow. Let the ill-poisonous [arrow] go asunder, away from us” (Lubotsky). Having a swift bow thus seems to be a characteristic of a warrior or of the god Rudra—who is regularly characterised as carrying a bow—and the closely related Bhava. Lastly, however, it should be noted that the Vrātyakaṇḍa (in particular ŚS 15.1.6 ~ PS 18.27.5) mentions Indra’s bow (*indradhanú*-), acquired by the Ekavrātya, who is possibly Indra himself portrayed not as full-fledged adult warrior armed with the *vájra* mace, but still as a young Vrātya boy undergoing initiation, and thus still within the domain of Rudra, the god with a bow.

In the RV, the epithet *vaiśvānará*- always refers to Agni or a form of the fire. It is a vr̥ddhi derivative of *viśvā́nara*-, a rare epithet which only occurs four times in RV (applied to Savitr̥ in RV

1.186.1, 7.76.1; to Indra in RV 10.50.1; and to Indra's 'unbent strength', *ánānata- śávas-*, in RV 8.68.4), only once in ŚS 4.11.7c (see Appendix II) and five times in the PS (once in PS 12.10.2b and four times in the prose of PS 17, anuvāka 6, paragraphs 27 and 31), where it is attributed to the *vájra*—Note that in ŚS 4.11 and PS 17, anuvāka 6, the *vájra* is identified with *viśvānara*, *vaiśvānara* and *viśvāṣaḥ*. Both epithets have generally been interpreted as meaning 'belonging to all men', being formed by compounding *víśva-* with *nár(a)-* 'man' (Cl.Skt. *nara-*, only attested as *nr̥-* in Vedic), the long vowel being explained by an initial laryngeal (*Hnar-a < *$h_2$ner-o-) (see EWAia II p. 563).[3] Kuiper (1951), pointing out how *nr̥-* 'hero' is semantically too narrow to include all humanity (cf. *jána* in *viśvájanya-*), explained the epithet as formed by **Hnar-* 'vitality, vital strength' (cf. *sūnára-* and *sūnr̥tā*); he thus glossed *viśvā́nara-* with 'possessing all the (cosmic) vital strength', and *vaiśvānará* with 'related to him, who possesses the total amount of vital strength'. De Vries (1979), on the authority of ŚB 6.2.1.35 (*vaiśvānaró vái sárve 'gnáyaḥ*, "Vaiśvānara being all the fires" (Eggeling)), explained *viśvā́nara* as **viśvānala* 'all fires', i.e. *víśva* + *anala* 'fire', and collected a number of passages that are supposedly consistent with this interpretation.[4] As to the actual use of the vr̥ddhi derivative in the RV, Findly (1982: 7ff.) notes that almost all of the 13 RV hymns addressed to Agni Vaiśvānara point to the identification of Agni with the sun, in particular the morning sun, rising at dawn thanks to the morning kindling of the earthly fire. Taking the dawning sun as representing the totality of days, the Brāhmaṇas accordingly equate it with the year, *saṃvatsará*, the annual solar cycle, and worshipped it with the offering of 12 *kapāla*-s—12, obviously, like the months of the year (on this topic, cf. Gonda 1984, esp. p. 72ff., and Gonda 1987: 124ff.).

Secondly, according to Hillebrandt (1980: 78ff.) and more recently Proferes (2007: 23ff., 46ff.), Agni Vaiśvānara is the public fire burning in the communal hearth, the tribal fire that is shared by the single households and then brought together into the fire of the tribal leader (on this see also Krick 1982). As such it represents both the authority of the clan leader as well as the Aryan ritual of which it is the very centre.[5] Therefore it is frequently mentioned in the context of the expansion of the Aryan civilisation (see Findly 1982: 15ff.). Particularly significant is the legend of Māṭhava Videgha (ŚB 1.4.1.10ff.), who is said to have held the fire in his own mouth until it was summoned out by a mantra recited by his purohita Gotama Rāhūgaṇa: once freed, Agni Vaiśvānara blazed eastward all the way to the Sadānīrā river (modern Gandak), burning (*dah-*) the land and sweetening it (*svad-*, caus.). The latter expression is possibly a reference to the slash and burn technique or similar techniques that make use of fire to domesticate and fertilise the land; at the same time, it is explicitly a metaphor for Aryan acculturation. The text in fact reads: "That one [the Sadānīrā river] the Brahmans did not cross in former times, thinking, 'it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara'. Now-a-days, however, there are many Brahmans to the east of it. At that time it (the land east of the Sadānārā) was very uncultivated, very marshy, because it had not been tasted [*svad-*, caus.] by Agni Vaiśvānara. Now-a-days, however, it is very cultivated, for the Brahmans have caused (Agni) to taste it [*svad-*, caus.] through sacrifices" (Eggeling). The final remark according to which Agni tasted/sweetened the land through sacrifices (*yajñair*) is particularly

3 This interpretation possibly goes back to Vedic times. Note Ṛgvedic glosses such as RV 1.59.7a, *vaiśvānaró mahimnā́ viśvákr̥ṣṭir*, 'Vaiśvānara, belonging to all communities by his greatness' (J-B), and similarly in RV 3.2.15b, *viśvácarṣaṇim* (on *kr̥ṣṭí* and *carṣaṇí*; see Thieme 1967). ŚB 9.3.1.3 reads *sá yáḥ sá vaiśvānaráḥ imé sá lokā́ iyám evá pr̥thivī́ víśvam agnír náro 'ntárikṣam evá víśvaṃ vāyúr náro dyaúr evá víśvam ādityó náraḥ*, 'Now, Vaiśvānara is these worlds, *víśvam* is this very earth here, *nára* is Agni, *víśvam* is the very atmosphere, *nára* is Vāyu, *víśvam* is the very sky, *nára* is the Āditya'. Sāyana, on the other hand, commenting on RV 1.59 (addressed to Agni Vaiśvānara), interpreted the epithet as describing Agni in the form of the digestive fire (*narāṇāṃ jāṭhararūpeṇa saṃbandhin*).

4 Note that *anala* is only attested from the Upaniṣads onwards, and is etymologically problematic (EWAia I p. 70).

5 According to Hillebrandt (1980: 51f., 78ff.) the Vaiśvānara fire of early Vedic culture would later develop into the *āhvanīya* fire of classical Śrauta ritual.

significant in indicating that the expansion also involved acculturation, and that Agni Vaiśvānara is a personification of brahmanical worship (as was first noted by Weber; see EGGELING 1882: 104 fn. 1).

As an embodiment of the Aryan conquest, Agni Vaiśvānara himself is sometimes portrayed as a warrior, e.g. in RV 7.5 and 7.6. The theme of Vaiśvānara's victory over enemies is exploited in the AV, where the god is commonly invoked to ward off personal threats against sickness, sin or misfortune (FINDLY 1982: 22). It is most likely this 'warrior' function that is evoked in our text. One should also recall that in RV, the Aryan expansion is particularly captured in the image of Indra conquering the Dasyu's *púr*-s with Agni's help.

We thus have four possibilities: 1) our line is addressed to Agni alone, mentioned in his aspect of Vaiśvānara, the conquering warrior, in this case portrayed carrying a swift bow, a common attribute of a young warrior; 2) our line mentions two deities, Agni Vaiśvānara and a god armed with a swift bow, perhaps Indra, who carries a bow as a young warrior or Vrātya. Note that the next line, PS 17.21.4, is also addressed to this *kṣipradhanvan*- god, and the following line, PS 17.21.5, starts by addressing Indra and Agni (*indrāgnibhyāṃ*...); accordingly, our line would be referring to the two leaders of the Aryan conquest: Agni Vaiśvānara and Indra. One may wonder why Indra would be evoked in his Vrātya form. Certainly Vrātya bands were the avant-garde of the Aryan expansion, but it is perhaps also interesting to note that in PS 17.27.32, in the chapter on the draft-ox *vratá*, the *vájra* that embodies the power to be achieved through the *vratá* is identified as Vaiśvānara. It is thus conceivable that our line refers both to the weapon Indra uses as a young uninitiated Vrātya warrior, and to the weapon he employs as an adult warrior, the *vájra*.

Alternatively we could interpret our line as mentioning indeed two deities, the second of which is simply Rudra, the god who is most often portrayed with a bow. Notably, Rudra is sometimes regarded as a manifestation of fire, in particular the destructive power of fire (HEESTERMAN 1993: 32) or, more interestingly—as Rudra embodies the dangerous powers of the wilderness—the wild forest fire. Accordingly, our line would contain a curse to make an enemy bow to both the domesticated and civilising fire of Vedic culture, Agni Vaiśvānara, as well as to the wild, uncontrolled, and destructive fire represented by Rudra.

A final possibility is that *kṣipradhanvan* refers to Rudra, and that Vaiśvānara is not an epithet of Agni here, but of Rudra himself. Our line would thus be addressed to one god only: Rudra. In the late Vedic period, Rudra often seems to share certain aspects with more prominent deities like Indra and Agni (BISSCHOP 2009: 742). It is perhaps possible that here Rudra is simply invoked as the victorious warrior, the Vrātya leader, leading the Aryan conquest. Thus the equation with Vaiśvānara or the attribution of such an epithet to Rudra himself would not seem inconceivable.

### 17.21.4 [prose]

a kṣipradhanvan kṣiprahasta |
b amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ putrasya hṛ̥dayaṃ ⁺yakṛ̥n *matasne pra vidhya ||

O swift-bowed, O swift-handed one, pierce the heart, the liver, the two *mátasna* organs of such-and-such, the descendant of such-and-such [father], the son of such-and-such [mother].

N.B. Pāda **a** is missing in **Mā** and **V71**, while it features twice in **JM₃**.

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kṣipradhanvan kṣiprahasta] kṣipradhanvan, kṣiprahasta **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$** kṣipradhanvana kṣiprahasta **Ji$_4$** kṣipradhanvana kṣiprahasta kṣipradhanvani kṣiprahasta **JM$_3$** kṣipradhanvaṃ kṣiprahastā **K** *om*. **Mā V71** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$** || **Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** *om*. **K Mā V71** • amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ] amuṣyāmuṣyāẏaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$**

amuṣyāmuṣyāẏaṇa[~~syāmuṣyāḥ putramāvṛścāmi~~]syā **Pa$_c$** amum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ **K** • hṛdayaṃ] hṛdaẏaṃ **[O]** hṛdaṃ **K** • $^+$yakṛn *matasne] yakṛmmataste **Ja Ma Nā V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** yatkṛtaste **Mā** yakṛmataste **V71** akṛnnatasthe **K** • pra vidhya] **[Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** pra via **Ja** pravṛddhyā **K** • ||] **[Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā JM$_3$** | **K Ja V71**

Bhattacharya reads *$^+$yakṛnmatasne**

**a**. On the epithet *kṣiprádhanvan-*, see above under 17.21.4. This seems to be the only Vedic occurrence of *kṣiprahasta-*, which is instead extremely common in Epic texts.

The long *ā* in **K** *kṣiprahastā* might be due to the confusion of the verse-end *daṇḍa* for the *daṇḍa* used as a diacritic for a long *ā* in the script (Devanāgarī) of **D**.

**b**. The emendation to *$^+$yakṛn *matasne* was proposed by Bhattacharya, and I think it is correct. The *mátasna-* is an unidentified internal organ. The word mostly occurs in the dual, and has variously been interpreted as referring to the 'kidneys' or 'lungs'. See the discussion in Zysk 1985: 106.

The reading of **K** with acc. *amum āmuṣyāyaṇam* must be due to perseveration from 17.21.3 above.

### 17.21.5 [prose]

a indrāgnibhyāṃ prajāpataye parameṣṭhine somāya rājñe varuṇāya rājñe |
b pūṣṇe dhātre savitre tvaṣṭre [']mum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram ā vṛścāmi ||

I chop down such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother], before Indra and Agni, before Prajāpati, before Parameṣṭhin, before king Soma, before king Varuṇa, before Pūṣan, before Dhātṛ, before Savitṛ, before Tvaṣṭṛ.

indrāgnibhyāṃ prajāpataye] **K** indrāgnibhyāṃ prajāpataẏe **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** indrāgnibhyā tprajāpataẏe **Ji$_4$** indrāgnibhyā prajāpataẏe **Pa$_c$** • somāya] **K** somāẏa **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** [x]somāẏa **Ji$_4$** • varuṇāya] **K** varuṇāẏa **[O]** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** || **JM$_3$** *om*. **K Ji$_4$** • pūṣṇe] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** puṣṇe **V71 JM$_3$** pauṣṇe **K** • savitre] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** savi[x]tre **V122** *om*. **JM$_3$** • tvaṣṭre [']mum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ] tvaṣṭre mumāmuṣyāẏaṇamamuṣyāḥ **[O]** tvaṣṭre amumāṃmuṣyāyeṇamanuṣyāḥ **K** • vṛścāmi] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vṛścyāmi **V122 Pa$_c$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** | **K V71 JM$_3$**

Bhattacharya writes *tvaṣṭremum°* in **b**.

**a**. Unless we accept that Agni, Indra, or both are mentioned twice in this chapter—which is entirely possible—the mention of Agni beside Indra here might suggest that the Vaiśvānara in PS 17.21.3 is in fact Rudra, seen as a manifestation of fire or of the conquering warrior. The presence of Parameṣṭhin, a late addition to the Vedic pantheon, points to the fact that our text originated at a fairly late period.

**17.21.6 [prose]**

uṣase [’]hne rātraye sūryāyāmum ° ° ° ||

(…) before the dawn, before the day, before the night, before the sun.

uṣase [’]hne] uṣase hne **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** uṣasenna **V71** tapase hne **Ji$_4$** uṣase ahne **K** • rātraye] rātraẏe **[O]** rātre **K** • sūryāyāmum] sūryāyāmuṃ **K** sūryāẏāmuṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** sūryāẏamuśca(/śma?) **Ji$_4$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ||$^1$ **V122 Ji$_4$** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *uṣasehne* and *sūryāyāmumā[muṣyā . . . .]* ||.

Note that the older form of the stem for ‘night’ is *rā́trī-* (which follows the *devī*-inflectional type in RV and is still found in the AV and occasionally later), but the dative *rātraye* (not infrequently met with in the AV) must belong to the stem *rā́tri-*. On the alternation between the two stems, see AiGr III §95 p.185 and Kulikov 2010: 174 fn. 1.

**17.21.7 [prose]**

vīrudbhya oṣadhībhyo vanaspatibhyo vānaspatyebhyo [’]mum ° ° ° ||

(…) before the plants, before the herbs, before the forest trees, before the fruit trees.

N.B. In **V122**, the sequence ‘*vīrudbhyā vanaspatibhyo* |’ is repeated later on between 17.22.1 and 2.

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vīrudbhya oṣadhībhyo] **[O]** vīrudbhyo oṣadhībhyo **K** • [’]mum] muṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** mu **V71** amum, **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** ||$^1$ **V122** | **V71** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *vānaspatyebhyomu-[māmuṣyā . . . .]* ||.

The words *vīrúdh-* ‘plant’ and *óṣadhī-* (or *óṣadhi-*) ‘herb’ are often employed as synonyms, although the latter in particular often denotes medicinal herbs that possess “a healing power of some other quality useful to men” (Macdonell & Keith 1912: I, 125–126; II, 319). The long *ī*-stem variant *óṡadhī-* that we find in our text is only attested in Vedic (see AiGr III §95c p.186): in particular RV features short *i*-stem singular forms (*óṣadhiḥ*, *oṣadhe*, *óṣadhim*) and a short *i*-stem plural (*óṣadhayaḥ*); the remaining RV plural forms are all built on the long *ī*-stem (*óṣadhībhiḥ*, *óṣadhībhyaḥ*, *óṣadhīnām*, *óṣadhīṣu*—but also *óṣadhīḥ* competing with the short *i*-stem nom. pl. *óṡadhayaḥ*; and voc. *oṣadhīḥ*) (cf. Lubotsky 1997 s.v.). In the AV the situation is the same, but we also find two occurrences of a long *ī*-stem singular acc. *óṣadhīm*: twice in ŚS, at ŚS 8.2.6b (~ PS 16.3.6b) and ŚS 8.7.6b (~ PS 16.12.6b); and two more times in PS 15.15.7b and 19.39.11a.

The word *vánaspáti-* indicates the ‘forest tree’, in particular one that is fit to be used as a post in rituals (Macdonell & Keith 1912: II, 241), as opposed to *vṛkṣá-*, which bears the general sense of ‘tree’ (ibid., II, p. 319).

The derivative *vānaspatyá-* is glossed by Macdonell & Keith (ibid., II, 286) as a ‘small tree’ with reference to the AV, or ‘fruit of a tree’ where the neuter is concerned. Whitney, commenting on an occurrence of this word in ŚS 8.8.14, translates it literally as “them of the forest trees”, highlighting the derivation from *vánaspáti-*, but notes that “the lexicographers explain the word to mean ‘fruit tree with conspicuous flowers’”. My translation is tentatively on the basis of the above data.

**17.21.8 [prose]**

adbhyo mātariśvane dyāvāpṛthivībhyām amum ° ° ° ||

(…) before the waters, before Mātariśvan (i.e. the wind), before the heaven and earth.

N.B. This line is missing from **K**.

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adbhyo mātariśvane] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** adbhyo (*subs*.→mā)tariśvane **V71** adbhyo mātaśvane **JM$_3$** *om*. **K** • dyāvāpṛthivībhyāmamum] dyāvāpṛthivībhyāmamuṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** ndāvāpṛthivībhyāmamuṃ **JM$_3$** dyāvāpṛthīvībhyāmamu **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** ||$^1$ **V122 Ji$_4$** | **V71** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes °*bhyāmamu[māmu . .]* ||.

In RV, Mātariśvan appears to be either Agni himself or a promethean being who helps with kindling fire (GW s.v.); in particular, see RV 3.9.5, *sasṛvā́ṃsam iva tmánāgním itthā́ tiróhitam | aínaṃ nayan mātaríśvā parāváto devébhyo mathitám pári* ||, "Agni, hidden thus, as if he had run away on his own—him did Mātariśvan lead here from the far distance, stolen [or churned] from among the gods" (J-B). According to Findly 1982: 20, the "Mātariśvan story gives proof of the divine origin of the Vedic fire ritual and attests to the election of the Aryans as those destined to possess this rare gift" (see ibid. fn. 39 for references to significant hymns recounting this myth). In the post-Ṛgvedic language, however, this word comes to indicate the wind, which is probably the case here.

**17.21.9 [prose]**

idāvatsarāya parivatsarāya saṃvatsarāya bṛhate viśvarūpāyāmum ° ° ° ||

(…) before the *idā* year (?), before the *pari* year (?), before the *saṃ* year (?), before a lofty [year(?)] of any variety.

idāvatsarāya] idāvatsarāẏa **[O]** yadāvatsarāya **K** • parivatsarāya] parivatsarāẏa **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** pari[x]vatsarāẏa **JM$_3$** parivatsārāẏa **Ji$_4$** • saṃvatsarāya] **K** samvatsarāẏa **O** • bṛhate] **[O]** vṛhate **K** • viśvarūpāyāmum] viśvarūpāyāmu(m- **K**[6] viśvarūpāẏāmuṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** viśvarūpāẏāmam **JM$_3$** viśvarūpāmuṃ **V71** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ||$^1$ **V122 Ji$_4$** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes °*pāyāmu[māmuṣyā . .]* ||.

Bhattacharya points to ŚS 6.55.3 (~ PS 19.9.1) as a possible parallel: *idāvatsarā́ya parivatsarā́ya saṃvatsarā́ya kṛṇutā bṛhán námaḥ | téṣāṃ vayáṃ sumataú yajñíyānām ápi bhadré sau manasé syāma* ||, "Unto the *idā*-year, the *pari*-year, the *sam*-year, pay ye great homage; may we be in the favour of these worshipful ones, likewise in their auspicious well-willing" (Whitney). However, in this line, *bṛhán* is an attribute of *námaḥ*. The formula *bṛhán námaḥ*, 'lofty reverence', does not occur elsewhere in the AV, but it is found in RV 1.136.1a, 5.73.10d, 6.75.15d and 7.94.4a. I wonder if *bṛhánt-* in our line could indicate a fourth type of year after the ones listed before.

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6 The notation °*(m-* is meant to indicate that **K**'s verse final *-m* is also the initial *m-* of the following line. In its *scriptio continua*, **K** reads *viśvarūpāyāmādhbhis*, where *viśvarūpāyām* is the end of 17.21.9 and *mādbhis* is the beginning of 17.21.10 (see below).

However, although the first three items (*idāvatsará-*, *parivatsará-*, *saṃvatsará-*) are mostly found together in lists (see below), I could find no such list that includes *bṛhánt-* as well. One could tentatively interpret *bṛhate* as an adjective referring to *saṃvatsarāya* (or to all three of the preceding words). However, I have not found any parallel of *bṛhánt-* being used as an attribute of *saṃvatsará-*.

It is possible that *bṛhánt-* and *viśvárūpa-* are simply meant to express positive qualities of the listed years, 'lofty, having every beauty' (cf. RV 1.35.4, where they are employed together to describe Savitṛ's chariot). However, it is my contention that *viśvárūpa-* is sometimes used at the end of lists in a similar function as our *et cetera*: it is meant to end a list by including all the possible items that are left out (see my comment on PS 17.2.1c in Selva 2014).

The compound *idāvatsará-* (possibly 'present year', if it is a compound of *vatsará-* and *idā* 'now'; cf. *tadā*, *sadā*—but see footnote 8 below) is never attested in RV (nor is *vatsará* alone, which is also absent from the AV); *parivatsará-* is attested in RV 10.62.2b as *parivatsaré*, "at the turning of the year" (J-B). Both the RV and the AV also contain the compound *parivatsarī́na-*, which is attested once in RV 7.103.8b, the frog hymn (*bráhma … parivatsarī́nam*, "yearly sacred formulation" (J-B)), and once in ŚS 3.10.5a (~ PS 1.105.1b) (*haviṣ ... parivatsarī́ṇam*, "oblation of the complete year" (Whitney)). The occurrence in the frog hymn may perhaps indicate that the 'turning of the year' referred to is the beginning of the rainy season. When *idāvatsará-* and *parivatsará-* appear in the AV, it is only next to each other in lists, such as ŚS 6.55.3 (~ PS 19.9.1) quoted above, which is also the only ŚS attestation of *idāvatsará-*, as well as in PS 16.71.1 (*idāvatsaraṃ ca parivatsaraṃ ca bradhnasya viṣṭapi parame vyoman*); PS 16.72.3a (*idāvatsaraṃ ca parivatsaraṃ ca saṃvatsaram ahorātrāṇi māsaḥ*); in the current stanza, PS 17.21, and below in PS 17.41.3 (*śatam idāvatsarāḥ* [**K** adds *śatam anuvatsarāḥ*] *śataṃ parivatsarāḥ śataṃ saṃvatsarāḥ*); PS 18.52.19b, 20b, 21b (*sa idāvatsarasya pāśān ... sa parivatsarasya pāśān ... sa samvatsarasya pāśān ...*); PS 19.9.1 (~ ŚS 6.55.3), quoted above; and finally in PS 19.51.1a (*idāvatsarāya parivatsarāya saṃvatsarāya prati vedayāma etat*). *Parivatsará-* also appears once unaccompanied by *idāvatsará-*, namely in ŚS 8.8.23.a, *saṃvatsaró ráthaḥ parivatsaró rathopasthó virā́ḍ īṣā́gnī́ rathamukhám | índraḥ savyaṣṭhā́ś candrámāḥ sā́rathiḥ* ||, "the year is the chariot, the complete year the chariot-lap, *virā́j* the pole, Agni the chariot-mouth, Indra the left-stander, the moon the charioteer" (Whitney). Besides the above-mentioned attestations in lists, the compound *saṃvatsara-* appears frequently in RV and AV as the unmarked word for 'year'. Cf. also the derivative *saṃvatsarī́ṇa-*, 'yearly', found once in RV 10.87.17a (~ ŚS 8.3.17a, PS 16.7.7a), *saṃvatsarī́ṇam páyaḥ,* "a year's worth of milk" (J-B), and in ŚS 7.77.3a (~ PS 20.23.6a), *saṃvatsarī́ṇā marútaḥ svarkā́ urúkṣayāḥ ságaṇā mā́nuṣāsaḥ*, "the Maruts, of the year, well-singing, wide-dwelling, troop attended, humane" (Whitney).[7] For references to similar lists, see Macdonell & Keith 1912: II, 412f. These authors think that these are "no more that a mere series of priestly variations of Vatsara, based on the older and more genuine Saṃvatsara and Parivatsara as variants of the simple Vatsara, 'year'". Note that *saṃvatsará-* is also found in the following line, most likely in the sense of 'full year', in opposition to the months.

7 In Aṣṭādhyayī 5.1.91, Pāṇini explains that in Vedic (*chandasi*), the suffix *-īya-* is added to compounds with *vatsara-* as second member; in 5.1.92, he adds that the same suffix and the suffix *-īṇa-* are used in similar compounds, prefixed with *sam-* or *pari-* (see Böhtlingk 1887: 231). The Kāśikavṛtti provides the following examples (I give here the translation offered by Sharma 1999: 488): *idvatsarīyaḥ*, 'accomplished by two of the five years'; *idāvatsarīyaḥ*, 'id.'; *saṃvatsarīṇaḥ*, 'that which was accomplished by a year'; *saṃvatsarīyaḥ*, 'id.'; *parivatsarīṇaḥ*, 'that which was accomplished by a full year'; *parivatsarīyaḥ*, 'id.' Sharma (ibid.) notes that, according to Haradatta's Padamañjari, *idvatsara* is 'a period of two consecutive (*yuge*) years within a given span of five years (*pañcavarṣe yuge dvayor varṣayoḥ saṃjñe*)'.

**17.21.10 [prose]**

mādbhyaḥ saṃvatsarāyāmum ° ° ° || 21 ||

(…) before the months (*māṣ-* m.), before the full year.

N.B. This line is missing from **V71** and **JM$_3$**. Only the chapter-final numbering is found.

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mādbhyaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** m)ādbhis **K**[8] *om*. **V71 JM$_3$** • saṃvatsarāyāmum] saṃvatsarāyāmum, **K** samvatsarāẏāmuṃ **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā** *om*. **V71 JM$_3$** • ||] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** ||[1] ru || 21 || **V122** (space) || 21 || **Ji$_4$** || 21|| ru 10 || **Pa$_c$** 21 || ru 10 || **V71 JM$_3$** Z phaśca 1 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes °*rāyāmu[māmuṣyā . .]* ||.

On *saṃvatsara-*, see my comment on the previous line. Here it likely indicates the ‘full year’, in opposition to the months as fractions of the year.

8 See footnote 6 above.

## Kāṇḍikā 22

### 17.22.1 [prose]

digbhyo antardeśebhya āśābhya āśāpālebhyo [']mum ° ° ° ||

(…) before the directions, before the intermediate region of the compass, before the quarters, before the guardians of the quarters.

antardeśebhya āśābhya āśāpālebhyo] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** antardeśebhya āśābhy(ā→)a āśāpālebhyo **V71** antardeśebhyāśābhyāśāpālebhyo **K** • [']mum] amum, **K** muṃ **[O]** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] JM$_3$ Pa$_c$** ||[1] vīrudbhyā vanaspatibhyo | **V122**[9] ||[1] **Ji$_4$** | **K V71**

Bhattacharya writes *āśāpālebhyomu[mā . . . .]* ||.

The directions (*díś*-) and the quarters (*áśā*-) are fundamental elements of the Vedic vision of the world, already found as such in the RV; on the other hand, the word *antardeśá*-, indicating the area enclosed by the directions (often in sequences of stanzas that list all the possible directions, e.g. ŚS 4.40), is specifically Atharvavedic—it is found in ŚS, PS, and also in the ancillary literature (e.g. KauśS 11.8[87].7, 14, GB 1.2.22, 1.3.14).[10] The word *āśapālá*- 'guardian of the quarters' is absent from RV, but found in AV (and more frequently in later literature), although only in the so-called Āśāpālīyam Sūktam (ŚS 1.31.1–4 ~ PS 1.22.1–4), which is precisely devoted to praising these divine beings.

### 17.22.2 [prose]

ṛtubhya ārtavebhyo [']dhipatibhya ādhipatyebhyo [']mum ° ° ° ||

(…) before the seasons, to the *ārtavá* periods, before the overlords, before the overlordships.

ṛtubhya ārtavebhyo [']dhipatibhya ādhipatyebhyo] rutubhya ārttavebhyo 'dhipatibhya ādhipatyebhyo **V122 Ji$_4$ JM$_3$ [Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** rutubhya ārttavebhyo 'dhipatibhya ādh(e →)i patyebhy(ā →)o **V71** rutubhyo ārttavebhyo 'dhipatibhya adhipatyebhyo **Pa$_c$** ṛtubhyārtavebhyo adhipatibhyāmadhipatyebhyo **K** • [']mum] amum, **K** muṃ **[O]** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ||[1] **V122 Ji$_4$** *om*. **K**

9 **V122** seems to show an interpolation from PS 17.21.7 above.

10 The one occurrence outside the AV, namely TĀ 1.8.6c, *rodasyor antardeśeṣu*, refers to the intermediate space between heaven and earth, as a synonym of the more widely used *antárikṣa*-.

Bhattacharya writes the avagraha in *ārtavebhyo 'dhipatibhya ādhipatyebhyomu[mā . .]* ||.

In the AV, the rare word *ārtavá-* appears to indicate a period of time that is longer than a season (*ṛtu-*). See in particular PS 17.28.17–19, *sa māsān upādhāvat* || *sa ṛtūn upādhāvat* || *sa ārtavān upādhāvat* ||, and PS 17.41.2, *śatam ardhamāsāḥ śataṃ māsāḥ śatam ṛtavaḥ śatam ārtavāḥ* ||. In both the preceding lists, the items are ordered according to a criterion of increasing duration: fortnights (*ardhamāsa-*), months (*māsa-*), seasons (*ṛtu-*) and finally the *ārtava-*s. With only this data at our disposal, it is impossible to say anything more precise about the actual duration of these *ārtava* periods, although they are presumably shorter than a year (*saṃvatsará-*).

Slaje (1995) has shown that the word *ārtavá-*, in a specialised sense, could also indicate a particular fluid—a sort of female seed endowed with the power of fecundity, just like the male seed—that women were believed to produce periodically: at the beginning of each fecund period, it would be produced in great quantity, and thus overflow as the menstrual blood; then it would continue to be produced invisibly and in lesser quantity inside the body for the rest of the fecund period (*ṛtú-*, in this specialised sense corresponding to 12 to 16 days). However, there is no particular indication that these specialised meanings of *ārtavá-* and *ṛtú-* are intended in our line.

In the AV, the word *ádhipati-* 'overlord' (absent in RV) is used to qualify certain gods insofar as they are said to rule over a particular sphere of the universe or a direction (*diś-*): e.g., PS 19.53.16–18, *agniḥ pṛthivyā adhipatiḥ* […] *vāyur antarikṣasyādhipatiḥ* […] *sūryo divo adhipatiḥ*; PS 17.55.6–10 (cf. ŚS 3.27), *dakṣiṇāyai diśa indrāyādhipataye* […] *pratīcyai diśe varuṇāyādhipataye* […] *udīcyai diśe somāyādhipataye* […] *dhruvāyai diśe viṣṇave 'dhipataye* […] *ūrdhvāyai diśe bṛhaspataye 'dhipataye* […]. Cf. e.g. also PS 11.16.

The derivative *ā́dhipatya-* (n.) is only found in three stanzas (once in RV, twice in AV)—quoted below—which does not help us much to understand its meaning beyond simply 'overlordship'. Notably, however, it always occurs in the singular, which makes the plural form in our line stand out as quite special. These are the occurrences: RV 10.124.5 (pronounced by Indra, or by a new king: see J-B p. 1597ff.), *nírmāyā u tyé ásurā abhūvan tváṃ ca mā varuṇa kāmáyāse | ṛténa rājann ánṛtaṃ viviñcán máma rāṣṭrásyā́dhipatyam éhi* ||, "These lords [/Asuras] have lost their magic powers. And if you, Varuṇa, will love me, sifting untruth out from truth, o king, come here to the overlordship of my kingdom" (J-B); ŚS 18.4.54 (~ PS 18.81.1), *ūrjó bhāgó yá imáṃ jajā́nāśmā́nnānām ā́dhipatyaṃ jagā́ma | tám arcata viśvámitrā havírbhiḥ sá no yamáḥ prataráṃ jīváse dhāt* ||, "The share of refreshment that generated this man; the stone attained the overlordship of the foods; him praise ye, all-befriended, with oblations; may that Yama make us to live further" (Whitney); ŚS 19.56.3 (~ PS 3.8.3) *bṛhadgā́vā́surebhyó 'dhi devā́n úpāvartata mahimā́nam ichán | tásmai svápnāya dadhur ā́dhipatyaṃ trayastriṃśā́saḥ svàr ānaśānā́ḥ* ||, "He of great kine (?) turned unto the gods away from the Asuras, seeking greatness; to that sleep the three-and-thirty ones, having attained the sky, imparted over-lordship" (Whitney).

### 17.22.3 [prose]

ṛṣibhya ārṣeyebhyo [']ṅgirobhya āṅgirasebhyo [']tharvabhya ātharvaṇebhyo [']mum ° ° ° ||

(…) before the Ṛṣis, before the lineages of the Ṛṣis, before the Aṅgirases, before the lineages of he Aṅgirases, before the Atharvans, before the lineage of the Atharvans.

N.B. In **K**, 17.22.3 comes after 17.22.4.

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ṛṣibhya ārṣeyebhyo] ruṣibhya ārṣeẏebhyo **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ruṣibhya ārṣ(a →)eẏebhyo **Pa$_c$** ṛṣibhyārṣebhyāẏebhyo **K** • [']ṅgirobhya āṅgirasebhyo] aṅgirobhya āṅgirasebhyo **[Ma] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** 'ṅgirobhyo āṅgirasebhyo **Ja** ṅgirobhya āṅgirasebhyo

**Ji$_4$** ṅgirobhyāṅgirasebhyo **K** • [’]tharvabhya ātharvaṇebhyo] ’tharvabhya ātharvaṇebhyo **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** ’tharvabhya ātharvaṇebhy(ā →)o **V71** atharvabhya ātharvaṇebhyo **Mā** ’tharvabhya ’tharvaṇebhyo **Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • [’]mum] amum, **K** muṃ **[O]** • || **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** ||$^1$ **V122 Ji$_4$** | **JM$_3$** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *ārṣeyebhyo aṅgirobhya āṅgirasebhyo’tharvabhya ātharvaṇebhyomu[mā . . .]* ||.

### 17.22.4 [prose]

vasubhyo rudrebhya ādityebhyaḥ sādhyebhya āptyebhyo [’]mum ° ° ° ||

(…) before the Vasus, before the Rudras, before the Ādityas, before the Sādhyas, before the Āptyas.

N.B. In **K** this line comes before 17.22.3. In **V122**, this line was forgotten by the copyist, who then added it in the upper margin. **V122**’s copyist enclosed the addition between a *kākapada*-sign and a numeral ‘3’: the *kākapada* refers to another *kākapada* that the copyist placed in the third line of the mss. (referred to in turn by the numeral ‘3’) at the end of 17.22.3, where the missing line should be read.

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vasubhyo] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** vasubhy(ā→)o **JM$_3$** vasobhyo **K** • rudrebhya] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71** rudre[x]bhya **V122** rudrebhy(e→)a **Pa$_c$** rudrebhy(o →)a **JM$_3$** rudrebhyas **K** • ādityebhyaḥ] **K [Ma] [Ja] [Mā] JM$_3$** ādityebhya **V122** ātyebhyaḥ **Ji$_4$** ādityebhy(o→)aḥ **Pa$_c$** ādityebh[. .] **V71** • āptyebhyo] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** āptebhyo **K JM$_3$** • **[’]**mum] amum, **K** muṃ **[O]** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ||$^1$ **V122 Ji$_4$** | **K**

Bhattacharya writes *āptyebhyomu[mā . . . .]* ||.

### 17.22.5 [prose]

marudbhyo [’]śvibhyāṃ brahmaṇe brahmaṇaspataye [’]mum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram ā vr̥ścāmi ||

I chop down such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother] before the Maruts, before the two Aśvins, before the formula, before the Lord of the formula.

marudbhyo] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** marubhyo **JM$_3$** • [’]śvibhyāṃ] aśvibhyāṃ **K** ’śvibhyāṃ **[Mā]** (*subs*.→’)śvibhyāṃ **V71** śvibhyāṃśvibhyāṃ **JM$_3$** śvibhyāṃ **Ma Ja Nā V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** • brahmaṇe] **[O]** vrahmaṇe **K** • brahmaṇaspataye] brahmaṇaspataẏe **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** brahmaṇaspataẏe || **Ji$_4$** vrahmaṇaspate | **K** • [’]mumāmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ] mumāmuṣyāẏaṇam amuṣyāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** mumāmuṣyāẏaṇam amuṣyā(*s.s.*→)ḥ **V71** amum āmuṣyāyeṇam amuṣyāḥ **K** • vr̥ścāmi] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vr̥ścyāmi **Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** ||$^1$ **V122** | **V71 K**

Bhattacharya writes *marudbhyo ’śvibhyāṃ* and *brahmaṇaspatayemum*°.

**17.22.6 [prose]**

a ye svaś cakrur ye svar $^{+}$jajñuḥ |
b tebhyaḥ svaḥkr̥dbhyaḥ svaḥkārebhyo [']mum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram ā vr̥ścāmi |
c te svaḥkr̥taḥ svaḥkārā amum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṃ parā bhāvayantu ||

Those who have crafted the sky, those who have generated the sky; before such crafters of the sky, before such makers of the sky, before them I chop down such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother]. Let them, the crafters of the sky, the makers of the sky, destroy such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother].

svaś] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śva(*s.s.*→sva)ś **V122** mbaś **K** • cakrur] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** cakr̥[x]r **Ji$_4$** cakru[x]r **JM$_3$** • svar $^{+}$jajñuḥ] svar yajñuḥ **Ma Ja Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** śva(s.s.→sva)ryajñuḥ **V122** mbarajirdhṇus (= Barret, R-V vs mbarajibṇus(Mumb. -cṇus) Bhatt.) **K** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ||$^{1}$ **V122** || **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • tebhyaḥ] **[O]** tebhyas **K** • svaḥkr̥dbhyaḥ svaḥkārebhyo] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$** svaḥkr̥dbhyaḥ svaḥkārebhyaḥ **Ji$_4$** svakr̥dbhyaḥ svaḥkārebhyo **V122** sakr̥dbhyaḥ svakārebhyo **Mā** svakr̥dbhyaḥ svakārebhyo **V71 JM$_3$** svakratubhyas svaḫkālebhyo **K** • [']mum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṃ] mum āmuṣyāẏaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** mumāmuṣyāḥ putraṃ **V71** amum, **K** • ā vr̥ścāmi] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ā vr̥ścyāmi **V122 Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** || **V71** *om*. **K** • te svaḥkr̥taḥ svaḥkārā] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** te svaḥkr̥taḥ svakārā **Pa$_c$** te svaṃkr̥taḥ svaḥkārā **V71** tebhyas svaḫkratubhyas svaḫkārā **K** • amum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṃ] amum āmuṣyāẏaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71** amum āmuṣyā[ḫ]ẏaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṃ **JM$_3$** amumā muṣyāẏa(X)ṇama muṣyāḥ putraṃ **Pa$_c$**[11] amum, **K** • parā bhāvayantu] parā bhāvaẏantu **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** parā bhāvantuḥ **Ji$_4$** parā bhāvaẏantuṃ **JM$_3$** *om*. **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** ||$_3$ **V122**[12] ||$^{3}$ **Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** | **K**

Bhattacharya writes *svarjajñuḥ*$^{+}$ and *svaḥkārebhyomum*°.

The compounds *svaḥkr̥t-* and *svaḥkāra-* are both hapax legomena.

**17.22.7 [prose]**

a ye tapaś cakrur ye tapo $^{+}$jajñuḥ |
b tebhyas tapaskr̥dbhyas tapaskārebhyo [']mum ° ° ° |
c te tapaskr̥tas tapaskārā amum ° ° ° |

Those who have crafted heat, those who have generated heat—before the crafters of heat, before the makers of heat, [I chop down] (…). [Let] them, the crafters of heat, the makers of heat, [destroy] such-and-such (…).

N.B. In **Ji$_4$** the notation *kā* and *kā$_3$* seem to indicate the two refrains, which are written *in extenso* in 17.22.6 and 17.22.8. On this notation see Griffiths 2009: xxxii §2.1.2.7.

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cakrur] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** caku **Ji$_4$** • $^{+}$jajñuḥ] yajñuḥ **O** jiṣṇus **K** • |] **Ja**

11 **Pa$_c$** here writes a sign that looks like a Roman capital letter X, which I have not seen elsewhere. I wonder if it could indicate that **Pa**'s exemplar featured an erased akṣara at that spot.

12 In **V122** here, the subscript (!) numeral '3' contradicts the superscript '1' after the first of the three lines.

**Ma V122 Pa$_c$ Mā V71** || **JM$_3$ Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** tebhyas tapaskṛdbhyas] **[O]** te tapaskṛtyas **K** • tapaskārebhyo] **K [Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** tapa(*s.s.*→ḥ)skārebhyo **V122** tapaḥkārebhyo **Ji$_4$** tapask(o →)ā(*s.s.* →re)bhyo **V71** • [']muṃ] amum, **K** muṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** mu | kā **Ji$_4$** mu **Pa$_c$** • |] **Ma Ja Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā V71** || **V122 JM$_3$** *om*. **K** • te tapaskṛtas tapaskārā amum] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** te [x](→ta)paskṛtas tapaskārā amuṃ **V122**[13] te tapaskatas tapaskārā | amuṃ kā(*s.s.*→)3 **Ji$_4$** te tapaskṛdbhyas tapaskārāmum, **K** • ||] **Ma Ja Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** ||$^3$ **V122** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *jajñuḥ*$^+$ and abbreviates the refrain in the second and third lines as *tapaskārebhyomu [māmuṣyā . . . ]* | and *tapaskārā amu[māmuṣyā . . . yantu]* |, respectively.

The compounds *tapaskṛt-* and *tapaskāra-* are both hapax legomena.

## 17.22.8 [prose]

a ye brahma cakrur ye brahma $^+$jajñuḥ |
b tebhyo brahmakṛdbhyo brahmakārebhyo [']mum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram ā vṛścāmi |
c te brahmakṛto brahmakārā amum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṃ parā bhāvayantu ||

Those who have crafted the formula, those who have generated the formula; before the crafters of the formula, before the makers of the formula, I chop down such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother]. Let them, the crafters of the formula, the makers of the formula, destroy such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother].

N.B. After *brahmakārebhyo* in 8b, **Pa$_c$** features a lacuna, which extends all the way to 17.22.9b.

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ye brahma cakrur] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ye brahma cakūr **Ji$_4$** ye vrahma cakrur **K** • ye brahma $^+$jajñuḥ] ye brahma yajñuḥ **O** ye vrahma jiṣṇus **K** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** || **JM$_3$ Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • tebhyo brahmakṛdbhyo] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** tebhyo brahmakṛbhyo **JM$_3$** tebhyo vrakṛdbhyo **K** • brahmakārebhyo] **[O]** vrahmakārebhyo **K** • [']mum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram] mum āmuṣyāẏaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** amum, amumāmuṣyāyeṇam amuṣyaḥ putram **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • ā vṛścāmi] **K [Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ā vṛścyāmi **V122** kṛścyāmi **Ji$_4$** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71** || **JM$_3$** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • te brahmakṛto] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** te vrahmakṛto **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • brahmakārā amum] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vrahmakārā mam **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṃ parā bhāvayantu] āmuṣyāẏaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṃ parā bhāvaẏantu **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** āmuṣyāyeṇam amuṣyaḥ putraṃ parā bhāvayantu **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71** ||$^3$ **V122 Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** | **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$**

Bhattacharya writes *brahmakārebhyomum*°.

The epithets *brahmakṛt-* and *brahmakārá-* are otherwise absent from the AV. However, the former is found seven times in RV, and is applied to various entities: first, to the Maruts, in RV 3.32.2, *gávāśiram manthínam indra śukrám píbā sómaṃ rarimā́ te mádāya | brahmakṛ́tā mā́rutenā gaṇéna sajóṣā rudraís tṛpád ā́ vṛṣasva* ||, "Mixed with cows [=milk], stirred (with meal), or pure, o Indra—drink the soma. We have given it to you for your exhilaration. Joined in pleasure with the formulation-making flock of Maruts, with the Rudras, drench yourself (in it), to satiety" (J-B).

13 In **V122** here, the correction is written in subscript directly below the erased akṣara, and is accompanied by the numeral '4', indicating that it refers to the fourth line in the manuscript.

Secondly, *brahmakr̥t-* is used to describe a *gaṇá* that is meant to accompany Agni in his mission towards the gods in RV 7.9.5b, *ágne yāhí dūtyàm mā́ riṣaṇyo devā́m̐ áchā brahmakr̥tā gaṇéna*); could these be the Maruts themselves? Or maybe the soma pressers (see below)?

The epithet is also found with reference to various gods in RV 10.66.5, *sárasvān dhībhír váruṇo dhr̥távrataḥ pūṣā́ víṣṇur mahimā́ vāyúr aśvínā | brahmakr̥to amr̥tā viśvávedasaḥ śárma no yaṃsan trivárūtham áṃhasaḥ* ||, "Sarasvant along with insights, Varuṇa whose commandments are upheld, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, the Greatness, Vāyu and the Aśvins, the creators of sacred formulations, immortal, having all possessions, they will extend to us shelter providing threefold defence from difficult straits" (J-B)—unless *brahmakr̥tó* is not an epithet here but a category of divine beings, perhaps again the Maruts.

However, the same epithet can also refer to humans, in particular to those who press the soma (RV 7.32.2a, 8.66.6cd, 10.50.7a). In one case, a Ṛgvedic poet attributes the epithet to himself in the final line of his composition (RV 10.54.6cd): *ádha priyáṃ śūṣám índrāya mánma brahmakr̥to br̥hádukthād avāci*, "So, a dear fortifying thought has been spoken to Indra from Bṛhaduktha, the crafter of sacred formulations" (J-B).

In most cases, it seems, the image evoked is that of a group of people (gods or seers) who craft poems out of the inspiration provided by soma drinking.

A similar image is inferred from the only RV occurrence of *brahmakārá-*, RV 6.29.4, *sá sóma ā́miślatamaḥ sutó bhūd yásmin paktíḥ pacyáte sánti dhānā́ḥ | índraṃ nára stuvánto brahmakārā́ ukthā́ śáṃsanto devávātatamāḥ* ||, "(But) the pressed soma has become the most firmly attached (to him), in whose (presence) the cooked food is cooked and there are roasted grains, while the men who create the sacred formulations are praising Indra and reciting their hymns as the men most cherished by the gods" (J-B).

Along the same lines, RV also features the word *bráhmakr̥ti-* "the preparation of the chanter's (*árcataḥ*) sacred formulation" (J-B), which is inspired by Indra (RV 7.28.5c, 7.29.5c, 7.30.5c), who then takes pleasure in it (RV 7.29.2a).

## 17.22.9 [prose]

a aghāriṇīm *amūm aghaviddhāṃ vikeśīm apapratidhim *āsāktāṃ devamanuṣyāḥ paśyantu |
b amum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṃ +ruruduṣīm ||

Let the gods and men see such-and-such [woman], without having anointed [her hair], struck by mishap, with dishevelled hair, without the [two] *pratidhí* ornaments, covered with ash, as she has been mourning such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother].

N.B. At the beginning of 17.22.9b, **K** shows an interpolation (anticipation) from 17.22.10b. The whole of 9a is missing from **Pa**$_c$.

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aghāriṇīm] **K Ma Ja V122 Mā** agharaṇīm **Ji**$_4$ **JM**$_3$ aghāraṇī[x]m **V71** *om*. **Pa**$_c$ • *amūm] amum **K Ma Ja V122 Ji**$_4$ **Mā V71 JM**$_3$ *om*. **Pa**$_c$ • aghaviddhāṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji**$_4$ **[Mā] V71** agharvaddhāṃ **JM**$_3$ aghaviddhām **K** *om*. **Pa**$_c$ • vikeśīm] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji**$_4$ **[Mā] V71 JM**$_3$ bikeśrīm **K** *om*. **Pa**$_c$ • apapratidhim] **V122 Ji**$_4$ **V71 JM**$_3$ apapratithim **Ma Ja**[14] amapratidhim **Mā** upapratim **K** *om*. **Pa**$_c$ • *āsāktāṃ] āsoktīṃ **Ma Ja V122 Mā V71 JM**$_3$ āsottīṃ **Ji**$_4$ āsoktān **K** *om*. **Pa**$_c$ • devamanuṣyāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji**$_4$ **[Mā]** devamanusyā **V71 JM**$_3$ devamanuṣyāḻ **K** *om*.

14 Given that all my **O** mss. read *apapratidhi*, with °*dhi*°, I am inclined to think that Bhattacharya's *apapratithi* (**Ma Ja**) with °*thi*° might be a misprint.

**Pa$_c$** • paśyantu | amum] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** paśyantu || amum **V122** mum **Pa$_c$** paśyantu | vayāṁ̀si śakunavayo mum **K** • āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ] āmuṣyāẏaṇam amuṣyāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** āmuṣyāḥẏaṇam amuṣyāḥ **V122** āmuṣyāyeṇam amuṣyaḥ **K** • putraṃ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** putra **JM$_3$** • $^{+}$ruruduṣīm] rurudhuṣīm **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71** rurundhuṣīm **Mā** rurudh(ī →)uṣīṃ **JM$_3$** ruduṣīn **K** • ||] **O** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *amū*maghaviddhāṃ*, probably correcting the akṣara *mu* into **mū*. He then writes *apapratidhim*, oddly without any emendation sign, although his mss. (**Ja**, **Ma**, **Mā**) do not feature that reading as such (it is found instead in **V122**, **Ji$_4$**, **V71**, **JM$_3$**)—unless °*thi*° in his apparatus is a misprint (see footnote 14). He then writes *āsoktīṃ*. Finally, he writes *rurudhuṣīm*, following the **O** mss.

**a**. Note that **amūm* stands for a feminine name. We can imagine that the name of an enemy's wife is to be supplied here.

With regards to *aghāriṇīm* and *vikeśīm*, Bhattcharya refers to ŚS 11.9, a hymn addressed to Arbudi, a (snake?) demon and ally of Indra, whom the poet invokes for help with defeating enemies. Indeed, within this hymn, ŚS 11.9.14 seems to describe the mourning wife or sister of a man (the speaker's enemy) who has been 'bitten, scratched' (i.e. killed?) by Arbudi: *pratighnānā́ḥ sáṃ dhāvantū́raḥ paṭūrā́v āghnānā́ḥ | aghāríṇīr vikeśyò rudatyàḥ púruṣe haté radité arbude táva* ||, "Smiting themselves let them (f.) run together, smiting on the breast, the thighs (?), not anointing, with dishevelled hair, wailing when the man is slain, bitten, O Arbudi, of thee" (Whitney). PW glosses *aghāríṇī-* more precisely with 'nicht salbend (die Haare)'.

The word *vikeśī́-*, certainly also referring to hair, is similarly used to describe a mourning woman in the same hymn in ŚS 11.9.7: *pratighnānā́śrumukhī́ kṛ̥dhukarṇī́ ca krośatu | vikeśī́ púruṣe haté radité arbude táva* ||, "Smiting herself, tear-faced, and crop-eared (?), let her yell, with dishevelled hair, when the man is slain, bitten (? *rad*), O Arbudi, of thee" (Whitney). Compare also ŚS 12.5.46–48 (~ PS 16.145.3–4), quoted in my comment on PS 17.22.10 below. The same word refers to a woman wailing and mourning in ŚS 14.2.60 (~ PS 18.12.7):[15] *yádīyáṃ duhitā́ táva vikeśy árudad gṛ̥hé ródena kṛ̥ṇvaty aghám | agníṣ ṭvā tásmād énasaḥ savitā́ ca prá muñcatām* ||, "If this daughter of thine has wailed with loosened hair in thy house, doing evil with wailing, from that sin let Agni and Savitar release thee" (Whitney).

More references to the connection between unkempt hair and mourning women in the Veda have been collected by Bloomfield (1890b: 336ff.). Particularly interesting is ŚS 8.1.19, *út tvā mṛ̥tyór apīparaṃ* [...] | *mā́ tvā vyastakeśyò mā́ tvāgharúdo rudan* ||, "I have passed you over death … may the women with dishevelled hair not wail over you, may the women who bewail misfortune (or who wail ominously) not wail over you" (Bloomfield, ibid., p. 339). The same author points out that, according to KauśS 84.10, women with dishevelled hair (*prakīrṇakeśyaḥ*) act as performers during the preparation of the cremation ground (*śmaśāna*).

Again *vikeśī-* is not only used to describe wailing women, but also sorceresses (*yātudhānī-*), for instance in a hymn meant to ward them off (ŚS 1.28.4cd: *ádhā mithó vikeśyò ví ghnatāṃ yātudhānyò* [...], "then let the horrid-haired sorceresses mutually destroy one another" (Whitney)), as well as in another hymn to describe certain evil beings whom Paśupati is asked to drive away (ŚS 11.2.11, "To Rudra": […] *sá no mṛḍa paśupate námas te paráḥ kroṣṭā́ro abhibhā́ḥ śvā́naḥ paró yantv agharúdo vikeśyàḥ*, "do thou be gracious to us, O lord of cattle; homage to thee; away let the jackals, the portents, the dogs go, away the weepers of evil with dishevelled hair" (Whitney); ~ PS 16.105.1). Cf. also ŚS 5.17.4ab (~ PS 9.15.4a), describing a meteor—a bad omen—as a woman with dishevelled hair: *yā́m āhús tā́rakaiṣā́ vikeśī́ti duchúnāṃ grā́mam avapádyamānām | sā́ brahmajāyā́ ví dunoti rāṣṭráṃ yátra prā́pādi śaśá ulkuṣī́mān* ||, "The misfortune, descending upon

15 This stanza belongs to a series of three (14.2.59, 60, 61 ~ PS 18.12.7, 8, 9) dealing with the purification of a house in which a marriage is being arranged, in the event that women have recently been mourning (with wailing and dancing) there (see Bloomfield 1890b: 336ff.).

the village, of which they say "this is a star with dishevelled hair"—as such, the Brahman's wife burns up the kingdom, where hath gone forth a hare [i.e. the moon] accompanied with meteors (*ulkuṣī*)" (Whitney).

The rare word *pratidhí* also occurs in a stanza about hair and probably mourning: PS 5.34.3 (in a charm "Against a female rival"), *ye keśā yau pratidhī , yat kurīraṃ ya opaśaḥ | atho ye te svāḥ santi , sarve te te 'bhiśocanam* ||, "The hair, the two *pratidhis*, the *kurīra*, the *opaśa*, and also the [hair] which is your own—they all are your torment" (Lubotsky). The only other occurrence of *pratidhí-* is in RV 10.85.8ab (the wedding hymn) ~ ŚS 14.1.8ab, *stómā āsan pratidháyaḥ kurī́raṃ chánda opaśáḥ*, "the praises were the *pratidhi*-ornaments, metre was the *kurīra*, the *opaśa*" (Lubotsky). Note that J-B still prefer the translation 'cross-bars': as Whitney (commenting on ŚS 14.1.8) points out, this interpretation is based on the commentaries, according to which the *pratidhí-*s are 'cross-pieces on the chariot pole' (cf. also Sparreboom 1985: 123). However, as Whitney himself noted (ibid.)—and our line supports his view—this word must indicate some kind of ornament.

According to AiGr II.1 §110b*β* p. 282, the preverb *ápa* as the first member of a bahuvrīhi yields various possible meanings: 'fern' (e.g. *ápodaka*, 'far from water, waterless', *ápaśiras*, 'without head', *apagrāma*, 'exiled, far from the community', etc.); 'verkehrt' (e.g. *apartú*, 'untimely'); and 'abgewandt' (e.g. Cl.Skt. *apaśruti*, 'from which one turns away his ears, unpleasant to hear'), the most common being the first meaning. Thus, the compound *apapratidhi-* must certainly mean 'without *pratidhí* ornaments'.

The compound *aghaviddhā-*, 'struck by mishap', is a hapax. Bodewitz (2006) has shown that, although the original, general meaning of *aghá-* in Vedic is 'evil', in RV it particularly expresses the misery of a victim of a mishap, and in the AV and ŚB it is specifically connected with the distress caused by mourning the loss of a relative. Such semantics perfectly fit our line. Thus we might also consider interpreting our compound as 'torn by sorrow'.

Bhattacharya writes *āsoktīṃ*, pointing out in his comment that it would be a hapax and considering a possible mistake for *āsotthīṃ*, which we could perhaps interpret as meaning 'standing on ashes', given that Bhattacharya further refers to PS 16.74.10a (~ ŚS 9.8.10a), *āso balāso bhavatu*, "Let the *balāsa*[16] become ash", and to *āsakundume*, as he writes the final part of PS 6.23.5d. As I understand it, this latter reference is also meant to provide a parallel of a problematic reading of the akṣaras °*kta*° and its confusion with °*ku*°, an error that he is considering for our text. In editing PS 6.23.5d, which presented a similar problem, Griffiths (2009: 250) opted to read °*kta*° over an attested °*ku*° (*...āsakun...* **O**, *...āmakuṇ...* **K**), and proposed the emendation **āsaktaṃ*, 'afflicted' (from *á-sañj-*). The line in question is very problematic, and I shall not discuss it here. I also refer to Griffiths's comment for a discussion of this adjective. Note that at any rate our mss. unanimously agree on reading °*kt*° (with the probably irrelevant exception of the often corrupted **Ji**$_4$). I shall simply observe here that perhaps **āsaktāṃ*, 'afflicted' (with feminine accusative ending; compare the long vowel in *āsoktān* in **K**), could be a possible emendation for our text. However, I alternatively propose the (unattested) compound *āsākta-*, 'covered in ash' (from *ā́sa-*, 'ash', and *aktá-*, the verbal adjective of *añj-*, 'to anoint'). Of course, the appropriate emendation should be the feminine accusative **āsāktāṃ* (for the long vowel in the ending, compare *āsoktān* in **K**). This would be a possible reference to covering one's head or body with ashes, a practice attested cross-culturally in relation to funeral ceremonies.

In conclusion, we can say that all these elements seem to portray a mourning woman, most likely the wife or sister of the reciter's enemy.

Bhattacharya follows the Odisha mss. and writes *rurudhuṣīm* at the end of the line. I can make no sense of this line if we accept a form of the root *rudh-*, 'to obstruct', and I rather propose to emend this final perfect participle to $^{+}$*ruruduṣīm* (cf. *ruduṣīṃ* **K**). The root *rud-*, 'to cry, weep', can also be employed in transitive constructions with the meaning 'to mourn, bewail, wail over

16 A kind of sickness: see Zysk 1985: 32f.

(someone)'. Meaning-wise, this seems more consistent with the theme of our stanza, and is supported by the many occurrences of forms of the root *rud-* in similar stanzas (see e.g. ŚS 8.1.19, quoted above, and Bloomfield 1890b for other references). A possible problem with this proposal is that no perfect form is attested before the Mahābhārata. In fact, this would be the earliest attestation of the perfect of *rud-*[17] or, from a different perspective, it would add to the indications that we are dealing with a rather late text. One may wonder what the poet is wishing to express here with a perfect: it is possible that he is magically invoking his enemy's death by treating it as a fact that has already happened.

**17.22.10 [prose]**

a aliklavā gr̥dhrāḥ kaṅkāḥ suparṇāḥ śvāpadāḥ patatriṇaḥ |
b vayāṃsi śakunayo ['']muṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ putrasyādahane carantu ||

Let the *aliklava* carrion birds, the vultures, the adjutant storks, the eagles, the scavengers, the winged ones (/ the carrion-eating winged ones), the birds, the *śakuni* birds, go about in the cremation ground of such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother].

aliklavā] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** alikḷavā **V122 Pa$_c$** alikḷīvā **Ji$_4$** aliklusāka **K** • gr̥dhrāḥ] **[O]** gr̥ddhrāḻ **K** • kaṅkāḥ] kaṅkās **K** kaṃkāḥ **Ma Ja Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** kaṃṅkāḥ **V122** • suparṇāḥ] suparṇṇā **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Mā V71** suparṇṇāsuparṇṇā **Pa$_c$** saparṇṇā **JM$_3$** suvarṇās **K** • śvāpadāḥ] śvāpadāḽ **K** śvapādāḥ **[Ma]?** ścapādāḥ **Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** • patatriṇaḥ] **[O]** patatriṇo **K** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** || **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • vayāṃsi] **K** vaẏāṃsi **[O]** • śakunayo] **K** śakunaẏo **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** syakunaẏo **Ji$_4$** • ['']muṣyāmuṣyāẏaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ] muṣyāmuṣyāẏaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ V71** 'muṣyāmuṣyāẏaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ **JM$_3$** muṣyāẏaṇasyāmuṣyāḥ **Mā Pa$_c$** muṣyāẏa[.]syā muṣyāḥ **V122** mum āmuṣyāyeṇam amuṣyaḥ **K** • carantu] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** carantu[ḥ] **JM$_3$** • ||] **[Ma]? [Ja]?** || 22 || ru 10 || **Mā V71 JM$_3$ Pa$_c$** || ru || 22 || **V122** || 22 || ° || **Ji$_4$**[18] *ZZ* phaśca 2 *ZZ* **K**

Bhattacharya writes *aliklavāḥ gr̥dhrāḥ* (if original, this sandhi would be problematic, but all my mss. read *-vā gr̥-*, so I assume that Bhattacharya's edition must feature a misprint) and *śvapādāḥ* in **a**. He writes *śakunayomuṣyā* in **b**.

**a**. Note that the word *alíklava-* occurs only twice in the ŚS, in 11.2.2 (~ PS 16.104.2), "To Rudra", and 11.9.9, "To Arbudi", the very same hymns that I quoted above with regard to *aghariṇī* and *vikeśī*. Whitney renders it with "buzzard", although, he admits, "purely conjecturally". Mayrhofer rather identifies it (correctly) as a carrion bird ("eine Art Aasvogel", EWAia I p.127). For a discussion on its etymology and a possible connection with terms like *kravís-* and *krūrá-* (possibly also with the hapax *ákravihasta-*, "whose hands are not bloody", (?) in RV 5.62.6 as well as *víklava-*, 'scared') see Das 1987, who discusses a possible interpretation as "dessen rohes Fleisch [von dem er sich ernährt] / Aas Feinde sind", based on variants with °*r*° (*ari*°, °*kravi-*, °*krava-*) the details of which do not interest us here. A third occurrence of *alíklava-* is found in JB 2.440, in which a story is told according to which the gods need to retrieve the cows stolen by the Paṇis and

17 Kümmel 2000 does not record any perfect form of *rud-*.

18 Note that the sequence "|| *22* || # ||" in **Ji$_4$** is extended (by leaving ample space between each sign) so as to fill up all the rest of the manuscript line up to the right margin. Clearly the copyist wished to make the end of the chapter match the end of the line, and wished the next chapter to begin at the left margin in the following line. This detail could be relevant when investigating the genetic relationship of this ms. and other mss. However, none of the extant mss. shows this pattern here.

entrust the *aliklava* with the task (*te devā aliklavam ūcus suparṇa imā no gā anviccheti*). The bird finds the Paṇis; these, however, present him with an offering of various milk products in exchange for his silence. The bird flies back and lies to the gods, but Indra squeezes his throat, making him vomit the milk products. The gods then send the bitch Saramā after the Pāṇis while Indra curses the *aliklava*: *taṃ ha tac chaśāpāśilaṃ jālma te jīvanaṃ bhūyad yo no gā anuvidya tā na prāvoca iti tasya ha etad grāmasya jaghanārdhe yat pāpiṣṭhaṃ taj jīvanam*, "[Indra] cursed him then: 'o scoundrel, may the life of you, who, having found the cows, did not tell us, become disreputable'. To him [belongs] that hind-part of the village, which is the worst (i.e. the dump, where the rubbish is wasted); that [is his] life". Whatever the interpretation, the word *alíklava* is most likely a substantive, although an adjectival use cannot be excluded (cf. Das 1987: 94f.).

The word *gr̥dhra-* already occurs 8 times in RV, both as an adjective, glossed by GW with 'gierig, begierig, eifrig strebend', and as a noun, 'Geier'. However, it can also be a general word for 'bird of prey': cf. RV 9.96.6, *brahmā́ devā́nām padavíḥ kavīnā́m, r̥ṣir víprāṇām mahiṣó mr̥gā́ṇām | śyenó gr̥dhrāṇāṃ svádhitir vánānāṃ, sómaḥ pavítram áty eti rébhan* ||, "Brahmán priest among the gods, track [= word]-finder among the poets, seer among the inspired ones, buffalo among the wild animals, falcon among the birds of prey, axe among the trees, gurgling the soma goes beyond the filter (= is the best[19])" (my translation).

The fourth item in our list, the *suparṇá-*, 'schön geflügelt' (PW), can also indicate both a bird of prey as the eagle, as well as vultures: GW glosses it with 'ein grosser Vogel: Adler, Geier'.

Fitzgerald (1998) has shown that the word *kaṅka-* (on which see also EWAia I p.289), glossed by all dictionaries with 'heron', not only refers to such bird, but is also used throughout the Mbh to indicate some kind of carrion-eating bird (which cannot be a heron, as these birds are not scavengers). Fitzgerald has proposed to identify it with the *Leptopilos dubius*, commonly known as the greater adjutant stork, or the *Leptopilos javanicus*, the lesser adjutant stork, both members of the ciconidae family—to which herons also belong—and both carrion birds. The word is not attested in RV.[20]

The identity of the *śakúni-* (or *śakuná-*; see EWAia II p. 603 for related forms) is unclear. It is sometimes described as a black or ruddy bird of ill-omen, *kr̥ṣṇáḥ śakúnir* in ŚS 7.64 (a two-stanza hymn against the evil influence of this bird) ~ PS 20.16.6-7 (immediately following a stanza against bad dreams, PS 20.16.5 = PS 5.23.7 ~ ŚS 4.17.5), and in PS 3.30.4a (a hymn against nightmares, which shows several parallels with PS 17.24 and 25 below); *kr̥ṣṇáḥ śakuná* in ŚS 12.3.12 (~ PS 17.51.3), notably a hymn about cremation, and ŚS 18.3.55 (~ PS 18.74.8 ~ RV 10.16.6), a stanza from a funeral hymn and in which *śvā́padaḥ* are also mentioned (see below); and *bradhnaḥ śakuniḥ* in PS 7.7.10, in which the *darbha* grass (to which the hymn is addressed) is employed against sorcerers (*yātudhā́na-*) and against this "ruddy bird"—again immediately following a stanza (PS 7.7.9) in which poor sleep is "burnt off" (*apadagdhaṃ* $^{+}$*duṣvapnyam* ...).

In relation to *ādáhana-*, 'cremation ground', compare the following lines, in which the image of carrion birds is juxtaposed with that of long-haired women (most likely wailing women) beating themselves (cf. my comment on PS 17.22.9 above): ŚS 12.5.46–48 (~ PS 16.145.3–4), *yá evā́ṃ vidúṣo brāhmaṇásya kṣatríyo gā́m ādatté || kṣipráṃ vaí tásyāhánane gr̥dhrāḥ kurvata ailabám || kṣipráṃ vaí tásyādáhanaṃ pári nr̥tyanti keśínīr āghnānā́ḥ pāṇínórasi kurvāṇā́ḥ pāpám*

19 On this use of *ati-i-* see my comment on PS 17.34.1b.

20 Elsewhere in the AV, *kaṅka-* is only found in the compound *kaṅkáparvan-*, attested in ŚS 7.56.1 (a hymn against poison of snakes and insects): *tíraścirājer asitā́t pr̥dākoḥ pári sáṃbhr̥tam | tát kaṅkáparvaṇo viṣám iyáṃ vīrúd anīnaśat* ||, "From the cross-lined [snake], from the black snake, from the adder [what is] gathered that poison of the heron-jointed (?) one hath this plant made to disappear" (Whitney) ~ PS 20.14.7, *tiraścirājer asitāt , $^{+}$pr̥dākor adhi saṃbhr̥tam | tat kaṅkaparvaṇo viṣam , iyaṃ vīrud adūduṣat* ||, "Von der Quergestreiften, von der Schwarzen, von der Gepunkteten Zusammengetragenes, das Gift der Ringumgürteten hat die Pflanze hier jetzt schlechtgemacht" (Kubisch). For a different interpretation of *kaṅkáparvan-* as 'scorpion', see Das 1985: 265f. Another compound, *kaṅka-cít-*, glossed by Mayrhofer as 'in Gestalt eines *k*° geschichtet' (EWAia I 289; cf. PW *s.v. kaṅka-*), is found in YV texts.

*ailabám* ||, "Whatever Kshatriya takes to himself the cow of a Brahman who knoweth thus. Quickly, indeed, at his killing the vultures make a din. Quickly, indeed, about his place of burning dance the long-haired women, beating on the breast with the hand, making an evil din" (Whitney).

As concerns the fifth word in our line, if we trust Bhattacharya's apparatus, all of the **O** mss read *ścapādāḥ* except for Bhattacharya's ms. **Ma**., which reads *śvapādāḥ*. The latter ms. is indeed the most reliable, and sometimes it alone preserves the correct reading, but given that all of the other **O** mss. (including mine) have *śca-*, I would not rule out the possibility of a misprint in Bhattacharya's apparatus. It is also possible that the reading of **Ma** is a secondary emendation from an original **O** **ścapādāḥ*. However, a solution such as *suparṇāś ca pādāḥ* doesn't make sense to me, and to imagine *suparṇāś* ca *[su]pādāḥ* with ellipsis of *su-* is perhaps too speculative. Given the reading of **K**, *śvāpadāḥ*, it seems safe to assume that the cluster *śv* is original. However, what is the word we are looking for? Bhattacharya, on the basis of **Ma**, opts for a nom. pl. form of the compound *śvapāda-* (= *śvapada*): 'a dog's foot, or its mark branded on the body' (MW), 'Hundepfote, als Brandmahl' (PW). This is a late compound of *śvan-* and *pāda-* (Manusmṛti+ according to the dictionaries) and is probably not the correct editorial choice. Again, following **K**, I would instead consider *śvā́pada-* a derivative of the old compound *śvápad-*.

The bahuvrīhi compound *śvápad-*, 'wildes Tier' (EWAia II 675 *s.v. śván-*; Hoffmann, 1956: 6 = 1976: 388f.), 'having the foot like that of a dog', is first found as a genitive plural in ŚS 8.5.11abc = 19.39.4abc (~ PS 16.28.1abc = PS 7.10.4abc)—the only occurrences in the AV— belonging to hymns "against witchcraft with an amulet" and "to the Kuṣṭha plant", respectively: *uttamó asy óṣadhīnām anaḍvā́n jágatām iva vyāghráḥ śvápadām iva* |, "Thou art the chief of herbs, as the ox of moving creatures, as the tiger of wild beasts (*śvápad*)' (Whitney). Griffiths (2009) translates PS 7.10.4 as follows: "You are the supreme among plants, like the ox among moving creatures, like the tiger among the 'dog-footed'". Thus, *śvápad-* seems to indicate a category of animals, among which the tiger (*vyāghráḥ*) is the most prominent example. This formation is an old one, as it is also attested as Av. *spō.pad-*, which is however the proper name of one of the holy beings worshipped in Yašt 13(116), a composition devoted to the *fravašis*, and thus does not teach us anything further about the semantics and use of this formation. A second Vedic occurrence, KS 35.4, is discussed below.

The vṛddhi derivative *śvā́pada-*[21] (according to MW 'beast of prey', PW 'ein reissendes Tier'; cf. also AiGr II, 1 §48a p. 109, §56c p. 133, Nachtr. p. 35; II, 2 §36bβ p. 122; Hoffmann *ibid*.) occurs 3x in the AV (one of which instances is paralleled in the RV) besides our line, 3x in ŚB[22] (one of which instances in the BĀU), 1x in ChU, 2x in BŚS, 1x in ŚāṅkhĀ and 1x in ĀpŚS, for a total of 11 occurrences (besides the one in our line). In six of these occurrences (plus the one in our line), the word is attested as a masculine, in five as a neuter.

It is interesting that all the words in our line refer to birds, so we need to explain why "wild beasts" would be mentioned here: can this word also indicate some kind of bird or be an adjective describing birds? In order to find an answer it will be worth it to survey all of its occurrences in prose and poetry, discuss its semantics, whether it is a noun or an adjective, and why, as we will see, it occurs both in the masculine and in the neuter gender.

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21 PW only records the lemmata *śvápad*. m., and *śvā́pada* m., n. Whitney, *Index*, p. 298, groups all ŚS occurences under the heading "*śvā́pada*, *śvā́pad*, *śvápad*", without specifying what attestation is an instance of which stem. AiGr II,1 §48a p. 109 also mentions all three stems. Just like PW, Hoffmann (1956: 7 = 1976: 388f.) identifies only two stems instead, and regards as suspect a nom. pl. from a stem *śvā́pad* in ŚS 11.10.8. He considers the option that it might be an error, or that it should be interpreted as a nom. sg. from the root *śvā́pada-*. Griffiths (2009) too only takes into consideration the stems *śvā́pada* and *śvápad*, but makes no mention of their gender. I follow PW, Hoffmann and Griffiths in positing only two stems, the bahuvrīhi *śvápad-* and the vṛddhi derivative *śvā́pada-*, as there is indeed no compelling evidence also to posit a stem *śvā́pad-*.

22 The references to ŚB given in PW (ŚB 5.5.4.10; ŚB 14.2.4.16; ŚB 4.2.29) are incorrect: the correct ones are the following: ŚB 5.5.4.10, ŚB 4.2.4.16; ŚB 14.4.2.29 (=BĀU 1.4.16).

Let's first consider the Vedic prose passages.

(1) In one ŚB passage (ŚB 5.5.4.10) various entities are born flowing out of the openings of Indra's vital breaths; among them are the *śvā́padas*. Here we learn that the *śvā́pada* is a category of animals of which is the tiger is the foremost (*śārdūlájyeṣṭhāḥ*): ŚB 5.5.4.10, *sá yán nástó 'dravat tátaḥ siṃháḥ sámabhavad átha yát kárṇābhyām ádravat táto kŕ̥kaḥ sámabhavad átha yád ávācaḥ prāṇā́d adrávat tátaḥ śārdūlájyeṣṭhāḥ śvā́padāḥ* (nom. pl. masculine) *sámabhavat* […], "From what flowed from the nose a lion sprang; and from what flowed from the ears a wolf sprang; and from what flowed from the lower opening wild beasts sprang, with the tiger as their foremost" (Eggeling). At first sight it is not clear whether the lion and the wolf should be excluded from the *śvā́pada* category, or if we should rather translate with "from what flowed from the lower opening [other] wild beasts sprang, with the tiger as their foremost". At any rate the mention of the *śārdūlá*, recalls the above-quoted occurrence of *śvápad-*, in which the most prominent example of the category was the *vyāghrá*. From this it would seem that *śvápad-* and *śvā́pada-* are synonyms.

(2) There is a second example in which *śvápad-* and *śvā́pada-* seem to be equivalent: ĀpŚS 9.17.5 describes what to do in case a *śvā́pada* touches (*mŕ̥ś-*) an oblation. The text prescribes the recitation of a stanza (~ KS 35.4) that calls on Agni to cleanse what a *śvápad-* has licked (*lih-* in the ĀpŚS version, but *mŕ̥ś-* in the KS version). The passage is the following: *yad avālikṣac chūpān* (cf. KS 35.4: *avā́mr̥kṣac chvápān*) *mukhena nirr̥te tava | agniṣ ṭat sarvaṃ śundhatu havyavāḍ ghr̥tasūdana iti śvāpadāvamr̥ṣṭam abhimantrayate | abhyavaharaṇādi pūrvavat | nātra pātraṃ prayujyate | anyasmin gr̥hṇāti*, "Wenn sie von einem Tiere, welches Klauen wie die des Hundes hat, berührt worden ist, so spricht er über derselben den Vers: 'Was ein hundefüssiges Tier mit deinem Munde, o Nirr̥ti, beleckt hat, das alles soll Agni ... reinigen'. Das Ins-wasser-werfen wie früher. Hier wird aber die Schale nicht wieder verwendet. Er schopft (neue gesprenkelte Butter) in eine andere Schale" (Caland). Here *śvāpada-* is compounded with *avamr̥ṣṭa-*, so we cannot infer anything about its gender. Note, however, how the *śvāpada-* of the prose text corresponds to *śvápad-* of the KS stanza as if they were synonyms.

(3) From a second ŚB passage (ŚB 4.2.4.16) we learn that the *śvā́padas*, like humans, touch the ground directly with their feet, as opposed to the hoofed animals, in which the hoof separates the foot from the ground. The passage describes how different creatures are born from a sacrifice, depending on whether the libations are placed on something that separates them from the ground, or on the ground directly: in the first case hoofed animals are born, whereas in the second case men and *śvā́padas* are born: *eṣá vaí prajā́patiḥ yá eṣá yajñás tāyáte yásmād imā́ḥ prajā́ḥ prájātā etám vevā́py etarhy ánu prájāyante sá yā́núpakīrṇe sādáyati tásmād yā́s tā́n ánu prajā́ḥ prajā́yante tā́ anyénātmáno 'syām prátitiṣṭhanti yā́ vaí śaphaíḥ pratitíṣṭhanti tā́ anyénātmáno 'syām prátitiṣṭhanty átha yád etáṃ vyúhya ná tŕ̥ṇaṃ ca nā̀ntardhā́ya sādáyati tásmād yā́ etam ánu prajā́ḥ prajā́yante yā́ ātmánaivā̀syām prátitiṣṭhanti manuṣyā̀ś ca śvā́padāś* (nom. pl. masculine) *ca*, "Now, that sacrifice which is being performed is Prajāpati, from whom these creatures on earth have been born,—and indeed even now they are born after this (sacrifice). The creatures that are born therefrom after those (libations) which he deposits on the raised (mound), stand on this (earth) with something different from their own self,—for those which stand on hoofs indeed stand on this (earth) with something different from their own self. And when he deposits this (Dhruva cup) after shifting aside (the dust), and not leaving so much as a blade of grass between,—the creatures that are born thereafter from this (sacrifice), stand on this (earth) with their own self, namely, men and wild beasts" (Eggeling). Therefore the *śvā́pada* is not any wild animal, but one that does not have hoofs.

(4) A passage from BŚS (24.5:189.8–10) lists categories of animals based on the typology of their legs (or their body shape): *saptāraṇyā dvikhurāś ca śvāpadāni* (nom. pl. neuter) *ca pakṣiṇaś ca sarīsr̥pāni ca hastī ca markaṭaś ca nādeyā saptame*, "The seven wild animals are: the cloven-hoofed, the *śvāpadas*, the birds, the creepy-crawlies, the elephant, the monkey, and as the seventh the river-animals" (transl. from Griffiths 2009, commenting on *śvápad-* in PS 7.10.4).

From the above passages it seems reasonable to consider the *śvā́padas* as wild animals, such

as tigers (and possibly lions and wolves) who have pads under their feet. Note also that from the BŚS passage, it would seem clear that *śvā́padas* and birds are different categories.

All the other post-AV passages support these conclusions. In particular the following two passages point to large four-footed beasts:

(5) In ŚāṅkhĀ 12.26, the neuter singular *śvāpadam* stands as a general term that apparently includes tigers, wolves and panthers: *nainaṃ vyāghro na vr̥ko na dvīpī na śvāpadaṃ* (nom. sg. neuter) *hiṃsati kiṃcanainam | na hastinaṃ kruddham upaiti bhītim irāmaṇiṃ bailvaṃ yo bibhartti* ||, "Him neither tiger, nor wolf, nor panther, nor beast of prey whatsoever hurts. No angry elephant meets he to scare him, who bears a comforting amulet of Bilva" (Keith).

(6) Similarly, a neuter singular is used in BŚS 27.5:329.6–8: *etad eva yasya puruṣo ratho 'śvo gaur mahiṣo varāho 'hir mr̥gaḥ śvā vānyad vā śvāpadam antarāgnīn gacchet*, "This [expiation] is for one whose fires would be trespassed by a man, a chariot, a horse, a cow, a buffalo, a boar, a snake, a deer, a dog, or another *śvāpada*" (transl. from Griffiths 2009 *ibid*.). Perhaps more precisely, "a dog or another *śvāpada*", without the comma, taking only the dog as member of the *śvāpada* family, and excluding the other hoofed animals.

The remaining two occurrences seem to make a clear distinction between the *śvā́padas* and birds:

(7) In ŚB 14.4.2.29 (=BĀU 1.4.16), the *ātman* is described as a *loká* for various entities, including *śvā́padas*, birds, and ants, mentioned together as opposed to humans and livestock: *átho ayám vā́ ātmā́ sárveṣām bhūtā́nāṃ lokáḥ, sá yáj juhóti yád yájate téna devā́nāṃ lokó, 'tha yád anubrūté ténārṣīṇām, átha yát prajā́m icháte yát pitŕ̥bhyo nipr̥ṇā́ti téna pitr̄ṇā́m, átha yán manuṣyàṇvāsáyate yádebhyó'śanaṃ dádāti téna manuṣyā̀ṇām, átha yát paśúbhyas tr̥ṇodakám vindáti téna paśūnāṃ, yád asya gr̥héṣu śvā́padā* (nom. pl. masculine) *váyāṃsyā́ pipī́likābhya upajī́vanti téna téṣāṃ lokó*, "Now, this self *(ātman)* is a world for all beings. So, when he makes offerings and sacrifices, he becomes thereby a world for the gods. When he recites the Vedas, he becomes thereby a world for the seers. When he offers libations to his ancestors and seeks to father offspring, he becomes thereby a world for his ancestors. When he provides food and shelter to human beings, he becomes thereby a world for human beings. When he procures fodder and water for livestock, he becomes thereby a world for livestock. When creatures, from wild animals and birds down to the very ants, find shelter in his houses, he becomes thereby a world for them" (Olivelle). The choice of mentioning these three groups of animals would seem based on the fact that they represent three very different categories, large predators, birds, and small insects—perhaps also in that they belong to different domains: the surface of the earth, the sky, and the ground—so as to cover the whole range of wildlife (as opposed to the domestic animals, *paśúbhyas*, mentioned before).

(8) Finally, ChU 7.2.1 lists all the things that Vāc, 'Speech', can make known, from the Vedas to all kinds of creatures; among them we find also the *śvāpadāni* (a neuter plural, as in example 4 above from BŚS): *divaṃ ca pr̥thivīṃ ca vāyuṃ cākāśaṃ cāpaś ca tejaś ca devāṃś ca manuṣyāṃś capaśūṃś ca vayāṃsi ca tr̥ṇavanaspatīñ śvāpadāny* (acc. pl. neuter) *ākīṭapataṅgapipīlakaṃ*, "sky, earth, wind, space, water, fire, gods, humans, domestic animals, birds, grasses, trees, and wild beasts down to the very worms, moths, and ants" (Olivelle). Again, birds and *śvā́padas* are distinguished here.

To sum up, it seems evident that in Vedic prose, *śvā́pada-* may in fact have simply replaced the older *śvápad-* as a general term for wild beasts, predators, such as tigers, wolves, panthers, but also dogs, all of which have pads under their feet (and not hoofs).

In the AV, however, the word *śvā́pada-* features more specific, and, as we will see, more archaic semantics: namely, it is used only in stanzas which, just like ours, deal with death and corpses, and it seems to indicate carrion eating animals—or wild beasts, only insofar as they are scavengers.

(9) ŚS 18.3.55 (~ PS 18.74.8; ~ RV 10.16.6, to Agni—this is also the only occurrence in the

RV) belongs to a funeral hymn and mentions animals feeding on the body of the deceased: *yát te kr̥ṣṇáḥ śakuná ātutóda pipīláḥ sarpá utá vā śvā́padaḥ* (nom. sg. masculine) | *agníṣ ṭád viśvā́d agadáṃ kr̥ṇotu sómaś ca yó brāhmaṇā́ṁ āvivéśa* ||, "What of thee the black bird thrust at, the ant, the serpent, or also the beast of prey, let the all-eating Agni make that free from disease, and the soma that hath entered the Brahmans" (Whitney); "What of yours the black omen-bird pecked at, or the ant, the serpent, or the dog-footed (beast), let omnivorous Agni make it free from curse, and Soma, who has entered the brahmins" (J-B). Here the *śvā́pada* is mentioned among other carrion-eating animals, the black bird, the ant, the serpent, from which it is distinguished (*utá vā śvā́padaḥ*).

The above is clearly a reference to the old practice of exposing the body of the dead for it to be devoured by carrion-eating animals. Such a practice was particularly important for the Zoroastrians. Vidēvdād 6.44ff. reads: "'Where, O Ahura Mazdā, shall we carry the body of a dead man, where lay it down?' Then said Ahura Mazdā: 'On the highest places, Spitāma Zaraθuštra, so that most readily (lit., "often") corpse-eating dogs (*sunō kərəfš.xᵛarō*) or corpse-eating birds shall perceive it'" (transl. from Boyce 1993). Once all the decayable parts of the body are removed by the animals, the bones are then placed in an ossuary (see Shahbazi 1987). Boyce (1993) points out that reference to dogs and birds as excarnators is standard in Iranian literature up to the Pahlavi texts, and that the practice of exposing dead bodies is attested throughout the history of the Iranian peoples. The same author cites ancient accounts from both western Classical sources (e.g. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.45.108, in turn based on Greek sources, according to which being devoured by dogs was considered the best burial in Hyrcania) as well as China (e.g., the traveller Wei-jie, who writes in ca. 6–7th c. A.D. Samarkand, describes a specialised community of undertakers who dispose of the dead by feeding them to special dogs in a dedicated building). Boyce remarks that "keeping dogs as excarnators is … attested for Bactria, Sogdia, and Hyrcania from Achaemenid to late Sasanian times, but is not recorded among western Iranians". Thus, the pratice of exposing the dead body seems to have existed in eastern Iran since earlier times, and have spread to western Iran with Zoroastrianism. It survived until the 1970s in Iran, and survives today in the Indian Parsis's practice of exposing their dead to the elements and to carrion-eating birds in the so-called "towers of silence".

As far as dogs are specifically concerned, besides their role as excarnators, they were actually employed in various Zoroastrian funerary rituals: for instance, during mourning, a rite known as *sagdīd* ('the viewing by the dog') was performed in which a dog (male and at least four months old) was brought to look at a corpse for three times (after the washing, after the fire was kindled, and before carrying the body to the place of exposure) (see Modi 1922: 58ff. and Omidsalar et al. 1995); also "during the three days after death […] a lane dog would be tied up in the courtyard (Persia) or on the verandah (Gujarat) and given food for the soul's sake at every mealtime, and then, in Persia, once a day outside the house for the next forty days" (Omidsalar et al. 1995 with references). In the rite known as *barašnom-e nō šaba*, a dog is shown to a person who undergoes purification from pollution caused by contact with a corpse, as it is believed to have the power to drive off Nasu, the contaminating carrion demon (Boyce 1988).

Behind these practices we can identify a conception of the dogs as repeller of the demons who might threaten the souls of the departed, as psychopomps, or as guardians of the path to the world of the afterlife. Such ideas are extremely old and can be compared to the shamanic myths in which dogs lead the shaman to heaven, or to the well-known mythical hellhounds (see Witzel 2012: 266), such as the four-eyed hounds of Yama (Keith 1925: 406–07)—probably a special kind of hunting hound from the subcontinent, such as the Tibetan mastiff (characterised by light-coloured tufts above the eyes which resemble a second set of eyes), which was also used in battle, most notably by the Persians against the Greek, as mentioned by Herodotus (7.187)—the dogs who guard the Činvat bridge (Vidēvdād 13.9, 19.30) in Zoroastrian religion, and the Greek Kerberos.

In the Indo-European world, the connection between dogs and the domain of death is visible in the initiation practices of the youth, who would spend certain periods of time in the wilderness in

a condition of ritualised marginality that allowed them to be in contact with their dead ancestors, acquire their power, learn the traditional lore, and thus be entitled to become adult warriors; at specific moments of the year, the young boys would return to the village and parade around in terrifying wolf masks that represented the dead ancestors visiting the world of the living—a tradition that survives in many forms across Indo-Europa up to today (see Appendix I). This connection between dogs and death may ultimately go back to pre-Indo-European times (see e.g. Schlerath 1954–58, White 1989 and 1991, Mair 1998, Kershaw 2000, Witzel 2012: 264ff., Brown & Anthony 2017). It may have even been precisely the wolves' scavenging habits to bring them nearby human settlements in the first place and favour contacts that would eventually lead to domestication (Zeuner 1963: 39, 83, cited in Omidsalar et al. 1995).

As far as the early Vedic culture is concerend, the documented methods of disposing of the dead body are mainly burial and cremation. However, exposure is indeed mentioned in the AV (Zimmer 1879: 408, Macdonell & Keith 1912: I, 8, Keith 1925: 417). In particular, the famous stanza ŚS 18.2.34 (*yé níkhātā yé pároptā yé dagdhā́ yé códdhitāḥ | sárvāṃs tā́n agna ā́ vaha pitr̥̄́n havíṣe áttave* ||) has been interpreted as listing four ways of disposing the body: *níkhāta*-, 'buried', *dagdhá*-, 'cremated', but also *páropta*- (<*vap*-), presumably 'cast away', and *úddhita*-, 'exposed'.

But the idea of dogs and birds feeding on the body of the deceased (often next to other carrion feeders, such as ants, worms and flies) is frequently found in passages—just like the one I am commenting on—that consist of curses, and portray the enemy as a dead corpse in an attempt at magically producing such an outcome. This might be indirect evidence of the practice of exposure, at least of the corpses of deceased warriors. As an example we may quote two stanzas from ŚS 11.10, a hymn to Triṣaṃdhi (which also contains invocations to Arbudi, the ally of Indra to whom ŚS 11.9 is dedicated and which I have quoted above with regards to *aghāríṇī*, *vikeśī́*- and *alíklava*-): ŚS 11.10.23–24 read *yé varmíṇo yé 'varmā́ṇo amítrā yé ca varmíṇaḥ | sárvāṃs tā́m̐ arbude hatā́ṃ chvā́no 'dantu bhū́myām || yé rathíno yé arathā́ asādā́ yé ca sādínaḥ | sárvān adantu tā́n hatā́n gŕ̥dhrāḥ śyenā́ḥ patatríṇaḥ* ||, "Who have defenses, who have no defenses, and the enemies who have defenses—all those, O Arbudi, being slain, let the dogs eat on the ground. Who have chariots, who have no chariots, those without seats and they who have seats—all those, being slain, let vultures, falcons, birds eat" (Whitney).

In the same Triṣaṃdhi/Arbudi hymn, ŚS 11.10, we find one of the AV occurrences of *śvā́pada*-:

(10) ŚS 11.10.8: *ávāyantāṃ pakṣíṇo yé váyāṃsy antárikṣe diví yé cáranti | śvā́pado* (=*śvā́padaḥ*, nom. sg. masculine[23]) *mákṣikāḥ sáṃ rabhantām āmā́do gŕ̥dhrāḥ kúṇape radantām* ||, "Let the winged ones descend, the birds, they that go about in the atmosphere, in the sky; let the wild beasts, the flies, take hold together; let the raw-flesh-eating vultures scratch at the human carrion" (Whitney).

Note that similar macabre scenes of dogs and birds feeding on the corpse of dead warriors are also described in Mbh (e.g. 5.139.51, 6.95.50, cited in White 1991: 221 fn. 24), and are most likely the testimony of an old Indo-European poetic tradition. In fact, similar images are frequent also in Homer (30x in the Iliad, 6x in the Odyssey: see Lilja 1976: 17ff. and footnote 15).

The last AV occurrence of *śvā́pada* is also found in a similar curse as the one we read before, this time belonging to the Arbudi hymn, ŚS 11.9:

(11) ŚS 11.9.9–10: *alíklavā jāṣkamadā́ gŕ̥dhrāḥ śyenā́ḥ patatríṇaḥ | dhvā́ṅkṣāḥ śakúnayas tr̥pyantv amítreṣu samīkṣáyan radité arbude táva || átho sárvaṃ śvā́padaṃ* (nom. sg. neuter) *mákṣikā tr̥pyatu krímiḥ | paúruṣeyé 'dhi kúṇape radité arbude táva* ||, "Let the buzzards, jāṣkamadás, vultures, falcons, winged ones, let the crows, the birds (*śakúni*), satisfy themselves—exhibiting among the enemies—in case of thy bite, o Arbudi. And let all the wild beasts [Note that

23 In his translation Whitney assumes a nom. pl. from the stem *śvā́pad*-, given that all the neighbouring nouns are plural, but this would be the only attestation of such a stem, and I agree with Hoffmann (*ibid*.) that this is suspect, and that it is either an error or to be taken as a singular.

*śárvaṃ śvā́padaṃ* is singular], let the fly, let the worm, satisfy itself upon the carrion of men, bitten, o Arbudi, of thee" (Whitney).

Note that the fact that the Vedic texts mention wild beasts in the role of excarnators and not specifically dogs is not problematic. First of all, the etymology of *śvápad* and *śvā́pada* speaks for itself. Secondly, the replacement of dogs with wild beasts in the imaginary of the Aryan people is a general phenomenon, as can be seen from the fact that in the lexicon of the South Indian Männerbund, the warrior is increasingly portrayed as a lion (*siṃhá*) or other local predator, and it is simply due to cultural adaptation to the new environment (see Vassilkov 2015: 235). Thirdly, the behaviour of tigers and similar predators is compatible with this idea: tigers, for instance, mainly feed on the bodies of the animals they hunt themselves, but do occasionally eat dead animals when driven by hunger and if it spares them the trouble of hunting. Also, other "dog-like" animals such as jackals and hyenas, which were most likely included in the *śvā́pada* category, are indeed scavengers.

All the above evidence goes to show that **K** *śvā́padāḥ*, with the meaning "wild beasts, predators", would thematically fit our line.

However, I still find it stylistically unsatisfying that wild beasts would be mentioned among what are otherwise only birds, and so many different kinds of birds: *śvā́padāḥ* is preceded by four kinds of birds, and followed by three more words indicating birds. Note that other stanzas of this kind also mention other carrion-eating animals (from flies to worms), but here only birds are mentioned. Thus, given the remarkable fluctuation in gender in the attestations illustrated above, I wonder if we shouldn't in fact consider the word *śvā́pada* primarily as an adjective, which, of course, can also be substantivised.

Hoffmann (1956: 6 = 1976: 388) considered the neuter to be a collective noun 'reißendes Getier' (with regards to *śvāpadaṃ* in (5) ŚāṅkhĀ 12.26, *śvā́padaṃ* in (11) ŚS 11.9.10, and *śvāpadāni* in (8) ChU 7.2.1—he does not mention the BŚS passages (4) and (6), which are the other two neuter occurrences). However, I find no real difference in the meaning of the neuter vs. the masculine occurrences.

For instance I find no difference in the use of the masculine plural *śvā́padāni* in the lists of (4) BŚS 24.5:189.8–10 and (8) ChU 7.2.1, as opposed to the masculine plural *śvā́padāḥ* in the lists of (1) ŚB 5.5.4.10 or (7) ŚB 14.4.2.29 (=BĀU 1.4.16): they simply seem to indicate a plurality of animals belonging to the *śvā́pada* category, and it seems unnecessary to translate the former as "packs of wild beasts".

Moreover, the phrase *śvā vānyad vā śvāpadam*, in (6) BŚS 27.5:329.6–8, can hardly admit a collective interpretation such as "a dog or another pack of wild beasts". This phrase, as well as the occurrence in (5), can easily be explained by interpreting the neuter singular *śvāpadam* as meaning "a wild beast", being used as a general term for any specimen of its kind, just like the masculine *vyāghro*, *vṛ́ko*, and *dvīpī*, which stand parallel to it in (5), or *śvā* in (6) simply mean "the tiger", "the wolf", "the panther", "a dog", as in "any tiger", "any wolf", "any panther", "any dog".

The phrase *sárvaṃ śvā́padaṃ mákṣikā tṛ́pyatu krímiḥ | paúruṣeyé 'dhi kúṇape* in (11) could indeed mean "Let a whole pack of wild beasts, let the fly, let the worm satisfy itself upon the carrion of a man", but *sárvaṃ* may also refer to both *śvā́padaṃ*, *mákṣikā* and *krímiḥ*, and it is neuter simply because it agrees with the noun that is closer to it in the sentence. Accordingly, *śvā́padaṃ* is singular just like *mákṣikā* (f.) and *krímiḥ* (m.) are. Thus the meaning can be "every wild beast, every fly, every worm"; so it appears that *śvā́padaṃ* can simply be both masculine or neuter, because its gender was not fixed.

If this is correct, it is likely that the nominal usage of *śvā́pada-* (with fluctuating gender) is derived from an original adjectival use, e.g. 'the ravenous one' < 'ravenous'—an adjective that could occur in either gender—in turn based on the meaning of the original compound *śvápad-*. Thus we have: *śvápad-* 'wild beast' > *śvā́pada* adj. 'ravenous (like a *śvápad*)' > *śvā́pada* noun (m./n.) 'the ravenous one'. In most cases the latter deadjectival substantive came to indicate a 'wild beast', and

as such is equivalent to the old *śvápad-* (as can be seen from examples (1) and (2)).

My contention is that in the dialect of the AV, probably because of the specific poetic tradition of portraying scenes featuring wild beasts as scavengers, the adjective came to be used a general term meaning ‘carrion-eating’, and thus the noun could also mean ‘carrion-eating animal, scavenger’ in general.

Thus, as regards our line, I believe it possible to consider *śvāpadāḥ* either as an attribute of *patatriṇaḥ*—and translate the two words together as “the carrion-eating winged ones”—or both words as substantivised adjectives: “the scavengers (i.e. the carrion-eating birds!), the winged ones”.

## Kāṇḍikā 23

### 17.23.1 [Anuṣṭubh]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | tad āpaḥ pra vahata- | 7 | [ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ] |
| b | -avadyaṃ ca malaṃ ca yat \| | 8 | [ ∪ – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | yad *duṣvapn$_{i}$yam ārima | 8 | [ – – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | yad *ṛ̥tānṛ̥tam ūdima \|\| | 8 | [ ∪ ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

O waters, do carry away that, [namely] the shame and the filth; when we have contracted poor sleep, when we have pronounced falsehood concerning *ṛ̥tá*.

tad āpaḥ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_{c}$ JM$_{3}$** yad āpaḥ **Mā Ji$_{4}$** tadā [ā]paḥ **V71** • pra vahatāvadyaṃ ca] **[Ma]? [Ja]?** pra vahatāvadyañ ca **Mā V71 JM$_{3}$ Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$** pra vahatā[.]dyañca **V122** pra vāhatā avadyaṃ ca **K** • malaṃ ca yat] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_{c}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** malañ ca yat, **K Ji$_{4}$** • |] **K [Ma] [Ja] Pa$_{c}$ Mā V71 JM$_{3}$** || **V122 Ji$_{4}$** • yad *duṣvapnyam] yad duḥsvapnyam **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$** yadusvapnyam **Mā** yaduspupnyam **V71** yaddupsvapnyam **JM$_{3}$** yadvasvapnim **K** • ārima] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_{4}$ [Mā] V71 JM$_{3}$** ārimaṃ **Pa$_{c}$** • yad *ṛ̥tānṛ̥tam udīma] yadṛ̥cānṛ̥tamudīma **[Ma] [Ja] V122 JM$_{3}$ Ji$_{4}$ Pa$_{c}$** yadūcānṛ̥tamudīma **Mā V71** yadṛ̥jā arṣatamūlima **K** • ||] **[O]** | **K**

Bhattacharya writes *duḥsvapnyam* in **c** and *ṛ̥cānṛ̥tam* in **d**.

**a**. Compare ŚS 10.5.24, *ariprā́ ā́po ápa riprám asmát* | *prā́smád éno duritáṃ suprátīkāḥ prá duṣvápnyam prá málaṃ vahantu* ||, “Free from defilement [are] the waters ; [let them carry] away from us defilement, forth from us sin, mishap, they of good aspect; let them carry forth evil dreaming, forth filth” (Whitney); in part repeated in ŚS 16.1.10–11, *ariprā́ ā́po ápa riprám asmát* || *prā́smád éno vahantu prá duṣvápnyaṃ vahantu* ||, “Free from defilement [are] the waters; let them [carry] away from us defilement. Let them carry forth from us sin; let them carry forth evil-dreaming” (Whitney).

**b**. Bhattacharya writes °-*vadyaṃ ca*°, silently implying that mss. **Ma** and **Ja** feature the sequence °*aṃc*°, but since all my **O** mss. (and also **Mā**, as reported by Bhattacharya’s apparatus) rather feature the cluster °*añc*°, it is hard for me to imagine that **Ma** and **Ja** would differ. At any rate, I normalise it on the basis of **K** °*aṃc*°. Interestingly, the situation is the opposite in the second half of the line, where the **O** mss. have *malaṃ ca* (except for the corrupt **Ji$_{4}$**) and **K** has *malañ ca*.

**c**. On the issue of the spelling of the word for ‘poor sleep’, see my Introduction, §2.3.1.

The 1pl. perfect *ārima* may belong to the simplex root $^{2}$*ar*- (PIE *h$_{1}$er-), pres. *ṛ̥chá́ti*, or to the same root compounded with preverb *ā́*. The latter lexeme is frequently found with *ā́rti*, *énas* or similar words as objects, in the meaning ‘incur (evil), contract (an illness), suffer (from a disease)’.

Compare ŚS 4.27.6[24], AB 2.31.6[25], ŚB 1.6.1.16[26], ŚB 1.4.3.11[27], ŚB 3.6.1.29[28], TB 3.7.12.2 (~ TĀ 2.3.1)[29]. Given the semantics of our line, I opt for this latter meaning (cf. Kümmel 2000: 103): it seems that *duṣvapnyam*, 'poor sleep, nightmare', is conceived as an illness one may contract.

**d**. Bhattacharya accepts the **O** reading, *ṛcānṛtam*, 'falsehood concerning verses'(?). Indeed both **O$^{A}$** °*ṛcā*° (**O$^{B}$** °*ucā*°) and **K** °*ṛjā*° point to the presence of a palatal in the archetype. However, the word *ṛca-* is only found at the end of compounds, e.g. *tryṛca-* (or *tṛca-*), *caturṛca-* etc., so this compound seems implausible to me, as we'd expect *ṛc-anṛta-*. I tentatively suggest the emendation **ṛtānṛtam*, from a compound *ṛtānṛta-* (*ṛtá-* + *ánṛta-*). This compound is recorded in MW as a Dvandva meaning 'truth and falsehood', but it is never found in RV and AV (cf. instead the attested *satyānṛtá-*, 'truth and falsehood', RV 7.49.3b). Therefore, I rather propose a tatpuruṣa interpretation of the kind *aśvānṛta-*, 'falsehood/false testimony concerning horses', *gavānṛta-*, 'falsehood concerning cows' (both in Manu 8.98), *puruṣānṛta-* 'falsehood concerning men' (Manu 9.71), *bhūmyanṛta-* ' falsehood concerning land' (Manu 8.99).[30]

**17.23.2 [7 + 8?]**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | āpaḥ sapta sravantīs | 7 | [ – – – ∪ ∪ – – ] |
| b | tā no muñcant$_{u}$v aṃhasaḥ ‖ | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

The seven streaming waters—let them free us from anxiety.

N.B. **Ji$_4$** features a lacuna and lacks the sequence corresponding to °*stānomuñcan*°.

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āpaḥ sapta sravantīs tā] **[Ma] [Ja] V122** apaḥ sapta śravantī **Ji$_4$** apaḥ sapta sravantīs ta **Pa$_c$** apas

24 ŚS 4.27.6, *yádīd idáṃ maruto mā́rutena yádi devā daívyenedṛ́g ā́ra | yūyám īśidhve vasavas tásya níṣkṛtes té no muñcantv áṃhasaḥ* ‖, "If now indeed, O Maruts, by what relates to the Maruts—if, O gods, by what relates to the gods, I have fallen into such a plight: ye, O Vasus, are masters of the removal of that: let them free us from distress" (Whitney).

25 AB 2.31.6, *sa ya enaṃ śaste tūṣṇīṃśaṃsa upa vā vaded anu vā vyāharet, tam brūyād: eṣa evaitām ārtim ārişyati.* […] *so ha vāva tām ārtim ṛchati, ya evaṃ vidvān saṃśaste tūṣṇīṃśaṃsa upa vā vadaty anu vā vyāharati* […], "If any person should after ther recitation of the silent praise reproach him or curse him, he should say of him, 'He will fall into this misfortune […].' He falls into misfortune who knowing thus, after the silent praise is recited, either reproaches or curses" (Keith).

26 ŚB 1.6.1.16, *sá yády enam purástāt yajñásyānuvyāháret tám práti brūyān múkhyām ā́rttim ā́riṣyasy andhó vā badhiró vā bhaviṣyasī́ty etā́ vaí múkhyā ā́rttayas táthā haivá syāt*, "And if any one were to imprecate evil on him previously to (or, in the fore-part of) the (chief) sacrifice, let him be thus spoken to, 'Thou shalt suffer some disease of the face! thou shalt become either blind or deaf!' for these, in truth, are diseases of the face: and thus it would indeed fare with him" (Eggeling).

27 ŚB 1.4.3.11, *sá yády enam prathamā́yāṃ sāmidhenyā́m anuvyāháret tám práti brūyāt prāṇáṃ vā́ etád ātmáno 'gnā́v ā́dhāḥ prāṇénātmána ā́rttim ā́riṣyasī́ti táthā haivá syāt*, "And if anyone were to curse this one (the Hotri) at the (recitation of the) first kindling verse, then he (the Hotri) should say to him, 'Thereby thou hast put thine own out-breathing into the fire: by that out-breathing of thine shalt thou undergo suffering!' for this is what would take place" (Eggeling).

28 ŚB 3.6.1.29, […] *tásmād yáṃ dīkṣitā́nām abalyáṃ vindéd ā́gnīdhram enaṃ nayatéti brūyāt tád ánārtaṃ tán nā́riṣyatī́ti*, "And if weakness were to come upon one of those that are consecrated, let (the Adhvaryu) say, 'Lead him to the Agnidhra !'—thinking 'that is unscathed, there he will not meet with affliction.'" (Eggeling).

29 TB 3.7.12.2 (~ TĀ 2.3.1), *ṛténa dyāvāpṛthivī | ṛténa tvā́m̐ sarasvati | kṛtā́n mā muñcata_énaso* (em. Dumont) *yád anyákṛtam ārimá*, "By means of the cosmic truth, O Heaven and Earth, by means of the cosmic truth, O you Sarasvatī, do free us from the evil that is caused, when we incur [evil] caused by others" (my transl.).

30 After all, Bhattacharya's *ṛcānṛta-*, if meaning 'falsehood concerning verses', would require a similar interpretation.

taptaḥ sravantis tā **Mā** apa(*s.s.*→)ḥ saptaḥ sravantis tā **V71** apaḥ sapta sravantisā **JM$_3$** āpas sapta sravantīs **K** • no muñcantv] **Ja Mā V71 JM$_3$** no muñcaṃtv **Ma V122 Pa$_c$** tv **Ji$_4$** muñcaṁtv **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** || 3 || **Mā V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *muñcaṃtv* in **b**.

**17.23.3** **[Anuṣṭubh]** ~ PS 3.17.4 ~ PS 19.12.5 ~ ŚS 6.96.2 (= ŚS 7.112.2) ~ RV 10.97.16; a. ~ ŚS 11.6.7a (~ PS 15.16.7a); cd. ~ 8.7.28cd

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | muñcantu mā śapath$_i$yād | 8# | [ – – ∪ – \| ∪ ∪ ∪ × ] |
| b | atho varuṇ$_i$yād uta \| | 8 | [ ∪ – ∪ ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | atho yamasya *paḍvīśād | 8# | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| ∪ – – × ] |
| d | viśvasmād devaduṣkr̥tāt \|\| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Let them free me from [the fetter] of a curse, and also from [the fetter] of Varuṇa; and from the fetter of Yama, from every offence against the gods.

śapathyād] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śa(*s.s.*→sa)pathyād **V122**[31] • varuṇyād] **[O]** vāruṇyād **K** • |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** || **Ji$_4$** • *paḍvīśād] paḍvīṣād **Ja Ma Pa$_c$** paṛvīśād **V122** paḍviṣād **Ji$_4$** paḍvīṣā **Mā V71 JM$_3$** paḍbiṣād **K** • viśvasmād devaduṣkr̥tāt] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** visvasmā devaduṣkr̥tāt **Ji$_4$** viśvasmādevakilviṣāt, **K** • ||] **[O]** | **K**

PS 3.17.4
muñcāmi tvā śapathyād atho varuṇyād uta |
atho yamasya paḍvīśād viśvasmād devakilbiṣāt ||

PS 19.12.5
muñcantu mā śapathyād atho varuṇyād uta |
atho yamasya paḍvīśād viśvasmād devakilbiṣāt ||

ŚS 6.96.2 = ŚS 7.112.2
muñcántu mā śapathyàd átho varuṇyàd utá |
átho yamásya páḍbīśāt víśvasmād devakilbiṣát ||

RV 10.97.16
muñcántu mā śapathyàd átho varuṇyàd utá |
átho yamásya páḍbīśāt sárvasmād devakilbiṣát ||

ŚS 8.7.28
*út tvāhārṣaṃ páñcaśalād átho dáśaśalād utá* |
átho yámasya páḍvīśād víśvasmād devakilbiṣā́t ||

ŚS 11.6.7ab (~ PS 15.16.7a)
muñcántu mā śapathyȁd *ahorātré átho uṣā́ḥ* | […]

Bhattacharya reads $^{+}$*paḍvīśād*.

31 The correction is placed in the upper margin and followed by a number "3" pointing to our text in the third line of the mss., where the typical three-dot sign indicates that *sa* should replace the *akṣara* '*śa*'. Clearly the correction is wrong.

Whitney translates the ŚS version as follows: “Let them free me from that which comes from a curse, then also from that which is of Varuṇa, then from Yama's fetter, from all offense against the gods” (Whitney). J-B translate the RV version as follows: “Let them release me from (the shackle) of a curse, and also from (the shackle) of Varuṇa, and from the shackle of Yama—from every offence against the gods” (J-B).

**a**. Note that all versions of pādas **ab** have *muñcantu mā*, except for PS 3.17.4 which reads *muñcāmi tvā*, “I free you”. The latter phrase also opens ŚS 1.10.4a (also an Anuṣṭubh), and PS 1.62.1a (~ ŚS 3.11.1a = ŚS 20.96.6a), which, however, is a Jagatī line.

**c**. I replace Bhattacharya’s emendation *+paḍvīśād*, marked by a + sign, with conjecture marked by a * sign, as all the mss. read °*ṣ*° for °*ś*°, even though confusion between these two sounds is a very common mistake (see Kim, *Auss*., p. 53ff.). Note, however, that the reading is preserved correctly in some of the mss. for PS 3.17.4. The word in question appears in two variants: *páḍbīśa-* (in RV) and *páḍvīśa-*. It may indicate a ‘foot-fetter’ (this is the translation adopted by J-B; cf. e.g. RV 1.162.14b, 16c.), if the first part is indeed the word *pád-* ‘foot’ (although retroflexed forms such as ins. pl. *paḍbhíḥ* would be difficult to explain); others connect it with a root *paś-*, “to fasten” (cf. *pā́śa-* in 17.23.4b below); the second part of the word is unclear (see EWAia II p. 68f.).

**d**. Note that the RV version reads *sárvasmād* against AV *viśvasmād*. The use of *viśva-* in the meaning ‘all, every’ is already rare in the later books of RV. Given that the RV parallel provided above reads *sárvasmād*, the AV reading *víśvasmād* looks like an intentional archaism.

Note that all parallels (including the PS parallels) read *devakilbiṣā́t*, as does **K** (*devakilviṣāt*), against **O** *devaduṣkr̥tāt*. These are the only occurrences of *devakilbiṣá-* in the RV and AV. On the other hand, *devaduṣkr̥ta-* appears to be a hapax. The two words seem to convey the same meaning. This situation requires a difficult editorial decision: **O** *devaduṣkr̥ta* being unattested elsewhere, could be a corruption; however, it is also possible that **K**’s reading is due to perseveration from the other PS parallels, or that **K**’s transmission has been influenced by ŚS and RV. Therefore, since the reading of **O** is grammatical, I choose to adopt it, on the basis of the priniciple of *lectio difficilior*, and with the goal of preserving a variant that would otherwise be overlooked.

### 17.23.4 [prose]

+jāmiśaṃsād duṣvapnyād druho mā muñcantu varuṇasya pāśāt ||

From a sibling’s curse, from poor sleep—let them free me from deceit, from the fetter of Varuṇa.

+jāmiśaṃsād] jāmi[x](→śaṃ)sād **Ji$_4$** jāmisaṃsād **Ma Ja JM$_3$** yāmisaṃsād **V122** jāmisaṃsā **Pa$_c$** yāmiśaṃsā **Mā** jāmisaṃsā **V71** jahāsiśaṃsād **K** • duṣvapnyād] **K** duḥsvapnyā **Ma Ja V122** dru(*subs.*→ du)ḥsvapnyā **Ji$_4$** dyusvapnyā **Pa$_c$** dusvapnyā **JM$_3$** dusvapnā **Mā** (*subs*. du)spapnā **V71** • druho] **[O]** druhe **K** • muñcantu] **[O]** muñcaṃntu **K** • pāśāt ||] **[O]** pāśāt, **K**

Bhattacharya writes *jāmiśaṃsād duḥsvapnyād* in pāda **a**.

Compare ŚS 2.10.1ab (~ PS 2.3.1ab): *kṣetriyā́t tvā nírr̥tyā jāmiśaṃsā́d druhó muñcāmi váruṇasya pā́śāt* |, “From *ksetriyá*, from perdition, from imprecation of sisters, from hatred do I release thee, from Varuna's fetter” (Whitney); slightly modified in the following stanza, ŚS 2.10.2cd (repeated in stanzas 3-8; ~ PS 2.3.4cd), *evā́hám tvā́m kṣetriyā́n nírr̥tyā jāmiśaṃsā́d druhó muñcāmi váruṇasya pā́śāt* |, “so from kṣetriyá, from perdition, etc. etc.” (Whitney).

**a**. *jāmi-* can indicate both a m. and f. sibling, although more frequently a female relative belonging to one’s own clan, i.e., from the perspective of a male, every woman from his generation whom he is forbidden to marry in accordance to the exogamy rule (see Brough 1953: xiv).

b. The concept of "deceit's fetter" goes back to the RV (e.g. 7.59.8.c), as does the concept of "Varuṇa's fetter". Varuṇa, the god personifying kingship and judicial authority, punishes by "binding": being bound by Varuṇa's fetter is the punishment for violating *ṛtá-*, which can be done by committing untruthfulness in speech or action, i.e. by deception and betrayal of oaths, or, especially in later ritualistic literature, by making ritual errors (cf. e.g. RV 1.24.15a, 7.88.7b; see also my comment to PS 17.23.3 above); this concept is common also in AV (see e.g. ŚS 7.83 "For release from Varuṇa's fetter") and is even more frequent in later literature (see Brereton 1981: 128ff.); the exact formula *váruṇasya pā́śāt* (invariably next to a form of *muc-*) is found in RV 6.74.4c and 10.8524a (~ ŚS 14.1.19a, 14.1.58a ~ PS 18.2.6a), and even more frequently in the AV: ŚS 14.1.57c, 14.2.49a (~ PS 18.11.9a), 16.8.26e (~ PS 18.52.28b); PS 1.33.5d (*pra mā muñcantu varuṇasya pāśāt* ||), 2.52.5d, 5.32.2d, 20.8.8d.

**17.23.5 [prose]**

mahyam indro varuṇo bṛhaspatiḥ savitā varca ādadhan ||

To me, Indra, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati, Savitṛ will give splendour.

bṛhaspatiḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** bṛhaspati **V122** vṛhaspatis **K** • varca ādadhan ||] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** varca sā ādhan, || **V122** varccasādadhan, || **Ji$_4$** varcca ādadhan, || **Pa$_c$** varca dadhaṃ | **K**

Note how both the fact that the non-enclitic form of the dative of the 1st person pronoun is used, and the fact that it is dislocated to the left before the four subjects, are meant to express emphasis.

**17.23.6 [prose]**

bhrātṛvyahan *sapatnahann asau me bhrātṛvyo [']sau sapatnaḥ ||

O slayer of rivals, O slayer of foes, such-and-such [is] my rival, such-and-such [is] my foe.

bhrātṛvyahan] bhrātṛvyahaṃ [**Ja] [Ma] [Mā] Pa$_c$** bhrātṛ(*subs.*→vy)haṃ **V122**[32] bhrātṛvyaha **Ji$_4$** bhrātṛvyaṃhaṃ **V71 JM$_3$** bhātṛvyaṃ sau **K** • *sapatnahann asau me] sapatnaham asau me **Ja Ma Mā V71 JM$_3$ Pa$_c$** sapatnaham aso me **V122** sapatnahasasau me **Ji$_4$** sapatnāsaso me **K** • bhrātṛvyo [']sau sapatnaḥ] bhrātṛvyo 'sau sapatnaḥ **[Ma]** bhrātṛvyo sau sapatnaḥ **Ja Pa$_c$ Mā V71** bhrātṛvyo sau sapa[.]tnaḥ[ḥ] **JM$_3$** bhrātṛnyo(/nvo) sau sapatna(*subs.*→ na)ḥ **V122**[33] bhrātṛbhyasau sapatna[~~na~~](*subs.*→na)ḥ **Ji$_4$** bhrātṛvyaṃ sau mapatnaḥ **K** • ||] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$ | Mā V71**

Bhattacharya reads: *bhrātṛvya<u>haṃ</u> sapatna<u>hama</u>sau* and *bhrātṛvyo 'sau*.

Once again (cf. my comment on 17.21.2 above), the pronoun *asaú-* does not mean 'that one

32 The correction is written in the bottom margin and followed by a numeral "4" referring to line four just above it, where an inverted candrabiṇḍu (*kākapada*) marks the point where the correction should be inserted.

33 This apparently redundant correction written in the bottom margin is marked in exactly the same way as the previous one. Note the strikingly similar correction in **Ji$_4$**.

over there', but is merely meant to be replaced by the name of the victim during the recitation of the curse. The latter is apparently spelled out in PS 17.23.7 below.

For a discussion on the meaning of *bhrā́tr̥vya-*, originally 'brother's son, nephew', but specifically in Vedic also 'father's brother's son, cousin' > 'rival (as far as family inheritance is concerned)' > 'enemy', see Benveniste 1969: 259ff.; on the formation type, see also Rau 2011. The rare compound *bhrātr̥vya-hán-* , 'slayer of rivals', appears in the feminine *bhrātr̥vya-ghnī́-* in ŚS 10.9.1, addressing a cow that is being sacrificed, but also in the masculine in TS 1.3.2.1,6(=f), as an epithet of the Samrāj metre, and in AB 4.2, as an epithet of the Nānada *sāman*.

The compound *sapatna-hán-*, 'slayer of rivals', already occurs in RV 10.166.2a (in which the poet compares himself to Indra), 10.170.2d (as an epithet of Sūrya), 10.174.5a (praising a king), and also in 10.159.5a (*sapatna-ghnī́-*), rendered by J-B with "smiting cowives", and it is fairly common in the AV as an epithet of a variety of figures.

The term *sapátna-* is an analogically formed masculine corresponding to *sa-pátnī-* 'co-wife, female rival' (Macdonell & Keith 1912: II, 424), and it indicates a 'rival, enemy' in general. However, since *bhrā́tr̥vya-*'s meaning of 'rival, enemy' is also derived from a situation of family-internal rivalry (specifically that which may occur among heirs of the same head of an enlarged family), I wonder whether this line (which most likely introduces the curse in the next paragraph) refers specifically to two aspects of such family-internal rivalries.

Note that a sequence of two vocatives is also met with above in 17.21.4a.

On the (very variable) sandhi of final *-n* before *s-*, see Griffiths 2009: lx §2.8(G). As for the case of final *-n* before vowel, the expected sandhi is *-nnV-*, although again with a great variety of attested variants (cf. Griffiths 2009: lvi §2.8(D)). In our case both **O** and **K** actually seem to point to the reading *sapatnahamasau*, with °*ma*° (in **K** and **Ji4**, °*sa*° must be an error for °*ma*°); therefore an emendation is necessary.

**17.23.7 [prose]**

a taṃ hanmi
b taṃ ⁺duṣvapnyena vidhyāmi
c tam anāyuṣṭayā vidhyāmi
d taṃ kṣapitāyavyena vidhyāmi
e tam adharāñcaṃ mr̥̊tyupatham abhy apa nudāmi ||

I slay him, I pierce him with poor sleep, I pierce him with deprivation of lifetime, I pierce him with the condition of having a ruined lifetime, I thrust him onto the downward path of death.

⁺duṣvapnyena] duṣvapnena **K** duḥsvapnyena **[Ma] [Ja] Ji₄ Pa꜀** duḥsva([x]ye→*subs*.pnye)na **V122** dusvapnena **Mā** dduspa[xx]pnyena **V71** dusvāpny[x]ena **JM₃** • vidhyāmi] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa꜀ [Mā] V71 JM₃** vidhyāni(//)vidhyāmi **Ji₄** vidyati **K** • tam anāyuṣṭayā] tam anāyuṣṭaẏā **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa꜀** tam anājuṣṭaẏā **Mā V71 JM₃ Ji₄** tamunā iṣṭayāvena **K** vidhyāmi] **[O]** viddhyāmi **K** • kṣapitāyavyena] kṣapitāẏavyena **[Ma] V122 Ji₄ [Mā] V71** kṣipitāẏavyena **Ja** kṣepitāyavyena **Pa꜀**[34] pitāẏavyena **JM₃** kṣītayavena **K** • vidhyāmi] **[O]** viddhyāmi **K** • tam adharāñcaṃ] **[Ja] [Ma] V122 Pa꜀ V71** tam adharāñca **Mā Ji₄** tam adh(i→)arāñcaṃ **JM₃** tam adharāñcaṃ **K** • mr̥̊tyupatham abhyapa nudāmi] **[O]** mr̥̊tyumathanabhya(*s.s.*→natya)purādāsī **K** • ||] **Ma**[35] || 9 || **Ja?**[36] || ru 9 || 23 || **V122** || 23 || **Ji₄** || 23 || ru || **Pa꜀** || 23 || ru 10 || **Mā V71** || 23 || 10 || **JM₃** *Z* pha 3 *Z*

34 Here **Pa꜀** does not spell *-ẏ-* between vowels.

35 Bhattacyarya simply states that **Ma** does not feature any numeral at the end of the *kāṇḍikā*.

36 Bhattacharya simply states that, at the end of the *kāṇḍikā,* **Ja** writes the numeral "9", but does not explicitly

**K**

Bhattacharya writes *duḥsvapnyena* in **a**.

**c**. The word *anāyuṣṭā-* is hapax. It is presumably an abstract in *-tā*, built on the word *ā́yus-*, 'lifetime', with privative *a-*/*an-*. Note the variant spelling °*yu*° and °*ju*° in **O**, both of which are pronounced [ju].

**d**. The word *kṣapitāyavya-* appears to be a *ya*-suffixed neutral abstract (see AiGr II, 2, §666 p. 833ff.) based on an unattested compound *kṣapitāyu-*, presumably a bahuvrīhi, 'whose lifetime is ruined'. The first member of this compound must be *kṣapitá-*, 'destroyed, ruined', the verbal noun belonging to the causative (*kṣapayati*) of the root *kṣi-*, 'to destroy, ruin' (trans.) or 'waste away, perish' (intr.) (cf. Gr. φθίνω). Note that both the causative as well as the derived verbal noun are attested only from the Epics onwards, which might suggest a late date for our text. The second member of the compound must be *āyú-*, 'lifetime' (RV+; a synonym of *ā́yus*). As I said, *kṣapitāyu-* as such is unattested, however, in RV 10.161.2 (~ PS 1.62.2 ~ ŚS 3.11.2), a stanza belonging to a charm against diseases and meant for procuring long life that displays a very Atharvanic character and has numerous AV parallels (see J-B p. 1643), we find the compound *kṣitā́yus-*, 'whose lifetime is exhausted', based on the verbal noun *kṣitá-* (derived from the same root *kṣi-*) and *ā́yus-*, 'lifetime'. This shows that *kṣapitāyavya-* is a semantically plausible formation. **K**'s variant *kṣītayavena* may suggest a formation based on *kṣitá-*, but it is best explained as a corruption. As for the full grade before the suffix *-ya* in *kṣapitāyavya-*, one may compare formations like the patronymic Bhāvayavya (< *bhāvayu-*, 'caring, cherishing') or *vāyavya-*, adj. 'relating to Vāyu'.

Incidentally, this stanza shows rather clearly that the word *duṣvapnyam* itself is to be considered a neuter abstract. Something like 'the condition of experiencing nightmares', i.e. 'poor sleep', rather than simply 'nightmare'.

The compound *mr̥tyupatha-* too appears to be late, as it is first attested in Rām. 6.36.118.

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say whether it reads || ru 9 || 23 ||, || 23 || ru 9 ||, just || 9 || or something else.

## Kāṇḍikā 24

**17.24.1** **[prose]** ~ ab: PS 18.49.1a, ŚS 16.5.2a; c: PS 3.30.4b, PS 19.46.12a, ŚS 6.46.2d, ŚS 16.5.1c–6c, ŚS 19.57.4a; de: PS 3.30.3cd, ŚS 19.57.3bcd; ef: ŚS 16.5.4; ghijkl: ŚS 16.7.1abcdef; no: ŚS 16.7.2–3

a vidma te svapna janitraṃ
b pāpmanaḥ putro [']sy abhūtyā adhi jāto yamasya karaṇaḥ |
c taṃ tvā svapna tathā vidma |
d yo bhadraḥ svapnaḥ sa mama
e yaḥ pāpas taṃ dviṣate pra hiṇmaḥ |
f tam asmai gamayāmas
g tenainaṃ vidhyāmo
h [']bhūtyainaṃ vidhyāmo
i nirbhūtyainaṃ vidhyāmaḥ
j parābhūtyainaṃ vidhyāmo
k grāhyaiṇaṃ vidhyāmas
l tamasainaṃ vidhyāmo
m [']gna enaṃ kravyāda ā vṛścāmo
n devānām enaṃ ghoraiḥ krūraiḥ *praiṣair abhi preṣyāmo
o vaiśvāṇarasyainaṃ daṃṣṭrayor api dadhmaḥ ||

a We know, O sleep, your pedigree:
b you are son of evil, born from misery, Yama's agent.
c You, as such, O sleep, we know in that way.
d The pleasant sleep: that is mine!
e The bad one, we hurl at the one who hates [us].
f We send it to him;
g we pierce him with it;
h we pierce him with misery;
i we pierce him with loss;
j we pierce him with defeat;
k we pierce him with disease;
l we pierce him with darkness;
m O Agni, we chop him down before [you,] the eater of bloody flesh;
n we command him with the terrible, ferocious injunctions of the gods;
o we set him among the two fanged-jaws of Vaiśvānara.

N.B. In **Ji$_4$** the sequence *nirbhūtyainaṃ vidhyāmaḥ parābhūtyainaṃ* (the following *vidhyāmo* is missing) is secondarily added in the upper margin, while a *kākapada* indicates the place where it

should be supplied in the second line of the ms. (i.e. in between *bhūtyainaṃ vidhyāmo* and *grāhyaiṇaṃ*)

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svapna] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** sva(p[x]→*s.s.*)pna **Ji$_4$** svapne **K** • pāpmanaḥ] **[O]** pāpmanaḻ **K** • putro [’]sy] putro asy **[O]** putro sy **K** • abhūtyā adhi jāto] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** abhūẏā adhi jāto **Ji$_4$** a | bhūtyā adhi jāto **JM$_3$**[37] abhūtyādhi jātor **K** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** || **Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** *om*. **K** • taṃ tvā] **[O]** tantvā **K** • vidma |] **[Ma] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **Ji$_4$** vidmaḥ | **Ja** vidma || **Pa$_c$** vidma **K** • yo bhadraḥ] **]Or]** yo bhadras **K** • svapnaḥ sa mama yaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā]** svapnaḥ sa mama (s.s. → ya)ḥ **V122**[38] svapnaḥ sa mata yaḥ **Ji$_4$** svapna sa mamaẏaḥ **V71** svapna sa maẏamaẏaḥ **JM$_3$** svapnas svapnama yaḻ **K** • dviṣate] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** dviṣatata **Ji$_4$** dviṣa[.]e **V71** • hiṇmaḥ] **[O]** hiṇma **K** • |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** || **Ji$_4$** • gamayāmas] **K** gamaẏāmas **[O]** • tenainaṃ] **[O]** tenenaṃ **K** • vidhyāmo (’)bhūtyainaṃ] vidhyāmo bhūtyainaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** vidhyāmo bhūtyenaṃ **V122 V71** viddhyāmo bhūtyainaṃ **K** • vidhyāmo nirbhūtyainaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** vidhyāmo nirbhūtyenaṃ **V71** viddhyano nibhūtyainaṃ ma **K** • vidhyāmaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** vidhyām(o →)aḥ **JM$_3$** vidhyāsaḥ **K** • vidhyāmo grāhyaiṇaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** vidhyāmo grāhyainaṃ **V71** grāhyainaṃ **Ji$_4$** vidyāmo grāhyeṇaṃ **K** • vidhyāmas tamasainaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** viddhāmas tamasya(*subs*.→sa)inaṃ **Ji$_4$** vidyāmaś camaścainaṃ **K** • vidhyāmo [’]gna enaṃ] vidhyāmo gna enaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** viddhyāmo gna enaṃ **Ji$_4$** vidyāmo agnedaṃ **K** • kravyāda ā vr̥ścāmo] **[Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** kravyā(*s.s.*→)da ā vr̥ścāmo **V71** kravyādā vr̥scyāmo **Ma V122** kravyādaẏā vr̥ścyāmo | **Pa$_c$** kravyādhā vr̥ścāmo **K** • **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** • ghoraiḥ] **[O]** ghoraiḻ **K** • krūraiḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** *om*. **JM$_3$** (*s.s.* →)krūrai **V122** krūraiḻ **K** • *praiṣair abhi] preṣyair abhi **[O]** preṣyad api **K** • preṣyāmo] **[Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** praiṣyāmo **Ja** peṣyāmo **K** • vaiśvāṇarasyainaṃ] **K JM$_3$** vaiśvānaraḥsyainaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** vai[.(//)naraḥsyainaṃ **V71** • daṃṣṭrayor] daṃṣṭraẏor **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** daṃṣṭraẏoḥ **Pa$_c$** daṃṣṭayor **K** • api dadhmaḥ] **[O]** api dadhma **K** • || **O** *om*. **K**

ŚS 16.5
vidmá te svapna janítraṃ gŕ̥hyāḥ putró ’si yamásya káraṇaḥ |
*ántako ’si mr̥tyúr asi* |
táṃ tvā svapna táthā sáṃ vidma *sá naḥ svapna duṣvápnyāt pāhi* ||1||
vidmá te svapna janítraṃ nírr̥tyāḥ putró ’si [...] || 2 ||
vidmá te svapna janítraṃ ábhūtyāḥ putró ’si [...] || 3 ||
vidmá te svapna janítraṃ nírbhūtyāḥ putró ’si [...] || 4 ||
vidmá te svapna janítraṃ párābhūtyāḥ putró ’si [...] || 5 ||
vidmá te svapna janítraṃ devajāmīnā́ṃ putró ’si […] ||6||

PS 18.49
vidma te svapna janitraṃ pāpmanaḥ putro ’si yamasya karaṇaḥ |
*sa naḥ svapna *duṣvapnyā*t[39] *pāhi* ||1||
vidma te svapna janitraṃ grāhyāḥ putro ’si […] ||2||
vidma te svapna janitraṃ nirr̥tyāḥ putro ’si […] ||3||
vidma te svapna janitram abhūtyāḥ putro ’si […] ||4||
vidma te svapna janitraṃ nirbhūtyāḥ putro ’si […] ||5||
vidma te svapna janitraṃ parābhūtyaḥ putro ’si […] ||6||
vidma te svapna janitraṃ devajāmīnāṃ putro ’si […] ||7||

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37 The exemplar of **JM$_3$** probably featured a pāda marker, which the copyist confused for a full-fleged daṇḍa.

38 The superscript correction written in the upper margin is also followed by the numeral “1” referring to the first line in the manuscript.

39 The emendation is mine. Bhattacharya (2011: 1321) writes *su(<du)ṣvapnyāt*. See the discussion *ad loc*.

ŚS 16.7.1
ténainaṃ vidhyāmy ábhūtyainaṃ vidhyāmi nírbhūtyainaṃ vidhyāmi párābhūtyainaṃ vidhyāmi grā́hyainaṃ vidhyāmi támasainaṃ vidhyāmi ||1||
devā́nām enaṃ ghoraíḥ krūraíḥ praiṣaír abhiprépṣyāmi ||2||
vaiśvānarásyainaṃ dámṣṭrayor ápi dadhāmi ||3||

ŚS 6.46.2
vidmá te svapna janítraṃ devajāmīnā́ṃ putró 'si yamásya káraṇaḥ |
*ántako 'si mr̥tyúr asi* táṃ tvā svapna táthā sáṃ vidma *sá naḥ svapna duṣvápnyāt pāhi* ||2||

ŚS 19.57.3–4
*dévānāṃ patnīnāṃ garbha* yámasya kara yó bhadráḥ svapna |
sá máma yáḥ pāpás tád dviṣaté prá hiṇmaḥ |
*mā́ tr̥ṣṭā́nām asi kr̥ṣṇaśakunér múkham* ||3||
táṃ tvā svapna táthā sáṃ vidma […] ||4||

PS 3.30.3–4
*devānāṃ patnīnāṃ garbha* yamasya karaṇaḥ |
yo bhadraḥ svapnaḥ sa mama yaḥ pāpas taṃ dviṣate pra hiṇmaḥ ||3||
*tr̥ṣṇāmā nāmāsi kr̥ṣṇaśakuner mukhaṃ nirr̥ter mukham* |
taṃ tvā svapna tathā vidma ||4||

Bhattacharya reads *putro asy* in line **a**; *vidhyāmo (')bhūtyainaṃ* and *vidhyāmo<u>gna</u> enaṃ* in line **f**; *preṣyair* in line **n**.

For an overview on the AV texts dealing with poor sleep (*duṣvápnyam*) see my introduction to this chapter.

This whole portion under consideration here is repeated ten times throughout this kāṇḍikā. The only variation is in the names of the fathers of sleep (indicated by the formula "[Father-gen.m.] *putro'si*", "you are son of [father]") and its mothers (indicated by the formula "[Mother-abl.f.] *adhi jātaḥ*", "born from [mother]"). A few times, however, this symmetry is broken: we find female entities in the "fathers'" part of the formula (*grāhi*, *tandrī*, and probably *dyu*), and once a neuter word in the "mothers'" part of the formula (*abhva*); one "father" is also neuter (*ahar*):

| | [Father-gen.m.] *putro'si* | [Mother-abl.f.] *adhi jātaḥ* |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | pāpman | abhūti |
| 2 | **grāhi (f.!)** | nir̥rti |
| 3 | varuṇa | varuṇānī |
| 4 | **ahar (n.)** | rātri |
| 5 | **dyu (f.?)** | bhūmi |
| 6 | vanaspati (pl.) | oṣadhī (pl.) |
| 7 | vānaspatya (pl.) | vīrudh (pl.) |
| 8 | **tandrī (f.!)** | *kāṭyā |
| 9 | rakṣas (pl.) | ***abhva (n.!)** |
| 10 | gandhrarva (pl.) | apsaras (pl.) |

The opening formula "*vidmá te svapna janítraṃ … karaṇaḥ*." is also found as a refrain in PS 18.49 and ŚS 16.5,

In the former the refrain goes like this: *vidma te svapna janitraṃ* [X-gen.] *putro 'si yamasya karaṇaḥ | sa naḥ svapna *duṣvapnyāt pāhi* ||, "We know, O sleep, your pedigree: you are son of [X], Yama's agent. As such, O sleep, protect us from poor sleep". The name of the mentioned parent of sleep is masculine in the first refrain (*pāpmanaḥ*), but always feminine in the following lines: *grāhyāḥ*, *nirṛtyāḥ*, *abhūtyāḥ*, *nirbhūtyaḥ*, *parābhūtyaḥ*, *devajāmīnāṃ*.

In the ŚS, the refrain is the following: *vidmá te svapna janítraṃ* [X-gen.f.sg./pl.] *putró 'si yamásya káraṇaḥ | ántako 'si mṛtyúr asi | táṃ tvā svapna táthā sáṃ vidma sá naḥ svapna duṣvápnyāt pāhi* ||, "We know thy place of birth [better: pedigree], O sleep; thou art son of [X], agent of Yama; end-maker art thou; death art thou; so, O sleep, do we comprehend thee here; do thou, O sleep, protect us from evil-dreaming" (Whitney).

Note that this refrain also includes the formula *táṃ tvā svapna táthā sáṃ vidma* (ŚS 16.5.1c-6c, ŚS 19.57.4a), which appears in our text without the preverb: *taṃ tvā svapna tathā vidma* (= PS 3.30.4b ~ 19.46.12a). The latter variant reads like an Anuṣṭubh (with [ ∪ – – × ] cadence).

In the ŚS refrain, only the mothers of sleep are mentioned, but the sequence is exactly the same: *grā́hyāḥ*, *nírṛtyāḥ*, *ábhūtyāḥ*, *nírbhūtyaḥ*, *párābhūtyaḥ*, *devajāmīnā́ṃ*.

In the rest of our refrain, we find a similar sequence: the victim of the curse (the hater, *dviṣant-* in line **e**), or the effigy representing him (see my comment on line **f** below), is pierced (*vyadh-*) by means of the following disgraces: *ábhūti*, *nírbhūti*, *párābhūti*, *grā́hi*, *támas*.

**a**. Whitney translates *janitram* with "place of birth", but as our text clarifies immediately afterwards, no place of birth is concerned; rather, the sleep's parents are mentioned. In fact, *janitra-*, in the plural, can mean 'parents',[40] if not even 'family' in the wider sense, as illustrated by the following passage: AB 2.6.12 (in relation to an animal sacrifice), *anv enam mātā manyatām anu pitānu bhrātā sa garbhyo 'nu sakhā sayūthya iti janitrair evainaṃ tat samanumatam ālabhanta* |, "'May its mother approve it, it father, its brother from the same womb, its comrade from the same flock' (he says); verily thus they slay it with the approval of its generators" (Keith). According to this interpretation, but taking into account that our line features a singular, I propose to translate with "pedigree".

**b**. Note that *ábhūti-*, although being a short i-stem, features here a gen./abl. sg. ending *-yās*, which is analogical to that of the *devī*-inflection, instead of the expected *-es*. This analogy affecting feminine short i-stems is operative already in the RV, although only in a few occurrences, which increase in number in the AV (WG §336g p. 117). Actually, in the case of the word *ábhūti-*, which is first attested in the AV, only the gen./abl. sg. *ábhūtyāḥ* is found (ŚS 7.100.1b ~ PS 20.36.4b; ŚS 16.5.3a, ŚS 16.8.13e; PS 10.9.2a, 10.10.7a, 20.48.8b).

Given the frequency of this ending in our text as well as in the other nightmare hymn ŚS 16.5, one may wonder whether this is a specific stylistic preference of their author (or authors). However, *nírbhūti-* and *párābhūti-*, as well as *grā́hi*, which are found next to *ábhūtyāḥ* in the refrain in ŚS 16.5 and PS 18.49, only feature the gen./abl. sg. forms *nírbhūtyāḥ*, *párābhūtyāḥ*, and *grā́hyāḥ* (also below in 17.24.2)—the first two words actually only appear in the neighbourhood of the word *ábhūti-*, clearly as artificial variations (see ŚS 12.5.35a ~ PS 16.144.4a, ŚS 16.5, 16.7.1, PS 17.40, 18.49, 18.52).

As for the case of *nírṛti-*, which appears below in 17.24.2 as *nirṛtyāḥ* (and similarly in ŚS 16.5.2), this form of the gen./abl. sg. is actually the most frequent in the AV (see Whitney, *Index*, p. 165), although the older *nírṛteḥ* is also attested, but almost only in one specific recurrent formula: in ŚS 3.11.2c = 20.96.7c (*…nírṛter upásthād…* ~ RV 10.161.2c ~ PS 1.62.2c), ŚS 7.53.3 (*…nírṛter upásthāt…* ~ 20.11.6c), ŚS 8.4.9d (*…ā́ vā dadhātu nírṛter upásthe…* ~ RV 7.104.9d ~ PS 16.9.9d), PS 2.30.4d (*…ā dhehi nirṛter upasthe*), PS 6.3.3d (*muñcantu mṛtyor nirṛter upasthāt*), PS 12.18.10d (*apy enaṃ dhehy nirṛter upasthe*) and PS 18.74.2d (*…nírṛter upásthāt…* ~ RV 10.18.10d). Besides appearing in this old formula (already found in RV as can be seen from the

40 This meaning is old: cf. RV 1.185.6b, in which Heaven and Earth are personified as the two parents of the gods (*devā́nām … jánitrī*).

previous references; see also RV 10.95.14c), the gen./abl. in *-es* also appears in PS 3.30.4a (… *nirṛter mukham*), which is in fact one of the above-mentioned nightmare hymns.[41] Therefore, we must conclude that the *-yās* forms are not *per se* specific to the style of these texts, but testify to a wider tendency in the language, although they suggest that these texts date to fairly late period when this paradigmatic analogy had already spread.

**c**. The addition of a deictic pronoun next to a personal pronoun such as in *taṃ tvā* is a common syntactic phenomenon, attested since the RV and all throughout Vedic literature. The two pronouns can occur both in the nom. (e.g. in RV 6.45.17c, *sá tváṃ na indra mṛlaya*, "You, as such, O Indra, be merciful (2nd sg.) to us") as well as in an oblique case (e.g. RV 4.32.13c, *táṃ tvā vayáṃ havāmahe*, "We invoke you as such"); the personal pronoun can also be omitted, and only the additional deictic expressed (e.g. RV 10.69.3c, *sá giró juṣasva*, "[you] as such (*sá* [*tvám*]) enjoy (2nd sg.) the praises!"; RV 2.29.4b, *té mṛlata nā́dhamānāya máhyam*, "Such they=[you (pl.)] as such (*té* [*yūyám*]) be merciful (2nd pl.) to me who is seeking help"). This phenomenon is not to be confused with that of *sá-figé*, and not distinct from cases in which other deictic pronouns besides *sá/tá-* are added: e.g. RV 5.40.7ab, *mā́ māṃ imáṃ* […] *ní gārīt*, "May he not swallow this me"="May he not swallow me as such"; also, with omission of the personal pronoun: RV 7.74.1c, *ayáṃ vāṃ ahvé 'vase*, "This one here[=I] (*ayáṃ* [*aháṃ*]) have called (1st sg.) you two for help"; RV 8.91.2ab, *asaú yá eṣi vīrakó gṛháṃ-gṛhaṃ*, "That one over there=[you] over there (*asaú* [*tvám*]), little man, who go (2nd sg.) from house to house".

The additional deictic pronoun *sá* is generally interpreted as being anaphoric ("as such"). However, Jamison (1992) has shown that this phenomenon occurs predominantly in the case of 2nd person imperatives, *-si*-imperatives, root aorist injunctives used as commands, etc. On the grounds of this, she has argued for a stronger emphatic deictic function of the additional deictic pronouns. As such, these would express a 'here and now' nuance, that Jamison proposed to convey with translations such as 'me here', 'you there'; Klein (1996: 23) has suggested 'hey there' for the cases in which the personal pronoun is omitted. For a more detailed overview on the whole phenomenon, also in relation to the *sá-figé* debate, see Hock 1997: 53ff., Dunkel 1990, Jamison 1992, Klein 1996 and 1997, and Watkins 2002. At any rate, this construction never occurs at the beginning of a hymn or of a stanza, so that some anaphoric reference to a preceding statement can always be identified. This is certainly clear in the case of our pāda, in which the reciter can claim to know sleep "as such", that is as "son of evil, born from misery, Yama's agent", i.e. on the basis of its pedigree illustrated in the preceding statement.

**de**. Cf. ŚS 19.57.3, *dévānāṃ patnīnāṃ garbha yámasya kara yó bhadráḥ svapna | sá máma yáḥ pāpás tád dviṣaté prá hiṇmaḥ |*, "Embryo of the wives of the gods, instrument of Yama, excellent dream; the evil [dream] that is mine, that do we send forth to him that hates us" (Whitney). Whitney translates *sá máma yáḥ pāpás* as one phrase on the basis of the position of the *daṇḍa*. However, I think that the line should be divided differently. The correct pāda/sentence division seems preserved in PS 3.30.3, *devānāṃ patnīnāṃ , garbha yamasya karaṇaḥ | yo bhadraḥ svapnaḥ sa mama , yaḥ pāpas taṃ dviṣate pra hiṇmaḥ*. I translate accordingly, taking *yo bhadraḥ svapnaḥ* as the *yad*-phrase correlating with the following *sa*-phrase, namely *sa mama*, and taking *yaḥ pāpas* as the *yad*-phrase correlating with the following *sa*-phrase, *taṃ dviṣate pra hiṇmaḥ*.

Note that the repha in *pra* causes the retroflex articulation to spread to the following *hinmaḥ* > *hiṇmaḥ*. This suggests a close pronunciation which may go back to an old formulaic use. The only parallel of our formula is the above-quoted ŚS 19.57.3 ~ PS 3.30.3. The formula as such is not found in RV, but we do find several cases of *prá hiṇ*° in RV book 10: *prá hiṇutāt* (RV 10.16.1d ~ PS 18.63.8d ~ ŚS 18.2.4d), *prá hiṇomi* (RV 10.16.9 ~ PS 17.44.8a ~ ŚS 12.2.8a), *prá hiṇotana* (RV 10.30.7); and even more frequently in the AV: *prá hiṇmaḥ ||* (PS 2.37.2d), *prá hiṇmas* (PS 5.15.1c; PS 16.36.5b ~ ŚS 10.1.15b; PS 20.18.10c ~ ŚS 7.115.3c; always pāda final), *prá hiṇmasi* (PS 7.1.11c; PS 16.35.2d, 5c ~ ŚS 10.1.5c; PS 16.38.2d ~ ŚS 10.1.30d; PS 19.52.18b; ŚS 5.31.10b;

41 Unrelated are ŚS 11.1.29d ~ PS 16.91.9d and PS 19.49.5a.

always pāda final), *prá hiṇomi* (PS 3.37.3d, 4d, 9a; PS 12.1.5a ~ ŚS 5.22.4a; PS 17.44.4c, 10b; PS 20.27.7a ~ ŚS 10.5.23a; PS 20.39.9c; PS20.40.1b; ŚS 12.2.4c; ŚS 12.2.10b), *prá hiṇuta* (PS 18.79.10a ~ ŚS 18.4.10a; ŚS 6.130.1c, 2c, 3c; ŚS 6.131.1c, 2c). See also *pra hiṇmaḥ* in 17.25.8 below. In fact when *prá* and *hi*- occur in close collocation in RV 10, we never find *prá hin*°.

On the contrary, *prá hin*° is only found in RV book 9, in *prá hinvānáḥ* (RV 9.64.16a, 9.90.1a, 9.107.15d; always pāda initial), and never in the AV. In fact, I have not found any occurrence of *prá … hi*- in tmesis in the AV (not even in prose), whereas these do occur in RV, although only in book 10: *prā́smai hinota…* (RV 10.30.8a), *prá tát te hinavā…* (RV 10.95.13c), *prá nūnáṃ jātávedasam áśvaṃ hinota vājínam* | (RV 10.188.5ab); the sole exception is *prá vo devā́m cit sahasānám agním áśvaṃ ná vājínaṃ hiṣe námobhiḥ* | (RV 7.7.1ab).

To sum it up, we can identify four chronological stages: 1) in RV 7, *prá … hin*° can occur with tmesis; 2) in RV 9, *prá hin*° can occur in close collocation, but retroflexion does not spread forward; 3) in RV 10, *prá* (…) *hin*° is used more frequently[42] and can occur both with tmesis, as well as in close collocation, in which case retroflexion always spreads; 4) in AV, *prá-hiṇ*- only occurs in close collocation, and retroflexion always spreads. Thus, for the AV stage, we could perhaps speak of completed univerbation.

**f**. It is attractive to consider that this and the following lines might refer to a ritual in which an effigy representing the hater (*dviṣant*-) is pierced (*vyadh*-) and eventually placed (*api dhā*-) over the fire (*kravyād*-, *vaiśvānara*-). The pronoun *ayám* (accented) expresses near deixis, and the dative *asmaí*, 'to this one here', might refer to an effigy present in the hand of the priest/magician at the moment of recitation. The following *enam* would also refer to such effigy. The use of effigies, dolls and puppets (*kr̥tyā́*-, *ā́kr̥ti*-) for witchcraft rituals is well known in the Atharvanic tradition: they can either represent the spell or curse, and thus, for instance, be placed in the vicinity of the patient/victim, or they can represent the patient/victim themselves, in which case, what is done to the effigy (including piercing and burning) magically affects the patient/victim (e.g. KauśS 5.3[39] and 6[47–49] and AVPariś 31.9.4–5, among other passages; see Modak 1993: 62, 73, 314, 318, 326; Caland 1900: 132ff.; Goudriaan 1986: 453f.; Henry 1909: 159f., 227ff.).

However, there is no way to tell if *asmai* was accented. Unaccented enclitic forms of the *ayám* pronoun supply the missing forms of the enclitic pronoun *ena*- (only attested in the acc., and only rarely in few other cases), and, accordingly, have an unemphatic anaphoric deictic function. Thus, *asmai* (unaccented) could simply refer back to the "hater" (*dviṣant*-) mentioned in line **e**. All the following *enaṃ* pronouns would then also refer to him.

As regards pādas **ef**, compare also ŚS 16.6.2–4 (~ PS 18.50.1b–d), in which the last verse is almost a perfect parallel to our text, at least content-wise: *uṣó yásmād duṣvápnyād ábhaiṣmā́pa tád uchatu || dviṣaté tát párā vaha śápate tát párā vaha || yáṃ dviṣmó yáś ca no dvéṣṭi tásmā enad gamayāmaḥ* ||, "O dawn, of what evil-dreaming we have been afraid, let that fade away. Carry that away to him that hates; carry that away to him that curses. Whom we hate, and who hates us, to him we send it".

**j**. The word *grā́hi*- is first found in RV 10.161.1c (a hymn against disease), *grā́hir jagrā́ha yádi vaitád enaṃ tásyā indrāgnī prá mumuktam enam*, "Or if a Grabber has truly grabbed him in this way, from her, O Indra and Agni, release him" (J-B); cf. also ŚS 6.113. The semantics of *grah*-, *gráha*-, *grāhá*-, etc., point to the meaning 'disease' (< 'seizure', '[bad] influence'), perhaps as a personified female demon (as in J-B's translation of the above RV passage), mother of *svápna*-, according to ŚS 16.5.1 and PS 17.24.2 here below. As the other curses are all feminine -*ti* abstract formations, I prefer to translate *grā́hi*- accordingly, interpreting the feminine gender as expressing an abstract condition, rather than personification into a female demon.

**m**. In his comment, Bhattacharya entertains the idea of emending the voc. *agne* with a dat. **agnaya*(*=agnaye*) in agreement with *kravyāde*. This would require that a syllable or an akṣara was lost during the transmission. **K** *agnedaṃ* (double sandhi?) suggests that no such extra syllable was

42 Also *práhitaḥ* in RV 10.165.4c, and *prahyè* in RV 10.109.3c.

present in the common written archetype. We would then have to assume some kind of haplology, along the lines of **agnaiai ainam* > (haplology:) *agnai ainam* > *agna ainam* > *agna enaṃ* in the early period of oral transmission. Such an emendation would make for a nice solution syntactically, but after all it is not necessary, and the ms. evidence does not support it.

On Agni Kravyā́d see my comment on PS 17.21.1 above.

**n**. Bhattacharya writes *preṣyair*, sticking to the manuscripts' readings. The word *preṣya-*, 'servant', is frequent in later texts, and rarely attested in Vedic: e.g. AB 7.29, […] *'tha yady apaḥ śūdrāṇāṃ sa bhakṣaḥ śūdrāṃs tena bhakṣeṇa jinviṣyasi śūdrakalpas te prajāyām ājaniṣyate 'nyasya preṣyaḥ kāmotthāpyo yathākāmavadhyo*, "If water (they bring), it is the food of the Śūdras; with this food thou wilt strengthen the Śūdras; in thine offspring one like a Śūdra will be born, the servant of another, to be removed at will, to be slain at will" (Keith). However, this meaning does not seem to fit our sentence—who would these servants of the gods be? On the other hand, ŚS 16.7.2 *praiṣair*, from *praiṣá-*, is a better reading, although, as Whitney points out (*ad loc*.), the word should be taken in its etymological sense ('demand' (Whitney), or 'command, injunction') rather than in its technical ritual sense (i.e. the Adhvaryu's call or command to an assistant or another priest so that he begins his assigned task). Alternation between *ṣa*, *ṣya*, *śa* and *śya* (also with other vowels) is not infrequent in the transmission (see Kim, *Schreib*. and *Auss*.); however, comparison between **K** and **O** indeed points to the reading *preṣyair* for the written archetype, or perhaps *preṣair*. The latter could perhaps be a phonetic variant of *praiṣair* (cf. Ved. Var. II p. 321ff.), or simply an early error in the transmission due to anticipation of the following *preṣyāmo*. Therefore, I emend to **praiṣair* in accordance with the ŚS reading.

The overall meaning of the line is clear: the speaker claims to take control of the victim. However, it remains obscure to me what exactly these 'injunctions of the gods' are.

**o**. On Vaiśvānara as a form of Agni, see my comment on PS 17.21.3 above. The image of Agni's fangs is not uncommon: cf. RV 10.87.3 (to Agni), *ubhóbhayāvinn úpa dhehi dáṃṣṭrā hiṃsráḥ śíśānó 'varam páraṃ ca / hiṃsráḥ śíśānó 'varam páraṃ ca / utā́ntárikṣe pári yāhi rājañ jámbhaiḥ sáṃ dhehy abhí yātudhā́nān* ||, "You who have (teeth) in both, bring both jaws close together, the upper and the lower, as you sharpen (them), with murderous intent. Encircle (them) in the midspace, O king, and set upon the sorcerers altogether with your fangs" (J-B).

### 17.24.2 [prose]

° ° ° janitraṃ grāhyāḥ putro ['']si nirṛ̥tyā adhi ° ° ° ||

(…) pedigree: you are son of Disease, (born) from Dissolution (…).

grāhyāḥ] **[O]** grāhyāḳ **K** • putro ['']si] putro si **[O]** putro sa **K** • nirṛ̥tyā adhi] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** nirrutyā adhi **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** nirityādhi **K** • ||] **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā** jāto || **V71 JM$_3$** | **K**

Bhattacharya writes the first part of the refrain in full: *vidma te svapna janitraṃ grāhyāḥ putrosi nirṛ̥tyā adhi jāto yamasya karaṇaḥ | taṃ tvā . . . dadhmaḥ* ||. He does the same for the following instances of the refrain, abbreviating the opening only in 17.24.7–9. However, none of my mss. reports such a large portion of the refrain; they all abbreviate it to *janitraṃ ... adhi*, sometimes adding *jāto*. Here, for instance, the word *jāto* is only preserved in **V71** and **JM$_3$**.

**17.24.3 [prose]**

° ° ° janitraṃ varuṇasya putro [’]si varuṇānyā adhi ° ° ° ||

(…) pedigree: you are Varuṇa’s son, (born) from Varuṇānī (…)

varuṇasya] **[O]** varuṇaḥ **K** • putro [’]si] putro si **[O] K** • varuṇānyā adhi] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** varuṇānvādhi **V71 JM$_3$**[43] varuṇānyādhi **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **K V71**

Bhattacharya writes *putrosi*.

Compare ŚS 6.46.1, *yó ná jīvó 'si ná mr̥tó devā́nām amr̥tagarbhó 'si svapna | varuṇānī́ te mātā́ yamáḥ pitā́rārur nā́māsi* ||, “Thou who art not alive, not dead, immortal-embryo of the gods art thou, O sleep; Varuṇanī is thy mother, Yama thy father; Araru by name art thou” (Whitney) (~ PS 19.46.10abc, up to *yamaḥ pitā*, with no mention of the name Araru[44]).

The presence of Varuṇa here might be due to the association of the god with the night and with darkness, as well as the idea of Varuṇa as a dangerous god. This association becomes stronger in the course of Vedic religious history, and it goes hand in hand with the strengthening of the connection between the god Mitra, the sun, and the light of day. This pattern, in which Mitra becomes ever more visibly connected with light and positive elements, and Varuṇa with the darkness and negative elements, has been discussed by Brereton (1981: 52ff.).

However, this connection is rooted in old ideas, such as that of Varuṇa being the god of the western direction and of the rocky netherworld, where the sun resides when it sets (Kuiper 1964: 107ff.) and which, at night, extends (upside down) above the earth as the night sky (Kuiper 1964: 114f.). It may also be relevant to recall that Vasiṣṭha, in his famous monologue addressed to Varuṇa, RV 7.86, tries to explain his guilt (*ā́gas*) and find justifications for the offense (*énas*) he has committed against Varuṇa in the following way: RV 7.86.6, *ná sá svó dákṣo varuṇa dhrútiḥ sā́ súrā manyúr vibhī́dako ácittiḥ | ásti jyā́yān kánīyasa upāré svápnaś canéd ánr̥tasya prayotā́* ||, “This [offence] was not [my] own intention! it was deception: it was liquor, dice, thoughtlessness! The elders share the [responsibility of the] misdeed of the younger ones! Not even sleep prevents *ánr̥ta*!” (my transl.). The last sentence is revealing: it comes after a series of attempts on the part of Vasiṣṭha to shake off his guilt; first he blames liquor, dice, and thoughtlessness for having deceived him; then he tries to blame his elders; finally, he mentions “sleep” and “*ánr̥ta*”. He does so precisely because the night and *r̥tá* are the domains of Varuṇa. By saying “not even” (*caná*, further stressed by *íd*), he is highlighting the fact that at night, while Varuṇa’s spies, the stars (see Kuiper 1964: 115), are surveying the sleeping world, no violation of the cosmic order (*ánr̥ta*) should be committed; yet, he says, even then, this can happen. Thus, in my view, on the one hand Vasiṣṭha is trying to get Varuṇa to cut him some slack (since even he, the god of *r̥tá*, cannot prevent *ánr̥ta* from being committed before his eyes), and on the other hand, he is trying to pass the responsibility of his misdeed onto Varuṇa himself for not having prevented him from committing it. As such, this sentence represents the culmination of a dramatic stanza in which a desperate Vasiṣṭha, in an attempt to get Varuṇa’s forgiveness, reaches the point of blaming Varuṇa himself. For the sake of understanding our line, at any rate, this RV stanza sheds some light on the relationship with Varuṇa and sleep.[45]

43 Here both **V71** and **JM$_3$** feature a cluster °*nvā*° (although most certainly “*nyā*” is intended), in which the “ā” sign (a vertical stroke) is placed to the right of the subscript “*va*” sign (and connected to it), rather than to the right of the main akṣara (“*na*”)—in fact, it looks almost like a “*nvva*”(? or “*nyya*”) cluster. This peculiar spelling strengthens the impression that **V71** and **JM$_3$** derive from the same exemplar.

44 Whitney 1905 (*ad loc.*) notes that myths about an Asura with this name are to be found in TB 3.2.9.4ff. and MS 4.1.10.

45 Note that later exegetical tradition has imagined that Vasiṣṭha had visited Varuṇa’s house during sleep (see

**17.24.4 [prose]**

° ° ° janitram ahnaḥ putro [’]si rātryā adhi ° ° ° ||

(…) pedigree: you are son of the day, (born) from the night (…)

janitram ahnaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā]** janitraṃmahnaḥ **V122 V71 JM$_3$** janitram ahnaṃ **Ji$_4$** janitraṃ sahaṃnaḥ **K** • putro [’]si] putro si **[O] K** • rātryā adhi] **[O]** rātryādhi **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** | **K V71 JM$_3$**

Bhattacharya writes *putrosi*.

The abl. ending *-yās* in *rātryā* would point to a long *ī*-stem: as Kulikov (2010: 174 fn. 1) points out, the old stem *rā́trī-* is still found in the AV (and it is even to be assumed for metrical reasons where the ms. evidence speaks against it). However, since in PS 17.21.6 above we undoubtedly find a form of the short i-stem *rā́tri-* (namely *rātraye*), it is safer to assume that at the stage of the language represented by our prose text, only the short i-stem was found, and regard the *devī*-inflection abl. ending *-yās* as analogical (see also my comment on PS 17.24.1b above).

**17.24.5 [prose]**

° ° ° janitraṃ divas putro [’]si bhūmyā adhi ° ° ° ||

(…) pedigree: you are son of heaven, (born) from the earth (…)

putro [’]si] putro si **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** putro siṃ **Ji$_4$** • bhūmyā adhi] **[O]** bhūmyādhi **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **K V71**

Bhattacharya writes *putrosi*.

On *bhūmyā(ḥ)* from *bhū́mi-* but with an analogical *devī*-inflection abl. ending, see my comment on PS 17.24.1b above.

The sandhi *-s p-* (see Macdonell 1910: 70–71 §78.2cβ, AiGr I §286c p. 340, Ved. Var. II. p. 449ff.) is not unusual in PS: I counted 39 instances of *divas p-* in PS (in a restricted number of collocations: *divas payaḥ*, *divas pari*, *divas pṛthivyāḥ/vīm*, *divas pṛṣṭhe/am*, *divas putraḥ*, *divas patiḥ*)—other cases of *-s p-* are even more numerous—against only five instances of *divaḥ p-* (in similar collocations).

**17.24.6 [prose]**

° ° ° janitraṃ vanaspatīnāṃ putro [’]sy oṣadībhyo [’]dhi ° ° ° ||

(…) pedigree: you are son of trees, born from herbs (…)

vanaspatīnāṃ] **[O]** vānaspatyānāṃ **K** • putro [’]sy] putro sy **[O] K** • oṣadībhyo [’]dhi] oṣadībhyo dhi **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** oṣadībhyo adhi **V122** oṣadībhyo **K JM$_3$ V71** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V71** *om*. **K**

Geldner 1951: 256–257).

Bhattacharya writes *putrosy*° and *oṣadībhyodhi*.

Clearly paragraphs 17.24.6 and 17.24.7 have been conflated in the Kashmirian tradition. The reading *vanaspatīnāṃ* is missing from **K**, while *vānaspatyānāṃ* corresponds to the beginning of 17.24.7 in the **O** mss. The reading *oṣadhībhyo* is found in **K** after *vānaspatyānaṃ*, whereas *vīrudbhyo* (**O** 17.24.7) is missing from **K**:

| | **O** | **K** |
|---|---|---|
| 24.6 | vanaspatīnaṃ putro … oṣadībhyo … | vānaspatyānaṃ putro … oṣadībhyo |
| 24.7 | vānaspatyānaṃ putro… vīrudbhyo … | |

On *vánaspáti*- and *óṣadhi/ī*-, see my comment on PS 17.21.7 above.

**17.24.7 [prose]**

° ° ° janitraṃ vānaspatyānāṃ putro [']si vīrudbhyo ['']dhi ° ° ° ||

(…) pedigree: you are son of fruit trees, born from plants (…)

N.B. In **K** this stanza has been conflated with the preceding one (see my comment above).

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putro [']si] putro si **[O]** • vīrudbhyo ['']dhi] vīrudbhyo adhi **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vīrudhbyo dhi **Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** • ||] **[O]**

Bhattacharya abbreviates this and the following two instances of the refrain as follows: *(***) janitraṃ vānaspatyānaṃ putrosi vīrudbhyo adhi (. . . . .)* ||.

On *vānaspatyá*- and *vīrúdh*-, see my comment on PS 17.21.7 above.

**17.24.8 [prose]**

° ° ° janitraṃ $^{+}$tandriyaḥ putro [']si *kāṭyāyā adhi ° ° ° ||

(…) pedigree: you are son of weariness, born from her who dwells in pits (…)

$^{+}$tandriyāḥ] tandriẏāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** tantriẏāḥ **V122** tantri[x]ẏāḥ **JM$_3$** tandriẏā **Mā V71** indriyaḥ **K** • putro [']si] putro si **[O] K** • *kāṭyāyā adhi] koṭīẏā adhi **[Ma]? [Ja]? V122** koṭyaẏā adhi **Mā Ji$_4$** koṭīẏā adhi jāto **V71** koṭāẏā adhi jāto si **JM$_3$** kopaiẏā **Pa$_c$** krajāyādhi (=BHATT. *vs*. krarṇayā BARRET) **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$ | V71 K**

Bhattacharya writes *tandriyāḥ* (following the **O** mss.) *putrosi <u>koṭīẏā</u>*.

The word *tandrī*-, 'weariness' (on its etymology see KÜMMEL 2005), has only a few attestations: the nom. sg. *tandrīs* in ŚS 8.8.9 (~ PS 16.29.9; from a hymn to conquer enemies), *sedír ugrā́ vyr̥ddhir ártíś cānapavācanā́ | śrámas tandrī́ś ca móhaś ca taír amū́n abhí dadhāmi sárvān* ||, "Debility, formidable ill-success, and mishap that is not to be exorcised away, toil and weariness, and confusion—with these do I encircle all you men" (Whitney); and in ŚS 11.8.19 (~ PS 16.86.9; from a mystic hymn on the constitution of man), *svápno vaí tandrī́r nírr̥tiḥ pāpmā́no nā́ma devátāḥ*

| *jarā́ khálatyaṃ pálityaṃ śárīram ánu prā́viśan* ||, "Sleep, weariness, misery, the deities named evils, old age, baldness, hoariness, entered the body afterwards" (Whitney). See also PS 4.18.2b.

This word is also attested in the compound *saṃbādha-tandrī́-* in ŚS 10.2.9 ~ PS 10.60.1 (again on the constitution of man), *priyāpriyā́ṇi bahulā́ svápnaṃ saṃbādhatandryàḥ | ānandā́n ugró nándāṃś ca kásmād vahati pū́ruṣaḥ* ||, "Numerous things dear and not dear, sleep, oppressions and wearinesses, delights and pleasures—from where does formidable man bring (*vah*) them?" (Whitney).

Interestingly, these last two quoted stanzas feature *tandrī́-* next to *svápna-* (as well as *nírṛti-*, which also occurs in our text), which is seen in a negative light.

Bhattacharya writes *tandriyāḥ*, following the **O** mss., but this form looks like a mix of *vṛ́kī-* and *devī-*inflections. In the above-quoted pāda, *svápnaṃ saṃbādhatandryàḥ*, the metre requires that a syllable be restored, namely in *-tandríyaḥ* (nom. pl.). From this and from the sigmatic nominative *tandrī́s* in the above-quoted stanzas, it would appear that *tandrī́-* follows the *vṛ́kī-*inflection. Thus, we would expect a gen./abl. sg. *tandryàḥ=tandríyaḥ*. The one remaining attestation in PS 2.57.4 also supports this: *ye* $^{+}$*tandriyā* **jalpyā* (to be read *jalpiyā*) *prorṇuvanti svapnaṃ durbhūtam abhi ye kiranti | ye devānāṃ dharmadhṛto babhūvus tebhyaḥ sarvebhyo namasā vidhema* ||, "Die, welche (einen) mit Müdigkeit, mit irrem Gefasel umhüllen, welche (schlechtes) Träumen (und) Unglück ausstreuen, welche die Gesetzesbewahrer der Götter sind: diese alle möchten wir mit Verehrung zufrieden stellen" (Zehnder). Here both the metre as well as the ms. evidence (see Zehnder 1999: 128) preserve an instrumental form based on the *vṛ́kī-*inflection.

As regards our line, all of the **O** mss. remarkably preserve the short vowel *-i-* (which Bhattacharya in fact adopts); they do preserve a long *ā* in the suffix, which therefore appears as *-iyāḥ*, but **K**, in which the word seems to have been confused with a nom. of *indriyá-*, actually preserves the correct ending *-iyaḥ*. It is possible then that the long *ā* is a corruption that came about in the **O** transmission, perhaps as a consequence of the frequency of the gen./abl. feminine ending *-yās* in this text (see my comment on 17.24.1b above). Therefore, on the basis of the comparison of both traditions, I emend to $^{+}$*tandriyaḥ*.[46]

My conjecture **kāṭyāyā* is tentative. Kim (*Schreib.*) mentions a case of confusion of *ko* for original *kā* (12.5.1c, *āpatikod adhi* for *āpatikād adhi*); confusion between *ā* and *ī* is also fairly frequent (Witzel 1985a: 260). We definitely need a feminine noun in the ablative case. My proposal is to consider the adj. *kā́ṭya-*, 'belonging to, dwelling in the *kāṭá-*'.

The noun *kāṭá-*, on which the adjective is based, means 'hole, pit, depth', in particular, according to Griffiths & Lubotsky (2000-01: 203), some "deep water", or a "well", as it is frequently mentioned in lists of bodies of water: Griffiths & Lubotsky quote MS 3.12.12:164.1–4, ĀpŚS 17.2.6, KS 40.4:137.20–138.2, and VSM 16.37, 16.44 (more on these last two passages below).

It is first found in RV 1.106.6, in which the poet Kutsa calls for help, having been forced down into a *kāṭá*: *índraṃ kútso vṛtraháṇaṃ śácīpátiṃ kāṭé níbāḷha ṛ́ṣir ahvad ūtáye | ráthaṃ ná durgā́d vasavaḥ sudānavo víśvasmān no áṃhaso níṣ pipartana* ||, "Kutsa the seer, squeezed down into a pit, called on Indra, smasher of Vṛtra, lord of power, for help. – Like a chariot from a hard place, O good ones of good gifts, rescue us from all narrow straits" (J-B).

In the AV, it is found in ŚS 12.4.3 ~ PS 17.16.3 (a hymn to the cow as belonging exclusively to the brahmins, which forms the fourth anuvāka of PS 17), *kūṭáyāsya sáṃ śīryante śloṇáyā kāṭám ardati | baṇḍáyā dahyante gṛhā́ḥ kāṇáyā* (Whitney: *kāṇáyā_á*) *dīyate* (PS: *jīyate*) *svám* ||, "By a hornless one they are crushed for him[47]; by a lame one he falls (? *ard*) into a pit; by a crippled one

46 Zehnder (1999: 128) had suggested the same emendation.

47 Whitney (*ad loc.*) interprets the feminine adjectives in this stanza as referring to defective cows; each has a threatening effect on the person who refuses to donate them to a priest (see the preceding stanza). Whitney also understands *gṛhā́ḥ* (to be supplied from pāda c) as the subject of this pāda: i.e. "his houses are crushed".

his houses are burned; by a one-eyed one his possessions are taken away (?)[48]" (Whitney).

It also occurs in PS 4.15.6 (the parallel at ŚS 4.12.7 has *kartá*-[49]), belonging to a famous hymn to heal an open fracture with a plant that was edited by Griffiths & Lubotsky (2000-01): *yadi vajro viṛṣṭas tvāra *kāṭaṃ patitvā yadi vā viriṣṭam | vṛkṣād vā yad avasad daśaśīrṣa ⁺ṛbhū rathasyeva saṃ dadhāmi te paruḥ* ||, "If a vajra that has been hurled has hit you, or if there is an injury due to falling into a well, or one that is there [due to falling] from a tree: the ten-headed one shall remove [it]. I put together your joint as Ṛbhu [the parts] of a chariot" (transl. and ed. from Griffiths & Lubotsky 2000-01: 202). The parallel at ŚS 4.12.7 reads only slightly differently,[50] and contains the word *kartá*: this word carries the same meaning as *kāṭá*, and might be a hypersanskritism based on *kāṭá*-, as suggested by Griffiths & Lubotsky (2000-01: 203), unless *kāṭá*- is a Prakrit form of *kartá*- (see EWAia II p. 335f.).

The image of falling into a pit is frequent and variously expressed in the Vedas (cf. PS 3.25.5 in Appendix II), and clearly indicates, either literally or metaphorically, a bad situation to be avoided. Thus, we could say that *kāṭá*- has conveys negative nuance, which might fit our text.

The derived adjective *kā́ṭya*- is only found in the masculine, referring to Rudra, in the following two passages belonging to the Śatarudrīya: VS 16.37, *námaḥ srútyāya ca páthyāya ca námaḥ kā́ṭyāya ca nī́pyāya ca námaḥ kúlyāya ca sarasyā̀ya ca námo nādeyā́ya ca vaiśantā́ya ca* |, "Homage to him [i.e. Rudra] who dwells on paths and roads, homage to him who dwells in rugged spots and on the skirts of mountains, homage to him who dwells in water courses and lakes, homage to him who dwells in rivers and meres" (Griffith); VS 16.44, *námo vrájyāya ca góṣṭhyāya ca námas tálpyāya ca géhyāya ca námo hṛdayyā̀ya ca niveṣyā̀ya ca námaḥ kā́ṭyāya ca gahvareṣṭhā́ya ca* |, "Homage to him who is in herds of cattle and to him who is in cow-pens, homage to him who is on beds and to him who is in houses. Homage to him who is in hearts, and to him who is in whirlpools, homage to him who is in wells and to him who is in abysses" (Griffith).

Whatever the precise meaning (Griffith translates it with 'he who is in rugged spots' the first time, and 'he who is in wells' the second time, but being based on *kāṭá*-, its basic meaning is 'he who is in a pit'), here it clearly refers to a person, in fact a god, Rudra, who is said to dwell in pits (the Śatarudrīya lists a great number of places and entities in which Rudra is said to belong, i.e. which he presides over). Thus it seems plausible to assume that our text contained an abl. sg. of the a feminine *kā́ṭyā*- 'she who dwells in pits', perhaps Rudrāṇī herself, or perhaps simply a personification of the uncomfortable situation (much feared by the Vedic man) of falling into a pit. One may even go further and imagine a reference to dreaming about falling—a very common human experience.

As an alternative conjecture, we could consider **kṛtyāyā* (= abl. sg. *kṛtyāyāḥ*) from *kṛtyā́*- 'witchcraft', although it may be more difficult to justify it.

Note that only **V71** and **JM$_3$** preserve *jāto* (**JM$_3$** even adds a verb *si=asi*, which is not found even in 17.24.1).

### 17.24.9 [prose]

° ° ° janitraṃ rakṣasāṃ putro [']sy *abhvebhyo [']dhi ° ° ||

(…) pedigree: you are son of *rákṣas*-es, (born) from monsters (…).

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48 PS: "he is deprived of his own property" (my transl.).

49 The word *kāṭá*- might be a Prakrit form of *kartá*-, (see EWAia II p. 335f.), unless *kartá* is a hypersanskritism based on *kāṭá*, as suggested by Griffiths & Lubotsky (2000-01: 203). This word is also found four times in RV.

50 ŚS 4.12.7, *yádi kartáṃ patitvā́ saṃśaśré yádi vā́śmā práhṛto jaghā́na | ṛbhú ráthasyevā́ṅgāni sáṃ dadhat páruṣā páruḥ* ||, "If, falling into a pit, he hath been crushed, or if a stone hurled hath smitten [him]—as a Ṛbhu the parts of a chariot, may it put together joint with joint" (Whitney).

rakṣasāṃ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** rākṣasāṃ **Ji$_4$** • putro [']sy] putro sy **[O]** prabhṛvesy **K** • *abhvebhyo ['']dhi] abbhavebhyo adhi] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** adbhavebhyo adhi **Mā V71 JM$_3$** adradhobhyodhi **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V71** (*subs.*→)| **K**

Bhattacharya reads *putrosyabbhavebhyo adhi*.

Here we clearly have three variants: *abbhavebhyo* **O$^A$** *adbhavebhyo* **O$^B$** *adradhobhyo* **K**. At first sight, the agreement between **O$^B$** and **K** would seem to point to a word beginning with *ad*°. However, I believe that once again **O$^A$** preserves a reading that is closer to the original, and that **O$^B$**'s and **K**'s readings are independent errors that just coincidentally look alike.

But let's first evaluate the possibility that the original reading began with *ad*°. Although we would expect a feminine word in this position within the refrain, the ending *-ebhyas* can only be masculine or neuter. As a few of the entities in the "father" part of the refrains are female, it does not seem impossible that we are now dealing with a male or neuter word in the "mother" part of this refrain. From the **O** evidence, we could posit a stem *abbhava-* or *adbhava-*, neither of which is attested, however. Assuming that the former is a Prakrit form of the latter, **O$^B$** *adbhavebhyyo* would be our candidate for the original reading, of which **K** *adradhobhyo* would be a corruption. As the stem *adbhava-* is unattested, we could look for possible related terms to understand what it could mean. The first term that comes to mind is the adjective *ádbhuta-* 'extraordinary, wonderful, mysterious, arcane', a negated verbal noun of the root *dabh-* 'to deceive' with a peculiar phonetic and semantic history: the *-u-* is most likely abstracted from the present stem *dabhnoti*, re-analysed as an infixed present **d$^h$b$^h$-né-u-ti* (see Gotō 2005; compare the parallel negated verbal noun *á-dabdha-* 'not deceived, not deceivable' ~ JAv *dapta-*, with the original semantics; cf. also the compound *ádbhuta-kratu-* 'whose resolution can't be deceived' rather than 'with wonderful mental power'). Thus, we justify the unexpected form of *ádbhuta-* with the speaker's desire to avoid an unwanted cluster, *a-d$^h$b$^h$-ta > *adbdha, and to make the *-ta*-suffix more transparent; the cluster was also simplified in YAv *abda-* 'wonderful', which incidentally shows that the formation and the semantic shift are old. However, no such justification is possible for *adbhava-*, which would instead have to be explained *ad hoc* as an *a*-suffixed derivative from a synchronic root (*a-*)*dbhu-* (or rather the full grade (*a-*)*dbhav-*) abstracted from *ádbhuta-*. As for the semantics, *ádbhuta-* is mostly used to qualify deities (Indra, Soma, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Mitra, the *gandharva*-s, etc.) as 'extraordinary' or 'wonderful' (Gotō, 2005: 193). We could assume an abstract neuter *adbhavam*, 'wonder', or a concrete masculine noun (but neuter is also possible), 'extraordinary being'. Given that the term is used in the plural, as parallel to the *rákṣases*, a substantive with concrete meaning would be more suitable, but nowhere does *ádbhuta-* appear to convey the negative semantics that we seem to need here.

However, there is a second possibility, which seems more appealing to me—namely to emend to **abhvebhyo*, abl. pl. from *abhvà-* 'monster'.

In the RV we only find *ábhva-* with initial accentuation. This word is a neuter substantive indicating the 'formless void',[51] the chaos that existed before creation (RV 1.185.2–8; RV 2.33.10; RV 5.49.5), which seems to stand in opposition to the cosmic order and whose thought instills fear. This meaning is exemplified by the refrain in RV 1.185, a hymn dedicated to Heaven and Earth, "the defining structures of the world", which "help dispel that fear and provide protection from the void in various ways" (J-B p. 388). In particular, RV 1.185.1–2 read: *katarā́ pū́rvā katarā́parāyóḥ*

51 Etymologically, *ábhva-*/*abhvà-* is explained as a thematic noun based on the root *bhū-* with privative *a-*, 'Un-Wesen' (EWAia I p. 94). This word can also stand for various formless entities like the wind (RV 1.24.6; RV 6.71.5), Agni's smoke (RV 2.4.5; RV 6.4.3), and the clouds (RV 1.168.9; RV 1.169.3). Only once is it used in the plural, as a masculine adjective (agreeing with *giráyas*, "mountains") according to PW and GW, or as a neuter noun according to J-B (and also Geldner, *ad loc.*): RV 1.63.1, *tvám mahā́m̐ indra yó ha śúṣmair dyā́vā jajñānáḥ pr̥thivī́ áme dhāḥ | yád dha te víśvā giráyaś cid ábhvā bhiyā́ dr̥ḷhā́saḥ kiráṇā naíjan* ||, "You are great, Indra, you who, on just being born, with your tempests put heaven and earth in (the path of your) onslaught, so that all the vast masses, even the mountains, though firmly fixed, stirred like dust-motes in fear of you" (J-B).

*kathā́ jāté kavayaḥ kó ví veda | víśvaṃ tmánā bibhr̥to yád dha nā́ma ví vartete áhanī cakríyeva || bhū́riṃ dvé ácarantī cárantam padvántaṃ gárbham apádī dadhāte | nítyaṃ ná sūnúm pitrór upásthe dyā́vā rákṣatam pr̥thivī no ábhvāt* ||, "(1) Which of these two is the earlier, and which the later? How were they born, O poets? Who fully understands? By themselves the two carry everything that is a name.[52] Day and Night roll through (them) like two wheels. (2) The two, unmoving and footless, conceive an ample embryo, moving and footed, like a natural son in the lap of his parents. — O Heaven and Earth, protect us from the formless void" (J-B). The final refrain is repeated up to stanza 8, while the two world halves are praised for "giving help with their help" (st. 4, *ávasā́vantī*), and described as "the two broad and wide, voluminous and of distant boundary … bringing good fortune" (st. 7: *urvī́ pr̥thvī́ bahulé dūréante … subhāge*), etc. It follows that the concept of *ábhva-* entails some kind of primordial empty space where man cannot thrive.

As similar tone pervades RV 5.49.5, in which the poet wishes that the "formless void" be replaced by the *várīyas-*, the unthreatening wide space, the ordered cosmos, in which men can comfortably expand with their cattle: *prá yé vásubhya ī́vad ā́ námo dúr yé mitré váruṇe sūktávācaḥ | ávaitv ábhvaṃ kr̥ṇutā́ várīyo diváspr̥thivyór ávasā madema* ||, "Those who have presented such great reverence to the good ones, who possess well-spoken speech for Mitra and Varuṇa, let the formless void go away (from them); make a wider space (for them). With the aid of Heaven and Earth may we rejoice" (J-B).

This fearsome void is sometimes described as "black" (*kr̥ṣṇá-*; in RV 1.92.5; RV 1.140.5; RV 4.51.9); e.g., in 1.95.5, the particular cosmic principle that brings order dispelling the formless void is the dawn: *práty arcī́ rúśad asyā adarśi ví tiṣṭhate bā́dhate kr̥ṣṇám ábhvam | sváruṃ ná péśo vidátheṣv añjáñ citráṃ divó duhitā́ bhānúm aśret* ||, "Her gleaming ray has appeared opposite. She spreads herself out, thrusts away the black void. The Daughter of Heaven has propped up her bright beam, her ornament, like (a priest) propping up the sacrificial post, the ornament at the ceremonies, and anointing it" (J-B).

Only once does the word occur in the masculine, apparently indicating the personified fear of such cosmic formlessness. In fact, the stanza at issue prays Indra to keep this *ábhva-* (m.) away: RV 1.39.8, *yuṣméṣito maruto mártyeṣita ā́ yó no ábhva ī́ṣate | ví táṃ yuyota śávasā vy ójasā ví yuṣmā́kābhir ūtíbhiḥ* ||, "Whether sent by you, Maruts, or sent by a mortal, the formless being that sets upon us— keep him away by your strength, by your power, away by the help that stems from you" (J-B).

In the AV, the personification of this fear of the cosmic void into a fearful formless being is completed. In fact, in the AV, we only find a neuter *abhvà-*, with final accentuation,[53] in the meaning 'monster'. Remarkably, in both of its two occurrences, this word appears next to *rákṣas-*, and once also next to *daúṣvapnyaṃ* (ŚS) / *duḥsvapnyam* (PS, Bhattacharya 1997). ŚS 4.17.5 (= ŚS 7.23.1 ~ PS 5.23.7) reads: *daúṣvapnyaṃ daúrjīvityaṃ* (PS *duḥsvapnyaṃ durjīvitaṃ*) *rákṣo abhvàm arāyyàḥ*

52 J-B (p. 388) rightly recognise this as expressing an idea that is similar to the later concept of *nāma-rūpa-*; remarkably, *nā́ma* and *rūpá* are called *abhvà-*s (and *yakṣá-*s) in an ŚB passage of cosmic character that I quote below.

53 Kuiper (1962b: 230) remarks: "a change of accent is often found in later Vedic texts (sometimes as a corollary of a semantic change, e.g. RV. *pā́rya-* "last" < YV. *pāryà-* "on the other side") and since it cannot be proved that *abhvà-* has ever been pronounced as a trisyllable, it is more plausible to take it as ultimately identical with *ábhva-*. The accent shift may have been favoured by the circumstances that *ábhva-* probably had gone out of use in common speech at an early date. Besides the passages in RV. and AV. it only occurs in two passages of the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa but from the fact that the author of the second passage accents on the last syllable (abhvá-) we may probably infer that he did no longer know the word from the spoken language. If there has been an accent shift *ábhvam* > *abhvàm* this is likely to have been due to analogy. The only forms in *-bhvàm* that occur in the Rigvedic text are *vibhvàm* (4) and *subhvàm* (1). These text forms themselves were authoritative, rather than their pronunciation according to the general rule of RV-Prātiśākhya XVII. 13 (cf. 14 and VIII.22 with Uvaṭa's commentary). Has perhaps *subhvàm* in RV. IX.79.5ab *evā́ ta indo subhvàm supéśasaṁ rásaṁ tuñjanti prathamā́ abhiśríyaḥ* erroneously been interpreted as an accusative of *subhvà-* and has this induced the accentuation *abhvàm* of the Atharvaveda?"

| *durṇắmnīḥ sárvā durvắcas tắ́ asmán nāśayāmasi* ||, "Evil dreaming, evil-living, demon, monster (*abhvà*), hags, all the ill-named (f.), ill-voiced—them we make disappear from us." (Whitney); "Bad dreaming, bad living, demon, monster, hags, [witches] with bad voice, all of bad nature – we make this disappear from here" (Lubotsky); ŚS 12.4.25 (part of a hymn to the Sun), *sá evá mr̥tyúḥ sò 'mŕ̥taṃ sò 'bhvàṃ sá rákṣaḥ* ||, "He verily [is] death, he immortality, he the monster (*abhvà*), he the demon".

An intermediate stage between the RV and AV meanings can perhaps be found in the following ŚB passage. Here a creation myth is narrated in which Bráhman emanates Form (*rūpá*) and Name (*nắma*), which are then described as the two *abhvás* or the two *yakṣás*. Thus, *abhvá-*[54] here still represents a cosmic character as in RV, but it's on its way to being personified into a spirit/demon-like creature, as shown by the parallelism with the word *yakṣá-*, which undergoes a similar semantic shift from 'wonder' to 'spirit, semi-divine being'. ŚB 11.2.3.1–5, *(1) bráhma vắ́ idám ágra āsīt, tád devắ́n asr̥jata, tád devắ́nt sr̥ṣṭvaìṣú lokéṣu vyắ́rohayad, asmínn evá lokè'gníṃ vāyúm antárikṣe divyèvá sū́ryam, (2) átha yé'tha ūrdhvắ́ lokắ́ḥ tád yắ́ áta ūrdhvắ́ devátās téṣu tắ́ devátā vyắ́rohayat, sá yáthā haivèmá āvír lokắ́ imắ́ś ca devátā evám u haivá tá āvír lokắ́s tắ́ś ca devátā yéṣu tắ́ devátā vyắ́rohayat, (3) átha bráhmaivá parārdhám agachat, tát parārdháṃ gatvaìkṣata: kathắṃ nv ìmắṃ lokắ́n pratyáveyām íti, tád dvắ́bhyām evá pratyávaid rūpéṇa caivá nắ́mnā ca, sá yásya kásya ca nāmắ́sti, tán nắ́ma yásyo ápi nắ́ma nắ́sti yád véda rūpéṇedáṃ rūpám íti tád rūpám etắ́vad vắ́ idáṃ yắ́vad rūpáṃ caivá nắ́ma ca, (4) té haité bráhmaṇo mahatī́ abhvé, sá yó haité bráhmaṇo mahatī́ abhvé véda, mahāddhaivà́bhvám bhavati, (5) té haité bráhmaṇo mahatī́ yakṣé, sá yó haité bráhmaṇo mahatī́ yakṣé véda mahāddhaivá yakṣám bhavati […]*, "(1) Verily, in the beginning, this (universe) was the Brahman (neut.). It created the gods; and, having created the gods, it made them ascend these worlds: Agni this (terrestrial) world, Vāyu the air, and Sūrya the sky. (2) And the deities who are above these he made ascend the worlds which are above these; and, indeed, just as these (three) worlds and these (three) deities are manifest, so are those (higher) worlds and those (higher) deities manifest—(the worlds) which he made those deities ascend. (3) Then the Brahman itself went up to the sphere beyond. Having gone up to the sphere beyond, it considered, 'How can I descend again into these worlds?' It then descended again by means of these two—Form and Name. Whatever has a name, that is name; and that again which has no name, and which one knows by its form, 'This is (of a certain) form,' that is form: as far as there are Form and Name so far, indeed, extends this (universe). (4) These, indeed, are the two great *forces* [the italic is mine, ed.] of the Brahman; and, verily, he who knows these two great *forces* of the Brahman becomes himself a great *force*. (5) These, indeed, are the two great manifestations (or phantasmagories, illusive representations) of the Brahman; and, verily, he who knows these two great manifestations of the Brahman becomes himself a great manifestation. […]" (Eggeling).

The fact that the meaning 'monster', typical of the AV, then becomes the standard one can be seen from the other ŚB myth, in which Indra is born from the powerful womb of Vāc, which he then squeezes into a horn (the same horn that the ritual patron wears while undergoing his initiation during the Śrauta rituals), in order to prevent a powerful and dangerous 'monster' (*abhvà-*) from being born after him: ŚB 3.2.1.25–28, *(25) só 'yáṃ yajñó vắcam abhídadhyau: mithunyènayā syām íti, tắṃ sáṃbabhūva, (26) índro ha vắ́ īkṣắṃ cakre: mahád vắ́ itó 'bhvàṃ janiṣyate, yajñásya ca mithunắ́d vắcáś ca, yán mā tán nà́bhibhāved íti, sá índra evá gárbho bhūtvaìtán mithunám práviveśa, (27) sá ha saṃvatsaré jắyamāna īkṣắṃ cakre: mahắ́vīryā vắ́ iyáṃ yónir yắ́ mắ́m ádīdharata, yád vaí metó mahád evắ́bhvàṃ nànuprajắyeta, yán mā tán nà́bhibhāved íti, (28) tắ́m pratiparāmr̥śya véṣṭyắchinat, tắṃ yajñásya śīrṣán prátyadadhād, yajñó hí kr̥ṣṇaḥ, sá yáḥ sá yajñás tát kr̥ṣṇājinám, yó sắ́ yóniḥ sắ́ kr̥ṣṇáviṣāṇắtha yád enām índra āveṣṭyắchinat, tásmād ắveṣṭiteva sá yáthaivắ́ta indró 'jāyata gárbho bhūtvaìtásmān mithunắ́d evám evaìṣó 'tó jāyate gárbho bhūtvaìtásmān mithunắ́t*, "(25) That Yajña (sacrifice) lusted after Vāc (speech), thinking, 'May I pair with her!'. He united with her. (26) Indra then thought within himself, 'Surely a great *monster*

54 On the accentuation in this passage, see the previous footnote.

will spring from this union of Yajña and Vāc: [I must take care] lest it should get the better of me.' Indra himself then became an embryo and entered into that union.(27) Now when he was born after a year's time, he thought within himself, 'Verily of great vigour is this womb which has contained me: [I must take care] that no great *monster* shall be born from it after me, lest it should get the better of me !' (28) Having seized and pressed it tightly, he tore it off and put it on the head of Yajña (sacrifice); —for the black (antelope) is the sacrifice: the black deer skin is the same as that sacrifice, and the black deer's horn is the same as that womb. And because it was by pressing it tightly together that Indra tore out (the womb), therefore it (the horn) is bound tightly (to the end of the garment); and as Indra having become an embryo, sprang from that union, so is he (the sacrificer), after becoming an embryo, born from that union (of the skin and the horn)" (Eggeling).

In conclusion, the co-occurrence of *abhvà-* with *rákṣas-* and 'poor sleep/evil dreaming' is in my view the strongest argument in favour of emending our text to to ***abhvebhyo***.*

As for the attested readings, they can be explained as errors: epenthetic vowels are often inserted during recitation to resolve difficult clusters or as an effect of solemn *lento* recitation (see Witzel 1985b: 267, 284 in the case of the Odisha recitation style), so that a change from *abhve* to *abhave* can either have occurred during the early common transmission or independently in the two branches. As for the divergence of the **K** reading: correspondence between an original labial (*p/b/bh/v*) preserved in **O** and a dental (*d/dh*) in **K** is rather frequent[55] for various reasons, although most likely because of scribal mistakes due to confusion of the Śāradā akṣaras *bh* vs. *d* (which could explain the corruption in the first part of the word—but see below) and *v* vs. *dh* (which can certainly explain the corruption in the second part of the word, *-vebhyo* > *-dhobhyo*—with not unusual confusion of *e* with *o*, perhaps also because of the immediately following *bhyo*, which may have tricked the copyist's eye). The cluster *dr-* in **K** is admittedly more problematic. The only attestation of **K** *dr-* vs. **O** *bh-* recorded by Kim (*Schreib.*) is **K** *adri* vs **O** *abhi* in 9.27.10c, in which, however, **K**'s reading is original, so this particular example is not relevant to our argument. In my view, the most likely scenario is that the archetype already contained a cluster *abbh* by retention of the gemination (and preceding vowel shortening) even after the resolution of the cluster with epenthesis, i.e., the original *abhve* = [ə́b$^{h}$.ve] was pronounced [ə́b.b$^{h}$ə.ve], then written as °*abbhave*°, preserved in **O**, and finally the Śāradā akṣara *bbha* was then confused with similar looking akṣara *dra* by a Kashmirian copyist.

### 17.24.10 [prose]

a vidma te svapna janitraṃ gandharvāṇāṃ putro [']sy apsarobhyo [']dhi jāto yamasya karaṇaḥ |
b taṃ tvā svapneti trīṇi ||

We know, O sleep, your pedigree: you are son of *gandharva*-s, born from *apsaras*-es, Yama's helper. You there, O sleep (…). [*Repeat the following*] *three* [*pādas*].

vidma te] **[O]** vidhmahe te **K** • putro [']sy] putro sy **[O] K** • apsarobhyo [']dhi] apsarobhyo adhi **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** aṣparobhyo adhi **V71** aṣṭarobhyo adhi **V122** apsarobodhi **K** •

55 Some examples from Kim (*Schreib.*) are *da* vs. *pa*: 6.3.3d nirr̥teṛ̥(=ru)pasthāt **O** nirr̥terudasthāt **K**, 6.23.7b tapatu **O** tadati K; *dabhr̥* vs. *dbhi*: 9.27.11b; udbhit **O** odabhr̥t **K**, 20.9.9d udbhit **O** udabhr̥t **K**; *di* vs. *bhi*: 8.10.9b bhagābhiṣecanīḥ **O** bhagādiṣecanaṃ **K**; *dr̥* vs. *pr̥*: 14.6.4b pr̥ṣṭhāni **O** dr̥ṣṭyāni **K**; *dr̥* vs. *bhr̥*: 20.25.1a ābhr̥taṃ **O** ādr̥taṃ **K**; *dya* vs. *bhya*: 6.15.8c ajābhya **O** ajādya **K**; *dyo* vs. *bhyo*: 7.10.5a śāmbubhyo **O** ṣyāmividyo **K**, 13.6.1c tāvakebhyo **O** tāvakedyo **K**; *dyu* vs. *bhyu*: 13.6.1a bibhyuḥ **O** svidyuḥ **K**; *dvi* vs. *rbhi*: 14.8.8b yuvatirbibharṣi **O** yuvatidvibharṣi **K**; *dha* vs. *ba*: 20.1.4d +babhūvānu] babhuvānu **O** dhabhūvānu **K**; *dhi* vs. *bhi*: 13.3.8c abhikrandasya **O** adhikrasya **K**, 20.9.2b odabhiḥ **O** odadhiḥ **K**; *dhi* vs. *vi*: 6.9.3a vi **O** dhi **K**; and *dhi* vs. *vr̥*: 6.10.3b vr̥ṣaṇaś **O** dhiṣaṇaś **K**.

yamasya] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yasyaśa **Ji$_4$** • karaṇaḥ] **[O]** kararaṇaḥ **K** • **||** **V71 JM$_3$ Pa$_c$** || **V122 Ji$_4$** **([Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?)**[56] • taṃ tvā] **Ma Ja Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** taṃntvā **Mā** tantvā **K** **V122 V71 JM$_3$** • svapneti] **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** ṣvapnetathā **Mā** ṣapneti **V71** svapnetu **K** • ||] || 24 || ru 10 ||] **Ma Ja Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** || ru (*space*) || 24|| **V122** || 24 || **Ji$_4$** || 24 || ru 11 || **Pa$_c$** Z phaśca 4 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes the beginning of the refrain in full and the final part as *taṃ tvā svapna (tathā vidma* | . . . . . *dadhmaḥ) ||10||*. He writes *putrosyapsarobhyo adhi*.

On abbreviations of mantras consisting of a pratīka followed by notations like *íty ékā* (f.sg., i.e. 'one stanza (*ṛc*-, f.)), *íti dvé* (f.du., 'two stanzas'), *íti tisraḥ* (f.pl. 'three stanzas'), etc. in the AV, see Griffiths 2009: xlii–xliii §2.5.1. Similarly, the notation "*iti trīṇi*" (neuter pl.) here must imply *trīṇi pādāni*, "three pādas", and must refer to the full remaining portion of the refrain, which is, in fact, divided into three sections, as can be seen from the punctuation: 1) *taṃ tva ... vidma* |, 2) *yo bhadraḥ ... pra hiṇmaḥ* |, 3) *tam asmai ... api dadhmaḥ* ||.

After reading this *kāṇḍikā* (17.24), we may compare ŚS 19.56.6ab, *vidmá te sárvāḥ parijā́ḥ purástād vidmá svapna yó adhipā́ ihā́ te* |. This line contains a hapax, *parijā́ḥ*. Whitney renders the first pāda with "We know all thine attendants (?) in front". Lanman specifies in the comment that this translation is based on the commentary, which features the gloss *parijanān*. Lanman deems this interpretation more probable than the conjecture put forward by the PW, namely "Ort der Entstehung". This makes sense given that the second pāda translates as "we know, O sleep, who is thine over-ruler here" (Whitney), thus constituting an opposition "attendant", "over-ruler". Apparently knowing sleeps' attendants and over-ruler would grant the poet-magician the power to control sleep. However, in light of the list of "fathers" and "mothers" found in our text, and my discussion on *jánitra*- in 17.24.1 above, where it means 'pedigree, family of origin'—a usage that may include brothers and comrades (as shown by AB 2.6)—I cannot but wonder whether *parijā́*- would be better translated as "people born around (someone)", i.e. "relatives, members of the large family". Accordingly, in this stanza there would be no parallelism between "attendants" and an "over-ruler". In fact, the "over-ruler" is none other than the poet-magician, who has control over the *svápna* precisely because he knows the names of its relatives. Thus, I would like to take the first *vidma* as meaning "we know", with "we" as a pluralis majestatis, and the second *vidma* rather as an inclusive "you and I know". I would translate: "We(=I) know all your relatives beforehand—you and I know, O sleep, who your overlord is here (namely me)".

56 Bhattacharya does not edit a daṇḍa after *karaṇaḥ*. From his implicit apparatus, one would then deduce that neither **Ma**, **Ja** nor **Mā** featured any punctuation sign in this particular position. However, all my mss. have one or two daṇḍas. Based on comparison with 17.24.1, we would expect a single daṇḍa. This is what we find in **V71** and **JM$_3$**, which belong to **O$^B$**, as well as in **Pa$_c$**, which belongs to **O$^A$**. **V122** and **Ji$_4$** feature two daṇḍas, but there are many instances in this chapter in which these two mss. have two daṇḍas while all the others have one—not to mention that **Ji$_4$** mostly has only double daṇḍas. These observations make me suspect that the absence of punctuation in Bhattacharya's edition might just be a misprint, and that his mss. too most likely featured a single daṇḍa.

## Kāṇḍikā 25

**17.25.1** **[prose]** ~ b: ŚS 16.7.8 ~ PS 18.51.1f

a dyāvāpṛthivī ahorātre *nakṣatrapeśaḥ |
b idam aham amuṣminn āmuṣyāyaṇe [’]muṣyāḥ putre $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ *mr̥je ||

O heaven and earth, O day and night, O one decorated with stars (i.e the night sky); now I wipe off poor sleep on such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother].

N.B. After *amuṣminn āmuṣyā...* **Pa$_c$** features a big lacuna, which extends all the way to 17.25.4c *...m asīmahi*.

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*nakṣatrapeśaḥ] nakṣatraẏeṣaḥ **Ma Ja V122 Mā V71** [xx]nakṣatraẏeṣaḥ **Pa$_c$** nakṣatra eṣaḥ **JM$_3$ Ji$_4$** nakṣatrapayasaḥ **K** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā]** || **Ji$_4$ V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **K** • idam] **[O]** yadam **K** • āmuṣyāyaṇe [’]muṣyāḥ] āmuṣyāẏaṇe muṣyāḥ **[O]** āmuṣyā **Pa$_c$** āmuṣyāyeṇe amuṣyaḥ **K** • putre] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** putreṇa **K** om. **Pa$_c$** • $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ] duṣvapniṃ **K** duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā]** duspapnyaṃ **V71** dusvapanyaṃ **JM$_3$** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • *mr̥je ||] vrajet || **[Ja] [Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** vrajet | **V71** vrajet, **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$**

ŚS 16.7.8
idám ahám āmuṣyāyaṇè ’múṣyāḥ putré duṣvápnyaṃ mr̥je ||

PS 18.51.1f
idam aham amum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṃ duṣvapnyād ava *daye ||

Bhattacharya reads °*āmuṣyāyaṇemuṣyāḥ* and *duḥsvapnyaṃ <u>vrajet</u>* || in **b**.

**a**. Bhattacharya writes **nakṣatrapeśaḥ*, clearly on the basis of **K**, which preserves the labial; as regards *śa*, confusion of the sibilants is a trivial error in both branches. The word *péśas*- does appear at the end of various compounds in the RV (as far as the AV is concerned, only *supéśas*- is attested in ŚS 7.48.2a ~ PS 20.11.9a, *apéśas*- in ŚS 20.26.6a, 20.47.12a, 20.69.11a, *viśvápeśas*- in 20.35.16c) with the meaning ‘ornamented, decorated with’, but this particular compound is not attested in the RV and AV as such. However, we may compare the following line, which features a form of the root *piś*-, of which *péśas* is a derivative: RV 10.68.11ab, *abhí śyāváṃ ná kr̥śanebhir áśvaṃ nákṣatrebhiḥ pitáro dyā́m apiṃśan* |, “Like the dusky horse with pearls, the Fathers ornamented heaven with stars”. In my view, this correspondence strengthens the validity of Bhattacharya's emendation.

Thus, the compound is an s-stem vocative: either feminine, in agreement with an implied *dyauḥ* (f.), as in the verse just quoted, or masculine, perhaps in agreement with *nā́ka*- ‘firmament, night sky’. Naturally the image evokes the starry night sky, which the poet invokes for protection during sleep, but it should be taken into consideration that the Sun is also a *nákṣatra*, and it is not to

be excluded that the poet is invoking the sunny sky to dispel poor sleep with the light of the day.

Perhaps an alternative emendation could be **nakṣatreśa*, "O lord of the stars (i.e. the moon[57])" (or **nakṣatreśaḥ*, nom. sg., but we would then have to regard the previous duals as nominatives)—although we'd then have to explain the insertion of an extra syllable in the ms. tradition (see below). This latter compound is also unattested as such, but we do find a corresponding formula in ŚS 6.86.2 (a charm for supremacy): *samudrá īśe sravátām agníḥ pr̥thivyā́ vaśī́ | candrámā nákṣatrāṇām īśe tvám ekavr̥ṣó bhava* ||, "The ocean is the master of the streams; Agni is the controller of the earth; the moon is master of the asterisms; do thou be sole chief" (Whitney).

From a paleographic point of view, the **O** mss with *-aẏe-* and *-a e-* could be considered consistent with each other because *-ẏ-* is often inserted in hiatus (cf. 17.25.6b *teẏadevaḥ* in **Ji$_4$** vs. *te adevaḥ* in the other mss.; cf. 17.25.8). Therefore one could assume the reading *-a e-* for the **O** archetype. However—and this seems more plausible to me—we could also imagine the opposite scenario: an original *-pe-* was mistaken for *-ye-* (perhaps in proto-Bengali), then spelled *-ẏe-* in Odisha because of its word-internal and intervocalic position. Later, the scribes of **JM$_3$** and **Ji$_4$**, aware of the fact that *-ẏ-* sometimes marks hiatus, and unable to interpret *nakṣatraẏeṣa* as one word, parsed it into *nakṣatra* and *eṣa*, thus inserting the hiatus.

**c**. The reading *vrajet* (3sg. opt. from *vraj-*) preserved in the mss. cannot be correct, as the line requires the verb to be in the 1st person sg. (see PS 18.51.1f quoted below, where an identical problem led Bhattacharya to correct *dayet* with **daye*). Moreover, the root *vraj-* does not seem semantically suitable either. Bhattacharya writes *vra̲je̲t*, but proposes *vr̥ñje* or *vr̥jaye* in his comment. I propose to emend with **mr̥je* on the basis of the following arguments.

First of all, *mr̥je* is found in the ŚS parallel of this line, ŚS 16.7.8: *idám ahám āmuṣyāyaṇè 'múṣyāḥ putré duṣvápnyaṃ mr̥je* ||, "Now do I wipe off evil-dreaming on him of such-and-such lineage, son of such-and-such a mother" (Whitney). Another PS parallel is not exactly comparable, as the syntax is different: PS 18.51.1f, *idam aham amum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putraṃ duṣvapnyād ava *daye* (Bhattacharya 2011; the mss. read *dayet*).

The presence of the form *mr̥je* in the ŚS verse is of course an insufficient argument for us to edit the same form in our text. However, the same construction, namely [*mr̥j-* + acc. + loc.], is found in another similar ŚS verse, but this time also in its PS parallel: ŚS 13.1.58, *yó adyá deva sūrya tvā́ṃ ca mā́ṃ cāntarā́yati | duṣvápnyaṃ tásmiṃ chámalaṃ duritā́ni ca mr̥jmahe* ||, "Whoso this day, O heavenly sun, shall go between both thee and me – on him we wipe off evil-dreaming, pollution, and difficulties" (Whitney); ~ PS 20.28.2, *yo adya deva sūrya tvāṃ ca māṃ* $^{+}$*cāntarāyati | tasmin duṣvapnyaṃ sarvaṃ duritāni ca mr̥jmahe*, "Wer heute, o Gott Sūrya, zwischen dich und mich gehen sollte, auf den streifen wir jeglichen Albtraum und [alle] Übel ab" (Kubisch).

Moreover, note that PS 17.25.3–4 below has a perfect parallel in ŚS 13.1.59–60, the verses immediately following the one just quoted above. This fact, I think, testifies to the connection between these lines and the likelihood that the construction [*mr̥j-* + acc. + loc.] is the one intended here.

**17.25.2** ~ PS 15.4.2

yad asmāsv ity āṣṭādaśakī ||

[The stanza beginning with] "Which is on us" [belonging to the kāṇḍa consisting of hymns of eighteen stanzas, i.e. kāṇḍa 15]

57 The moon is also called *nákṣatrāṇām ádhipatiḥ* in ŚS 5.24.10a.

N.B. This portion is absent from **Pa$_c$**.

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asmāsv ity] **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** asmāsyutyā **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • āṣṭādaśakī] **Ma Ja Mā V71 JM$_3$** āṣṭādaśakī(*s.s.*→ kī) **V122**[58] ā[.]ṣṭādaśakī **Ji$_4$** aṣṭādaśakī **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • ||] **Ma Ja V122 Mā V71 JM$_3$** | **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K Pa$_c$**

This line is an abbreviation of stanza PS 15.4.2. It consists of a pratīka, "*yad asmāsu*", "Which is on us" (i.e. the first words of the stanza), and the notation "*iti āṣṭādaśakī*". The latter word is the feminine (presumably implying *ṛc*- 'stanza') of the compound *āṣṭādaśaka*-, 'belonging to the *āṣṭādaśa*', which is a reference to the *āṣṭādaśaṛcakāṇḍa*, 'the book consisting of hymns of eighteen stanzas', the title of the fifteenth book of the PS. On these abbreviations, see Griffiths 2009: xlii §2.5.

In place of this abbreviation, Bhattacharya writes the full stanza PS 15.2.4 as he prints it in Bhattacharya 1997: *yad asmāsu duṣvapnyaṃ yad goṣu yacca no gṛhe* || *amāmagatyasta durhārdaḥ priyā(ḥ) prati muñcatām* ||.

The stanza as edited by Lelli (2015) reads: *yad asmāsu duṣvapnyaṁ yad goṣu yac ca no gṛhe* | *†amāmagatyasta†* $^{+}$*durhārd *apriyaḥ prati muñcatām* ||, "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 … (?)" (Lelli). The parallel in ŚS 19.45.2 (a: ~ ŚS 19.57.4d) reads: *yád asmā́su duṣvápnyaṃ yád góṣu yác ca no gṛhé* | *ánāmagas táṃ durhárdaḥ priyáḥ práti muñcatām* ||, "What evil-dreaming [is] in us, what in [our] kine, and what in our house, also the … of one hostile, let him that is unfriendly take upon himself" (Whitney). Compare also ŚS 19.57.4 and PS 3.30.6. All these stanzas present numerous difficult philological problems: for a discussion see Lelli 2015: 87f.

At any rate, this stanza is clearly a spell to repel poor sleep and transfer it to an adversary.

**17.25.3** **[Gāyatrī]** ~ RV 10.57.1 ~ ŚS 13.1.59

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | mā pra gāma patho vayaṃ | 8 | [ – ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| b | mā yajñād indra sominaḥ \| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | mānta sthur no arātayaḥ ‖ | 8 | [ – ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Let us not depart from the path, nor, O Indra, from the ritual worship with soma. Let hostilities not stand between us[59].

N.B. This stanza is absent from **Pa$_c$**.

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gāma] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** gā[x]ma **Ji$_4$** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • patho] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** matho **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • vayaṃ] **K** vaẏaṃ **[O]** • mā yajñād indra] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** mā jajñās indra **Ji$_4$** sā yajñād indrā **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • sominaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** somenaḥ **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā]** || **V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • mānta sthur no] māṃtasthurno **Ma Mā JM$_3$ Ji$_4$** mātasthūrnno **Ja** māṃtasthūrno **V122** mātasthurno **V71** mā tastho no **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • arātayaḥ] **K** arātaẏaḥ **[O]** • ||] **Ma Ja Ji$_4$ Mā** | **V122 V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **K Pa$_c$**

RV 10.57.1 ~ ŚS 13.1.59
mā́ prá gāma pathó vayáṃ mā́ yajñā́d indra somínaḥ |
mā́ntá sthur no árātayaḥ ||

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58 This redundant correction is written in the upper margin and followed by the bumeral "1", referring to the first line of the manuscript.

59 My translation is derived from J-B and Whitney's with slight modifications. See my comment below.

Bhattacharya writes **māntа*, but the asterisk is not necessary.

This and the following Gāyatrī stanza constitute the opening of hymn RV 10.57, a spell "seeking the return of "mind" to a person or persons in some distress" (J-B p. 1468). Within this hymn, our two stanzas seem to be simply a preface, "seeking to avoid ritual wrongdoing and to attain the help of Agni" (J-B ibid.), so that one doubts whether this is their original locus.

The same two stanzas also constitute the closing of ŚS 13.1, "to Rohita", namely ŚS 13.1.59–60. Note that the whole group, ŚS 13.1.56–60, is not found in the corresponding Rohita section of PS 18, which suggests that these stanzas are an insertion originating from different sources. Of these five stanzas, only st. 58 and st. 59 have parallels in PS: st. 59 here in PS 17, and st. 58 in PS 20.28.2, as part of a decad that also does not appear to be a compositional unit, but rather a collection of verses for various purposes.[60] In particular, PS 20.28.2 opens a series of four concatenated curses (Kubisch 2012: 160). Interestingly, although our stanza, PS 17.25.3, and its parallel, ŚS 13.1.59, apparently do not deal with poor sleep, ŚS 13.1.58 and PS 20.28.2 do: *yó adyá deva sūrya tvā́ṃ ca mā́ṃ cāntarā́yati | duṣvápnyaṃ tásmiṃ chámalaṃ durita̍ni ca mṛjmahe* ||, "Whose this day, O heavenly sun, shall go between both thee and me—on him we wipe off evil-dreaming, pollution, and difficulties" (Whitney). Note that this verse is an Anuṣṭubh, not a Gāyatrī like ours (and like PS 17.25.4 immediately following), which suggests that their ultimate origin might be different. Nevertheless, one wonders what the relationship between this stanza and ours is, given that we find the latter in our chapter on poor sleep, but not the former, which actually mentions poor sleep.[61]

The RV parallel of our stanza (RV 10.57.1) is translated in J-B as "Let us not depart from the path, nor from the sacrifice of the one who has soma, Indra. Let hostilities not stand between us", thus taking *somínaḥ* as a genitive. Geldner (*ad loc*.) had adopted the same solution: "nicht von dem Opfer des Somaspenders". Indeed, the most frequent meaning of *somín-* in RV and AV is 'one who has soma, one who deals with soma, soma-bearer, priest'. However, *somín-* can also be an adjective: 'possessing soma, characterised by soma'. As such it is used to qualify *brāhmaṇá-* (e.g. RV 7.103.8, *brāhmaṇā́saḥ somíno*, "the brahmins possessing soma"), conveying a meaning that is pretty much equivalent to that of the simple noun *somín-*, but also to qualify other things. Although I have not found any example in which it qualifies *yajñá-*, this adjective does qualify the pressing stones (*grā́van* in RV 8.34.2, *ádri* in RV 10.94.1): "pressing stones characterised by [the residue of] the soma [pressing]", "pressing stones for the soma [ritual]". Therefore it is perfectly possible that *sominaḥ* is here an ablative agreeing with *yajñā̍t*. Whitney too preferred this solution in translating ŚS 13.1.59: "Let us not go forth from the road, nor, O Indra, from the sacrifice with soma; let not the niggards stand between us" (Whitney).

This stanza (and its parallels) features the only occurrences of the aor. inj. (*prá*) *gāma* (from *gā-* 'to step, move') in RV and AV.

**17.25.4** **[Gāyatrī]** ~ RV 10.57.2 ~ ŚS 13.1.60

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yo yajñasya prasādhanas | 8 | [ – – – ᴜ \| ᴜ – ᴜ × ] |
| b | tantur deveṣ$_{u}$v ātataḥ \| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ᴜ – ᴜ × ] |
| c | tam āhutam aśīmahi \|\| | 8 | [ ᴜ – ᴜ ᴜ \| ᴜ – ᴜ × ] |

He who assures the success of the sacrifice, who is the thread stretched to the gods, him [=Agni],

60 Kubisch (2012: 160) points out, for instance, that the first stanza actually forms a prayer to Sarasvatī together with the last verse of the previous decad.

61 On the employment of these stanzas in the later Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra literature, see Whitney's comment *ad loc*.

bepoured, might we attain.[62]

N.B. The lacuna in **Pa$_c$** (see previous stanzas) ends after pāda **b**.

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deveṣv ātataḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** devaṣv ātataḥ **Ji$_4$** deveṣv ātaḥ **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71** || **JM$_3$** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • tam] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** ntam **V71** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • āhutam aśīmahi] **K Ja Ji$_4$** āhutam asīmahi **Ma V122 Mā V71 JM$_3$** m asīmahi **Pa$_c$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **K Pa$_c$**

RV 10.57.2
yó yajñásya prasā́dhanas tántur devéṣv ā́tataḥ |
tám ā́hutaṃ naśīmahi ||

ŚS 13.1.60
yó yajñásya prasā́dhanas tántur devéṣv ā́tataḥ |
tám ā́hutam aśīmahi ||

On the relationship between this stanza and the preceding one see my comment above.

Whitney's translation of the ŚS parallel (13.1.60) is as follows: "What line, accomplisher of the sacrifice, is stretched clear to the gods, that, sacrificed unto, may we attain" (Whitney).

Note the alternation between the 1pl. aorist optative middle *aśīmahi* in the AV, with regular zero grade of the root, and RV *naśīmahi*, with full grade of the root. The latter form occurs only in RV, and only three times (besides five occurrences of *aśīmahi*),[63] and has been explained by Hoffmann (1967a) as a secondary variant of *aśīmahi* that would have been created by the poets for metrical reasons: in particular, to avoid a hiatus in RV 8.6.9a (*prá tám indra naśīmahi*), and to produce an (iambic) cadence in RV 10.36.3c (*svàrvaj jyótir avr̥káṃ naśīmahi*), as well as in our RV 10.57.2c (*tám ā́hutaṃ naśīmahi*). In fact, differently from our PS pāda **c** and its ŚS parallel, the RV line is fully iambic, both in the cadence and in the opening. With a different approach, Kortlandt (1983=2010: 128, 2004=2010: 134) is of the opinion that the 3pl. person of the aor. opt. mid. originally featured a full grade in the (accented) root, and thus explains the isolated 1pl. *naśīmahi* as an analogical variant of the original full-grade 3pl.

## 17.25.5 [Jagatī]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | namo mitrasya varuṇasya cakṣase | 12 | [ ∪ – – – ∪ \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| b | maho devāya tad r̥̄taṃ saparyata \| | 12 | [ ∪ – – – ∪ \| – ∪ \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | dūredr̥̄śe devajātāya ketave | 12 | [ – – ∪ – \| – ∪ – \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | divas putrāya sūr̥̄yāya śaṃsata \|\| | 12 | [ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ \| – ∪ \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Homage to the eye of Mitra, of Varuṇa. Dedicate this great orderly thing to the god. To the banner of the gods, visible from afar, the son of heaven, to the sun—recite!

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62 I adopt here J-B's translation of the RV parallel.

63 In RV, *naśīmahi* is found in the following three verses: RV 8.6.9a, RV 10.36.3c, RV 10.57.2c (~ ŚS 13.1.69c ~ PS 17.25.4c). It is never found in the AV. On the other hand, *aśīmahi* is found five times in RV: RV 7.32.26d (~ ŚS 18.3.67d ~ ŚS 20.79.1d ~ PS 18.75.12d ~ PS 20.61.2d); RV 10.36.4c; RV 10.37.6d; RV 10.40.12d (~ ŚS 14.2.5d ~ PS 18.7.5d); also once accented, *aśīmáhi* in RV 5.47.7c (~ PS 12.17.6c). Elsewhere in the AV, *aśīmahi* is found also (twice) in ŚS 19.47.2de ~ PS 6.20.2de.

namo] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** na yo **Pa$_c$**[64] • mitrasya] **[O]** mittrasya **K** • maho devāya] maho devāẏa **[O]** maho vāya **K** • |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** || **V71** • dūredṛśe] **[O]** dūredviśe **K** • devajātāya] **K** devajātāẏa **[O]** • divas putrāya] divas putrāẏa **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** divasyutrāẏa **V71** dis putrāya **K** • sūryāya] **K** sūryāẏa **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** sūryā **Ji$_4$** • śaṃsata] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā]** śaṃsat, **V122 V71 JM$_3$** syaṃsataḥ **Ji$_4$** (saṃśata→)śaṃsata **Pa$_c$** śaṁsata **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** | **V122 V71 JM$_3$** *Z* **K**

RV 10.37.1
námo mitrásya váruṇasya cákṣase
mahó devā́ya tád ṛtáṃ saparyata |
dūredṛ́śe devájātāya ketáve
divás putrā́ya sū́ryāya śaṃsata ||

This stanza corresponds to the opening of RV 10.37, a hymn dedicated to the sun-god Sūrya. Note that 17.25.6 and 7 below also correspond to RV 10.37.2b, 3, 4. The three stanzas PS 17.25.5, 6, 7, thus clearly form a unit. Presumably the rationale behind their presence in our chapter is that they were used to invoke the power of sunlight to ward off nightmares.

Geldner translates RV 10.37.1 as follows: "Verneigung vor dem Auge des Mitra und Varuṇa! Dem großen Gotte weihet dieses wahre (Wort); dem weithin sichtbaren, gotterzeugten Wahrzeichen, des Himmels Sohne, dem Sūrya traget (es) vor!" (Geldner).

The construction of *saparyati* ('do service, serve, honour, worship') with dative of the person worshipped and accusative of the object by which the worship is performed (perhaps better rendered by 'dedicate, consecrate A (acc.) to B (dat.)') is only found here and in RV 1.93.2, *ágnīṣomā yó adyá vām idáṃ vácaḥ saparyáti | tásmai dhattaṃ suvī́ryaṃ gávām póṣaṃ sváśvyam* ||, "Agni und Soma! Der euch heute diese Rede weiht, dem bringet die Meisterschaft, Gedeihen der Rinder, Besitz guter Rosse!" (Geldner).[65]

Most likely, the phrase *tád ṛtáṃ*, "this fitting thing, this orderly thing, this properly arranged thing, this appropriate thing, this truthful thing, this truth", was originally meant to refer to the stanza itself or the hymn, RV 10.37, that the stanza opens. This is supported by the fact that the 2nd pl. imperative *saparyata* is paralleled by the imperative *śaṃsata* "recite!" (2nd pl.), from *śaṃs-*, which specifically indicates the solemn recitation of *ṛ́cs*. Moreover, the fact that the object of *saparyáti*, by which the worship is performed in RV 1.93.2 above, is *idáṃ vácaḥ*, "this speech", seems to convey the same meaning as *tád ṛtám*, namely the idea of a poem that is crafted in conformity with the cosmic order and appropriate for the worship of the god. Note how in RV 10.30.2, the stanza immediately following (also quoted below) contains a *satyókti-*, a 'truthful statement about reality', namely that "everything else that moves goes to rest: [but] the waters always [flow], the sun always rises" (*víśvam anyán ní viśate yád éjati viśvā́hā́po viśvā́hód eti sū́ryaḥ*). This is a different kind of "truth" (*satyá*), one that is performative: by pronouncing this truthful statement, the poet makes it become true. In fact, the poet commands the statement to protect him "from all sides, wherever heaven and earth (lit. the two heavens) and the days will stretch" (*sā́ mā satyóktiḥ pári pātu viśváto dyā́vā ca yátra tatánann áhāni ca* |).

**d**. On the sandhi *-s p-* in *divas putro*, see my comment on PS 17.24.5 above.

64 Note that **Pa$_c$** clearly writes *na yo*, with *-y-* (not *-ẏ-*) as if they were two words (although in *scriptio continua*), instead of *naẏo*.

65 J-B interprets this construction slightly differently, and translate RV 10.37.1, "Homage to the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa. Do great service to this truth [=hymn] for the god. To the one seen from afar, the signal born of the gods, the son of heaven, to the Sun—recite!"; and RV 1.93.2, "Agni and Soma, whoever today renders this speech as service for you two, for him establish an abundance of heroes, the thriving of cattle, an abundance of horses."

**17.25.6** **[Jagatī]** a: ~ RV 10.37.2b; bcde: ~ RV 10.37.3

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | dyāvā ca tatra tatanann ahāni ca | 12 | [ – – ∪ ∪ ∪ \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| b | na te adevaḥ pradivo vivāsati \| | 12 | [ ∪ – ∪ – – \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | yad etaśebhiḥ *patarai ratharyasi | 12 | [ ∪ – ∪ – – \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | prācīnam anyad anu vartate raja | 12 | [ – – ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| e | ud anyena jyotiṣā yāsi sūri̯ya \|\| | 12 | [ ∪ – – – \| – ∪ – \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |

There, heaven and earth (lit. the two heavens) and the days will stretch; from the early morning on, no godless person tries to attack your [doing], when you ride a chariot with flying colourful steeds. One [wheel of the chariot] rolls eastwards along the dusky realm; with the other [wheel], i.e. with the light, O Sun, you ride upwards.

tatra] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ttatra **Ji$_4$** • tatanann ahāni ca] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** tatanahāni ca **V122** tataṃnihāni ca **Ji$_4$** tata(*subs*.→na)nn ahāni ca **V71** tatanaṃv ahāni | ja **K** • na te adevaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** na teẏadevaḥ **Ji$_4$** ni to ya devaḥ **K** • pradivo] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** prativo **V122** pradidivo **Ji$_4$** pratiyo **K** • vivāsati |] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vivāsati || **Ji$_4$** • yad etaśebhiḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** yad etasebhiḥ **Mā V71 JM$_3$** yad ītaśebhiḥ **K** • *patarai] pratarai **K [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** prata( →ti)rai **Ma** pratirai **Ji$_4$ Nā** pratitarai **Pa$_c$** • ratharyasi] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ratharnāsi **Ji$_4$** ryadharyasi **K** • prācīnam] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** prācīm **Ji$_4$** • anyad] K **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** anyud **V122** • vartate] **K** varttate **[O]** • raja] **[O]** ratha **K** • ud anyena] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$** udannena **V122 Mā JM$_3$** ud an[.]ena **V71** ud anyana **Ji$_4$** udatyena **K** • yāsi sūrya] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** yāsi sūryaḥ **JM$_3$** yāhi sūrya **K** • ||] **[O]** | **K**

RV 10.37.2b,
dyā́vā ca yátra tatánann áhāni ca |

RV 10.37.3
ná te ádevaḥ pradívo ní vāsate
yád etaśébhiḥ pataraí ratharyási |
prācī́nam anyád ánu vartate rája
úd anyéna jyótiṣā yāsi sūrya ||

Bhattacharya writes *vi vāsati* (as two words) in pāda **b** and *pratarai* in pāda **c**.

Pāda **a** was extracted from RV 10.37.2. Here it is in its original context: *sā́ mā satyóktiḥ pári pātu viśváto dyā́vā ca yátra tatánann áhāni ca | víśvam anyán ní viśate yád éjati viśvā́hā́po viśvā́hód eti sū́ryaḥ* ||, “Let this expression of reality protect me around on all sides, where(ver) Heaven (and Earth) and the days will extend: ‘Every other thing that stirs settles down. But always the waters (are in motion), always the Sun rises’” (J-B); “Diese wahre Rede soll mich allenthalben schützen, solange Himmel und Erde und die Tage dauern. Alles andere geht zur Ruhe, was sich regt; allezeit (fließen) die Gewässer, allezeit geht die Sonne auf” (Geldner).

The rest of the stanza corresponds to RV 10.37.3: *ná te ádevaḥ pradívo ní vāsate yád etaśébhiḥ pataraí ratharyási | prācī́nam anyád ánu vartate rája úd anyéna jyótiṣā yāsi sūrya* ||, “No godless one seeks the upper hand against you early in the day, when you drive your chariot with its flying steeds. The one (wheel) rolls eastward along the dusky realm; with the other one, the light, you drive upward, o Sun” (J-B); “Seit alters hält dir kein Ungott stand(?), wenn du mit den geflügeten Etaśa’s fährst. Ostwärts dreht sich die eine dunkle Seite, mit der anderen, dem Lichte, gehst du auf, o Sūrya” (Geldner).

**abc**. I am hesitant to accept the PS variant *pratarai(ḥ)* (vs. RV *pataraí(ḥ)*, ins. pl. from

*patará-* ‘flying’): the word *pratara-* is not attested (although we do find the adverb *pratarám*, ‘farther’; one could consider emending to **pratirai*, from *pratirá-* ‘carrying across, furthering, helpful’; however, it is also possible that the intial cluster *pr°* is an error due to perseveration (anticipation) from *prācīnam* in pāda **c** (perhaps influenced by the allitteration of *r* in the following portion of the verse: °*ta*r̲*ai* r̲*atha*r̲*yasi* | *pr̲ā*°). If such an error occurred during the early phase of oral transmission, then obviously we find it in both branches. Since a correction is necessary anyway, it seems safer to me to emend according to the RV.

Similarly the first two pādas seem to feature other faults due to perseveration if compared to the RV parallel: in pāda **a**, PS *tatra tatanann* vs. RV *yátra tatánann*; variation *tatra* vs. *yatra* is extremely frequent, but in this particular case it could be due to anticipation of the alliterating *t*. Reading *yatra* with RV would allow us to take this pāda as subordinate to pāda **b** (note that in RV the verb *tatánan* is accented), which would make more sense syntactically. Note that PS has a daṇḍa after pāda **b**, suggesting in fact that PS pādas **ab** should form one unit; conversely, the RV parallel of PS pāda **b** (*ná te... ní vāsate*) is clearly to be read with the following subordinate clause (*yád ... ratharyási*)—in fact, it seems impossible to take it otherwise, even in the PS version, despite the daṇḍa. The PS texts gives the impression of a not fully successful rearrangement attempt.

Moreover, in pāda **b** we find PS *pradivo vi vāsati* (with possible perseveration of the alliterating *v*) vs. RV *pradívo ní vāsate*. However, here we might be on the wrong track. In fact the RV reading is doubtful and the PS reading might be correct. The lexeme *ní vāsate* is not found elsewhere; *vās-* is not a known root, and the form can hardly be ascribed to any other root without raising some semantic or morphological issues. The matter is discussed at length by Oldenberg (1912: 241f.), who ultimately accepts Ludwig’s suggestion to ascribe this form to the root *van-*, ‘to win, to conquer’, and who proposes to emend to *nívaṃsate* (3sg. s-aor. subj. mid.), or rather *vívāsate* (3sg. desid. mid.). I find particularly convincing the argument according to which the latter form would have been corrupted into *ní vāsate* under the influence of *ní viśate* in the preceding stanza (RV 10.37.2c). The translation would be: “nicht versucht von altersher ein Götterfeind einen Angriff gegen (dies Tun) von dir”. For comparable semantics, Oldenberg also refers to the desid. act. ptc. *abhy àvívāsatām* in 7.104.2: *índro yātūnā́m abhavat parāśaró havirmáthīnām abhy àvívāsatām | abhī́d u śakráḥ paraśúr yáthā vánam pā́treva bhindán satá eti rakṣásaḥ* ||, “Indra has become the one who pounds aside the sorcerers, the oblation-stealers, those who seek to ambush. The able one, splitting them like an axe a tree, breaking them like pots, advances against those who are really demons” (J-B). Cf. Geldner: “...die nachstellen”. Finally, Oldenberg compares the adjective *ávāta-*, ‘unattacked, indestructible’[66], and the adjective *vanús-* ‘eager to attack’[67].

I find this solution plausible overall, although the function of the pronoun *te* still raises some doubts. At any rate, if PS *vivāsati* is not due to perseveration, it might actually support Ludwig’s suggestion. In fact, the active seems even preferable.

**de**. With regards to pādas **de** (RV pādas **cd**), Geldner (*ad loc*.) refers to RV 6.9.1 for comparison: *áhaś ca kr̥ṣṇám áhar árjunaṃ ca ví vartete rájasī vedyā́bhiḥ | vaiśvānaró jā́yamāno ná rā́jā́vātiraj jyótiṣāgnís támāṃsi* ||, “Es drehen sich der schwarze Tag [=die Nacht] und der helle Tag, (die lichte und) die dunkle Seite (=der Sonne) mit Vorbedacht. Agni Vaiśvānara überwand, eben geboren, wie ein König mit seinem Lichte die Finsternis” (Geldner); “The black day and the silvery day roll out through the two dusky realms according to their knowing ways. Agni Vaiśvānara, (even) while being born, like a king suppressed the dark shades with his light” (J-B).

Accordingly, Geldner (1951, III p. 189, and II p. 101—also Oldenberg 1912: 242) interprets *anyád* and *anyéna* in our stanza as agreeing with *rája* and *jyotiṣā*, and indicating a dark and light

66 Applied to Agni (RV 6.16.20), Indra (RV 6.18.1), the Dawn (RV 6.64.5), Soma (RV 9.89.7, RV 9.96.8, 9.96.11), and *yuvatáyaḥ* (RV 6.67.7).

67 RV 9.91.5c, *yé duḥśáhāso vanúṣā bṛ́hantas, tā́ṃs te aśyāma purukr̥t purukṣo* ||, “Lofty (riches?), which are hard to capture by the covetous—might we attain from you, o you who do many things and have many cattle” (J-B). Less relevant: RV 4.44.3c, *r̥tásya … vanúṣe* “for the [one] striving for truth” (J-B).

side of the sun. I prefer to follow J-B and take *anyad … anyena* as referring to Sūrya's chariot's wheels. I assume that the words to be supplied would be *cakrám … cakréṇa*; cf. RV 1.155.6ab (to Viṣṇu), *catúrbhiḥ sākáṃ navatíṃ ca nā́mabhiś cakráṃ ná vr̥ttáṃ vyátīṁr avīvipat* |, "With the four times ninety names [=days], he has caused the paired (horses) [=days and nights] to quiver like a wheel set rolling" (J-B).

**17.25.7** **[Jagatī]** ~ RV 10.37.4; b: cf. RV 10.75.3b, RV 10.140.2b

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yena sūrya jyotiṣā bādhase tamo | 12 | [ – ∪ – ∪ \| – ∪ – \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| b | jagac ca viśvam abhīyarṣi bhānunā \| | 12 | [ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ – \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | tenāsmad viśvām anirām anāhutim | 12 | [ – – – – – \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | apāmīvām apa duṣvapn̥iyaṃ suva \|\| | 12 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ ∪ – \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |

O sun, the light with which you thrust away the darkness, and the radiance with which you move towards every moving creature, with that drive away from us every want of nourishment, every lack of oblation, away disease, away poor sleep.[68]

yena] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ye **Ji$_4$** • bādhase] **K O** • tamo] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** tatamo **JM$_3$** • jagac ca] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** jagacca(*s.s.*→tsa) **V122** jagaś ca **K** • abhīyarṣi] abhīẏarṣi **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ V71 JM$_3$** abhiẏarṣi **Mā** abhaẏarṣi **Pa$_c$** adyanr̥thi **K** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** (*subs.* →) | **K** || **Ji$_4$** • tenāsmad viśvām] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$** te[~~smā~~]nāsmad,(//)viśvām **Pa$_c$** tenāsma viśvām **Mā V71 JM$_3$** • anirām] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** ani(tvā →*s.s.*)rām **V71** ajarām **K** • anāhutim] **[O]** anāhutam **K** • apāmīvām] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** apāmanīvām **Ji$_4$** apāmevām **K** • duṣvapnyaṃ] **K** duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** dusvapyna **V71** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **K V122**

RV 10.37.4
yéna sūrya jyótiṣā bā́dhase támo
jágac ca víśvam udiyárṣi bhānúnā |
ténāsmád víśvām ánirām ánāhutim
ápā́mīvām ápa duṣvápnyaṃ suva ||

RV 10.75.3b
anantáṃ śúṣmam úd iyarti bhānúnā |

RV 10.140.2b
ánūnavarcā úd iyarṣi bhānúnā |

Bhattacharya writes *vādhase* in pāda **a** (of course all **O** mss. are ambiguous, but **K** clearly reads *bādhase*), and *duḥsvapnyaṃ* in pāda **d**.

This stanza ends this group of three referring to the sun with parallels in RV 10.37. In particular, RV 10.37.4 translates as follows: "The light with which you thrust away the darkness, o Sun, and the radiance with which you rouse up every moving creature, with that drive away from us every want of nourishment, every lack of oblation, drive away disease, away the bad dream" (J-B); "Mit welchem Lichte du, Sūrya, das Dunkel verdrängst und mit deinem Schein alles Lebende auftreibst, mit dem verbanne von uns jegliche Verschmachten, den Mangel an Opfern, Krankheit und bösen Traum!" (Geldner).

68 My translation is based on J-B's translation of the RV parallel, with significant modifications and adaptations.

**b**. Note the variation between RV *udiyárṣi* (incidentally with irregular accent) and PS *abhīyarṣi*[69].

As regards this variation, the first thing that is worthy of note is that the PS line is conspicuously irregular because, due to the long vowel *ī* in *abhīyarṣi*, the second syllable after the caesura is long. For this reason, the PS reading seems inferior, if not unacceptable. Nevertheless, it is worth investigating whether PS *abhīyarṣi* is grammatically acceptable.

The first issue I want to address is whether the verbal stem *iyar-* here expresses transitive (as we would expect at first) or intransitive semantics (as our conclusion will be).

The 2sg. present *íyarṣi* is derived from the root $^{1}$*ar-* (<*h$_3$er-). This root forms a reduplicated present meaning 'to move' (tr. and intr.), or more frequently 'to raise (tr.) / rise (intr.)' (especially with preverb *úd*), act. tr. *íyarti* (*h$_3$i-h$_3$er-ti), mid. intr. *ír̥te* (*h$_3$i-h$_3$r-toi), as well as a 5th class nasal present *ṛ̀ṇóti* (*h$_3$r-neu-ti),[70] 'to set in motion' (tr.), next to a root aorist (mid.).

From a survey of the 44 occurrences in the RV and the three in the AV[71] (most of which are occurrences of the lexeme *ud-*$^{1}$*ar-*), it appears that, in the vast majority of cases, the stem *íyar-* indeed has a transitive meaning, 'to move, raise, rouse',[72] but in at least four RV occurrences and one AV occurrence, it can also have intransitive meaning 'to rise' (RV 1.165.4b; RV 4.45.1a; RV 7.68.3a; RV 10.140.2b; PS 5.2.8a),[73] equivalent to that of *ír̥te*.

In fact, the only other occurrence of the present stem *íyar-* with preverb *abhí*, namely *abhīyarti* in PS 5.2.8, appears to convey the intransitive meaning "rises" (literally "moves towards the top (*agram*)": *mūrdhnā yo agram abhyarty* [read: *abhīyartiy*] *ojasā *bṛ̀haspatim ā vivāsanti devāḥ | bhinad valaṃ vi mṛ̀dho dardarīti kanikradad gāḥ svar apo jigāya* ||, "The gods try to win Bṛ̀haspati, who powerfully rises with [his] head to the top; he broke Vala, he smashes the enemies, roaring he has won the cows, the sky, the waters" (Lubotsky).

Moreover, all the other occurrences of *abhí* with a form of the root $^{1}$*ar-* (*h$_3$er-) are also intransitive—remarkably, even with the stem *ṛ̀ṇav-* which is normally transitive—and mean 'to move towards'.

First, let's consider RV 1.35.9.[74] Interestingly, in this stanza the lexeme *abhí+ṛ̀ṇoti-* is found next to the phrase *ámīvam ápa bādh-*, 'to push away disease', which recalls our stanza. However, the subject is not the sun, but Savitṛ̀, who in fact 'moves towards' heaven (*dyā́m*): RV 1.35.9, *híraṇyapāṇiḥ savitā́ vícarṣaṇir ubhé dyā́vāpṛthivī́ antár īyate | ápā́mīvām bā́dhate véti sū́ryam abhí kr̥ṣṇéna rájasā dyā́m ṛ̀ṇoti* ||, "Golden-palmed Savitar, whose boundaries are distant, shuttles between both, both heaven and earth. He thrusts away affliction; he pursues the sun; he reaches to heaven through the black realm" (J-B).

In RV 3.1.4, the preverb *abhí* is found with the 3pl. perfect *ā́rur*. The stanza reads as follows: *ávardhayan subhágaṃ saptá yahvī́ḥ śvetā́ṃ jajñānám aruṣám mahitvā́ | śíśuṃ ná jātám abhy ā̀rur áśvā devā́so agníṃ jániman vapuṣyan* ||, "The seven young women strengthened him of good fortune, who is white as he comes to birth, red in his greatness. (Those) mares came to him (newly born) as to a new-born colt. The gods marveled at Agni at his birth" (J-B). If we follow Lubotsky

69 It seems reasonable to consider **K** *adyanr̥thi* a mere corruption. On the alternation between **O** *bh* (correct) and **K** *d* (error), see my comment on **abhvebhyo* in PS 17.24.9 above.

70 Note that some occurrences of *ṛ̀ṇóti* are best classified with $^{2}$*ar-* (*h$_1$er-): see Kümmel (2000: 103f.; LVV p. 11).

71 Our line, ŚS 6.22.3a ~ PS 19.22.12a (transitive), and PS 5.2.8a (intransitive), discussed below.

72 Frequent objects are *vā́c-*, 'speech', *stóma-*, 'praise'.

73 I discuss these stanzas below.

74 Kümmel (2000: 104) also quotes "AVP 13.1.15c *mā smāto'$_a$bhiy ṛ̀ṇoḥ punaḥ* 'Gelange von dort nicht wieder herbei!'", which is actually Barret's emendation of **K** 13.1.15c *mā smāto bhīrṇaḥ punaḥ*, corresponding to PS 12.2.5c, edited by Bhattacharya (1997) as *mā smāto abhyair naḥ punas* on the basis of **O**. This line corresponds to ŚS 5.22.11c (against *takmán*, 'fever'), *mā́ smā́to'rvā́ṅ aíḥ púnaḥ*, "Come not back hitherward from there" (Whitney) (also quoted and translated by Kümmel as "kehre von dort nicht wieder hierher zurück!").

1997 and ascribe this perfect form to [1]*ar*-, the meaning must once again be 'to move towards',[75] so that it would correspond to the (intransitive!) presents *abhí+ṛṇoti* or *abhí+iyarti* (unless, wholly theoretically, we assume an unattested intransitive *abhí+īrte*). At any rate, the meaning is intransitive.

In RV 9.79.3, we find *abhí* next to *sám* with root aorist middle optative *arīta* (belonging with [1]*ar*- < *h$_3$er- according to Lubotsky 1997), although it is debatable whether *abhí* is a postponed preverb or an adnominal adverb here (as for *sám*, it probably highlights that the action affects a plurality of objects[76]): RV 9.79.3cd, *dhánvan ná tṛ́ṣṇā sám arīta tā́m̐ abhí sóma jahí pavamāna durādhyàḥ* ||, "As if in a desert, thirst should strike them. O self-purifying Soma, smite those of evil intent" (J-B). More literally "As if in a desert, thirst should move to all of them together ..."[77] This meaning also fits that of the present *abhí+ṛṇoti* or *abhí+iyarti*, 'to move towards'.

Kümmel (2000: 104) concedes that the attingent meaning 'to move towards' of *abhí+*[1]*ar*- can only be understood from a basic 'attain, reach' (this would seem closer to the semantics of [2]*ar*- < *h$_1$er-, *ṛcháti*, 'to reach'), perhaps 'set oneself in motion'. At any rate, if *abhí+*[1]*ar*- (*iyar*- and *ṛṇav*-), where attested, is always intransitive (despite the morphologically transitive active appearance of some of the attested forms!), it seems safe to assume that our *abhīyarṣi* should also be translated intransitively. Therefore the accusative *jagat ... viśvam*, which functions as an object in the RV parallel, must instead indicate a destination in our stanza.

I mentioned above that there are three RV stanza and one AV stanza in which a verbal form based on the stem *iyar*- conveys an intransitive meaning. The AV stanza is PS 5.2.8, which we discussed above. To this count we can now add our stanza. Interestingly, of the four RV stanzas, two[78] have to do with *bhānú*-, 'radiance': once, *bhānú*- is the subject ('Now this radiant beam arises'), but another time the same formula that characterises our stanza, with a form of *iyar*- followed by *bhānúnā*, is used.

RV 4.45.1 (describing the Aśvins driving the sun's chariot) reads: *eṣá syá bhānúr úd iyarti yujyáte ráthaḥ párijmā divó asyá sā́navi | pṛkṣā́so asmin mithunā́ ádhi tráyo dṛ́tis turī́yo mádhuno ví rapśate* ||, "Now this radiant beam arises; the earth-encircling chariot is hitched up upon the back of this heaven. Three bringing nourishment [=Aśvins and Sūryā] are upon it [=the chariot] as a pair; a fourth, a skin-bag, teems with honey" (J-B).

RV 10.140.2 (to Agni) reads: *pāvakávarcāḥ śukrávarcā ánūnavarcā úd iyarṣi bhānúnā | putró mātárā vicárann úpāvasi pṛṇákṣi ródasī ubhé* ||, "Of pure luster, of gleaming luster, of unfailing luster, you rise up with your radiance. As a son wandering between your two mothers, you approach (them) helpfully. You fill both world-halves" (J-B). Here *úd iyarṣi bhānúnā* is clearly the same formula that we find in the RV parallel of our stanza. Even more so interesting, because in RV 10.140.2b, the same verbal form is intransitive, whereas in the mentioned parallel RV 10.37.4b, it is

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75 Differently, Kümmel (2000: 102) ascribes this perfect form to [2]*ar*- (*h$_1$er-), *ṛcháti* 'to go, to reach'.

76 Kümmel (2000: 104) points out that the preverb *sám* is only found with *ṛṇóti* 'set in motion' (as far as *h3er- presents are concerned; i.e. never with *iyárti/ī́rte* 'raise/rise') or with *ṛcháti* (*h$_1$er); thus, *sám ṛṇoti* means 'to move (smth) together, to collect' (act.) vs. 'to convene, to gather together' (mid.). These meanings obviously do not fit our line. Semantically, *(abhí) sám arīta* would fit better with *ṛchati* '(thirst) reaches all (of them) together', but according to Lubotsky 1997, the root aorist belongs with *h$_3$er-, not *h$_1$er-. Therefore, in the case of *abhí sám arīta*, we need to assume that the core lexeme is *abhí + arīta*, with semantics corresponding to *abhí ṛṇoti*, 'to move towards', as we have seen above, and that *sám* only secondarily adds the notion of an action involving a plurality of objects (at least in the particular line under consideration) to the basic meaning expressed by *abhí arīta*, "would/should move towards".

77 Compare the Italian idiomatic expression *mi è salita una sete!* "Such a thirst rose up to me=I got so thirsty!" (also used with hunger, sleepiness, fatigue, etc.).

78 The third and fourth occurrences of an intransitive *íyar*- in RV are: RV 7.68.3, *prá vāṃ rátho mánojavā iyarti tiró rájāṃsy aśvinā śatótiḥ | asmábhyaṃ sūryāvasū iyānáḥ* ||, "O Aśvins, your chariot swift as thought rises forth across the airy spaces, bringing hundredfold help, speeding to us, o you who bring Sūryā as goods" (J-B); RV 1.165.4b, *śúṣma iyarti prábhṛto me ádriḥ*, "My explosive power rises; the pressing-stone is brought forth to me" (J-B).

transitive: “the radiance with which you *rouse up* every moving creature” (a subordinate clause).

Other instances of *bhānú-* with an intransitive form of [1]*ar-* are the following: RV 7.34.7a (probably about Agni), *úd asya śuṣmād bhānúr nárta*, “it has arisen like a radiant beam” (J-B); RV 4.1.17.b, *úd devyā́ uṣáso bhānúr arta* |, “the radiance of the goddess Dawn arose” (J-B); RV 5.25.6e, *bānúr arta tmánā diváḥ*, “The radiance of heaven has arisen by itself” (my transl.).

The instances of the collocation of *bhānú-* next to [1]*ar-* are not numerous, which makes this coincidence interesting.[79] Clearly the notion of the rising radiance of the sun, dawn, heaven, or of something rising by means of or with such radiance was a common poetic image. This goes to show that the image of the sun rising with radiance towards all moving creatures as described in our PS stanza is perfectly suitable.

Exceptions to the rule according to which the second syllable after the caesura are, after all, also found in the RV. Therefore I refrain from emending the PS mss. reading *abhīyarṣi*.

### 17.25.8 [prose]

viśvām anirām amīvām anāhutim [+]amuṣmā [+]āmuṣyāyaṇāyāmuṣyāḥ putrāya pra hiṇmaḥ ||

Every want of nourishment, disease, lack of oblation, we hurl [it] to such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother].

amīvām] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** amī(*subs*.→ vī)vām **V122** amī[x]vām **JM$_3$** anasīvām **K** • [+]amuṣmā [+]āmuṣyāyaṇāyāmuṣyāḥ putrāya] amuṣmāẏāmuṣyāẏaṇāẏāmuṣyāḥ putrāẏa **V71** amuṣmāẏāmuṣyāẏaṇāmuṣyāḥ putrāẏa **JM$_3$** amu(ṣyā→subs.)ṣmāẏaṇā(*subs*.→ṇā)ẏāmuṣyāḥ putrāẏa **V122** amuṣyāẏāmuṣyāẏaṇāẏāmuṣyāḥ putrāẏa **Ma Ja Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā** amuṣyāyeṇāyāmuṣyāḥ putrāya **K** • hiṇmaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** hi[x](*subs*.→ṇma)ḥ **V122** hiṇma **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Mā]** || ru 10 || **Ja**[80] || ru (space) || 25 || **V122** || 25 || **Ji$_4$** || 25 || ru || **Pa$_c$** || 25 || ru 8 || **V71 JM$_3$** Z pha 5 Z **K**

Bhattacharya writes *amuṣmā*yāmuṣyāyaṇāyāmuṣyāḥ* with the **O** mss. These, however, insert an extra *-ẏ-* in the hiatus (see Introduction, §2.2) between *amuṣmā* (or variants) and *āmuṣyayaṇāyāmuṣyāḥ*, which needs to be omitted in the edited text. For the same reason I believe that the correction sign (*) is not necessary (although Bhattacharya was right to use it on the basis of his mss. only), and I replace it with a plus sign. For an explanation of the formula and the reasons behind the emendation, see my comment on PS 17.21.2 above.

Note that the phrasing of the opening of this line repeats some of the words in the preceding stanza.

79 Interestingly, the only instances of *bhānú-* next to a form of [1]*ar-* in which the verb is transitive are only two: our RV parallel, RV 10.37.4b, and RV 10.75.3b (about the Sindhu river (f.)): *anantáṃ śúṣmam úd iyarti bhānúnā* |, “She sends up snorting without end along with radiance” (J-B), which, however, are both occurrences of the formula we met in our stanza (clearly designed by the poets of RV 10 to fit the cadence of second pādas, although always with different syntax). An intransitive interpretation might also be possible for these lines.

80 Bhattacharya does not explicitly say whether the numeral “|| 25 ||” is present in his mss., only that **Ja** has “r̥ 10”, while **Ma** and **Mā** do not specify the number of mantras.

## Kāṇḍikā 26

### 17.26.1

a dyāvāpṛthivī vahataṃ *duṣvapnyaṃ parā vahataṃ +duṣvapnyam |
b *amuṣmā āmuṣyāyaṇāyāmuṣyāḥ putrāya ||

O heaven and earth, carry (du.) poor sleep, carry poor sleep away [from here] to such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother].

*duṣvapnyaṃ] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā]** duḥsvapnya **Pa$_c$** dusvapnyaṃ **V71 JM$_3$** dussvapni **K** • parā vahataṃ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** parā [x]va(*s.s.*→ha)taṃ **JM$_3$** • +duṣvapnyam] duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Ma] [Ja] [Mā]** du(*s.s.*→ḥ)svapnyaṃ **V71** dusvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** duṣvapnim, **K** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71** || **Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** *om*. **K** • *amuṣmā āmuṣyāyaṇāyāmuṣyāḥ] amuṣyā āmuṣyāẏaṇāẏāmuṣyāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** amuṣyā āmuṣyāẏaṇāẏāmuṣyāḥ **Ji$_4$** amuṣyāmuṣyāyeṇasyāmuṣyāḥ **K** • putrāya] putrāẏa **[O]** putrāya pra hiraṇma **K** • ||] **[O]** | **K**

Bhattacharya writes *duḥsvapnyaṃ* and *duḥsvapnyam* | in line **a**, and **amuṣmā* in line **b**.

The emendation to **amuṣmā* (=*amuṣmai*) was proposed by Bhattacharya. For an explanation of the formula and the emendation, see my comment on PS 17.21.2 above.

### 17.26.2

vātāpavamānau vahatam ° ° ° ||

O wind and Pavamāna (purifying) wind, carry (du.) (…).

vātāpavamānau] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** vātāpavamāno **JM$_3$** • vahatam] vahataṃ **[O]** vahatam, **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **K Ji$_4$ V71**

Bhattacharya writes *vātāpavamānau vahatam (duḥsvapnyaṃ . . . . . .)* ||

### 17.26.3

indrāgnī vahatam ° ° ° ||

O Indra and Agni, carry (du.) (…).

indrāgnī] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** [.]indrāgnī **Ji$_4$** • vahatam] vahataṃ **[O]** vahatam, **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$ | K V71** ˡ **Ji$_4$**

**17.26.4**

mitrāvaruṇā vahatam ° ° ° ||

O Mitra and Varuṇa, carry (du.) (…).

mitrāvaruṇā] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** mitrāvaruṇāẏa **V71** mitrāvaruṇā[x] **Pa$_c$** mittrā(→vitrā)varuṇau **K**[81] • vahatam] vahataṃ **[O]** vahatam, **K** • |||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$ | K V71**

**17.26.5**

bhavāśarvau vahatam ° ° ° ||

O Bhava and Śarva, carry (du.) (…).

bhavāśarvau] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** bhavāsarvau **Ji$_4$** • vahatam] vahataṃ **[O]** vahatam, **K** • |||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$ | V71** *om.* **K**

**17.26.6**

devāśvinā vahataṃ ⁺duṣvapnyaṃ parā vahataṃ ⁺duṣvapnyam ° ° ° ||

O two gods, O two Aśvins, carry (du.) poor sleep, carry (du.) poor sleep away (…).

devāśvinā] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** devāsvinā **Ji$_4$** • vahatam] vahataṃ **[O]** vahatam, **K** • ⁺duṣvapnyaṃ] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā]** duḥsvapyaṃ **Ji$_4$** duṣvapnyaṃ **V71** dupsvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** duṣvapniṃ **K** • parā vahatam] parā vahataṃ **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** parā vahata **V122 Ji$_4$** parā vahatam, | **K** *om*. **Pa$_c$** • ⁺duṣvapnyam] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā]** duspa[x]pnyaṃ **V71** dupsvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** duṣvaptriṃ **K** *om.* **Pa$_c$** • |||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] | V71 JM$_3$** *om.* **K**

Bhattacharya writes *duḥsvapnyaṃ* and *duḥsvapnyam* | *[. . . . . .]* ||.

The sequence *devāśvinā* is not a Dvandva compound, but two words in the dual, *devā* and *aśvinā*. In fact, here and in the following lines, *deva-* is used as an epithet of the deities mentioned immediately after.

81 The correction is placed in the left margin. An ‘x’ sign is placed above the sequence °*mittra*° to indicate that the correction refers to it.

**17.26.7**

devā maruto vahata ⁺duṣvapnyaṃ parā vahata ⁺duṣvapnyam ° ° ° ||

O gods, O Maruts, carry poor sleep, carry poor sleep away (…).

devā] **[O]** deva **K** • vahata] **[O]** vahatu | **K** • ⁺duṣvapnyaṃ] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji₄ Pa꜀ [Mā]** duspapnyaṃ **V71** dusvapnyaṃ **JM₃** duṣvapniṃ **K** • parā vahata] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji₄ Pa꜀ [Mā]** parā vahataṃ **V71** parā vahat, **JM₃** parā vahatam, | **K** • ⁺duṣvapnyam] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji₄ Pa꜀ [Mā] JM₃** duspa[x]pnyaṃ **V71** duṣvaptriṃ **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji₄ Pa꜀ [Mā] JM₃** | **V71** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *duḥsvapnyaṃ* and *duḥsvapnyam* | *(. . . . . )* ||.

**17.26.8**

devāḥ pitaro vahata ⁺duṣvapnyaṃ parā vahata *duḥsvapnyam ° ° ° ||

O gods, O Forefathers, carry poor sleep, carry poor sleep away (…).

devāḥ] **[O]** deva **K** • vahata] **[O]** vahantu | **K** • ⁺duṣvapnyaṃ] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji₄ Pa꜀ [Mā] JM₃** du[x]svapnyaṃ **V71** duṣvaptri **K** • parā vahata] **[O]** parā vahat, (*s.s.*→ | ) **K** • *duṣvapnyam] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji₄ Pa꜀ [Mā] JM₃** duspapnyaṃ **V71** duḥsvaptriṃ **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji₄ Pa꜀ [Mā] JM₃** | **V71** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *duḥsvapnyaṃ* and *duḥsvapnyam* | *(. . . . . )* ||.

**17.26.9**

deva sūryo vaha ⁺duṣvapnyaṃ parā vaha ⁺duṣvapnyam ° ° ° ||

O god, O Sun, carry poor sleep, carry poor sleep away (…).

sūryo] **K [Ma] [Ja] Pa꜀ [Mā]** sūrya **V122 Ji₄ V71 JM₃** • vaha] **[O]** vahad **K** • ⁺duṣvapnyaṃ] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji₄ Pa꜀ [Mā]** dusvapnyaṃ **V71 JM₃** duṣvapniṃ **K** • parā vaha] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji₄ Pa꜀ [Mā] JM₃** parā vahata **V71** parā vahad **K** • ⁺duṣvapnyaṃ] duḥsvapnyaṃ **Ma] [Ja] Ji₄ Pa꜀ [Mā]** duḥsvapnyaṃ parā duḥsvapnyaṃ **V122** duspapnyaṃ **V71** dusvapnyaṃ **JM₃** duṣvapniṃ **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji₄ Pa꜀ [Mā] JM₃** | **V71** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *duḥsvapnyaṃ* and *duḥsvapnyam* | *(. . . . . )* ||.

**17.26.10**

deva candramo vaha ⁺duṣvapnyaṃ parā vaha ⁺duṣvapnyam ° ° ° ||

O god, O Moon, carry poor sleep, carry poor sleep away (…).

vaha] **[O]** vahad **K** • $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** dutsvapnyaṃ **V71** dusvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** duṣupniṃ **K** • parā vaha] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** parā vahata **V71 JM$_3$** parā vahad **K** • $^{+}$duṣvapnyam] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** dusvapnyaṃ **V71 JM$_3$** duṣvapni **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V71** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *duḥsvapnyaṃ* and *duḥsvapnyam* | *(. . . . . .)* ||.

**17.26.11**

devā nakṣatrāṇi vahata $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ parā vahata $^{+}$duṣvapnyam ° ° ° ||

O gods, O constellations, carry poor sleep, carry poor sleep away (…).

devā] **K Mā** devāni **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** • nakṣatrāṇi] **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** nakṣatraṃ **Mā** nakṣattrāṇi **K** • vahata] **[O]** vahataṃ **K** • $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** duspapnyaṃ | **V71** dusvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** duṣvapnim, **K** • parā vahata] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** parā ha **JM$_3$** parā vahataṃ **K** • $^{+}$duṣvapnyam] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** dusvapnyaṃ **V71 JM$_3$** duṣvapniṃ **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V71 K**

Bhattacharya writes *duḥsvapnyaṃ* and *duḥsvapnyam* | *(. . . . . .)* ||.

**17.26.12**

devīr āpo vahata $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ parā vahata $^{+}$duṣvapnyam ° ° ° ||

O gods, O waters, carry poor sleep, carry poor sleep away (…).

vahata] **[O]** vahataṃ **K** • $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** dusvapnyaṃ **V71** dusva[x]pnyaṃ **JM$_3$** duṣvapniṃ **K** • parā vahata] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** parā vaha(*subs*. →)ta **Ji$_4$** parā vahatam, **K** • $^{+}$duṣvapnyam] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** dusvapnyaṃ **V71 JM$_3$** duṣvapniṃ **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V122 V71** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *duḥsvapnyaṃ* and *duḥsvapnyam* | *(. . . . . .)* ||.

**17.26.13**

deva viṣṇo vaha *duṣvapnyam ° ° ° ||

O gods, O Viṣṇu, carry poor sleep (…).

deva] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** devā **Pa$_c$** • vaha] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** vahatu **Ji$_4$** vahata **V71** • *duṣvapnyam] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** dutsvapnyaṃ **V71** dusvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** *om*. **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **Ji$_4$ V71 K**

Bhattacharya writes *duḥsvapnyaṃ (. . .)* ||.

**17.26.14**

deva tvaṣṭar vaha ° ° ° ||

O god, O Tvaṣṭṛ, carry (…).

N.B. Before this line, **K** has 17.26.17 (see below).

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tvaṣṭar] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** [x]tvaṣtar **V122** tvaṣṭur **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **Ji$_4$ K** duḥsvapnyaṃ || **V122**

**17.26.15**

deva dhātar vaha ° ° ° ||

O god, O Dhātṛ, carry (…).

dhātar] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** dhār **Ji$_4$** dhātur **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ K**

**17.26.16**

deva savitar vaha ° ° ° ||

O god, O Savitṛ, carry (…).

savitar] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** sarvatar **V71** savitār **Ji$_4$** savitur **K** • ||] **[O]** | **K**

**17.26.17**

deva pūṣan vaha ° ° ° ||

O god, O Pūṣan, carry (…).

N.B. In **K** this line appears as the fourteenth, between 17.26.13 and 17.26.14.

---

pūṣan vaha] pūṣanvaha **K** pūṣan, vaha **[Ma]? [Ja]? V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]?** pūṣana **V71** pūṣaṇa **JM$_3$**

• ||] **[O]** | **K**

**17.26.18**

deva bṛhaspate vaha ° ° ° ||

O god, O Bṛhaspati, carry (…).

bṛhaspate] **[O]** vṛhaspater **K** • ||] **[O]** | **K**

**17.26.19**

deva prajāpate vaha ° ° ° ||

O god, O Prajāpati, carry (…).

vaha] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** vahaṃ **V71** • ||] **[O]** | **K**

**17.26.20**

deva parameṣṭhin vaha $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ parā vaha ***duṣvapnyam** ° ° ° ||

O god, O Parameṣṭhin, carry poor sleep, carry poor sleep away.

parameṣṭhin vaha] parameṣṭhinvaha | **K** parameṣṭhin, vaha **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]? V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** parameṣṭhin, vaha | **JM$_3$** parameṣṭhina vaha **V71** • $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** dussvapniyaṃ **V71**[82] dusvapniẏaṃ **JM$_3$** duṣvapniṃ **K** • parā vaha] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** parā vahat, **V71 JM$_3$** parā vahad **K** • *duṣvapnyam] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** dussvapniẏaṃ **V71** dusvapniẏa **JM$_3$** duḥsvapnim, **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** | **K [Mā]**

Bhattacharya writes *duḥsvapnyaṃ* and *duḥsvapnyam* | *(. . . . .)* ||.

**17.26.21**

ahorātre vahataṃ $^{+}$duṣvapnyaṃ parā vahataṃ $^{+}$duṣvapnyam |
*amuṣmā āmuṣyāyaṇāyāmuṣyāḥ putrāya ||

O day and night, carry (du.) poor sleep, carry (du.) poor sleep away [from here] to such-and-such, descendant of such-and-such [father], son of such-and-such [mother].

82 Here **V71** does not spell *-ẏ-* between vowels in *dussvapniyaṃ*!

N.B. In **Pa$_c$** the first half of the mantra is written twice.

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vahataṃ] **K [Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** vahata **V122** vahate **Ji$_4$** mahataṃ **Pa$_c$** vahatta **V71** vahat, **JM$_3$** • $^+$duṣvapnyaṃ] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** dusvapniyaṃ **[Mā]** dussvapniẏaṃ **V71** dapsvapnyaṃ **JM$_3$** duṣvapnim, | **K** • parā vahataṃ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā]** parā vaha[~~taṃ~~] **Pa$_c$** parā vahat, **V71 JM$_3$** • $^+$duṣvapnyam] duḥsvapnyaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** duḥsvapniyaṃ **Mā** dussvapniẏaṃ **V71** dupsvapiẏaṃ **JM$_3$** duṣvapnim, **K** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** || **V122 Ji$_4$** ahorātre mahataṃ duḥsvapnyaṃ parā vahataṃ duḥsvapnyaṃ || **Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • *amuṣmā āmuṣyāyaṇāyāmuṣyāḥ] amuṣyā āmuṣyāẏaṇāẏāmuṣyāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** amuṣpā (*subs*.→ā)muṣyāẏaṇāẏāmuṣyāḥ **V71** amuṣyāmuṣyāyeṇāyāmuṣyāḥ **K** • putrāya] putrāẏa **[O]** putrāya pra hiṇma **K** • ||] || ru 21 || 26 || **Ma Ja** || ru (space) || 26 || **V122** || 26 || **Ji$_4$** || 26 || ru || **Pa$_c$** || 26 || ru 21|| **Mā** || 26 || ru || **V71 JM$_3$** Z phaśca 6 Z **K**

The emendation to **amuṣmā* (=*amuṣmai*) was proposed by Bhattacharya. For an explanation of the formula and the emendation, see my comment on PS 17.21.2 above.

Here kāṇḍa 17, anuvāka 5 comes to an end. The mss. contain the following colophons:

**K** iti saptādaśakāṇḍe pañcamo nuvākas samāptaḥ Z Z

**Ma** a 5 ||
**Ja** a 5 ||
**V122** ityekānr̥cakāṇḍe pañcamo 'nuvākaḥ || (*space*) ||
**Ji$_4$** ityekānr̥cakāṇḍe pañcamo 'nuvākaḥ || 5 || # ||
**Pa$_c$** a 5 ||

**Mā** ityekānr̥cakāṇḍe pañcamo nuvākaḥ ||
**V71** ityekānr̥cakāṇḍe pañcamo 'nuvākaḥ ||
**JM$_3$** ityekānr̥cakāṇḍe pañcamo 'nuvākaḥ || # ||

# PART III

## Anuvāka 6

## The observance of the draft-ox

## Introduction

The sixth anuvāka of Book 17, comprising kāṇḍikās 27–43, is composed fully in *brāhmaṇa*-style prose (with the sole exception of 17.43.1–4, which consists of *yajus*-style prose). It contains the aitiological myth and an exegetical treatment of the "observance of the draft-ox" (*anaḍuho vratam* or *anaḍudvratam*).[1] This observance is also referred to in the so-called Anaḍutsūkta (hymn ŚS 4.11 ~ PS 3.25) as *anaḍúho vratám* (ŚS 4.11.11; *anaḍuho balam* in PS 3.25.7d, 8d). This hymn was largely misunderstood by previous scholars, who ignored the possibility of using the present anuvāka as a key to uncovering its secrets.

In a recent article, Acharya (2013) cited these two texts among early sources attesting to the existence of an archaic observance, a *govrata*, that involved the imitation of the behaviour of bulls. Acharya was investigating the origins of the *pāśupatavrata*. The Pāśupatas[2] are the earliest known Śaiva sect. From the Pāśupatasūtra (PāśS) and a few related sources, we know that they taught an observance that they claimed was first performed by Indra, and which consisted of five stages: a first period that required a stay at a temple of Śiva/Rudra; a second period during which the ascetic wandered among the people, concealing his religious affiliation, and instead pretending to be a madman to provoke people with his scandalous behaviour; a third period during which the ascetic retired to a remote location to meditate; a fourth period during which the ascetic dwelt on a cremation ground; and finally a fifth stage, after death, when the ascetic achieved the end of suffering (*duḥkhānta*) and union with Rudra (*rudra-sāyujya*). The second stage was particularly important because, by behaving like a madman and by bringing scorn on himself, the ascetic provoked a magical exchange: he appropriated the *iṣṭāpūrta* (the accrued merits gained by worship and gifts) of the clueless detractors who unjustly censured him. With these merits, he was then able to proceed along his spiritual path.

By providing a new reading of the Pāśupatasūtra, Acharya showed that at all stages, the original *pāśupatavrata* required the ascetic to behave like a bull. He thus set out to survey earlier Vedic literature, and found a number of accounts describing archaic practices, referred to with various terms (*gośīla*, *govrata*, *gosava*, *godharma*, etc.), and which involved the imitation of the behaviour of bulls: eating grass from the ground, drinking from puddles, headbutting, evacuating whenever one felt the urge, sexually approaching women, etc.; it was precisely this conduct that was meant to arouse the indignation of the common people. One of Acharya's (2013) main achievements was to show, through the study of those early sources, that this archaic *govrata* belonged to the cult of Indra. Crucial to Acharya's theory is the evidence from the present text and the Anaḍutsūkta. As Bhattacharya had not yet published his edition of PS 17, Acharya refrained from treating the present anuvāka in detail. With the following commented edition and the two attached appendixes, I shall take up the task where he left it.

Indeed, even though it does not contain any detailed description of the scandalous behaviour required by the observance, our text explicitly states that the *anaḍudvrata* allowed Indra to appropriate ('wrest away', *apa-vr̥j-*, *saṃ-vr̥j-*) the *iṣṭá* and *pūrtá* of the Asuras who had insulted him (17.35.3–4; 17.28.6–7; 17.28.17–28). Moreover, it contains a quote by the seer Ahīnas Āśvatthi (17.35.1), who teaches the following: *na tād brāhmaṇaṃ nindāni yād enam aśr̥ṇon ned iṣṭāpūrtena*

1 The compound *anaḍudvrata-* is actually never attested as such, but it is implied by the form *anaḍudvratin-*, found in 17.35.2 and 17.38.6.

2 For more details about Acharya's research and the observance of the Pāśupatas, of which I provide only a sketch in this brief introduction, I refer the reader to Appendix I §1, §2, §3, and Appendix II §1.3.

*vi bhavānīti* ||, "Therefore I will not censure [this/a] brahmin for having learned about him (i.e heard about Indra, and imitated his observance), lest I be deprived of [my] merit gained from worship and donations".

Moreover, a direct connection between our text and the Pāśupatasūtra was demonstrated by Bisschop (2018),[3] who identified our PS 17.35.3–4 as the textual source of PāśS 4.10–13 (see my comment *ad loc.* and Appendix I §2).

In Appendix I (which, like Acharya's 2013 article, provides a foundation for understanding our anuvāka), I investigate the remote origins of the *pāśupatavrata* and Acharya's archaic *govrata*, tracing it back to Indo-European cultural models connected with the so-called *Männerbund*, a cultural institution devoted to the education of the youth. The rites connected with the initiation of the youth, which involved animal masking, lie at the origin of the *govrata*/*anaḍudvrata*, while the historical development of the *Männerbund* from a ritualised age-set (the *Jugendbund*) to a warrior brotherhood (the *Gefolgschaft*) open to various kinds of marginalised categories (a dynamic driven by socio-economical factors) can explain the persistence of this and other old Indo-European cultural traits in Vedic Vrātya culture and in the early ascetic movements, including the Pāśupatas, that emerged from such ancient brotherhoods.

In Appendix II, I treat the Anaḍutsūkta in greater detail. I provide a new critical edition of the PS version, with English translation and commentary, and offer a new interpretation of the text in light of Acharya's (2013) discovery of its connection with the present anuvāka, and in light of my hypothesis that the observance described in the two texts can be traced back to the Indo-European *Männerbund*'s initiatory practices, which are also reflected in the tradition of the Vrātyas. Thus, I identify the *anaḍudvrata* as a practice connected with the celebration of the solstices: the Gharma rite at the summer solstice, and the twelve *vrátyā* nights of the winter solstice.

The present chapter is especially interesting because it contains the narration of the myth according to which Indra was the first to perform the *anaḍudvrata*. Unfortunately, the various episodes of the myth are not told in chronological order, but are scattered across the 17 kāṇḍikās that constitute the anuvāka. Thus, it is the task of the editor to attempt a reconstruction of the original narrative sequence.

Each kāṇḍikā generally follows a fixed structure: 1) first, an aitiological myth is told; 2) secondly, we find a piece of exegesis, usually consisting of sacred equations; and 3) finally, a concluding statement illustrates what results can be achieved, or benefits obtained, by the initiate who has learned the knowledge illustrated in the kāṇḍikā and who performs ("bears", *bhṛ*-)[4] the draft-ox observance (*ya evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti*).[5]

Thus, the myth is split into small episodes that are used as aitiological myths for the kāṇḍikās' teachings. In fact, the criterion determining the order of the kāṇḍikās is not very clear, but it certainly cannot be based on the episodes of the myth: if read in a sequence, in fact, these do not yield a coherent narrative. Rather, the rationale must be found in the destination of the text: being a *brāhmaṇa*-style composition, the present anuvāka is no doubt a didactic text. Thus, the core of each kāṇḍikā is not the myth, but probably the conclusive statement that summarises the results that the initiated *vratin* can achieve and the benefits he can secure if he practises the observance.

From a close reading of the text, I am able to propose the following summary of the myth: Indra wishes to use the *vajra* to slay Vṛtra (17.27.1). He picks up the *vajra* (17.28.1a), but as he is about to strike (17.28.1d), the *vajra* slips from his hands (17.28.2a) and falls—in the form of a lightning bolt (17.28.3)—into the sea (17.28.4), burning the sea water and making it undrinkable (17.28.5). Indra steps into the sky, the midspace, and the wind (17.30.1–2, 31.1–2, 32.1–2), trying to

3 This discovery was first presented in 2016 (see Bisschop & Selva 2016).

4 The text plays with the metaphor of the 'heavy' (*guru*) observance that the *vratin*, like a draft-ox, has to "bear" (*bhṛ*-) rather than "practise" (*car*-). See my comment on 17.27.4.

5 Note that the mythological episodes are only found in kāṇḍikās 27–35. The second part of the anuvāka (36–43) contains only teachings in the form of exegetical prose. All kāṇḍikās end with the above-quoted concluding formula.

get a hold of the *vajra* mace/lightning bolt by holding its sharp-rimmed top, its body, its handle (17.27.2), but he fails to hold it (17.30.3, 31.3, 32.3). Thus, Indra realises that he needs to acquire the necessary power to be able to wield it, and resolves to practise an observance (17.28.6). He becomes lean and emaciated (17.28.7); he resorts to various deities for help (17.28.8–25). Finally, he goes to the gods, who tell him that his observance is too "heavy" (17.34.1). Thus, he resorts to the draft-ox for help (17.34.2a), because the draft-ox is the animal who is most accustomed to hauling heavy burdens. The draft-ox offers his help in exchange for a boon (17.34.2b–e): he wishes to rest on top of the world of the ruddy sun, sixteen worlds above (17.34.3). Indra grants him the boon and steps onto his withers to acquire his power (17.35.5). The All-gods, the Maruts, Soma, and Indrāgnī join him in his observance (17.28.26). The Asuras insult him, but he remains calm (17.28.27) and, by doing so, he appropriates their merits (*iṣṭāpūrta*) and extinguishes the fire of the *vajra* (17.28.28). Finally, he picks up the thunderbolt weapon a second time (17.28.29, 31a), but this time he successfully puts it on his arms (17.28.30, 31), now firm like the two horns of the ox and like the *ṛta* and the *satya* (17.35.10–11). With the *vajra*, he shatters Vṛ̥tra into pieces (17.33.1–2a). These pieces become the mountains that provide Indra with a foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*) (17.33.2b–4).

The text claims that whoever is initiated into the secret knowledge contained in this myth and illustrated by the exegetical sections, and accordingly performs the observance following Indra's example, is able to appropriate his detractors' merits and secure a number of benefits. Interestingly, these are both of the spiritual kind—such as foreknowledge of the *devayāna path* and access to the *svarga loka*—as well as of the worldly kind: long life, safety against calamities, a foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*) consisting of cattle, offspring, wealth, a homestead, etc. This duality is reflected in the Anaḍutsūkta, and can be understood in light of the social changes that lead to the transformation of warrior brotherhoods into ascetic movements. I will treat this topic in more detail in Appendices I and II.

In the remaining part of this introduction, I will provide a more detailed synopsis of the text, and present the reader with a survey of the anuvāka's language and style.

**Synopsis**

Each kāṇḍikā is summarised on the basis of the triple structure highlighted above: 1) aitiological myth; 2) exegesis; and 3) concluding statement indicating the results achievable by the initiated *vratin* who practises the observance.

Kāṇḍikā 27

Myth: Tvaṣṭṛ̥ founded the *vajra* to slay Vṛ̥tra (17.27.1b). Before this statement, the text redundantly adds that Indra founded the *vajra* (17.27.1a), but this is probably a secondary addition, due to the fact that the protagonist of the underlying myth is Indra and that his goal is to slay Vṛ̥tra.

Exegesis: The three parts of the *vajra*, the sharp-rimmed top, the body of the mace, and the handle are equated with Viśvasah, Viśvānara, and Vaiśvānara respectively (17.27.2). They are this entire world (17.27.3).

Result: The initiate secures (*ava-rudh-*) all the *puṇya lokas* and the [favour of] all deities (17.27.4).

Kāṇḍikā 28

Myth: Indra picks up the *vajra* (or tries to) and intends to strike with it (17.28.1), but the *vajra* slips from his hand (17.28.2); as a lightning bolt, it falls down into the sea with a loud noise, blazing up (17.28.3), and burns the sea (17.28.4) causing the sea water to become undrinkable (17.28.5). Indra contemplates the *vajra*, claims that it is protected (*rakṣ-*) by the Asuras and the

Devas, and resolves to perform a *vrata* (17.28.6). He becomes lean and emaciated (17.28.7). He resorts to (*upa-dhav-*) a number of deities, authorities, time periods, and sages connected with the Atharvaveda (17.28.8–25). He is joined by the All-gods, the Maruts, Soma, and Indrāgni (17.28.26). The Asuras speak harshly to him, but he remains calm (*śām-ya-*, 17.28.27).

Exegesis/results: That's why he who knows the *bráhman* and extinguishes the flash of the lightning bolt, i.e. the burn from being laughed at by his detractors, milks them, i.e. extracts their merits (17.28.28).

Myth (continued): Indra finally picks up the *vajra* by means of the *ṛ́ks*, the *sāmans*, the *yajuses*, the Gāyatrī, and the Vāmadevya Sāman (17.28.29). The *ṛ́ks* and *sāmans* are his arms (17.28.30). Indra picks up the *vajra* and rests it on his arms (17.28.31).

Exegesis: Success and imperishableness are equated with offspring (17.28.32).

Result: The initiate secures (*ava-rudh-*) offspring, success, and imperishableness (17.28.33).

Kāṇḍikā 29

Myth: Indra takes a firm standing in the Directions (17.29.1).

Result: The initiate takes a firm standing along the Directions (17.29.2).

Kāṇḍikā 30

Myth: Indra strides (*kram-*) into the domain of Viśvāsah (17.30.1) (which had been equated with the sharp-rimmed blade of the *vajra* in 17.27.2b above). He fails to hold the *vajra* (17.30.3).

Exegesis: Viśvāsah is the sky above (17.30.2); it is all the *puṇya lokas* and deities (17.30.3).

Result: The initiate secures (*ava-rudh-*) all the *puṇya lokas* and the favour of the deities (17.30.4).

Kāṇḍikā 31

Myth: Indra strides (*kram-*) into the domain of Viśvānara (17.31.1) (which had been equated with the body of the *vajra* mace in 17.27.2a above). He fails to hold the *vajra* (17.31.3).

Exegesis: Viśvānara is the atmosphere, the celestial ocean, the rays of the sun, and the paths of the gods (*devayāna path*).

Result: The initiate foreknows the path of the gods (*devayāna path*) and stays firmly on it.

Kāṇḍikā 32

Myth: Indra strides (*kram-*) into the domain of Vaiśvānara (17.32.1). He fails to hold the *vajra* (17.32.3).

Exegesis: Vaiśvānara is the wind (17.32.2) that rises and stays firm along the Directions (17.32.3).

Result: The initiate's life-breaths stay firm in him.

Kāṇḍikā 33

Myth: Indra strides (*kram-*) into the domain of Vṛ́tra (17.33.1). Vṛ́tra is shattered into pieces (17.33.2).

Exegesis: The pieces of Vṛ́tra are the mountains (17.33.2).

Result: Wherever the initiate wishes to be successful, he is successful (17.33.3). He finds a foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*) and a base (*āyatana*) (17.33.4).

Kāṇḍikā 34

Myth: Indra goes to the gods, who tell him that his observance is "heavy" (*guru*) (17.34.1). Therefore, Indra resorts (*upa-dhav-*) to the draft-ox for help; the draft-ox asks for a reward (17.34.2): to become one whose world is the ruddy one, i.e. the sun (*bradhnáloka*), and to rest on the top of the ruddy one (*bradhnasya viṣṭapi*) (17.34.3).

Exegesis: The ruddy one, the top of the ruddy one is the sixteenth world above (17.34.4).

Result: The initiate becomes one whose world is the ruddy one, i.e. the sun, and rests on the top of the ruddy one (17.34.5).

Kāṇḍikā 35

Myth: Ahīnas Āśvatthi said that he would not blame one who learns about the draft-ox observance, otherwise he would lose his *iṣṭāpūrta* (17.35.1).

Exegesis: The performance of the draft-ox observance is equivalent to witchcraft (*kṛtyā*) (17.35.2): in fact, if one insults a *vratin*, the latter appropriates his *iṣṭa* and *pūrta* (17.35.3).

Myth: Indra was the first to perform the observance among the Asuras, and appropriated their *iṣṭā*, *pūrta*, and *māyā* because they insulted him (17.35.4). He strode (*kram*-) onto the withers (*vaha*) of the draft-ox and foreknew every *loka* (17.35.5).

Exegesis: Various body parts of the draft-ox are equated with sacrificial tools or natural elements (17.35.6–9); in particular, the two horns are equated with *ṛta* and *satya* because of their being firm (17.35.10–11).

Result: The initiate takes a firm standing along *ṛta* and *satya* (17.35.12).

Kāṇḍikā 36

Exegesis: the ears of the draft-ox are equated with trust (*śraddhā*) (17.36.1). Trust is in constant motion, which is why oxen constantly flap their ears (17.36.2).

Result: The initiate becomes trustworthy (17.36.3).

Kāṇḍikā 37

Exegesis: More body parts of the draft-ox are equated with sacrificial tools, natural elements, and deities (17.37.1–2). In particular, his intestine and rectum are equated with the *vasor dhāra* ("stream of wealth") rite (17.37.3).

Result: The initiate secures a stream of wealth, success, and imperishableness (17.37.4).

Kāṇḍikā 38

Exegesis: Further equations between the body parts of the ox and natural elements (17.38.3) and seasons (17.38.3–5). All together, the ox is equated with the year (17.38.6).

Result: The seasons become well-disposed towards the initiate and don't cut him down (17.38.7).

Kāṇḍikā 39

Exegesis: The *ṛks*, *sāmans*, *yajuses*, and *brāhmaṇas* are said to be inside the ox in the form of heat, breadth, greatness, and fame (17.39.1).

Result: The initiate secures the *bráhman*, the *loka*, and becomes one with the lustre of the *brāhmaṇa* (*brāhmaṇavarcasin*-) (17.39.2).

Kāṇḍikā 40

Exegesis: A number of items found (figuratively) inside the ox are listed. Each item is said to occur a hundred times: ritual items (17.40.2), forms of success (17.40.3), their opposite failures (17.40.4), a series of eye diseases (17.40.5).

Result: The initiate is able to envelop his detractors with the darkness that proceeds from the above-mentioned eye diseases (17.40.6). With the part of the ox to the front of his navel (probably corresponding to the positive items mentioned in 40.3), the initiate can take control (*ā-viś*-) of his detractors (17.40.7). With the part behind the ox's navel (probably corresponding to the negative items mentioned in 40.4), he overcomes death and misfortune (17.40.8). He foreknows the paths of the gods (*devayāna path*) (17.40.9).

Kāṇḍikā 41

Exegesis: More items are listed as being present inside the ox by the hundreds: time periods (17.41.2–3), ritual elements (17.41.4), types of breaths (17.41.5).

Result: The initiate secures long life.

Kāṇḍikā 42

Exegesis: Various types of sacrifices are listed as being present inside the ox by the hundreds (17.42.2–4).

Result: The ox (i.e. the initiate), with all his limbs being whole, is said to have taken (*praty aṣṭhāt*, resultative aorist) a firm standing in the middle (17.42.5). He is upheld from below and made to thrive above by the *ṛ̊ks*, *sāmans*, *yajuses*, the Gāyatrī, and the *bráhman* (17.42.6). He thrives with offspring, cattle, a homestead, and wealth (17.42.7).

Kāṇḍikā 43

*Yajus*-style mantras: The ox (the initiate?) is addressed and equated with Indra, Parameṣṭhin, and the All-gods (17.43.1 and again in 43.3). The haters are cursed, their life-breaths torn apart (17.43.2). The ox is addressed, lauded as heavenly (*svar*, *svarga*, *svargáloka*), and asked to make the reciter go to the *svarga loka* (17.43.4).

Exegesis: Some characteristics of the ox (?) are explained in a rather obscure way (17.43.5–6). His feet are equated with the *pratiṣṭhā*.

Result: The initiate takes a firm standing (*prati-sthā*-) with offspring, cattle, homestead, and wealth.

## Language and style

Most of anuvāka 6 consists of *brāhmaṇa*-style prose, with the exception of 17.43.1–4, which consist of *yajus*-style prose mantras. An overview of the characteristics of AV *brāhmaṇa*-style prose can be found in Renou 1955b: 80ff. §10ff.; on the AV *yajus*-style prose, see Renou 1955b: 74–80 §4–9. Many of the traits recognised by Renou as typical are also found in our text. In *brāhmaṇa* literature, three intertwined genres, each with their own rules, can generally be identified: 1) mythical narratives; 2) dialogues and direct speech, 3) exegetical prose. As outlined above, each kāṇḍikā of our anuvāka generally contains an episode from the aitiological myth (often including some dialogue), which is then followed by a piece of explanatory prose.

The mythological, narrative portions of anuvāka 6 regularly employ the imperfect as the tense of the narration. We can use this as a main indicator for ascribing our text to the Middle Vedic, Early (Western) Saṃhitā prose level (see Witzel 1995a: 95–97, Witzel 1989: 121–130, 139ff.; Kümmel 2000: 5–6; Whitney 1892).

The syntax and style of the exegetical prose portions deserve a more detailed account; I will provide a sketch in the following pages. I will start from the observable syntactic constructions (§1–7), then move on to the use of verbs (§7) and pronouns (§9); next, I will list other typical traits of *brāhmaṇa*-style prose found in our text (§10), then focus on the *yajus*-style prose of 17.43.1–4 (§11). Finally, I will give an overview of the special grammatical and lexical peculiarities and the *hapax legomena* and rare words found in our text (§12).

1) The nominal sentence

Nominal sentences[6] are extremely frequent in *brāhmaṇa* prose because they are the preferred form in which the secret knowledge is illustrated, that is, through sacred identifications (see Oldenberg 1917; Witzel 1979, 1996: 169; Wezler 1996), also called sacred homologies or sacred equations. Witzel (1996: 169) summarises this idea as follows: "Any two objects, ideas, entities can be linked with each other by establishing connections of smaller or greater similarity (*bandhu, nidāna*) between them. Then they are not only regarded as linked but as essentially 'identical'—at least within the framework of the ritual. Whatever is done to one object or entity affects the other. Ritual is the mesocosm that links and affects the macrocosm of the universe and the gods with the microcosm of the humans and their immediate surroundings."

We find the following types of nominal sentences:

1a) With fronted predicate: [ PRED, SUBJ ]

We find this type in: 17.28.32b, *paśavaḥ parūṃṣi*, "[Indra's] joints [are] the domestic animals"; 17.35.9, *droṇakalaśaḥ śiraḥ, somo rājā mastiṣkaḥ* ||, [The draft-ox's] head is the *droṇakalaśa* vessel; [his] brain is King Soma"; 17.37.2, *agnir āsyaṃ vidyuj jihvā maruto dantāḥ pavamānaḥ prāṇaḥ* ||, "[The draft-ox's] mouth is Agni; [his] tongue is the bolt of lightning; [his] teeth are the Maruts; [his] breath is the wind."

In this type, the subject encodes the old, known information (the topic or theme), while the predicate encodes the new, unknown information (the focus or rheme). In the above examples (as well as in several of those given below), we can easily identify predicate and subject because the matter that is talked about is the body parts of the draft-ox. These are equated with ritual tools, elements from the natural worlds, gods, etc. Thus, the ox's body parts are the old information that is already known to the listener (i.e. they are the subject), whereas the equated objects are what the listener is about to learn; they are the new information (the predicate). The fronting of the element encoding the new information, or the important information, is a very typical rhetorical device employed by Vedic exegetical texts for mnemonic and didactic purposes.

1b) In one case, we find two predicates coordinated with *ca*: [ $\text{PRED}_1$ *ca* $\text{PRED}_2$ *ca* SUBJ ]:

17.38.2, *oṣadhayaś ca vanaspatayaś cobadhyam*, "[his] bolus is the herbs and the trees".

1c) With fronted predicate and *vái*: [ PRED *vái*, SUBJ ]

This type is found only once, in 17.28.32 (in fact, with two subjects): *prajā vai samṛddhir akṣitiḥ*, "Success, imperishableness is offspring".

In case the predicate is not a noun, but an adjective, we find similar constructions:

1d) [ ADJ, SUBJ ]:

17.28.2a, *daivo vajraḥ*, "Divine is the *vajra*".

1e) [ ADJ *vái*, SUBJ ]

17.36.2a, *carācarā vai śraddhā*, "Trust is in constant motion".

1f) When two adjectives are found, only the first is fronted [ $\text{ADJ}_1$, SUBJ , $\text{ADJ}_2$ ]:

17.28.2c, *kṣuraḥ paviḥ *sahasrabhṛṣṭir divispṛśaḥ* ||, "Sharp is the thousand-spiked rim of

6 On Vedic nominal sentences in particular, the issue of Vedic word order in general, and related topics treated in the following pages, the reader may consult the following works: Delbrück 1878, 1888 (esp. 15ff.); Amano 2009; Bloch 1906; Gren-Eklund 1978; Breunis 1990; Hock 1991, 1992, 1996, 1997a, 1997b 2000, 2014, 2016a, 2016b; Jamison 1991, 1997; Keydana 2011; Hale 1996; Hettrich 1988; Minard 1936, 1949–56; Speijer 1886, 1896; Meillet 1906; and Benveniste 1950.

the [*vajra*] touching the sky". The genitive *divispṛśaḥ* might also be taken as a third qualifier.

1g) The basic word order, [ SUBJ, PRED ], is generally rare (indeed because the texts prefer to employ rhetorical fronting), and is mostly found within long lists of equations, as a sort of variation on the preferred word order. Indeed, it occurs only once in our text, in 17.38.2ab, *svedo varṣam, ūṣmā nīhāra*, "[His] sweat is the rain; [his] (body) steam (/warm breath?) is the fog", right after two [*yá* …, *sá/tá-* … ] equations, and followed by a [ PRED, SUBJ ] line and more [*yá* …, *sá/tá-* … ] equations.

2) The [ *yá-* (old info)… , *sá/tá-* (new info)… ] construction

Sacred identifications can also be expressed by means of relative-correlative constructions. In fact, this is the most frequent type found in our text. Note that the relative clause always precedes the main clause. Structurally speaking, this corresponds to the basic Vedic word order, [ SUBJ (old info), PRED (new info) ].

We find it in 17.27.2, *yo vajraḥ sa viśvānaro; yat *tigmavīryaṃ sa viśvāṣāḍ; yad* $^{+}$*dhārambhaṇaṃ sa vaiśvānaraḥ* ||, "The *vajra*, that is Viśvānara; the [part] whose power is sharp (i.e. the blade of the *vajra*), that is Viśvāsah; the handle [of the *vajra*], that is Vaiśvānara"; 17.35.6–8, *yāv asya pūrvapādau tau pūrvapakṣau, yāv* $^{+}$*aparapādau tāv aparapakṣau*, etc., "His two front legs, they are the two first halves; his two hind legs, they are the two latter halves"; and also in 17.35.10, 17.36.1, 17.37.1, 17.38.1, 17.38.3–5, and 17.43.7.

Note that the *sá/tá-* element is endophoric and anaphoric in function (it refers back within the text to the *yá* phrase), but grammatically it agrees with what follows. This cannot always be rendered literally in English translation: e.g., 17.36.1, *yāv* (m. du.) *asya karṇau* (m. du.), *sā* (f. sg.) *śraddhā* (f. sg.) ||, "His two ears, they are trust".

3) The [ *eṣá-* … , *yád* … ] construction (*yád-figé*):

3a) Also called the *etád-yád* construction, invariable *yád* construction, or *yád-figé*, this construction is absent from the RV and first emerges in the prose of the AV (see RENOU 1955b: 85; KNOBL 2009c).

It is characterised by the fact that the relative *yá-* is never in grammatical agreement with what follows, but invariably appears in the neuter adverbial form *yád*. The correlative introducing the fronted main clause is always *eṣá-* (never *sá-/tá-*). This correlative here has a cataphoric function: it refers forward to the content of the *yád* phrase. The correlative *eṣá* is almost invariably followed by the particle *vái*. Our text makes no exception.

In translating, I generally follow the following "formula" (which I owe to the teachings of Werner Knobl):

[ *eṣá-* (*vái*) A, *yád* B ]

"This (*eṣá-*), namely (*yád*) B, is A"

According to Knobl, it is preferable to translate the *eṣá-* correlative with the English demonstrative "this", as the latter can have a cataphoric function, as opposed to the demonstrative "that", which has anaphoric function: e.g. "To be or not to be, ← *that* is the question", versus "*This* is the question →, namely to be or not to be".

This construction is particularly frequent in our text. We find it in 17.27.3 (quoted below); 17.28.30a, *etad vā idaṃ sarvaṃ yad ṛksāme*, "These, the *ṛk* verses and *sāman* chants, are everything here"; 17.30.2, *eṣā vai viśvāṣāḍ *yad evāsau* ||, "This, that very one up there (f., i.e. the sky), is Viśvāsah"; 17.31.2, *eṣa vai viśvānaro yad antarikṣaṃ samudraḥ* ||, "This, the atmosphere, the ocean, is Viśvānara"; 17.31.3, *ete vai pathayo devayānā yat sūryasya raśmayaḥ*, "These, the rays of the sun, are the paths of the gods"; 17.32.2 *eṣa vai vaiśvānaro yad ayaṃ pavamānaḥ* ||, "This, the very wind here, is Vaiśvānara". Another case is 17.37.3, on which see §7 below.

The particularly cataphoric function of *eṣá-* can be seen in 17.27.3, in which *etad* refers to the following *yad* phrase, while *etāni* refers to the three items that follow: *etad vā idaṃ sarvaṃ yad etāni trīṇi | viśvānaro vaiśvānaro viśvāṣāṭ* ||, "These, [namely] the following three—Viśvānara, Vaiśvānara, Viśvāsah—are this entire [world]". See also §9a below.

3b) Some interesting cases are the following:

17.38.6, *saṃvatsaro vā eṣa saṃbhr̥to yad anaḍvān yad anaḍudvratī* ||, "This, taken all together, namely the draft-ox, the one who performs the vow of the draft-ox, is the full year."

The above looks like an expansion of the *yád*-figé construction

[ *eṣá vái* A, *yád* B]

to which an adposition is added to the *eṣá* correlative (*eṣa saṃbhr̥taḥ*, "that, taken all together"), and an extra *yád* phrase is added at the end:

[ *eṣá* ADP *vái* A, *yád* $B_1$, *yád* $B_2$ ]

The element A is then fronted, and the particle *vái* obviously emerges in Wackernagel position to mark the focus on preceding item:

[ A *vái eṣá* ADP, *yád* $B_1$, *yád* $B_2$ ]

*saṃvatsaro* (A) *vā eṣa saṃbhr̥to* (ADP) *yad anaḍvān* ($B_1$) *yad anaḍudvratī* ($B_2$) ||

17.34.4, *ṣoḍaśo vā ita ūrdhvo loko yad bradhno yad bradhnasya viṣṭapaḥ* ||

"It is the sixteenth world above from here, which is the ruddy one (i.e. the sun), which is the top of the ruddy one (i.e. the sun)."

This sentence could be interpreted as having a similar structure, but without the correlative *eṣá-*. The *yad* phrases cannot be simple relative clauses, because clearly *yad* does not agree with *bradhnaḥ* or *viṣṭapaḥ*, both masculine.

17.35.2, *kr̥tyā vā eṣā manuṣyeṣu carati yad anaḍvān yad anaḍudvratī* ||

"This is witchcraft, when, as a draft-ox, as one practising the observance of the draft-ox, one wanders among humans."

Here we have the correlative *eṣá-*, but also a verb, *carati*. The underlying structure can be rendered as follows: "This (*eṣā*), namely (*yád*) the draft-ox, namely (*yád*) the ox *vratin*, wanders among humans as witchcraft (*kr̥tyā*)", in which *eṣā* becomes feminine out of attraction to the predicate *kr̥tyā*, which is then fronted. However, we can also interpret *kr̥tyā vā eṣā* as an independent nominal sentence, "This is witchcraft", followed by another main clause, followed by two relative (temporal) clauses. My translation is rather free in this case.

4) The [ *tasmād* … (, … *hí*/*evá* … )] explanations

Very typical of *brāhmaṇa* prose are sentences beginning with *tasmād*, "That's why...", which follow an aitiological myth or a series of sacred equations, and shift the attention of the listener from the world of the myth and the sacred to the everyday world. In fact, very frequently within these sentences, we encounter the pronoun *eṣá-* used in exophoric recognitional function. The notions illustrated by the teacher by recounting the myth are identified as the reasons why something is the way it is in the real world. These reasons can then be further remarked upon with a causal sentence introduced by the particle *hí* (in Wackernagel position), or by an emphatic statement with *evá* (also in 2nd position).

A typical example is 17.36.1–2, in which a sacred equation is made between the ears of the ox and trust (*śraddhā*) on the grounds that trust is fleeting, elusive. This is then taken as the reason why oxen in the real world flap their ears: *yāv asya karṇau sā śraddhā || carācarā vai śraddhā, tasmāt karṇau muhur varīvarjayati* ||, "His two ears, they are trust. Trust is in constant motion; that's why he (the draft-ox) constantly flaps [his] ears back and forth every moment."

Similarly, in 17.35.10: *ye asya śr̥ṅge tad ṛtaṃ satyam || dhruvaṃ vā ṛtaṃ satyaṃ, tasmād ete dhruve* ||, "[His] two horns, they are cosmic order and truth. Cosmic order and truth are firm; that is why those two (i.e. the oxen's horns in the real world) are firm." Note that the reference to the real world is clear also from the use of the pronoun *ete* with exophoric recognitional function (see §9a below).

In 17.28.7, the centre of attention shifts from the mythical world, in which Indra performs his vow, to the world of real ascetics: *so [']ṇuḥ kr̥śo [']bhavat*, *tasmād aṇuḥ kr̥śo vratacārī bhavaty*, *aṇur hi kr̥śo bhūtvendro asurān* $^{+}$*apāvr̥ṅkta* ||, "He (Indra) became lean, emaciated. That's why one who practises the observance becomes lean, emaciated, for having become lean, emaciated, Indra ripped the Asuras off" (note the final causal *hí* phrase).[7]

Another case is 17.28.27–28: *so [']śāmyat || tasmād yo brahma *vedotāpasmitaṃ śamayati dohayata *evainān* ||, "He (Indra) remained calm. That's why [the real ascetic] who knows the *bráhman* and extinguishes the burning shame from the laughter (of his detractors), he actually milks them (i.e. extracts their merits from them)" (note the final emphatic statement with *evá*).

## 5) The *yá evam vid-* constructions

Recognised by Renou (1955b: 82–83) as one of the most typical traits of the AV *brāhmaṇa*-style prose, this formula can appear in various forms; with a perfect participle (*yá eváṃ vidvā́n* followed by a verb), as a full sentence (*yá eváṃ véda*), or in the variant *yó bráhma véda* (typical of poetry; cf. ŚS 4.11.11c ~ PS 3.25.8c, *bráhma yó véda,* but also found in our text at 17.28.28). Another poetic equivalent is the use of the pres. ptc. *vijānant-* (cf. the Anaḍutsūkta at ŚS 4.11.3d ~ PS 3.25.5d; Renou 1955b: 83 fn. 1).

The person "who knows so" is of course the initiate who has learned about the secret knowledge illustrated by the teacher. In fact, this formula regularly occurs in our text at the end of a section, in the conclusive statements that illustrate the results that the initiate can achieve, and the benefits that he can secure (*ava-rudh-*) by means of the knowledge he has acquired, if he practises the observance based on such knowledge.

The attested constructions are the following:

### 5a) With fronted main verb, [ $VB^{MAIN}$ … , *yá evaṃ vidvān* … $VB^{SUB}$ ]

In the *yá eváṃ vidvā́n* statements, the *yá* phrase normally comes second, contrary to the normal order according to which the relative clause precedes the main clause. This is because here it is the main clause that provides the important new information (the achieved results and benefits), and for this reason it is fronted; note that the main clause is never introduced by any correlative. Accordingly, the verb of the main sentence is also normally placed in first position within the fronted main clause, unless it is a non-salient verb like *bhavati* (Renou 1955b: 82). In general, this seems to be the most frequent type, as it corresponds to the tendency to front the new and important information. However, in our text, it is fairly rare in comparison with the type in which the verb holds its normal position at the end of the main clause (see §5c below):

17.42.7, *prathate prajayā paśubhir gr̥hair dhanena*, *ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti)* ||, "He thrives with offspring, with cattle, with a homestead, with wealth, he who, (being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox)";

17.32.4, *dhriyante asmin prāṇā ya* …, "The life-breaths stay firm in him, who …".

17.43.7, *prati *tisthati prajayā paśubhir gr̥hair dhanena*, *ya* ..., "He takes a firm standing with offspring, with cattle, with a homestead, with wealth, he who …".

See also §5d below.

7 One more independent causal *hí* phrase is found in 17.35.4.

5b) With fronted preverb only, [ PREVB … VB$^{MAIN}$, *yá evaṃ vidvān* … VB$^{SUB}$ ]

In the previous example, both preverb (*prati*) and main verb (*tiṣṭhati*) were placed in first position. Very frequently, however, only the preverb is fronted, while the main verb remains in final position within the main clause:

17.40.9, *pra patho* $^{+}$*devayānāñ jānāti ya evaṃ vidvān*…, "He foreknows the paths of the gods, he who, being initiated, …" See also §5d below.

5c) Without fronting, [ … VB$^{MAIN}$, *yá evaṃ vidvān* … VB$^{SUB}$ ]:

This is actually the most frequent type in our anuvāka. Note that even if the verb is not fronted, in most cases an element is in placed in first position, in focus, and is highlighted by the particle *evá*:

e.g. 17.33.4, *asyām eva pratiṣṭhām āyatanaṃ vindate ya evaṃ vidvān* …, "On this very one (i.e. the earth), he finds a foundation, a base, he who, being initiated …" Cf. 17.29.2.

An object might be in focus:

17.28.33, *prajām eva samr̥ddhim akṣitim ava rundhe ya* …, "He secures truly offspring, [and hence] success, imperishableness, he who …" Cf. 17.37.4, 17.35.12.

Indeed, we frequently find more than one object. When this is the case, the second object can appear after the main verb:

17.27.4, *sarvān eva *puṇyāṁ̐l lokān ava rundhe sarvāś ca devatā ya* …, "He secures truly all the pleasant places and [the favour of] all the deities, he who ..." Cf. 17.30.4.

5d) Cases with more than one main clause:

Frequently, we find that the *yá evā́ṃ vidvā́n* phrase is preceded by more than one main clause.

Two main clauses, *evá* particle in the first clause, no fronting (the second verb is *bhavati*):

17.39.2, *brahma caiva lokaṃ cāva rundhe, brāhmaṇavarcasī bhavati, ya* …, "He secures both the *bráhman* and the world, he becomes one with the lustre of the *brāhmaṇa*, he who …"

Two main clauses, no *evá* and no fronting (the first verb is *bhavati*):

17.34.5, *bradhnaloko bhavati bradhnasya viṣṭapi śrayate ya* …, "He becomes one whose world is the ruddy one (i.e. the sun), he rests on the top of the ruddy one (i.e. on the sun), he who …".

Three main clauses, no fronting, no *evá*:

17.41.6, *jyog jīvati, sarvam āyur eti, na purā jarasaḥ pra mīyate ya* … "He lives for a long time, he enjoys a whole lifespan, he does not die prematurely, he who ..." (note that the negation *na* is fronted within its clause).

Two main clauses, the first with verb in final position; the second clause has a fronted preverb:

17.31.4, *pathiṣu devayāneṣu dhriyate, pra patho* $^{+}$*devayānāñ jānāti ya* …, "He stays firmly on the paths of the gods, he foreknows the paths of the gods, he who …"

Two main clauses, only the first with fronted verb (the second verb is *bhavati*):

17.36.3, *śraddadhate [']smai śraddhānīyo bhavati ya* …, "[People] trust him, he becomes trustworthy, he who ..."

Three main clauses, only the first with fronted verb:

17.38.7, *kalpante asmā r̥tavo, na rtuṣv ā vr̥ścata, r̥tūnāṃ priyo bhavati ya* …, "The seasons are well-disposed towards him, he is not cut down by the seasons, he becomes dear to the seasons, he who …"

5e) The collocation *evám vidvás-* is also found in:

17.35.3, *ya evaṃ viduṣo [']sādhu kīrtayatīṣṭam evāsya pūrtaṃ {māyā(ṃ)} saṃvr̥kte* ||, "He who speaks ill of the initiated one: his merit accumulated with worship and that accumulated with gifts {the magical power} are both completely wrested away";

17.40.6, *ya evaṃ viduṣo [']sādhu kīrtayaty etair evainaṃ tamobhiḥ prorṇoti* ||, "He envelops with those very darknesses him who speaks ill of the initiated one."

6) Relative clauses

I have already treated the [ *yá* …, *sá/tá-* … ] identifications in §2 above. Besides this nominal type, we also find relative clauses followed by a correlative clause containing a verb. For instance, the following two [ *yá-* … , *téna* … VB ] constructions:

17.40.7, *yad asya prācīnaṃ nābhyās tena dviṣantam ā viśati* ||, "The part [of his belly] to the front of his (the draft-ox's) navel, with that he (the *vratin*) takes control of [his] hater";

17.40.8, *atha yad asya pratīcīnaṃ nābhyās tena mr̥tyuṃ nāṣṭrām avartiṃ tarati* ||, "Moreover, the part [of his belly] to the back of his (the draft-ox's) navel, with that he (the *vratin*) overcomes death, calamity, misfortune".

In 17.43.5–6, we find a series of [ *yéna* …, *téna* … ] constructions, some with verbs (in the relative clause), some without:

17.43.5–6, *yenāsya vahas tena yajño, yena vahati tena lokaḥ* || *yenainaṃ* [**K**: *yenedaṃ*] *paśyati tena viśvo, yenainaṃ* [**K**: *yenedaṃ*] *gamayati tena sarvaḥ* ||, "By the fact that he has withers, he is the ritual worship; by the fact that he hauls, he is the world. By the fact that he looks at him (**K**: By the fact that now he looks), he is everything; by the fact that he makes him go (**K**: by the fact that now he makes go), he is the whole."

7) Embedded subordinate clauses

Consider 17.37.3, *eṣā vai ⁺sā yām āhur vasor dhāreti yad ⁺āntragudam* ||, "This, the intestine and the rectum, is what they call the 'stream of wealth'."

Here we find a quotation (*vasor dhāra*) embedded inside a relative clause (*yām āhur … iti*), in turn embedded in a *yád-figé* construction (*eṣā vai sā, yad āntragudam*).

A case of direct speech embedded inside a relative-correlative construction is found in 17.33.3, *sa yatra hr̥dā manasā kāmayata iha me rādhyate tad asmai rādhyate* ||, "Whenever(/wherever) he wishes with his heart and mind 'I am successful here!', then(/there) he is successful." Note that here the quotation is not enclosed by an *iti* particle.

In 17.39.1, we find a relative clause embedded inside what seems to be a nominal sentence (a sacred identification) with multiple subjects and multiple (non-fronted) predicates: *tapaś ca varaś ca mahaś ca yaśaś ca* [ *yad asminn ⁺antar* ] *r̥caḥ sāmāni yajūṃṣi brāhmaṇam* ||, "The heat and breadth and greatness and fame, which are inside of him (the ox), are the verses, the chants, the ritual injunctions, the formulaic spells."

8) The use of verbal tenses

8a) I have already mentioned the use of the imperfect as a tense of narration (see above). Note also the imperfect *aśr̥ṇot* in direct speech in 17.35.1b.

8b) We find several cases of verbal nouns used as verbal predicates: *dagdhaḥ* (17.28.5b), *saṃvr̥kte* (17.35.3), *saṃvr̥ktā* (17.35.4b), *uttabhitaḥ*, and *prathitaḥ* (17.42.6). On this topic, see RENOU 1955b: 86 and my comment on 17.35.3–4.

8c) We find several subjunctives, but these are only 1st person sg. forms: *carāṇi* (17.28.6a), *asāni* (17.34.3a), *śrayā* (17.34.3b), *nindāni*, and *vi bhavāni* (17.35.1b).

8d) We find one resultative aorist in 17.43.5 (*praty aṣṭhāt*). See my comment *ad loc*.

8e) A present participle in construction with a form of *sthā-* as auxiliary to express continuous action is found in 17.28.3 (on this construction, see WG p.394f §1074–1075).

8f) We find an intensive *varīvarjayati* from the root *vṛj-* in 17.36.2b.

9) Pronouns

9a) The observable usages of *etád* (cf. Knobl 2009c, 2018; Kümmel 2014) are the following:

1. As correlative in the [ *eṣá-* …, *yád* … ] construction. In this case I translate with "this". See §3 above.
2. With cataphoric (endophoric) function ('the following') in 17.27.3.
3. With anaphoric (endophoric) function ('the above-mentioned') in 17.28.30b, 17.30.3, 17.32.3, and 17.40.6. In this case I translate with "that".
4. Neuter adverbial ("there") in 17.28.3.
5. As medial deictic, referring to something close or belonging to the listener ("that of yours") in 17.34.1.
6. With exophoric recognitional function ('that well-known'): 17.35.11; probably also 17.42.5 (referring to the *vratin*/ox).

9b) The formulaic (and non-formulaic) usages of other demonstratives:

1. The loc. sg. f. *asyām*, 'on this one here', of the proximal deictic *ayám*/*īyám*/*idám* with the formulaic meaning 'on the earth' is found in 17.33.4
2. The proximal deictic is also found in the phrase *ayaṃ pavamānaḥ*, 'this wind here'.
3. The neuter of the proximal deictic is also found in the formula *idaṃ sarvaṃ*, 'this whole (world)/everything here' in 17.27.3 and 17.28.30.
4. In 17.43.6a and b, the **K** var. lectio *idaṃ* might be an adverb "now/here".
5. The feminine distal deictic *asau* with the formulaic meaning 'that one up there (i.e. the sky)' is found in 17.30.2.
6. The masculine of the distal deictic is used in the common non-formulaic meaning in 17.28.6 (*asau vajro*, "That one over there is the *vajra*").

9c) We frequently find the enclitic *enam*: 17.35.1b, 17.35.4b, 17.40.6, and 17.43.6a and b; in 17.28.28, we find the acc. pl. **enān*.

The numerous occurrences of the (most likely) enclitic forms of *ayam* (synchronically belonging together with the pronoun *enam*) should be mentioned here: *asya* in 17.28.2, 17.35.3, 6a, 7a, 8a, 10, 17.36.1, 17.37.1, 17.38.1, 3, 4, 5, 17.40.7, 8, and 17.43.5, 7; *asmai* in 17.33.4, 17.36.3, and 17.38.7; *asmin* in 17.32.4, 17.39.1, 17.40.1, 17.41.1, and 17.42.1.

9d) Note the [ *tā́d* … , *yā́d* … ] construction in 17.35.1b. See Bhattacharya 2004. Note that this construction is found in direct speech.

10) Other typical AV *brāhmaṇa*-style prose traits:

I list here a number of traits, most of which have been noted by Renou (1955b) as typical of the AV

*brāhmaṇa*-style prose, that we find also in our text:

10a) The use of the extraclausal connective *átha* to introduce a new chapter or topic: 17.35.1, 17.40.1, 17.41.1, 17.41.2. On extraclausal connectives, see Hock 1997b.

10b) The frequent use of the focus particle *vái*: 17.23.3, 17.28.30a, 17.28.32a, 17.30.2, 3, 17.31.2, 3, 17.32.2, 3, 17.33,2, 17.34.4, 17.35.2, 17.35.4a, 17.35.11a, 17.36.2a, 17.37.3, 17.38.6. This particle is rather rare in the RV, where it is almost completely restricted to the collocation *vā́ u*, but it is already frequent in the verses of the AV; it then becomes ubiquitous in later prose (see Renou 1955b: 81 fn. 3).

10c) The formulaic use of the adverb *ágre*, 'in illo tempore', in mythical narratives: 17.35.4a.

10d) The formulaic use of the lexeme *ava-rudh-*, 'to secure (a benefit/result by practising an observance or performing a ritual)'. In our text, it is found in the main clause of the concluding statements at the end of five kāṇḍikās: 17.24.4, 17.28.33, 17.30.4, 17.37.4, and 17.39.2.

10e) The *-anī́ya* formations (in conjunction with the verb *bhavati*). These are an innovation of AV prose (Renou 1955b: 84). A few such forms are known from a single AV text, ŚS 8.10: *upajīvanī́ya-* in ŚS 8.10.22–29 (~ PS 16.135.1–8) and *āmantraṇī́ya-* in ŚS 8.10.7 (~ PS 16.133.7). Cf. *dakṣiṇī́ya* in ŚS 8.10.4. The PS also has *ramaṇīya-* in PS 11.16.12 (*ramaṇīyo bhavati*) and *mārjanīya-* in PS 20.39.3a. Note that the name of the fire altar *āhavanī́ya-* is also one such formation (AV+: ŚS 8.10.3 ~ PS 16.133.4, ŚS 9.6.30 ~ PS 16.113.7, 15.6.14-15 ~ PS 18.32.7, PS 11.16.13). In our text, PS 17.36.3 features the form *śraddhānīya-*, 'to be trusted', in construction with the verb *bhavati*: *śraddhānīyo bhavati*, "he becomes trustworthy".

10f) The absolutive is also increasingly used in AV prose. We find *sampadya* in 17.28.6, *bhūtvā* in 17.28.7c, and possibly $^{+}$*vittvā* in 17.28.27b, but the reading is uncertain.

10g) Direct speech enclosed by *iti*. We find it in 17.28.1d, 17.28.26, 17.28.27 (the reading is uncertain but the presence of *iti* is very probable), 17.34.2cd, 17.34.3b, 17.35.1b, and 17.37.3. It is possibly also in 17.34.1c, but the reading is uncertain. Note that, in one case, a quotation of direct speech is reported without the particle *iti*: 17.33.3, *sa yatra hṛ́dā manasā kāmayata iha me rādhyate tad asmai rādhyate* ||, "Whenever(/wherever) he wishes with his heart and mind 'I am successful here!', then(/there) he is successful."[8]

10h) Multiple preverbs. We find *anu-ava-drav-* only in 17.28.26 and *anu-prati-sthā-* in 17.29.2 and 17.35.12, but in either case, *anu* can be taken as a postposition in adnominal use.

10i) The use of *pávamāna* with the meaning 'wind' and not referring to soma: 17.32.2, 17.37.2.

10j) The couple *iṣṭám* and *pūrtám*: 17.35.3–4. Note that in his speech (17.35.1), Ahīnas Āśvatthi uses the compound *iṣṭāpūrta-* instead.

10k) The increasing use of *sárva* in the sense of 'all, every' (=*víśva*) (already found in RV), besides the older meaning 'entire, whole'.

The meaning 'all, every' is found in 17.27.4, *sarvān eva *puṇyāṁ̓l lokān ava rundhe sarvāś ca devatā ya …*, "He secures truly all the pleasant places and [the favour of] all the deities"; in

8 Note that **K** reads *kāmayeti*, which can possibly indicate that in **K** the *iti* particle was intended as preceding the quotation.

17.30.3–4, *ete vai sarve puṇyā lokāḥ sarvāś ca devatāḥ* […] *sarvān eva* $^{+}$*puṇyāṃl lokān ava rundhe sarvāś ca devatā ya* …, “That is all the pleasant places and all the deities. […] He secures truly all the pleasant places and [the favour of] all the deities, he who …”; in 17.32.3, *eṣa vai sarvā anu prajāto dhriyate*, “That (the wind) having risen (lit. having been born) stays firm along all [the Directions]”; in 17.35.5b, *sarvāṃl lokān prājānāt* ||, “He foreknew the way to every place”; and in the compound *sarvapṛṣṭha-*, “a ritual provided with all the Pṛṣṭha Sāmans” (17.42.3).

The meaning ‘entire, whole’ is found in the formula *idaṃ sarvaṃ*, “this whole world here / everything here” (17.27.3, 17.28.30); in 17.41.6, *sarvam āyur eti*, “he enjoys a whole lifespan”; in the compounds *sarvāṅga-*, ‘with whole limbs’, *sarvātman-*, ‘with a whole trunk’, *sarvaparus-*, ‘with whole joints’, *sarvapad-*, ‘with whole feet’ in 17.42.5; and in 17.43.6b, *yenainaṃ* [**K**: *yenedaṃ*] *gamayati tena sarvaḥ* ||, “By the fact that he makes him go (**K**: by the fact that now he makes go), he is the whole.” Note that the latter is in opposition to *viśva-* in 17.43.6a: *yenainaṃ* [**K**: *yenedaṃ*] *paśyati tena viśvo*, “By the fact that he looks at him (**K**: By the fact that now he looks), he is everything”.

10l) References to Prajāpati and Parameṣṭhin: 17.28.8–9, 17.43.3, 17.43.1 (only Parameṣṭhin).

10m) Special names for time periods: *ārtava-* (17.28.19, 17.41.2) and the sequence *idāvatsara-*, *anuvatsara-*, *parivatsara-*, *saṃvatsara-* (17.41.3).

11) The *yajus*-style prose portion

The AV *yajuṣes* are prose mantras that, like the YV prose mantras (and unlike the didactic oriented *brāhmaṇa*-style prose portions), are meant to be recited during ritual performances. We find this style only in 17.43.1–4. Even in such a short passage, we can identify several of the typical traits that we have already encountered in anuvāka 5 (see my introduction to anuvāka 5 and the overview of *yajus*-style prose in Renou [1955b: 74–80 §4–9]).

11a) 2nd person verbal forms: the present *asi* (once in 17.43.1, four times in 17.43.3, three times in 17.43.4); the imperatives *saṃ vṛha*, *vi vṛha* (17.43.2), and *gamaya* (17.43.4).

11b) The formula *yo [']smān dveṣṭi yaṃ* (**K**: *ca*) *vayaṃ dviṣmas* (note the variant with *ca* in **K**) in 17.43.2.

11c) The persistent repetitions, such as that of the verb *asi* in 17.43.1, 3, and 4. The repetition with variation in *indro balenāsi* (17.43.1), *indro [']si_indrasya rūpam asi* (17.43.3). The repetition with word play on *svar* in 17.43.3: *svar asi*, *svargo [']si*, *svargaloko [']si*, *svargaṃ mā lokaṃ gamaya* ||, “You are the heaven, you are heavenly, you are one whose world is the heaven, make me go to the heavenly world.” Note also that the length of the phrases gradually increases (Behaghel’s law of increasing terms).

This tendency to use repetitions is rooted in the oral and magical character of the texts, and carries over into the *brāhmaṇa* portions as well.

It is particularly visible in kāṇḍīkās 40, 41, and 42, where we find long lists with the repetition of the word *śatam*: *śatam* X *śatam* Y *śatam* Z etc., “A hundred Xs, a hundred Ys, a hundred Zs, etc.”

The particular tendency of using multiple expressions to mean the same thing is also visible:

17.38.7, *kalpante asmā ṛtavo, na rtuṣv ā vṛścata, ṛtūnāṃ priyo bhavati, ya* …, “The seasons are well-disposed towards him, he is not cut down by the seasons, he becomes dear to the seasons, he who...”

17.41.6, *jyog jīvati, sarvam āyur eti, na purā jarasaḥ pra mīyate, ya* …, “He lives for a long

time, he enjoys a whole lifespan, he does not die prematurely, he who …"

The following line perhaps even betrays a tendency towards introducing variation within the repetition simply for the sake of embellishing the prose:

17.28.1, *tam ādatta tam ud aiṅgayat tam upāmimīta*, "He (Indra) took it (the *vajra*), he brandished it, he weighed it out".

12) Grammatical and lexical peculiarities, *hapax legomena*, and rare words found in the text

12a) The unique lexeme *vrataṃ bhṛ-*, most likely an intentional metaphor. See my comment on 17.27.4.

12b) The compound **tigmavīryam* (17.27.2b) is otherwise only attested from the Mbh onwards.

12c) The "*wiederholende*" onomatopoeia *hariharā bhū-* in 17.28.3.

12d) The hapax *durgir-* (**durgīr*) in 17.28.5a.

12e) The lexeme (*anu*)-*ava*-*drav-* in 17.28.26a.

12f) The verbal noun *apasmita-* (17.28.28a, **apasmitaṃ*). Elsewhere found only in PS 8.8.5.

12g) The impersonal use of the verb *rādh-* in 17.33.3. See my comment *ad loc*.

12h) The late nom. pl. *pathayaḥ* in 17.31.3 (next to the older acc. pl. *pathaḥ* in 17.31.4) from *path-*, 'path'.

12i) The collocation *ye … akṣyau* in 17.35.7, with the masculine-looking form *akṣyau* (dual) treated as neuter (the normal gender of the word for 'eye') and accompanied by the relative *ye* (neuter dual).

12j) The word *pratīvāha-*, 'reward, counter-gift', which is only found here and in two other occurrences belonging to texts of the AV tradition: GB 1.1.23i and KauśS 10.5[79]29.

12k) The typical "boon" dialogue at 17.34.2 with the *figura etymologica varaṃ vṛṇīṣveti*, *sa varam avṛṇīta* ||, "Choose a boon! He chose a boon." This type of dialogue, so typical of later texts, is not found elsewhere in the AV.

12l) The rare Bahuvrīhi compound *bradhnáloka-*, 'one whose world is the ruddy one (the sun)', in 17.34.3, 5, otherwise found only in ŚS 11.3.50–51.

12m) The nom. sg. m. *viṣṭapaḥ* from a thematic stem *viṣṭápa-* (next to a locative *viṣṭapi* from the regular athematic feminine *viṣṭáp-*) in 17.34.4.

12n) The rare lexeme *kram-* (mid.) plus locative. See my comment on 17.30.

12o) The rare word *carācara-*, 'constantly moving', in 17.36.2a. The intensive interpretation is suggested by neighbouring presence of the intensive *varīvarjayai* in 17.36.2b.

12p) The *anī́ya*-formation *śraddhānīya-* in 17.36.3. See §10e above.

12q) The rare Dvandva compound *āntraguda-* in 17.37.4.

12r) The rare compound *brāhmaṇavarcasin* in 17.38.2 (otherwise found only in the PS Vrātyakāṇḍa, at 18.36.1m).

12s) The obscure terms for eye diseases at 17.40.5.

12t) It may be worth noting that text knows the following rituals: the *vasor dhāra* rite (17.37.3–4), the Sāhna, Trirātra, Atirātra, Agniṣṭoma, Dvādaśāha, Ṣoḍaśina, Sarvapr̥ṣṭa, Rājasūya, Vājapeya, Kāmapra, and Sattrāyaṇa (all mentioned in 17.42.2–4).

12u) The Odisha mss. always spell *devayāna* with the akṣara *ya* [dʒa] (normally used word initially), as they would do with two separate words. For a single word, we would expect the akṣara *ẏa* [ja] (normally used word-internally between vowels). One mss. (**Ji$_4$**) regularly uses the spelling *devajāna* with *ja* [dʒa].

## Kāṇḍikā 27

### 17.27.1

a indro vajram asiñcad vṛ̥trāya hantave |
b tvaṣṭā vajram asiñcad vṛ̥trāya hantave ||

Indra founded the *vajra* to slay Vṛ̥tra.
Tvaṣṭar founded the *vajra* to slay Vṛ̥tra.

asiñcad] **[Ma] [Mā] Ji$_4$ V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** asiñca **JM$_3$** asiñcata **K** • vṛ̥trāya] vṛ̥trāẏa **[Ma] [Mā] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vṛ̥trā **Ji$_4$** vṛ̥trā(i→*s.s.*)ẏa **V122** vṛ̥ttrāya **K** • hantave |] **K** hantave **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM3 V71** hantave || **Ji$_4$** • asiñcad vṛ̥trāya] asiñcadvṛ̥trāẏa **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** asiñcadvṛ̥trā(i→*s.s.*)ẏa **V122** asiñcata vṛ̥ttrāya **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V71 K** ||[1] **Ji4** |[1] **V122**

**ab**. According to the myth, the creator of the *vajra* is normally Tvaṣṭṛ̥. For instance, RV 1.32.2, belonging to the most famous Indra hymn, reads: *áhann áhim párvate śiśriyāṇáṃ, tváṣṭāsmai vájraṃ svaryàṃ tatakṣa*, "He [i.e. Indra] smashed the serpent resting on the mountain—for him Tvaṣṭar had fashioned the resounding [/sunlike] mace" (J-B). On the contrary, the statement in line **a**, attributing the creation of the *vajra* to Indra, is unusual as well as inconsistent with the rest of our text, which seems to portray Indra's attempt at obtaining the *vajra*. It seems to me that line **b** is the correct narrative prelude, while line **a** seems to be a secondary addition that serves the purpose of highlighting the most important details of the narrative illustrating the *anaḍudvrata*: namely that the protagonist is Indra, the first to practise the observance (17.35.4), and that the goal of Indra's observance is not simply to acquire the *vajra*, but to slay Vṛ̥tra with it. This supports the idea that the episodes narrated in our text do not follow a chronological order (see my introduction above), and that the episode of the slaying of Vṛ̥tra (17.33) is the final one (see my comment on 17.30 below).

On the *vajra*, see Rau 1973: 37f., Schlerath 1975, and Falk 1994a.

The verbal root *sic*-, lit. 'to pour out', indicates here the process of founding or casting by pouring molten metal into a mould. According to Rau (1973: 37–38 fn. 44, 45, 46 with sources), three roots describe the process of fashioning the *vajra*: *sic*-, 'to cast, found, mould' ('gießen'), *takṣ*-. 'to hammer, temper' ('hämmern, härten'), and *śi*- (or *saṃ-śi*-), 'whet, sharpen' ('wetzen').

The hendiadyc construction with double dative (dative of a noun plus dative of an infinitive) is old, and is represented especially by this specific formula, *vṛ̥trā́ya hántave*, 'for Vṛ̥tra, for the killing, i.e. for the killing of Vṛ̥tra' (RV 3.37.5a, 6c, 8.12.22a, 8.93.7b, 9.61.22b, 10.116.1b; in ŚS found only in book 20), but is not limited to it (cf. e.g. *mṛ̥gā́ya hántave* in RV 5.34.2 or the refrain *asmai viṣāya hantave* in PS 3.9). See Delbrück 1988: 98–99 (§54), 149 (§103), and 415 (§228).

**17.27.2**

a yo vajraḥ sa viśvānaro
b yat *tigmavīryaṃ sa viśvāṣāḍ
c yad [+]dhārambhaṇaṃ sa vaiśvānaraḥ ||

The *vajra*, that is Viśvānara;
the [part] whose power is sharp (i.e. the blade of the *vajra*), that is Viśvāsah;
the handle [of the *vajra*], that is Vaiśvānara.

yo] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** jo **Ji$_4$** • vajraḥ] **O** vajra **K** • sa viśvānaro] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ma viśvānaro **Ji$_4$** se viśvānaro **Pa$_c$** sa vaiśvānaro **K** yat *tigmavīryaṃ] yattegmavīryaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yattegmavīrya **Pa$_c$** yatte agnīrvīrasaṃ **K** • viśvāṣāḍ] **Ja** viśvāṣāṭ **Ma Ji$_4$ V122 Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$ K** • yad [+]dhārambhaṇaṃ] yaddhāramaṇaṃ **K** yanta ārambhaṇaṃ **Ma Ja V122 Mā V71 JM$_3$** yaṁntā āra{ṇa}mbhaṇaṃ **Ji$_4$** yanta arambhaṇaṃ **Pa$_c$** • sa] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** [.] **V71** *om*. **Ji$_4$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122 K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *yattegmavīryaṃ* in **b** and [+]*yaddhārambhaṇaṃ* in **c**.

Bhattacharya refrains from emending pāda **b**, but *tegmavīryaṃ* is clearly an unacceptable reading, as there is no such stem as ***tegman*-. In his comment, he proposes *yat te 'gnirvīryaṃ*[+] based on the reading of **K**. Content-wise, reference to Agni is unproblematic here, as the *vajra*/lightning bolt is regarded as a form of fire. However, I fail to understand this proposal syntax-wise (a compound with the first member in the nominative?). Perhaps *yat te 'gnivīryaṃ*[+] would be a conceivable emendation, although the compound *agnivīrya*- is only attested in lexicographers. However, it is unclear to me what the pronoun *te* would refer to, and also why it would be absent from pāda **a** (I shall get to pāda **c** in a moment). Perhaps *te* could refer to the *vajra* itself, which would explain why it is absent from **a**. On the sole basis of **K**, Raghu Vira proposed *yat te 'gner vīryaṃ*. Here the genitive *agner* could function as an adposition of *te*, in which case we could translate **bc** as: "that power of yours, of Agni, that is Viśvāsah". An even more preferable emendation would be *yat te *['']gne vīryaṃ*, "That power of yours, O Agni, …" (cf. TS 3.5.3.2, quoted below). It would also be possible to explain **O** *gm* as a scribal error for *gn* (although then we would have to assume the loss of the akṣara *e*). In pāda **c**, Bhattacharya edits [+]*yaddhārambhaṇaṃ*, following **K**, but we may note that **O** *yanta ārambhaṇaṃ* also points to the presence of the pronoun *te*, as *yanta* could be a corruption of *yat ta* (= *yat te*, in sandhi). This second *te* would also refer to Agni. It does not seem far-fetched to consider **K** *ddhā* as a possible scribal error for *nta* (although we need to assume that it was then merged in double sandhi with the following *ā*-), as the two akṣaras are similar in the Śāradā script (though Kim, *Schreib*., does not record any such case), and thus reconstruct our lines as follows. In case *te* refers to the *vajra*:

*yo vajraḥ sa viśvānaro*
*yat te ['']gnivīryaṃ*[+] *sa viśvāṣāḍ*
**yat *ta ārambhaṇaṃ sa vaiśvānaraḥ* ||
"The *vajra*, that is Viśvānara;
that fire power of yours [O *vajra*], that is Viśvāsah;
that handle of yours [O *vajra*], that is Vaiśvānara."

In case *te* refers to Agni:

*yo vajraḥ sa viśvānaro*
*yat te *['']gner vīryaṃ/yat te *['']gne vīryaṃ*
**yat *ta ārambhaṇaṃ sa vaiśvānaraḥ* ||
"The *vajra*, that is Viśvānara;
that power of yours, of Agni/that power of yours, O Agni, that is Viśvāsah;

that handle of yours [O Agni], that is Vaiśvānara."

However, there is, I think, a very strong argument against any solution involving the pronoun *te*, namely the fact that what we have here is a typical piece of *brāhmaṇa* exegesis in which some secret knowledge is illustrated by means of sacred equations (*ya-* … , *sa/ta-* … ). The *brāhmaṇa* character of this kāṇḍikā can clearly be seen from the preceding bit of mythical narration in the imperfect tense (17.27.1), as well as from how the kāṇḍikā continues with a typical [ *eṣá-* ..., *yad* …] construction (17.27.3), and concludes with a *yad evaṃ vidvān* phrase (17.27.4). In general, the whole character of our anuvāka is that of a *brāhmaṇa* exegesis.[9] This kind of prose is composed for didactic purposes, and is not meant to be recited during a ritual. For this reason it would be extremely unusual to find 2nd person pronouns or vocatives addressing a deity directly. We of course do find comparable bits of prose, for instance TS 3.5.3.2: *yát te agne téjas ténāháṃ tejasvī́ bhūyāsaṃ yát te agne várcas ténāháṃ vacasvī́ bhūyāsaṃ yát te agne háras ténāháṃ harasvī́ bhūyāsam* || "With the brilliance that is thine, O Agni, may I become brilliant; with the radiance that is thine, O Angi, may I become radiant; with the splendour that is thine, O Agni, may I become resplendent" (Keith). However, this is a *yajus*, a portion of *yajus*-style prose, which is specifically meant to be recited as such during a ritual performance in which Agni is addressed directly. This cannot be the case for our text. We expect the addressee of these lines to be the novice who is learning about the *vrata*. Therefore, I believe that we need to find a different solution.

My contention is that these lines refer to the *vajra* as a weapon, with a handle (*ārambhaṇa* in pāda **c**) and a blade (in pāda **b**). In fact, I shall argue in favour of another alternative suggested by Bhattacharya in his commentary, one that, I believe, has more chance of being correct, namely to simply emend the corrupted portion of pāda **b** to **tigmavīryaṃ*. This emendation is tentative, as the compound *tigmavīrya-* is only attested three times in the Mbh: namely in Mbh 1.18.11, where *tigmavīryaviṣā* (Nom. pl.) 'of virulent poison' is said of snakes, and in Mbh 1.46.2c, where the *ṛṣi* Śr̥ṅgin is described as *mahātejās tigmavīryo 'tikopanaḥ* before he curses King Parikṣit to die from the bite of the serpent Takṣaka. That this compound, however, does not only directly or indirectly refer to the sharpness of a poisonous bite is clear from a third occurrence, Mbh 3.168.5a, which speaks of *dhārās tigmavīryāḥ*, 'violent streams of water'. The presence of this late compound in our text might not be implausible, given the many elements that point to a late date for our text.

It is, however, entirely plausible that this compound could have been created in Vedic times. The RV features several compounds with *tigmá-* as first member that refer to Agni: *tigmájambha-*, 'sharp-fanged' (RV 1.79.6c, 4.5.4a to Agni Vaiśvānara, 4.15.5c, 8.19.22a, 8.44.27b); *tigmábhr̥ṣṭi-*, 'sharp-pointed' (RV 4.5.3a); *tigmáśr̥ṅga-*, 'sharp-horned' (RV 6.16.39b to Agni as a bull, *váṃsaga-*)[10]; *tigmáśocis-*, 'sharp-flamed' (RV 1.79.10a; PS 16.8.6b [the parallel in ŚS 8.3.25a has *tigmáheti-*]); *tigmáheti-*, 'having sharp missile weapons' (RV 4.4.4b, 6.74.4a [~ ŚS 5.6.5b, 6b, 7bc ~ PS 1.109.2a, 6.11.7a ~ MS 4.11.2:165.13]; ŚS 8.3.25a); *tigmā́nīka-*, 'of sharp face' (RV 1.95.2c ~ PS 8.14.2c); and *tigmā́yudha-*, 'having sharp weapons' (RV 2.30.3d, 6.74.4a, 7.46.1d, 9.90.3c). All the compounds of this type in RV and AV refer to Agni, with the exception of *tigmátejas-*, referring to Nr̥tti in ŚS 6.63.2a and to the Rudras in ŚS 19.9.10d, and *tigmámūrdhan-*, 'sharp-headed', which however refers to arrows—also a weapon, just like the *vajra* implied by our text. Note that many of the elements that form the above compounds are also found in loose formulas (e.g., ŚS 6.34.2b, *agnís tigména śocíṣā*; PS 7.3.1ab *tigmebhir agne arcibhiḥ śukreṇa deva śociṣā* |, "O god Agni, with your sharp beams, with your bright flame" (Griffiths)). Other, similar formulas describing the

9 It is true that in the final kāṇḍikā of this anuvāka, 17.43, we find a mix of *yajus*-style prose (17.43.1–4) and *brāhmaṇa* prose (17.43.5–7). However, it looks like the *brāhmaṇa* portion is added as an explanation after the quotation of the *yajuses* with which the kāṇḍikā starts. Here instead we would have to assume the presence of a bit of *yajus* prose within *brāhmaṇa* portions. Moreover, neither in 17.43 nor elsewhere do we find structures like *yat te*..., *sa*....

10 However, in RV 7.19.1a [~ ŚS 20.37.1a], 10.28.2a, and 10.86.15a [~ ŚS 20.126.15a] it refers to Indra as a bull (*vr̥ṣabhá-*); in 9.97.9c, to Soma; and in ŚS 13.1.25a ~ PS 18.17.5a, to Rohita as *vr̥ṣabhá-*. Cf. also the refrain in PS 4.8.1a–13a and 19.29.1a.

sharpness of Agni are also found, even if no corresponding compound exists (e.g. *tigménāgnír jyótiṣā* in ŚS 13.1.11.c ~ PS 18.16.1). As I will point out below, the *vajra*/thunderbolt is a form of Agni, an identification that is certainly strengthened here by the equation with Agni Vaiśvānara.

Moreover, sharpness is also a characteristic of the *vajra*: RV 1.130.4abc, *dādṛhāṇó vájram índro gábhastyoḥ, kṣádmeva tigmám ásanāya sáṃ śyad, ahihátyāya sáṃ śyat* |, "Firmly holding the mace in his hands, Indra honed it sharp like a carving knife, for throwing—honed it for the smashing of the serpent" (J-B); RV 7.18.18d, *tigmáṃ tásmin ní jahi vájram indra*, "smash your sharp mace down on him, O Indra" (J-B); RV 8.96.9ab, *tigmám ā́yudham marútām ánīkaṃ, kás ta indra práti vájraṃ dadharṣa*, "Sharp is the weapon, the vanguard of the Maruts. (And) who dares venture against your mace, Indra?" (J-B). Cf. also the frequent epithet *kṣurápavi-*, "with a sharp rim" (also below, in PS 17.28.2). Incidentally, Indra and Agni are also invoked to sharpen a knife to magically ward off hail in PS 15.23.1.

In conclusion, a compound such as *tigmávīrya-* would not appear out of place in our text: it refers to the sharpness of the *vajra* both as a weapon as well as a form of Agni. All the compounds that I have cited above are Bahuvrīhis, and it would be natural to expect a masculine Bahuvrīhi in implicit agreement with *vajraḥ* with the meaning 'whose power is sharp'. We might then consider emending to **yaḥ *tigmavīryaḥ*. However, the mss. point to a neuter word (as also shown by the pronoun *yat*). Therefore, I believe we should rather opt for a lighter emendation, *yat *tigmavīryaṃ*.

We thus have two possibilities: 1) we could investigate whether we can interpret the compound as a Karmadhāraya meaning 'sharp power'. Compounds with *vīryá-* as second member are mostly Bahivrīhis, but more rarely also Determinative compounds. I was only able to identify Tatpuruṣas with a substantive as first member: e.g. *bāhuvīryá-*, n., 'strength of the arms' (ŚS 5.21.10d); *paśuvīryá-*, n., 'strength belonging to cattle' (PB 7.5.8 etc.); and *bheṣajavīryā-*, n., 'healing power of medicine' (SuśS 1.31.32ab). No grammatical or semantic rule speaks against the possibility of building a Determinative compound of the Karmadhāraya type with an adjective like *tigmá-* as first member and *vīryá-* as second member. Given the rarity of these formations, this interpretation doesn't seem impossible to me, but is perhaps improbable.

2) Alternatively, we could translate *yat* as 'that thing', 'that part', indicating the sharp-rimmed top part of the *vajra*, in contrast with the bottom part, the 'handle', indicated in pāda **c** by the word *ārambhaṇaṃ* (see below), and interpret the neuter compound as a Bahuvrīhi (in accordance with the evidence of other compounds of this type) agreeing with the neuter pronoun—or we could assume agreement with an implied neuter word for 'blade' or 'weapon' (e.g. *śástra-*, *astrá-*, *ā́yudha-*).

With this emendation we have done away with the issue of justifying the presence of the 2nd person pronoun *te* in pāda **b**. Accordingly, I prefer to edit *yad* $^{+}$*dhārambhaṇam* in pāda **c**, favouring *ha* (here probably simply expressing a topic switch) over a 2nd preson pronoun *ta*(=*te*).[11] Moreover, with this explicit reference to the blade part of the weapon, the reference to a "handle" (*ārambhaṇam*) in pāda **c** now appears more understandable.

That the *vajra* has a handle (*ārámbhaṇa-*) is known for instance from AB 2.35.5, *ārambhaṇato vai vajrasyāṇimātho daṇḍasyātho paraśor*, "at the handle the *vajra* is narrow, likewise a rod, likewise an axe", and from PB 23.10.3 (on the sixteen-day rite), *pañcadaśo vai vajro na vā agṛhītena vajreṇa vīryaṃ karoti yā ṣoḍaśy ārambhaṇam eva tad gṛhītena*[12] *vajreṇa vīryaṃ karoti*, "The thunderbolt is the fifteen-day rite (contained in this sixteen-day rite). No one can display any prowess when he has not grasped a (destructive weapon like) the thunderbolt. The sixteenth day is the handle. He displays prowess after he has grasped with this (sixteenth day as handle) the thunderbolt (i.e. the first fifteen days)" (Caland). For other relevant passages, see Rau 1973:41-42.

11 It is not easy to explain **O** *yanta ā...* from an original *yaddhā*. It is perhaps possible that the Odia actually re-interpreted *yat tigm...* as *yat te gn...* (then corrupted into *yat te gm...*) under the influence of mantras like TS 3.5.3.2, quoted above. Then, it would secondarily have inserted a pronoun also in pāda **c**. I am aware, however, that this is something of an ad hoc explanation.

12 Caland takes *tadgṛhītena* as a compound.

Falk 1994a has identified the *vajra* with sharp-rimmed copper bar-celts and clubs of the Copper Hoard archaeological culture of the Indian Doab. These clubs feature a long thin handle that expands into a larger and heavier top (cf. Rau 1973:41–42, discussing how the *vajra* is described as *puroguru-*, 'heavy on the farthest end') characterised by a sharp rim. In my view, lines **b** and **c** clearly refer to the sharp-rimmed top and to the narrow handle of the *vajra*, respectively, while **a** refers to the weapon's body.

**17.27.3**

a etad vā idaṃ sarvaṃ yad etāni trīṇi |
b viśvānaro vaiśvānaro viśvāṣāṭ ||

These, [namely] the following three—Viśvānara, Vaiśvānara, Viśvāsah—are this whole [world].

sarvaṃ yad] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pac [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** sarva yad **Ji$_4$** sarvayāj **K** • etāni trīṇi] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ V122 Pac [Mā]** etāni rasā trīṇi **K** etrāni triṇi **V71** etrā triṇi **JM$_3$** • |] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** || **Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pac [Mā] JM$_3$** | **K V71**

**a**. The reading of **K** (*yad etāni rasā trīṇi*) is most likely corrupt, although it is hard to explain the two extra syllables. A nom. sg. f. of *rasā-* would be out of context, and a nom. pl. n. ***rasā*(*ni*) is impossible because the stem *rása-* is masculine. The presence of variants with an °*r*° sound in **O** (*etrāni* **V71** *etrā* **JM$_3$**) can easily be explained as anticipation of the cluster *tr* from *trīṇi*, and therefore have no relation to the reading of **K**. Note that this error only occurs in **O$^B$**.

**17.27.4**

sarvān eva *puṇyāṁl lokān ava rundhe sarvāś ca devatā ya evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti ||

He secures truly all the pleasant places and [the favour of] all the deities, he who, being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox.

sarvān eva] **O** sarvānyeva puṇyeva **K** • *puṇyāṁl lokān ava] puṇyāllokānava **K Ma Ja V122 Pac Mā** puṇyalokānava **V71** puṇyālokānnava **JM$_3$** puṇyākonava **Ji$_4$** • rundhe] **O** rundhe | **K** • devatā] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** devr̥tā **Pa$_c$** • ya evaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ya[.]yevaṃ **Ji$_4$** ekaṃ **K** • vidvān anaḍuho] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vidvān, naḍuho **V122** vidvānananaḍuho **Ji$_4$** vidvānaḍrāho **K** • ||] || 27 ru 4 || **Ma Ja Pa$_c$ Mā** || ru || 27 || **V122** || 27 || **Ji$_4$ V71** | 27 ru 5 || **JM$_3$** Z phaśca 1 Z **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *puṇyāllom̐kānava** with a misplaced *anunāsika*, which must be a misprint.

As regards the semantics expressed by the lexeme *ava-rudh-*, 'to obtain, to secure', it might be helpful to note that this lexeme alternates with the roots *āp-* and *aś-*, as can be seen from ŚS 9.5.22ab, *áparimitam evá yajñám āpnóty áparimitaṃ lokám áva runddhe* |, "An unlimited offering does he obtain, an unlimited world does he take possession of" (Whitney), and AB 1.6.3, *sarveṣāṃ chandasāṃ vīryam avarunddhe*, *sarveṣāṃ chandasāṃ vīryam aśnute*, "The strength of all the meters he wins, the strengths of all the meters he attains" (Keith). The meaning 'to obtain, to secure'

is common to the AV and the Brāhmaṇas, but it is unattested in the RV, where the only occurrence of this lexeme carries a more literal meaning, close to that of the co-occurring lexeme *ni-rudh-*: RV 10.28.10, *suparṇá itthā́ nakhám ā́ siṣāyā́varuddhaḥ paripádaṃ ná siṃháḥ | niruddhā́ś cin mahiṣás tarṣyā́vān godhā́ tásmā ayáthaṃ karṣad etá*t ||, "The eagle caught its talon just so, like a lion entrapped into a snare. The buffalo also got trapped, when it was thirsty. The monitor-lizard plowed this way for him" (J-B). The semantic development from a literal 'hold down, entrap' to a figurative 'secure for oneself, obtain' is easily conceivable. Note that although the lexeme *ava-rudh-* is on the whole quite rare, it is frequent in the Vrātyakāṇḍa, in particular in paragraphs ŚS 15.11 and 13 (~ PS 18.37, 38) which describe the merits that a host can gain (*ava-rudh-*) if they provide proper hospitality to a wandering Vrātya. On this lexeme, see also Kulikov 2012: 200f.

The idiom *devatā* (acc. pl.) *ava-rudh-* is not infrequent (I find it in KS, TS, JB, BŚS, etc.), but its meaning is not completely clear to me. In his translation of the TS, Keith renders it with 'to win the gods': e.g. TS 6.3.7.3.2, *śīrṣatá evá yajñásya yájamānaḥ sárvā devátā áva runddhe*, "Verily the sacrificer at the beginning of the sacrifice wins all the gods" (Keith). Perhaps we should assume "wins the deities over" or "secures [the favour of] all the deities".

The action of undertaking/practising an observance (*vrata*) is commonly expressed with *vratam car-*. Other phrases used are *anu-car*, (*anu-*)*sac-*, *anv-i*, *rakṣ-*, *pā-*, and *dhṛ-* (Lubin 2001: 566, referring to Hacker 1973). The phrase *vratam bhṛ-* is rare and unusual.[13] That the root *bhṛ-* is employed here cannot be accidental, but must contribute to an intentional metaphor: in PS 17.34.1 below, Indra's observance is deemed "heavy" (*guru*), which is the reason why Indra needs to resort to the help of the draft-ox, the animal that is most accustomed to hauling heavy burdens. The observance is heavy because it aims at getting a hold of the *vajra*, but the *vajra* itself is difficult to hold (*dhṛ-*): cf. my comment on PS 17.30 and the refrain *sa nādhārayat*. Compare also the epithet *viśvabhṛ́t-* in the Anaḍutsūkta (see Apendix II): ŚS 4.11.5cd (~ PS 3.25.4cd), *yó viśvajíd viśvabhṛ́d viśvákarmā gharmáṃ no brūta yatamáś cátuṣpāt* |, "He who wins everything, bears everything, works everything: do tell us about the four-footed *gharmá* pot". The intentional use of the special idiom *vratam bhṛ-* also explains the interpolation of *bibhrat* in PS 3.25.3c (see my comment *ad loc.* in Appendix II).

13 In fact, it seems to be attested only in this text, and once in GB 2.3.9bb. Bloomfield (1899: 120) describes GB 2.9 as follows: "Section 9 presents a legendary explanation of the sound *hiṃ* (Vait 20.15, 16), being written in good archaic Brāhmaṇa-language [in fn. 2 p. 121 he cites the sigmatic aorist *adrāg* as an example], and deriving some interesting illustrations from everyday life. A closely similar passage has not been found". Because of the obscure language, it is not easy to summarise the content: the text gives the impression of being a patchwork of different bits of exegesis with regard to the use of the sound *hiṅ* in ritual practice, each mini-section not necessarily related to the rest. The last mini-section (which also concludes the whole section) reads as follows: GB 2.3.9bb–cc, *atho khalv āhur eko vai prajāpater vratam bibharti gaur eva, tad ubhaye paśava upajīvanti ye ca grāmyā ye cāraṇyā iti* ||, "Now, listen (*khalu*), they say: 'only one (*ekaḥ*) bears the observance of Prajāpati, a bovine really; both kinds (*ubhaye*) live upon that (? *tad upajīvanti*) for the sake of cattle (? dat.), those who are domestic and those who are wild.'" It is interesting that the expression *vratam bhṛ-* is used here in relation to a so-called *prajāpater vratam*, as we find this expression in the second section of the Anaḍutsūkta, which deals with the Twelve Nights of the midwinter celebrations (see Appendix II).

## Kāṇḍikā 28

### 17.28.1

a tam ādatta
b tam ud aiṅgayat
c tam upāmimīta
d pra harāṇīti ||

He (Indra) took it (the *vajra*),
he brandished it,
he weighed it out,
[saying] "I will strike with it!"

ādatta tam] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ādanta tam **Pa$_c$** ādattavatam **K** • ud aiṅgayat tam] udaiṅgayattam **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ V122 Pa$_c$ V71** udaiṅgayatam **Mā** uṛyaiṅgayattam **JM$_3$** udīśayattam **K** • upāmimīta] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** upāmimāta **Pa$_c$** upām upeti | **K** • pra harāṇīti] **O** prabharāṇīti **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **Ji$_4$ K**

The general meaning of this portion is to illustrate how Indra's attempts at handling the *vajra* fail. Indeed, in the next lines it is said that the *vajra* slips from Indra's hands (17.28.2) and falls into the sea in the form of a lightning bolt (17.28.3–5). His inability to wield the *vajra* is precisely the reason why Indra decides to perform an observance (17.28.6). The aim of his observance is to acquire the power that is necessary to wield the *vajra*.

Looking at this portion more closely, we can interpret it in two ways in light of the rest of the kāṇḍikā. Near the end of the kāṇḍikā, after Indra has completed his observance, we learn that he is finally able to take the *vajra* and rest it on his arm joint: PS 17.28.29, *tam ṛksāmābhyām ādatta yajuṣā yajñena gāyatreṇa vāmadevyena ca* ||, "He (Indra/the *vr*a*tin*) took it (the *vajra*) with the *ṛk* verses and the *sāman* chants, with the *yajus* ritual injunctions, with the ritual worship, with the Gāyatrī recitation, and with the Vāmadevya chant," and PS 17.28.31, *tam ādatta taṃ paruṣy ādhatta*, "He (Indra) took it (the *vajra*); he put it on [his arm's] joint". The verbal form used, *tam ādatta*, is the same in both lines. However, we might wonder whether the two occurrences mean the exact same thing or whether we should interpret them in different ways. The question is whether in our line Indra actually takes, brandishes, and weighs out the *vajra* as he does in the end, and only fails at striking with it (while in the end, after picking up the *vajra*, he rests it on his arm), or whether he is even able to properly pick up and brandish the *vajra*. We thus have two options:

1) We can interpret the first *tam ādatta* in our line as an unsuccessful attempt, and clearly distinguish it from the second *tam ādatta*, which is a successful attempt. We can do this if we interpret the verbal forms in our line as *imperfecta de conatu*, and translate with "He (Indra) tried to take it (the *vajra*), he tried to brandish it, he tried to weigh it out [saying] 'I will strike with it!'"—only to let it slip, as is told in the next line. Indeed, this semantic nuance is not infrequently found in

Vedic, especially in case the action expresses a failed attempt. Compare the famous MS version of the legend of Yama's death (MS 1.5.12: 81.2–5), according to which the gods create the night so that Yamī can get over her grief; the gods do so only after failing to comfort her otherwise: *té devā́ yamyā́ yamám <u>ápābruvan</u> tā́ṁ yád ápr̥chant sā́bravīt | adyā́mr̥téti tè 'bruvan ná vā́ iyám imám itthā́ṃ mr̥syate rā́trīṁ sr̥jāmahā íti* |, "The gods tried[14] [in vain] to make Yamī get over Yama (lit. the gods talked [or rather: tried in vain to talk] Yama away from Yamī). When they asked her, she said: 'He just died today!' They said: 'She is not forgetting about him in this way. Let us create the night'" (my transl.).

2) We can interpret the two occurrences as both indicating successful attempts. Accordingly, in both cases Indra did pick up (and here also brandished, weighed out) the *vajra*. In the first case, however, when he attempts to strike with it, he fails: the *vajra* slips from his hands. In the second case, instead, he rests it firmly on his arm.

Both interpretations seem possible to me. In 17.28.28 (within this kāṇḍikā), it is said that he who is succesful with the observance extinguishes (*śamayati*) the *apasmitaṃ*, the fiery effect of the lightning bolt; in 17.34.1, it is said that the observance (and perhaps by extension the *vajra*) is too heavy (*guru*). Both the *vajra*'s fiery sharpness (cf. also *tigmavīryaṃ* in 17.27.2) and its heavy weight (which is the reason why the draft-ox is then asked for help) can be adduced as reasons why Indra fails at wielding it. But it is hard to use one or the other detail as an argument in favour of or against the fact that he wasn't even able to pick it up, or that he simply dropped it while striking with it.

I translate the imperfects merely with simple past forms, but a more nuanced "tried to" could also be acceptable.

**17.28.2**

a so [']sya hastād amucyata
b daivo vajraḥ
c kṣuraḥ paviḥ *sahasrabhr̥ṣṭir divispr̥śaḥ ||

It (the *vajra*) slipped from his (Indra's) hand:
divine is the *vajra*;
sharp is the thousand-spiked rim of the [*vajra*] touching the sky.

so [']sya] sosya **[O]** somya **K** • amucyata] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 V71 JM$_3$** amucyata | **Ji$_4$** amucyataṃ **Pa$_c$** amucyate **Mā** amucyata | **K** • vajraḥ] **O** vajra<u>ḥ</u> **K** • kṣuraḥ paviḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** kṣuraḥ | paviḥ **Pa$_c$** kṣurapavaris **K** • *sahasrabhr̥ṣṭir] sahasrapr̥ṣṭir **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$** sahasr̥ṣṭir **Ji$_4$** sahasraṣṭir **Mā** sahasrapṛr **V71** sahasrapr̥ṣṭar **JM$_3$** • divispr̥śaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** davispruśaḥ **V71** divaspr̥śaḥ **K Ji$_4$** • || **[O]** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *sosya* in **a**, *kṣurapaviḥ*$^+$ and *sahasrapr̥ṣṭir* in **c**.

On the intransitive (non-passive) meaning of the *ya*-formations of the root *muc*-, see Kulikov 2012: 421.

On the sharpness of the *vajra*, see my notes on PS 17.27.2 above. Bhattacharya's emendation to *kṣurapaviḥ*$^+$ does not seem necessary. The compound *kṣurápavi*- is indeed attested in ŚS 12.5.20 ~ PS 16.142.4, ŚS 12.5.55 ~ PS 16.146.3, but if we accept Bhattacharya's emendation, we have to take both $^+$*kṣurapaviḥ* and **sahasrabhr̥ṣṭir* as adjectives of *vajraḥ*, which then makes it difficult to interpret *divaspr̥śaḥ* (unless we assume that the latter is also a nom. sg. m., however

14 Lanman (1884[1996]: 393) translates, "The gods sought to console Yamī for the loss of Yama."

from an unattested *a*-stem *divispṛśa*-, and not a genitive from the athematic stem *divispṛ́ś*-).

Bhattacharya adopts *sahasrapṛṣṭir*. Comparison between the two traditions seems to suggest that this must have indeed been the reading of ***G**. However, this would be a *hapax legomenon* ('thousand-ribbed'?), whereas it seems obvious that the line must originally have contained the compound *sahásrabhṛṣṭi*-, 'thousand-spiked', which is a common epithet of the *vajra*, attested in RV, AV, MS, etc.; see Rau 1973: 41 fn. 58 for references. Rau (ibid.) mentions other, similar epithets as well: *tribhṛṣṭi*- (JB), *cáturbhṛṣṭi*- (AV), *śatábhṛṣṭi*- (TS), and *bhṛṣṭimánt*- (found in JB, but also in RV 1.52.15c, and not mentioned by Rau). I emend accordingly, although I take it as an epithet of the *vajra*'s rim (*paviḥ*). The error must have been caused by anticipation of the cluster *spṛś* in the following word, *divispṛśaḥ*. This might have occurred during the period of oral transmission preceding ***G**. Compare also the epithet *śatáparvan*- and Av. *satafštāna*-, 'with a hundred knobs' (see Schlerath 1975: 501).

Compare also ŚS 12.5.66, *vájreṇa śatáparvaṇā tīkṣṇéna kṣurábhṛṣṭinā*, "With a thunderbolt hundred-jointed, sharp, razor-pronged" (Whitney).

The compound *divispṛ́ś*-, 'touching the sky', is always athematic. It occurs three times in PS (never in ŚS); once in our line; once with the variant *divaspṛś* in PS 1.107.1 (the parallel at RV 10.168.1 has the stem *divispṛ́ś*-), where it refers to the wind; and in PS 12.9.7b, where it qualifies a cow's yearling. In RV it appears 15 times: often as an epithet for a variety of gods (the Aśvins in 1.22.2; Indra and Vāyu in 1.23.2; Mitra and Varuṇa in 1.137.1; Indra and Vāyu's chariot in 4.46.4; Soma in 9.11.4, 9.86.14), and frequently qualifies Agni (5.13.2, 10.88.1; Agni's radiance in 5.11.1) or the sacrifice in the fire (1.142.8, 2.41.20, 8.101.9, 10.36.6; the smoke rising from the offering in the fire in 7.16.3)—clearly referring to the idea that the oblation is transferred from the fire to the heaven. Thus, it never specifically refers to the *vajra* or its rim. It is possible that we find it in our line because the *vajra*, the thunderbolt, is intended as a form of Agni. These epithets, indeed, as well as the following lines (3–5), clearly identify the *vajra* mace with the lightning bolt.

At any rate, a thematic *divispṛśa*- is never found. Therefore, I take our *divispṛśaḥ* as a genitive governed by *paviḥ*, and implying *vajrasya*, 'of the [*vajra*] touching the sky'.

If the idea of 'touching the sky' is especially connected with that of the oblation travelling from the fire on earth up towards heaven, the idea of the lightning bolt touching the sky can perhaps be reconciled with the image of the pillar of fire that bursts out of the *gharmá* pot and is conceived as an inverted lightning bolt travelling towards heaven, symbolising the initiate's (social or spiritual) ascension. On this topic, see Appendix II §3.2, 3.3.

**17.28.3**

sa *saṃśiñjāno [']tiṣṭhad dhariharā bhavann $^{+}$etad $^{+}$ṛ̥chan ||

It kept on making a [sizzling, crackling] noise as it collided [with the sea], blazing up, hitting down there.

*saṃśiñjāno [']tiṣṭhad] siṃsiñjānotiṣṭhad **Ja Ma** saṃsaṃjānotiṣṭhad **Mā** saṃsiṃjānotiṣṭhad **V71 V122** saṃsijānotiṣṭhad **JM$_3$ Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** siṁ̃ñcatiṣṭhad **K** • dhariharā bhavann] **Ja Ji$_4$** dhariharāmabhavann **Ma Pa$_c$** dhariharāṃbhavann **V122** dhariharābhavaṃn **Mā V71 JM$_3$** dharuttarābhavany **K** • $^{+}$etad $^{+}$ṛchan] etaṛ̥schaṃ **K** eyaditsan **Ja V122 Mā V71 JM$_3$** ejaditsan **Ma Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** • ||] **Ma Ja V122 Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** | **Mā Ji$_4$** *om.* **K**

Bhattacharya writes **saṃsiñcānotiṣṭhaddhariharābhavannejaditsan* ||.

Bhattacharya's conjecture **saṃsiñcāno*, presumably a pres. ptc. mid. from *saṃ-sic*- 'to pour together', 'to found, cast metal'(see my comment on 17.27.1 above) is grammatically impossible

(we would rather expect a passive *saṃsicyamāno*) and semantically implausible.

In my view, our line is a describing the *vajra* as it falls into the sea (cf. the next lines) in the form of a lightning bolt, and comprises three syntagms. The first syntagm involves sound: the root intended must be *śiñj-*, and I propose to emend to **saṃśiñjāno [']tiṣṭhad*., the nom. m. sg. of a pres. ptc. middle in periphrastic construction with the 3sg. impf. of *sthā-*, used as an auxiliary expressing a continuous action. On these participial periphrastic constructions, see WG p. 394f. §1074–1075.[15]

Note that the rare root *śiñj-*, always used in the middle voice, is employed in Dīrghatamas's famous Riddle Hymn, RV 1.164 (on which see Appendix II §3), in particular in stanza 29, which describes the central moment of the Pravargya/Gharma ritual, when the *gharmá* or *mahāvīra* pot, filled with boiling ghee, bursts into a pillar of fire after the Adhvaryu has poured milk into it. There, the pot makes a sound (*śiṅkte* < *śiñj-*) and is likened to lightning bolt (*vidyút bhávantī*): *ayáṃ sá śiṅkte yéna gaúr abhī́vṛtā, mímāti māyúṃ dhvasánāv ádhi śritá́ | sá́ cittíbhir ní hí cakā́ra mártyaṃ, vidyúd bhávantī práti vavrím auhata* ||, "This [the pot] hums—that by which the cow is enclosed. She bellows her bellow, resting upon the smoky (fire). Because she has put down (what is) mortal with the sound 'chit-chit', becoming lightning, she pushed away her covering" (J-B). Cf. Houben's (2000b: 506)'s translation: "This one [the pot] is humming, by which the cow (the milk) is enveloped. She (the milk) lows a lowing (when she is) placed on the sparkling (fire). She with her crackling has indeed put down the mortal. Transforming herself to lightning, she pushed back her covering." Since both this and our text describe a lightning bolt, it seems attractive to also read a form of the root *śiñj-* in our line. The correspondence between the two passages is even more remarkable when we consider that, in the Anaḍutsūkta, the draft-ox is equated with the *gharmá* pot (see Appendix II).

As far as the beginning of the word is concerned, the reading of **K**, *siṁ̀*, and that of the oldest **O** mss. (**Ma**, **Ja**), namely *siṃ*, might be a corruption of the reduplication syllable of an intensive **śiṃśiñjāno* (or even **śeṃśiñjāno*?). Accepting this solution would require the emendation of the dental sibiliant *s* into a palatal sibilant *ś*.

However, the root *śiñj-* is also attested with the preverb *sám*. In two occurrences, the lexeme *saṃ-śiñj-* appears to convey the idea of producing a noise by collision (KEWA III p. 335: 'stößt klingend zusammen'); in particular, it indicates the sound produced by two colliding sacrificial spoons.

The first passage is ŚB 11.4.2–12 (on the Agnihotra): *athā́taḥ srucórādā́nasya* […] *itthám evá kuryāt ubhā́bhyām evá pāṇíbhyām juhúm parigṛ́hyopabhṛ́ty adhinídadhyāt, tásya nòpamīmāṃsà̀sti, tát paśavyám āyuṣyáṃ, té ásaṃśiñjayann ā́dadīta, yát saṃśiñjáyed áyogakṣemo yájamānam ṛchét, tásmād ásaṃśiñjayann ā́dadīta*, "1. Now, then, as to the taking up of the two offering-spoons […]. 2. Let him rather do it in this way;—having taken the Juhu with both hands, let him lay it down on the *upabhṛt*; there is no question about this: it is good for (securing) cattle and life. Let him take them up without clinking them together,—were he to let them clink together, insecurity of property would befall the Sacrificer: let him, therefore, take them up without clinking them together" (Eggeling).

Similarly, ĀpŚS 2.13.6 (on the Full and New-moon sacrifices) reads: *na ca saṃśiñjayati nābhideśe ca srucau dhārayati*, "Er läßt die beiden Löffel nicht klingend zusammenstoßen und hält sie in der Höhe des Nabels" (Caland).

Therefore, it seems that we should interpret our **saṃśiñjāno* as describing the sound produced by the lightning bolt as it collides with the sea; the next lines (PS 17.28.4–5), in fact, describes how the lightning bolt, entering the sea, burns it and makes the sea water undrinkable. A shrill, sizzling, crackling sound might be expected, such as the *cittí-*, 'chit-chit' (J-B) or 'crackling' (Houben), of RV 1.164.29c (*cittíbhir*).

However, the quality of the sound expressed by the root *śiñj-* is not so clear. The dull sound

15 It is of course not impossible to take the imperfect *atiṣṭhad* in the literal sense of 'it stood up'. This might describe the thunderbolt's vertical position as it falls into the sea.

of two wooden ladles colliding is not so obviously comparable to the loud noise of a lightning bolt, nor to the sizzling sound of sea water being burned by a lightning bolt. Even if we consider the root *śiñj-* as originally onomatopeic in form, we cannot imagine that the ŚB and ĀpŚS authors intended the wooden ladles to produce a "sheenj" sound.

The only other RV occurrence of the root *śiñj-* is found in RV 6.75.3. Here it expresses the sound of a stretched bowstring, which is compared to the moan of a woman: *vakṣyántīvéd ā́ ganīganti kárṇam, priyáṃ sákhāyam pariṣasvajānā́ | yóṣeva śiṅkte vítatā́dhi dhánvañ, jyā́ iyáṃ sámane pāráyantī* ||, "Wie eine, die etwas sagen will, kommt sie immer wieder an das Ohr, den lieben Freund umarmend. Wie eine Frau quiekt sie am Bogen ausgespannt, diese Sehne, die in der Schlacht durchhilft" (Geldner). J-B translate as follows: "Like a maiden (with her anklets?) she jangles" (cf. EWAia II 635, 'schwirren, klingen, summen'), but nothing indicates that the sound intended is a metallic twang. In fact, the sound involved in this line is not the vibrating twang of a bowstring when it is released, but the low hum that it produces when stretched (*vi-tan-*), a sound anyone who has practised archery will be familiar with.

A third occurrence of *saṃ-śiñj-* seems to describe the noise made by mares and horses, also glossed with "*hiṅ*": ŚB 13.2.3.2 (on the Aśvamedha), *yájamānam áśvaḥ svargáṃ lokám áñjasā nayati, híṅkaroti, sā́maivá tád dhíṅkaroty, udgīthá evá sá*, *váḍavā úparundhanti sámśiñjate yáthopagātā́ra upagā́yanti tādṛ́k tád*, "The horse leads the Sacrificer rightly to the heavenly world. It makes 'Hiṅ', and thereby makes the Sāman itself to be 'hiṅ': this is the Udgītha. They pen up mares, (and on seeing the horse) they utter a shrill sound[16]: as when the chanters sing, such like is this" (Eggeling). Eggeling translates with "they utter a shrill sound", but this is not obvious.

In fact, the onomatopoeia "*hiṅ*" mentioned above is normally used for the bellowing of a cow (a 'moo'). This meaning is also found in the above-quoted Riddle Hymn, in which the hot *gharmá* pot is likened to a milch-cow who bellows (*mā-*, *mímāti māyúṃ*, RV 1.164.27b) and makes the sound "*hiṅ*" (*hiṅkṛ́ṇvatī́*, RV 1.164.27a; *híṅṅ akṛ́ṇon*, RV 1.164.28b).

Thus, one wonders whether the verb *śiṅkte* in RV 1.164.29a should be taken as expressing a low sound, a moo or hum (as rendered by J-B and Houben). This sound, then, would have to be distinguished from the crackling sound of the pillar of fire. Perhaps it is to be intended as expressing the low gurgling sound of the boiling ghee in the pot *before* the Adhvaryu pours the milk in and the pillar of fire bursts out, making the *cittí* sound. If this is the case, I wonder whether our *saṃśiñjāno* should also be intended as expressing a low sound: perhaps the rumbling of thunder. Thus, we could translate our **saṃśiñjāno ['] tiṣṭhad* as "it kept on rumbling [like thunder]".

Alternatively, we can consider *śiñj-* and *saṃ-śiñj-* as simply being general terms for 'to make a sound' and 'to make a sound by colliding', respectively, regardless of what sound is expressed, much like English *to clash*, 'to make a sound by colliding', which is also originally onomatopoeic, but does not simply describe a "clash" sound like that of cymbals. Indeed, in the preceding examples, we have found that these lexemes can express: 1) the thud of two colliding wooden ladles (ŚB 11.4.2–12, ĀpŚS 2.13.6); 2) the low sound of a stretched bowstring and 3) the moan of a woman (RV 6.75.3); 4) the neighing (*hiṅ*) of excited mares and 5) the chanting of Sāmavedins (ŚB 13.2.3.2); and 6) the bellowing of a cow (*hiṅ*) and the sound of the bursting pillar of fire (*cittí*, 'chit-chit, crackling' in RV 1.164.27–29). Thus, we can translate with 'it kept on making a noise as it collided [with the sea]', and we can specify 'a [sizzling, crackling] noise' because this would be the expected sound expected given the situation described, but not because *śiñj-* specifically expresses this kind of noise.

As I said above, our line comprises three syntagms. The second syntagm is *hariharā bhavan*. This is an expression of the kind that Karl Hoffmann called *"wiederholende" Onomatopoetika* (Hoffmann 1952 [=1975 35ff.]). These can be of different types, with both *kṛ-* or

16 Note that in this case no collision is involved. The preverb *sam* might be justified because there is a plurality of subjects, the mares, who all make a sound together.

*bhū*- as auxiliary verbs. Normally, acoustic onomatopoeia are expressed with the auxiliary *kṛ*-, whereas if *bhū*- is used, noise is to be excluded (ibid. p. 40). Werner Knobl (pers. comm.) believes that *hariharā* should be interpreted as being formed from the (non-verbal) root *ghar*-/*har*-, or GHAR[2]- in EWAia I 513, PIE **g*$^{wh}$*er*-, from which words like *háras*-, 'flame, fire', *ghṛṇá*-, 'heat', and also *gharmá*- 'warm, hot', 'boiler, pot' are derived. Thus it would mean 'heating up', or rather, in the case of the lightning bolt, 'flaring, blazing up'. I take the word *bhavan* as a pres. ptc. active, although it cannot be excluded that we should interpret it as an imperfect, *abhavan*, parallel to the preceding *atiṣṭhat*. This interpretation reinforces the symbolic connection between the lightning bolt (*vajra*/*vidyut*) and the heated *gharmá* pot mentioned above.

Lastly, I emend the third syntagm to $^{+}$*etad* $^{+}$*ṛchan*. I shall start by discussing the second of these two words. Bhattacharya refrains from emending it, and adopts the **O** reading, *itsan*. Instances where *ts* is mistaken for *(c)ch* are extremely common (see Kim, *Auss*., p. 19f. with references; sometimes possibly already in ***G**, on which see Griffiths 2009: lxiv). Comparison with **K** *śch* (on this akṣara, see the discussion in Griffiths, ibid.) might point to an original **ichan*. The **O** mss. preserve both *ejad* (**Ma Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$**) and *eyad* (**Ja V122** and the **O$^B$** mss.).[17] Bhattacharya adopts *ejad*, probably because it is an intelligible word in itself (it is also preserved in the more reliable and oldest ms., **Ma**), the pres. ptc. act. of the roor *ej*-, which often indicates an 'animal' or a 'living being' (cf. the formula *prāṇád éjat*, 'what breathes and what moves', i.e. 'living creatures', in PS 17.1.3c, and my comment *ad loc.* in Selva 2014). This might point to adopting *ejad **ichan*, which would mean something like "wishing/searching for a living creature (to hit?)". As I believe that this and the following lines are describing a lightning bolt striking the sea, and not any creature, I find this solution unsatisfactory. As for the reading *eyad*, it is unintelligible.[18] We should then turn to **K**, which reads *eta*. This could point to an original $^{+}$*etad* for ***G**. This pronoun could cataphorically indicate 'the following one', which will be mentioned in the following sentence, namely 'the sea', or it can adverbially mean 'over there, down there' (i.e. in the sea). In my view, this is the most preferable interpretation. However, I find a solution such as $^{+}$*etad* **ichan*, "wishing/searching for that one over there", just as implausible, because it would imply a sort of personality or intentionality on the part of the *vajra*/lightning bolt. On the other hand, **K** reads *ṛśchaṃ*. The spelling *śch* for *ch/cch* (**sk*) is common in **K** (for instance in PS 17.20.13, where the ms. reads *ruśchati* for *ṛchati*). We can then opt for a lighter emendation, namely $^{+}$*etad* $^{+}$*ṛchan*. I interpret the latter as a pres. ptc. act. from the root *ṛ*- (AR[2]), 'to move, hit, land on' (PIE **h$_1$er*-, cf. Gr. ἔρχομαι), and translate it as describing the lightning bolt striking down, hitting the sea, landing in the sea.

**17.28.4-5** ~ GB 1.2.21ii-ll

4a sa samudraṃ prāviśat
4b sa samudram adahat ||
5a tasmāt samudro *durgīr †apapid†
5b vaiśvānareṇa hi dagdhaḥ ||

It entered into the sea;
it burned the sea.
That's why the sea (i.e. the water of the sea) is hard to swallow, … :

17 The fact that *eyad* is found in both **O$^A$** and **O$^B$** might not be an argument for its antiquity in this case, because the akṣara *ya* [dʒa] is used, not *ẏa* [ja]; thus, *eyad* is homophonous with *ejad* and could be a corruption. In fact, if the original ***G** reading was **etad* (as I argue), it is easier to explain *ejad* from this (cf. PS 17.50.8b *ejat* < *etat*) rather than from *eyad*.

18 I am not aware of any instances in which the sea, although indeed constantly moving, is described as *ejat*-.

for it was burned by Vaiśvānara.

sa] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **Ji$_4$** • samudraṃ] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** samudra **V122** • prāviśat] **O** cāviśat **K** • sa] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **Ji$_4$ V122 K** • samudram adahat] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** samudraṃm adahat **Pa$_c$** samārddhadusandahat **K** • ||] **O** *om*. **K** • tasmāt] **O** tassās **K** • *durgīr †apapid†] durgirapapid [**Ja] [Ma]** durcārapapi **Ji$_4$**[19] durggirapapid **V122** durgarapapi **Pa$_c$** durgirapid **Mā** durgiṃra[.]pid **V71** durgirapa **JM3** durgarapiva **K** • dagdhaḥ] **K** jagdhaḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** yajagdhaḥ **JM$_3$** (cf. dagdhaḥ GB) • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** | **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K**

GB 1.2.21ii–ll (Gaastra 1919: 58–59)
(ii) […] sā samudraṃ prāviśat
(jj) sā samudram adahat
(kk) tasmāt samudro durgiravapi (variants: duṇiravavir **C**, dṛrgiratapi **E**)[20]
(ll) vaiśvānareṇa hi dagdhaḥ

Bhattacharya's edition reads *durgirapapid* and *jagdha*.

**5a**. Bhattacharya does not introduce any emendation, yet the text as he edits it does not seem understandable to me.

On the basis of the previous line, *sa samudram adahat*, "it burned the sea", I favour the reading of **K**, *dagdhaḥ*, 'burned' (also from *dah*-) over **O** *jagdha*, 'eaten' (from *jakṣ*-). The reading *dagdha* is also found in a parallel from the GB 1.2.21ll.[21] Since the *vajra* is a form of Agni, in

19 The cluster *rcā* in **Ji$_4$**'s reading is clearly a mistake for *rgi*.

20 **C** and **E** are two of the mss. used by Gaastra for his 1919 critical edition of GB. Descriptions can be found in Gaastra 1919: 3ff. All other mss. read *durgiravapi*, which Gaastra adopts.

21 The GB parallel does not seem related to our text content-wise. Bloomfield (1899: 112) reports that GB 1.2.18–21 deals with the "iron-shot horse at the Agnyādheya—This horse, one of the main requirements of the Agnyādheya (VaitS 5.11; ŚB 2.1.4.16), is produced by Vāc from frightful, gruesome waters"; after a mythical narration of attempts to pacify the horse, and a short section (GB 1.2.19) on the origin of the Brahman, Potṛ and Agnīdhra priests, in GB 1.2.20, "the text returns to the 'fire-footed' [*agnipada*] horse, explaining why it is called Agni Vaiśvānara in the mantra, a*gniṃ tvāhur vaiśvānaram* (VaitS 6.7; GB 1.2.21), and to differentiate it from Agni Jātavedas, the fire at the Agnyādhāna itself. The Brāhmaṇa (i.e. the Brahmanic religion) carried Agni Vaiśvānara; the latter created these worlds. Then Agni Jātavedas in rivalry determines to exhibit his billiancy and force, so that the Brāhmaṇa should carry him also. Jātavedas exhibits his virtues in four different ways; the last time 'he saw Virāj, the wife of the Brāhmaṇa' and gave her to him. Then the Brāhmaṇa built Agni Jātavedas; Agni Vaiśvānara on the other hand, became the horse which frightened the gods, and Brahman (the Brahman-priest) calmed it with the above-mentioned stanza, and with the five stanzas, VaitS 6.1. Next, anent VaitS 6.8, the chariot ([*āgnyādheyika*] *ratha*) is mounted. It originated from the sap (*rasa*) of the Brahman, went to the gods, frightened them, but sundry stanzas appeased it also. Finally reasons are given why cows and gold are presented to the Brahmans at the Cātuḥprāśya (VaitS 6.6.)". Bloomfield's account ends here, probably because the end of the section, which contains the lines parallel to our text, is rather obscure. It starts by explaining that what was not presented to the brahmins became the *āglā*. This *āglā* is the protagonist of a short myth. Unfortunately, the word is a hapax and its meaning is unknown. The section reads as follows: GB 1.2.21hh–zz: *yan nādhatta tad āglābhavat* (hh) *tad āglā bhūtvā sā samudraṃ prāviśat* (ii) *sā samudram adahat* (jj) *tasmāt samudro durgiravapi* (kk) *vaiśvānareṇa hi dagdhaḥ* (ll) *sā pṛthivīm udait* (mm) *sā pṛthivīṃ vyadahat* (nn) *sā devān āgacchat* (oo) *sā devān aheḍat* (pp) *te devā brahmāṇam upādhāvan* (qq) *sa naivāgāyan nānṛtyat* (rr) *saiṣāglā_* (ss) *eṣā kāruvidā nama* (tt) *taṃ vā etam āglāhataṃ santam āglāgṛdha ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇa* (uu) *parokṣapriyā iva hi devā bhavanti pratyakṣadviṣāḥ_* [ed. *-dviṣo*] (vv) *ya eṣa brāhmaṇo gāyano nartano vā bhavati tam āglāgṛdha ity ācakṣate* (ww) *tasmād brāhmaṇo naiva gāyen na nṛtyen māglāgṛdhaḥ syāt* (xx) *tasmād brāhmyaṃ pūrvaṃ havir aparaṃ prājāpatyaṃ* (yy) *prājāpatyād brāhmyam evottaram iti brāhmaṇam* (zz) || 21 ||, "What he did not donate, that became the *āglā* (hh). Then, having become the *āglā*, she entered the sea (gg). She burned the sea (jj). That's why the sea is *durgiravapi* (kk). For it was burned by Vaiśvānara (ll). She went up to the earth (mm). She burned up the earth (nn). She went to the gods (oo). She made the gods angry (pp). The gods resorted (*upa-dhāv*-) to the Brahman (qq). He

particular Agni Vaiśvānara, then it makes sense to me that, falling into the sea as a lightning bolt, it would burn (*dah*-) it, rather than eat (*jakṣ*-) it. It is true that the **O** reading might be considered the *lectio difficilior*, but it could simply have arisen out of an error mistaken for a metaphor.

The portion that Bhattacharya edits as *durgirapapid* is very problematic. First of all, it is not clear whether it contains two words or only one.

If it contains two words, we could emend the first to **durgīr*, 'hard/bad to swallow'.

The idea would be that because the sea was burned by Vaiśvānara, the sea water has become undrinkable. Thus, our text would provide an aitiological myth for why sea water is salty and undrinkable. In order to better understand this myth, it should be recalled that salt was conceived as a solid form of water produced by the influence of fire and heat, e.g. by evaporation (Slaje 2001: 30), and similar to other solid forms of water, such as hailstones, which were thought to be produced by the influence of the fire of lightning bolts because of their frequent simultaneous manifestation (Slaje 2001: 34). The lightning bolt was associated with salt also because of its association with the *íriṇa*. This is a depression in the ground that fills up with water during the rainy season (either because of subterranean currents or rainwater), and that dries up in the dry season, leaving a layer of salty ground on the surface, which can be broken to access a layer of brine underneath, often containing solid chunks of salt. These pits were important both for the well-being of animals, who were naturally attracted to the water's nutritious saline properties, as well as for people, who would use them as salt mines. As Falk (1986: 75ff., §2.1.1 and 2.1.1.1) showed, the Ṛgveda describes cattle running to the *íriṇa* pits to find a reinvigorating drink (RV 8.4.3); Indra going after the soma is likened to them (RV 7.98.1). They do so by following the lightning bolt (RV 7.69.6); this is presumably because these pits were often hit by lightning bolts, or simply because the sight of lightning bolts meant that the pits would fill up with rainwater. As Falk (1986: 82) points out, while for the farmer salty ground was synonymous with infertility, for the cattle herder it was a precious resource for strengthening his flock; for this reason, the salty surface of these pits—or artificial replicas modelled after the real pits, and similarly called *íriṇas* and identified with the *sabhā*—were also used by the Vrātyas as a board on which to play their ritual dice games. They did so precisely because—since the *íriṇas* attracted lightning bolts and rainfall, and were a source of strength for the cattle—they were connected with Indra. Falk (1986: 80) has collected evidence to show that the *íriṇa* was considered a place of heaven on earth, where heaven and earth can reunite after they have been separated. As such, salt was considered the flavour of the sky (ŚB 2.1.1,6). This idea is also based on the notion that saltiness is an intrinsic property of water (water surrounds the earth in the form of the *samudra*, comes to earth from the sky, and returns to the sky in an endless cycle), and that heaven itself was made of water (see Slaje 2001: 38). Salt was the decisive element that established this connection (see Falk 1986: 80), and the lightning bolt, evidence of Indra's presence stretching from heaven to earth, was the manifestation of this connection.

Thus, my conjecture involves an otherwise unattested Bahuvrīhi compound *durgir*-, 'hard to swallow' (with passive meaning), formed after the root noun *gir*-, 'swallowing', from the root *gṝ*- [2] (EWAiA GAR$^{i2}$, PIE **g$^{w}$erh$_3$*), 'to swallow'; cf. *garagír*-, 'who has swallowed poison, poisoned' (Br+), and *muhurgír*-, 'swallowing instantly' (in RV 1.128.3b said of Agni swallowing the earth). Emending is necessary, as the mss. preserve a short *i*, but a long vowel would be the regular outcome of a resonant plus laryngeal in a voiced context (PIIr. **CrHV* > Ved. *CīrV*). The passive

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did not sing, he did not dance (rr). He was that *āglā* (ss). She is Kāruvidā by name (tt). Secretly they say, 'That one (n.), although being afflicted by *āglā*, is in the greed for *āglā* (*āglāgṛdhe*, loc.? greedy for *āglā*?) (uu). For the gods are lovers of secrets and haters of publicity (vv). They say, 'That Brāhmaṇa who keeps singing or dancing, … (*āglāgṛdha*?) him' (ww). That's why should a Brāhmaṇa not sing, nor dance; may he not be *āglāgṛdha* (xx). That's why the first oblation is for the Brahman, the following is for Prajāpati (yy). The one for the Brahman truly is superior to the one for Prajāpati—so says the Brāhmaṇa (zz)." (my transl.). The overall impression is that the GB might simply have secondarily reused the PS wording because it related to Vaiśvānara. One is left to wonder why the GB would have re-utilised a line that was already corrupted, and what could it have made of it.

meaning is not problematic: compare *gá*, 'stepping, going', with *sugá*, 'good path (< easy to be walked on)' (RV), and *durgá*, 'inaccessible, unattainable' (AV).

As for the second word, the only intelligible reading among the attested ones is **Mā** *apid* (possibly supported by the other **O$^{B}$** mss., but see below). According to EWAia II 83–84, the word *apít-* belongs to the root PAY$^{i1}$, 'schwellen', and should thus be interpreted as built with a privative *a-* and a *-t* formant, *a-pí-t*, 'non-swelling'. Mayrhofer (following Geldner) translates with 'versiegt'. This word occurs only once, in RV 7.82.3, *ánv apā́ṃ khā́ny atṛntam ójasā sū́ryam airayataṃ diví prabhúm | índrāvaruṇā máde asya māyínó 'pinvatam apítaḥ pínvataṃ dhíyaḥ* ||, "You two drilled holes for the waters by your power, and you two raised the preeminent sun in heaven. O Indra and Varuṇa, in the exhilaration of cunning (Soma) you made the depleted (waters) swell. Make our insights swell!" (J-B).

However, it is not clear to me how we should interpret our line: "That's why the sea (sea water) is hard to swallow, and…"—dried out? Depleted? Non-swelling? The meaning 'dried out' might work if we imagine that the fiery lightning bolt has made the water evaporate, but given that Indra and its lightning bolts are normally associated with the swelling of the waters in the rainy season (as in the above-quoted RV verse), it seems odd that the lightning bolt would now be the source of the drying out of the waters. Perhaps the key to deciphering this reference is to be found in the connection with salt that I have outlined above.

However, there are philological arguments that make me hesitate in adopting this reading. If we look at the mss., we can divide them into three groups: **K** has a trisyllabic reading (*apiva*), the **O$^{A}$** mss. all have trisyllabic readings (*apapid* in **Ma**, **Ja**, **V122**; *apapi* in **Ji$_4$**, **Pa$_c$**), GB too has only trisyllabic readings (*avapi* in most mss.; *avavir*; *atapi*). Only **O$^{B}$** has disyllabic readings (*apid* in **Mā**, *apa* in **JM$_3$**, and *a[.]pid* in **V71**). Let us imagine that the **Mā** reading *apid* is original. Can the *va* in **K** *apiva* be a mere repetition of the beginning of the following word, *vaiśvānareṇa*? It seems unlikely: *apiva* is probably just an error for *avapi* (with inversion of the syllables). GB has *avapi* in most mss.: if the original reading were *apid*, where could this text have taken its trisyllabic reading from? If we imagine that **K** *apiva* actually underlies *apid* plus the repetition of *va-* of *vaiśvāreṇa*, we'd have to imagine that only **O$^{A}$** innovated by adding a syllable. This would mean that GB would have gotten its trisyllabic reading from **O$^{A}$**, which is unlikely. It seems more probable that both **K**, **O$^{A}$**, and GB derive their readings from a source that had a trisyllabic reading—**K** and GB perhaps from a source (***D**?) that specifically had *avapi*. If the PS written archetype had a trisyllabic reading, it is easy to explain **Mā** *apid* as an error from (***B**?) *apapid* with loss of an akṣara. Note that **V71** has an illegible akṣara, which might actually stand for this akṣara (*pa*), suggesting that *apid* is an error of **Mā** only, and not even of **O$^{B}$** as a whole. **JM$_3$** *apa* could be due to independent loss of the final syllable (*pi*).

All of this suggests that the PS written archetype had a reading with three syllables (*apapid* or *avapid*). This does not exclude the possibility that **Mā** *apid* corresponds by mere chance to the original reading, but adopting *apid* would imply the restoration of a stage of the text preceding the archetype. This is not impossible, but given that the reading *apid* is not convincing beyond doubt in the first place, I hesitate to adopt it.

We can then investigate possible trisyllabic solutions. It would be attractive to find a word that is based on the root *pā-*, 'to drink', with a similar passive meaning as *durgīr*, thus 'undrinkable, non-potable'.[22]

However, the lightest emendation, **apapir*, would yield the active meaning 'non-drinking', as the word *papí-* belongs to the so-called *cákri* type. This category of reduplicated *i*-stems has been studied by Grestenberger (2013), who has stressed that they are active, agentive formations (although they are not agent nouns, but rather "deverbal nominalizations, comparable in syntactic

22 One might venture to posit **apīd*, which, similarly to *apít*, would be built on a privative *a-* and a *-t* formant, but this time with the zero grade of the root *pā-*, 'to drink'. However, it would still be disyllabic.

behaviour to English ‘ACC-ing’ nominalizations”), often with iterative or intensive semantics, and properties similar to that of present participles, such as accusative-case objects and adverbial modification. The adjective *papí-*, ‘drinking’, in particular, is attested only once in RV 6.23.4b (to Indra), where it occurs together with two other formations of the same kind, *babhrí-,* ‘bearing’, and *dadí-*, ‘giving’. RV 6.23.4ab reads: *gántéyānti sávanā háribhyām babhrír vájram papíḥ sómaṃ dadír gā́ḥ* |, “Going to even such pressings as these with his two fallow bays, bearing his mace, drinking soma, giving cows” (J-B). As Grestenberger (2013: 275) remarks, the forms in this stanza “characterize habitual actions performed by Indra. As Tichy (1995: 237) points out, the reduplicated *i*-stems in this passage display the same syntactic behavior and are used in similar contexts as the root-accented agent nouns in *-tar-* (e.g., *dā́tar-* ‘(habitual) giver, donor’, etc.), which, according to her analysis, are likewise used to designate the agents of repeated, habitual actions. The perfect participles of *pā* ‘drink’ and *bhr̥* ‘carry’, on the other hand, have different semantics […]. The perfect indicative of *pā* is always resultative (Kümmel 2000: 308f.); the participle [*papivā́n*] always designates a perfective action”. Grestenberger (2013) has shown that the *cákri*-type forms’ supposed synchronic association with the perfect stem is only secondary. Thus, it does not even seem possible to perhaps regard our *papí-* as voice-indifferent on the basis of its relation to the perfect stem, nor to conceive a meaning ‘non-drinkable’ for a negated *a-papi-*, as this would instead mean ‘non-drinking’. To regard *á-papi-* as a Bahuvrīhi, ‘non-potable’, i.e. lit. ‘whose drinking is not there’, also seems unwarranted, as *cákri*-type formations do not seem to appear in Bahuvrīhis.

Heavier emendations, such as **apeyo*, for instance, would be hard to justify paleographically. It is also somewhat suspicious that we would have two words meaning the same thing next to each other, and one is led to wonder whether the second would be a gloss.

If we regarded this portion as comprising only one word, we would have to imagine a compound such as *durgira-papi-*, ‘drinker of what is hard to swallow’, in this case a predicate of the sea. This seems semantically rather contrived to me. Moreover, the stem *girá/gilá* is extremely rare, if not a nonce formation (Lubotsky 2002a on PS 5.33.9) or restricted to specific uses such as demon names (see my comment on *paṇḍugirā* in PS 17.12.3, above).

Perhaps one could think of something completely different, such as **adyāpi*, ‘even today’. Thus, *tasmād samudro *durgīr *adyāpi* would translate as “That’s why the sea is undrinkable even today”. However, it would be unusual to have such adverbs at the end of the sentence.

As no solution seems particularly preferable over the others, I adopt a trisyllabic reading between *cruces*.

**17.28.6**

a sa śakra ud akrāmat
b so [’]dhyāyad
c asau vajro
d asuraiḥ sampadya devās taṃ *rakṣanti
e vrataṃ carāṇīti
f sa vratam acarat ||

Śakra stepped up [to it];
he pondered:
“That one over there is the *vajra*!
The gods, having joined forces with the Asuras, protect it.
I will practise the observance.”
He practised the observance.

śakra ud akrāmat] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śakr(ā →)a ud akrāmat **V122** śakradakrāmat **Ji$_4$** śakra ud akrāt **Pa$_c$** śakrod akrāmat **K** • so [']dhyāyad asau] so dhyāẏad asau **O** so dhyāyatudiśo **K** • vaḷro] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vajre **Ji$_4$** vajrai **K** • asuraiḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ V122 Pa$_c$ V71** aśuraiḥ **Mā** a[x]suraiḥ **JM$_3$** āsurais **K** • sampadya] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** saṃpadya **V122** sapadya **K** • devās taṃ] devāṃs taṃ **Mā V71** devāṃs ta **Ja Ma V122 Pa$_c$ Nā JM3** devās **K** • *rakṣanti] rakṣati **O** ukṣur **K** • vrataṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vrajaṃ **Ji$_4$** vavraṃ **Pa$_c$** vataṃ **K** • carāṇīti] **[Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā]** carāṇī{vraṃ}ti **V71** (ra →)carāṇīti **JM$_3$** • acarat] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** a[.](*s.s.* →)carat **V122** acacarat **Ji$_4$** acārat **K** • ||] **[O]** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *devāstaṃ*$^{+}$ *rakṣa<u>ṭi</u>*.

**d**. On *sam-pad-*, 'to reach an agreement with, join forces with', see Bodewitz 2003.

Bhattacharya proposes the emendation **rakṣanti* in his comment, and I adopt it. Confusion between the akṣaras *ti* and *nti* distinguishing 3sg. and 3pl forms is extremely common, and the plural subject requires a verb in the plural.

This remains one of the most puzzling portions of the texts: what does it mean that the Asuras and Devas have joined forces? Why do they "protect" the *vajra*? Why are the Devas mentioned if Indra is himself a *devá*, and since, as stated below, he only practised the observance among the Asuras (PS 17.354a; cf. PāśS 4.10), and since, thanks to the same observance, he robbed the Asuras (PS 17.28.7c) and appropriated their merits (*iṣṭa*, *pūrta*) and magical power (*māyā*) (PS 17.35.4b; cf. PāśS 4.12–13)?

**ef**. On the semantics of the word *vrata*, see Schmidt 1958, Hacker 1973, and Lubin 2001. Lubin correctly shows that the gloss 'vow' is not precise, as *vrata* refers to "a regular course of ritual observance corresponding to the particular character of the deity to whom the rites pertain" (2001: 566). The stress is on the conduct that is adopted, the rule, rather than on a promise that is made.

The *vrata* that Indra is about to undertake is obviously the *anaḍuho vratam* first mentioned in PS 17.27.4 above.

**17.28.7**

a so [']ṇuḥ kr̥śo [']bhavat
b tasmād aṇuḥ kr̥śo vratacārī bhavaty
c aṇur hi kr̥śo bhūtvendro asurān $^{+}$apāvr̥ṅkta ||

He became lean, emaciated.
That's why one who practises the observance becomes lean, emaciated,
for having become lean, emaciated, Indra ripped the Asuras off.

so [']nuḥ] so nuḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** so ṇu(ḥ←*s.s.*) **V71** so nu **K** • kr̥śo [']bhavat] kr̥śo bhavat **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** kr̥śo bhavat, **Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • tasmād aṇuḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** tasmād aṇu **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • aṇur hi] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** anurdi **Ji$_4$** avaḷuyi **K** • bhūtvendro] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** bhū[x]tvendro **V71** • $^{+}$apāvr̥ṅkta] apāvr̥ṃkta **Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$ [Mā]? [Ma]? [Ja]?** apāvūṃkta **V122** apānavr̥ṃkta **Ji$_4$** upāvr̥ṅkta **K** • ||] **[O]** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *apāvr̥ṅkta* with no emendation sign. His apparatus does not explicitly report the readings of his **O** mss. However, all my **O** mss. feature an *anusvāra* in place of a velar nasal (as found in **K**), and I assume that this is indeed the reading preserved by the Odia tradition.

**a**. Interestingly, the observance described here seems to imply a regimen of fasting.

**c**. Note that the root *vṛj-*, used here with preverb *ápa*, is employed again later in the text with the preverb *sám* to describe the action by which Indra appropriates the Asura's merits (*iṣṭá- pūrtá-*). For a discussion on the semantics of this root, see Kulikov 2012: 247 and the bibliography provided there. Kulikov gives 'prepare, lay' as the basic meaning. As most of the occurrences involve the object *barhís*, 'sacrificial grass', the meaning would thus be 'spread out, lay, prepare' (cf. the quasi-technical *prá-vṛj-*, 'to lay (the *gharmá* pot) on the fire', 'to perform the Pravargya'). I follow GW's interpretation, according to which the basic meaning of this root is "etwas aus seiner ursprünglichen Richtung oder Lage (durch Biegen, Umwenden, Einsperren u. s. w.) herausbringen". Hence the attestations with *barhís* literally mean 'tear off a strand of grass with a circular motion of the hand, by clutching, turning and then pulling away', and then figuratively 'procure, prepare, lay out the grass for the sacrifice' (the lexeme *pra-vṛj-* may originally have indicated the action of using one's hand to make a pot rotate on its axis to expose all sides of it to a fire).

In the presence of the preverb *ápa*, the lexeme seems to acquire the figurative meaning 'to drive away': in ŚS 3.12.6 (~ PS 20.23.3), the beam (*vaṃśá*) of a house is asked to *apa-vṛj-* the enemies (*śátrūn*); in ŚS 13.2.9 (~ PS 18.21.3), *támas*, 'darkness', is dispelled by the Sun. A more literal meaning is perhaps found in ŚS 10.7.42 (to the Skambha; this verse has no PS parallel), *tantrám éke yuvatī́ vírūpe abhyākrā́maṃ vayataḥ ṣáṇmayūkham | prā́nyā́ tántūṃs tiráte dhatté anyā́ nā́pa vṛñjāte ná gamāto ántam* ||, "A certain pair of young girls of different looks approach the six-pegged web weaving it. One draws out the threads, the other lays them: they do not tear them off (*ápa-vṛj-*). They reach no end [in their labour]" (my transl.).

As regards the lexeme *sam-vṛj-*, which we encounter at PS 17.35.3 and 4, one may compare RV 7.3.4ab (describing Agni), *ví yásya te pṛthivyā́m pā́jo áśret tṛṣú yád ánnā samávṛkta jámbhaiḥ*, "You whose leading edge has spread out upon the earth when it has hungrily encircled its food with its jaw" (J-B). J-B's translation effectively conveys the circular motion expressed by the root *vṛj-*. The preverb *sám* expresses the completion of the circular motion. Figuratively, the phrase expresses both the action of 'enclosing' and the action of 'tearing off/away': in the verse above, Agni's flames encircle the conquered land like jaws that bite off a piece of food. The effect of the draft-ox *vrata* is no different: Indra 'rips the Asuras off', he 'tears away, wrests away' the Asuras' *iṣṭá pūrtá*. The preverb *sám* can perhaps express the completion of the circular motion, and thus, figuratively, that the object is wrested away completely: he 'completely wrests the *iṣṭá pūrtá* away from' the Asuras. It is conceivable that the lexeme *apa-vṛj-* is used here with a similar meaning: 'rip off', rather than the usual 'drive off' < 'tear away'.

Sympathetic magic also seems to be involved: just as the ascetic becomes lean and emaciated from fasting and deprivation, so too will the Asuras (the ascetic's detractors) be deprived of their religious merit.

Here, I have chosen to use the English expression 'to rip off (something from someone)' in an attempt to convey both the semantic nuance of 'tearing from' as well as the notion of illicitly depriving someone of a possession (the English expression is mostly used with 'money' as the object, but here 'acquired merit' can somehow be intended as 'religious currency'). The choice of an idiom in translation is intentional, as the use of *vṛj-* here most certainly represents Vrātya/Pāśupata jargon.

**17.28.8–25**

8 sa parameṣṭhinam upādhāvat ||
9 sa prajāpatim upādhāvat ||
10 sa viṣṇum upādhāvat ||
11 sa gṛ̊hapatim upādhāvat ||
12 sa virājam upādhāvat ||
13 sa svarājam upādhāvat ||
14 sa samrājam upādhāvat ||
15 so [’]horātre upadhāvat ||
16 so [’]rdhamāsān upādhāvat ||
17 sa māsān upādhāvat ||
18 sa ṛ̊tūn upādhāvat ||
19 sa ārtavān upādhāvat ||
20 sa ṛ̊ṣīn upādhāvat ||
21 sa ārṣeyān upādhāvat ||
22 so [’]ṅgirasa upādhāvat ||
23 sa āṅgirasān upādhāvat ||
24 so atharvaṇa upādhāvat ||
25 sa ātharvaṇān upādhāvat ||

He resorted to Parameṣṭhin.
He resorted to Prajāpati.
He resorted to Viṣṇu.
He resorted to the *gṛhapati*.
He resorted to the Virāj.
He resorted to the Svarāj.
He resorted to the Samrāj.
He resorted to the day and the night.
He resorted to the fortnights.
He resorted to the months.
He resorted to the seasons.
He resorted to the seasonal periods.
He resorted to the Ṛ̊ṣis.
He resorted to the Ārṣeyas.
He resorted to the Aṅgirases.
He resorted to the Āṅgirasas.
He resorted to the Atharvans.
He resorted to the Ātharvaṇas.

N.B. **K** omits 17.28.10 (Viṣṇu) and has 17.28.11 (*gṛhapati*) moved to the beginning of the list. **Mā** omits lines 22 and 24. In **Ji$_4$**, lines 10, 12, 14, and 22 are missing. In **JM$_3$**, line 18 is written in superscript above line 17 by a second hand. So as not to overburden the apparatus, I exceptionally do not report the *daṇḍas*. It should be implied that **K** omits all final double *daṇḍas*; **V71** has a single *daṇḍa* after 9, 10, 11, 18, 20, 22, 23, and 24; and **Ji4** has a single *daṇḍa* at the end of line 8. Elsewhere, all the **O** mss have double *daṇḍas* at the end of each line.

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parameṣṭhinam upādhāvat] **[O]** parameṣṭhivam upāṇvavat **K** • sa prajāpatim] **[O]** saṃ prajāpatim **K** • sa viṣṇum upādhāvat] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** sa viṣṇum upādhāvata **V71** *om*. **K Ji$_4$** • sa gṛhapatim upādhāvat] **[O]** sa gṛhapatim upākarastavat **K** • virājam] **[O]** virāpam **K** • svarājam] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** savrājam **Ji$_4$** surājam **K** •

samrājam upādhāvat] **[O]** samrāje | mupadhāvat **K** • so [']horātre] so horātre **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** sa so horātre **Ji$_4$** so [']rdhamāsān] so rdhamāsān **[O] K** • upādhāvat] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** upādhāvata **V71** • māsān] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** myāsan **Pa$_c$** māsen **K** • r̥tūn] **[O]** r̥ton **K** • sa ārtavān] **[O]** sāntavān **K** • ārṣeyān] ārṣeẏān **[O]** ākṣayān **K** • so [']ṅgirasa] so ṅgirasa **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** so aṅgirasa **V71** *om*. **Ji$_4$** • sa āṅgirasān] **[Ma] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** sa āṅgirasā **Ja** sa āṅgirasa **Ji$_4$** sāṅgirasān **K** • so atharvaṇa] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** so tharvaṇa **Ji$_4$** so atharvaṇam **K** • sa ātharvaṇān upādhāvat] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** sa ātharvaṇān upādhāvat **Mā** sātharvāṇān upādhāvad **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *sohorātre*, *sordhamāsān*, and *soṅgirasa*.

The reason why all these particular figures are listed here is not clear. We can at least distinguish various groups of items in this list. First, a group of deities: Parameṣṭhin, Prajāpati, and Viṣṇu; then *gr̥hapati*, which can indicate both the householder, or the leader of a Vrātya band—in fact, Viṣṇu himself is also regarded by BŚS 18.26 as the leader (the term used is *sthapati*, which alternates with *gr̥hapati* in Vrātya texts) of the Maruts' troop, on which Budha and his Vrātyas, as well as the Kuru boys and their leader, modelled their bands. The second group of items includes Virāj, Svarāj, and Samrāj, which may be technical terms for political authorities (see Proferes 2007: 117, *passim*). The third group is a list of time periods going from shortest to longest (vv. 15–19). On *ārtavá-,* see my comment on 17.22.2 above and 17.41.2 below. Finally, a fourth group includes categories of sages, in particular those related to the Atharvavedic tradition.

It should be noted that **K** has *gr̥hapati* as the first item in the list. This might suggest that this term in particular had a special importance. The members of the warrior brotherhoods aimed at reaching the status of householders, who could benefit from those privileges (a wife, wealth, cattle, the possibility to acquire merit) from which the warriors (either because they were still too young, or because they belonged to marginalised categories) were excluded (on this dynamic, see Appendices I and II). Thus, the householders were the main victims of the cattle raids. In Appendices I and II, I propose to interpret the draft-ox observance—with its raids for religious merit, as well as the ascetics' practice of wandering for alms—as a reinterpretation of the warrior brotherhoods' cattle raids and house-to-house begging parades at midwinter. Thus, a first hypothesis could be that the list in our text describes the wandering of Indra (as a model of the *anaḍudvratins*) among various kinds of householders, with the aim of siphoning their power. In fact, in the following lines, we will see a dynamic that resembles the *pāśupatavratins*' observance: Indra gets chased by various figures who speak ill of him and threaten him. Nevertheless, he remains calm and, by doing so, he appropriates their merit.

However, as I have said above, *gr̥hapati* can also mean 'the leader of a warrior brotherhood' rather than 'householder'. It may be useful to recall that upon forming a brotherhood—thus, at the beginning of their observance—the members choose a leader (*gr̥hapati*/*sthapati*) who would act as Rudra, vehicle of the secret knowledge that comes from the dead ancestors and the world of the wilderness, protector and reliable repository of the booty collected from expeditions (cf. Candotti & Pontillo 2015: 180ff., 204; Falk 1986: *passim*; Kershaw 2000: 240ff.). Thus, the *gr̥hapati* intended here would be a protective figure, rather than the victim of Indra's observance. Accordingly, we could also interpret the other items in our list as protecting deities who take the side of the *vratin*/Indra. Indeed, the lexeme *upa-dhāv-* most often means 'to resort to for help', rather than simply 'run by, run near', and it is also the expression used in PS 17.34.2 when Indra resorts to the draft-ox: *so [']naḍvāham upādhāvat*. This would explain why Viṣṇu is mentioned: because he is also a Vrātya leader (*sthapati*), at least according to the legend reported in BŚS 18.26 (I cite this episode in Appendix I; note that **K**, however, does not have the Viṣṇu line at all). It would also make sense that the Atharvanic tradition, represented by the groups of sages mentioned in the last few lines, is on the side of the *vratin*. Parameṣṭhin and Prajāpati are also mentioned elsewhere in our text and in the Anaḍutsūkta: PS 17.43.1 = PS 3.25.14 states that the bull is Indra by his strength,

and Parameṣṭhin by his observance (*indro balenāsi parameṣṭhī vratena* …), and PS 17.43.3 remarks: *indro [']sīndrasya rūpam asi prajāpatir asi parameṣṭhy asi* ||, "You are Indra, you are Indra's form, you are Prajāpati, you are Parameṣṭhin." In the ŚS version of the Anaḍutsūkta, we find a prose passage inserted after the first section of the hymn, whose first line reads: *índro rūpéṇāgnír váhena prajā́patiḥ parameṣṭhī́ virā́ṭ* |, "He is Indra by [his] form, he is Agni by means of [his] withers; [He is] Prajāpati, Parameṣṭhin, Virāj". This suggests that by resorting (*upa-dhāv-*) to the items in the list, Indra/the *vratin* identifies with them, acquires their power, and places himself in the tradition within which the secret knowledge of the *anaḍudvrata* has been taught.

**17.28.26**

a *viśve devā marudgaṇās tam anv *avādravan
b somaḥ prathamo [']thendrāgnī ||

The All-gods accompanied by the troops of Maruts ran along with him:
Soma first, then Indrāgni.

*viśve devā] viśvān devā **K Mā V71 JM$_3$** viśvān devān **Ma V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** viśvāṃ devānu **Ja** viśvan denān **Nā** • marudgaṇās] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** rudgaṇās **Ji$_4$** marudgaṇās **Pa$_c$** • anv *avādravan] anvavādravaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** anvavāṃ | dravaṃ **V122** anvavāṃdravaṃ **Ji$_4$** anvavāhavaṃ **Nā** andasāndavaṃ **K** • somaḥ] **[O]** stoma **K** • prathamo [']thendrāgnī] prathamo thendrāgnī **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** prathamo thendrāṇī **Ji$_4$** prathamam athendrāgnī **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *viśvān devān marudgaṇā́s* and then *prathamothendrāgnī* ||.

**a**. The main philological problem with this line is to makes sense of the acc.pl. *viśvān* next to the nom.pl. *marudgaṇās*, considering that the mss. preserve both an acc.pl. *devān* and a nom.pl. *devā*. The main interpretative problem is whether we should consider the deities mentioned here as supporters of Indra (and thus translate *tam anv avādravan* as "ran along with him"), or as the same figures who in the next line speak ill of Indra and threaten him, and from whom he robs merit (and thus, whether we should translate as "they chased after him", construing the verb inimically).

Bhattacharya proposes to read three acc.pl. forms, *viśvān devān marudgaṇān* | (the latter word would actually have to be a conjecture, **marudgaṇān*), supplying (or implying) an extra *upādhāvat*. This sentence would thus be the last item in the preceding list, and would translate as "[he ran] to all the gods (or the All-gods) and the troops of Maruts (or accompanied by the troops of Maruts)". The following sentence would begin with *tam*.

There are two problems with this proposal: all the lines in the list begin with *sa*, which would be missing here. Secondly, not only do we need a conjecture (**marudgaṇān*), but we also need to assume that the verb *upādhāvat* was lost in transmission. It would not be difficult to explain *marudgaṇās* by positing the loss of *anusvāra* from an original acc.pl. *marudgaṇāṃs* in sandhi before *t*-, but this idea becomes useless if in our scenario the original line contained the verb *upādhāvat*. We would have to imagine that the verb was never there (nor a punctuation mark!). We could imagine that the *viśvān devān marudgaṇān*, with neither *sa* nor the verb, was a sort of exclamation closing the preceding list, in fact a coda of 17.28.25: "He ran to the Ātharvaṇas, to the All-gods accompanied by the troops of Maruts". However, this seems stylistically improbable to me, and is not supported by the punctuation preserved in the **O** mss.

If we like the idea of supplying a verb (and possibly an initial **sa*), we might alternatively consider reading [**sa*] *viśvān devān* [*upādhāvat* ||], and take the nom.pl. *marudgaṇās* as the subject of the following sentence: "[He ran] to all the gods (or to the All-gods). The troops of Maruts ran

after him...” Or, alternatively, reading it together with 17.28.25: “He ran to the Ātharvaṇas, to all the gods. The troops of Maruts ran after him…”. This solution avoids resorting to emending *marudgaṇās*, but shares the remaining problems.

As is often the case, it is not easy to decide whether the *víśva- devá-* intended here are the ‘All-gods’ or ‘all the gods’, but it is not uncommon to find this formula at the end of lists, perhaps to imply that all the unmentioned deities should also be included. In light of this consideration, Bhattacharya’s hypothesis must be taken seriously despite all the problems.

However, it is also possible that there is a shift of scenery between lines 25 and 26. The long list in 8 to 25 suggests a first stage of the observance, perhaps a ritual, perhaps an initiation, perhaps involving a period of wandering around, during which the *vratin* resorts to (*upa-dhav-*) various authorities to acquire power. These authorities seem to be on the *vratin*’s side. Similarly, Indra will seek help (*upa-dhav-*) from the draft-ox in 17.34.2 to acquire the power necessary to finally bear the heavy observance. This “positive” relationship between the *vratin*/Indra and the various entities he resorts to is clearly expressed by the lexeme *upa-dhav-*. On the contrary, in 27–28, someone different appears to be hostile to the *vratin*/Indra: they speak ill of him and threaten him; he endures this censure and, in this way, he ‘rips them off’ of their merits. This is clearly the same dynamic, transposed to mythological form, that we find in the *pāśupatavrata* (both PāśS 4.10 and PS 17.35.4 mention that Indra first performed the observance *asureṣu*, then the *vratins* perform it *manuṣyeṣu*). The provocative observance causes indignation, which explains why the gods chase after him in our line. If we identify the deities mentioned in our line with those who threaten Indra in the following lines, we can dismiss our attempts at connecting our line with the preceding list.

However, it would be very strange if the All-gods and the Maruts (the latter also often serve as the model of the Vrātyas: we shall once again recall BŚS 18.26) were to be considered enemies of Indra here. We then have a third possibility: the deities here neither belong to those whom Indra resorts to (in the preceding list), nor are the same deities who speak ill of him (in the next line). Rather, these are the fellow members of Indra’s warrior brotherhood/ascetic community, who join him in his endeavour (this would be the sense of *tam anu avādravan*). The lexeme (*anv-*)*ava-dru-* is not attested elsewhere, but we find *sam-ava-dru-* in ŚB 13.4.4.6 (*samavadrútya*). This passage describes how phlegm ran from Prajāpati’s body after his vital breaths had left: *prajā́pateḥ prāṇéṣū́tkrānteṣu śárīraṃ śváyitum adhriyata tásya yáḥ śleṣmā́sīt sá sārdháṃ samavadrútya madhyató nastá údabhinatsá eṣá vánaspátir abhavad rájjudālas tásmāt sá śleṣmaṇā́ḥ śleṣmáṇo hí samábhavat ténaivaìnaṃ*, “When Prajāpati’s vital airs had gone out of him, his body began to swell; and what phlegm there was in it that flowed together and burst forth from inside through the nose, and it became this tree, the *rájjudāla*, whence it is viscid, for it originated from phlegm” (Eggeling). It seems to me that sense of the preverb *sam* here fulfils a role that is close to that of our *anu*; it expesses the fact that the action is carried out by an agent together with other agents: the phlegm ran (*ava-dru-*) out of Prajāpati’s body together (*sam*) with the vital breaths. In our line, the action of running is performed by the deities along (*anu*) with Indra. The ŚB parallel also suggests that there is no reason to interpret *ava-dru-* as an inimical action—hence, my interpretation of our *tam anv avādravan* as “they run along with him”, i.e. “they joined him”.

This would also free us from the problem of having to explain the following inconsistency: it is mentioned multiple times that Indra performed the observance among the Asuras (i.e., that the Asuras are the victims who get robbed of their merit), but if the deities mentioned in our line were also the subjects of the following lines, then Indra would be stealing merit from them; but the All-gods, Maruts, Soma, and Indrāgni can hardly be classified as Asuras.

How do we emend the line then? Both **K** and $\mathbf{O}^{\mathbf{B}}$ preserve *devā*. It is true that when the two Odia sub-branches are so clearly divided, $\mathbf{O}^{\mathbf{A}}$ usually preserves the oldest reading; however, given the agreement between **K** and $\mathbf{O}^{\mathbf{B}}$, it is not inconceivable that an error might have occurred in $\mathbf{O}^{\mathbf{A}}$, namely the insertion of a nasal or *anusvāra* after *devā*. This could have been caused by the following *m-*, which might have nasalised the final *-ā* of *devā*. It is perhaps possible that the accusative *viśvān* (preserved as such in both branches) is not original, but due to a sort of

perseveration, caused by the repetition of accusatives in the preceding list. This mistake must have happened in the period of oral transmission preceding the written archetype. What was the original reading then? Both **viśve devā* and **viśvadevā* (nom. pl.) are possible, although I would opt for the former, at least because such a formula occurs once in PS 8.12.2b, *viśve devā marudgaṇāḥ* |. The sequence *viśve devā marutaḥ* is also a frequent collocation (PS 1.13.2d ~ ŚS 2.29.5d; PS 3.1.4b ~ ŚS 3.4.4b; PS 19.14.15c ~ ŚS 6.93.3b; PS 19.43.11a ~ ŚS 6.64.2a; PS 20.7.1b ~ ŚS 7.24.1b; PS 20.16.8c), whereas I find no relevant occurrence with *viśvádeva-*. Notably, when the three words occur together in a sentence, they are all in grammatical agreement (I have found no occurrence, even outside the AV, of a sentence in which the three words appear inflected in different cases). In conclusion, this scenario seems more probable to me than having to supply both **sa* and **upādhāvat*.

**b**. One last matter deserves attention, namely the dual *indrāgnī*. If the subject of our line is Indra, the paradigmatic *vratin*, how can he joined by "Indra and Agni"? On the one hand, it is perhaps conceivable that the text as we see it today is the result of a patchwork of different sources, which resulted in inconsistencies. However, the mention of Indrāgnī next to Indra may not necessarily have been a problem for the Vedic mind: dual deities indicated by the so-called "Götterdvandvas" "were generally speaking considered to be from the ritual point of view equivalent to single deities" (Gonda 1974: 13), as such they represent a theological reality that is distinct from that of the individual members of the compound, and can appear in enumerations of gods side by side with one of their component members. Examples can be found in Gonda 1974: 13; on Indrāgnī in particular, see ibid. p. 271ff., and on offerings to Indrāgnī as as single unit, see especially p. 284ff. Schlerath 1975: 503–504, while discussing Indrāgnī and the *vajra*, points out a particular verse in which this dual deity is explicitly identified with the Aśvins, namely RV 1.109.4: *yuvā́bhyāṃ devī́ dhiṣáṇā mádāyéndrāgnī sómam uśatī́ sunoti | tā́v aśvinā bhadrahastā supāṇī́ ā́ dhāvatam mádhunā pr̥̄ktám apsú* ||, "For you two, o lndra and Agni, for your exhilaration, the goddess, the Holy Place, eagerly presses the soma. You two, o Asvins, with your auspicious hands and lovely palms—rinse it with honey, infuse it in the waters" (J-B).

**17.28.27**

a tam *upāmantrayantāpuṇyayā vācā krūrayā ca
b haniṣyāmas tvā ⁺vittvā †(na)cetsyāmonacatamiṣyasīti†
c so [']śāmyat⁺ ||

Him, they (i.e. the Asuras) called near with a harsh and rude speech:
"We are going to beat you, having found …"
He remained calm.

tam *upāmantrayantāpuṇyayā] tamupāmantraẏantu puṇyaẏā **Ma Ja V122** tamupāmantaẏantu puṇyaẏā **Ji$_4$** tamupāmantraẏantu puṇyaṃẏā **Pa$_c$** tamasāmantraẏantu puṇyaẏā **Mā** tamasāmantraẏantu puṇyāẏā **JM$_3$** tamasāma(ndra→*s.s.*)ntraẏantu puṇyaẏā **V71** tamupāmantrayante puṇyayā **K** • krūrayā] **K** krūraẏā **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** krūruẏā **JM$_3$** • ca] **[O]** vācā **K** • haniṣyāmas tvā ] **[Ma] Ja V122 Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** haniṣyāsyāmas tvā **Mā** hanisyomā **Ji$_4$** hahiṣyāsas ā **K** • ⁺vittvā] vitvā **[Ma] Ji$_4$ V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vistvā **Ja** vi[x]tvā **Pa$_c$** vitnya (=Barret *vs*. vitrya Bhatt.) **K** • †(na)cetsyāmo†] cetsyāmo **[Ma]? JM$_3$** cetsyāmo **Ja** vitvā (re→)cesyāmo ˡ **V122** *om* **Ji$_4$** retsyāso **Pa$_c$** cetsāmo **Mā V71** na theṣāmo **K** • †nacatamiṣyasīti†] **[Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** catamiṣyasīti **Ja** pacāmeniṣyasīti **K** • so [']śāmyat⁺] sobaśāmyat **K** somāmyaẏat **Ma Ja** sosamyaẏat **V122** sosāmyaẏat **Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** sosāmvaẏat **Mā** somamyaẏat **V71** somāmva(mya?)ẏat **JM$_3$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K**

GB 1.2.21c[23]
(c) *so 'śāmyat*

Bhattacharya's edition reads: *tamupāmantrayantāpuṇyayā* vācā krūrayā ca haniṣyāmastvā vittvā* ceṣyāmo*$^{+}$ *na ca tamiṣyasīti* $^{+}$*sośāmyat*$^{+}$ ||.

According to our interpretation of the previous line, the gods mentioned there do not function as the subject of this line too. We need to assume a change in scenery here. Because it is said multiple times that Indra practises the observance in order to rob the Asuras (17.28.7c, 17.35.4a; PāśS 4.10), and since the victims of the observance are those who speak ill of the *vratin*, the implied subjects in this portion must be the Asuras. Remarkably, there is no anaphoric *sá* or other element in the first line that might suggest that we should identify the subject of this line with the subject of the previous lines—only *tam*, which must refer to Indra.

**b**. The second line must contain the Asuras' harsh speech, as indicated by the final *iti*. I shall first offer a critical review of Bhattacharya's emendations (which I hope to have interpreted correctly, given that Bhattacharya does not provide a translation), as I am not able to propose any better solutions.

The first verb, *haniṣyāmas*, is clearly a 1pl. future, expressing immediate future and intention, and the enclitic *tvā* must be its object. This makes for a first complete sentence.

If we accept Bhattacharya's emendation *vittvā ceṣyāmo* (note that degemination of such dental clusters is the norm; see Griffiths 2009: lxv §O), the absolutive would be followed by two words, namely the conjunction *ca* (regularly occurring in second position) and a verbal form, possibly *iṣyāmas*, or instead by a single word, possibly *ceṣyāmas*.

The first solution would involve a 1pl. present from *iṣ*-, 'to send, to hurl', *iṣyāmas*, 'we hurl'. This form would be paralleled by the negated verb of the following sentence, where we read *na ca tam iṣyasi* (2sg. present), "and you do not hurl it (?)" (perhaps with a potential nuance, "and you cannot hurl it (?)"). Here the *vajra* is most likely intended by the object *tam*. We must assume that *iṣyāmas* also implies an object (*tam vajram*), although its omission is strange. The absolutive *vittvā* would also require an object, either Indra or the *vajra*. As the Asuras are previously said to guard (*rakṣ*-) the *vajra*, it would be strange if they needed to find it, so Indra is probably implied here. However, syntactically, the position of the absolutive might suggest that we should take it with the following verb ("And after finding [it], we hurl [it]", or maybe "And after finding [you], we hurl [it at you]").

As far as the content is concerned, according to this interpretation, the Asuras would be threatening to beat Indra, and reclaiming their prerogative of using the *vajra* (which they perhaps mean to use against Indra).

There are several problems with this solution: first of all, the missing objects. Secondly, it is stylistically and syntactically odd that the initial future is followed by two present forms. It is perhaps possible that the future is used here to convey immediacy of the Asuras' intention (i.e,. that they are determined to beat Indra in short order), whereas the present forms convey a more general

23 Just like the GB parallel of GB 17.28.4–5 above, this line belongs to the chapter on the 'fire-footed' (*agnipada*) horse (see footnote 21 above). At the end of section GB 1.2.20, it is said that the fiery horse came to the gods and scared them, but the Brahman priest pacified him with a series of stanzas: GB 1.2.20s–w, *sa devān āgacchat, sa devebhyo'nvātiṣṭhat, tasmād devā abibhayus, taṃ brahmaṇe prāyacchat, tam etayarcāśamayat* || 20 ||. Section GB 1.2.21 begins with the citation of these stanzas: PS 1.95.3 and the first five stanzas of hymn RV 1.163. The latter hymn is an *aśvastuti* (forming a pair with RV 1.162) ascribed to the sage Dīrghatamas, whom I have already mentioned in relation to the Riddle Hymn (RV 1.164) in my above comment on PS 17.28.3, and whom we will encounter again in Appendices I and II, as he is believed to have practised the observance of the bull, according to the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa II.74.46ff. (cited by Acharya 2013). After the pratīkas of these texts, GB reads: 1.2.21c–f, *so'śāmyat, tasmād aśvaḥ paśūnāṃ jighatsutamo bhavati, vaiśvānaro hy eṣa, tasmād agnipadam aśvaṃ brahmaṇe dadāti*, "He [the horse] became calm. That's why the horse is the hungriest of the domestic animals. Because that is Vaiśvānara. That's why he gives the Agnipada horse to the Brahman priest".

statement, a matter of fact (we use the *vajra*, you do not). A third problem regards the root *iṣ-*, 'to send'. Although this root does appear once with *vajra* as its object, in RV 4.17.3 (ab: *bhinád girím śávasā vájram iṣṇánn āviṣkr̥ṇvānáḥ sahasāná ójaḥ*, "He split the mountain, hurling his mace with his strength, revealing his power, displaying his might" (J-B)), it is certainly not the most common root employed to describe the action of hurling the *vajra* (in PS 17.28.1, above, we have *pra-hr̥*; other roots more commonly used are (*adhi-*)*as-*, (*upa-pra-*)*vr̥t-*, (*abhi-ava-*)*sr̥j-*; cf. e.g. Falk 1994a: 201, Rau 1973: 43 fn. 68). Moreover, in the quoted RV occurrence, we find a pres. ptc. of the 9th class nasal present of *iṣ-* (*iṣ-ṇá-*$^{ti}$), rather than a 4th cl. *ya* present (*íṣ-ya-*$^{ti}$) as we have in our line. The latter, in fact, is almost exclusively used in an idiom, *vā́cam iṣya-*$^{ti}$, 'to send speech, speak forth', or in the sense 'to impel' (e.g., when Indra sends forth the waters, *apā́m iṣ-*) (see Kulikov 2012: 524). Thus, to accept *iṣyāmo* and *iṣyasi* as meaning 'we hurl' and 'you hurl' is most certainly incorrect. Moreover, content-wise, this interpretation implies that the Asuras are aware of Indra's plan to steal the *vajra* from them, whereas the common people who run into a Pāśupata *vratin* are not supposed to know what he is doing.

It is of course possible to evaluate other solutions. We could consider splitting *vitvā* into *vi* (the preverb)[24] and *tvā* (a repeated enclitic object pronoun). However, a lexeme *vi-iṣ-* is not attested, nor it would be possible to have *ca* in third position (I find no instances of the sequence [X *tvā ca*], whereas [X *ca tvā*] is common).

We might consider the entire sequence *ceṣyāmo* as a verbal form (with or without the preverb *vi*). The form *ceṣyāmas* could be the 1pl. future of all the three *ci-* roots, CAY[1] (*ciketi*), CAY[2] (*cinoti*), and CAY[3] (*cayate*) (EWAia I 531–533). Of these, only the first two occur with the preverb *vi*. However, *vi-ciketi*, 'discern, investigate', is not semantically suitable to our line. Neither is *vi-cinoti*, 'divide, part', unless we consider a figurative sense such as 'segregate, pick out' (perhaps even 'single out, point at, i.e. expose'?), but we have to imagine that the Asuras are threatening Indra in some way, and this does not strike me as a credible threat (a more violent 'tear into pieces' does not seem to be expressed by this lexeme); maybe "we will separate you from the *vajra*/we will take the *vajra* away from you"? The meanings of the simplex forms *ciketi*, 'consider, observe', and *cinoti*, 'pile up, heap up', are also unsuitable. The semantics of the simplex *cayate* (CAY[3]), 'punish, take revenge, avenge, collect debts' might be suitable,[25] but this rare root (6x in RV), although transitive, is only attested in the middle. Alternatively, **O**'s reading, *cetsyāmo*, could be interpreted as a future based on *cit-* (or *vi-cit-*), but semantically this also seems unsuitable, as, again, we would expect a threat. A conjecture such as *vi tvā *cechāmo* (*ca_ichāmas*), "and we are looking for you!" is paleographically conceivable, but incurs the same problem, namely that the verb would be a present form (the fut. *eṣiṣyāmas* would require an extra syllable), and that the conjunction *ca* would be in an odd position.[26]

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24 Tmesis is also found in this text in 17.31.4, *pra patho devayānāṃ jānāti*., but the latter is a typical case of a main sentence preceding a *ya evaṃ vid-* phrase: in this type of sentence, the main verb is usually found in first position if it does not have any preverb; if there is a preverb, then the preverb is found in first position, while the verb takes the normal last position in the sentence. At any rate, *brāhmaṇa* exegesis portions with *ya evaṃ vid-* constructions are not really comparable with direct speech. Indeed, we do sometimes find tmesis in direct speech in Vedic prose, so our case would not be impossible for this reason.

25 Compare RV 1.190.5 (To Bṛhaspati), *yé tvā devosrikám mányamānāḥ pāpā́ bhadrám upajī́vanti pajrā́ḥ | ná dūḍhyè ánu dadāsi vāmám bṛ́haspate cáyasa ít píyārum* ||, "Those who are wicked and tough, who live off you who are good, taking you for a ruddy little bullock, o god to the evil-minded one you do not concede anything of value; you just punish the reviler, Bṛhaspati" (J-B); but also AB 2.7: *kīrtayed eva yo vai bhāginam bhāgān nudate, cayate vainaṃ, sa yadi vainaṃ na cayate 'tha putram atha pautraṃ, cayate tv evainam*, "He should make mention; if a man deprive one with a portion of his portion, he revenges himself on him, or if he does not revenge himself on him, then on his son, or his grandson, but he does revenge himself on him" (Keith). A future form would be preferable here to a present, and the meaning 'we will take revenge on you, we will make you pay' provided by CAY[3] could be suitable to our line, but again, the line would be lacking an object unless we assumed an unattested lexeme *vi-ci-*, *vi-cayate*, and read *vi tvā ceṣyāmo*.

26 It is also worth considering the adverb *céd* or *ná céd*, or a conditional use of the conjunction *ca*.

As for the third syntagm, we have the similar option of considering *tam iṣyasi* as two words or *tamiṣyasi* as one word, and then speculating about possible emendations on the basis of these two options. The word *tamiṣyasi* would be a 2sg. future from *tam*-. Again, a future form is preferable to the present *iṣyasi*, and a meaning like 'you will perish, you will faint, you will choke' might be conceivable. The problem is that the verb is negated by *na*,[27] which would make such a sentence a reassurance rather than a threat: "you will not perish"![28]

Another possibility would be to take the *tam* in the third syntagm as a corruption for *tvam*. This would be the subject of the final verb, and would emphatically mark the opposition between the second segment with a verb in the 1pl person, and the third syntagm with the same verb in the 2sg person. However, this observation does not take us very far either.

For lack of any attractive solutions, I enclose this portion between *cruces* (also highlighting **K**'s extra *na*).

**c**. The last sentence follows the Asuras' speech and describes Indra's reaction. It contains an imperfect based on the stem *śām-ya*-, 'to become calm', from the root *śam*$^{i}$-. Kulikov (2012: 618ff.), in discussing this root, proposes the emendation *so* ['])*śāmyat*$^{+}$, (ibid. fn. 1961), stressing that, although **K** *sobaśāmyat* could represent *sa upaśāmyat*—this is in fact how Barret emended our line—the **O** mss. rather point to the simplex. Bhattacharya too preferred the simplex. Both the simplex and the form with *upa*- could convey the same meaning, "he remained calm". I am inclined to agree with Kulikov and Bhattacharya, because indeed, the **O** mss. seem to show no trace of the preverb, whereas **K** *sobaśāmyat* could perhaps underlie *so aśāmyat*, with secondary insertion of a consonant in the hiatus.

**17.28.28**

a tasmād yo brahma $^{+}$vedotāpasmitaṃ śamayati
b dohayata *evainān ||

That's why he who knows the *bráhman* and extinguishes the burn caused by the flash (of the lightning bolt)/the burning shame caused by the laughter (of his detractors)—
he actually milks them (the Asuras/the detractors) out (i.e extracts the power/the merit from them)!

brahma] **[O]** vrahma **K** • $^{+}$vedotāpasmitaṃ] vedotāpassitaṁ̀ **K** vedotāpaspṛtaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$** vedotrapaspṛtaṃ **V122** vedo(//)tāpasvṛtaṃ **Pa$_c$** vedo apasmṛtaṃ **Mā** vedotāpasmṛtaṃ | **V71** vedotāpasmṛtaṃ **JM$_3$** • śamayati] **K** śamaẏati **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** śaya(//)ti **Ji$_4$** samaẏati **Mā V7**1 • dohayata *evainān] dohaẏata evaināṃ **[O]** dohedevainām, **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *vedotāpaspṛtaṃ* and *evainām*.

**a**. Kulikov (2012: 619 fn. 1961) treats this line while discussing the root *śam*$^{i}$-, and proposes the following text: *so* $^{+}$*'śāmyat; tasmād yo brahma vedotāpas sa taṁ̀ śamayati*. He translates as follows: "he became appeased; therefore the one who knows Brahma and the waters makes him appeased". Note that Kulikov reports the reading of **K** as *vedotāpas sa taṁ̀*, in place of the correct *vedotāpas si taṁ̀*, and therefore omits to mark **sa* as a conjecture. We should then read *tasmād yo brahma vedotāpas* (*veda_uta_apas*) **sa taṃ śamayati*, which I would translate with "That's why, if

27 Note that **K** features an extra *na* in the second syntagm, apparently negating the second verb as well.

28 Another option would be to edit *na ca* [*tam vajram* / *tena vajreṇa*] **yamiṣyasīti*, "and you will not hold [the *vajra*]", again imagining the Asuras reclaiming their prerogative to use the weapon that Indra wishes to acquire, but this is rather speculative. Emendations such as **śamiṣyasi*, or **gamiṣyasi* ('you will not go=escape'?) do not seem attractive.

one knows the *bráhman* and the Waters, he extinguishes it (the fire of the *vajra*)".

The root *śam*$^{i}$- is frequently used in the sense 'to extinguish (fire)' (or figuratively 'to appease, pacify' (a fiery god, Agni or Rudra); cf. e.g. ŚS 3.21.8cd (~ PS 3.12.8cd), *víśvān devā́n áṅgiraso havāmahe imáṃ kravyā́daṃ śamayantv agním* ||, "[…] all the gods, the Angirases do we call! Let them appease this flesh-eating fire" (Whitney), or ŚS 18.3.60f (~ PS 18.75.5f), *imáṃ sv àgníṃ śamaya* ||, "Kindly pacify thou this fire" (Whitney), as well as the frequent occurrences of the phrase *agneḥ śucaṃ śamayati* in MS and other texts. It might be that this line is stating that, by keeping his own self under control (*śam*$^{i}$-, present stem *śām-ya-*, in PS 17.28.27) despite being censured, the *vratin*/Indra quenches (*śam*$^{i}$-, causative stem *śam-aya-*) the fire of the thunderbolt (on the semantics of the different stems of *śam*$^{i}$-, see Kulikov 2012: 618ff. with references). We understand that the reason why Indra could not wield the *vajra* in line PS 17.28.2 was its unbearable heat, the same heat that burns the water of the sea as the *vajra* falls in it (PS 17.28.3–5). We might speculate that *bráhman* refers to the Atharvavedic knowledge, and that the Waters are invoked for their ability to quench fires.

A problem with the text proposed by Kulikov is that I find no other occurrence of the structure [ *ya-* obj$_1$ *veda_uta* obj$_2$ , *sa* … ]. Thus one may question whether this syntax would be natural at all.

Moreover, although it would seem natural that the relative pronoun *yo* be followed by the correlative *sa*, it is not easy to justify the conjecture **sa* based on the mss. readings. Both **O** and **K** would naturally point to some kind of consonant cluster.[29]

On the basis of **K** *apassitam*, we might correct the text to *apasmitaṃ* with a very light emendation (in fact, **O**$^{\mathbf{B}}$ *apasmr̥tam* could also support this emendation). The lexeme *apa-smay/smi-* is only found in two PS stanzas, belonging to a hymn on the healing powers of the Waters (PS 8.8). According to Kim (2014: 74), these two stanzas (8.8.4–5) are meant to heal burns: PS 8.8.4, *yad aṅgair* $^{+}$*apasismiṣe* $^{+}$*yac chīrṣṇā yac ca pr̥ṣṭibhiḥ | āpas tat sarvaṃ niṣ* $^{+}$*karan taṣṭā riṣṭam* **ivānaśa* ||, "Was du dir an den Gliedern, am Kopf und an der Rippen durch Lächeln Schaden zugefügt hast, all das sollen die Wasser [wieder] zurechtbringen, wie der Zimmermann einen Schaden in den Griff bekommen hat" (Kim); PS 8.8.5, *saṃ hr̥dayena hr̥dayam opaśena sam opaśaḥ | adbhir muñcāpasmitaṃ pārṣṇidyotaḥ sam etu me* ||, "Dein Herz soll mit meinem Herz zusammentreffen, deine Kopfbinde mit meiner Kopfbinde. Mache durch die Wasser das los, was durch Lächeln geschädigt wurde! Dein Fersensporn soll mit meinem zusammentreffen" (Kim).[30] Kim's interpretation is based on the observation that the language of the Vedas knows a metaphor (Kim calls it a "Synästhesie") that describes the manifestation of lightning bolts with the root *smay/smi-*, 'smile, laugh, be radiant, shine'. In particular, Kim (2014: 73–74) compares RV 1.168.8, *práti ṣṭobhanti síndhavaḥ pavíbhyo yád abhríyāṃ vā́cam udīráyanti | áva smayanta vidyútaḥ pr̥thivyā́m yádī ghr̥tám marútaḥ pruṣṇuvánti* ||, "The rivers sound in response to your wheel-rims, when they raise up the speech coming from the (storm) clouds. The lightning-flashes smile down on the earth, when the Maruts sprinkle ghee upon her" (J-B); and also PS 2.70.1, **apādyaud apātatanad* $^{+}$*apaskandya vadhed ahim | kalyāṇyā yathā* **smitaṃ śam u naḥ santu vidyutaḥ* ||, "Er (Parjanya) hat die Schlange weggeblitzt, er hat sie weggedonnert, und nachdem er sie hat wegspringen lassen, möge er sie erschlagen; wie das Lächeln eines lieblichen Mädchens, so sollen uns die Blitze wohl tun" (Zehnder).

Since our line also supposedly describes how Indra was able to extinguish the burning heat of the *vajra*/lightning bolt in order to wield it, it is attractive to consider that a similar metaphor may be in use here. Thus, *apasmitaṃ śamayati* would mean 'he quenches what has been "smiled down", i.e. damaged by a smile' > 'he extinguishes what has been burned by the flash of the lightning bolt',

29 PS 8.6.7c (See Kim 2014: 54–55) possibly preserves the only attestation of a lexeme *apa-spr̥-* (**O** *āpaspr̥ta iva*, **K** *āpasprg eva*), but the line is very corrupt, and hardly related to our line content-wise.

30 A similar healing spell is ŚS 6.24.2, *yán me akṣyór ādidyóta pā́rṣṇyoḥ prápadoś ca yát | ā́pas tát sárvaṃ níṣ karan bhiṣájāṃ súbhiṣaktamāḥ* |, "Whatever hath burnt (*ā-dyut*) in my eyes, in my heels, my front feet; may the waters remove all that—they of physicians the most excellent physicians" (Whitney).

i.e. ‘he heals the burning effect of the lightning bolt’. As I have shown above, the verb *śam*$^{i}$- can be used in the sense ‘to extinguish (a fire)/to appease (a fiery god, Agni, Rudra)’, so this interpretation seems entirely plausible.

Moreover, we know that our text must constantly be read on multiple levels: Indra needs to extinguish the fiery power of the *vajra*; Indra/the *vratin* needs [the draft-ox power] to “bear” the weight of the observance; the (Pāśupata) *vratin* needs to withstand the insults of the people who regard him as a madman because of his behaviour. It may be possible that *apasmitam* is not only the damage caused by the smile/flash of the lightning bolt, but also that caused by the laughter of the *vratin*’s detractors, i.e., the burning shame caused by the laughter of his detractors.[31]

**b**. As far as the second sentence is concerned, the pronoun *ena*- normally refers to something known or mentioned immediately before. A light emendation would be **evainān*, where *enān* would refer to the angry Asuras mentioned earlier in the text (and, on a different level of interpretation, the *vratin*’s detractors). We could perhaps interpret the verb *dohayate* as functioning as a synonym of *saṃ-vṛj*- (see my comment on 17.28.7c), indicating that the initiated person “milks out, extracts” the *iṣṭá- pūrtá*- from “them”, and by doing so, acquires the power symbolised by the *vajra*. The metaphor of ‘milking’ (*duh*-) is understandable on the grounds that the observance involves the imitation of the behaviour of bovines. Accordingly, in the Anaḍutsūkta it is said multiple times that the draft-ox (i.e. the *vratin*) ‘milks out’ various ‘milkings’ (*dóha*): ŚS 4.11.2 ~ PS 3.25.3; ŚS 4.11.12 ~ PS 3.25.9; ŚS 4.11.9 ~ PS 3.25.10; and especially ŚS 4.11.4 (~ PS 3.25.2) *anaḍvā́n duhe sukṛ́tasya loká … yajñáḥ páyo dákṣiṇā dóho asya*, “The draft-ox milks out for the world of merit … His milk is the ritual of worship, his milking is the priestly fee”, in which *yajñáḥ* and *dákṣiṇā* most likely correspond to *iṣṭá* and *pūrtá*, the two merit-worthy ingredients that a pious person stocks up for the afterlife (see my comment *ad loc.* in Appendix II and §3.3). The fact that the *vratins* are males who imitate bulls does not seem to prevent the poets from using this metaphor, to the point that even the draft-ox’s udder is mentioned in ŚS 4.11.4c ~ PS 3.25.2c, *parjányo dhā́rā marúta ū́dho asya*, “His streams [of milk] are Parjanya, his udder (!) is the Maruts”.

**17.28.29–30**

29 tam ṛ̥ksāmābhyām ādatta yajuṣā yajñena gāyatreṇa vāmadevyena ca ||
30a etad vā idaṃ sarvaṃ yad ṛ̥ksāme
30b etāv indrasya bāhū ||

He (Indra/the *vratin*) took it (the *vajra* / the merit) with the *ṛ̥k* verses and the *sāman* chants, with the *yajus* ritual injunctions, with the ritual worship, with the Gāyatrī recitation, and with the Vāmadevya Sāman.
These, the *ṛ̥k* verses and *sāman* chants, are everything here.
Those two are the two arms of Indra.

tam ṛ̥ksāmābhyām] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71** tam urkyāksa(ktha?)māmbhyām **Ji$_4$** tam ṛ̥ksāmābhyām **Pa$_c$** tam ṛksamābhyām **JM$_3$** tam ṛktasāmāthānyam **K** • ādatta] **K** uttabhihito **Ma Ja Nā** uttabhito **V122 Ji$_4$ Mā V71** uttabhito(bhato?) **JM$_3$** uttato **Pa$_c$** • yajuṣā] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yuḍuṣā **V122** • gāyatreṇa] gāẏatreṇa **[O]** gāyattreṇa **K** • vāmadevyena] **[Ma] [Ja] V122**

31 It would be theoretically possible to interpret *apasmitam* as the acc. sg. of a stem *apasmit*-, in which the second member, *smit*-, would be an agent noun based on *smay/smi*- with the -*t*-formant that is sometimes added to roots ending in a resonant (e.g., *bhṛ*- > *bhṛ̥t*-, *kṛ*- > *kṛ̥t*). Thus, *apasmit*- would be ‘one who smiles, laughs’, i.e. ‘[the lightning bolt] that flashes’ or ‘[the detractor] who laughs at’. This solution is attractive, but remains speculative, as the stem *smit*- is not attested. Since *apasmitam* is attested in PS 8.8.5 as a verbal noun, is seems more plausible that we also have a verbal noun in our text.

**Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** vāmad[x]evyena **V71** vāmaṇa vāmadaivyena **K** • ||] **[O]** | **K** • idaṃ sarvaṃ yad ṛksāme etāv] **[Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** idaṃ sarvaṃ yad ṛme etāv **Ja** idaṃ sarvaṃ yad ṛksame etāv **JM$_3$** idam atharvākśame tāv **K** • ||] **[O]** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *tamṛksāmābhyāmādatta*$^{+}$.

Bhattacharya marks *ādatta* as an emendation, but this is exactly **K**'s reading, so the plus sign is unnecessary. Remarkably, the **O** tradition preserves the verbal noun *uttabhito* from the lexeme *uttambh-* (*ut-stambh-*), 'prop up, support'. This might be semantically acceptable but syntactically unsuitable, as we would then not be able to explain the acc. *tam*. The **O** reading is most likely due to influence from PS 17.42.6 below: *ṛksāmābhyām uttabhito yajuṣā yajñena gāyatreṇa brahmaṇā prathita upariṣṭāt* ||, "He is upheld by the *ṛk* verses and the *sāman* chants; by the *yajus* ritual injunctions, by the ritual worship, by the Gāyatrī recitation, by the *bráhman* formula, he is made to thrive above." Note that the verbal form *ādatta* also occurs two lines below, in 17.28.31. This must be the same action intended here.

**17.28.31**

a tam ādatta
b taṃ paruṣy ādhatta ||

He (Indra) took it (the *vajra*);
he put it on [his arm] joint.

taṃ paruṣyādhatta] **[Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** taṃ paruṣvādhatta **Ma** taṃ paruṣādhatta **Ji$_4$** taṃ paruṣā(ṣī?)dadhatta **Pa$_c$** u(ta? u BARRET, ta BHATT.) barṣv ādhatte **K** • ||] **[O]** om. **K**

**b**. To understand the reference to the arm joint in this line and the following, it is useful to recall Indra's epithet *vájra-bāhu-*, 'with the *vajra* on his arm', which suggests that this heavy weapon, probably a huge mace, was carried with the whole forearm, possibly resting on the joint.

Compare 17.28.1 above, and see my comment *ad loc*.

**17.28.32**

a prajā vai samṛddhir akṣitiḥ
b paśavaḥ parūṃṣi ||

Success, imperishableness is offspring;
[Indra's] joints are the domestic animals.

Note that **K** features an interpolation. This starts with *prajām eva samṛddhim*, which is the beginning of the next line. After copying this part, the copyist must have eye-skipped back to the *akṣati* of our line and copied the rest a second time.

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samṛddhir akṣitiḥ] **[Ja] V122 Ji$_4$** samṛddhir akṣatiḥ **Ma Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** samṛddhim akṣati **K** • paśavaḥ parūṃṣi] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** paśavaḥ paruṃṣi **Mā V71** aśavaḥ parūṣi prajām eva samṛddhim akṣati paśavaḥ parūṣi **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V71** *om*. **K**

**a**. The collocation *samṛddhi- akṣiti-* occurs only in our text (here, at 17.28.33, and 17.37.4). It is not clear whether it should be intended as comprising two nouns ("success, imperishableness") or a noun and an adjective ("imperishable success"). The old adj. *ákṣiti-* occurs in RV as such only in the famous formula *ákṣiti śrávaḥ* (RV 1.40.4b=8.103.5b and 9.66.7c). The ŚS only knows the abstract noun *ákṣiti-*, 'imperishableness', from the single-line verse ŚS 18.4.27 (Funeral Hymn), *ákṣitiṃ bhū́yasīm* ||, "A more abundant inexhaustibleness" (Whitney), and from the following refrain: *prāṇāpānaú cákṣuḥ śrótram ákṣitiś ca kṣítiś ca yā́* |, "Breath-and-expiration, sight, hearing, indestructibleness and destruction […]" (Whitney), found in ŚS 11.7.25ab (~ PS 16.84.4ab) = 11.8.4ab (~ PS 16.85.4ab) = 11.8.26ab (~ 16.87.6ab). PS also has 14.6.1d, *akṣitir bhavatāt tvaṃ*, which Lopez translates with "Become imperishable!" (addressed to the Śataudanā cow), but which might well be interpreted as "Become imperishableness!" However, two further lines are also ambiguous: PS 16.72.4c, *svadhām ūrjam akṣitim ā juhomi*, "I offer *svadhā*, nourishment, imperishableness (?)/imperishable nourishment?" Similarly, PS 16.99.10c, *svadhām urjām akṣitiṃ maho asmai duhe*, "The great one milks out for him *svadhā*, nourishment, imperishableness/imperishable nourishment?" These last few lines seem to allow an adjectival interpretation, but we would have to admit that the PS has employed an adjective (*ákṣiti-*) that is otherwise only used in a rare and archaic RV formula. Therefore, I prefer to translate with 'imperishableness'.

**b**. The *paśavaḥ*, the domestic animals mentioned here, most likely represent the *vratins*. They perhaps even refer to the devotees of Pāśupati, the lord of cattle. They, as practitioners of the observance, i.e. as draft-oxen, bear the heat/power of the *vajra*, just like Indra's arm joint does (cf. 17.28.31 above).

**17.28.33**

prajām eva samṛddhim akṣitim ava rundhe ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

He secures truly offspring, [and hence] success, imperishableness, he who, (being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox).

prajām eva] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** prajām evaṃ **Ji$_4$** prajākai(/vau?)meva **Pa$_c$** • samṛddhim akṣitim ava] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ V71** samṛddhim akṣitima **Ji$_4$** samṛddhimava **Mā JM$_3$** samṛddhim akṣatim ava **K** • ya (…) ||] **[Mā]? [Ma]? [Ja]?** yaḥ || 28 || **V122 Pa$_c$** yaḥ || [~~2~~]28 || **Ji$_4$** ya || 28 || ru || **JM$_3$** [.]ya[.] 28 || ru || **V71** yaḥ Z phaścā 2 Z **K**

The abbreviation *ya(ḥ)* || found in the mss. implies a repetition of the refrain first found in 17.27.4 above.

## Kāṇḍikā 29

### 17.29.1–2

1 sa dikṣu praty atiṣṭhat ||
2 diśa evānu prati tiṣṭhati ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

He (Indra) took a firm standing in the Directions.
He takes a firm standing truly along the Directions, he who, (being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox).

sa dikṣu] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** sa dikṣuṣu **Ji$_4$** • atiṣṭhat] **[O]** atiṣṭhad **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K** • diśa evānu] **[O]** diśa evāṃ **K** • pratitiṣṭhati] **[O]** pratitiṣṭhatī **K** • ya (…) ||] **[Mā]? [Ma]? [Ja]?** yaḥ || 29 || ru || **Pa$_c$** yaḥ || 29 || **V122** yaḥ || **Ji$_4$** yaḥ || 29 || ru 2 || **V71 JM$_3$** yaḥ Z **K**

On the lexeme *prati-ṣṭhā-*, see Gonda 1954. Gonda notes that "the Brāhmaṇas abound in passages where man is said to be able to obtain a foundation in some power-substance or other, liable to be settled on some entity or other, if he succeeds in gaining the relevant wisdom or in performing the rites which are to that purpose" (ibid., p. 354 with examples).

On the one hand, we can interpret these lines as referring to the *vratin*'s desire to be able to "bear" the heavy burden of the observance. Taking a firm footing is necessary in order to lift up a burden: ŚB 2.1.4.26, *yó vā́ asyām ápratiṣṭhito bhārám udyáchati naìnaṃ śaknoty údyantuṃ sáṃ hainaṃ śr̥ṇāti*, "For he who wants to lift a load without having a firm footing on this (earth), cannot lift it; nay, it crushes him" (Eggeling). Moreover, in ŚB 1.1.1.18 (a passage in which the water used in the ritual is likened to the thunderbolt), it is said: *vájraṃ vā́ eṣá udyachati yò 'páḥ praṇáyati yó vā́ ápratiṣṭhito vájram udyáchati naìnaṃ śaknotyúdyantuṃ sáṃ hainaṃ śr̥ṇāti*, "Now he who brings forward the water, takes up a thunderbolt; but when he takes up the thunderbolt, he cannot do so unless he is firmly placed; for otherwise it destroys him" (Eggeling).

On the other hand, finding a firm footing (*prati-ṣṭhā-*) or a foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*) means acquiring sufficient economic means to find a place in society (see Appendix I). That the *anaḍudvrata* is useful for finding a *pratiṣṭhā* is also stated below, in PS 17.33.4, where Indra finds it after slaying Vr̥tra, and especially in PS 17.43.7–8, where it is also clarified what a *pratiṣṭhā* consists of: *prati *tiṣṭhati prajayā paśubhir gr̥hair dhanena ya evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti* ||, "He takes a firm standing with offspring, cattle, a homestead, wealth, he who, being initiated, 'bears' the observance of the draft-ox." See also PS 17.42.5.

In its adnominal (or postpositional) use, *ánu* takes the accusative (Delbrück 1888: 444, Macdonell 1910: 417), which is the case in PS 17.32.3, *eṣa vai sarvā anu prajāto dhriyate*, "This (the wind) having risen (lit. having been born) stays firm along all [the Directions]", and in 17.35.12, *dhruvam eva $^+$rtaṃ satyam anu prati tiṣṭhati ya* (…), "He gets a firm standing along this very firm truth and veracity, he who (…)". This second instance is particularly interesting because

*anu* occurs next to the verb *prati tiṣṭhati*. Clearly, *ánu* is used adnominally with the accusative here. As *ánu* strictly governs the acc., we certainly need to interpret *diśa* as sandhi for acc. pl. *diśas*, rather than loc. sg. *diśe*.

## Kāṇḍikā 30

### 17.30.1-4

1 sa viśvāṣāhy akramata ||
2 eṣā vai viśvāṣāḍ *yad evāsau ||
3 ete vai sarve puṇyā lokāḥ sarvāś ca devatāḥ sa nādhārayat ||
4 sarvān eva [+]puṇyāṃl lokān ava rundhe sarvāś ca devatā ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) || 30 ||

He (Indra) strode into [the domain of] Viśvāsah.
This, that very one up there (i.e. the sky), is Viśvāsah.
That is all the pleasant places and all the deities. He could not hold [it, i.e. the *vajra* in its Viśvāsah form/part].
He secures truly all the pleasant places and [the favour of] all the deities, he who, (being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox).

N.B. Lines 30.3 and 30.4 are missing in **K**.

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viśvāṣāhy] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** viśvāpāhy **Pa$_c$** viśvāmāhy **K** • akramata] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** akramat **Ji$_4$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **K V122 V71** • eṣā] **[O]** eṣa **K** • viśvāṣāḍ *yad] viśvāṣāḍyaur **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** viśvāṣāṛyaur **V122** viśvāṣāḍyor **Mā V71** viṣvāṣāṛyor **JM$_3$** viśvāṣātsaur **K** • evāsau] **[O]** evāmau **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V71** *om*. **K** • sarve] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** [~~puṇya~~]sarve **V122** sarvai **JM$_3$** *om*. **K** • puṇyā lokāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** puṇyā[~~H~~]llokāḥ **V122** *om*. **K** • sa nādhārayat] sa nādhāraẏat **[O]** *om*. **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V122 V71** *om*. **K** • sarvān] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** savān **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • puṇyāṁ̀l lokān ava] puṇyāllokān ava **Ma Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** puṇyāllokān va **Ja** puṇyālokān ava **V122 Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • ya (…) ||] yaḥ || 30 || ru || **[Ma] [Mā]** ẏaḥ || 30 || ru || **Pa$_c$** yaḥ | 30 | ru 4 | **Ja** yaḥ || 30 || 4 **V122** yaḥ || 30 || **Ji$_4$** yaḥ || 30 | ru 4 || **V71** yaḥ || 30 || ru 4 || **JM$_3$** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *eṣā vai viśvāṣā(ḍ)[+] ḍyaurevāsau* || in **2**, and *puṇyāllom̀kān ava rundhe* in **4**.

This kāṇḍikā opens a series of three in which it is said that Indra "strides into" (*kram*- + loc.) Viśvāsah (the present kāṇḍikā), Viśvānara (17.31), and Vaiśvānara (17.32), the three entities with which the *vajra* was equated in 17.27.2 above. After these three kāṇḍikās, a fourth one (17.33) follows, in which it is stated that Indra "strides into" Vr̥tra, who is then broken. Finally, in 17.34, Indra seeks help from the draft-ox (*upa-dhāv*-) and "strides into" his *vaha*. What do these expressions mean?

The construction *kram*- (middle) + loc., 'to stride into', is only found in our text and in PS 7.16 ~ ŚS 19.17 (For protection: to various gods), in which each of the ten lines starts with the

formula [ X *mā pātu* ], 'Let X protect me' (in which X is always a different deity: e.g., 7.16.1a, *agnir mā pātu*), and is followed by a refrain: *tasmin krame* $^{+}$*tasmiñ* $^{+}$*chraye tāṃ puraṃ praimi | sa mā rakṣatu sa mā gopāyatu tasmā ātmāṇaṃ pari dade svāhā* ||, "In him do I step, in him do I take refuge. To that stronghold do I go forth. Let him guard me, let him look after me. To him do I entrust myself, hail!" (Griffiths).

In this refrain, the idea of 'stepping into' a deity visualised as a stronghold (*puraṃ*) seems to convey the idea of 'to seek refuge by X' or 'to acquire X's protection'. Thus, I wonder whether the lexeme is used with a similar nuance in our text. In this and the next two kāṇḍikās, Indra would be resorting to the three forms of the *vajra* in order to acquire their power. This would also explain why, in 17.35.5, it is said that *so'naḍuho vahe [']kramata*, "He stepped into (onto?) the withers of the draft-ox", i.e., he sought protection under the withers, he acquired the power of the withers with which he will be able to "bear" (*bhṛ*-) the heavy (*guru*; cf. 17.34.1) observance and wield the *vajra*.

The only problem is that in this case, however, the phrase *sa vṛtre* [']*kramata* (in 17.33.1) would appear somewhat odd, as Indra does not seek refuge in Vṛtra, nor aims to acquire his power, but rather aims to slay him. One might venture to assume that this expression was inserted secondarily in 17.33, perhaps replacing a **sa *vṛtram *āgachat* (cf. 17.34.1), but this can hardly be proven.

We can of course take *kram*- + loc. in the literal sense of 'to stride, step into', perhaps 'to step into (someone's house or domain)'. Accordingly, Indra would first be stepping into the domain of Viśvāsah, i.e. the sky, which houses the sharp-rimmed top of the *vajra* (17.27.2b, *tigmavīrya*); secondly, into the domain of Viśvānara, i.e. the atmosphere and (celestial) ocean (in 17.31) (in 17.27.2a, this was equated with the *vajra* mace's body); and thirdly, into the domain of Vaiśvānara, i.e. the wind (in 17.32), the handle (*ārambhaṇa*) of the *vajra* according to 17.27.2c. Lastly, he steps into Vṛtra's domain (in 17.33).

Even if the phrase X(loc.) *akramata* does not mean "he sought protection by X; he sought to acquire the power of X", there is little doubt that Indra's aim is to get the *vajra*. Apparently he strides into three domains across which the *vajra* is stretched, as a lightning bolt descending from the sky down into the atmosphere. He must do so in his attempt to get a hold of it.

However, he fails. In 17.30, 31, and 32 we find the refrain *sa nādhārayat*, "he did not hold [it]", perhaps with a potential nuance "he could not hold [it]".[32] In accordance with my multi-layer interpretation, I take this last enigmatic phrase as indicating that he is not able to control the fiery power of the *vajra*, to wield the lightning bolt/mace, to bear the heavy vow, to withstand the detractors' censure. In each case, the text says that, however, one who is initiated (*ya evaṃ vidvān*) into the draft-ox *vrata* is able to do that. Later on, in fact, we will learn that Indra seeks help from the draft-ox (17.34.2), strides onto his withers (*vaha*, in 17.35.5), and is able to complete his observance.

This whole storyline is summarised in the Anaḍutsūkta at ŚS 4.11.7 (only ŚS) (see my comment in Appendix II), *índro rūpéṇāgnír váhena prajā́patiḥ parameṣṭhī́ virā́ṭ | viśvā́nare akramata vaiśvānaré akramatānadúhy akramata | só 'dṛṃhayata só 'dhārayata* ||, "He is Indra by [his] form, he is Agni by means of [his] withers, [he is] Prajāpati, Parameshthin, Virāj. He strode into Viśvānara, he strode into Vaiśvānara, he strode into the draft-ox. He made himself firm. He held his [*vajra*]." This verse focuses on how the *vratin*, after three steps, i.e. after approaching Viśvānara, Vaiśvānara, and the draft-ox—reference to Viśvāsah is missing—finally makes himself firm (*dṛṃh*-), and is able to hold (*dhṛ*-) the *vajra*. Our text instead illustrates each single episode (PS 17.30, 31, 32), seemingly focusing on how none of Indra's three attempts at holding (*dhṛ*-) the three forms/parts of the *vajra* are successful. Only in PS 17.34 will Indra resort (*upa-dhāv*-) to the draft-ox for help.

This brings us to another observation. If Indra has not yet acquired the *vajra* here, nor in 17.34, then these chapters cannot be placed chronologically after the ending of 17.28, where it was

32 On this form, see my comment on ŚS 4.11.7 in Appendix II.

said that Indra took the *vajra* and put it on his arm. This suggests that we cannot take the sequence of kāṇḍikās as representing a chronological narration, but rather that we should take each kāṇḍikā as an independent text.

To summarise the text so far: in the beginning, we have seen Indra try to wield the *vajra*, fail, and therefore decide to undertake the observance; we have seen him resort to various entities for protection, then being followed by the All-gods and the Maruts; we have seen him withstand the insults of the Asuras and rob them of their merit, and finally get a hold of the *vajra* and rest it on his arm joint. All of this was narrated in kāṇḍikā 28. In the following kāṇḍikās (29–32), we see Indra approach (*kram-* + loc.) the *vajra* again in its three parts connected with the three domains—Viśvāsah/sky, Viśvānara/atmosphere, and Vaiśvānara/wind—and fail to hold them. In kāṇḍikā 33, he approaches (*kram-* + loc.) Vr̥tra, who is dismembered. In the next section (17.34), Indra will resort (*upa-dhāv-*) to the draft-ox to acquire his power in order to bear the weight of the observance. Can we consider all of this as a continuous narrative text? If we do so, we run into several inconsistencies: Indra fails to hold (*sa nādhārayat*) the *vajra*, which he has already acquired in 17.28; Indra robs the Asuras and slays Vr̥tra before resorting to the draft-ox, whose power logically allows him to "bear" the observance, withstand his detractors' insults, and to wield the *vajra*, which is necessary to slay Vr̥tra.

Thus, the criterion for ordering the different kāṇḍikās must be different. In my view, the criterion was based on some kind of didactic programme centred on what each kāṇḍikā is meant to teach to the novice; after all, this is a *brāhmaṇa* text. It seems to me that we should consider the various kāṇḍikās as independent texts, each focusing on highlighting some benefits proceeding from practising the *vrata*, benefits which are stated in the formulations that conclude each one of the kāṇḍikās: … *ya evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti*. Our text must be built around these concluding statements.

Nevertheless, kāṇḍikās 29 to 33 seem to share a common structure and phraseology: the use of *kram-* + loc., a series of sacred equations, etc. Moreover, the items mentioned in the equations of kāṇḍikās 30 to 33 seem to follow a downward sequence: the sky over there (*asau*) (30), the midspace and ocean (possibly the *samudra* that surrounds the earth and from which rain falls?) (31), this wind here (*ayam*) (33), and finally the mountains (*parvatāḥ*) on earth (*asyām*) (34). It seems obvious that this is the downward path of the lightning bolt falling from the sky to the earth. One could argue that Indra is following the *vajra*/lightning bolt "step by step" until it falls on Vr̥tra and destroys him. Indeed, it is never explicitly said that Indra slays Vr̥tra: only the middle form *abhajyanta*, 'they were broken', referring to Vr̥tra's limbs, is used. However, it seems too much to assume that the *vajra* has slain Vr̥tra by itself, without Indra's intervention or intention. The myth is way too popular and established to admit such a variation, which would remain unexplained. On the other hand, given the connection between the *anaḍudvrata* and the Gharma ritual enunciated in the Anaḍutsūkta, and given that the Gharma ritual was originally a rite of passage from youth to adulthood that took place at the time of the summer solstice, which is also the time of the year when the myth of the slaying of the dragon took place (I discuss all these details in Appendix II), it seems reasonable to take kāṇḍikā 33 as a reference to Indra's intentional slaying of the dragon Vr̥tra *after* the acquisition of the *vajra*, and as a symbol of the completion of the *vrata*. Indeed, as stated in 17.27 above, Indra aimed to employ the *vajra* to slay Vr̥tra (*vr̥trāya hantave*). The rationale behind the relation between kāṇḍikā 33 and the preceding three is not easy to uncover, as it probably depends on ritual or didactic necessities.[33]

33 One might argue in favour of a chronological interpretation of the narration by saying that, between the end of kāṇḍikā 28 (when Indra finally puts the *vajra* on his arm) and the following kāṇḍikās, we need to assume an untold episode in which Indra actually hurls the *vajra*. It would then be the *vajra* that strides (*kram*) through the sky, then the atmosphere, and finally falls on Vr̥tra. It would thus be the *vajra* that is the subject of the phrase *sa* X(loc.) *akramata*. Accordingly, the meaning of *sa nādhārayat* could be something like "he (the *vajra*) did not hold [his position] (i.e. it fell further down)". This interpretation, however, runs into the following problems: 1) the chronological sequence would still be interrupted after this *kāṇḍikā*, because in

**2**. Note that both 17.31 and 17.32 feature the following structure:

1. *sa* X(loc.) *akramata* ||
2. *eṣa- vai* X, *yad* Y(natural element) ||
3. *eṣa- vai* Z(goal) [, *yad* $X_2$], *sa nādhārayat* ||
4. He secures Z, he who, being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox.

in which X is one of the three forms of the *vajra*; Y is a natural element connected to it; Z is the goal, something that the *vratin* will obtain; and optionally, $X_2$ is something related to X.

Thus, the absence of the *yad* phrase in line 17.30.2, as preserved in both **K** and **O**, seems suspicious: *eṣā vai viśvāṣāḍyaur evāsau*. The line seems very unusual syntactically. The sandhi between *viśvāṣāḍ* and *dyaur* as seemingly preserved here is also quite unusual: Bhattacharya's emendation, *viśvāṣā*(*ḍ*)$^{+}$ *ḍyaur*, is most likely based on the observation that the mss. mostly degeminate dental clusters (see Griffiths 2009: lxv §(O)), therefore *ḍy* could stand for an original *ḍḍy*. However, it is quite unusual that the second dental would be retroflexed. My survey of similar cases in RV showed that *-ḍ d-* is attested three times (RV 7.18.14c *ṣáḍ duvoyú*; RV 8.68.14a *ṣáḍ dvā́-dvā*; RV 10.20.4b *ā́naḍ divó*), whereas *-ḍ ḍ-* only occurs once, in RV 10.15.12b, *'vāḍ ḍhavyā́ni*, which is actually the result of final *-ṭ* before *h-*; *-ṭ t-* is also found three times (in RV 5.6.5d, *hávyavāṭ túbhyaṃ*; RV 7.99.7a, *váṣaṭ te viṣṇav* = 7.100.7a; and RV 8.45.27c, *vy ànaṭ turváṇe*); *-ṭ ṭ-* is never attested. In ŚS, *-ḍ d-* is found once, in ŚS 7.97.7a, *váṣaḍ dhutébhyo*, while *-ḍ ḍ-* is found twice, in ŚS 18.3.42b, *'vāḍ ḍhavyā́ni* (which is the same as the RV verse), and ŚS 18.4.1c, *ávāḍ ḍhavyéṣitó* (which is not only a very similar collocation, but more importantly again a case of *-ṭ* before *h-*). In ŚS, *-ṭ t-* and *-ṭ ṭ-* are never found. The PS shows the same situation: *-ṭ t-* is found five times (PS 1.5.1a, *vaṣaṭ te pūṣann*; PS 3.1.1, *ekarāṭ tvaṃ*; PS 19.16.15b, *avīrāṭ te*; PS 19.40.5b, *antarikṣāṭ tad;* PS 20.36.3b, *prāṣāṭ tūrtam*; *-ṭ ṭ-* only once, in PS 16.18.7a, *ṣaṭ ṭvā*—which, however, corresponds to ŚS 8.9.7, *ṣáṭ tvā*; and *-ḍ d-* is found twice, in PS 10.2.9b, *virāḍ devī*, and PS 15.1.9a *samrāḍ diśāṃ*); whereas our *-ḍ ḍ-* is only found in PS 18.76.1c, *avāḍ ḍhavyeṣitā*,

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17.34, Indra still has not successfully completed his observance (whose purpose is to retrieve the *vajra*, as is clear from 17.28.6), and that's why he resorts to the draft-ox. 2) According to this interpretation, we would have to assume that in the Anaḍutsūkta stanza ŚS 4.11.7 (*índro rūpéṇāgnír váhena prajā́patiḥ parameṣṭhī́ virā́ṭ viśvā́nare akramata vaiśvānaré akramatānaḍúhy akramata | só 'dr̥ṃhayata só 'dhārayata* ||), where the subject of the three *akramata* is the *vratin*, the latter is identfied with the *vajra*. This is unlikely, as the *vratin* is identified with Indra, who aims at obtaining the *vajra*. 3) Moreover, in the same stanza, it is said that the *vratin* approached the draft-ox (*anaḍuhy akramata*). This recalls 17.34.2, *so'naḍvāham upādhāvat*, "he resorted to the draft-ox", where the subject is clearly Indra. It also recalls 17.35.5, *so'naḍuho vahe'kramata sarvāṃl lokān prājānāt*, "he strode into the withers of the draft-ox; he foreknew the way to every place". If *kram* indicated the motion of the *vajra* after Indra had hurled it, it would not make sense that the *vajra* falls into the draft-ox or its withers, nor that the same *vajra* comes to foreknow the way to every *loka*. 4) Finally, I doubt that it would make sense to say that the *vajra* "strides" (*kram*) at all: there is no hint of any process of personification of the *vajra* in our text; it is clearly described as an object, a weapon, or a thunderbolt. From a survey of the occurrences of *kram* (or lexemes with *kram* plus preverb) in the AV, I find that the agent of the action described is mostly a god or an animal (cow, goat, horse, etc.). Some ambiguous cases are the following: ŚS 18.4.6, *dhrúva ā́ roha pr̥thivīṃ viśvábhojasam antárikṣam upabhŕ̥d ā́ kramasva | júhu dyā́ṃ gacha yájamānena sākáṃ sruvéṇa vatséna díśaḥ prápīnāḥ sárvā dhukṣvā́hr̥ṇyamānaḥ* ||, "O ladle, ascend the all-nourishing earth; stride, O offering spoon, unto the atmosphere; O sacrificial spoon, go to the sky in company with the sacrificer; with the little spoon (*sruvá*) [as] calf, milk thou all the teeming, unirritated quarters" (Whitney). This stanza belongs to a funeral hymn, and most likely contains a metaphor for how the sacrifice has the effect of accompanying the deceased in the afterlife (cf. ŚS 18.4.1, 2, 3, etc.); perhaps *kram* is also used here because it often expresses the idea of traversing the three worlds (hinting at Viṣṇu's three steps). Another case is ŚS 8.1.21, *ápa tvát támo akramīt*, "Darkness hath departed from thee" (Whitney), which however is hardly comparable with our line. Finally, ŚS 1.12.1 belongs to a spell aganst illnesses perhaps caused by lightning bolts (this is Whitney's conjecture); one could argue that a thunderbolt is the subject of the final verb: *jarāyujáḥ prathamá usríyo vr̥ṣā́ vātābhrajā́ stanáyann eti vr̥ṣṭyā́ | sá no mr̥ḍāti tanvà r̥jugó ruján yá ékam ójas tredhā́ vicakramé* ||, "First born of the afterbirth, the ruddy (*usríya*) bull, born of wind and cloud (?), goes thundering with rain; may he be merciful to our body, going straight on, breaking; he who, one force, hath striden out threefold" (Whitney). However, the verb is first of all justified by the metaphor of the bull, and secondly, the bull is probably Indra.

corresponding to the above ŚS 18.4.1c, again an instance of *-ṭ* before *h-*. Therefore, it would be safer to presume that the original sandhi in our line was *-ḍ d-*.

However, given our observation that the absence of a *yad* phrase makes for an unusual syntactic structure, it is perhaps possible to imagine that the word *dyaur* was not originally there, but that the line read *eṣā vai viśvāṣāḍ *yad evāsau* ||. Vedic texts very often do not mention the sky and the earth explicitly, but only by means of feminine deictic pronouns: *asaú*, 'that one over there' (f.), indicates the sky (note that *asaú*, m., can also refer to the sun), and *iyám*, 'this one here' (f.), indicates the earth. Similarly *idám*, 'this one here, here', can mean 'this world' (usually in collocation with *sárvam*, 'this whole world, everything here'). Therefore, if we removed the word *ḍyaur*, our line would convey the same meaning simply by means of the pronoun *asau* (the reference to the sky is also clear from the feminine pronoun *eṣā*), and it would feature a perfectly regular syntactic structure. Moreover, **K**'s reading, °*tsa*°, can easily be explained as a mistake for °*ḍya*° due to the similarity in the spelling of the two clusters in Śāradā script. The insertion of *dyaur* might have occurred not only as a gloss, but also under the influence of the same collocation in PS 17.51.10b (~ ŚS 12.3.20b), *dyaur evāsau pr̥thivy antarikṣam* |. To be fair, both traditions point to the sequence °*aur*°. Therefore, perhaps the insertion of *dyaur* (as *ḍyaur*) had occurred before our written archetype, although not necessarily in the period of oral transmission, as the sequence °*ḍyaure*° can perhaps be explained as a mistake for °*ḍyade*°. In my view, this is enough evidence to confidently restore **yad* in our text.

On the sandhi between final *-n* before *l-*, I follow Griffiths's (2009: lxii §(L)) practice of regularising to *-ṃl l-*.

## Kāṇḍikā 31

### 17.31.1–4

1 sa viśvānare [’]kramata ||
2 eṣa vai viśvānaro yad antarikṣaṃ samudraḥ ||
3 ete vai pathayo devayānā yat sūryasya raśmayaḥ sa (nādhārayat) ||
4 pathiṣu devayāneṣu dhriyate pra patho ⁺devayānāñ jānāti ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

He strode into [the domain of] Viśvānara.
This, the atmosphere, the ocean, is Viśvānara.
These, the rays of the sun, are the paths of the gods; he could not hold [it, i.e. the *vajra* in its Viśvānara part/form].
He stays firmly on the paths of the gods, he foreknows the paths of the gods, he who, (being initiated, “bears” the observance of the draft-ox).

N.B. The lacuna that affected the preceding kāṇḍikā in **K** continues here: lines 32.1 and 32.2 are missing.

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viśvānare [’]kramata] viśvānare kramata **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** viśvānare hy akramat **Mā** *om*. **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K** • samudraḥ ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** samudraḥ | **V122** *om*. **K** • ete vai pathayo] ete vai pathaẏo **[O]** ite va payayo **K** • devayānā] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** devajānā || **Ji$_4$** devayānāṃ **K** • yat sūryasya] **K** yaḥ sūryasya **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** yaḥ sūryaḥsya **Mā JM$_3$** ya[.]sūryaḥsya **V71** • raśmayaḥ] raśmaẏaḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** raḥśmaẏaḥ **[Mā] V71** rasmaẏaḥ **JM$_3$** vaśmayat **K** • sa (…) ||] **[Ma]? [Ja]?** saḥ || **V122 Pa$_c$ Mā** sa(//)haḥ || **Ji$_4$** saḥ | **V71** | saṃḥ || **JM$_3$** saḥ **K** • pathiṣu devayāneṣu] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] JM$_3$** pathiṣu devajāneṣu **Ji$_4$** pathiṣu devayāneṣat, **Pa$_c$** pathi[x]ṣu devayāneṣu **V71** patiṣu devayāneṣu **K** • dhriyate pra] dhriẏate pra **[Ma] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** dhṛẏate pra **Ja** dhiẏate pra **Ji$_4$** dhraẏate pra **Pa$_c$** śrīyate | pra **K** • ⁺devayānāñ jānāti] devayānāṃ jānāti **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** devayānāṃ [.]ānāti **V122** devajānāṃ jānāti **Ji$_4$** devayānānāṃ jānāti **Mā V71** devayānāṃ jānātī **K** • ya (…) ||] **[Ma]?** yaḥ || 31 | ru 4 || **Ja** yaḥ || ru || 31 || (space) **V122** yaḥ || 31 || **Ji$_4$** yaḥ || 31 || ru || **Pa$_c$** yaḥ || 31 || ru 4 || **Mā V71 JM$_3$** yaḥ Z **K**

Bhattacharya’s edition reads *viśvānarekramata* in **1**, and *devayānāṃ jānāti* in **4**.

**1**. On the construction with *kram*- (mid.) + loc., see my comment on 17.30.1 above.

**2**. Reference to the *samudra* here might imply the notion of a celestial ocean, or more specifically that the earth is surrounded by water on all sides, including above, and that part of heaven itself is made of water. See Slaje 2001: 38.

**3**. Note the late form, *pathayaḥ*, a nom. pl. belonging to *pánthā*-/*páth*-, ‘path’, but built on the later stem *páthi*- (analogical to the *i*-stems, and productive already since the RV). The form

*pathayaḥ* is not found elsewhere in RV or AV.

**4**. On the sandhi between *-n* before *j-*, I follow GRIFFITHS's (2009: lx §(I)) practice of regularising to *-ñ j-*.

On the *devayāna path*, see Appendix II §3.2, 3.3. Compare also 17.40.9 below: *pra patho *devayānāñ jānāti ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti)* ||, "He foreknows the paths of the gods, he who (being initiated, 'bears' the observance of the draft-ox)."

## Kāṇḍikā 32

### 17.32.1–4

1 sa vaiśvānare [’]kramata ||
2 eṣa vai vaiśvānaro yad ayaṃ pavamānaḥ ||
3 eṣa vai sarvā anu prajāto dhriyate sa nādhārayat ||
4 dhriyante asmin prāṇā ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

He strode into [the domain of] Vaiśvānara.
This, the very wind here, is Vaiśvānara.
That (the wind) having risen (lit. having been born) stays firm along all [the Directions]; he could not hold [it, i.e. the *vajra* in its Vaiśvānara part/form].
The life-breaths stay firm in him, who, (being initiated, “bears” the observance of the draft-ox).

vaiśvānare [’]kramata] vaiśvānare kramata **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** vaiśvānare trā(trī?)(//)mata **V122** viśvānare hy akramata **Mā** viśvānare kramata **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V71 V122** *om*. **K** • vaiśvānaro] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vaiśvānare **Ji$_4$** • yad ayaṃ] yadaẏaṃ **[O]** dayaṃ **K** • pavamānaḥ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** pavamāna **Ji$_4$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V71 V122** *om*. **K** • eṣa] **[Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** ete **K Ma Mā** • sarvā anuprajāto] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$** sarvānuprajāto **Ji$_4$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** sarvānuprasāro **K** • dhriyate] dhriẏate **[O]** druhyate **K** • sa nādhārayat] sa nādhāraẏat **[O]** sa nādhārayad **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V71** *om*. **K** • dhriyante asmin] dhriẏante asmin **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** dhriẏante asmin, **V122 Pa$_c$** dhraẏante asmin **Ji$_4$** dhriyante smin **K** • prāṇā] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** prāṇāḥ **Ji$_4$** prā **K** • ya (…) ||] **[Mā]? [Ma]? [Ja]?** yaḥ || 3[.] || **V122** yaḥ || [2] || 32 || **Ji$_4$** yaḥ || 32 || ru || **Pa$_c$** yaḥ || 32 || ru 4 || **V71 JM$_3$** yaḥ **K**

Bhattacharya’s edition reads *vaiśvānarekramata* in line **1**.

**3**. On the use of *ánu* with the acc., see my note on 17.29.2 above. Here, the acc. pl. feminine *sarvā* (= *sarvāḥ*) must stand for *sarvā diśaḥ*, ‘all the Directions’. I find six occurrences of this collocation in PS: 15.4.4b, 16.28.2c, 3c, 16.99.4a, 18.24.10a, and18.26.4d.

Here we have a very peculiar situation: **K** and the two oldest mss. of **O$^A$** and **O$^B$** (namely **Ma** and **Mā**) all agree in reading *ete* at the beginning of line **3**. Yet this reading cannot be correct, as there is no place for a dual or plural subject in this line. The correct reading must be *eṣa*, preserved in the younger **O** mss. (both in **O$^A$** and **O$^B$**).

## Kāṇḍikā 33

### 17.33.1–4

1 sa vr̥tre [’]kramata ||
2a tasya $^{+}$vr̥trasyāṅgā parvāṇi śarīrāṇy abhajyanta |
2b etāni vai vr̥trasyāṅgā parvāṇi śarīrāṇi yad ime parvatāḥ ||
3 sa yatra hr̥dā manasā kāmayata iha me rādhyate tad asmai rādhyate ||
4 asyām eva pratiṣṭhām āyatanaṃ vindate ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

He strode into [the domain of] Vr̥tra.
The limbs, the joints, the bones of that Vr̥tra were broken;
these, the very mountains here, are the limbs, the joints, the bones of Vr̥tra.
Whenever(/wherever) he wishes with his heart and mind “I am successful here!”, then(/there) he is successful.
On this very one (i.e. the earth), he finds a foundation, a base, he who (being initiated, “bears” the observance of the draft-ox).

sa vr̥tre [’]kramata] sa vr̥tre kramata **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** sa vr̥tre kramat **Ji$_4$** su vr̥ttre krama **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā]** | **V122 Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **K** • $^{+}$vr̥trasyāṅgā] vr̥ttrasyāṅgā **K** vr̥trasyāṅgāḥ **Ma Ja Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā** vr̥traṃsyāṅgāḥ **V122** vr̥trahsyāṅgāḥ **V71 JM$_3$** • abhajyanta] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** abhavajyanta **Ji$_4$** abhijyanta **K** • |] **[O]** *om*. **K** • etāni] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** etā[x]ni **JM$_3$** śatāni **K** • vr̥trasyāṅgā] vr̥trasyāṅgāḥ **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Mā** vr̥trasyāṅgāḥ[x] **Pa$_c$** vr̥rtrasyāṅgāḥ **V71** rvr̥rtrasyāṅgāḥ **JM$_3$** vr̥ttrasyāṅgā **K** • yad ime] **[O]** yadīpe **K** • parvatāḥ] **[O]** parvatāma **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā]** | **V122 Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** [.] **V71** *om*. **K** • yatra] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** pa(ṣa?)tra **V122** • kāmayata] kāmaẏata **[O]** kāmayeti **K** • me rādhyate] **[O]** sa rādhyate **K** • tad asmai rādhyate] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** tad asmai rādhyato **Ji$_4$** tad asmai rājyate **Pa$_c$** tasmai rādhyate **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K Ji$_4$** • āyatanaṃ] **K** āẏatanaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** āṃ(//)ẏatanaṃ **Pa$_c$** • ya (…) ||] **[Mā]? [Ma]? [Ja]?** yaḥ || 3[.] || ru || **V122** yaḥ || 33 || **Ji$_4$** yaḥ || 33 || ru || **Pa$_c$** yaḥ || 33 || ru 4 || **V71 JM$_3$** yaḥ Z **K**

Bhattacharya’s edition reads *vr̥trekramata* in line **1**.

This kāṇḍikā raises a few questions about the structure of the narrative. In my view, it does not stand in chronological order in relation to the neighbouring kāṇḍikās. Rather, it describes the concluding episode of the myth, when Indra, after resorting to the draft-ox (17.34), completing his observance, and acquiring the *vajra*, finally slays Vr̥tra, which was his goal as stated in 17.27.1. For a discussion, see my comment on 17.30 above.

**2**. On the middle *ya*-present of *bhañj-* (stem *bhaj-ya-$^{te}$*), see Kulikov 2012: 481–482.

**3**. I take *tad* as the correlative of *yatra*, although it could theoretically be taken with the

*yatra* phrase as subject of *rādhyate* (or as subject of the apodosis: see footnote 35) The apodosis would then not be introduced by any correlative.[34] On the syntactic construction of the verb *rādh*-, see KULIKOV 2012: 350ff., who summarises as follows: '$X_{NOM}$ is successful for $Y_{DAT}$'. He provides, among others, the following example: VS 1.5a (with several parallels), *ágne vratapate vratáṃ cariṣyāmi; tác chakeyaṃ; tán me rādhyatām*, "O Agni, lord of vows, I shall perform this vow; may I accomplish it; let it be successful for me". In our case, however, neither of the occurrences have an overt subject in the nominative, nor any evident implied referent (such as the *vratáṃ* of the quoted example). Thus, it seems that we need to regard them as impersonal constructions: *iha me rādhyate*, '[it] is successful for me here' = 'I am successful here', and *tad asmai rādhyate*, 'there [it] is successful for him' = 'there he is successful'.[35]

**4.** The words *pratiṣṭhā*- and *āyatana*- frequently occur together. On the former, see my comment on 17.29.1–2 above. On *āyatana*-, see GONDA 1975: 178ff., who collects numerous examples covering the wide range of meanings expressed by this word, and discusses the many attempts at translating it. GONDA tries to grasp the core meaning with the following words: "To 'support' […] I would prefer 'natural position, place in which an object properly and regularly ought to be'" (ibid. p. 205), "the proper place" (ibid. p. 220). At the same time the word is often used in connection with *pratiṣṭhā* (see ibid. p. 347), almost as a synonym, 'base, support, resort, something to depend on' (on their differences, see instead ibid. p. 203ff.).

34 Note that **K** has *tasmai* instead of *tad asmai* (**O**). Note also the absence of an *iti* particle enclosing the quotation "*iha me rādhyate*". **K** *kāmayeti* might suggest that the *iti* particle was intended as preceding the quotation.

35 Perhaps the text originally read *tad* twice: *iha me rādhyate tat*, "That is successful for me here", and *tad asmai rādhyate*, "That is successful for him".

## Kāṇḍikā 34

In this kāṇḍikā, Indra resorts to the draft-ox for help after the gods have told him that they regard his observance as "heavy" (*guru*). Logically, this must have happened after Indra had already started practising his observance (that is, after the events related in 17.28.1–6), yet before he successfully completes it (that is, before 17.28.26–32, when it is said that Indra rips the Asuras off, and before 17.33, when he slays Vr̥tra). The fact that the verb *upa-dhav-* is used to describe the moment when Indra resorts to the draft-ox suggests that this episode is equivalent to the events described in 17.28.8–25, when Indra resorts to (*upa-dhav-*) a number of figures for help.

### 17.34.1

a sa devān āgachat
b taṃ devā abruvann
c ā śaṃsāmahe gurv etad vratam āraṇyeṣu paśuṣu grāmyeṣv †aty eti† ||

He (Indra) came to the gods. The gods said to him: "We fear: that observance [of yours] is heavy! Among wild and domestic animals …

āgachat] **[O]** āgaśchat **K** • devā abruvann] **[Ma] V122 Pa**$_{c}$ devā abr̥vaṃn **Ja V71** devābruvann **Ji**$_{4}$ devābr̥vaṃn **Mā** devā abruvaṃn **JM**$_{3}$ devāḥ avruvann **K** • ā śaṃsāmahe gurv etad vratam] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji**$_{4}$ **[Mā] JM**$_{3}$ ā [.]sāmahe gurv etad vratam **V71** ā śaṃsāmahe gurv eta[.]ta(//)m **Pa**$_{c}$ ā śaṃ sāmektanmeti | vratam **K** • āraṇyeṣu] **[O]** ā(ha→*s.s*)hiraṇyeṣu **K** • grāmyeṣv †aty eti†] grāmyeṣv aty eti **[O]** grāmyeṣv aśveti **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji**$_{4}$ **Pa**$_{c}$ **[Mā] JM**$_{3}$ | **V71** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *āgacchat*$^{+}$ and *grāmyeṣvatyeti* ||.

**c**. As this line reports the gods' direct speech, we would expect it to conclude with *iti*. It seems quite obvious that the sequences °*atyeti* in **O** and °*aśveti* in **K** must conceal this *iti* particle. As neither *atya_iti* **O** nor *aśva_iti* **K** are satisfying solutions, the challenge is then to figure out how to emend the word preceding the particle.

There is a second option: that the gods' speech actually ends earlier. **K** preserves an interesting reading: *ā śaṃ sāmektanmeti* | *vratam* etc. Here we have a *daṇḍa* preceded by *eti*. Could this perhaps be the original location of the missing *iti*? The remaining phrase would start with *vratam*, which could then be either subject (n. nom.) or object (n. acc.) of a final verb (but what verb?).

Let us review the context. Indra is now approaching the gods. Notably, an apparently neutral *ā-gam-* is used: not *upa-dhāv-*, which is used in the text when Indra "resorts to, seeks help from" various entities (see PS 17.28.8–25 above, but also below, when Indra resorts to the draft-ox), nor

*kram-* + loc., by which the text expresses how Indra approaches the three forms of the *vajra* in his attempt to hold them (PS 17.30–33). The gods speak somewhat solemnly, either in awe or in fear (both nuances of *ā-śaṃs-*), and state that the observance is (too) heavy. Immediately, in the next line, we learn that Indra seeks help (*upa-dhav-*) from the draft-ox. This makes sense because the draft-ox, being accustomed to drawing heavy loads, is clearly the only animal who is strong enough to bear this heavy vow.

This interpretation speaks in favour of regarding *gurv etad vratam* as a whole sentence, "this observance is heavy", rather than in favour of ending the first sentence before *vratam*—certainly something along the lines of *ā śaṃsāmahe guru etad iti | vratam*, "'We fear: that observance [of yours] is heavy!' The vow ..." could also be conceivable. Unfortunately, I am not able to offer a good solution to explain the corruption found in **K**.

If the second part of the line is also part of the gods' speech, what could they plausibly be saying to Indra? If they are advising Indra to do something, we would expect a 2sg. imperative form ending in *-a*, which in sandhi with *iti* would yield *-eti*. **K** *aśveti* might point to **āsveti* (*=āsva_iti)*, "be seated...", but we would expect the gods to suggest that Indra "goes" among the mentioned animals in search of the draft-ox. Perhaps **ateti*, with a 2sg impv. from *at-*, 'to go', would fit. This root is very rare; it occurs only three times in RV: RV 1.30.4ab, *ayám u te sám atasi kapóta iva garbhadhím* |, "This (soma) here is yours: you rush to it like a dove to its nest" (J-B); RV 2.38.3b, *árīramad átamānaṃ cid étoḥ* |, "He [=Savitar] has brought to rest even the wanderer from his travelling" (J-B); and in RV 6.9.2b, where *átamānāḥ* refers to 'wandering' fingers that weave. Semantically, this root would be suitable—"Go/rush/wander among the wild and domestic animals"—but the rarity of the root makes me hesitate. It also remains unclear how Indra would perceive the above as advice to look specifically for the draft-ox.

There is also the option of considering *aty eti* as original, and to assume that a final *iti* has been lost due to haplology or haplography (*atyetīti* > *atyeti*). If this is correct, then we would need to understand the meaning of *aty eti* and identify the subject.

I doubt that the subject could be *vratam*. The gods could be saying that the observance is too heavy, and therefore it "goes beyond" all the animals['s power of bearing it]. But this cannot be true, because the draft-ox, who is an animal, is in fact able to bear it—or is it that he is somewhat in between the two categories? (see below). It also not easy to justify the use of the locative in such a sentence.

Incidentally, if this part of the sentence is still saying something about the *vratam*, one could also think of emending to **atīti* (*ati_iti*): the line would thus translate, "We fear: that observance [of yours] is heavy, excessively (*ati*), for [both] domestic and wild animals". But again, the locative would be a problem, as *ati* would rather govern an accusative or a genitive.

The subject could be Indra. "He [Indra] goes beyond(?) (*aty eti*) among wild and domestic animals [in search for help]". This would actually work best if this sentence is not part of the gods' speech. However, an imperfect tense would be preferable, as this is the tense that is used throughout the text for the narrative parts. If we accept this meaning, we could consider emending to **aid* **iti*, which would have the advantage of doing away with the preverb *aty* and provide a clearer meaning: "He [Indra] went (*ait*) among wild and domesticated animals" (*iti*). This solution would also explain the absence of an overt subject: Indra/the *vratin* is constantly implied throughout the text. However, it would require that the gods' speech end after *vratam*, again without *iti* (if **K** preserves an earlier *iti*, this would be before *vratam*).

Lastly, the subject could be the draft-ox. It would make perfect sense if the gods were advising Indra to resort to the draft-ox, as he is the strongest among wild and domestic animals. The dictionaries simply report a literal meaning for *ati-i-*, 'to go beyond, through, across'. However, perhaps a figurative 'surpass, be better, excel' is conceivable. RV 9.96.6 reads *brahmā́ devā́nām padavíḥ kavīnā́m, ṛ́ṣir víprāṇām mahiṣó mṛgā́ṇām | śyenó gṛ́dhrāṇāṃ svádhitir vánānāṃ, sómaḥ pavítram áty eti rébhan* ||, "Brahmán priest among the gods, track[= word]-finder among the poets, seer among the inspired ones, buffalo among the wild animals, falcon among the birds of prey, axe

among the trees, gurgling the soma goes beyond (excels) the filter." In this verse, the soma is likened to figures that are clearly the best in their category; they excel with respect to their category. Similarly, the soma, which flows through (*áty eti*) the filter and is purified, also excels (*áty eti*), being the best of drinks. If this is an intended pun, or a real expression, it is possible that the meaning 'to excel' could be expressed by *ati-i-* in our line as well: "[The draft-ox] excels among wild and domesticated animals!" It is true that in the RV line, *aty-i-* would govern the genitive, whereas we have a locative in our line; however, both cases can express a partitive function. Nonetheless, this remains a rather speculative solution.

We should also ask, how is the draft-ox related to wild and domestic animals? He is certainly a domestic animal, yet the bull, with its wild power, is still somewhat akin to wild animals. Note that the members of the Indo-European warrior brotherhoods lived in the wilderness as wild animals, identifying especially with dogs, wolves, and in India also tigers (see Appendix I). It is perhaps possible to conceive the draft-ox as being somewhat in between wild and domestic animals: he houses a wild, strong power, yet this power is harnessed and controlled under the yoke. From the perspective of the initiated youth (the members of the *Jugendbund*[36]), acquiring the power of the draft-ox might be a metaphor for the moment when their uncontrolled youthful energy (the fury of the Indo-European warrior) is finally harnessed, extinguished, so that the young boys, now able to responsibly control themselves, can join the society of adults. The fact that the draft-ox hovers between the wild and the domestic spheres might also be an intentional metaphor for the initiated youth or the marginalised Vrātyas, who live in a liminal stage between the wilderness and the community, which they hope to (re-)join at some point. From the perspective of the ascetic, the idea of harnessing the wild power of the bull and putting it to good use might symbolise the ascetic practices aimed at controlling bodily and mental functions.[37] There is much to be read in the image of the draft-ox. However, it seems to offer us little help in solving the philological problem in this particular line.

In conclusion, in lack of a convincing solution, I refrain from emending, and leave the text of **O** with *cruces*.

**17.34.2** ~ GB 1.1.23h–l

a so [']naḍvāham upādhāvat
b tam anaḍvān abravīt
c kiṃ me pratīvāho bhaviṣyatīti
d varaṃ vr̥ṇīṣveti
e sa varam avr̥ṇīta ||

He (Indra) resorted to the draft-ox.
The draft-ox said to him:
"What will be my reward?"
[Indra said:] "Choose a boon!"
He (the draft-ox) chose a boon.

so [']naḍvāham] so naḍvāham **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** so naṛvāham **V122 Ji$_4$** so naḍvān **K** • anaḍvān] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** anaṛvān **V122 Ji$_4$** anuḍvān **K** • abravīt] **[Mā] [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** abravī **V71 JM$_3$** avravīt, **K** • kiṃ me] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** kīmme

36 On this terminology, see Appendix I.

37 Note that Kauṇḍinya interprets the reference to *godharma* and *mr̥gadharma* in PāśS 5.18 as referring to ascetic skills: "[...] what is meant is their common attribute, which is the ability to bear the pain of opposites [heat and cold, etc.] […]" (Hara 1966: 406).

**Mā V71 JM$_3$** • bhaviṣyatīti] **[O]** bhaviṣyasīti **K** • varaṃ vṛṇīṣveti] **[O]** *om*. **K** • avṛṇīta] **[O]** avavṛṇīta **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K**

GB 1.1.23h–l (Gaastra 1919: 16)[38]
(h) sa hovāca
(i) kiṃ me pratīvāho bhaviṣyatīti
(j) varaṃ vṛṇīṣveti
(k) vṛṇā iti
(l) sa varam avṛṇīta

Bhattacharya's edition reads *sonaḍvāham* in **a**.

**a**. On *upa-dhav-*, 'resort to (for help)', see 17.28.8–25.

**c**. Note the (probably intentional) pun between *anaḍ-vāh-* and *pratīvāha-*. The latter word is attested only here, in the GB parallel, and in KauśS 10.5[79].29, *gaur dakṣiṇā pratīvāhaḥ*, 'the reward is a cow as fee'.[39]

**de**. Note here the *figura etymologica*, *varaṃ vṛ-*. Dialogues of this kind, in which gods grant boons to other gods, ascetics, or other figures are very frequent in Brāhmaṇa literature (and later narrative), but this is the only example in the AV.

38 This dialogue belongs to the first section (1.1.23) of the second Brāhmaṇa of the Praṇavopaniṣad, comprising GB 1.1.16–30. Bloomfield (1899: 108) defines the Praṇavopaniṣad as a "cosmogonic account deriving creation from the om", and gives a rather detailed summary of the text (pp. 108–110). The text of GB 1.1.23 is the following: GB 1.1.23, (a) *vasor dhārāṇām aindraṃ nagaraṃ*, (b) *tad asurāḥ paryavārayanta*, (c) *te devā bhītā āsaṃ*, (d) *ka imān* [ed. *īmān*] *asurān apahaniṣyatīti*, (e) *ta oṃkāraṃ brahmaṇaḥ putraṃ jyeṣṭhaṃ dadṛśrus*, (f) *te tam abruvan*, (g) *bhavatā mukhenemān asurāñ jayemeti*, (h) *sa hovāca*, (i) *kiṃ me pratīvāho bhaviṣyatīti*, (j) *varaṃ vṛṇīṣveti*, (k) *vṛṇā iti*, (l) *sa varam avṛṇīta*, (m) *na mām anīrayitvā brāhmaṇā brahma vadeyur*, (n) *yadi vadeyur abrahma tat syād iti*, (o) *tatheti*, (p) *te devā devayajanasyottarārdhe 'suraiḥ saṃyattā āsan*, (q) *tān oṃkāreṇāgnīdhrīyād devā asurān parābhāvayanta*, (r) *tad yat parābhāvayanta tasmād oṃkāraḥ pūrvam ucyate*, (s) *yo ha vā etam oṃkāraṃ na vedāvaśī syād ity atha ya evaṃ veda brahmavaśī syād iti*, (t) *tasmād oṃkāra ṛcy ṛg bhavati*, (GB 1.1.23u) *yajuṣi yajuḥ*, (v) *sāmni sāma*, (w) *sūtre sūtraṃ*, (x) *brāhmaṇe brāhmaṇaṃ*, (y) *śloke ślokaḥ*, (z) *praṇave praṇava iti brāhmaṇam* || 23 ||, (a) "The *aindra* (?) city of the streams of wealth: (b) that one the Asuras surrounded. (c) The gods were afraid: (d) 'Who will repel these Asuras?' (e) They saw the Oṃ-kāra, the eldest son of the *bráhman*. (f) They said to him: (g) 'We shall win these Asuras by means of You as an introduction (*mukha-*) [to the recitation].' (h) He said: (i) 'What will be my reward?' (j) 'Choose a boon!' (k) 'I will choose.' (l) He chose a boon: (m) 'The brahmins shall not utter a *bráhman* without having pronounced me [first]; (n) should they speak [without pronouncing 'oṃ' first], that [*bráhman*] shall be a non-*bráhman*!' (o) 'So be it!' (p) The gods were in conflict with the Asuras at the further end (northern side?) of the sacrificial ground. (q) The gods overcame the Asuras with the Oṃ-kāra from the Āgnīdhrīya. (r) That [episode] when they overcame [the Asuras], that's why they say the Oṃ-kāra first. (s) It is said: 'He who does not know the Oṃ-kāra, he shall be no ruler'; then it is said: 'He who knows, shall be a ruler of the *bráhman*.' (t) That's why the Oṃ-kāra becomes the *ṛk* in the *ṛk*, (u) the *yajus* in the *yajus*, (v) the *sāman* in the *sāman*, (w) the *sūtra* in the *sūtra*, (x) the *brāhmaṇa* in the *brāhmaṇa*, (y) the *śloka* in the *śloka*, (z) the *praṇava* in the *praṇava*—so says the *brāhmaṇa*" (my transl.).

39 The tenth adhyāya of the KauśS deals with marriage (Modak 1993: 67–68). This instruction is found among various other instructions on ritual actions connected with the recitation of stanzas from the Wedding Hymn. KauśS 10.5[79].28–31 reads: (28) *<pūrvāparaṃ* [14.1.23]*> yatra nādhigached <brahmāparaṃ* [14.1.64]*>_iti kuryāt*, (29) *gaur dakṣiṇā pratīvāhaḥ*, (30) *<jīvaṃ rudanti* [14.1.46]*> <yadīme keśino* [14.2.59]*>_iti juhoti*, (31) *eṣa sauryo vivāhaḥ*. Thus, this line does not seem connected with our text. However, it is interesting that the word *pratīvāha* is found only in texts of the AV tradition.

**17.34.3–5**

3a bradhnaloko [’]sāni
3b bradhnasya viṣṭapi śrayā iti ||
4 ṣoḍaśo vā ita ūrdhvo loko yad bradhno yad bradhnasya viṣṭapaḥ ||
5 bradhnaloko bhavati bradhnasya viṣṭapi śrayate ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

“I will be one whose world is the ruddy one (i.e. the sun)!
I will rest on the top of the ruddy one (i.e. the sun)!”
It is the sixteenth world above here, that is the ruddy one (i.e. the sun), that is the top of the ruddy one (i.e. the sun).
He becomes one whose world is the ruddy one (i.e. the sun), he rests on the top of the ruddy one (i.e. on the sun), he who, (being initiated, “bears” the observance of the draft-ox).

N.B. In **K**, line 34.5 is missing up to and including *viṣṭapi*.

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bradhnaloko [’]sāni] bradhnaloko sāni **[O]** vradhnaloko sāni **K** • bradhnasya] **[O]** vradhnasya **K** • viṣṭapi] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** viṣṭavi **Ji$_4$** viṣṭapa **K** • śrayā] śraẏā **[O]** śriyā **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K** • ṣoḍaśo] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** śoṛaśo **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** ṣoḷaśo **K** • ita] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** iti **Mā Ji$_4$** yad **K** • ūrdhvo] **K** ūdhno **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** udhno **Mā** • bradhno] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** [x]no **V122** vradhno **K** • bradhnasya] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** bradhnasa **Pa$_c$** badhnasya **V71** vradhnasya **K** • viṣṭapaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71** viṣṭāpaḥ **Pa$_c$** viṣṭhapaḥ **JM$_3$** niṣṭapaś **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K** • bradhnaloko] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** bradhnalo[~~ko~~]ko **V71** *om*. **K** • bhavati bradhnasya] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** bha[x]vati bradhnasya **Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • viṣṭapi] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** piṣṭapi **V122** viṣṭapiṃ **Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • śrayate] śraẏate **[O]** śreyante **K** • ya (…) ||] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** yaḥ || 33 || ru || **V122** yaḥ || 34 || **Ji$_4$** yaḥ || 34 || ru || **Pa$_c$** yaḥ || 34 || ru 5 || **V71 JM$_3$** yaḥ Z **K**

Note that line 34.4 seems to feature a nom. sg. m. *viṣṭapaḥ* from the stem *viṣṭápa-*, whereas 34.5 features the loc.sg. *viṣṭapi* from the stem *viṣṭáp-*, (f.). The stem *viṣṭápa-* is always neuter in RV and AV, and the masculine is extremely rare: I find it in PB 19.10.12, *eṣa vāva bradhnasya viṣṭapo, yad …* (but compare PB 23.3.5 = 13.19.3, *etā vāva bradhnasya viṣṭapo, yad …* , which could point to a feminine); *viṣṭapaḥ* in PS 18.16.6 (quoted below) is either a corruption (cf. ŚS *viṣṭápi*) or a feminine accusative plural of *viṣṭáp-*.

The compound *bradhnáloka* is a Bahuvrīhi, ‘one whose world is the ruddy one’. It is attested only here and in ŚS 11.3.50–51, in which benefits similar to the ones predicted in our line are attained by one who is initiated into the knowledge of the rice meal (*odaná*): *etád vaí bradhnásya viṣṭápaṃ yád odanáḥ || bradhnáloko bhavati bradhnásya viṣṭápi śrayate yá eváṃ véda ||*, “This—namely, the rice-dish—is indeed the summit of the ruddy one. He cometh to have the ruddy one for his world, he resorteth to the summit of the ruddy one, who knoweth thus” (Whitney). A corresponding Karmadhāraya, *bradhnaloká*, ‘world of the ruddy one’, is never attested..

The expression *bradhnásya viṣṭáp(a)-* is already found in RV: 9.113.10, *yátra kā́mā nikāmā́ś ca yátra bradhnásya viṣṭápam | svadhā́ ca yátra tr̥ptíś ca tátra mā́m amr̥taṃ kr̥dhīndrāyendo pári srava ||*, “Where there are desires and yearnings, where the upper surface of the coppery one [=Sun and soma?] is, where there is independence and satisfaction, there make me immortal. —O drop, flow around for Indra” (J-B). J-B’s hesitation is due to the fact that the adjective *bradhná* is sometimes used to refer to the soma.[40] Geldner (1951: III, 120) takes it as the “Höhepunkt der

40 Indeed, J-B take the second RV occurrence of *bradhnásya viṣṭáp-* to refer to soma: RV 8.69.7 (~ ŚS 10.9.4), *úd yád bradhnásya viṣṭápaṃ gr̥hám índraś ca gánvahi | mádhvaḥ pītvā́ sacevahi tríḥ saptá sákhyuḥ padé ||*, “As

Sonne". In fact, in the AV, the ruddy (*bradhná*) sun (possibly portrayed as a bay horse) is the addressee of various hymns collected in ŚS 13 and PS 18. Cf. ŚS 13.1.16 (~ PS 18.16.6), belonging to a hymn to the Sun ('the ruddy one', *róhita*, *bradhná*): *ayáṃ vaste gárbhaṃ pr̥thivyā́ dívaṃ vaste 'yám antárikṣam | ayáṃ bradhnásya viṣṭápi* (PS: *viṣṭapaḥ*) *svàr lokā́n vy ànaśe* ||, "This one clothes himself in the embryo (womb?) of the earth; this one clothes himself in the sky, the atmosphere; this one, on the summit of the reddish one, has penetrated the heaven (*svàr*) [rather: the sun], the worlds" (Whitney). That this expression refers to a place in the sky is also clear from PS 16.72.1b: *bradhnasya viṣṭapi parame vyoman* |, "On the top of the ruddy one, in the highest sky". Compare also ŚS 10.10.31c ~ PS 16.110.1c.

That the *bradhnaloká*, 'the world of the sun' (implied by our *bradhnáloka*) and the *bradhnásya viṣṭáp* are to be identified with the *svargá loká* (mentioned in PS 17.43.4) seems clear from passages like AB 5.30 (on the Agnihotra): (1) *ete ha vai saṃvatsarasya cakre yad ahorātre, tābʰyām eva tat saṃvatsaram eti* […] (4) *rāthamtarī vai rātry, ahar bārhatam. agnir vai rathaṃtaram ādityo br̥had, ete ha vā enaṃ devate bradhnasya viṣṭapaṃ svargaṃ lokaṃ gamayato ya evaṃ vidvān udite juhoti. tasmād udite hotavyaṃ* […], "Day and night are the wheels of the year; verily thus with them he goes through the year […] The night is connected with the Rathantara, the day with the Br̥hat; Agni is the Rathantara, Āditya the Br̥hat. Those deities make him attain the vault of the tawny one, the world of heaven, who knowing thus offers after sunrise. Therefore should one offer after sunrise […]" (Keith). Similarly, ŚB 9.4.4.3 reads: […] *téna vayáṃ gamema bradhnásya viṣṭápaṃ svargáṃ lokáṃ róhantó 'dhi nā́kam uttamám ítyetát*, "Thus, 'Thereby we will go to the region of the bay (horse, the sun) mounting up to the heavenly world, beyond the highest firmament'" (Eggeling). Compare also ŚB 13.2.6.1 (on the Aśvamedha), in which the identification of the ruddy horse and the sun is also made clear: *asaú vā́ ādityó bradhnò 'ruṣò 'múm evā́smā̀ ādityáṃ yunakti svargásya lokásya sámaṣṭyai*, "The ruddy bay, doubtless is yonder sun: it is yonder sun he harnesses for him, for the gaining of the heavenly world" (Eggeling).

On the basis of the connection between the *anaḍudvrata* and the Gharma ritual established in the Anaḍutsūkta, it should be reminded that during the *avāntaradīkṣā* of the Gharma ritual, the initiate aims to accumulate the power of the sun (see Appendix II §3.1 and fn. 23).

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we two, Indra and (I), go up to his home along the surface of the coppery (soma), having drunk of the honey three times, might we two become comrades at the seven(th) step of the comrade." Jamison comments, "Ge[ldner] and Hoffmann, inter alia, take *bradhnásya viṣṭápam* to refer to the height or top of the sun. The phrase occurs also in IX.113.10. *bradhná-* in VIII.4.13–14 seems to refer to soma. Since *viṣṭáp-* several times occurs with *samudrásya* (VIII.34.13, 97.5=IX.12.6, IX.107.14), something liquid makes sense, rather than wandering around on top of the sun. Furthermore, at least in IX.12.6 (and probably IX.107.14) the 'sea' in this expression is clearly soma. I also think that it works better as acc. of extent, rather than as goal, since the goal is the *gr̥hám*" (R̥gveda commentary on VIII.43–103 (11-25-18), p. 42, available at http://rigvedacommentary.alc.ucla.edu).

## Kāṇḍikā 35

### 17.35.1

a athāhīnā āśvatthir abravīn
b na tād brāhmaṇaṃ nindāni yād enam aśr̥ṇon ned iṣṭāpūrtena vi bhavānīti ||

Then Ahīnas Āśvatthi said:
"Therefore I will not censure [this/a] brahmin for having learned about him (i.e., heard about Indra and imitated his observance), lest I be deprived of [my] merit, gained from worship and donations."

N.B. **Ji$_4$** features an interpolation of 17.35.4b: […]*ned iṣṭāpū*{*rttaṃ māyāṃ ... hyenaṃ* || } *rttena*[…].

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athāhīnā āśvatthir] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** thādīnā āśvatnyar **Ji$_4$** athāhīnā āśvarathir **JM$_3$** ayathāhīnāśvatthād **K** • abravīn] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** adbravīn **V71** avravīt **K** • na tād] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** na tā **Ji$_4$** na ad **Pa$_c$** tracā **K** • brāhmaṇaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** brāhmaṇa **Pa$_c$** brahmaṇaṃ **V71** vrāhmaṇa **K** • nindāni yād] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** nindā(→ *s.s.* ndāni | yā)d **V122** nindāni yātad **Ji$_4$** nindrāni yād **Pa$_c$** nindyāni ād **K** • enam] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** evanam **JM$_3$** • aśr̥ṇon ned iṣṭāpūrtena] aśr̥ṇon ned iṣṭāpūrttena **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** aśr̥ṇon ned iṣṭāpū{rttaṃ māyāṃ saṃ vr̥ktāmindraṃ hyenaṃ ||} rttena **Ji$_4$** aśr̥ṇunyejuṣṭapūrtenaṃ **K** • vi bhavānīti] **[O]** vyabhavānīti **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] JM$_3$** | **K V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71**

**a**. Ahīnas Āśvatthi appears as ritual expert in various legends centred around the figures of the Keśins, 'those with long-hair" and the Dārbhyas (or Dālbhyas), 'those of the *darbha* grass'. The former is a Vrātya epithet, which refers to the warrior brotherhoods' young members' habit of sporting long unkempt hair while undergoing initiation, a very old Indo-European custom (see Kershaw 2000: 62f), which informed both the Brāhmacārin's and the Indian ascetics' habit of letting their hair grow long, and which in Vedic India was enriched with the symbolism of Agni, whose tufts are the flames[41]. The name Dārbhya (or Dālbhya) is shared by various figures of Pañcāla

41 Cf. JB 2.225–6, […] *vrātyāṃ dhāvayanti /* […] */ agna ā yāhy āgnibhir ity agniṣṭomasāma bhavati / agnayo vai sarve devāḥ / sarvān eva tena devān api yanti / tat trayaṃstriṃśad vai sarvā devatāḥ / sarvāsv evaitad devatāsu yajñasyāntataḥ pratitiṣṭhanti // tāḥ keśinīr bhavanti / ūrjo napātaṃ ghr̥takeśam īmahe 'gniṃ yajñeṣu pūrvyam19 iti keśair iva hy ete caranti* […], "They start with the Vrātya life […]. According to the verse 'O fire, come here with fires!' Fires are indeed all the Gods. They also come to all the Gods by means of this. This group of 33 are actually the 'All gods'. Among these 'All gods' they are established at the end of the sacrifice. They (f. pl. the *devatās*) constitute the Keśinī. They live indeed with their hair in accordance with the RV verse 'We resort to Agni, child of force, butter-haired, as the first in sacrifices'" (quoted and translated in Pontillo & Dore 2013: 50). This symbolism testifies to the close connection between the Vedic god Agni and Rudra, and later on with Śiva.

warriors and brahmins, who appear in a series of legends with clear Vrātya background[42]. These legends have been studied by Heesterman (1962), Koskikallio (1999) and Pontillo & Dore (2013). Many of these stories involve Sāmavedins and are found in the Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa.

For instance. in JB 2.100 (cf. Caland 1919: 154 §133), it is told that a Pañcāla king, Darbha Śātānīki, the son of Śatānīka Śātrājita, was not respected by his people, to the extent that even boys would make fun of him by calling him "Darbha! Darbha!" ('Grass! Grass!'). To his aid came two ritual experts, Keśin Sātyakāmi and Ahīnas Āśvatthi, who performed for him a special soma sacrifice, an Ekāha called Apaciti (the actual topic of the JB chapter), after which the king won the respect of his people. After this sacrifice, the Pañcālas also started referring to 'grass' with the word *kuśa*, abandoning the word *darbha*. In another version of the same story (BŚS 18.38–39), the same king is called Keśin Dālbhya, and it is told that the Pañcālas also created a new word for 'hair', namely *śīrṣaṇyāḥ* ('those on the head'). We know in fact that this king was also called Śīrṣaṇya Kauśa (see Caland 1903: 25, Witzel 1989: 101 fn. 6). On the basis of Nidānasūtra 6.11, which mentions the existence of two main Vrātya clans, namely the Aiṣīkayāvi Vrātyas and the Śīrṣādi Vrātyas, Heesterman (1962, esp. p. 15ff.) has advanced the hypothesis that the name of the latter clan, the Śīrṣādi, those "whose name begins with (a reference to the) head" or "the first among whom (had a name mentioning the) head", was a direct reference to the Pañcāla figure of Śīrṣaṇya Kauśa/Keśin Dārbhya. According to Heesterman, the Śīrṣādis would thus be the Pañcāla Vrātyas, whereas the Aiṣīkayāvis would be the Kuru Vrātyas. The latter, as their name suggests, would be named after the *īṣīkā* reed, while the Pañcāla Vrātyas feature names connected with the *darbha* or *kuśa* grass. Koskikallio (1999) has collected all the material pertaining to Keśin Dālbhya and related figures, such as Baka Dālbhya, providing further evidence of the Vrātya background of these characters. More recently, Pontillo & Dore (2013) have carried out a thorough study of the connection between the ritual symbolism of long-stalked plants and the Vrātyas.

According to a second legend (JB 2.122–124; cf. Caland 1919: 161 §137), the same Keśin Dārbhya was a Pañcāla sacrificer (*yajamāna*) engaged in a ritual contest against another sacrificer, Khaṇḍika Audbhāri.[43] At the beginning of the story, Keśin Dārbhya appears discouraged, because he has been informed that his rival is planning on performing a Sadyaḥkrī, a very fast soma sacrifice that is performed on the same day on which the soma is purchased. When the news of the completion of this sacrifice is sent to him, Keśin Dārbhya will be defeated. To his aid come his four *brāhmaṇās* (i.e. *purohitas*), Keśin Sātyakāmi, Ahīnas Āśvatthi, Gaṅginā Rāhakṣita, and Luśākapi Khārgali. For him the four perform a Parikrī (the actual topic of the JB chapter), an even faster sacrifice consisting of one line for every three Sadyaḥkrī. In this way, they are able to finish the sacrifice before the rival, and by means of the same sacrifice, they push Khaṇḍika Audbhāri, "away from the year/out of time" (*samvatsarād nud-*).

In a third legend (JB 1.285; cf. Caland 1919: 111 §100), Keśin Dārbhya and Ahīnas Āśvatthi are competing to become the *purohita* of a *kṣatriya*, Keśin Sātyakāmi.[44] Of the two, Ahīnas Āśvatthi is the elder, while Keśin Dārbhya is the younger. Nevertheless, the latter exhibits a deeper knowledge of Anuṣṭubh verse and wins the competition.

In a fourth JB passage (JB 2.419ff.; cf. Caland 1919: 219ff. §168)—this time not mentioned by Koskikallio 1999—Ahīnas Āśvatthi expounds a long and largely obscure exegesis of the symbolism of the *sāmans* to be employed in a year-long *sattra* to his sons, who are planning on performing it and have asked for instructions.

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42 See for instance the story told in KS 10.6, in which Baka Dālbhya first performs a *sattra* with the Naimiṣya Vrātyas to gain gifts of cattle from the Kuru-Pañcālas, then visits king Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya in order to receive greater gifts but, being given sick or dead cows, curses the king to lose all his wealth (see Appendix I).

43 The rivalry between these two character is a frequent theme, involving competition for ritual supremacy or even for dominion over the Pañcāla people. Cf. also MS 1.4.12, BŚS 17.54, ŚB 11.8.4, and JB 2.279, and see Koskikallio 1999: 308ff.

44 Note that the same three characters are the protagonists of the story in JB 2.100, which I have summarised above, and in which, however, Keśin Darbha/Dālbhya is the king, while the other two are the *purohitas*.

In one last passage,[45] TB 3.10.9.10–11 (see Dumont 1951: 641), a paragraph that is part of a chapter (TB 3.10) on the Sāvitracayana, the building of a fire altar in the form of the sun for a soma sacrifice, it is said that "Ahīnas Āśvatthya [sic] (the son of Aśvattha) succeeded in knowing the Sāvitra (fire). Then, having become a golden wild goose[46] (*sá ha haṁsó hiraṇmáyo bhūtvā́* ), he went to the heavenly world (*svargáṃ lokám iyāya*), and he obtained intimate union with Āditya (the sun) (*ādityásya sā́yujyam)*. Verily, having become a golden wild goose, he goes to the heavenly world, (and) he obtains intimate union with Āditya, he who knows thus" (transl. Dumont, modified).

From these passages, we can draw a portrait of Ahīnas Āśvatthi as an elderly sage, a specialist in Sāmavedic knowledge, and a ritual expert in the service of Pañcāla leaders who have a Vrātya background. The above sources don't allow us to understand why precisely this character is mentioned in our text, but in my view the clear Vrātya background of the other stories in which he appears supports my hypothesis that the draft-ox *vrata* arose within Vrātya circles and is modelled after older traditions involving animal masking that ultimately go back to Indo-European *Männerbund* practices (see Appendix I).

**b**. On the *tā́d ... yā́d* construction, see Bhattacharya 2004, who also discusses the fact that this PS line is quoted (as *na tād brāhmaṇād nindāmi*) in Vāmana's Kāśikā on Pāṇini 7.1.39 to illustrate the use of the ending *-āt*; the same example is given in Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's Siddhāntakaumudī as *na tād brāhmaṇam*.

On the *iṣṭāpūrta-*, see Sakamoto-Gotō 1997. We are introduced here to the idea that if someone censures a *vratin* who is performing the vow of the draft-ox, they lose their accrued merit, which is then transferred to the *vratin*. This is clearly the same logic behind the *pāśupatavrata*. In fact, the vocabulary used here (*nind-*, *iṣṭāpūrta-*) is exactly the same as that employed in the Pāśupatasūtra: see my comment on 17.35.4 below. On the idea of transferring merit or demerit, see Hara 1967–68, Hara 1994(=2002: 105ff.), and Wezler 1997.

**17.35.2**

kr̥tyā vā eṣā manuṣyeṣu carati yad anaḍvān yad anaḍudvratī ||

This is witchcraft, when, as a draft-ox, as one practising the observance of the draft-ox, one roams (/practises the observance) among humans.

N.B. **Pa$_c$** has a lacuna, starting after *anaṛvān, yad a-* up to 17.35.5a *-he kramata*. Bhattacharya reports that **Nā** also has a lacuna in this line, from *carati* all the way to *soṇaḍuho* in 17.35.5a.

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kr̥tyā] **[O]** kr̥tā **K** • manuṣyeṣu] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** manuṣveṣu **Pa$_c$** manuṣyeṣvaṣu

45 Ahīnas Āśvatthi's name possibly also occurs in a chapter on the *punardahana* (Caland 1896: x) in the Baudhāyanapitr̥medhasūtra, namely *ādhyāya* 5 = *kaṇḍikā* 13 (see Caland 1896: 19)—with parallels in AgnivGS 3.6.4.11 (the whole chapter)—and in Hiraṇyakeśipitr̥medhasūtra 1.10 (see Caland 1896: 43), but the mss. have conflicting readings and the constituted text is uncertain. Caland (1896: 19) calls this passage "the most difficult of the whole sūtra", and his translation is tentative to say the least. Given the obscurity of the whole passage and the uncertainty on whether it even reads the name of Ahīnas Āśvatthi, this text cannot be used for our purposes.

46 It is perhaps interesting to read Ahīnas Āśvatthi's transformation into a golden wild goose in light of the connections, highlighted by Koskikallio (1999; see in particular the conclusions on p. 375), between the Dālbhyas and water fowl, and the motif of old ascetics meditating by the water. This symbolism expresses both these figures' liminality, as well as their ability to rise over the stream of life, worldly attachments, represented by the water. The classical image of the wild goose taking off from the surface of the water expresses the same symbolism, as it represents the *jīva*, the soul, untouched by contact with the water, i.e. the world.

**V71** • carati] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** carati | **V122 Pa$_c$** carati | **V71** tarati **K** • yad anaḍvān] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā]?** yad anaṛvān **V122** yad anaṛvān, **Ji$_4$** yad anaḍvān, **V71 JM$_3$** yenunaḍvān **K** • yad anaḍudvratī] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yad anaṛudvratī **V122** yad anutūdvratī **Ji$_4$** yad a **Pa$_c$** yevanaḷadvratīn\ **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **K V122 Ji$_4$** *om*. **Pa$_c$**

On *kr̥tyā́-,* see Gonda 1980: 255f. and Goudriaan 1986.

Compare the Anaḍutsūkta lines ŚS 4.11.3ab (~ PS 3.25.5ab), *índro jātó* (PS *eṣa*) *manuṣyèṣv antár gharmás taptáś carati śóśucānaḥ* |, "Born as Indra (PS: that one is Indra), he wanders (i.e. practises the observance) among human beings as a heated *gharmá* pot, constantly glowing bright"; see my comment *ad loc*. in Appendix II.

The formula *yad anaḍvān yad anaḍudvratī* is also found below, in PS 17.38.6.

**17.35.3–4** ~ 4: PāśS 4.10–13

3 ya evaṃ viduṣo [']sādhu kīrtayatīṣṭam evāsya pūrtaṃ {māyā(ṃ)} saṃvr̥kte ||
4a indro vā *agre [']sureṣv anaḍudvratam acarat
4b teṣām iṣṭaṃ pūrtaṃ māyā saṃvr̥ktānindan* hy enam ||

He who speaks ill of the initiated one: his merit accumulated with worship and that accumulated with donations {the magical power} are both completely wrested away.
Indeed, in the beginning, Indra practised the observance of the draft-ox among the Asuras.
Of them, the merit accumulated with worship, that accumulated with donations, the magical power was completely wrested away, for they censured him.

N.B. As reported above, **Pa$_c$** and **Nā** have a lacuna from 17.35.2 to 17.35.5, therefore they do not preserve this line. This lines are also missing from **K**. The lacuna in **K** starts here and continues all the way to 17.35.5 (inclusive). In **Ji$_4$**, the final part of line **4b** following *pūrttaṃ* was also interpolated in 17.35.1 (see above) with no variants.

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ya evaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ya eva **V122** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • viduṣo [']sādhu] viduṣo sādhu **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** viduṣo ṣādhu **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • kīrtayatīṣṭam evāsya] kīrttaẏatīṣṭamevāsya **V122 JM$_3$ [Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** kīrttaẏatīṣṭhamevāsya **Ji$_4$** kīrtaẏatīṣṭa(mo→*s.s.*)mevāsya **V71** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • pūrtaṃ] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]? JM$_3$** pūrttaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ V71** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • {māyā(ṃ)}] māẏāṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** māẏā **V71** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • saṃvr̥kte] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71** saṃvr̥ṃ(?)kte **JM$_3$** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** • vā *agre [']sureṣv] vāgre sureṣv **Ma Mā V71 JM$_3$** vāgre asureṣv **Ja** ([x]→*s.s.*)vāgre ayureṣv **V122** vāgre ṣureṣv **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • anaḍudvratam] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]? V71**anaṛuvratam **V122** anuḍudvratam **Ji$_4$** anaṛudvratam **JM$_3$** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • acarat teṣām] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ V71** anarateṣām **V122** ācarartteṣām **Mā JM$_3$** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • pūrtaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71** pūrttaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • māyā] māẏā **Mā V71** māẏāṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • saṃvr̥ktānindan*] saṃvr̥ktānindraṃ **[Ma] [Ja] JM$_3$** saṃvr̥ktānindrā **V122** saṃvr̥ktāmindraṃ **Ji$_4$** saṃvr̥ktānindra **Mā V71** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • hy enam] hy enaṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ V71 JM$_3$** hy ena **Mā** *om*. **K Pa$_c$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71** | **V122 JM$_3$** *om*. **K Pa$_c$**

PāśS 4.10–13
indro vā agre asureṣu pāśupatam acarat |
sa teṣāṃ iṣṭāpūrtam ādatta |
māyayā sukr̥tayā samavindata |
nindā hy eṣānindā tasmāt |

"In the beginning, Indra practised the *pāśupata* [observance] among the Asuras. He took their merit gained from worship and donations. He obtained [it] with well-performed magic. For this censure is without censure, that's why."

Bhattacharya's edition reads *viduṣosādhu* and *māyāṃ saṃ vṛkte* in **3**, *vāgre asureṣv* in **4a**, and *māyāṃ saṃ vṛ̥ktānindraṃ hyenam* in **4b**.

A first version of my edition of these lines was presented in 2016 (Bisschop & Selva 2016) and published in 2018 (Bisschop 2018: 9) with Prof. Bisschop's translation to illustrate his discovery that this portion is the textual model of PāśS 4.10–13. The text as it was presented and published reads as follows:

> *ya evaṃ viduṣo ['']sādhu kīrtayatīṣṭam evāsya pūrtaṃ māyāṃ saṃ *vṛ̥ṅkte* ||
> *indro vā *agre*[47] ['']sureṣv anaḍudvratam acarat*
> *teṣām iṣṭaṃ pūrtaṃ māyāṃ *sam *avṛ̥ṅktānindan hy enam* ||
> "He completely wrests away the merit gained from worship, the merit gained from donations, the magical power of him who speaks ill of the initiated one. Verily, in the beginning, Īndra practised the observance of the draft-ox among the Asuras. He wrested away their merit gained from worship, [their] merit gained from donations, [their] magical power; for they censured him" (my transl.).

My editorial choices were heavily inspired by the comparison with the PāśS parallel: I corrected the reading *-anindram* (presumably a corruption due to the frequent references to Indra in our text) to the 3pl. imperfect **anindan*, from *nind-*, 'to blame, censure', which is the root employed in 17.35.1 above (in Ahīnas Āśvatthi's speech), as well as in PāśS 4.13, *nindā hy eṣānindā tasmād*.

However, I also corrected *saṃvṛkta-* to the imperfect **sam *avṛ̥ṅkta*, on the basis of the observation that the imperfect is the narrative tense used throughout our text, and on the basis of comparison with the imperfect *samavindata* in PāśS 4.12, which is most likely a corruption or reformulation of out text. It should be noted that this is not a light emendation, as it presupposes the loss of the akṣara *ma* (in *sa<u>ma</u>vṛ̥ṅkta*).

Accordingly, I also corrected *saṃvṛkte* to a 3sg. present *saṃ *vṛ̥ṅkte*, taking *iṣṭaṃ pūrtaṃ māyāṃ* in both **3** and **4b** as accusative objects.

Moreover, comparison with the instrumental forms in PāśS 4.12, *māyayā sukṛ̥tayā samavindata*, "He acquired it with well-performed magic", makes the reading *māyāṃ* (but note **Ma**, **V71** *māyā*)[48] suspicious, so one would be tempted to emend to an instrumental **māyayā*. The issue is nicely presented by Bisschop (2018: 9), who in fact decided to adopt the latter emendation: "Although the acquiring of another person's magic power (*māyā*) is just conceivable, it does not appear to me very likely. After all, it is Indra himself who performs *māyā* by carrying out the vow of the ox. The theme of Indra's *māyā* is a constant one in Vedic literature (see, e.g., Oertel 1905, Gonda 1965, Goudriaan 1978: 5–15). The instrumental is also suggested by the text's earlier statement that the performance of the vow among human beings is *kṛ̥tyā* (witchcraft), which may be regarded as the human equivalent of *māyā*. Moreover, *iṣṭa* and *pūrta* form a natural pair, well-documented by the study of Sakamoto-Gotō (2000), and they are never put on a par with *māyā*. The instrumental *māyayā* appears more plausible in this context and it is quite conceivable that the *ya* has simply been dropped in the transmission."[49]

47 This part of the text was unfortunately misprinted as *vāgre* in Bisschop 2018: 9.

48 Of course, all **O** mss. spell *māẏāṃ/māẏā*, but the difference between *y* and *ẏ* is irrelevant to this discussion, therefore to avoid confusion I do not note this distinction in the rest of my comment.

49 Werner Knobl also suggested the possibility of reading *māyā* without emendation by taking it as an instrumental. However, I am hesitant to accept this solution because, as Macdonell (1910: 264) points out, although this archaic ending is indeed most common among *-yā* (and *-tā*) stems, it is already slightly less common in RV (95 stems vs. 113 stems in *-ayā*), and it becomes significantly rare already in the other Saṃhitās, with only 5 such forms in ŚS (I have no such statistics for the PS, however). The instrumental *māyā* in particular is never attested, even in RV or AV: the ins. *māyayā* instead occurs 20 times in RV (Lubotsky 1997), 7 times in ŚS (Whitney, *Index*), and 8 times in the PS (Kim, *Index*). Given that our *brāhmaṇa* prose text

It is indeed extremely attractive to emend our text as outlined above on the basis of the PāśS; at the same time, we run the risk of imposing the readings and perhaps the reinterpretations of a later text onto ours. Thus, here I would like to evaluate the possibility of an alternative solution, one that is more conservative with respect to the manuscript readings, and does not involve emending the two verbal forms based on the root *vṛj-*.

In line **3**, the mss. preserve the form *saṃvṛkte*. This could be considered the neuter dual of a verbal noun *sam-vṛkta-*. The dual could refer to the two neuter words *iṣṭam* and *pūrtam*. If we leave out *māyāṃ* for the sake of our discussion, the translation would be: "He who speaks ill of the initiated one, his merit accumulated with worship, his merit accumulated with gifts, are both wrested away (*saṃvṛkte*)". The advantage, obviously, is that there is no need to emend the verb.

As Renou (1955b: 86) points out, the verbal noun is employed with increasing frequency and in a variety of usages already in the *brāhmaṇa* prose parts of the AV. Instances of verbal nouns used as verbal predicates can be found for instance in ŚS 11.3.14–15 (a *brāhmaṇa* portion on the *odana*), *ṛcā́ kumbhy ádhihitā́rtvijyena préṣitā || bráhmaṇā párigṛhītā sā́mnā páryūḍhā ||*, "14. With the sacred verse (*ṛ́c*) is the vessel put on, with priesthood sent forth; 15. With sacredness (*bráhman*) seized about, with sacred chant (*sā́man*) carried about" (Whitney); and in ŚS 12.5.1–3 (~ PS 16.140.1a-e) (another *brāhmaṇa* text on the brahmin's cow), *śrámeṇa tápasā sṛṣṭā́ bráhmaṇā vittā́ rté śritā́ || satyénā́vṛtā śriyā́ prā́vṛtā yáśasā párīvṛtā || svadháyā párihitā śraddháyā páryūḍhā dīkṣáyā guptā́ yajñé prátiṣṭhitā lokó nidhánam ||*, "1. By toil, by penance [is she] created, acquired by *bráhman*, supported (*śritá*) on righteousness. 2. Covered with truth, enclosed with fortune, enveloped with glory. 3. Set about with *svadhā́*, surrounded with faith, guarded by consecration, standing firm in the offering, the world her post (*nidhána*)" (Whitney). We also find it elsewhere in this text, in 17.28.5b, *vaiśvānareṇa hi dagdhaḥ ||*, "for it was burned by Vaiśvānara"; and 17.42.6, *ṛksāmābhyām uttabhito yajuṣā yajñena gāyatreṇa brahmaṇā prathita upariṣṭāt ||*, "He is upheld by the *ṛk* verses and the *sāman* chants; by the *yajus* ritual injunctions, by the ritual worship, by the Gāyatrī recitation, by the *bráhman* formula, he is made to thrive above."

The problem is what to do with *māyāṃ*. It is perhaps possible to consider it an interpolation due to anticipation from **4b**: after all, as pointed out above, the magic power available to humans is the *kṛtyā* of 17.34.2, whereas the *māyā* pertains to the gods. Indeed, the word *māyā* fits in line **4**, which refers to Indra and the Asuras, but seems out of place in line **3**, which deals with human *vratins* and human detractors.

Now, as concerns **4b**, the $\mathbf{O}^{\mathbf{A}}$ mss. point to *māyāṃ*, $\mathbf{O}^{\mathbf{B}}$ to *māyā* (with the exception of $\mathbf{JM}_3$, which, however, very often shows contamination from $\mathbf{O}^{\mathbf{A}}$). Bhattacharya has adopted *māyāṃ*: this can only work if we have a transitive verb and we take *iṣṭam pūrtaṃ māyāṃ* as three objects. Indeed, my emendation to **sam* **avṛṅkta*, 'he werested away' (based on PāśS *samavindata*), was proposed accordingly. However, the sequence *samvṛktānindram* (or *samvṛktānindam* after my emendation of the second part) could not only underlie *saṃvṛkta*, which I had interpreted as a corrupt form of the imperfect **sam* **avṛṅkta* (as I had first emended), but also the form *saṃvṛktā*. This could be another verbal noun, this time a nominative feminine singular. If we adopt the $\mathbf{O}^{\mathbf{B}}$ reading *māyā*, we would have *māyā saṃvṛktā*, "the magic power (*māyā*, nom. sg. f.) was wrested away (*saṃvṛktā*, nom. sg. f.)". What to do with the preceding *iṣṭaṃ pūrtaṃ*? We can simply take them as nominative forms. All three words, *iṣṭaṃ*, *pūrtaṃ*, and *māyā*, would then be nominative subjects; however, the predicate *samvṛktā* would regularly agree only with the third element, out of attraction, because *māyā* is the closest element in the phrase. The translation thus would be: "Of them (*teṣāṃ*), the merit gained from worship (*iṣṭaṃ*), the merit gained from gifts (*pūrtaṃ*), the magic power (*māyā*) was wrested away (*saṃvṛktā*)". The advantage is once again that we avoid intervening in the text with an emendation.

Also note that in 17.28.7, the imperfect *apāvṛṅkta* is correctly preserved with the nasal infix: *apāvṛṃkta* **O**, *upāvṛṅkta* **K**. If lines **3** and **4b** also featured similar verbal forms with nasal infix, it

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is probably late, an instrumental *māyā* would seem rather exceptional here.

would seem strange that this would have been lost in both cases.

One detail needs clarification: if **V71** *māyā* is original, then it was this *māyā* that was interpolated in line **3**, and not *māyāṃ*. The anusvāra would have been added later only in **O$^{A}$**. Indeed, in line **3**, **V71** has *māyā* just like in line **4**. However, in line **3**, **Mā** supposedly has *māyāṃ* (Bhattacharya's apparatus is silent, so we can only assume this). We thus have several possible scenarios: if we consider **V71**'s **3/4b** *māyā* as original, then we need to assume that an anusvāra was added independently in both **3** and **4b** in the **O$^{A}$** sub-branch, and only in **3** in **Mā**; if we consider **Mā**'s **3** *māyāṃ* as original, then **V71**'s **3/4b** *māyā* would be a later correction that restored the original reading (or an error of transmission that happens to correspond to the original reading).

First scenario:

1) In stage one, the original text was the following:

*ya evaṃ viduṣo ['']sādhu kīrtayatīṣṭam evāsya pūrtaṃ saṃvṛkte* ||
*indro vā agre ['']sureṣv anaḍudvratam acarat*
*teṣām iṣṭaṃ pūrtaṃ <u>māyā</u> samvṛktānindan hy enam* ||

2) In stage two, in **4b** *māyā* was interpolated in line **3**:

*ya evaṃ viduṣo ['']sādhu kīrtayatīṣṭam evāsya pūrtaṃ <u>māyā</u> saṃvṛkte* ||
*indro vā agre ['']sureṣv anaḍudvratam acarat*
*teṣām iṣṭaṃ pūrtaṃ <u>māyā</u> samvṛktānindan hy enam* ||

This is the situation preserved in **V71**, and possibly the situation of the **O$^{B}$** sub-archetype.

3) Finally, in the third stage, **O$^{A}$** inserted the anusvara in both **3** and **4b**, **Mā** only in **3a**:

*ya evaṃ viduṣo ['']sādhu kīrtayatīṣṭam evāsya pūrtaṃ <u>māyāṃ</u> saṃvṛkte* ||
*indro vā agre ['']sureṣv anaḍudvratam acarat*
*teṣām iṣṭaṃ pūrtaṃ <u>māyām</u>* (**Mā**: *māyā*) *samvṛktānindan hy enam* ||

The alternative scenario is the following:

2) In stage two, the anusvāra was inserted in line **4b**, perhaps before the written archetype:

*ya evaṃ viduṣo ['']sādhu kīrtayatīṣṭam evāsya pūrtaṃ saṃvṛkte* ||
*indro vā agre ['']sureṣv anaḍudvratam acarat*
*teṣām iṣṭaṃ pūrtaṃ <u>māyām</u> samvṛktānindan hy enam* ||

3) Then, **4b** *māyāṃ* was anticipated in **3** (this seems more likely to have happened because of the oral transmission):

*ya evaṃ viduṣo ['']sādhu kīrtayatīṣṭam evāsya pūrtaṃ <u>māyām</u> saṃvṛkte* ||
*indro vā agre ['']sureṣv anaḍudvratam acarat*
*teṣām iṣṭaṃ pūrtaṃ <u>māyām</u> samvṛktānindan hy enam* ||

This would be the situation of the PS archetype (or at least the Odia archetype) as preserved in **O$^{A}$**.

4) Later, in **O$^{B}$**, *māyāṃ* was changed (a correction, an error) to *māyā* in both **3** and **4b** but, for some reason, not in **3** in **Mā**—unless Bhattacharya's apparatus simply does not record this variant. It is also possible that an error first occurred in **4b** (*māyāṃ* > *māyā*), which is why we find *māyā* in both **Mā** and **V71**, and then **V71** would have introduced *māyā* also in **3**:

*ya evaṃ viduṣo ['']sādhu kīrtayatīṣṭam evāsya pūrtaṃ <u>māyā</u>* (**Mā**: *māyāṃ*) *saṃvṛkte* ||
*indro vā agre ['']sureṣv anaḍudvratam acarat*
*teṣām iṣṭaṃ pūrtaṃ <u>māyā</u> samvṛktānindan hy enam* ||

All scenarios are somewhat problematic and require several assumptions.

In the end we have two possibilities: on the one hand, we are very tempted to heavily emend our text on the basis of the PāśS; this would yield a very good text—it would be especially nice to read an imperfect *sam avṛṅkta*, as this is the tense used in the narration throughout the text (*anindan* is also an imperfect). On the other hand, it is possible to make sense of the text without any significant emendation. The price to pay is that we need to remove *māyā*(*ṃ*) from **3**, considering it an interpolation (and without being one hundred percent sure about which scenario yielded the readings in our mss.).

As much as I find my older solution attractive, I think that, from an editorial point of view, it is best to leave the text as it is, as much as we can make sense of it. Therefore, I refrain from

correcting the verbal forms, and I also leave *māyā*(*ṃ*) in **3**, simply marking it as a possible interpolation.

**3**. On *saṃ-vṛj-*, see my comment on 17.28.7c above.

Compare this line with PS 17.40.6 below: *ya evaṃ viduṣo [']sādhu kīrtayaty etair evainaṃ tamobhiḥ prorṇoti* ||, "He envelops with these very darknesses him who speaks ill of the initiated one."

**4a**. The variant *vāgre asureṣv* with initial *-e a-*, adopted by Bhattacharya, seems to be an innovation of **Ja** and the closely related ms. **V122**.

The attested reading *vāgre* is certainly due to double sandhi: *vai_agre* > *vā agre* > *vāgre*.

**17.35.5**

a so [']naḍuho vahe [']kramata
b *sarvāṃl lokān prājānāt ||

He strode onto the withers of the draft-ox. He foreknew the way to every place.

N.B. This line is missing in **K**. The lacuna in **K** ends here. The lacuna in **Pa**$_c$ ends with *-he kramata*.

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so [']naḍuho] so naḍuho **[Ma] [Ja] Ji**$_4$ **[Mā] V71 JM**$_3$ so naṛuho **V122** *om*. **K Pa**$_c$ • vahe [']kramata] vahe kramata **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji**$_4$ **[Mā] V71 JM**$_3$ he kramata **Pa**$_c$ *om*. **K** • sarvāṃl lokān] sarvāl lokān **O** *om*. **K** • prājānāt] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji**$_4$ **Pa**$_c$ **V71 JM**$_3$ prajānāt **Mā** *om*. **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji**$_4$ **V71 JM**$_3$ | **Mā V122 Pa**$_c$ *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *sonaḍuho*, *vahekramata*, and *sarvāllom̐kān* (probably a misprint).

On *kram-* (mid.) plus loc., see the discussion in my comment on 17.30 above.

On *váha-*, the ox's 'withers', see my comment on PS 3.23.11 in Appendix II.

On the sandhi between final *-n* before *l-*, I follow Griffiths's (2009: lxii §(L)) practice of regularising to *-ṃl l-*. The asterisk is necessary as the mss. preserve no trace of the *anusvāra*.

**17.35.6–9**

6a yāv asya pūrvapādau tau pūrvapakṣau
6b yāv $^{+}$aparapādau tāv aparapakṣau ||
7a yāv *asyauṣṭhau tau puroḍāśau
7b ye nāsike tau sruvau ||
8a ye *asyākṣyau tau sūryācandramasau
8b ye nimeṣās tāny ahorātrāṇi
8c yāni vakṣaṇāni te sūryasya raśmayaḥ ||
9 droṇakalaśaḥ śiraḥ somo rājā mastiṣkaḥ ||

His two front legs, they are the two first halves;
his two hind legs, they are the two latter halves.
His two lips, they are the two sacrificial cakes;
his two nostrils, they are the two *sruva* ladles.
His two eyes, they are the sun and the moon;

[his] eye blinks, they are the days and the nights;
[his] flanks, they are the rays of the sun.
[His] head is the *droṇakalaśa* vessel; [his] brain is King Soma.

Note that in **JM$_3$**, the scribe eye-skipped from *tāu* in line **a** to *tāv* in line **b**, leaving a lacuna.

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pūrvapādau] **Pa$_c$** pūrvapadau **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** pūrvaḥ pādau **K** • tau] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** *om*. **JM$_3$ V122** to **K** • pūrvapakṣau] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** *om*. **JM$_3$** • yāv $^{+}$aparapādau] yāv aparapadau **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā V71** *om*. **JM$_3$** yāv apādau **K** • tāv aparapakṣau] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** tāv apṛ̥rapakṣau **JM$_3$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122 Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • yāv *asyauṣṭhau] yāv asyoṣṭhau **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yāvasyoṣṭau **Ji$_4$** yosyekṣe **K** • tau puroḍāśau] **V71 [Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** tau puroṛāśau **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** tau puroḷāśau **K** • ye nāsike] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** ye nāśike **V71 JM$_3$** • tau sruvau] **K** tau śruvau **O** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • ye *asyākṣyau] ye asyākṣau **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ye a[.]śākṣa **Ji$_4$** yosyaukṣe **K** • tau sūryācandramasau] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** tau sūryyācandramasau **Pa$_c$** • ye nimeṣās] **[O]** yā nimeṣās **K** • tāny ahorātrāṇi] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** tāndehoratrāni **Ji$_4$** tav ahorātre **K** • yāni vakṣaṇāni te sūryasya] **[Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yāni vakṣaṇā te sūryasya **Ja** yat sūryasya **K** • raśmayaḥ] raśmayaḥ **[O]** raśmayas **K** • ||] saḥ || **Ma Ja Mā V71 JM$_3$** saḥ || (*s.s.* →)[. . .] **V122** saḥ hā **Ji$_4$** saḥ [x] | **Pa$_c$** sa **K** • droṇakalaśaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** droṇakalasya **Ji$_4$** droṇakalaśa **K** • śiraḥ somo] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** [x]śira(ḥ←*s.s.*) somo **JM$_3$** śiras somo **K** • rājā] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** rā[ja̱]jā **V71** • mastiṣkaḥ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** mastiṣkaṣkaṃ **Ji$_4$** mastaṣkaḥ **Pa$_c$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** | **V122 V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *pūrvapādau*$^{+}$ in **6a**, *yāvasyoṣṭhau*. in **7**, and *sa (nādhārayat)* || at the end of **8c**.

Here begins a long series of lines in which the body parts of the draft-ox are equated with various items possessing sacred and ritual significance.

**6**. The correct reading, *pūrvapādau*, is preserved in **Pa$_c$**, but given that all the other **O** mss. feature a variant with short a (*pūrvapa̱dau*), it is very likely that **Pa$_c$**'s is a learned correction.

The compounds *pūrvapakṣa-* and *aparapakṣa-* normally indicate the first and second half of the month (or of the year), respectively. However, it is not clear to me why they are used in the dual here, as logically each month (or year) only has one first half and one second half. At the same time, one wonders if lines 7 and 8 actually refer to some specific ritual in which two sacrificial cakes and two *sruva* ladles are used, or if these items all come in pairs simply because they correspond to body parts that come in pairs.

**7**. The reading of **K**, *yosyekṣe*, must be due to anticipation of **8a**, *yosyaukṣe*. The **O** reading, *asyoṣṭhau*, must be due to double sandhi, therefore I emend it.

**8a**. Note that **O** *ye asyākṣau* and **K** *yosyaukṣe* must be emended to *ye *asyākṣyau* (correcting the stem of *akṣán-*/*ákṣi-*), if not to **yāv *asyākṣyau*. The word for 'eyes' is neuter, and if we have to trust the mss., apparently even masculine-looking forms like *akṣyau* are treated as neuters. This form, absent in RV, is actually the most frequent nom./acc. dual form in AV (7x in ŚS according to Whitney, Index p. 11; I counted more than twice as many in PS, as opposed to *ákṣiṇī*, 2x in ŚS).

**8b**. The compound *ahorātrá-* can be either masculine or neuter (contrary to the general rule according to which a Dvandva should take the gender of its second member, which in this case is the feminine), although the neuter is more frequent, especially in the older language. In particular, the only RV occurrence, 10.190.2c, is the neuter pl. *ahorātrā́ṇi*, and only the neuter is found in the AV, normally the neuter dual *ahorātré*. In AV, the neuter plural is found only in ŚS 4.35.4 *ahorātrā́*, ŚS 13.3.8 *ahorātraíḥ*, and PS 16.72.3b *ahorātrāṇi*. (a second occurrence, PS 18.24.5a, corresponds to the quoted RV line, although the rest of the stanza is different). As far as our line is concerned, **K**

*tav ahorātre* cannot be correct as such: the sandhi is irregular and, at any rate, the pronoun should be ******te*, in agreement with the neuter gender. Thus, the dual *ahorātre* is the expected form, but accepting it requires the emendation of the pronoun. On the other hand, *ahorātrāṇi* is also attested in PS, and **O** *tāny ahorātrāni* is perhaps preferable, not only because, being the rarest variant, we might consider it the *lectio difficilior*, but also because the corresponding item in the *ya* phrase is also a plural (masculine), not a dual. For these reasons, I adopt it.

**8c**. Bhattacharya writes *sūryasya raśmayaḥ sa (nādhārayat)* ||, but the *saḥ* preserved in the mss. is certainly a case of perseveration from 17.31.3, *ete vai pathayo devayānā yat sūryasya raśmayaḥ sa (nādhārayat)* ||. The error must be ascribed to the period of oral transmission preceding the written archetype; in fact, we find it in both branches.

**17.35.10–12**

10 ye asya śr̥ṅge tad r̥taṃ satyam ||
11a dhruvaṃ vā r̥taṃ satyaṃ
11b tasmād ete dhruve ||
12 dhruvam eva $^{+}$rtaṃ satyam anu prati tiṣṭhati ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

[His] two horns, they are cosmic order and truth.
Cosmic order and truth are firm;
that is why those two (i.e. the horns of oxens) are firm.
He gets a firm standing along the very firm cosmic order, [along] truth, he who, (being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox).

ye asya] **[O]** ye sya **K** • satyam ||] satyaṃ || **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** satyaṃ | **V71 V122 Pa$_c$** satyaṃ **K** • dhruvaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** dhruvā **Ji$_4$** (~~kru~~→)dhruvaṃ **Pa$_c$** • r̥taṃ] **[O]** ritaṃ **K** • dhruve ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** dhruve | **V122** dhr̥ve | **Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • dhruvam eva $^{+}$rtaṃ] dhruvam evavartaṃ **Ma** dhruvam evavartiṃ **Ja** dhruva[~~ṃ~~]m evarttaṃ **V122** dhr̥vam evavarttaṃ **Pa$_c$** dhruvam evattaṃ **Mā Ji$_4$** [x]dhruvam evarttaṃ **V71** dhruvam e(*s.s* →[x])varttaṃ **JM$_3$** dhruvam eva tvāṃ **K** • satyam anu] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** satya[~~ṃ~~]m anu **Pa$_c$** • ya (…) ||] yaḥ || 35 || ru || **Ma Pa$_c$** yaḥ || ru 2.35 || **Ja?** yaḥ || ru || 35 || **V122** yaḥ || 35 || **Ji$_4$** yaḥ || 35 || ru 12 || **Mā V71 JM$_3$** yaḥ Z **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads $^{+}$*dhruvamevartaṃ*.

## Kāṇḍikā 36

From this kāṇḍikā onwards, the Odia and Kashmirian traditions disagree on the order of the lines. The Odia order seems more consistent with the content, therefore I follow it. The Kashmirian order is the following: 37.1, 2, 3, 4 || Z 10 Z || 38.1, 2, 4, 5, 3, 6, 33.4 (repeated) (38.7 is missing) || Z 11 Z || 36.1, 3 (with a lacuna: 36.2 is missing) || Z 12 Z || 39.1, 2 || 40.1, 42.3, 40.2, 3 (with a lacuna), 4, 41.5 (40.6-9 are missing) || 14 || 40.1 (repeated), 41.1, 2, 3, 40.5, 41.5 (repeated) || Z 15 Z || 42.1, 2, 41.4, 42.4, 5, 6, 7 || Z 16 Z ||. The lines of the last kāṇḍikā, 43, follow the same order.

### 17.36.1-3

1 yāv asya karṇau sā śraddhā ||
2a carācarā vai śraddhā
2b tasmāt karṇau muhur varīvarjayati ||
3 śraddadhate [']smai śraddhānīyo bhavati ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

His two ears, they are trust.
Trust is in constant motion;
that's why he (the draft-ox) constantly flaps [his] ears back and forth every moment.
[People] trust him, he becomes trustworthy, he who, (being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox).

N.B. **K** features a lacuna due to eye-skip from after *śraddhā* in **1** to (*śraddhā*)*nīyo* in **3**.

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karṇau] **K** karṇṇau **Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$ [Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** karṇṇo **V122** karṇṇo **Ji$_4$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V122 V71** *om*. **K** • tasmād] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** tasyāt **V122** *om*. **K** • karṇau] karṇṇau **V122 Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$ [Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** karṇṇo **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • muhur] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** mahur **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • varīvarjayati] varīvarjaẏati **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** va[.]varjayati **V122** *om*. **K** • śraddadhate [']smai] śraddadhate smai **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śradadhate smai **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • śraddhānīyo] śraddhanīẏo **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** śraddhāśraddhānīẏo **Mā** (śraddhā)nīyo **K** • bhavati] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** bha[x]vati **Pa$_c$** bhavatī **K** • ya (…) ||] **[Ma]? [Ja]?** yaḥ || 36 || ru || **V122** yaḥ || 36 || **Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** yaḥ || 36 || ru 3 || **Mā JM$_3$** yaḥ || 36 || ru [. **V71** yaḥ Z 12 Z **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *śraddadhatesmai* and *ya (evaṃ ... bibharti)* ||.

This passage supports Heesterman's (1993: 77–78, 251 fn. 36; cf. 1968: 243) view that the term *śraddhā-* does not indicate a man's attitude towards a god ('faith'), but 'trust' between man and man. Heesterman (1993: 78) pointed out that the "newly adopted king should send certain

ceremonial gifts to his peers and rivals, the ‘counterkings’ (*pratirājan*). By accepting his gifts the latter signify that they are his allies, or as [MS 4.9.9: 61.4] puts it, ‘they place faith in him’” (*śráddhāsmai suṣuvāṇā́ya dadhati*). Similarly, “the gods are said to have ‘made faith’—found ‘credit’—with their opponents, the mighty Asuras”, according to RV 10.151.3. The sense of *śraddhā* as ‘confidence’ in the efficacy of the ritual starts to appear only “when the gifts sent to the *pratirājans* are prescribed as *dakṣiṇās* to be given to the officiating brahmins”. On *śraddhā*, see also Köhler 1973.

There are only two more occurrences of the compound *carācará-* in the AV: PS 7.11.2ab (~ RV 10.162.3ab) (For safe pregnancy: with bdellium), *yas te hanti carācaram* (RV *patáyantaṃ*) *utthāsyantaṃ* (RV *niṣatsnúṃ yáḥ*) *sarīsr̥pam* |, “The one that kills your fetus of ten-months, moving to and fro, about to emerge, smoothly gliding” (Griffiths), and ŚS 14.1.11d (~ PS 18.1.10d ~ RV 10.85.11d) (Wedding hymn), *diví pánthāś carācaráḥ*, “die Straße zieht sich am Himmel hin” (Geldner). The presence of the intensive *varīvarjayati* in **2b** suggests an intensive interpretation of this compound: ‘going and going, constantly going/moving, in constant motion’ (cf. Hoffmann 1960: 248 [= 1975: 119] with references to AiGr). The sense must be that trust is elusive, fleeting, hard to secure. The ox figuratively compensates by flapping his ears back and forth, being attentive to everything and everyone: hence he is trustworthy. A similar wording with *kárṇa-* as the object of an intensive causative of *vr̥j-* is found in ŚS 12.5.22a ~ PS 16.143.1b (part of a hymn to the Brahman’s cow, and a subsection about the frightening aspects of the cow): *sarvajyāníḥ kárṇau varīvarjáyantī*, “Total scathing when twisting about her ears” (Whitney).

On *śraddhānīya-* and the *-anī́ya* formations, see my comment (§10e) in the introduction to this chapter.

## Kāṇḍikā 37

### 17.37.1

a yāsya dakṣiṇā hanuḥ sā *juhūr
b yā savyā sopabhṛd
c yaḥ kaṇṭhaḥ sā dhruvā ||

His right cheek, that's the *juhū* ladle;
[his] left [cheek], that's the *upabhṛt* ladle;
[his] throat, that's the *dhruvā* ladle.

yasya dakṣiṇā] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yasya[x]dakṣiṇā **Pa$_c$** • hanuḥ sā] **[O]** haṇus sā **K** • *juhūr] juhur **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** juhu(//) **JM$_3$** • yā savyā sopabhṛd] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yā savā sopabhṛd **Ji$_4$** yādadaryāsaṃ yāsaṃ vyāso bavrunyaḥ **K** • kaṇṭhaḥ sā] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** kaṇṭha sā **V122** kaṇthasyā (=BHATT. vs. kaṇḍhasyā BARRET) **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V122 Pa$_c$ V71** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *juhur*. Indeed, both **K** and **O** agree on the short *u*. However, the correct stem of this well known word is *juhū́*-, f. Therefore, an emendation is necessary. These three ladles, together with the *sruva* (mentioned above in 17.35.7b), are the most important ladles used in Śrauta rituals (STAAL 1983: I 207; cf. CALAND & HENRY 1906: XXIII ff.). The *juhū́*, made of *palāśa* wood (*Butea frondosa*), the *upabhṛ́t*, made of *aśvattha* wood (*Ficus religiosa)*, and *dhruvā́*, made of *vikaṅkata* wood (*Flacourtia sapida*), are often referred to with the general term *sruc*, 'ladle' (MYLIUS 1995: 139 s.v.), and frequently form a triad: compare for instance ŚS 18.4.5ab, *juhū́r dādhāra dyā́m upabhṛ́d antárikṣaṃ dhruvā́ dādhāra pṛthivī́ṃ pratiṣṭhā́m* |, "The *juhū́* ladle upholds the sky, the *upabhṛ́d* ladle the atmosphere; the *dhruvā́* ladle upholds the earth, the foundation".

### 17.37.2

a agnir āsyaṃ
b vidyuj jihvā
c maruto dantāḥ
d pavamānaḥ prāṇaḥ ||

[His] mouth is Agni;
[his] tongue is the bolt of lightning;
[his] teeth are the Maruts;
[his] breath is the wind.

āsyaṃ vidyuj] **K [Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** āsyamvidy[.]j **V122** āśaṃ vidyuj **Ji$_4$** āsyamvidyuj **Pa$_c$** • dantāḥ pavamānaḥ prāṇaḥ] **[Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** dantāḥ paśavamānaḥ prāṇaḥ **Ja** dantāḥ pavamāḥ prāṇaḥ **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā]** | **V122 Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **K**

Note the syntactic variation between this line and the previous: in 17.37.1, we had the following structure: [ *ya-* (old info), *sa-* (new info) ]; here we have a [ PRED (new info), SUBJ (old info)] structure, in which the predicate (new info) is fronted.

**17.37.3–4**

3 eṣā vai $^{+}$sā yām āhur vasor dhāreti yad $^{+}$āntragudam ||
4 vasor eva dhārāṃ saṃr̥ddhim akṣitim ava rundhe ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

This, the intestine and the rectum, is what they call the "stream of wealth".
He secures a real stream of wealth, success, imperishableness, he who, (being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox).

eṣā vai $^{+}$sā] eṣā vai ṣā **O** eṣā vai mā **K** • āhur] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** āhūr **Mā V71** • vasor dhāreti] **K** vasorddhāreti **Ma Ja Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā JM$_3$** vasodhāreti **V122** visor ddhāreti **V71** • yad $^{+}$āntragudam] yad āntigudaṃ **Ma Ja Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** yadāntigu(haṃ→*s.s.*)daṃ **V122** yadāntigu[x]dam **Ji$_4$** yad antragudaṃ **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122 Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • dhārāṃ] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** dhā[.]ṃ **V122** • saṃr̥ddhim akṣitim] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** saṃr̥ddhimaḥkṣitim **Ji$_4$** saṃr̥dim akṣitim **V71** saṃr̥ddham akṣatim **K** • ava rundhe] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** ava e[.](//)ndh (=ava ru[.]ndhe) **JM$_3$** • ya (…) ||] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** yaḥ || 37 || ru (space) || **V122** yaḥ || 39 || **Ji$_4$** yaḥ || 37 || ru || **Pa$_c$** yaḥ || 37 || [. **V71** yaḥ || 37 || ru 4 || **JM$_3$** yaḥ Z 10 Z **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *eṣā vai sā* and $^{+}$*yadāntragudam* ||.

Bhattacharya writes *sā*, but this reading is not found in any of the mss., so adopting it requires an emendation. The question here is whether *ṣā* was already there in the PS written archetype, or if it is simply a mistake of the Odia tradition. I think that it is impossible to say for certain. If *sā* is original, *ṣā* could have come about by perseveration of *eṣā* (during the period of oral transmission) because of the automatic effect of the ruki rule in close sandhi contact (perhaps favoured by recitation, but at any rate during the period of oral transmission), or due to a scribal mistake (during the period of written transmission). I would say that the first two scenarios (or maybe the influence of both) are more probable. If this is true, then the written archetype would already have featured *ṣa*, as preserved by **O**. Theoretically, Śāradā *mā* could be derived from *ṣā* by the loss of a horizontal trait; however, KIM (*Schreib*. p. 50) records only one such case (PS 9.11.11d, *viṣadūṣaṇaḥ* **O**, *vimadūṣaṇā* **K**). On the contrary, confusion of *sa* for *ma* is an extremely common mistake in **K** so, in fact, **K** *mā* most likely points to the presence of *sā* in the written archetype. I am inclined to think that there is a higher likelihood that this latter scenario is the correct one, so I emend to $^{+}$*sā*, although, as I have said, we cannot be certain (the plus sign is required, not the asterisk, precisely because I assume that the reading was there as such in the written archetype).

In classical Śrauta ritual, the so-called *vasor dhārā* is a continuous oblation of clarified butter poured into the sacrificial fire during the Agnicayana ritual (MYLIUS 1995: 114; RENOU 1954: 135; HILLEBRANDT 1897: 164). A long, large wooden ladle, the *praseka*, whose length is determined by measuring the distance between the top of the *yajamāna*'s head and his feet, is installed on the

*uttaravedi* fire altar by means of a double support: its rear end stands on four crossed bamboo sticks, with a pile of bricks to support its front end, positioned above the fire, so that the ladle is inclined towards the fire. The Pratiprasthātṛ, standing at the opposite end of the *praseka*, pours the clarified butter, which flows down a groove carved along the centre of the ladle and trickles into the fire. Meanwhile, the Adhvaryu recites TS 4.7.1–11. This recitation is also called *vasor dhāra*. On this performance, see Staal 1983: I 563ff.

The Dvandva compound *āntraguda-* is only attested in SuśS 3.3.33 and VadhŚS 13.12.

On the formula *samṛddhi- akṣiti-*, see my comment on 17.28.32 above.

## Kāṇḍikā 38

### 17.38.1

a yad asya carma tad abhraṃ
b yāni lomāni tāni nakṣatrāṇi ||

His hide, that is the cloud;
[his] hairs, they are the constellations.

carma] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** carmaṃ **Pa$_c$** • nakṣatrāṇi] **[O]** nakṣattrāṇi **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** | **V122 V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **K**

### 17.38.2

a svedo varṣam
b ūṣmā nīhāra
c oṣadhayaś ca vanaspatayaś cobadhyam ||

[His] sweat is the rain;
[his] (body) steam (/warm breath?) is the fog;
[his] bolus is the herbs and the trees.

svedo] **[O]** sve **K** • ūṣmā] **K** uṣmā **O** • nīhāra] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** nīrhāraḥ **Ji$_4$** nihrāro **K** • oṣadhayaś ca] oṣadhaẏaś ca **[O]** yad oṣadhayaś ca **K** • vanaspatayaś] **K** vanaspataẏaś **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vanaspataẏeś **Ji$_4$** (vasore(//)vadhārāṃ→)vanaspataẏaś **Pa$_c$** • cobadhyaṃ] **[O]** codhyam, **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** | **V122 V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **K**

This line shows one more syntactic variation. So far we have seen the following syntactic structures:

[ *ya* phrase (ox body part = old info), *sa*/*ta* phrase (ritual/natural item = new info) ]
e.g. *yad asya carma tad abhraṃ*.

Alternatively, when nominal phrases were used (in 17.35.9 or 37.2), the new piece of information was fronted:

[ PRED (ritual item = new info, focus), SUBJ (ox body part = old info, topic) ]
e.g. *droṇakalaśaḥ śiraḥ*.

Here we also find nominal phrases, but no fronting is involved. Since in our text the body parts of the ox constitute the old information, while the ritual and natural items that are equated with them constitute the new information, it seems reasonable to assume that here we have the normal

word order:

[ SUBJ (ox body part = old info), PRED (ritual/natural item = new info) ]

Thus, although it is not evident from my translations, the underlying syntax here is different from the nominal sentences we found earlier.

Some of the equations found in our line are also found in PS 16.54.1:[50] *tasyaudanasya bhūmiḥ kumbhī dyaur apidhānam śiro 'bhram ūṣmā nīhāro bṛhad āyavanaṃ rathantaraṃ darviḥ | diśaḥ pārśve sītāḥ parśavaḥ +sikatā +ūbadhyaṃ* (Bhattacharya: *siktā ubhadyaṃ*) *palalam upastaraṇam ahorātre vikramaṇe odanasya* ||, "Of this rice-dish (*odana*) the jar is the Earth, the lid is the sky; the head (top part?) is the raincloud, the steam is the fog; the spoon (*āyavana*) is the Bṛhat Sāman, the ladle (*darvi*) is the Rathantara Sāman. The two sides are the Directions, the knives (*parśu*) are the furrows; the sand (grains? *sikatā*) is the bolus; the bran is the act of spreading out the grass; the two steps of the rice-dish are the day and the night" (my transl.). Note here too the constant change of syntax between nominal sentences with and without a fronted predicate.

**17.38.3**

a yo [']sya dakṣiṇo [']rdhas tau śāradau māsau
b yaḥ savyas tau haimanau ||

His right side, that is the two months of autumn;
[his] left [side], that is the two [months] of winter.

yo [']sya] yo sya **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** yo 'sya **V122** yo asya **Pa$_c$** • dakṣiṇo [']rdhas] dakṣiṇo rdhas **[Ma] [Ja]** dakṣiṇo rddhas **V122 Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** dakṣiṇā rddhas **Ji$_4$** jaghanas **K**[51] • śāradau] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śāra(vau→*s.s.*)dau **V122** • yaḥ savyas] **[O]** yasya vakṣas **K** • haimanau] **[O]** hemantau **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *yosya dakṣiṇordhastau*.

The *avagraha* in **V122** and the *a-* in **Pa$_c$** are most certainly due to secondary improvement of the text (cf. 17.43.7). The readings of all the other **O** and **K** mss. suggest that the PS written archetype read *yosya*.

**17.38.4**

a yo [']sya jaghanārdhas tau śaiśirau māsau
b yaḥ pūrvārdhas tau vāsantau ||

His hind side, that is the two months of the cool season;
[his] front part, that is the two [months] of spring.

yo [']sya] yosya **K [Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** yo 'sya **V122** ye sya **Ji$_4$** yasya **V71** • jaghanārdhas]

50 They are missing in the ŚS parallel at 11.3.11: *iyám evá pṛthivī́ kumbhī́ bhavati rā́dhyamānasyaudanásya dyaúr apidhā́nam* || 11 || *sī́tāḥ párśavaḥ síkatā ū́badhyam* || 12 ||. But note that ŚS 11.3.6 reads: *kábru phalīkáraṇāḥ śáro 'bhrám* ||6||, with *śáras-*, 'cream film on boiled milk', instead of *śíras*, 'head, top part'.

51 The reading of **K**, *jaghanas*, must be a corrupt repetition of 38.4 *jaghanārdhas*., which in **K** occurs earlier.

**K** jaghanārddhas **[Ma]? [Ja]? Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]? V71 JM$_3$** ja([.]→ *s.s.*)ghanārddhas **V122** • māsau] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** māse **V122** • yaḥ pūrvārdhas] yaḫ pūrvārdhas **K** yaḥ pūrvārddhas **[Ma]? [Ja]? V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]? V71 JM$_3$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** | **V122 JM$_3$** [… **V71** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *yosya*.

**17.38.5**

a yad asya pr̥ṣṭhaṃ tau graiṣmau māsau
b yan madhyaṃ tau vārṣikau ||

His back, that is the two months of summer;
[his] middle part, that is the two [months] of the rainy season.

yad asya pr̥ṣṭhaṃ tau] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā]** yad asya pr̥ṣṭhantau **V122 Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** [… (//)ntau **V71** yat pr̥ṣvaṃ tau **K** • graiṣmau] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** greṣmau **Ji$_4$** grīṣmau **K JM$_3$** • māsau] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** masau **Ji$_4$** • yan madhyaṃ tau] **K** yanmadhyantau **Ma Ja Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā V71 JM$_3$** yan ma(s.s.→dhya)ntau **V122** • vārṣikau] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vāṣako **Pa$_c$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** | **V122 JM$_3$** *om*. **K**

The Anaḍutsūkta at ŚS 4.11.8 (~ PS 3.25.11) seems to identify the middle part (*madhyam*) of the ox with its *váha*: *mádhyam etád anaḍúho yátraiṣá váha āhitaḥ* | *etā́vad asya prācī́naṃ yā́vān pratyáṅ samā́hitaḥ* ||, "That is the middle of the draft-ox, where this carrying (*váha*) is set; so much of him (the ox) is in front [of the withers], as much as he is put together/located behind [the withers]" (Whitney). However, in this verse, *mádhyam* may also indicate the "essence", i.e. the "essential function" of the ox, which is his ability to haul or convey (*vah*-), i.e. his hauling power (*váha*) located in his shoulder (also *váha*) (see my comment *ad loc*. in Appendix II). Perhaps then it is a different *madhyam* that is intended in our line, possibly simply the middle part or the belly. The connection with the rainy season might suggest the ox's urinary system or the udder: cf. ŚS 4.11.4c ~ PS 3.25.2c (again from the Anaḍutsūkta), *parjányo dhā́rā marúta ū́dho asya*, "His streams are Parjanya, his udder is the Maruts"—the text does not make any distinctions between a male ox and a female cow.

**17.38.6**

saṃvatsaro vā eṣa saṃbhr̥to yad anaḍvān yad anaḍudvratī ||

Taken all together, this, the draft-ox, the one who performs the vow of the draft-ox, is the full year.

saṃvatsaro] **K** samvatsaro **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ Mā JM$_3$** samvatsvaro **V71** • eṣa] **K [Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** eṣaṃ **V122 Ji$_4$** • saṃbhr̥to] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** saṃbhr̥mṭo[x] **Ji$_4$** • yad anaḍvān] yad anaḍvān, **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]? V71 JM$_3$** yad anaṛvān, **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** yenānaḍvā **K** • yad anaḍudvratī] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** yad anaṛudvratī **V122 Ji$_4$** yad anaṛudvra[x]tī **Pa$_c$** yad anaḍuvratī **V71** yad anaṛuvratī **JM$_3$** yenanaḷadvatīn **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122 Ji$_4$** *om*. **K**

The connection of the ox and the full year is all the more interesting in relation to my hypothesis, according to which the Anaḍutsūkta deals with the performance of the draft-ox observance in relation with the celebrations of the solstices (see Appendix II).

Note that the formula *yad anaḍvān yad anaḍudvratī* is also found above, in PS 17.35.2.

**17.38.7** ~ PS 9.21.6

> kalpante asmā ṛtavo na rtuṣv ā vṛ̥ścata ṛtūnāṃ priyo bhavati ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

The seasons are well-disposed towards him, he is not cut down by the seasons, he becomes dear to the seasons, he who, (being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox).

N.B. This line is missing from **K**. The same ms. ends this kāṇḍikā with a repetition of line 33.4: *yasyām eva pratiṣṭhām āyatanaṃ vindate yaḥ Z 11 Z*.

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asmā] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** [x]smā **V122** *om*. **K** • nartuṣv] **Mā** narntuṣv **V71** narntmaṣv **JM$_3$** narttuṣy **Ma Ja** narttuṣv **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • ā vṛ̥ścata] **Mā V71 JM$_3$ Ji$_4$** ā vaścata **Pa$_c$** ā vṛścyata **Ma Ja** ā vṛ̥ścyanta **V122** *om*. **K** • priyo] priẏo **[O]** *om*. **K** • ya (…) ||] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** yaḥ || 38 || ru || **V122 Pa$_c$** yaḥ || 38 || **Ji$_4$** yaḥ || 38 || ru 7 || **V71 JM$_3$** Z 11 Z **K**

PS 9.21.6e
kalpante asmā ṛtavo na rtuṣv āvṛ̥ścata ṛtūnāṃ priyo bhavati ya [evaṃ veda] |
"Wer [solches weiß], der wird zu einem, der den Jahreszeiten lieb ist. Die Jahreszeiten passen sich ihm an. Er wird von den Jahreszeiten nicht losgetrennt" (Kim 2014: 380).
"The Ṛtus [= seasons] conform to him. [He] who [knows thus] is not brought low to the Ṛtus, he becomes pleasant for the Ṛtus […]" (Kulikov 2012: 258).

On the semantics of *ā-vṛśc-*, see Kulikov 2012: 255ff. Three **O$^A$** mss. (**Ma**, **Ja**, **V122**) preserve the passive stem *vṛ̥ścya-*. However, Kulikov points out that the stem variant *vṛ̥śc-a-$^{te}$* (with a simplified cluster) is regularly attested in AV and MS, up to the late texts of their traditions, such as VaitS and MānŚS (ibid. p. 257–258), and that it is the regular passive stem of PS (ibid. p. 258 fn. 673), and therefore emendations to *vṛśc-ya-$^{te}$* are not necessary for these texts. Kim (*Schreib*.) records one instance of the error *ca* for original *cya* in PS 5.40.8b *vyacamānaṃ* for *vyacyamānaṃ*, and two instances of the error *cya* for original *ca* in the **O** mss, namely PS 4.4.7d *vṛ̥ścyatu* for *vṛ̥ścatu*, and PS 5.6.2a *nīcyāda* for *nīcādā*. Therefore, it is not impossible to regard the readings of **Ma**, **Ja**, and **V122** as secondary. Moreover, the parallel at PS 9.21.6e is preserved as *āvṛ̥ścata* by all the **O** mss., and as *āvṛ̥ścatu* by **K**. Thus, I edit *ā vṛ̥ścata* (which is of course the sandhi form for *ā vṛ̥ścate*).

The most common construction with *ā-vṛśc-* (see Kulikov 2012: 256) requires the dative of the agent (normally a deity), but the locative, although rare, is also found (cf., e.g., ŚS 12.4.6b, *á́ sá devéṣu vṛ̥ścate* |, "he is cut down by the gods").

## Kāṇḍikā 39

### 17.39.1–2

1 tapaś ca varaś ca mahaś ca yaśaś ca yad asminn ⁺antar ṛcaḥ sāmāni yajūṃṣi brāhmaṇam ||
2 brahma caiva lokaṃ cāva rundhe brāhmaṇavarcasī bhavati ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

The heat and breadth and greatness and fame that are inside of him (the ox) are the verses, the chants, the ritual injunctions, the formulaic spells.
He secures both the *bráhman*, and the world, he becomes one with the lustre of the *brāhmaṇa*, he who, (being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox).

ca yaśaś ca] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ca yaś[e]aś ca **Pa$_c$** • yad asminn ⁺antar ṛcaḥ] yad asmin antara ṛcas **K** yad asminn anta ṛcaḥ **Ma Ja V122 Ji$_4$** yad aścasminn anta ṛcaḥ **Pa$_c$** yad asmin anta ṛcaḥ **Mā V71 JM$_3$** • yajūṃṣi] **K Ja V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** yajuṃṣi **Ma** yajuṣi **Mā** yajūṣi **V71** • brāhmaṇam] **[O]** vrāhmaṇam **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** | **V71 JM$_3$ V122** *om*. **K** • brahma] **[O]** vrahma **K** • brāhmaṇavarcasī] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** brāhmaṇavarccasāsī **Ji$_4$** brāhmaṇavarccasī **Pa$_c$** vrāhma varcasī **K** • bhavati] **[O]** bhavatī **K** • ya (…) ||] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** yaḥ || 39 || ru (space) || **V122** yaḥ || 39 | || **Ji$_4$** yaḥ || 39 || ru || **Pa$_c$** yaḥ || 39 || ru 2 || **V71 JM$_3$** yaḥ Z 3 Z **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *yadasminnantarṛcaḥ*⁺.

A full understanding of the idea of securing (*ava-rudh*-) or becoming (*bhū*-) the *bráhman* would require an inquiry into the semantic history of this word across Vedic literature (from the 'formulation' of the RV to the principle beyond reality of the Upaniṣads), which goes beyond the scope of this work. I refer the reader to the recent works by Neri & Pontillo, 2015 and 2016, the first of which also deal with the concept of *brahmaloká* (seemingly implied in our text by the unusual formulation *brahma caiva lokaṃ ca*).

The compound *brāhmaṇavarcasin*- is based on *brāhmaṇavarcas*-, 'the lustre of the *brāhmaṇa*', which occurs several times in the AV, namely in the refrain at 5.35.1–12,[52] in PS

52 PS 5.35.1, *agnaye sam anaman tasmai pṛthivyā sam anaman* | *yathāgnaye pṛthivyā samanamann* [the refrain starts here:] *evā mahyaṃ saṃnamaḥ saṃ namantu* | *vittiṃ bhūtiṃ puṣṭiṃ paśūn brahma brāhmaṇavarcasam* | *saṃnataya stha saṃ me namata svāhā* ||, "They paid reverence to Agni; they paid reverence to him with the Earth. Just as they paid reverence to Agni with the Earth, [Refrain:] so let the reverencers pay reverence to me. [Give me] gain, thriving, prosperity, cattle, a formula, the splendor of the Brahmins; you are the reverencers; pay me reverence: *svāhā*!" (Lubotsky). The remaining 11 stanzas replace Agni and the Earth with other deities, natural elements, ritual items, etc.

9.20.10 and PS 9.21.3,[53] in the refrain at ŚS 10.5.37–41 (~ PS 16.132.2),[54] in ŚS 17.1.21 (~ PS 18.56.5),[55] and in the prose of ŚS 13.4.14.[56] The only other occurrence of *brāmaṇavarcasin* is found in the PS version of the Vrātyakāṇḍa at 18.36.1m (~ ŚS 15.10.8 reads *brahmavarcasī* instead): *ainaṃ brahma gachati brāhmaṇavarcasī bhavati yo 'gniṃ brahma bṛhaspatim bhūmiṃ veda* ||, "The *bráhman* goes to him, he becomes one possessing the lustre of the *brāhmaṇa*, who knows Agni/the fire as *bráhman*, Bṛhaspati as the earth" (my transl.)[57] The variant *brahmavarcasin* does not occur in the PS, but is found in ŚS 8.10.25 (belonging to a hymn to the goddess Virāj).[58] This compound is based on *brahmavarcas-*, which is attested only later. However, we find *brahmavarcasá-* in the single-stanza hymn ŚS 19.71.1. The same stanza also features the only occurrence of the word *brahmaloká* in the AV.[59]

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53 These two prose texts contains sequences of twelve stanzas, each dedicated to one of twelve nights and consecrated to twelve deities. In Appendix II (fn. 40), I suggest that they might be connected with the twelve nights of the midwinter solstice celebrations. If so, the fact that they share some vocabulary with our text would be significant.

54 ŚS 10.5.37–41, belonging to a fifty-stanza hymn, partly in metre and partly in prose, dedicated to the "Preparation and use of water-thunderbolts" (Whitney 1905: 579ff.): *sū́ryasyāvṛ́tam anvā́varte dákṣiṇām ánv āvṛ́tam | sā́ me dráviṇaṃ yachatu sā́ me brāhmaṇavarcasám* || 37 || *díśo jyótiṣmatīr abhyā́varte | tā́ me dráviṇaṃ yachantu tā́ me brāhmaṇavarcasám* ||38|| *saptaṛ́ṣīn abhyā́varte | té me dráviṇaṃ yachantu té me brāhmaṇavarcasám* ||39|| *bráhmābhyā́varte | tán me dráviṇaṃ yachantu tán me brāhmaṇavarcasám* ||40|| *brāhmaṇā́m̃ abhyā́varte | té me dráviṇaṃ yachantu té me brāhmaṇavarcasám* ||41||, "37. I turn after the sun's turn (*āvṛ́t*), after his turn to the right; let it yield (*yam*) me property; [let] it [yield] me Brahman-splendor. 38. I turn toward the quarters full of light; let them yield me property, let them etc. etc. 39. I turn toward the seven seers; let them yield etc. etc. 40. I turn toward the *bráhman*; let it yield etc. etc. 41. I turn toward the Brahmans; let them yield etc. etc." (Whitney).

55 ŚS 17.1.21 (~ PS 18.56.5), dedicated to Indra and the Sun: *rúcir asi rocó 'si | sá yáthā tváṃ rúcyā rocó 'sy evā́hám paśúbhiś ca brāhmaṇavarcaséna ca ruciṣīya* ||, "Brightness art thou, bright are thou; shiny art thou; as thou by brightness art bright, so may I by both cattle and Brahman-splendor be bright" (Whitney).

56 ŚS 13.4 is dedicated to extolling the sun. The text is divided into six paryāyas and 56 lines. The first *paryāya* (1–13) equates the sun with various deities. Then the text continues: *eté asmin devā́ ekavṛ́to bhavanti* || 13 || *kīrtíś ca yáśaś cā́mbhaś ca nábhaś ca brāhmaṇavarcasáṃ cā́nnaṃ cānnā́dyaṃ ca* || 14 || *yá etáṃ devám ekavṛ́taṃ véda* || 15 || […] *sárve asmin devā́ ekavṛ́to bhavanti* || [here the second paryāya begins repeating the same structure:] *bráhma ca tápaś ca kīrtíś ca yáśaś cāmbhaś ca nábhaś ca brāhmaṇavarcasáṃ cā́nnaṃ cānnā́dyaṃ ca* ||21||, "13. These gods in him become single. 14. Both fame and glory and water (? *ámbhas*) and cloud-mass and Brahman-splendor and food and food-eating. 15. He who knows this single god […] 21. All the gods in him become single. Both worship (*bráhman*) and penance and fame and glory and water and cloud-mass and Brahman-splendor and food and food-eating" etc. (Whitney). Later on, we find the term again in ŚS 13.4.48–49 (=13.4.55–56, the final lines of the hymn), *námas te astu paśyata páśya mā paśyata* || 48 ||, *annā́dyena yáśasā téjasā brāhmaṇavarcaséna* ||49||, "48. Homage be to thee, O conspicuous one (*paśyata*); see (*páśya*) me, O conspicuous one. 49. With food-eating , with glory, with brilliancy (*téjas*), with Brahman-splendor" (Whitney).

57 The full passage is the following: PS 18.36.1, *yasyaivaṃ vidvān vrātyo rājño 'tithir gṛham āgachet | śreyāṃsam enam ātmano *mānayet tathā rāṣṭrāya nā vṛścate tathā kṣatrāya nā vṛścate tathā brahmaṇe nā vṛścate | tato vai brahma ca kṣatraṃ codatiṣṭhatāṃ te abrūtāṃ kaṃ *pra viśāveti | te prajāpatir abravīd bṛhaspatim eva brahma prāviśad indraṃ kṣatram iti | tato vai bṛhaspatim eva brahma prāviśad indraṃ kṣatram | iyam vāva bhūmir bṛhaspatir asau dyaur indraḥ | ayaṃ vāvāgnir brahmāsāv ādityaḥ kṣatram | ainaṃ kṣatraṃ gachatīndrayā vī bhavati ya ādityaṃ kṣatraṃ divam indraṃ veda | ainaṃ brahma gachati brāhmanavarcasī bhavati yo 'gniṃ brahma bṛhaspatim bhūmiṃ veda* || 36 ||. Compare the version from the Śaunaka Vrātyakāṇḍa: ŚS 15.10, *tád yásyaivā́ṃ vidvā́n vrā́tyo rā́jño 'tithir gṛhā́n āgáchet* ||1|| *śréyāṃsam enam ātmáno mānayet táthā kṣatrā́ya nā́ vṛścate táthā rāṣṭrā́ya nā́ vṛścate* ||2|| *áto vaí bráhma ca kṣatráṃ cód atiṣṭhatāṃ té abrūtāṃ káṃ prá viśāvéti* ||3|| *áto vaí bṛ́haspátim evá bráhma prá viśatv índraṃ kṣatráṃ táthā vā́ íti* ||4|| *áto vaí bṛ́haspátim evá brahma prā́viśad índraṃ kṣatráṃ* ||5|| *iyáṃ vā́ u pṛthivī́ bṛ́haspátir dyaúr evéndraḥ* ||6|| *ayáṃ vā́ u agnír bráhmāsā́v ādityáḥ kṣatrám* ||7|| *aínaṃ bráhma gachati brahmavarcasī́ bhavati* || 8|| *yáḥ pṛthivī́ṃ bṛ́haspátim agníṃ brahma véda* ||9|| *aínam indriyáṃ gachatīndriyávān bhavati* ||10|| *yá ādityáṃ kṣatráṃ dívam índraṃ véda* ||11||, "1. So then, the houses of whatever king a thus-knowing Vrātya may come as guest, —2. He should esteem him better than himself; so does he not offend (ā-*vrāśc*) against

## Kāṇḍikā 40

**17.40.1**

atha yad asminn antaḥ ||

Now, what is inside of him (the ox):

atha yad] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** atha jyad **Pa$_c$** yathed **K** • asminn antaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** asmin antaḥ **V71 JM$_3$** asminyantaś **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K**

This line also opens kāṇḍikā 41 and 42 below.

**17.40.2**

śataṃ śraddhāḥ śataṃ dīkṣāḥ śataṃ yajñāḥ śataṃ dakṣiṇāḥ ||

A hundred trusts, a hundred initiations, a hundred worship rituals, a hundred priestly fees.

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dominion; so does he not offend against royalty. 3. Thence verily arose both sanctity (*bráhman*) and dominion; they said: Whom shall we enter? 4. Let sanctity enter Bṛhaspati [and] dominion Indra; thus verily: it was said (*íti*). 5. Thence (*átas*) verily sanctity entered Bṛhaspati [and] dominion Indra. 6. This earth verily is Prajāpati, the sky is Indra. 7. This fire verily is sanctity, yonder Āditya is dominion. 8. To him comes sanctity, he becomes possessed of the splendor of sanctity (*brahmavarcasín*),—9. Who knows earth as Bṛhaspati, fire as sanctity. 10. To him comes Indra's quality, he becomes possessed of Indra's quality,—11. Who knows Āditya as dominion, the sky as Indra" (Whitney).

58 ŚS 8.10.25, *sód akrāmat sā́ saptaṛ̣ṣī́n ā́gachat tā́ṃ saptaṛ̣ṣáya úpāhvayanta bráhmaṇvaty éhī́ti | tásyāḥ sómo rā́jā vatsá āsīc chándaḥ pā́tram | tā́ṃ bṛ́haspátir āṅgirasó 'dhok tā́ṃ bráhma ca tápaś cādhok | tád bráhma ca tápaś ca saptaṛ̣ṣáyo úpa jīvanti brahmavarcasy ùpajīvanī́yo bhavati yá eváṃ véda* ||, "She [Virāj] ascended; she came to the seven seers; the seven seers called to her: O rich in *bráhman*, come! of her king Soma was young, meter [was] vessel; her Bṛhaspati son of Aṅgiras milked; from her he milked both *bráhman* and penance; upon that, both *bráhman* and penance, the seven seers subsist; possessed of *bráhman*-splendor, one to be subsisted upon, becometh he who knoweth thus" (Whitney). The rest of the hymn consists of similar stanzas with identical structure, but with different protagonists who go to Virāj, milk her, etc. Thus, other terms replace *brahmavarcasī* in the other stanzas. The hymn is also present in PS (16.133–135), but the refrain is abbreviated and it is not clear what the corresponding line (16.135.5) should read.

59 ŚS 19.71.1, *stutā́ máyā varadā́ vedamātā́ prá codayantāṃ pāvamānī́ dvijā́nām | ā́yuḥ prāṇáṃ prajā́ṃ paśúṃ kīrtíṃ drāviṇaṃ brahmavarcasám | máhyaṃ dattvā́ vrajata brahmalokám* ||, "Praised by me [is] the Veda-mother. Let them urge on the soma-hymn of the twice-born. Having given to me life-time, breath, progeny, cattle, fame, property, Vedic splendor, go ye to the *brahma*-world" (Whitney).

śraddhāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā]** śraddhā **K Pa$_c$ V71 JM3** • dīkṣāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** dīyāḥ **Pa$_c$** dīkṣā **K** • yajñāḥ śataṃ] **[O]** yajñāś śataṃ **K** • dakṣiṇāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** dakhiṇāḥ **Ji$_4$** dakṣiṇaś **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** | **V122 JM$_3$** *om*. **K**

**17.40.3**

śataṃ bhūtayaḥ śataṃ puṣṭayaḥ śataṃ prabhūtayaḥ śataṃ samr̥ddhayaḥ ||

A hundred well-beings, a hundred prosperities, a hundred dominances, a hundred successes.

N.B. **K** features a lacuna after *bhūtayaś* until the end of the line.

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śataṃ] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śa **Ji$_4$** • bhūtayaḥ] bhūtaẏaḥ **[O]** bhūtayaś **K** • puṣṭayaḥ] puṣṭaẏaḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** puṣṭāẏaḥ **Ji$_4$** [x]puṣṭaẏaḥ **Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • prabhūtayaḥ] prabhūtaẏaḥ **[O]** *om*. **K** • śataṃ samr̥ddhayaḥ] śataṃ samr̥ddhaẏaḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śata samr̥ddhaẏaḥ **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V122 V71** *om*. **K**

**17.40.4**

śatam abhūtayaḥ śataṃ nirbhūtayaḥ śataṃ parābhūtayaḥ śatam asamr̥ddhayaḥ ||

A hundred wretchednesses, a hundred losses, a hundred defeats, a hundred failures.

śatam abhūtayaḥ] śatamabhūtaẏaḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śataṃmabhūtaẏaḥ **Pa$_c$** catam abhūtayaś **K** • śataṃ nirbhūtayaś] śataṃ nirbhūtaẏaś **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** śataṃ nibhr̥taẏaḥ **V71** śatannirbhūtayaś **K** • parābhūtayaḥ] parābhūtaẏaḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** parādhaẏaḥ **Ji$_4$** parābhūtayaś **K** • śatam asamr̥ddhayaḥ] śatamasamr̥ddhaẏaḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śatamasamr̥rddhaẏaḥ **Ji$_4$** śataṃmasamr̥ddhaẏaḥ **Pa$_c$** śataṃ samr̥ddhayo **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122 Ji$_4$** *om*. **K**

**17.40.5**

śatam andhyāni śatam algaṇāni śataṃ tamāṃsi śataṃ rudhirāṇi ||

A hundred blindnesses, a hundred *algaṇa*-eye diseases, a hundred darknesses, a hundred bloody/red-eye diseases (?).

śatam andhyāni] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śatamandhyāyāni **V122** *om*. **Ji$_4$** śatandhyāni **Pa$_c$** śata sindhyāni **K** • śatam algaṇāni] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śatam algāni śatam algāni **Ji$_4$** śata(//)[x]malgaṇāni **Pa$_c$** śatam abgaṇāni **K** • śataṃ tamāṃsi] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** śataṃ tamāṃtsi **V71** śataṃ śatamāsi **JM$_3$** • śataṃ rudhirāṇi] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śatataṃ śataṃ rudhirāṇi **Ji$_4$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V122 Ji$_4$ V71** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *śatamandhyāni*.

On *andh(i)ya*-, 'blindness' (cf. *ándhas*-, 'darkness', *andhá*-, 'blind'), and *algaṇa*-, 'a kind of eye disease', see Zehnder's comment on PS 2.81.2 (To preserve the sight), *yad andhiyaṃ yad algaṇaṃ* $^{+}$*yo armo adhirohati* | *ayasmayas tad aṅkuśo *akṣṇo 'rman apa* $^{+}$*lumpatu*, "Die Blindheit, das Algaṇa-Leiden, das Arma-Leiden, welches aufsteigt: der metallen Haken soll das, das Arma-Leiden, vom Auge beseitigen" (Zehnder), and the discussion by Knobl (2007a: 35ff.) about PS 7.15.6 (extolling the protective power of the dakṣiṇā), *uṣṇīṣaṃ tvā śīrṣaktyā vāsas tvā* $^{+}$*tanvāmayāt* | *candraṃ hiraṇyam andhyāt* (metrically *andhiyāt*) *karṇād dattaṃ śukraṃ bhrājad bādhiryāt pātu dakṣiṇā* ||, "A sacerdotal fee [offered to me by you], the turban must protect you from head-ache, the dress [must protect] you from body-pain, the shining gold from blindness, the brightly glittering [ring] that is taken from the ear [must protect you] from deafness" (Griffiths).

These are also the only passages where *algaṇa* is attested, so the meaning remains rather obscure. Zehnder (ibid.) compares it with *lagaṇa*-, 'eine krankhafte Schwellung des Augenlids', attested in the SuśrS.

Just as obscure is the meaning of *rudhira*- (lit. 'red, bloody') in this context. Notably, a late text of the Ayurvedic tradition, the Śārṅgadharasaṃhitā (1.7.87), names a disease of the eyelids called *lohita* (PW s.v.). We can only guess that *rudhira*- indicated some kind of reddening, irritation, or infection of the eyes, perhaps the rather common conjunctivitis.

**17.40.6**

ya evaṃ viduṣo [']sādhu kīrtayaty etair evainaṃ tamobhiḥ prorṇoti ||

He envelops with those very darknesses him who speaks ill of the initiated one.

N.B. This line is missing from **K**.

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viduṣo [']sādhu] viduṣo sādhu **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** viduṣo ṣādhu **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • kīrtayaty] kīrttaẏaty **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Ma]? [Ja]?** kīrttiẏaty **V71 JM$_3$ [Mā]?** *om*. **K** • evainaṃ tamobhiḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** edhenaṃntamobhiḥ **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • prorṇoti] prorṇṇoti **V71 JM$_3$ V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** *om*. **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** | **V122 V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *viduṣosādhu* and *kīrtataty* (probably a misprint).

This line recalls PS 17.35.3 above.

Bhattacharya's apparatus is silent with regard to *kīrtayaty*, thus we don't know whether **Mā** shared the other **O$^B$** manuscripts' error, *kīrtiyaty*. He is similarly silent with regard to *prorṇoti*, spelled with a geminate in all of my mss. I silently normalise the spelling of the consonant clusters in both words.

**17.40.7**

yad asya prācīnaṃ nābhyās tena dviṣantam ā viśati ||

The part [of his belly] to the front of his (the draft-ox's) navel, with that he (the *vratin*) takes control of [his] hater.

N.B. This line is missing from **K**.

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nābhyās tena] **[Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71** nābhyāṃs tena **JM$_3$** nāmbhāṃs tena **Ja Mā** *om*. **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V122 V71** *om*. **K**

On the lexeme *ā-viś-*, 'to enter', figuratively 'to magically possess, take control by means of magic', see my comment on PS 3.25.1d in Appendix II.

With *dviṣant-*, here the *vratin*'s detractors are certainly intended.

**17.40.8**

atha yad asya pratīcīnaṃ nābhyās tena mr̥tyuṃ nāṣṭrām avartiṃ tarati ||

Moreover, the part [of his belly] to the back of his (the draft-ox's) navel, with that he (the *vratin*) overcomes death, calamity, misfortune.

N.B. This line is missing from **K**.

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yad asya] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ya sya **V122** *om*. **K** • pratīcīnaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** pracīnaṃ **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • nābhyās tena] **[Ma] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71** nābhyāṃs tena **JM$_3$** nāmbhāṃs tena **Ja Mā** *om*. **K** • mr̥tyuṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** mr̥tyaṃ **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • nāṣṭrām avartiṃ tarati] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** nā(//)[.]ām avarttiṃ tarata **V71** nāṣṭrām avarttaṃ tarati **V122 Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** nā[e]ṣṭrām avr̥ttaṃ tarati **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K**

**17.40.9**

pra patho $^{+}$devayānāñ jānāti ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

He foreknows the paths of the gods, he who (being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox).

N.B. This line is missing from **K**.

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devayānāṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** devajānāṃ **Ji$_4$** deva([x]nāṃ→)yānāṃ **Pa$_c$** *om*. **K** • ya (…) ||] yaḥ || 40 || ru || **Ma Pa$_c$** yaḥ | 40 || ru 9 || **Ja** yaḥ || 40 || ru (space) || **V122** yaḥ || 40 || **Ji$_4$** yaḥ || 40 || ru 10 || **Mā V71** ya || 40 || ru 9 || **JM$_3$** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *devayānāṃ jānāti*.

On the sandhi between *-n* before *j-*, I follow Griffiths's (2009: lx §(I)) practice of regularising to *-ñ j-*.

On the *devayāna path*, see Appendix II §3.2, 3.3, and PS 17.31.4 above.

## Kāṇḍikā 41

### 17.41.1

*atha *yad *asminn *antaḥ ||

Now, what is inside of him (the ox):

*atha *yad *asminn *antaḥ ||] yathedasminyantaś **K** *om*. **O**

Bhattacharya does not include this line in his edition. Indeed, it is missing from the **O** mss. (two of which, namely **V71** and **JM$_3$**, accordingly count five lines instead of six in this kāṇḍikā; the others do not report the line count, nor does **K**). On the other hand, **K** reads *yathedasminyantaś*. Since kāṇḍikās 40 and 42 are very similar to 41 in structure and content, and since both begin with this formula (also in **O**), it would seem obvious to find the same formula at the beginning of 41 as well. It may be possible that, sometime early on in the Odia tradition, this line was regarded as a refrain and abbreviated. Indeed, normally only the first and last occurrences of a refrain are written *in extenso*, while the repetitions in between are marked with an abbreviation; cf. the recurrent "*yaḥ* ||" at the end of many paragraphs of our text. Perhaps this abbreviation was then lost. Assuming this scenario, I include it my edition as 41.1.

### 17.41.2

śatam ardhamāsāḥ śataṃ māsāḥ śatam ṛtavaḥ śatam ārtavāḥ ||

A hundred fortnights, a hundred months, a hundred seasons, a hundred seasonal periods (?).

ardhamāsāḥ] **Pa$_c$ [Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** arddhamāsāḥ **V122 Ji$_4$ V71 JM$_3$** ardhamāmāś **K** • māsāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** māsā **JM$_3$** mā(*s.s.* mā)sāḥ **V122** māsāś **K** • ṛtavaḥ] **[O]** ṛtavaś **K** • ārtavāḥ] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** ārttavāḥ **JM$_3$ V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** ā(nta → *subs*.)rttavāḥ **V71** ārtavāś **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V122 V71** *om*. **K**

The exact meaning of *ārtavá-* is not known. We can only guess that it indicates a period longer than a season (*ṛtú*) and shorter than a year, on the basis of the occurrence of this term in lists such as the one here or at 17.28.17–19 above. See also my comment on PS 17.22.2. Cf. Macdonell & Keith 1912: I p.63.

**17.41.3**

śatam idāvatsarāḥ śatam *anuvatsarāḥ śataṃ parivatsarāḥ śataṃ saṃvatsarāḥ ||

A hundred *idā* years (?), a hundred *anu* years (?), a hundred *pari* years (?), a hundred full years.

idāvatsarāḥ] **[O]** idāvatsarāś **K** • śatam *anuvatsarāḥ] śatam anuvatsarāś **K** *om*. **O** • śataṃ parivatsarāḥ] **[O]** śataṃ parivatsarāś **K** • saṃvatsarāḥ] samvatsarāḥ **O** saṃvatsarāś **K** • ||] **[O]** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya omits the second item, *śatam anuvatsarāḥ*, which is indeed attested in **K** but absent in the Odia mss. Since all the neighbouring lines contain four items, I think it is quite likely that the reading of **K** is original, and that *śatam anuvatsarāḥ* was lost in the Odia tradition, perhaps under the influence of PS 17.21.9, where we find a similar list without *anuvatsara-* (see my comment *ad loc*).

**17.41.4**

śataṃ brahmāṇi śataṃ karmāṇi śataṃ jyotīṃṣi śatam amṛ̥tāni ||

A hundred formulas, a hundred ritual actions, a hundred lights (i.e. ritual fires), a hundred nectars (i.e. soma drinks).

brahmāṇi] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** brahma **Ji$_4$** vrahmāṇi **K** • jyotīṃṣi] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā]** jotiṣi **Ji$_4$** yotīśi **Pa$_c$** yotīṣiṃ **V71** jyotīṃṣiṃ **JM$_3$** • śatam amṛ̥tāni] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā]**ṣatam amṛ̥tāni **Pa$_c$** śatamṛ̥mṛ̥tāni **V71** śamamṛ̥tāni **JM$_3$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V122 Ji$_4$ V71** *om*. **K**

This line looks like a list of the fundamental elements of Vedic ritual, i.e. worship by means of formulas and ritual actions, but also fire and soma, which is probably what is intended with the words *jyotiṣ-* and *amṛ̥ta-*, respectively.

**17.41.5**

śataṃ prāṇāḥ śatam apānāḥ śataṃ vyānāḥ śataṃ samānāḥ ||

A hundred exhalations, a hundred inhalations, a hundred diffused breaths, a hundred concentrated breaths.

śataṃ prāṇāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śataḥ prāṇāḥ **Pa$_c$** śataṃ prāṇāś **K** • śatam apānāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śatamapānā **Pa$_c$** śatamapānāś **K** • śataṃ vyānāḥ] **[O]** śataṃ vyānāś **K** • śataṃ samānāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śatam apānāḥ **Pa$_c$** śataṃ samānāś **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K Ji$_4$**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *prāṇāṃ*—no doubt a misprint.

Note that of the five life-breaths, the *udāna-*, 'upward breath', is missing here.

**17.41.6**

> jyog jīvati sarvam āyur eti na purā jarasaḥ pra mīyate ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

He lives for a long time, he enjoys a whole lifespan, he does not die prematurely, he who (being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox).

jyog jīvati] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** yo || jyognīvati **V71** • āyur] āẏur **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** āẏūr **V122 V71 JM$_3$** āyar **K** • jarasaḥ pra] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** jarāsaḥ pra **Ji$_4$** jarasaḷ pra **K** • mīyate] **K** mīẏate **[O]** • ya (…) ||] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** yaḥ || 41 || ru (space) || **V122** yaḥ || (//) || 41 || **Ji$_4$** ya evaṃ vedaḥ || 41 || ru || **Pa$_c$** yaḥ || 41 || ru 5 || **V71 JM$_3$** yaḥ Z 15 Z **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *eti ta purā*—no doubt a misprint.

## Kāṇḍikā 42

**17.42.1**

atha yad asminn antaḥ ||

Now, what is inside of him (the ox):

atha yad asminn antaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** atha yad asmin antaḥ **V122 V71 JM$_3$** yathed amasminy antaś **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā]** | **Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **K**

**17.42.2**

śataṃ gāyatrāḥ śataṃ sāhnāḥ śataṃ trirātrāḥ śatam atirātrāḥ ||

A hundred Gāyatrī recitations, a hundred one-day-long rituals, a hundred three-day-long rituals, a hundred rituals performed overnight (Atirātra).

gāyatrāḥ] gāẏatrāḥ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** gāẏatrā **Ji$_4$** rayindhāś **K** • śataṃ sāhnāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** śata sāhnā **Ji$_4$** śatam sahannāś **K** • śataṃ trirātrāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** śata trirātrāḥ **Ji$_4$** śataṃ trirātrā(*s.s.* trā)ḥ **V71** śataṃ trirātrāś **K** • śatam atirātrāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71** *om*. **Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** śatam atirātraś **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** | **V122 V71** *om*. **K JM$_3$**

**17.42.3**

śatam agniṣṭomāḥ śataṃ dvādaśāhāḥ śataṃ ṣoḍaśinaḥ śataṃ sarvapr̥ṣṭhāḥ ||

A hundred Agniṣṭoma rituals, a hundred twelve-day-long rituals, a hundred Ṣoḍaśin rituals, a hundred rituals provided with all the Pr̥ṣṭha Sāmans.

agniṣṭomāḥ] **[O]** agniṣṭomāś **K** • śataṃ dvādaśāhāḥ śataṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** śataṃ dvādaśāhyā(/hvā?)śataṃ **V71** śatardvā(ndvā?)daśāhāścataṃ **K** • ṣoḍaśinaḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] [Mā] V71** ṣoṛaśinaḥ **JM$_3$ V122 Ji$_4$** ṣoṛa(ṣinaḥ →)śinaḥ **Pa$_c$** ṣoḷaśinaś **K** • sarvapr̥ṣṭhāḥ] **O** sarvapr̥ṣṭhyaś **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya proposes to emend to $^{+}$*sarvapr̥ṣṭhyāḥ*, following **K**. I find the stem *sarvapr̥ṣṭhya-* only

in JB 2.307.[60] The stem attested in **O**, *sarvapṛṣṭha-*, is quite frequent both as an adj., 'provided with all the *pṛṣṭhas*', applied to various rituals, and as a feminine (*sarvapṛṣṭhā-*) noun indicating a specific ritual (MW, PW s.v.). The *pṛṣṭhas* are *sāmans* (Mylius 1995: 93). Unfortunately, neither Mylius 1995 nor Renou 1954 include a lemma *sarvapṛṣṭha-/ya-*, nor are the latter mentioned in Hillebrandt 1987.

**17.42.4**

śataṃ rājasūyāḥ śataṃ vājapeyāḥ śataṃ kāmaprāḥ sahasraṃ $^{+}$sattrāyaṇāni ||

A hundred Rājāsūya rituals, a hundred Vājapeyas, a hundred Kāmapra, a thousand Sattrāyaṇas.

rājasūyāḥ śataṃ] **V71** rājasūẏaḥ śataṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** rājasūyaśśataṃ **K** • vājapeyāḥ śataṃ] vājapeẏaḥ śataṃ **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** vājapeẏā (*s.s.*: sataṃ?) **V71**[61] **JM$_3$** vājapeyāśśataṃ **K** • kāmaprāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** kāmasāḥ **Pa$_c$** kāmaprās **K** • sahasraṃ $^{+}$sattrāyaṇāni] sahasraṃ satrāyaṇāni **K** sahasraṃ satrāẏaṇāni **Ma Pa$_c$** sahasraṃ śatrāẏaṇāni **Ja V122 Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** sahasrāṃ śatrāẏani **Mā** sahasrāṃ śatrāẏa[x]ni **V71** • ||] **[Ma] Ja Ji$_4$ Mā JM$_3$** | **V122 Pa$_c$ V71** *om*. **K**

The Kāmapra ritual ('for fulfilment of desire') and the Sattrāyaṇa ritual ('Long-course ritual') are also not recorded in Mylius 1995, Renou 1954, or Hillebrandt 1897.

**17.42.5**

eṣa *vā *anaḍvān sarvāṅgaḥ sarvātmā sarvaparuḥ sarvapān madhyataḥ praty aṣṭhāt ||

This one, the ox, with whole limbs, with a whole trunk, with whole joints, with whole feet, has taken a firm standing in the middle.

eṣa *vā *anaḍvān] eṣa vānaḍvān **K** eṣa vānaḍvān, **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]? V71** eṣa vānaṛvān, **V122** eṣa vānaṛvan, **Ji$_4$** eṣa vānaṛvānata **Pa$_c$** eṣa vāna[.](//)n, **JM$_3$** • sarvāṅgaḥ] **[O]** sarvāśśas **K** • sarvaparuḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** sarvaparu **Pa$_c$** sarvaparus **K** • sarvapān] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** sarvipān **V71** • madhyataḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** madhataḥ **V71** madhyatu **K** • praty aṣṭhāt] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$** praty aṣṭhāta **Pa$_c$** praty atiṣṭhāt **Mā V71 JM$_3$** pratiṣṭhātu **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** | **V122 Mā** ||(←*s.s.*)bharā **Ji$_4$** *om*. **K**

Note the aorist *praty aṣṭhāt*. In ritual texts, the aorist is normally found in direct speech with the function of expressing the recent past. If found in sections containing ritual instructions, instead, it normally expresses the direct result of a previously mentioned action or the achieved result or effect of the described ritual procedure. This is the so-called resultative aorist. The same can also

60 JB 2.307 reads: *atha yasyaitasya jyotir gaur āyur iti tryaho viśvajit sarvapṛṣṭhya ukthyaṣ ṣoḍaśimāñ chandomapavamānaḥ sarvastoma ukthyaḥ pañcaviṃśaṃ mahāvrataṃ jyotir atirātro yaḥ kāmayetopetyābhiplavam upetya pṛṣṭhāny upetya chandomān mahāvrataṃ ma upetaṃ syād iti sa etena yajeta*.

61 The reading of **V71** is added (perhaps by a second hand) in the left margin, right before *kāmaprāḥ*. Between the two words is a candrabiṇḍu sign, probably marking the place where an addition should be inserted, or perhaps indicating that a further addition needs to be inserted there. Indeed, again in the left margin, before the first line, above the candrabiṇḍu, we seem to read *sataṃ*.

express an action (a secondary, preliminary procedure) that was done before the current ritual timeline described in the text. On these different usages, see Amano 2009: 15ff. It is hard to uncover the ritual reality behind our line: what seems plausible is that some of these lines were recited during an actual ritual performance—as is certainly the case for kāṇḍikā 43, which contains *yajus*-style prose—or that they were recited during a re-enactment of the ritual for didactic purposes.

The readings preserved by both **O** and **K** suggest that the PS written archetype must have contained a faulty reading, *vānaḍvān*, with double sandhi between *vai* and *anaḍvān*. Note that the resultative aorist (at least in the MS) is very especially found with *evá* (sometimes also with *vā́ etád* or *vā́vaitád*) (see Amano 2009: 16), so one wonders whether the original reading might have been *eṣaivānaḍvān*.

On *madhyatas* and the semantics of the *-tas* suffix, see my comment on PS 17.1.1 (Selva 2014: 6).

**17.42.6**

ṛ̥ksāmābhyām uttabhito yajuṣā yajñena gāyatreṇa brahmaṇā prathita upariṣṭāt ||

He is upheld by the *ṛ̥k* verses and the *sāman* chants; by the *yajus* ritual injunctions, by the ritual worship, by the Gāyatrī recitation, by the *bráhman* formula, he is made to thrive above.

uttabhito yajuṣā] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** utabhito yajuṣā **Ji$_4$** uttabhito yayusā **Pa$_c$** ādattetaṭ̥rto **K** • gāyatreṇa] gāẏatreṇa **[O]** gāyattreṇa **K** • brahmaṇā] **[O]** vrahmaṇā **K** • prathita upariṣṭāt] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** pathita ([.]→*s.s.*)[.]pariṣṭāt, **V71** pratata upariṣṭāt **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K**

**17.42.7**

prathate prajayā paśubhir gṛ̥hair dhanena ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti) ||

He thrives with offspring, with cattle, with a homestead, with wealth, he who, (being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox).

prathate] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** pratham(*s.s.*→t)e **V71** • praẏayā] **K** prajaẏā **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** praṇiẏā **Ji$_4$** • gṛ̥hair dhanena] **K [Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** gṛ̥hairddhanena **V122 Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** gṛ̥hirddhanena **Ji$_4$** • ya (…) ||] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** yaḥ || 42 || ru (space) || **V122** yaḥ || 42 || **Ji$_4$** ya evaṃ vedaḥ || 42 || ru || **Pa$_c$** yaḥ || 42 || ru 7 || **V71 JM$_3$** yaḥ Z 16 Z **K**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *dhanana*—no doubt a misprint.

Note the *figura etymologica* between *prathate* and the *prathita* of the previous line.

## Kāṇḍikā 43

In the first four lines of this final kāṇḍikā, the text switches from the narrative or exegetical (*brāhmaṇa*-style) prose of the previous sections to a series of *yajus*-style prose injunctions, typically characterised by 2sg. verbal forms, that were presumably meant to be recited during a ritual performance.

**17.43.1-2** ~ PS 3.25.14

1 indro balenāsi parameṣṭhī vratena yena gaus tena vaiśvadevaḥ ||
2 yo [’]smān dveṣṭi yaṃ (**K**: ca) vayaṃ dviṣmas tasya prāṇān saṃ vṛha tasya prāṇān vi vṛha ||

By strength you are Indra, by means of [your] observance [you are] Parameṣṭhin; by the fact that you are a bovine, you belong to the All-gods.
The one who hates us, (and) the one we hate, tear out his life-breaths altogether, tear his life-breaths apart.

N.B. Here **Ma** has a lacuna. The sequence “-*na yena gaus tena*” is missing.

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balenāsi] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** balenāsiṃ **V71** balenā **JM$_3$** balenāmya **K** • parameṣṭhī] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71** par(e→)ameṣṭhī **Ji$_4$** parameṣṭ(i →[.]) **JM$_3$** • vratena yena] **K [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ V71 JM$_3$** vrate **Ma** vratena (space) **Pa$_c$** vrateyena **Mā** • gaus tena] **K Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** gos tena **Pa$_c$ V71** *om*. **Ma** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** | **V122 V71 JM$_3$** *om*. **K** • yo [’]smān dveṣṭi] yo ’smāṃ dveṣṭi **V122** yosmāndveṣṭi **K Ja Mā** yosmāṃ dveṣṭi **Ma** yosmāṃ dveṣṭi **Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ JM$_3$** yosmādeṣṭi **V71** • yaṃ (ca) vayaṃ] ẏaṃ vaẏaṃ **V122 Pa$_c$ V71** (**[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?**) ẏaṃ vaṃ **Ji$_4$** y(i→)aṃ vaẏaṃ **JM$_3$** yaṃ ca vayaṃ **K** • dviṣmas tasya] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** dviṣmaḥ tasya **Pa$_c$** • prāṇān] prāṇān, **Ma Ja V122 Pa$_c$ Mā V71** prāṇāna **Ji$_4$** prān, **JM$_3$** prāṇāni **K** • saṃ vṛha tasya] **[Ma] Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** saṃ vṛhattasya **Ja V122 V71** saṃ vṛhaṃ tasya **Ji$_4$** sambaṛha tasya **K** • prāṇān vi vṛha] prāṇān, vi vṛha **[Ma]? [Ja]? V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]? V71 JM$_3$** prāṇān vi barha **K** • ||] **JM$_3$ [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** | **K V122 V71**

PS 3.25.14
indro balenāsi parameṣṭhī vratena yena gaus tena vaiśvadevaḥ |
yo [’]smān dveṣṭi yaṃ (ca) vayaṃ dviṣmas tasya prāṇān, saṃ *vṛha tasya prāṇān vi vṛha ||

Bhattacharya’s edition reads *yosmān*.

An exact parallel for these two lines is found in PS 3.25.14 (with no ŚS parallel), concluding the PS version of the Anaḍutsūkta. The readings of the mss. preserving this parallel passage confirm that the written archetype most probably read *yo smān* (*yo smān* **K**, *yo ’smāṃ* **Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$ Ja Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$**

**V153**, *yo (asmān,→)'smāṃ* **Vā**, *yo smāṃ* **Ek$_1$ Ku$_1$**).

They also confirm that the Kashmirian tradition read *yaṃ ca vayaṃ dviṣmas*, whereas the Odia tradition did not feature the conjunction (*yaṃ vayaṃ dviṣmas* **[O]**[62], *yaṃ ca vaya dviṣsas* **K**). I discuss this issue in my comment on PS 3.25.14 in Appendix II.

The readings preserved by our mss. confirm that *saṃ vṛha tasya* is also the correct reading in PS 3.25.14 (see my edition in Appendix II).

**17.43.3**

indro [']sīndrasya rūpam asi prajāpatir asi parameṣṭhy asi ||

You are Indra, you are Indra's form, you are Prajāpati, you are Parameṣṭhin.

indro [']sīndrasya] indro sīndrasya **[O]** indro sīndrasya **K** • prajāpatir] **[O]** praprajāpatir **K** • parameṣṭhy asi] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** parame(//)[.]y asi **Ji$_4$** parameṣṭhir asi **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ [Mā] JM$_3$** | **V122 Pa$_c$** |(?) **V71** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya writes *indrosīndrasya*.

This line closely resembles ŚS 4.11.7ab, the opening of the prose passage that concludes the first section of the Anaḍutsūkta in the ŚS (with no direct parallel in the PS version). The whole of ŚS 4.11.7, which I have also quoted in my comment on 17.30 above, reads: *índro rūpéṇāgnír váhena prajā́patiḥ parameṣṭhī́ virā́ṭ | viśvā́nare akramata vaiśvānaré akramatānadúhy akramata | só 'dṛṃhayata só 'dhārayata* ||, "He is Indra by [his] form; he is Agni by means of [his] withers; [he is] Prajāpati, Parameshthin, Virāj. He strode into [the domain of] Viśvānara, he strode into [the domain of] Vaiśvānara, he strode onto the draft-ox. He made himself firm. He held his [*vajra*]." See my discussion on this passage in my comment on 17.30 above and in Appendix II, §2.2.

**17.43.4**

svar asi svargo [']si svargaloko [']si svargaṃ mā lokaṃ gamaya ||

You are the heaven, you are heavenly, you are one whose world is the heaven, make me go to the heavenly world.

svargo [']si] svargosi **[O]** svarosi **K** • svargaloko [']si] svargalokosi **K [O]** • mā] **[O]** smā **K** • gamaya] **K** gamaẏa **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā]** gamaẏaḥ **V71 JM$_3$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **K V122 Pa$_c$**

Bhattacharya's edition reads *svargosi svargalokosi*.

On the *svargá loká*, see my discussion in Appendix II §3.2, §3.3.

Here, *svargaloko* (=*svargalokaḥ*) must be a Bahuvrīhi compound, much like *bradhnálokaḥ*

62 Note that all of my **O** mss. (except for **JM$_3$**) read *dveṣṭi ẏaṃ* (with *ẏ*) *vaẏaṃ*. Unfortunately, Bhattacharya does not record this spelling for his mss. Similarly, all my mss. containing the Anaḍutsūkta parallel read *dveṣṭi ẏaṃ* (with *ẏ*) *vaẏaṃ*. The only exception is **Ek$_1$**, which has *dveṣṭi yaṃ vaẏaṃ*. As the akṣara *ẏ* [j] is used only in the middle of words, between vowels, in the Odia tradition (whereas at the beginning of a word only the akṣara *y* [dʒ] is found), it would seem that, perhaps because this was such a frequent formula, the words were pronounced as one single continuous utterance: thus the sequence *dveṣṭiẏaṃ* was not perceived as two words.

in 17.34.3,5 above.

**17.43.5–6**

5a yenāsya vahas tena yajño
5b yena vahati tena lokaḥ ||
6a yenainaṃ [**K**: yenedaṃ] paśyati tena viśvo
6b yenainaṃ [**K**: yenedaṃ] gamayati tena sarvaḥ ||

By the fact that he has withers, he is the ritual worship;
by the fact that he hauls, he is the world.
By the fact that he looks at him (**K**: By the fact that now he looks), he is everything;
by the fact that he makes him go (**K**: by the fact that now he makes go), he is the whole.

yenāsya] **[O]** yenāmi **K** • vahas] **K [Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** vaha[x]s **Ji$_4$** • yajño] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ya[. .] **V122** • vahati] **[O]** vṛ̥haspati **K** • lokaḥ] **[O]** loko **K** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122** *om*. **K** • viśvo] **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** viśvo (*subs. sec.m.* → viśvo) **V122** • yenainaṃ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** yenai[x]naṃ **V71** yenedaṃ **K** • paśyati] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] JM$_3$** pa([x]nti → *subs*.)śyati **V71** pasyati **Ji$_4$** gamayati **K** • yenainaṃ] **[O]** yenedaṃ **K** • gamayati] **K** gamaẏati **[O]** • sarvaḥ] **[O]** śarvaḥ **Pa$_c$** • ||] **[Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** | **V122 Pa$_c$** *om*. **K**

Bhattacharya edits *yenāsya*.

In his comment, Bhattacharya proposes to emend to **yenāsi*. There is little doubt that the °*m*° in **K** is a mistake for °*s*°. However, it would be strange to have a 2g. *asi* followed by a 3sg. *vahati*. Moreover, the following line, 43.6, reads *paśyati* and *gamayati*, both 3sg. verbs. Clearly there has been a shift to the third person. Therefore, I am inclined to think that *yenāsya* is a better reading.

**O** *vahati* corresponds to **K** *vṛ̥haspati* (Bṛ̥haspati). One wonders whether this difference is intentional. However, there is no mention of Bṛ̥haspati anywhere else in this anuvāka, nor in the Anaḍutsūkta. Moreover, the absence of a visarga (*vṛ̥haspatiḥ*) speaks in favour of considering **K**'s reading simply a corruption of *vahati*.

The reference to 'looking' (*paśyati*) is very obscure—can it be related to the curses involving darkness and eye diseases in 17.40.5–6 above?[63] Note that **K** reads *gamayati* twice. The reference to 'making go' (*gamayati*) evokes 17.43.3, *svargaṃ mā lokaṃ gamaya*, above. In fact, the change to the third person here raises the question as to whether we are back to *brāhmaṇa*-style exegetical prose that is not meant to be recited during a ritual, but perhaps only during a re-enactment for didactic purposes, or if these lines too are *yajuses* meant to be recited. In the first case, the *yajus* in 17.43.3 would actually have been pronounced during the ritual, and our line here would be explaining it. In the second case, instead, we have to imagine the presence of multiple people reciting different lines. But who is who here?

The difference between **O** *yenainam* and **K** *yenedaṃ* is interesting. The unemphatic enclitic *enam* normally refers anaphorically to someone just mentioned in the text. This would suggest that the referent of *enam* is the subject of sentences **5a** and **5b**. Let's call it "A" to distinguish it from the

63 In light of the connection between the *anaḍudvrata* and the Gharma ritual (see Appendix II, §3.1), it might be interesting to note that on the first day of the *avāntaradīkṣā*, the novice is made to look at the sun and then blindfolded, as if to retain its lustre. He is spends the first night of his initiation like that. On the second day, having returned to the wilderness, he is made to look at seven objects that supposedly represent the sun (see Appendix II, fn. 23).

supposed subject of **6a** and **6b**, or "B" for the sake of the discussion: "By the fact that A has withers, A is the ritual of worship; by the fact that A hauls, A is the world; By the fact that B looks at him (=at A, just mentioned), B is everything; by the fact that B makes him (=A, just mentioned) go, B is the whole." Is it perhaps possible that A is an actual ox (who has withers and hauls), and B is a *vratin*? There is very little room for certainty here, also because the *vratin* is likened to an ox throughout the text, so that even the subject of *vahati* could be the *vratin* instead of the ox. However, I would hesitate to regard the subject of **6** as identical to that of **5**. This would mean that *enam* would not refer to the subject of **5** (just mentioned before), but to someone outside the text, in the real world, maybe present at the scene. In this case, in a *brāhmaṇa*-style explanation we would expect to find the pronoun *eṣa* (so here *etam*), while in a formulaic *yajus* (much like in an instance of direct speech), we would expect to find the pronoun *ayam* (so here *imam*). At the same time, this might not be such a strict rule. It is interesting that we also find the pronoun *enam* in the Anaḍutsūkta, at ŚS 4.11.4 (~ PS 3.25.2): *anaḍvā́n duhe sukṛ́tasya lokā́ ainaṃ pyāyayati* (PS $^{+}$*pyāyet*) *pavamānaḥ purastā́t* |, "The draft ox milks out into the world of merit. May the [wind] blowing from the East swell him". On the one hand, the use of *enam* in this stanza seems justified by the fact that it refers to the *anaḍvān* just mentioned before. On the other hand, this *anaḍvān* is certainly a *vratin*, probably present at the scene when this stanza is recited. It is he who should figuratively swell and produce the milk (i.e. merit) that will grant him access to the *sukṛ́tasya lokā́*. Moreover, we could imagine that it is the *vratin* who pronounces 17.43.3 above: *svargaṃ mā lokaṃ gamaya*, "make me go to the heavenly world"—perhaps addressing the ox! In this case, the *vratin* certainly could not be the subject of our *gamayati*: on the contrary, it would be the ox, who makes him (the *vratin*) go [to the heavenly world]. This would suggest that *enam* (the *vratin*) truly has a referent in the real world, and does not simply refer to someone mentioned above in the text (i.e., the subject of line **5**). Yet nothing prevents the *vratin* in the real world from being the subject of **5**, since, as I have pointed out above, the *vratin* is likened to an ox! In this case, *enam* (= the *vratin*) in **6** would also be justified in its intratextual anaphoric function.

The case is different if we prefer **K**'s reading, *idam*. Here, the referent must be something in the real world, but because *idam* is neuter, this referent certainly cannot be an ox, nor a *vratin*. Alternatively, *idam* could be taken as an adverb 'here, now': e.g., 'By the fact that now he looks, he is everything; by the fact that now he makes go (i.e. he fulfils the function of making [the *vratin*] go), he is the whole". Both the **O** and the **K** variants seem possible, therefore I include the **K** alternative in my edition and translation.

**17.43.7**

ye [']sya pādāḥ sā pratiṣṭhā ||
prati *tiṣṭhati prajayā paśubhir gṛhair dhanena ya evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti ||

His feet, they are the foundation.
He takes a firm standing with offspring, with cattle, with a homestead, with wealth, he who, being initiated, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox.

ye [']sya] ye sya **K [Ma] [Ja] Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** ye asya **V122**[64] • pādāḥ] **[Ma] [Ja] V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā] V71 JM$_3$** padāḥ **Ji$_4$** pādāt **K** • ||] || **Ji$_4$ JM$_3$** | **[Ma]? [Ja]? V122 Pa$_c$ [Mā]? V71** *om*. **K** • prati *tiṣṭhati] prati tiṣṭhasi **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** (**[Mā]? [Ma]? [Ja]?**) prathate **K** • prajayā]

64 This reading is most likely secondary. Cf. 17.38.3 above.

**K** prajaẏā **[O]** • paśubhir gr̥hair dhanena][65] **K [Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** paśubhir gr̥hairddhanena **JM$_3$ V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$** paśubhi gr̥heddhinena[x] **V71** • vidvān anaḍuho] **[Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** vidvān anaṛūho **V71** vidvā(*s.s.* na)naṛuho **JM$_3$** vidvān, nanaṛuho **V122** vidvā[x]nnaṛuho **Ji$_4$** vidvā[. . .]ho **Pa$_c$** vidvān ana(ḍvā →)ḍuho **K** • bibharti][66] **K [Ma]? [Ja]? [Mā]?** bibhartti **V122 Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$ V71 JM$_3$** • ||] || 43 || ru || 6 || **Ma** a 6 | 43 | ru 8 | **Ja** || 43 || ru (space) || **V122** || (space) || 43 || **Ji$_4$** || 43 || ru || 5 || **Pa$_c$** || 43 || ru || **Mā V71** || 43 || ru 8 || **JM$_3$** Z 17 Z **K**

Bhattacharya edits *yesya* and *prati tiṣṭhati*.

The last two lines continue in the 3sg. person, in the *brāhmaṇa*-style prose that we have encountered in the previous kāṇḍikās, also repeating the formula that concludes all the other kāṇḍikās in this anuvāka.

Bhattacharya counts both lines together as 17.43.7 (counting a total of seven lines in this kāṇḍikā), and separates them with a single *daṇḍa*. His apparatus does not report the punctuation found in his mss., so we can only assume that they all read a single *daṇḍa*. If this is true, then the majority of the mss. would indeed point to a single daṇḍa. However, the two mss. that mark the line count (**Ja** from **O$^A$**, and **JM$_3$** from **O$^B$**)[67] both feature the number "8". There is no other reasonable way to count eight lines than to split this last portion into two lines, 43.7 and 43.8. In fact, **JM$_3$** also separates the two lines with a double daṇḍa; **Ji$_4$** does the same. However, **Ja**, despite counting eight lines, (presumably) doesn't use double daṇḍas. Nevertheless, in all of the preceding kāṇḍikās of this anuvāka, the last line (containing the *ya evaṃ vidvān* formula and beginning with a verb) is always separated by double daṇḍas from the sacred equations that precede it. Therefore, it would seem consistent to edit two independent lines (7 and 8) here as well, separated by double daṇḍas.

Bhattacharya edits *prati tiṣṭhati* (3sg.) and does not report any variant in his apparatus. However, all of my **O** mss. have *prati tiṣṭhasi* (2sg.). As in many other cases, I assume that his mss. actually have the same reading as mine. At any rate, Bhattacharya's *prati tiṣṭhati* is the correct reading in my view, although it should be marked as a conjecture. **K**'s reading of *prathate* must be due to perseveration from 17.42.7, whereas *prati *tiṣṭhati* is consistent content-wise with line 17.43.7, which contains the noun *pratiṣṭhā*. It was probably under the influence of the numerous 2sg. forms in the preceding lines that the 2sg. ending *-si* was introduced here. Note that *prati tiṣṭhati pajayā* is also the pratīka given by the Vedavratavidhi section of the Karmapañjikā in the list of pādas that begin and end the anuvākas of kāṇḍa 17 (see Introduction §1.2).

65 From Bhattacharya's edition, it would appear that all his mss. read *gr̥hairdhanena*. As all my mss. read the cluster *rddha* (**V71** *ddhi* could also easily be a carelessly written *rddha*), it would be strange if Bhattacharya's mss. read differently. His apparatus his silent. He most likely silently normalised the geminated cluster.

66 Once again, Bhattacharya's apparatus is silent, and from his edition it would appear that all his mss. read *bibharti*. As all my **O** mss. read *bibhartti*, I deduce that Bhattacharya silently normalised the reading of his mss. and adopted the degeminated cluster.

67 The numeral "6" in **Ma** is probably meant to mark the end of the sixth anuvāka. The numeral "5" in **Pa$_c$** appears to be a mistake.

Here the sixth anuvāka comes to an end. The following colophons are found in the mss.:

**K**: iti saptādaśakāṇḍe ṣaṣṭo nuvākaḥ ZZ

**Ma**: || 6 || (?)
**Ja**: *not reported by Bhattacharya*
**V122**: (*s.s.*) ityekānṛcakāṇḍe ṣaṣṭho ’nuvākaḥ || 6 ||
**Ji$_4$**: ityekānṛcakāṇḍe ṣaṣṭho nuvākaḥ || 6 || # || ( śrīṃ || … )
**Pa$_c$**: *no colophon*

**Mā** ityekā . . . || (*the rest is not reported by Bhattacharya*)
**V71**: ityekānṛcakāṇḍe [.]ṣṭe[…(//)nuvākaḥ ||
**JM$_3$**: ityekanṛcakāṇḍe ṣaṣṭhonuvākaḥ || # ||

# APPENDIX I

# The Indo-European and Vedic Vrātya origins of the *pāśupatavrata*

This chapter[1] aims at identifying the cultural models that account for the origins of two specific features of the Pāśupata cult, namely the practice of imitating a bull/ox, and the idea of stealing merit from detractors. After an introduction to the Pāśupata cult, the starting point will be Acharya's 2013 theory according to which the original Pāśupata *vrata* was essentially a *govrata*. I shall adduce texts illustrating that the purpose of the *govrata* is to steal merit (*iṣṭāpūrta*), in particular a newly edited passage from Atharvaveda Paippalāda, book 17, chapter 6, a text likely conceived in a Vrātya environment. Along the lines of other studies that have identified the Vrātyas as predecessors of later cultural phenomena, I shall propose to explain the *pāśupatavrata* as historically informed by cultural models going back to the institution of the Indo-European *Männerbund* via the mediation of Vrātya culture. A list of cultural traits typical of the IE *Männerbund* will be provided. This will be followed by a comparison with matching cultural traits from the Indian Vrātya culture, as well as from early Śaiva cults. I will then try to 1) trace the Pāśupata practice of imitating the bull back to the IE *Männerbund*'s practice of parading in animal masks, viz. by identifying Vrātya animal *vratas*, and 2) trace the Pāśupata idea of stealing merit back to the IE *Männerbund*'s claim of a *sakraler Stehlrecht*, namely by reinterpreting three famous Vrātya texts that show both the Vrātyas' great concern with receiving proper hospitality and respect, as well as the curses that the Vrātyas cast on anyone who fails to provide such proper treatment. Special attention will be given to the socio-economical aspects of this reinterpretation.

## 1. The Pāśupata cult

Research on the Pāśupata cult, the worship of Rudra/Paśupati ('lord of cattle') and Lakulīśa ('lord of the club'), is of central importance for the study of the history and the development of Indian religion, because the Pāśupatas (or Māheśvaras) are the earliest known Śaiva sect.[2] Our knowledge of this cult relies on a series of classical and medieval literary sources and inscriptions, the main source being the Pāśupatasūtra,[3] preserved with Kauṇḍinya's commentary, the Pañcārthabhāṣya.[4] This commentary has been dated to around the fourth century AD, a time when the cult had become

1 I am grateful to Velizar Sadovski for inviting me to present some of the early ideas contained in this paper during his 2016 course "Indo-European poetry, religion and society: priesthood, royal and social ideology in ancient IE texts, myths and rituals" at the Leiden Linguistics Summer School in Languages and Linguistics (11–22 July 2016). A first version of this paper was then presented at the Indology Nowadays winter school in memory of Paul Thieme, Tübingen, 21–22 February 2017, and an updated version at the 33rd South Asian Languages Analysis Round Table (SALA 33), Poznań, 15–17 May 2017. I am very grateful to Renate Söhnen-Thieme, Frank Köhler and Elena Mucciarelli for inviting me to Tübingen, as well as to Tiziana Pontillo, Maria Piera Candotti and Velizar Sadovski for inviting me to Poznań. I thank them and all the participants of these two conferences for their valuable feedback and support.

2 For a general overview on the Pāśupatas, one may consult Acharya 2011, Sanderson 1988: 664–667, Hara 1966, 2002, Bisschop 2006a and Bakker 2011.

3 Other relevant textual sources are the Nakulīśapāśupatadarśanam (ch. 6 of the Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha of Sāyaṇa Mādhava, 14th c. AD; see Hara 1958); the Gaṇakārikā of Haradatta with the 10th c. AD commentary Ratnaṭīkā by Bhāsarvajña; the original Skandapurāṇa (ca. 7th c. AD) (see Bisschop 2006a); the Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas (see Bisschop & Griffiths 2003, 2007); and various references in the Mbh. (see Bakker 1997) etc. Other minor sources are mentioned in Acharya 2013; on the epigraphical evidence (e.g. the Mathurā pillar, 4th c., and Malhar, 7th c.), see Hara 1966: 35–70, Pathak 1960: 4–19 and Bakker 2000, 2011.

4 The reference edition of both the sūtra and Kauṇḍinya's commentary is Sastri 1940, which is also the *editio princeps*. A translation of the text and the commentary can be found in Hara 1966. Bisschop 2006b contains an edition of the *sūtrapāṭha* text; a new edition of PāśS 1.7–9 can be found in Bakker & Bisschop 2018.

quite widespread, eventually leading to the institution of temples with the patronage of rich merchants and kings, and involving both groups of ascetics as well as larger communities of lay devotees. However, the sūtra itself must be older than the commentarial redaction, and of course the cult must predate the text.

In fact, ongoing research on the textual sources of the Pāśupatasūtra has been tracing its roots to the Vedic period.[5] In particular, Acharya (2013) claimed that we should distinguish an original pre-philosophical/pre-Kauṇḍinya Pāśupatism, with roots going back to Vedic times, from a more moderate and philosophical post-Kauṇḍinyan version; and secondly, that in its original form, the *pāśupatavrata* was fundamentally a *govrata* or *godharma*, that is, an observance essentially consisting of the imitation of the behaviour of a bull or an ox.

> "*The Pāśupatas ritually adopted the bull's behaviour*, regarding themselves as the cattle of their Lord, and thus cultivated devotion to Rudra, 'the Lord of Cattle' (*paśupati*). Originally, this must have been their intention in all ways and *throughout all phases of their life* after accepting Pāśupatism. This was true at the time of composition of the Pāśupatasūtra. But by the time of Kauṇḍinya the Pāśupata vow had somehow become moderated and divided into stages, and the *godharma* observance was circumscribed and attached only to the final stage of Pāśupata practice. The prescriptions requiring one to adopt the bull's behaviour were transformed into something suitable to the modified notion of Pāśupatism. Consequently, what was practised in the initial and intermediate stages was no longer recognised as *godharma*" (Acharya 2013: 112; emphasis mine).

The *pāśupatavrata* as described in the PāśS consists of five stages, most of which can be shown to involve the imitation of the behaviour of a bull or ox:

(1) In the first stage, the ascetic lives by a temple of Śiva, and imitates the god. He smears his body with ashes, worships Śiva with dancing, singing, laughter, the drumming sound *huḍḍuṅ*, silent meditation, five YV *mantras*, and five *brahmamantras*; Kauṇḍinya's comment on the relevant passage (PāśS 1.8[6]) points out that *huḍḍuṅ* "is the sacred sound *like the bellowing of a bull*, produced by the contact of the tongue-tip with the palate" (Hara 1966: 183; emphasis mine).

(2) The second stage represents the very core of the observance. In this stage, "throwing off all the outward signs of his observance he [i.e. the ascetic] moved about in public pretending to be crippled, deranged, mentally deficient, or indecent. Passers-by being unaware that these defects were feigned spoke ill of him. By this means the Pāśupata provoked an exchange in which his demerits passed to his detractors and their merits (*iṣṭa- pūrta-*) to him" (Sanderson 1988: 665). According to Acharya, the relevant passage describes the behaviour of a bull:

> (PāśS 3.11–15[7]) *preva caret* | *krātheteva* | *spandeteva* | *maṇṭeteva* | *śr̥ṅgāyeteva* |, "[The ascetic] should enact thrashing about, he should enact injuring [others], he should enact kicking or twitching of his limbs, he should enact getting agitated/hobbling, he should enact butting" (Acharya 2013: 110).

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5 Oberlies 2000, Acharya 2013, Bisschop & Selva 2016 and Bisschop 2018.

6 PāśS 1.8 *hasitagītanr̥tyaḍuṃḍuṃ*[/*huḍḍuṅ*]*kāranamaskārajapyopahāreṇopatiṣṭhet* |. On the vocalisation *huḍḍuṅ*, see Sanderson 2002: 30 fn. 32.

7 I quote Acharya's 2013 reconstruction, which involves a series of emendations. The text of the *editio princeps* (i.e., before Acharya's 2013 emendations) reads as follows: PāśS 3.11–19, *pretavac caret* | *krātheta vā* | *spandeta vā* | *maṇṭeta vā* | *śr̥ṅgāreta vā* | *api tat kuryāt* | *api tad bhāṣet* | *yena paribhavaṃ gacchet* | *paribhūyamāno hi vidvān kr̥tsnatapā bhavati* |, "He should go about like an outcaste; at times he should snore; or he should tremble; or he should limp; or he should play the lecher; he should act improperly; he should speak improperly; by means of which he may come to be ill-treated; for a wise man, being ill-treated, accomplishes all asceticism" (Hara 1966: 319–329).

(3) In the third stage, the ascetic dwells in a remote location (cave, deserted building, etc.) in order to practise meditation with repetition of the five mantras. Here the PāśS itself is explicit:

> PāśS 5.18–20 (~ Sūtrapāṭha 5.9–12), *godharmā mṛgadharmā vā | adbhir eva śucir bhavet | siddhayogī na lipyate* (~ *lipyeta*) *| karmaṇā pātakena vā |*, "Following the attribute of a bull or the attribute of a wild animal, he should become pure as though [washed] by water; the perfected yogin is stained neither by [good] karma nor by mortal sin" (transl. Hara 1966: 405–7).

Kauṇḍinya interprets the passage as referring to ascetic skills: "[...] what is meant is their common attribute, which is the ability to bear the pain of opposites [heat and cold, etc.] […]" (Hara 1966: 406). However, originally, the reference to cattle and wild animals was not merely a metaphor, but the core of the practice, which involved the full identification of the ascetic with such animals.

(4) In the last two classical stages, this identification is less explicit. In the fourth stage, the ascetic moves to a cremation ground, lives off alms, and awaits death.[8]

(5) Finally, in the fitfth stage, the ascetic experiences the end of suffering (*duḥkhānta*), liberation, and assimilation with Rudra (*rudra-sāyujya*[9]).

Acharya (2013: 112ff.), and Ingalls (1957: 223) before him, found indications of the existence of a bull observance in various sources[10]. In particular, Mahābhārata 5.97.12–14 describes a Maheśvara ascetic as a performer of the *govrata*, and claims that such an ascetic "is invariably lying just anywhere, is fed with just anything [by way of food], and covered with anything [by way of clothing]" (Acharya 2013: 113). More details can be found in Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa II.74.46ff., which recounts the story of the blind sage Dīrghatamas, who is instructed by a bull to behave according to the nature of bulls, *godharma*. This, incidentally, involves the breaking of sexual restrictions with a female relative, which causes Dīrghatamas to be banished by his host.[11] Finally JB 2.113 describes the *gosava*,[12] an observance to win the world of the draft-ox (*anaḍuho ha lokaṃ jayati*). "He [i.e. the ascetic] should [sexually] approach his mother, sister, or a lady of his own clan. Having leaned down close [to the source] he should sip water [directly with his mouth], and having leaned down close [to the ground] he should cut grass [with his teeth]. Wherever he feels the urge to evacuate faeces, right there he should evacuate" (Acharya 2013: 116–117). According to the text, Puṇyakeśa, the king of the Śibis, performed it once by defecating in his assembly hall; conversely, King Janaka Vaideha refused to do it, deeming the practice as suitable only for elderly men (*sthavira*).

Acharya also identifies two more sources from the Atharvaveda,[13] namely the rather obscure

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8 As we will see below, however, this connection with the realm of death, as represented by the prescription of dwelling in a cremation ground, is just as important a trait for tracing the Pāśupata cult back to earlier cultural models.

9 On this expression, see footnote 58 below.

10 One source neglected by Acharya but mentioned by Ingalls (1957: 223 fn. 9, 225) is the episode in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa, ch. 1–2 in which king Dilīpa, unable to obtain a son, is instructed by the sage Vasiṣṭha to follow and imitate the behaviour of the cow Nandinī—rest when she rests, drink when she drinks, etc.—in order to break a curse that had been laid on him by the cow's mother, Surabhī, when Dilīpa had neglected to circumambulate around her and thus disrespected her.

11 See footnote 53 below.

12 On the *gosava*, see Appendix II and Mylius 1975.

13 Noting how all of the AVPariś mss. hail from Gujarat, Bisschop & Griffiths (2003: 320) have argued that the knowledge on the Pāśupata cult among Atharvavedic brahmins could be explained by the fact that the early medieval Atharvavedic tradition was centred in Western India, around Gujarat and Malwa, which is the same region where the Pāśupata cult emerged. Note that this is also the region where the supposed written archetype of the AV Paippalāda (*G) was realised. However, the presence of texts like AVŚ 4.11 ~ AVP 3.25, and AVP 17 ch. 6 (17.27–43) in the AV saṃhitās, seemingly dealing with a pre-Pāśupata *govrata*/*anaḍudvrata*, suggests

AVŚ 4.11 ~ AVP 3.25, the so-called Anaḍutsūkta[14], 'hymn to the draft-ox', and AVP 17 ch. 6 (17.27–43)[15], a long prose chapter that deals with an *anaḍudvrata*, 'vow of the draft-ox'. In these texts, the protagonist is Indra. Indeed, Acharya is mostly interested in using these texts to show that the original *govrata* was performed by Indra—as in fact stated in PāśS 4.10 (see below)—and thus that the original observance belonged to the cult of Indra, which was later replaced by Rudra/Śiva once the latter became identified as the 'lord of cattle' (Pāśupati).

In what follows and in Appendix II, I will try to question this hypothesis (or rather go further beyond it) by showing that both Indra and Rudra are an integral part of this original cult, in that they represent two aspects of the mythological discourse around the initiation practices of Indo-European and later Indo-Aryan young warriors. However, in order to do so, we must first dwell on the above-mentioned two AV texts, and focus on what they can tell us about the core purpose of the observance of the bull.

## 2. The purpose of the *anaḍudvrata*/*govrata*: stealing merit

As referred to in relation to the second stage of the *pāśupatavrata*, from the description of the PāśS it clearly emerges that the Pāśupata ascetic intentionally sought the censure of the common people by behaving in a deranged way in order to provoke a magical exchange of merit between the slanderer and himself, thus purifying himself at the expense of the slanderer:

> PāśS 3.1–9: *avyaktaliṅgī* | *vyaktācāraḥ* | *avamataḥ* | *sarvabhūteṣu* | *paribhūyamānaś caret* | *apahatapāpmā* | *pareṣāṃ parivādāt* | *pāpaṃ ca tebhyo dadāti* | *sukṛtaṃ ca teṣām ādatte* |
>
> "Without displaying his sectarian marks, acting in full view, despised among all beings, he should wander whilst undergoing scorn. His evil is destroyed because of the censure of others. And he gives [his] evil to them. And he takes the merit of their good deeds from them" (Bisschop & Selva 2016).

The PāśS further restates this idea, claiming that Indra was the first to perform this observance:

> PāśS 4.2–13: *gūḍhavrataḥ* | *gūḍhapavitravāṇiḥ* | *sarvāṇi dvārāṇi pidhāya* | *buddhyā* | *unmattavad eko vicareta loke* | *kṛtānnam utsṛṣṭam upādadīta* | *unmatto mūḍha ity evaṃ manyante itare janāḥ* | *asaṃmāno hi yantrāṇāṃ sarveṣām uttamaḥ smṛtaḥ* | *indro vā agre asureṣu pāśupatam acarat* | *sa teṣām iṣṭāpūrtam ādatta* | *māyayā sukṛtayā samavindata* | *nindā hy eṣānindā tasmāt* |
>
> (2–9) "With concealed religious practice; with pure speech [i.e. Sanskrit] concealed; closing all doors; by means of the organs of judgement; he must wander about himself like a madman; he should take food which has been prepared and which is left over; other people will think 'he is a stupid madman'; dishonour indeed is said to be the best of all stratagems" (transl. Hara 1966: 342ff.).

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that the historical connection between the AV and the Pāśupata cult is much older, and that the Pāśupata observance proper might have stemmed from a practice that was more closely related to Atharvaveda circles before becoming an independent cult.

14 On this text, see Appendix II.

15 On this text, see Part III above.

(10–13) "Indra, in the beginning, practised the Pāśupata [observance] among the Asuras. He took the merit gained from worship and donations (*iṣṭāpūrta*) from them. He obtained [it] with well-performed magic (*māyayā*). For this censure is without censure, that's why!"

The AV furnishes a model to this idea of merit transfer. In particular, AVP 17 ch. 6 (17.27–43) contains a prose narrative according to which Indra wished to use the *vajra* but could not bear its power and wield it; when Indra tries to hold it, the weapon slips from his hands and falls into the sea in the form of a lightning bolt, burning the sea, and making the sea water undrinkable. Thus, Indra decides to perform a *vrata* to rob the Devas and the Asuras of the power necessary for bearing the *vajra*. He fails to complete his observance and wield the *vajra* until he resorts to the help of the draft-ox, the animal that is most accustomed to hauling heavy burdens. Only then Indra is able to reach his goal. Finally, with the *vajra*, he is able to slay Vr̥tra. His observance closely resembles that of the Pāśupatas:

AVP 17.28.27, *tam *upāmantrayantāpuṇyayā vācā krūrayā ca* […] *so (')śāmyat*

"Him, they (i.e. the Asuras) called near with a harsh and cruel speech […] he remained calm."

AVP 17.35.1–4, *athāhīnā āśvatthir abravīn na tād brāhmaṇaṃ nindāni yād enam aśr̥ṇon ned iṣṭāpūrtena vi bhavānīti || kr̥tyā vā eṣā manuṣyeṣu carati yad anaḍvān yad anaḍudvratī || ya evaṃ viduṣo (')sādhu kīrtayatīṣṭam evāsya pūrtaṃ saṃvr̥kte || indro vā *agre asureṣv anaḍudvratam acarat | teṣām iṣṭaṃ pūrtaṃ māyā saṃvr̥ktānindan* hy enam ||*

"Then Āhīnas Āśvatthi said: 'Therefore I will not censure [this/a] brahmin for having learned about him (i.e. Indra and his *vrata*), lest I should be deprived of [my] merit, gained from worship and donations (*iṣṭāpūrta*-)'. This is witchcraft, when, as a draft-ox, as one practising the observance of the draft-ox, one roams (/practises the observance) among human beings. He who speaks ill of the initiated one: his merit accumulated with worship (*iṣṭa*-), his merit accumulated with donations (*pūrta*-) are both completely wrested away. Indeed, in the beginning, Indra practised the observance of the draft-ox among the Asuras. Of them, the merit accumulated with worship, that accumulated with donations, the magical power was completely wrested away, for they censured him."

As can be seen from the above quotation, the Paippalāda text describes the dynamics of the theft of merit in the observance of the draft-ox in the same way that the Pāśupatasūtra does for the Pāśupata observance. As first recognised by Bisschop (2018), not only is the theology the same, but the text preserves an almost exact textual parallel. In fact, we can safely say that the Paippalāda passage is the textual model for the Pāśupatasūtra passage, in which *pāśupatam acarat* has replaced an original *anaḍudvratam acarat*.

Thus, we can identify two elements as characterising this observance throughout its historical development: 1) the imitation of the behaviour of a bull or ox (as shown by Acharya) and 2) the idea of stealing merit. What is the origin of these ideas?

## 3. The transfer of merit

The idea of the transferability of merit and demerit (*sukr̥ta*, *puṇya*, *śubha*, *dharma*, *tapas*,

*tejas* vs. *apuṇya*, *duṣkr̥ta*, *enas*, *pāpa*, *pāpman*) *per se* is not problematic; it has been widely studied, and is not only restricted to Pāśupata circles, but has its roots in Buddhism and Vedic culture.[16] In particular, in Vedic culture we frequently encounter the idea of the transferability of *iṣṭāpūrta*, 'the merits gained from worship and donations', which has been studied by Sakamoto-Gotō (1997).

We find an emic interpretation of how such transfer was conceived by the ascetics in the above-mentioned Bhrahmāṇḍapurāṇa passage. More precisely, we hear it from the very mouth of the bull that instructs Dīrghatamas:

> "The bull replied to Dirghatamas: 'My dear, we have neither fatal sin nor theft. We do not distinguish at all what is to be eaten and drunk, and what is not. And, o brahmin, we truly do not [distinguish] what should be done and what not, nor who is fit for sexual relation and who not. We are not sinners, o brahmin, because all this is known from the tradition as the nature of the bull (*godharma*)'" (transl. Acharya 2013: 115).

Thus, the idea is that the performers of the observance are not to be considered sinners for behaving in a deranged way, just as bulls and oxen are not blamed for acting in their natural way. Such behaviour may not be suitable for a human, but it is natural for a bull. The performers identify themselves with bulls, so their bullish behaviour should be regarded as natural for them as well. As such, they are not guilty of sin for acting in such a way that would be considered sinful in the human realm, because, whilst they enact the observance, they are not really humans, but actual bulls.

Modern interpreters of the Pāśupata cult have mostly offered similarly synchronic (as opposed to historical) explanations to illustrate how the *vratins* might have conceived the exchange of merit as a reality. Sanderson (1988: 665) describes the rationale behind the deranged behaviour of the ascetic as follows:

> "By acting this way he was simply making unorthodox use of a thoroughly orthodox principle. He was exploiting his ritual status as one who had undergone a rite of consecration (*dīkṣā*) to initiate an observance (*vrata*); for in the śrauta system one bound by the observance (*vrata*) consequent on consecration (*dīkṣā*) for the Soma sacrifice was similarly dangerous to anyone who might speak ill of him."

Hara (1967–68) explains the rationale behind the transfer of merit by the Pāśupata ascetic in various ways: 1) as the consequence of a moral concern: the Pāśupata aspirants were brahmins, and "it was a general Brahmanical tenet that brahmins were not to be censured"; 2) by highlighting the great importance of non-anger (*akrodha*): an ascetic always had to be careful not to lose his *tapas* in anger. In his view, the Pāśupatas not only avoided losing merit by practising non-anger, i.e. by not reacting to the insults of the people who frowned upon their unusual behaviour, but they also invented a "positive method" for gaining merit by enduring false accusations they themselves provoked to put themselves in the situation of testing their own endurance and non-anger—thus they actually exploited the system of merit transfer; 3) as an inversion of the belief in the Act of Truth (*satya-kriyā*). Accordingly, the detractor's accusations work as an "Act of Falsehood (**anr̥ta-kriyā*)": just as the speaker of truth accomplishes his wish, the speaker of falsehood loses his merit (and the Pāśupatas gain it through endurance and non-anger).

Conversely, Acharya (2013: 126–127), having showed how the *govrata* was popular among peripheral peoples like the Śibis, approached the issue from a historical perspective:

> "[…] we can guess that this vow of adoption of the bull's behaviour was a well

16 See Hara 1967–68 and 1994 (repr. 2002: 105ff.) and Wezler 1997 (with a list of works on the topic, many on Buddhism).

> recognised if not actually commonplace phenomenon among certain people at the margins of Vedic society. The bull was a sort of totem of pastoral tribes, and by mimesis these people worshipped their god in the form of the archetypal bull […] The origin of the Pāśupata praxis lies in an ancient imitatio dei practice in which the worshipper pleased the god, the archetypal, by mimesis."[17]

In the *epilogue* of his 2013 article, Acharya points out the similarity of the Pāśupata practice to that of the Greek Cynics, whose acolytes also sought dishonour by imitating the behaviour of dogs. This similarity had also been recognised by Ingalls (1962), who was the first to attempt an investigation into the historical origin of this practice from a comparative perspective.[18] Acharya accepts the idea of a common origin of the Pāśupatas and Cynics, but dismisses Ingalls's idea that their practices could go back to some form of black shamanism. Acharya (2013: 128 fn. 76), in fact, hints at a possible Indo-European origin, although he only speaks in general terms of "an ancient *imitatio dei* practice".

My contention is that it is indeed possible to identify Indo-European cultural models for the *pāśupatavrata* as regards both the practice of imitating the behaviour of bulls (and other animals) and the idea of stealing merit. As I will try to show, these cultural models have informed the Pāśupata cult via the mediation of the Vedic Vrātya culture.

## 4. Early Vedic Vrātya culture as a model for later cultural phenomena

Several scholars have recognised that multiple traits of later (both Vedic and post-Vedic) cultural phenomena seem to match elements of the early Vedic Vrātya culture, and have proposed considering the latter as prototypes on which the later phenomena are modelled or from which they are directly derived.

Most notably, in a very influential article, Heesterman (1962) has recognised the similarities between the figure of the *dīkṣita*, the initiated patron of the Śrauta ritual, and the Vrātyas, both as far as their outfit (the turban, the belt, the black fur, the staff, etc.) is concerned, as well as with regard to the nature of their liminal status (more on this below); he further claims that the Vrātyastoma rituals and the Sattras, the ritual sessions performed by the Vrātya warriors, were in fact the archaic model for the classical Śrauta rituals. Along these lines, Falk (1986) has expanded on the similarities between Vrātyas, the *sattrins* and the *brahmacārin*, and studied how the Vrātya midwinter rituals involving a dice game have been adapted into the classical Śrauta rituals.

Moreover, as Das (2000b: 115) writes, there is an increasing consensus on the fact that "much, possibly even most, of that which in so-called later Hinduism, and most probably also Buddhism and Jinism, goes back to Vedic times is not a descendant of the known Vedic sacrificial ritual, but of other Vedic sources". Among these, the so-called "Vrātya culture" holds a prominent place: for instance, Bollée (1981) and Dundas (1991: 173f.) have claimed that the early Jaina and Buddhist male communities derived their military attitude and vocabulary precisely from the warrior brotherhoods of the Vrātyas. In a series of works later collected in a posthumous volume in 1997, Sontheimer identified the Vrātya origins of the modern cult of Khaṇḍobā/Mallāri/Mailār/Murukan in Maharashtra, Andra Pradesh, Karnataka, and much of

17 Here Acharya refers in particular to the concept as treated in Bakker 2010.

18 Ingalls also drew attention to the similarity between the name of Lakulīśa, the "lord of the club", and Herakles, the Greek deity worshipped by the Cynics and likewise portrayed as carrying a club. Rather than the influence of the Greek cult on the Indian one, this similarity is best explained in terms of IE heritage. In particular, the couple Pāśupati/Lakulīśa is modelled on the old pattern of **korios* god/**teuteh*$_2$ god, which was discovered by McCone (1987) and can be recognised in the Vrātya deity couple Rudra/Indra. On this matter, which I take for granted in my trait list below (trait **M3-V3-P3**), I refer the reader to a discussion in my Appendix II, §3.4.

Southern India (more on this below in §8). Before them, Charpentier (1909, 1911) and Hauer (1927) regarded the Vrātyas as the prototype of the yogins and *śramaṇa* ascetics in general, or the Śaivite ascetics in particular. Finally, these ideas have recently informed Samuel's (2008) research on the origins of Yoga and Tantrism.

However, to my knowledge, no one has systematically studied the Pāśupatas from this perspective. Oberlies (2000) suggested that the the scandalous behaviour of the Pāśupata ascetics during the second stage of their observance might derive from the custom of warriors who employed battle tricks (*Kriegslisten*) to provoke their adversaries before the fight.[19] In accordance to this hypothesis, Oberlies also emphasised the role of Indra in the ideology that informed the Pāśupata cult. Nevertheless, he did not establish a connection between the latter and the Vrātyas or the Indo-European warbands. Falk (1994b), adducing descriptions of aggressive armed brahmins in later Vedic literature, has pointed out their similarities with depictions of the Vrātyas and the Pāśupatas.[20] He interprets this in light of the post-Mauryan socio-political changes that saw the rise of brahmin dynasties like the Śuṅgas: in his view, because of the success of non-Brahmanical cults, brahmins who lacked patronage were forced to embrace a warlike lifestyle to find a means of subsistence.[21] This interesting hypothesis may well be correct, but, as I will point out in the following chapters, this social phenomenon is old, and is connected with what I will call the *Gefolgschaft* phase of the Indo-European warband. Indeed, Das (2000 and 2002; after Michaels 1998: 299), commenting on Oberlies's and Falk's articles, speaks of a *vīrya-marga*, and explicitly draws attention to the similarities between the phenomena described above and the Indo-European warrior sodalities, and advocates for "serious scholarly investigations" into the matter.

In fact, the Vrātyas themselves have their own precursors, namely the Indo-European warband. Thus, before we dive more deeply into the characteristics of the Vrātyas and analyse how these relate to the Pāśupatas, it is worth carrying out a survey of the characteristics of this older

19 Note that Oberlies's hypothesis is based on the text of PāśS 3.11–19 (vis-à-vis TB 2.3.9.9) before Acharya's emendations (see footnote 7 above). Thus, the ascetics' demeaning behaviour would originate from tricks that the warriors used to deceive their enemies, making them believe that they were weak and unable to withstand combat; meanwhile, acting like a madman and behaving aggressively or obscenely would have been tricks to frighten an adversary. Commenting on this, Das (2002: 144 fn. 35) aptly recalls a scene from the popular film *Braveheart* in which the Scottish warriors expose their gentials and buttocks to provoke the English soldiers.

20 Quite remarkable are some lexical similarities between the description of armed brahmins and *daivatas* in KauśSū 13.12–13[=104–105], who "tanzen, tröpfeln, lachen, singen, und andere Gestalt annehmen", and the practice of the Pāśupata ascetics who laugh, sing, dance, and can assume any form, according to PāśS 1.8 and 1.24. The texts read as follows: 13.12[104], *atha yatraitad brāhmaṇā āyudhino bhavanti tatra juhuyāt* (1). *yā āsurā manuṣyā āttadhanūḥ [puruṣamukhāś] carāṇ iha devā vayaṃ manuṣyās te (')devā pra viśāmasi. indro no astu purogava sa no rakṣatu sarvata. indrāya svāheti hutvā* (2). *"mā no vidan"* [ŚS 1.19.1], *"namo devavadhebhya"* [ŚS 6.13.1] *ity etābhyām suktābhyām juhuyāt* (3). *sā tatra prāyaścittiḥ* (4). 13.13[=105]: *atha yatraitad daivatāni nṛtyanti cyotanti hasanti gāyanti vānyāni vā rūpāṇi kurvanti. ya āsurā manuṣyā […], "mā no vidan"* [ŚS 1.19.1], *"namo devavadhebhya"* [ŚS 6.13.1] *ity abhayair juhuyāt* (1). *sā tatra prāyascitti* (2), "Jetzt, wo Brahmanen mit Waffen erscheinen, dort soll man (mit folgendem Spruch) opfern: 'Wenn menschliche Dämoninnen [mit dem Gesicht von Männern], den Bogen genommen habend, herumziehen sollten: Wir sind menschliche Götter, als solche haben wir (keinen?) Verkehr mit Nichtgöttinnen. Indra gehe uns voran. Er soll uns überall beschützen.' Mit 'Für Indra, *svāhā*' soll man (ins Feuer) opfern und mit den Liedern *mā no vidan* (AV 1.19) und *namo devadhebhyaḥ* (AV 6.13) spenden. Das ist dabei das Abwehrritual. Jetzt, wenn *daivatas* tanzen, tröpfeln, lachen, singen und andere Gestalt annehmen (soll man mit denselben Versen und Liedern) opfern. Das ist hierbei das Abwehrritual" (transl. by Falk 1994b: 315, 319). Compare PāśS 1.8, *hasitagītanṛtyaḍuṃḍuṃ*[or *huḍḍuṅ*]*kāranamaskārajapyopahāreṇopatiṣṭhet* |, "One must serve with offering of laughter, song, dance, *ḍuṃḍuṃkāra*, inner worship and prayer" (transl by Hara 1966: 181; as explained above, the alternative *huḍḍuṅ* would be the bellowing of a bull; see Sanderson 2002: 30 fn. 31), and PāśS 1.24, *kāmarūpitvam*, "The possession of any form that he wishes" (transl. by Hara [1966: 240]). Cf. also AVPariś 40.1.11.

21 It might be added that groups of fighting ascetics also appear in later times, for instance the Akhāṛās and Nāgās (see Clark 2011 and Alter 2011). Falk himself has written on the Thugs in 2002.

cultural institution, which is commonly referred to as the Indo-European *Männerbund*.

## 5. The Indo-European *Männerbund*

Interest in the Indo-European *Männerbund* as a cultural institution was sparked by early ethnological studies on African male secret societies that often practised animal masking and dealt with the education of the youth (e.g. Frobenius 1894). The term *Männerbund*[22] was first used by the ethonologist Heinrich Schurtz in his influential 1902 work *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, which, by collecting evidence from all over the world, established this institution almost as a cultural universal. Furthermore, van Gennep's (1909) research on the dynamics of the rites of passage has furnished a useful framework[23] for understanding the nature and sociological importance of these brotherhoods.

These works inspired European (initially especially German) scholars to investigate similar sodalities, first within the Germanic world—the works by Leopold von Schroeder (1895, 1908), Lily Weiser (1927) and Otto Höfler (1934) deserve to be mentioned here—and then within the wider Indo-European world. We can now avail ourselves of a number of studies that deal with most of the cultures and literatures of the Indo-European family. The literature is immense. Among the most prominent works one may consult the following: for the Germanic world, besides the works already mentioned, see Meuli 1975, Kershaw 2000, and Heizmann 2002; for the Celtic world, McCone 1987; for the Iranian world, Wikander 1938, 1941, Widengren 1938, 1969, and Ivancik 1993; for the Vedic world, Bollée 1981, Falk 1986, 1994b, 2002, Kershaw 2000: 201–256, Das 2002, and Vassilkov 2015; for the Greek world, Dumézil 1929, Jeanmaire 1939, Lincoln 1975, Bremmer 1978, and von Cieminski 2002; for the Italic world, Heurgon 1957, Dumézil 1942, Alföldi 1974, Bremmer 1982, 1987, and again von Cieminski 2002. See also Przylusky 1940, Eliade 1956(1975), Dumézil 1969 and 1983. Several of the above studies, although focusing especially on one branch, treat multiple cultural traditions at the same time.

The comparative evidence collected over more than a hundred years of work is enormous, and I can only scratch the surface here. The following typological classification of the material involved might perhaps be useful for the non-initiated reader to gain an idea of the kind of research that has been carried out by philologists, ethnologists, historians, students of comparative religion, and recently also archaeologists and geneticists.

Evidence for the reconstruction of the IE *Männerbund* comes from:

1) Mythical accounts of brotherhoods, such as Romulus's band of thieves, the Vedic Maruts who aid Indra in battle, and Jason and the Argonauts, as well as historical accounts of ancient sodalities such as the Roman *luperci*, the *salii*, the *fratres arvales*, the Italic *suodales*, the Irish *fían*, the Greek κουρῆτες , the ἔφηβοι, the Spartan κρυπτεία, the Iranian *mairiias*, the Mitanni *marianna*-s, the Indian *vrātyās*, the Scandinavian *berserkir* and *úlfheðnar*, the Vikings, etc.

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22 Falk (1986: 11) prefers the term *Bruderschaft* over *Männerbund*, because, he remarks, it is not the adult married men with a family that join these sodalities, but rather the youth during their education, or frequently the "*Halbstarken*" in the time after their formative period and before their marriage. As the term *Männerbund* has by now been established by a long tradition, I adopt it as a technical term for the whole phenomenon. I then distinguish between *Jugendbund* and *Gefolgschaft* (see below).

23 Especially important for the understanding of the Männerbund is the transitional period that marks the passage from one state to another, in particular from childhood to adulthood. This liminal period was further studied by Victor Turner (see i.a. Turner, 1967: 93–111) who showed that it is often characterised by a reversal of status, which is enacted by the initiates who display a series of reversals both in their look (clothing, hairstyle, etc.) and in their behaviour (dwelling in the wilderness instead of at home, licentiousness, etc.). This also explains the nature of those festivals that are connected with the Indo-European *Männerbund* (see below) and during which social norms are suspended or turned upside down. Naturally these festivals often take place at the liminal period of the year, at the winter solstice (see Appendix II §3).

2) Coming-of-age stories and initiation stories involving male heroes, often raised by wolves, who then return home to reclaim the throne from a usurper: e.g., the legends of Romulus and Remus, that of the Persian king Cyrus (a historical account modelled on a mythological motif), the Germanic myth of Sigmund and his son Sinfjötli in the Völsungasaga, the deeds of the Irish hero Cú Chulainn ("Culann's hound") and the legend of King Cormac mac Airt, and possibly even a version of the myth of Zeus, according to which the god was hidden from his father Cronus (so as not to be eaten by him) and raised on Crete by a goat, whilst the Cretan κουρῆτες protected him with the clanging noise of their sword dances, etc..

3) Ethnogenesis / foundation stories or historical accounts involving an age-set, a generation of young boys who leave the community in search of wealth or new land (often because of famine or overpopulation). This may result in raiding for booty, as in the case of the Vikings, or in the foundation of new communities (more on this below). Here we may include the legend of the foundation of Rome, as well as that of other Italic *civitates*, in particular by means of the rite known as *ver sacrum*. This consisted in consecrating a whole generation to a totemic animal, who would then lead the youth away from the motherland to found a new community; hence the community of the Hirpini and that of the Lucani were founded brotherhoods consecrated to the wolf, and the Piceni to the woodpecker, whilst the Italii and the Mamertini followed Mars's bull. We have similar accounts about the foundation of Greek colonies; we can also compare the legends of Indian tiger kings (see §8 below) and the legend of the Celtic migrations led by Bellovesus and Segovesus, as reported by Livius, as well as the accounts of the Germanic migrations (the so-called barbaric invasions) into the Roman Empire, which were conducted in large part by youth warbands. In particular, Tacitus's observations concerning the armies of various barbarian peoples (the Chatti, the Harii, and others) had a great influence in inspiring research into the Germanic and IE Männerbund. Tacitus speaks of *pedites* and *equites*, the former being a band of bachelors that formed the frontline of the army: this was composed of youngsters who fought naked, with their bodies and faces often smeared with black paint, a *feralis exercitus* of *infernum aspectum* that instils terror in the enemies and fights as if possessed by fury.

4) Ancient festivals connected with brotherhoods and often involving licentious behaviour: the Roman Lupercalia, the Vedic Mahāvrāta, the Greek κῶμος, the Arcadian Λυκαία festival, Thracian and Cretan sword dances, etc.

5) Modern folk festivals and legends often involving masked male age-sets: Halloween, Todaustragen, Bettelumzüge, the Twelve Nights of Christmas, Rauhnacht, the Wild Hunt, the festivity of Sinterklaas, the figures of Harlequin and Robin Hood, other European winter festivals often subsumed under the denomination of "Carnival", sword dances, Morris dances, mummers, etc.[24]

6) Onomastics and toponomy: names meaning 'thief' or 'wolf' (e.g. Cangrande of Verona); god names and epithets (e.g. Lykaios); names of regions, cities, ethnonyms (e.g. Hirpinia, Siṃhapūra), etc.

24 Ethnologists and anthropologists have produced an enormous number of studies on these topics, rarely, however, from a Indo-European perspective. See e.g. Meuli 1975 and Wolfram 1932a, 1932b, 1937. An exception is Kershaw 2000, which contains much information on these topics. Excellent recent works on modern European festivals—although lacking an Indo-European perspective—are: Testa 2013, with copious bibliography; Fréger 2012, which is a collection of photographs of traditional carnival costumes from all over of Europe; and Kezich 2015, which summarises the results of several years of ethnological studies carried out across Europe. On the latter project, see also Kezich & mott 2011 and www.carnivalkingofeurope.it, as well as www.youtube.com/user/carnivalkingofeurope. On masking, see Pollock 1995. Save for the works of Sontheimer, which we will discuss in §8, the eastern side of Indo-Europa is almost completely neglected. Yet there is much to be learned, for instance from the comparison of ancient and modern European folk festivals with modern Indian folk festivities, and I hope to publish on the topic in the near future. After all, Indian folk festivals might reveal information on those strands of Vedic popular culture that did not enter the narrow perspective of Brahmanical Śrauta ritualism, but that informed cultural phenomena, such as Pāśupatism, that emerged later within what we call Hinduism.

7) Comparison of the myths and functions of IE deities specifically connected with warriors. McCone (1987; see also Kershaw 2000: 195f.), in particular, has highlighted the role of the two deities corresponding to the two main age sections of male societies that were allowed to bear arms: the **korios*, the youth warband who formed the frontline of the army, fought on foot, naked, wearing only their belt or a light armour and weapons, especially a bow; and the **teuteh₂*, the army of the adults, equipped with full armour, a spear and shield, and who fought on chariots or, later, on horseback.[25] To these two groups correspond a **korios* god, armed with a bow, who embodies the furious rage of the *Männerbund* and its connection with liminality, the wilderness, and death; and a **teuteh₂* god, armed with a spear or club, who represents the adult warrior. This duality is represented by couples like Óðinn/Týr, Quirinus/Mars, Rudra/Indra, Lug/Núadu and Enyalios/Ares.[26]

8) Recently, archaeologists and geneticists have also provided new evidence that supports the reconstruction developed by philologists and linguists.[27]

Here is not the place to review the great amount of data mentioned above. Useful overviews can be found in McCone 1987, Kershaw 2000, Meiser 2002, Sergent 2003, and Mallory 2006: 92–96. A critical voice is Zimmer 2004. However, for the benefit of those Indologists who may not be familiar with this field of study, it may be useful to provide a summary of what this cultural institution looked like in its supposed historical form within Indo-European society, according to the reconstruction based on the above data.

I particularly wish to highlight that the *Männerbund* manifested itself in two different (though closely related) forms, which can also be seen as stages or phases. For the sake of distinguishing these two forms, I use the terms *Jugendbund* and *Gefolgschaft*. With the distinction between the ritual *Jugendbund* and the *Gefolgschaft* stage, which is to a certain extent artificial—as the two stages constantly overlap—I hope to provide a framework with which to analyse those aspects of the later cultural phenomena connected with the *Männerbund* that are more directly informed by institutional, codified religious elements, from those that are informed by socio-economical dynamics. Once again, the two sides of the story are inextricably intertwined.

Finally, I indicate single cultural traits with sigla (**M1**, **M2**, etc.), which I will later use to compare such traits with those of the Vedic Vrātya culture and of Pāśupata culture. A summary of these traits can be found in the table at the end of the appendix.

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25 A third age group, that of the **gerh₂ontes*, the elders, has abandoned the military life.

26 Often the actual deities worshipped by the various IE cultures seem to carry a mixture of traits from both of the two original deities postulated by McCone. In Appendix II §3.4, I argue that this might be explained by considering McCone's **teuteh₂* gods not merely as representing the adult warriors, but also the young warriors on their way to becoming adults. I also argue that to the list above we should add Paśupati/Lākulīśa and Kr̥ṣṇa/Balarama (and perhaps even Kr̥ṣṇa/Arjuna).

27 Brown & Anthony (2012, 2017) have identified the site of a possible Late Bronze-age midwinter festival in Krasnosamarskoe, Russia that involved dog sacrifices. I was also informed that archaeologist Philip Stockhammer, who has been working on the teeth of bodies found at burial sites from the Corded Ware and Bell Beaker cultures near Augsburg, has shown that males in their teenage years maintained a different diet from the rest of the population, which means that they would spend their teenage years away from their villages—most likely joining roaming initiatic brotherhoods (see below). Moreover, a team of archaeologists, geneticists and linguists led by Kristian Kristiansen has shown that the rise of the same Corded Ware Culture, identified with the Proto-Germanic culture, was the result of the admixture of the genetic pool of males (most likely *Männerbündler*) migrating from the Yamnaya culture of the Russian steppe, that is the Proto-Indo-European culture, with local European women (Kristiansen et al. 2017). Similarly, there is evidence for a significant inflow of Y-DNA belonging to the haplogroup R1a into the Indian gene pool during the Bronze Age (ca. 2000 BC) which can only be explained by predominantly male migrations (see Reich 2018: 123ff.; Narasimhan et al. 2018; Goldberg et al. 2017; Silva et al. 2017).

The ritualised *Jugendbund* stage

The ritualised *Jugendbund* was an institution concerned with the education of the Indo-European youth and their initiation into adulthood. It was brotherhood of males (**M1**), originally an age-set (**M2**) consisting of young boys[28] who would spend a period of time away from the community in order to undergo their initiation into adulthood (**M4**). Thus, they would identify with wild animals and live in the wilderness in a state of liminality (**M5**). Here they would learn the traditional sacred lore (**M6**), as well as hunting and fighting skills. In order to highlight their separation from normal society, they would wear special clothing—particularly black garments made of animal skins and a belt indicating their liminal status—until they were finally reintegrated into society by special rituals that probably involved a cleansing bath[29] (**M7**). They would worship a special **korios,* god (a hunter god armed with a bow), distinguished from the **teuteh*$_2$ god (a riding god armed with a spear and shield) worshipped by the community and the army of the adults (**teuteh*$_2$) (**M3**). Their activity was seasonally organised (**M9**): half the year was spent on cattle raids; the other half on studying traditional poetry. Accordingly, they were in charge of organising seasonal (especially winter) festivals. During these festivals, which also involved the worship of a pole (the *axis mundi* upholding the heaven), as well as games (e.g. dice), races, and possibly dog sacrifices, certain social norms would be broken, and licentious behaviour (involving sexual freedom, alcohol, singing and dancing, and poetry) would be allowed in order to promote fertility (**M10**). During these festivals, the boys, whose marginalised status put them in contact with the world of the dead, would parade into the villages, wearing frightening animal masks (**M12**)[30] representing the dead ancestors (**M8**) and asking to be appeased by means of gifts. They would symbolically raid the village, claiming what has been defined as a *sakraler Stehlrecht* (Höfler), *Raubrecht* (Meuli), or *right of rapine* (Eliade) (**M11**). Especially on this occasion, but also in general, the villagers were supposed to give them gifts or incur their wrath. This gift-giving was necessary on a religious level, to appease the dead ancestors (impersonated by the boys), as well as on a practical level, not only in order to help the youth to support themselves in the wild, but also to help them gather enough wealth to start a family once they would be reintegrated into society.

The *Gefolgschaft* stage

Strictly speaking, the *Gefolgschaft* can be considered an evolution of the *Jugendbund* in

28 Some authors highlight the fact that only the offspring of the higher classes, or at least prominent families, was initiated into the brotherhood. This is indeed the case in many of the historically attested forms of the *Männerbund*. In fact, this seems to be the case of the Vrātyas: this restriction might have been passed on to the Pāśupatas, since in AVPariś 40.1.2, we read *nāśrotriyāya nācaritavedavratāya nākṛtavapanāya dadīta* ||, "He [i.e. the guru] should not give [this instruction/observance] to one who is not conversant with the Śruti, nor to one who has not undertaken the Veda observance, nor to one who has not undergone the shaving ceremony" (Bisschop & Griffiths 2003: 325). This is the profile of a *dvija*. Nevertheless, I am not convinced that this had to be the original situation, as we cannot be certain that Indo-European society (and nor early Vedic society) featured as clear a social hierarchy as we see in later times. It seems plausible to me that the ritualised *Jugendbund* was restricted to the higher classes in those cases in which an Indo-European group migrated and established themselves as the ruling elite over a subjugated population.

29 See footnote 31 below.

30 I would like to point out that, although the Indo-European tradition of animal masking mainly involved transformation into a wolf/dog (e.g. Romulus and Remus, Cyrus, Sigmund and Sinfjötli, Lupercalia, Hirpini, Apollo Lykeios, werewolves, many medieval and modern European masks, onomastics, etc.), we also find evidence for transformation into other animals, such as bears (*berserkir*, carnival masks), horses (centaurs, Germanic and Slavic masks, etc.), woodpeckers (cf. the name of the Picentes), deer and boar (medieval and modern Europe), as well as bulls (Italii, Samnites, etc.; for the Pāśupatas, see below). In truth, as can still be seen in modern carnival costumes, very often only a goatskin was used to fashion the masks, because it was easier to retrieve.

which admission was not restricted to initiated boys.

Reaching adulthood implied marrying. This was possible only if a young man had the economical means necessary for supporting the new family. In fact, the raids carried out during the period spent as a member of the *Jugendbund* also served the purpose of collecting enough wealth to claim a spot in the society of adults. However, it was not always the case that a young man would have accumulated enough wealth by the time his initiatory period had ended. This is made especially clear by the sources that describe the organisation of the Irish *fían* (McCone 1987, 2002) or the demographic profile of the Indian Vrātyas (see below). Second-borns who did not inherit their family wealth, men with physical problems, etc. might be forced to live the lives of bachelors for a longer period of time.[31]

Moreover, as we have seen above, in case of adverse socio-economical conditions (e.g., in case of famine or when a community became too large to be sustainable), a group of young boys, particularly an age-set, would be sent away to find subsistence elsewhere. This would lead to the foundation of new communities or cities. Such roaming bands of warriors would often welcome other marginalised people who, for a variety of reasons, weren't able to be integrated into the community (again, second-borns who did not inherit family wealth, exiled people, thieves, prostitutes, etc.).

In fact, the social dynamics that saw the rise of brotherhoods welcoming marginalised people of all ages is at the basis of both the Indo-European expansion, as well as the origin of the rise of communities of monks and ascetics (which largely attracted marginalised people by offering an alternative means of subsistence) both in India and the West.

In many cases, these bands of thieves preserved the prestige and sacredness of the original *Jugendbund*, the institution in charge of transmitting the sacred lore to the new generation. Their sacredness granted them respect and the right to receive alms and hospitality from the community. On the socio-economical level, this was equivalent to a social-state measure aimed at reducing the number of indigents, and minimising their social danger. In my view, this phenomenon might also be at the origin of the practice of giving alms to ascetics in India, as well as the social reason for the ascetics's prestige.

## 6. The Vedic Vrātyas

The Vedic Vrātyas were recognised early on as one of the historically attested heirs of the Indo-European *Männerbund*. The matter has been studied in detail by Falk (1986); see also Bollée 1981 and Kershaw 2000.[32] All of these authors are indebted to Heesterman's (1962) study of the

31 Vedic sources also refer to males who have completed their religious training (*brahmacarya*) but have not yet married with the term *snātaka* (see Lubin 2011, 2018). This term is a reference to the bathing ritual that marks the release of the *brahmacārin* from his guru's supervision. Note that a bath (the *avabhṛthá*) also concludes the Soma ritual and ends the liminal status of the *dīkṣita*. AVPariś 40.5.5–40.6.1 seems to imply that at the end of the Pāśupata observance (*mokṣakāle*; clearly in the case of an observance that does not last the *vratin*'s whole life—AVPariś 40.1.3 indeed allows shorter periods), the *vratin* should shed the ash remaining on his body and bathe in water. Note that the practice of bathing to mark the end of the initiatory period, the admission into adulthood and the reintegration into society might be an old IE trait. We may compare the episode from the Táin Bó Cúalinge (quoted in McCone 1987 and 2002) according to which the hero Cú Chulainn returns home burning with such warrior fury that he threatens his own people. They thus send out a group of naked women, at the sight of whom, the hero, ashamed, lets himself be captured and immersed in three containers filled with water. Once his burning rage is cooled down, he is readmitted into the community. McCone (ibid.) also interprets the famous carving on the side of the Gundestrup Cauldron as portraying a similar rite of passage, in which a host of *pedites* (possibly young bachelors) are immersed in a cauldron by a seemingly sacerdotal figure accompanied by a dog, and then turned into adult warriors who move away from the scene on horseback.

32 Recently, the Vrātyas have been the object of renewed attention: see Pontillo 2007, forthc., Pontillo & Dore

Vrātyastomas and of the similarities between the Vrātyas and the *dīkṣita*, the initiated patron of the Śrauta rituals. Falk (1986: 66ff.) has also highlighted the connection between the Vrātyas and the *brahmacārins* and the *sattrins*. The following summary largely draws from this scholarly tradition.[33]

From the description of the Vrātya sodalities that we find in the Vedic texts, we can recognise elements of both the *Jugendbund* and *Gefolgschaft* forms of the *Männerbund*. As far as their social composition is concerned, the Vrātya sodalities comprised both young initiated boys (*Jugendbund* stage; cf. e.g. BŚS 18.26 in §10 (1) below) as well as other marginalised categories of adults (*Gefolgschaft* stage). Falk (1986: 51ff.) in particular has highlighted the following categories of people that were said to join the Vrātya bands: *kaniṣṭhās*, second-borns who did not inherit family property; *jyeṣṭhās*: first-borns (or other men) who however suffered erectile dysfunctions and thus could not start a family; and *nṛ̊śaṃsās ninditās*, unsuccessful bards who failed to find patronage.

Originally, the sodality took care of the education of the youth (as can be seen from the many similarities with the lifestyle of the *brahmacārin*), whose activities were seasonally regulated: during the period from the summer to the winter solstice, the *brahmacārin* lives with the teacher; in the period from the winter solstice to the summer solstice, the war season, the brotherhoods would set off into the wilderness to perform cattle raids. Note that a similar seasonal pattern can be found in the lifestyle of ascetics in later times: they would roam during the cold season and seek refuge and hospitality from householders during the rainy season.

Around the time of the winter solstice (the night of Ekāṣṭakā, when Indra was born), new members would be initiated into the brotherhood, and Sattras (twelve-day fire rituals involving soma-drinking and poetical performances) would take place, involving poetic performances, verbal contests with poetical riddles, and chariot races, as well as a carnival-like festival, the Mahāvrata,[34]

2013, Pontillo et al. 2015, Pontillo, Dore & Hock 2016, and af Edholm 2017.

33 It is possible to identify two main approaches to the Vrātya problem. A first approach goes back to Hauer (1927); it was then developed by Parpola (1983; cf. 2015) and is mostly followed by Pontillo and her collaborators (see previous note). According to the various perspectives within this approach, the Vrātyas represent an unorthodox group of Indo-Aryans, a wave of Indo-Aryan migrants to be distinguished from the Ṛ̊gvedic Indo-Aryans, or even a group of non-Aryans. Thus, the scholars who follow this approach seek to investigate how their unorthodox or foreign ideas have been readapted, appropriated, and transformed by the Vedic orthodox ritualists. The Atharvavedins would have had a particular role in this respect. Conversely, a second approach, which goes back to Heesterman (1962) and was developed further by Falk (1986), sees a continuation between archaic pre-classical forms of Vedic ritual (in which the Vrātyas had a more prominent role) and the classical Śrauta ritualism. My work stems from this second tradition of studies. In particular, in my view, the Vedic texts preserve both the memory of ritual *Jugendbünde*, as well as that of *Gefolgschaften*, both ambiguously referred to with the term Vrātyas. I think that we should assume that each of the Indo-Aryan tribes that migrated to India initiated their youth in the traditional Indo-European manner (which is also at the origin of *brahmacarya*). At the same time, some of these tribes were, in fact, *Gefolgschaften*. The case of the Mallas discussed by Bollée (1981), the foundation stories involving tiger kings treated by Vassilkov (2015), the case of the Śibis illustrated by Acharya (2013)—these leave no doubt as to this interpretation (on the social composition of the Vrātyas, see Falk 1986: 51ff.). The bad reputation of Vrātyas in later texts becomes comprehensible if we imagine how, once the Indo-Aryan tribes settled down, new *Gefolgschaften* could have become socially dangerous. These bands were the frontline of the Indo-Aryan expansion, but would have been seen as dangerous and uncontrolled bands of thieves in a settled region. Some of the traditions of the *Männerbund* were certainly preserved longer in communities at the periphery of the Śrauta reform (communities themselves often founded by brotherhoods), but they stand, via the mediation of Vrātya culture, at the very basis of many aspects of classical Śrauta ritual. Thus, when we discover Vrātya elements in orthodox Brahmanical texts, we should not merely assume that the orthodoxy has re-elaborated traditions belonging to peripheral cultures in an inclusive or hegemonic way. In fact, most of these elements might simply be re-elaborations of older *Jugendbund* traditions that simply belonged to the very same culture within which Brahmanical orthodoxy emerged.

34 Another festival/ritual associated with the Vrātyas was the Pravargya/Gharma ritual. This and the Mahāvrata are the two main rituals that are discussed in the Āraṇyakas, the "wilderness books" of Middle and Late Vedic literature. On this topic, see Appendix II.

during which licentious behaviour was allowed (see Gonda 1961; Rolland 1973; Kershaw 2000: 233ff; Heesterman 1993: 55; Hauer 1927: 246ff.). In fact, the Vrātyas were also accompanied by prostitutes (the only women allowed in the *sabhā*) and were allowed to drink the *surā* liquor.

The leader of the brotherhood was also chosen at this time of the year,[35] by means of a dice game in which a cow was put at stake in the *sabhā*, the assembly area (later a hall) restricted to the male half of society and located in the wilderness to the south of the village (the direction associated with the dead ancestors, the Pitṛs), just like the cremation ground. The cow was an offer to Rudra and his host, and would grant the pious householder and the community welfare for the coming new year. The aim of the game was to find a loser, who would act like a dog (representing the wilderness and the world of the dead) and take on the task of dismembering the cow, leading the offering to the world of Rudra and the dead.[36] He would then be regarded as an incarnation of Rudra and function as the leader of the brotherhood. He would be considered dead and would lead the warband, although he would remain inactive (as represented by his unstrung bow) whilst being transported on a kind of hearse (*vipatha*).

The figure of the leader (*gṛhapati*, *sthapati*) is particularly interesting because of his special outfit: he wore a black[37] antelope-skin robe, a belt, and a turban (*uṣṇīṣa*), and carried an unstrung bow with three arrows and a cowherd's stick (*pratoda*).[38] This outfit is very similar to the one displayed by the later Veda student, the *brahmacārin*, especially during his intermediate initiation (*avāntaradīkṣā*), and that of the sacrificial patron (*yajamāna*) who undergoes initiation (*dīkṣā*) before a soma ritual, according to the Śrauta orthodoxy. Neither of them carries a bow, but they both carry a stick. Moreover, like the *brahmacārin*, the Vrātya leader refrained from sexual activities (whilst the other members were allowed licentious behaviour). Finally, like the Veda student, the Vrātyas did not shave their hair (and hence were called *keśin*, 'long-haired').

The Vrātyas worshipped both Rudra (the archer god, impersonated by their leader) and Indra (the god armed with a club/*vajra*, with which, in my view, the young warriors identified and whose deeds they aspired to replicate[39]).

Summing it up, from the above we can abstract the following traits: the Vrātyas were brotherhoods of males (**V1**), boys or marginalised persons (**V2**); they worshipped a bow god, Rudra, and a god with a club, Indra (**V3**); they were initiated into a liminal status outside society (**V4**); they lived in the wilderness or frequented the *sabhā* outside the village (**V5**), where they learned the traditional poetic language and only spoke in riddles in public (**V6**); their leader (and, after him, the *brahmacārin* and the *dīkṣita*) wore special clothing, including black animal skins, a turban, and a belt (**V7**); their leader was considered dead and was transported on a hearse, whilst the troop received the offerings to the Pitṛs and was in contact with the world of the dead (**V8**); their activity was seasonally organised, and they were involved in seasonal festivals (**V9**) that also involved licentiousness (**V10**).

The late Vedic texts mention particular rituals, the Vrātyastomas, by which a group of men could abandon society to start a brotherhood and set off in search of wealth, and by which they could then be reintegrated into normal society. These texts bear witness to a time when these

35 This is also the time of the year when the Rājasūya should be performed and a new king enthroned. The matter is discussed by Falk (1986: 163ff.).

36 At the end of the game, a player could be left with one to four nuts (*kṛta*, *dvapara*, *treta*, and *kali* were the names of the results); the one-nut (*ekākṣa*) result (the *kali*) was the losing one.

37 The rest of the brotherhood wears red, the colour of warriors, that later characterises the flags that mark Śaiva cult sites. Note that in the Vrātyakaṇḍa, the Ekavrātya is said to sport the colour blue on his belly and the colour red on his back (AVŚ 15.1.7).

38 Further research is needed in order to uncover the connection between the three arrows and the stick of the Vrātya leader and Śiva's *triśula*, Indra's *vajra* (sometimes depicted as three-pointed), and other divine weapons, such as Lakulīśa's club or Balarāma's plough, that are also possibly manifestations of the same symbolism.

39 More on this in Appendix II.

brotherhoods were indeed mostly *Gefolgschaften* as I have defined them above. The expansion of the Vedic tribes into the Gangetic plain and the adoption of rice cultivation must have led to both an increase in population as well as an increase in the number of people who turned to a sedentary way of life. Yet, the traditional way of passing on the family wealth to the new generation persisted: only the first-born (*jyeṣṭha*) would inherit the homestead, cattle, and land (pastures and fields), whilst the other sons could decide to be dependent on him, find their own means of subsistence, or set off in search of wealth by plundering. The new sedentary lifestyle and the scarcity of free land must have both harshened the conditions of second-borns and other less fortunate categories, and at the same made it harder for householders to deal with roaming bands of thieves. The *Gefolgschaften* must have increased in number and become a problem for social stability.

Some of the socio-political reforms carried out during the Kuru era (see Witzel 1995b, 1995d, 1997a, 1997b) might also have been a response to this phenomenon: namely 1) the institution of a state organisation that could grant peace throughout the kingdom; 2) the introduction of the *varṇa* system, which established a more fixed hierarchical organisation of society, and forced the warrior-poets to specialise in either professional priesthood or professional warfare; 3) the institution of Śrauta ritualism, which granted priests with a means of subsistence through the performance of rites, and at the same time provided warriors with a peaceful means for climbing the social ladder through the patronage of solemn rituals; and finally 4) the collection of the most celebrated poems composed by the ancient *sattrins* during the winter festivals and their cattle raids (cf. Kuiper 1960, 1962a) into a "national anthology", the Ṛgveda, so that they could now be used as mantras in the Śrauta rituals, in an effort to pacify the various Vedic tribes (which themselves were most likely warbands).

The fact that we find mention of Vrātya *Gefolgschaften* and Vrātyastomas in the late Vedic period suggests that the socio-economical situation must have remained unstable for a long time. It seems likely to me that the rise of ascetic movements should be ascribed to the same dynamic. This is also why early ascetic movements, from the Buddhists to the Jains to the Pāśupatas, as we will see, share so many traits with the warrior sodalities.

## 7. The persistence of cultural traits

If we compare the lists of cultural traits I report in the table at the end of this appendix, we cannot help but notice striking mutual resemblances between the Indo-European *Männerbund*, the Vrātyas, and the early Śaiva cults (especially the Pāśupatas).

The early Śaiva communities were sodalities of males (**P1**) who worshipped both Rudra, the archer god, as well as Lakulīśa, the lord with a club (**P3**),[40] and chose to lead an ascetic life; asceticism, in fact, attracted marginalised people in particular (**P2**) (see below). They lived outside society (**P4**), either in temples (in the *pāśupatavrata* stage 1), in a remote location (in stage 3) or on a cremation ground (in stage 4). Here they would smear their bodies with ashes, as if ritually dead (**P8**).[41] No seasonal organisation of the *pāśupatavrata* is known, but we see an alternation between periods of isolation away from society, in temples, cremation grounds or remote locations, and a return to society in stage 2 (**P9**).[42] In stage 2, the *vratins* also conceal their speech (**P6**).[43] During

40 On this particular aspect, see Appendix II §3.4.

41 Further similarities between early Śaivism and the Indo-European and Vedic sodalities with regard to their connection with the realm of the dead can be found by considering the traditions of the Kapālikas and the Aghoris. In particular, we find evidence of ritual cannibalism (see Kershaw 2000: 207–208 fn. 19).

42 However, as I argue below, stage 2 rather resembles (structurally speaking) a raid, as this is the moment when the ascetics plunder the commoners, robbing them of their *iṣṭāpūrta*.

43 PāśS 4.3, *gūḍhapavitravāṇiḥ*. This aspect deserves a separate treatment for which there is no space here. The Pāśupata's practice of concealing speech recalls the habit of the masked age-sets involved in European traditional winter festivals to mumble unintelligibly in order to conceal their real identity and to appear as wild

their initiation, the Pāśupatas are given special garments, such as an animal skin, a belt, and a staff or a weapon (**P7**).[44] Finally, as shown by Acharya (2013), they imitate the behaviour of bulls (as well as other animals—see below) (**P12**), which involves breaking various social norms, including sexual restrictions (**P10**), in order to undergo scorn and steal the merit of their detractors (**P11**).

It seems reasonable to assume that the same set of traits characterising the Indo-European insitution of the *Männerbund* evolved into the Vedic institution of the Vrātya sodalities, and subsequently informed the communities of early Śaiva ascetics, the Pāśupatas, that developed out of them. The plausibility of this scenario is certainly strengthened by the co-occurrence of a multiplicity of traits.

Most of the elements in the list are, I believe, self-evident. There remains to discuss the two traits that are the central questions of our research, namely **P10**, the Pāśupata idea of stealing merit, and **P12**, the practice of behaving like a bull or ox.

## 8. Evidence for animal *vratas* of the Vrātyas and other animal *vratas* in Śaiva cults

Falk (1986), and Kershaw (2000) after him, have stressed the connection of the Vrātyas with dogs—particularly in relation to the dice game. As I have described above, this rite used to take place during the midwinter festival (Ekāṣṭakā): the winner of the game, the player who gets the *kṛta* result, is called *śvaghnin*, 'dog-killer', whereas the loser will become the "dog", Rudra, the killer of the cow. This also goes back to an Indo-European practice, as proven by the fact that in several Indo-European traditions, the losing dice result (connected with the number one: one nut left, or the side of a cube with only one eye) is called "dog".

One possibly significant episode from Vedic literature is recounted in ChUp 1.12, which deals with the Śauva Udgītha, 'the chant of the dogs'. The protagonist of the episode is Baka Dālbhya, whose Vrātya connection has been highlighted by Koskikallio (1999) and Pontillo & Dore (2013), and whom we will encounter also in §10 (2) below. Here, a group of white dogs (possibly a metaphor for Vrātyas) ask him for alms:

> *athātaḥ śauva udgīthaḥ | tad dha bako dālbhyo glāvo vā maitreyaḥ svādhyāyam udvavrāja* || 1 || *tasmai śvā śvetaḥ prādur babhūva | tam anye śvān upasametyocuḥ | annaṃ no bhagavān āgāyatu | aśanāyāma vā iti* || 2 || *tān hovācehaiva mā prātar upasamīyāteti | tad dha bako dālbho glāvo vā maitreyaḥ pratipālyāṃ cakāra* || 3 || *te ha yathaivedaṃ bahiṣpavamānena stoṣyamāṇāḥ saṁrabdhāḥ sarpantīty evam āsasṛpuḥ | te ha samupaviśya hiṃ cakruḥ* ||4|| *o3madā3moṃ3 pibā3moṃ3 devo varuṇaḥ prajāpatiḥ savitā2nnamihā2haradannapate3'nnamihā2harā2haro3miti* ||5||.
>
> "Next comes the High Chant of dogs. One day, while Baka Dālbhya—or it may have been Glāva Maitreya—was on his way to perform his Vedic recitation, there appeared before him a white dog. Other dogs gathered around the white one and said to him: 'Please, sir, find some food for us by singing. We are really hungry.' And he told them:

beings, as well as the habit of speaking in riddles. The notion that brotherhoods speak a secret language is very widespread, and it has the purpose of strengthening the bonds between the members of the group and of excluding non-members. However, in the case of the Indo-European *Männerbund*, we should also consider the great role that the learning of a special poetic language played in the education of the Indo-European youth. It was no different in Vedic culture: this ritual language was only used in certain circles. Only a skilful warrior-poet well-versed in such language could succeed in the ritual verbal contests. We see an aspect of this phenomenon in the tradition according to which the group of a hundred young princes (also modelled on the example of the brotherhoods) who accompanied the sacrificial horse in his wandering during the Aśvamedha ritual were supposed to test householders with riddles about the nature of the sacrifice.

44 See AVPariś 40.3.2, quoted in §9 below, and footnote 56.

> ‘Come and meet me at this very spot in the morning.’ So Baka Dālbhya—or it may have been Glāva Maitreya—kept watch there. Those dogs then filed in, sliding stealthily in just the same way as priests slide stealthily in a file holding on to each other’s back to sing the hymn of praise called Bahiṣpavamāna. They sat down together and made the sound ‘huṃ’. They sang: ‘Oṃ! Let’s eat! Oṃ! Let’s drink! Oṃ! May the gods Varuṇa, Prajāpati, and Savitṛ bring here food! Lord of food! Bring here food! Bring! Bring! Oṃ!’” (ed. and transl. Olivelle 1998).

However, more evidence for the connection between Indian sodalities and dogs comes from later traditions. Sontheimer (1997)[45] was the first to draw a connection between the Vedic Vrātya bands and the modern dog vow of the Vāghyās (Marathi) or Vaggayyas (Kannada), the dog/tiger men devoted to a form of Śiva that is known by the names Khaṇḍobā, Mallāri or Martāṇḍa Bhairava in Maharashtra, Mailār in Karnataka, Mallaṇṇa in Andhra Pradesh, and Murukan in *caṅkam* literature. To this day, the Vāghyas imitate the behaviour of dogs during seasonal religious festivals (*jatrās*).

Sontheimer described, in particular, the observance connected with the Dasarā festival at Devaraguḍḍa (Karnataka). The devotees normally abide by a short-term vow on the occasion of the festival, but there are also performers from the Kuruba community, where families traditionally dedicate one or more children to serve Mailār as dogs in a life-long vow. They wear a special outfit: a long, black woollen overcoat, a colourful turban or big bearskin cap, and a tiger-skin or bearskin belt, and they carry a tiger-skin bag full of turmeric (sacred to the god), begging bowls, a *triśūla*, or a spear.

> “These Vaggayyas act and bark like dogs when the pilgrims arrive at the temple. They have placed their wooden or brass begging bowls on the ground […]. They would run to their bowls, howl, bark and quarrel among themselves, and would lie down on the ground like dogs. […] At other *jatrās* of Mailār and on the special request of devotees, the Vaggayyas perform a round-dance accompanied by drums and chants. In the middle of the circle devotees throw coins on a black woollen blanket and the Vaggayyas pick up the coins with their mouths […]. If food is offered into the bowls, they will fight like dogs, trying to tear away food from each other’s mouths. [….] They make long begging expeditions within Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh […] [they] are known to practise black magic, with which they try to intimidate people and extract money” (Sontheimer 1997:68-70).

Without knowing the prominence of the *govrata* among the Pāśupatas, as would only later be shown by Acharya (2013), Sontheimer brilliantly connects the Vaggayyas’ behaviour with Pāśupata worship through dance, songs, and *avitadbhāṣaṇa* (‘uttering senseless and contradictory words’), tracing both back to the Vrātyas, and with reference to Ingalls 1962, proposes to connect the Pāśupatas with the Vaggayyas[46] rather than the Cynics. In turn, Kershaw (2000: 222ff.) has shown how this Indian dog *vrata* goes back to the Indo-European *Männerbund* masquerades.

However, this dog *vrata* is not the only animal *vrata* connected with the cult of Khaṇḍobā/Mallāri/Mailār. Sontheimer also describes the fraternity of the Kudurappas, who perform a horse *vrata*:

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45 I refer here to Sontheimer’s posthumous collected works (1997), but his research was carried out and published several decades before this publication.

46 It should be noted that, according to a local legend, they were tigers whom Śiva ordered to behave like dogs (Sontheimer 1997: 67 fn. 22). Etymologically, the word might also be connected with Skt. *vyāghra*, ‘tiger’ or Ka. *baggu* ‘barking; tiger’.

> "Like horses, the devotees gallop forward and backward, beating themselves mercilessly with whips. They loudly shout the name of Mallāri. Devotees feed them bananas etc. straight in their mouth, keeping the eatables on the open hand as one would feed horses" (Sontheimer 1997: 70).[47]

Note that the followers of Mallāri at Ujjain explicitly base their faith on the authority of the Śatarudrīya (Sontheimer 1997: 68). In this text—which consists of a long list of categories of people—deities, entities presided over by Rudra, dog-keepers and masters of dogs are also mentioned:

> VS 16.27–28, […] *námo námaḥ śvaníbhyo mr̥gayúbhyaś ca vo námaḥ | námaḥ śvábhyaḥ śvápatibhyaś ca vo námo námo bhavā́ya ca rudrā́ya ca námaḥ śarvā́ya ca paśupátaye ca námo nī́lagrīvāya ca śitikáṇṭhāya ca |*
>
> "[…] homage be to dog-keepers, to huntsmen, homage to you! Homage be to dogs and to masters of dogs, homage to Bhava and Rudra, and homage to Śarva and Paśupati, and to the blue-necked one and the white-throated one!"

More recently, Vassilkov (2015) has written about ancient Indian warrior sodalities that identified with tigers. In particular, he focuses on the phenomenon by which Vrātya bands gave rise to *kṣatriya* oligarchies in North India[48] as well as in South India, such as the Siṃhāla (Pāli *sīmhala*), 'lion people' of Sri Lanka, highlighting the numerous figures of "tiger kings" and their involvement in the foundation of cities and communities. On the tiger as animal of choice, Vassilkov writes:

> "It is quite natural to suppose that the Aryas brought this kind of warrior societies to South Asia from their northern homeland. However on the Indian soil the image of dog/wolf as a symbol of battle fury and an emblem of warriors' gangs began from the earliest time to merge with the image of the more dangerous and widespread local predator: tiger/lion, and was later practically replaced by it" (Vassilkov 2015: 235).

Vassilkov further provides various examples of the imagery of "tiger men" in Sanskrit literature, such as the *puruṣavyāghras*, who are mentioned in a Vedic list (ŚB 13.2.4.2,4) of dangerous forest creatures next to robbers (*parimoṣins*), men of assailing bands (*āvyādhinyaḥ*), thieves (*taskaras*)—all categories that evoke Rudra and his marginalised devotees—as well as in a few other Vedic sources; similar terms are also frequent in the epics (*naravyāghra*, *naraśārdūla*, *nr̥siṃha*, etc.). This might perhaps shed light on the well-known image of Śiva as a *yogin* seated on a tiger skin.[49]

Vassilkov (2015: 232) also refers to a story contained in Mbh 9.35, according to which Trita's elder brothers rob him of his wealth, whilst a wolf makes him fall into a well; later on, saved by the gods, he curses his brothers to turn into wolves and forever roam the forest. Vassilkov

47 Sontheimer stresses the idea that the god enters the person in the shape of wind, 'playing wind', and compares Ka. *vāru*, 'war-horse' with Skt. *vāyu*, 'wind'. This might be relevant, as Vaiiu is the god of the Iranian *Männerbund* (see Wikander 1938, 1941).

48 On this see also Bollée 1981.

49 The tiger skin is also a characteristic of the king; most notably, in the Rājasūya, during the consecration (*abhiṣeka*), the king stands on a tiger skin (Heesterman 1957: 106ff.). Note, however, that at the *laghvabhiṣeka*, a bull's hide is used (ibid., fn. 1). The origin of this is most likely to be found precisely in the Vrātya origin of the royalty of much of ancient India. Incidentally, Sontheimer (1997: 69) mentions a pre-Vaiṣṇava, 'Rudraic' Narasiṃha cult in the Kurnool district (Andhra Pradesh), on which, see also Sontheimer 2004 and Vassilkov 2015: 246f,; in my view, the figure of Narasiṃha should also be connected with the culture of Vrātya warrior bands (note the element of liminality and of feral fury). This could explain the presence of this *avatāra* in a Śaiva text such as the original Skandapurāṇa.

believes that this is a reference to thieving forest gangs. Certainly it evokes the rivalry between brothers contending for the family wealth, which is the social issue that pushed many to join the warrior bands in search of fortune (see below).

Vassilkov (2015: 238), after Bollée (1981: 173, 190), also refers to *ṛkṣikas* 'bear men' (with ref. to Mbh 10.7.16,21), and further (p. 245) mentions tribal chiefs with the element 'boar' (*varāha*) in their names, as well as an episode from the Padmapurāṇa about an expedition by Ikṣvāku, king of Kosala, against a warlike *varāha* tribe (possibly a brotherhood).

Kosambi (1956: 124), in a survey on early references to animal transformations, mentions a Kukkura (=dog) tribe, which his sources regard as dangerous, and which was most likely a community formed from a Vrātya band.

If we consider Acharya's idea that the tribe of the Śibis might have known a cult of the bull —note that the bull is also Indra's preferred animal in the RV—we might conclude that early Indian warrior sodalities would have identified with a number of different animals.

On top of this, we have references to animal *vratas* in Buddhist sources, which mostly mention them in order to characterise them as unsuccessful ascetic practices (as opposed to those taught by the Buddha). Some of these have already been quoted by Acharya (2013: 128). For instance, the Kukkuravatīyasutta of the Majjhimanikāya (II.1.7) preserves an account in which the Buddha converts a *govatika* and a *kukkuravatika* by warning them that their practices will lead them to be reborn as a bull and a dog. In Lalitavistara, Parivarta 17, it is said that "by means of the vow of taking on the behaviour of a bull, any wild animal, a dog, a boar, a monkey, an elephant … stupid people understand that purity is achieved". Finally, the Yogācārabhūmi (ed. Bhattacharya 1957: 517–518; my transl.) reads *kukkuravratena śuddhiṃ manyate govratena nakulavratena nagnavratena bhasmavratena*, "by means of a dog *vrata*, they think purity [is achieved], by means of the *nakulavrata*, of the *vrata* of nudity, of the *vrata* consisting of smearing themselves with ashes". Kosambi (1956: 124) also refers to DN 24 and MN 57, according to which the Buddha came across a follower of the dog *vrata* called Acela Seniya who, after his death, was reborn as a dog, as predicted by the Buddha.

Moreover, Kosambi (ibid.) reports of bat, goat and elephant *vratas* mentioned in Pali sources, and further notes that the poet Bāṇa (7th c. AD) describes his ancestors of the Vatsyayana *gotra* as followers of the *kukkuta* (cock) *vrata* (perhaps a misinterpretation of *kukkura*?).[50]

Finally,[51] it should be considered that other animal *vratas* besides the bull/ox *vrata* may have existed within the Pāśupata cult itself. Above, I have quoted PāśS 5.18 (~ Sūtrapāṭha 5.9), which mentions a *mṛgadharma* next to the *godharma*. Moreover, Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośabhāṣya (4th c. CE), quoted but overlooked by Acharya (2013: 107f.), referring to the conduct of the Pāśupatas, writes: (3.28) *vrataṃ kukkuragovratādīni*, "'observance' means the observance of [behaving like] a dog, or a bull, or the like". Moreover,

> (5.8) *ye caivaṃdṛṣṭaya evaṃvādino yad ayaṃ puruṣapudgalo gośīlaṃ samādāya vartate mṛgaśīlaṃ kukkuraśīlam, sa tena śudhyati, mucyate, sukhaduḥkhaṃ vyatikrāmati, sukhaduḥkhavyatikramaṃ cānuprāpnoti*,
>
> "[As soon as] this personal-soul lives, taking on a bull's behaviour, [or] the behaviour of a wild animal, [or] the behaviour of a dog, with that he is purified, is liberated, [and] goes beyond happiness and sorrow, [namely,] attains transcendency beyond happiness and sorrow."

50 Kosambi stresses the fact that one of the commentators points out that *vrata* also means an item of food in a ritual diet, and that this double meaning was essential for Bāṇa's purpose. Nevertheless, this can be a late reintepretation or a misunderstanding.

51 See also the great amount of data on dog transformations in White 1991.

Thus, the Pāśupata cult itself may have involved other animal *vratas*. Mention of the dog in particular is remarkable because the dog is the IE *Männerbund* animal *par excellence*. In this new light, the similarity of the Pāśupata cult and the observance of the Cynics is even more striking.

In conclusion, I believe that we should assume the existence of at least a dog/tiger *vrata* next to a bull/ox *vrata* for the Vrātya warrior bands of the early Vedic period, although different animals might also have been chosen as the preferred totemic animals of individual brotherhoods. It seems evident that the animal transformation practice of the Indo-European *Männerbund* is the cultural model that, via the mediation of Vrātya culture, informed later Śaiva *vratas*, including that of the Pāśupata cult.

## 9. Trick or treat

We have yet to identify the remote cultural model of the Pāśupata's idea of stealing merit. My contention is that the dynamic of the Pāśupata's theft of merit is structurally very similar to that which underlies the IE *Männerbund*'s idea of a *sakraler Stehlrecht*:[52]

1) just like the *Männerbund* parades into the village with animal masks, the Pāśupatas return to society (*manuṣyeṣu car*-) to perform their animal vows;

2) just like the parading *Männerbund* boys, frightening representatives of the dead, are supposed to be welcomed and propitiated despite their out-of-control behaviour, so too are the Pāśupatas, who are observing a *vrata*, not committing a sin with their scandalous behaviour;

3) welcoming the *Männerbund* brings fortune, and similarly, whoever does not censure the Pāśupatas preserves their *iṣṭāpūrta*;

4) failing to appease the *Männerbund* brings misfortune (one immediately thinks of the Halloween formula "trick or treat", but this idea is ubiquitous; e.g., many age-sets in European folk festivals threaten to wreck the houses they visit, should the hosts not offer them gifts, etc.); if one censures the Pāśupata ascetic, their *iṣtapūrta* is stolen;

5) just as raiding (both in the form of the ritualised raids enacted in the seasonal parades, as well as in the form of actual cattle raiding) not only serves the purpose of providing martial training for the *Männerbund*, it is also a way to earn a means of subsistence, and similarly, the observance is a way for the Pāśupatas to proceed along their spiritual path by feeding on other people's merit, i.e., a means for them to find spiritual subsistence.

Once again, the notion of a development from the ritual *Jugendbund* to the *Gefolgschaft*, i.e. from an institution concerned with the education of the youth to the warband or the band of thieves, may help us here in understanding the socio-economical dynamic involved. As I have already mentioned above, joining a warrior brotherhood has a great appeal to marginalised people, as it offers them a chance to make a living. The *Männerbund* warriors steal because they have no property, and hence no place in the community.[53] Providing gifts and hospitality to the *Männerbund*

52 Kershaw (2000: 125 and fn. 31), quoting Jettmar, discusses the possible origin of the idea of a right to steal as follows: "The *razzias* took place when the herds were out away from the village; at this times the youth would both guard the perimeters and make forays into the neighbouring territories. Jettmar [1966: 20] found this lifestyle among living Indo-Iranian tribes of the mountainous region north of India. 'Livestock-breeding is a man's affair among the Kafirs and Dards in contrast to the mountain Tadzhiks. The unmarried men go off with the herds, far from the village and for a long time. They also form an ever-mobile fighting force … If we compare with this the archeologists' picture of the Andronovo Culture … we find, here too, a combination of permanent villages and intensive livestock-breeding, which necessitated a distant movement of the herds. Grkaznov believes that this is the starting-point of the development towards pastoral nomadism. Perhaps the observation that substantially more women's than men's graves are found in many Andronovo cemeteries is explained by the continuous absence of a large part of the male population owing to their duties as herdsmen. The fact that age-sets are reported among many historically attested Iranian peoples may serve here as a further significant argument […]'".

53 We may recall here that one of the performers of the *govrata*, according to Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa II.74.46ff., is the

is a social welfare service; it prevents social conflict, and is therefore institutionalised in the sacred right of rapine.[54] The ritual aspect and the socio-economical aspect inform each other.

Quite revealing with respect to this social dynamic is an apparent list of very concrete worldly goals contained in a mantra that was meant to be recited by the novice during the *pāśupatavrata* initiation ceremony, according to AVPariśiṣṭa 40—a text on the *pāśupatavrata* that was edited, translated and commented on by Bisschop & Griffiths (2003). After stating his name and resolving to undertake the observance (40.3.1),[55] the novice, wearing matted hair, is given a girdle of *muñja* grass and a wooden staff (or a knife, club, skull-staff or axe) (40.3.2).[56] Then, following a mantra in honour of Śarva (40.3.3), the novice makes an offering of ghee, kindles fuel and recites the following mantra:[57]

> AVPariś 40.3.4, *ya idhmā jātavedasaḥ samiddhasya tebhyo vardhayasva prajayā paśubhiḥ śriyā gṛhair dhaneneti* ||,
>
> "The fuel sticks of Jātavedas who is kindled: increase [me (?)] from them in offspring, cattle, glory, homestead, wealth" (Bisschop & Griffiths 2003: 333).

It is quite remarkable to find a statement of this kind at the very centre of the initiation ceremony, whilst a mystical goal is illustrated only near the end of the text, in AVPariś 40.6.14, where it is said that for those who undertake the observance, "there is no return here and now … On dying they, as Rudras, reach union with Paśupati" (*paśupatisāyujyaṃ*)[58] (Bisschop & Griffiths 2003: 341).

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sage Dīrghatamas. Dīrghatamas, who is blind due to a curse cast by his uncle, has no family of his own (he is *ūrdhvaretās*), and is hosted by his brother (*bhrātā pitṛvyaḥ*), who eventually throws him into a river. Thus, being a marginalised male who, rivalled by his brothers/cousins, is unable to inherit the family wealth, and is thus forced to leave home, Dīrghatamas perfectly matches the demographic profile of a candidate for joining a *Gefolgschaft*.

54 Notice that there is frequently a thin line between legitimate violence and banditry. Cf. Lat. *latro* 'warrior in service of a lord' > 'thief' (Alföldi 1974: 110); cf. also the frequency of names containing an element meaning 'thief' (e.g. *-Þjófr*) in Germanic onomastics (Kershaw 2000: 116; etc.).

55 AVPariś 40.3.1, *brāhmaṇo ha vā aham amukasagotro bhagavato maheśvarasya vrataṃ carisṣyamīti vācayitvā* ||, "He should make [him] say: 'I, a brahmin of such and such a gotra, shall undertake the observance of Lord Maheśvara'" (Bisschop & Griffiths 2003: 331).

56 AVPariś 40.3.2, *tato 'sya mauñjīṃ prayacchati* || *sāvitryā tu daṇḍaṃ pālāśaṃ bailvam āśvatthaṃ vāsiṃ lakuṭaṃ khaṭvāṅgaṃ paraśuṃ vā* ||. "Then he gives him the *muñja*-girdle. And with the Sāvitrī verse [he gives him] a staff made of *palāśa*-, *bilva*- or *aśvattha*-wood, or [he gives] a knife, a club, a skull-staff or an axe" (Bisschop & Griffiths 2003: 331–332). All of these items recall the outfit of the *Männerbundler*, the Vrātya, the *brahmacārin*, and the *dīkṣita*. The weapons in particular highlight the military character of the Pāśupata *vratin*; they evoke Indra's weapons. At the same time, the skull characterises the liminality of the *vratin*'s status and his connection with the realm of death. This is also highlighted by the fact that the *vratin* has to bathe in ashes at the beginning of his observance (PāśS 1.2, AVPariś 40.3.9ff.); note that the practice of covering oneself in ashes is a form of masking, just as painting one's face is equivalent to wearing a mask.

57 This mantra is preceded by another unidentified mantra, of which the text gives only the pratīka "*antara*" (Bisschop & Griffiths 2003: 333 fn. 92).

58 A a similar expression, *rudrasāyujyā*, is found in PāśS 5.33. Oberlies (2000: 183) has commented on the fact that the assimilation with Rudra is expressed "mit einem Terminus also, der in älteren Texten regelmäßig die 'Gefolgschaft des *yuj',* des Kampfgefährten—in allererster Linie Indras (vgl. etwa RV 10.84.4) -, benennt". The formulation in AVPariś 40.6.14 is also interesting: *ye śraddhayedaṃ paśupater vrataṃ caranti* […] *te rudrā viratau paśupatisāyujyaṃ gaccha<n>ti*, "Those who undertake this observance of Paśupati with faith […] On dying (*viratau*) they, as Rudras, reach union with Paśupati" (Bisschop & Griffiths 2003: 341). Quite remarkably, the plural *rudrās* (or the variant *rudriyās*) is used in the RV as an epithet of the Maruts, the host of young warriors (N.B. all of the same age, i.e. an age-set! Cf. RV 1.165.1) led by Indra (Macdonell 1897: 74, 77 n. 2 with ref., 78) Thus, here the *vratins* indeed appear as a *Männerbund* gathered around a leader, Paśupati, as the Rudras/Maruts around Indra, which supports the identification of Paśupati with Indra.

The coexistence of a mystical goal next to worldly goals recalls the situation in AVP ch. 6, the *brāhmaṇa* prose chapter on the *anaḍudvrata*, which we now know to be one of the textual models for the Pāśupatasūtra. Here we encounter both the idea that the *vratin*/Indra can gain merit by stealing (*vṛj-*) the *iṣṭāpūrta-* of his detractors (AVP 17.35.1–4), as well as indications that the successful performance of the observance can lead to ascension along the *pathin devayāna* (AVP 17.31.3–4) into the *bradhnaloka* (AVP 17.34.3), *brahmaloka* (AVP 17.39.2), or *svargaloka* (AVP 17.43.4);[59] we also find numerous refrains that illustrate the more concrete benefits of performing the *anaḍudvrata*:

> AVP 17.42.7, *prathate prajayā paśubhir gṛhair dhanena ya evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti* ||,
>
> "He thrives with offspring, cattle, homestead, wealth, he who, being initiated, 'bears' the observance of the draft-ox,"
>
> or AVP 17.43.8, *prati tiṣṭhati prajayā paśubhir gṛhair dhanena ya evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti* ||,
>
> "He takes a firm standing with offspring, cattle, homestead, wealth, he who, being initiated, 'bears' the observance of the draft-ox."

The above passages contain the same items as the AVPariś mantra (with the exception of *śrī*, 'glory'), but in the AVP we also read that the *vratin* "secures (*ava rundhe*) a real stream of wealth, success, imperishableness" (*vasor eva dhārāṃ samṛddhim akṣitim*, AVP 17.37.4); "he finds a foundation, a base" (*pratiṣṭhām āyatanaṃ vindate*, AVP 17.33.4); "the seasons are well-disposed towards him, he is not cut down by the seasons, he becomes dear to the seasons" (*kalpante asmā ṛtavo na rtuṣv ā vṛścata ṛtūnāṃ priyo bhavati*, AVP 17.38.7); "[people] trust him, he becomes trustworthy" (*śraddadhate (')smai śraddhānīyo bhavati*, 17.36.3); "he lives for a long time, he enjoys a whole life-span, he does not die prematurely" (*jyog jīvati sarvam āyur eti na purā jarasaḥ pra mīyate*, AVP 17.41.6); and so forth. Thus, the *vratin* acquires economic stability, protection against natural calamities ("the seasons"), social respect ("[people] trust him"), and ultimately long life.

These wishes sound typically Vedic, and are no different from what one finds in prayers dedicated to Indra or Agni in the RV. They are the typical life goals of the Vedic men and warriors who move with their wagons and chariots in search of fortune. Even more understandably, these are the goals of the marginalised who join a *Gefolgschaft*. Thus, AVPariś 40.3.4 appears as a formulaic relic of a stage in the history of the *vrata*, in which such worldly goals were, in fact, the main reason for undertaking an observance that in its original form entailed the lifestyle of a warrior rather than that of an ascetic.

In the next section, I will discuss whether we can find textual evidence that the Vrātyas also knew the idea of an institutionalised and sacralised right of rapine. This will provide the missing link between the Indo-European stage and the Pāśupata stage.

## 10. Evidence of an institutionalised *sakraler Stehlrecht* in Vrātya culture

Without a doubt, the Vrātyas and related brotherhoods (also from later times) are considered robbers. We may recall the Vaggayyas' use of black magic to extort money (as described in Sontheimer 1997; see §8 above), or the *puruṣavyāghras* being mentioned alongside thieves as

59 On the idea of spiritual ascension by means of the *anaḍudvrata*, see Appendix II, §3.2, 3.3.

dangerous forest creatures in the ŚB (quoted in Vassilkov 2015; see §8 above), but more explicit still is the Śatarudrīya, which includes robbers and similar categories in the long list of categories that are protected by Rudra:

> VS 16.21 (cf. also 19, 20), *námo váñcate pariváñcate stāyūnā́m pátaye námo námo niṣaṅgíṇa iṣudhimáte táskarāṇāṃ pátaye námo námaḥ sr̥kāyíbhyo jíghāṁsadbhyo muṣṇatā́m pátaye námo námo simádbhyo náktaṃ cáradbhyo vikr̥ntā́nāṃ pátaye námaḥ|*
>
> "Reverence be to the tricking arch-trickster, and to the lord of pilferers be reverence! Reverence be to the well-quivered swordsman, and to the lord of robbers be reverence! Reverence be to the slaying spearmen, and to the lord of pillagers be reverence! Reverence be to the night-walking sword-wielders, and to the lord of cut-throats be reverence!" (transl. by Eggeling).

Some more specific evidence of a *sakraler Stelrecht* can be retrieved by studying rituals that, in various ways, contain elements that are derived from Vrātya practices.

By comparing rituals such as the Śūlagava, the Agnyādheya, the Gopitr̥yajña, and the Rājasūya, all of which involve a game of dice and the sacrifice of a cow, Falk (1986: 134ff.) has reconstructed an old Vedic (pre-Śrauta) ritual (mentioned above in §6) that prescribed that, once a year, on the night of the winter solstice, the Vedic householders should offer their best head of cattle to Rudra and his host as representatives of the dead ancestors. By means of this old ritual, the householder secured the benevolence of Rudra and a whole year without hunger:

> MS 1.6.10: 103:16, *ákṣodhuko bhavati (...) tád asya saṁvatsarā́ntarhito rudáḥ paśū́n ná hinasti*,
>
> "Ohne Hunger wird er sein (…) So tötet Rudra, in das Jahr eingesetzt, sein Vieh nicht" (transl. by Falk 1986: 135);

and also:

> MS 4.2.3: 25:3, *yásya vaí jítaṁ yásya vijitaṃ tásyaiṣá gr̥hé hanyata eṣā́ vaí kṣút kṣúdhaṁ vā́ etád dhate tád yá eváṁ vidvā́n ekāṣṭakā́yāṃ gā́ṁ haté saṁvatsarā́yaivá kṣúdhaṁ hate*,
>
> "Wem das Besiegte ist, wem das Ersiegte ist, in dessen Haus wird sie (die Kuh) getötet. Sie stellt den Hunger dar. Den Hunger fürwahr tötet er so. Wer deshalb als solches Wissender an der Ekāṣṭakā die Kuh tötet, tötet für das Jahr fürwahr den Hunger" (transl. by Falk 1986: 151).

This is the same idea that we find in a number of European folk festivals, from Halloween to the many masked winter processions in which young boys go from house to house, begging for gifts: if the villagers refuse to give, they are cursed.

In some of the domestic rites studied by Falk, like the Śūlagava, the Gopitr̥yajña, and the Agnyādheya, I see the development of a ritual practice that belonged to the normal ritual life of an Aryan community, i.e., when the youth (the ritualised *Jugendbund*) paraded into their own village during the winter solstice celebrations begging for gifts. In this case, the cattle raid is institutionalised as a ritual in which all the characters involved are supposed to play their fixed role: the brotherhood and the householder. This guarantees both protection for the householder in the new year as well as a booty for the band without any need to resort to violence. Once the *Jugendbund* as

an institution disappeared from history, replaced by the *āśrama* stage of *brahmacarya*, the householders might have kept the ritual alive as a mere act of worship towards Rudra. The case of the Rājasūya, on the other hand, might be the result of a re-elaboration of the same ritual from the perspective of the successful *Gefolgschaft* whose leader managed to become king of a new community.[60]

Another trace of a ritualised form of the right to steal can be found in the Aśvamedha. This solemn ritual, to be performed by a king who claimed universal domain, consists in the sacrifice of a horse who is, however, first left to wander freely around the kingdom for a year. The rationale of the ritual is that if, during this period, no rival will challenge the king by harming his sacred horse, the king will have proven the legitimacy of his absolute dominion.

Now, in his wandering, the horse is protected by four troops, each consisting of 100 young men, as well as by four divine armies (cf. Dumont 1927: 37):

> ŚB 13.4.2.5, 16: *rājaputrā́ḥ kavacínaḥ śatáṃ rājanyā̀ niṣaṅgíṇaḥ śatáṃ sūtagrāmaṇyà̀m putrā́ iṣuparṣíṇaḥ śatáṃ kṣāttrasaṃgrahītṝṇā́m putrā́ daṇḍínaḥ śatám* […] *'śvam médhāya prókṣitaṃ rakṣatétyuktā́ mā́nuṣā āśāpālā́ áthaité daívā āpyā́ḥ sādhyā́ anvādhyā́ marútastámetá ubháye devamanuṣyā́ḥ saṃvidānā́ ápratyāvartayantaḥ saṃvatsaráṃ rakṣanti*,
>
> "A hundred royal princes, clad in armour; a hundred warriors armed with swords; a hundred sons of heralds and headmen, bearing quivers filled with arrows; and a hundred sons of attendants and charioteers, bearing staves […]. The (four kinds of) human guardians of the (four) regions have been told, and these now are the divine ones, to wit, the Apyas, Sadhyas, Anvadhyas and Maruts; and both of these, gods and men, of one mind, guard it for a year without turning (driving) it back" (transl. by Eggeling).

Should this unusual army run into a brahmin, it is instructed to behave as follows:

> ŚB 13.4.2.17, *yádyad brāhmaṇajātám upanigácheta táttat pṛcheta brā́hmaṇāḥ kíyad yūyám aśvamedhásya vitthéti té yé ná vidyúr jinīyā́ta tā́nt sárvaṃ vā́ aśvamedhā́ḥ sárvasyaiṣá ná veda yó brāhmaṇā́ḥ sánn aśvamedhásya ná véda só'brāhmaṇo jyéya evá*,
>
> "And whenever ye meet with any kind of Brāhmaṇas, ask ye them, 'O Brāhmaṇas, how much know ye of the Aśvamedha?' and those who know naught thereof ye may despoil; for the Aśvamedha is everything, and he who, whilst being a Brāhmaṇa, knows naught of the Aśvamedha, knows naught of anything, he is not a Brāhmaṇa, and as such liable to be despoiled" (transl. by Eggeling).

Thus the army is allowed to plunder the brahmin who fails to respond to their riddle. Falk (1986: 44ff.) has connected this with the role of poetry and verbal contests in the life of the *Männerbund* and the Vrātyas.[61] What concerns us here is the idea of a ritualised, institutionalised right of robbing on the part of the Vrātya *Gefolgschaft*, on behalf of their leader, that may have survived as a relic in the Śrauta version of the horse-sacrifice organised by a king.

Besides such ritual relics of an earlier time, however, it is also possible to find direct evidence of an institutionalised *sakraler Stehlrecht* in Vedic texts that directly concerns the Vrātyas.

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60 A similar case of two rites emerging from one out of different perspective is perhaps that of the Anaḍutsava and the Gosava (see Appendix II §3.4).

61 Note that Falk (1986: 55ff.) also interprets in this light the episode of the Kuru boys' raid of the Pañcālas that I quote below.

Here we are often confronted with the fact that the Vrātyas were extremely concerned with receiving proper hospitality, and that whoever failed to provide them with it would incur great trouble.

A first example of this idea can be found in Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra 18.26. Here, among a series of instructions regarding the performance of *vrātyastomas*, we find a narrative text that recounts of a sortie of the Kuru Vrātya boys among their Pañcāla neighbours. The Kuru elders warn the boys that the Pañcālas are known to be slanderers (*upavādin*-). Nevertheless, the boys set off and, in fact, wind up getting insulted (*upa-vad*-) and rejected. In retaliation, they curse the offspring of their detractor:

> BŚS 18.26:374.3–375.5 (ed. Caland, Kashikar), *sa eṣa jyeṣṭhānām agniṣṭomas, tasya catvāri ṣoḍaśāni dvau pavamānāv ubhe evācchāvākasya stotre, eṣa eva san kanīyasām ukthyas, tasya ṣaṭ ṣoḍaśāni sarve pavamānāḥ sarvāṇy acchāvākasya stotrāṇi, < tena haitena maruta ījire, teṣāṃ viṣṇu sthapatir āsa | atho haitena daivyā vrātyā ījire, teṣāṃ budhaḥ saumya sthapatir āsa | atho haitena kurubrahmaṇāṃ putrā ījire, teṣām aupoditir gaupālāyano vaiyāghrapadya sthapatir āsa, tena heṣṭvā pañcālān vrātyā abhiprayayus, tān ha pitara ūcur, mā putrakāḥ pañcālān yāsiṣṭopavādino vai pañcālā upa vo vadiṣyantīti tān hānādṛtyaiva prayayus, te ha keśino dālbhyasyopavasatham ājagmus, tān ha śvo bhūte bahiṣpavamānam̐ sarpato 'nvālebhire, pavitraṃ vai bahiṣpavamāna ātmānaṃ pavayiṣyāmaha iti vadantas | atha ha pañcāleṣu gandharvāyaṇo vāleya āgniveśyo 'nūcāna āsa, tān ha saha sarpataḥ papraccha ke sarpantīti, vayaṃ maruta iti, teṣāṃ vaḥ ka sthapatir iti | ahaṃ viṣṇur ity, aupoditir gaupālāyano vaiyāghrapadyaḥ pratyuvāca, yat kiṃ cakartha kas tac cacāretīti ha parokṣāvratam anunirdideśeti, tān hovācāviduṣo va upāvādiṣmāpa vo hnumaha iti, pitā vai tat putrān upāvādīd iti, hainam ūcuḥ, pāpīyasī te prajā bhaviṣyatīti, tathā haivāsa, tato ha vā etat pañcāleṣu gandharvāyaṇā vāleyā āgniveśyāḥ pāpāyitā iva, mahākulam̐ ha tat purā babhūva, sa yo vrātyam upavaded evam evainam upavadet | atha yo vrātyo 'laṃ prativacanāya syād evam evainaṃ pratibrūyāt ||`

> "The Agniṣṭoma for the *jyeṣṭhās* is the following: it is constituted of four [stotras] of sixteen-[stomas], two Pavamāna-stotras [and] both the *stotras* of the Acchāvāka. The Ukthya is the following, even though being for the *kanīyas*: it is constituted of six [stotras] of sixteen-[stomas], all Pavamānas, all *stotras* of the Acchāvāka. < The Maruts sacrificed by means of that. Their sthapati was Viṣṇu. Then the *daivya* Vrātyas sacrificed by means of that. Their *sthapati* was Budha Saumya. Then the sons of the Kuru brahmins sacrificed by means of that. Their sthapati was Aupoditi Gaupālāyana Vaiyāghrapadya. After sacrificing by means of that, the Vrātyas marched off for the Pañcāla land. Their fathers said to them: 'O dear sons, do not go to the Pañcālas', the Pañcālas are slanderers, they are going to slander you.' Having disregarded this [advice], they went on. They arrived on the Upavasatha day of Keśin Dālbhya. On the next day, they grabbed [the back of] someone creeping to the Bahiṣpavamāna performance, saying 'the Bahiṣpavamāna is a means for purification; we will purify ourselves. Now, among the Pañcālas there was a learned man, Vāleya Gandharvāyaṇa Āgniveśya. He asked to them who were creeping together [with him]: 'Who are [these ones] creeping?', 'We, the Maruts,' 'Of such [Maruts], of you, who is the *sthapati*?', 'Me, Viṣṇu' replied Aupoditi Gaupālāyana Vaiyāghrapadya. [V. G. Ā. added:] 'By asking "what did you do, who did it [first]", I exposed your secret vow.' He told them 'We have just insulted you as ignorant ones, we reject you.' They [i.e. the Kuru boys] said 'A father has just slandered his sons! Your offspring are going to become miserable.' Since then, the family of Gandharvāyaṇa Vāleya Āgniveśya kind of

> became ill-fortuned among the Pañcālas. It had been a great family before. He who should slander a Vrātya, really one should slander him. Now a Vrātya who should be capable of speaking back, really he should speak back to him."

The Pañcāla host should have behaved like a father welcoming a son; as this did not happen, the Vrātyas consider themselves neglected offspring, and curse their detractor's offspring to be miserable. Clearly, the text implies that, as rejected Vrātyas, they are entitled to speak back, cursing their detractors, and their curse proves effective, bringing their detractor's family to ruin.

A second narrative text that reveals the Vrātyas' preoccupation with proper hospitality and the consequences of not providing such hospitality is Kāṭhakasaṃhitā 10.6. According to the legend contained in this text, Baka Dālbhya left his Naimiṣya Vrātya companions to enjoy the gifts they obtained from the Kuru-Pañcālas after having performed a Sattra, and visited a greater king looking for greater gifts. In the kings's court, he expects to be properly welcomed, but the king does not take good care of him (*na sūrkṣ-*): instead, he gives him sick or dead cows. With these cows, Baka Dālbhya performs a sacrifice by which he makes the king's kingdom and riches vanish (just like the sacrificed meat vanishes whilst being consumed by the fire). Only after the king pleases him does the Vrātya take back his curse.

> KS 10.6 (based on the ed. of von Schroeder), *naimiṣyā vai sattram āsata, ta utthāya ssa pta viṁ̐ šatiṃ kurupañcāleṣu vatsatarān avanvata, tān vako dālbhir abravīd, yūyam evaitān vibhajadhvam, imam ahaṃ dhr̥tarāṣṭraṃ vaicitravīryaṃ gamiṣyāmi, sa mahyaṃ gr̥hān kariṣyatīti, tam āgacchat, tan nāsūrkṣat, taṃ prākālayataitā gā brahmabandha ity abravīt, paśupatir gā hanti, tāḥ paraḥ pacamānaś careti, tāsāṃ devasūr me rājānnaṃ prāsuṣoditi, sakthāny utkartam apacat, tasmin pacamāne vyadasyat, so 'gnaye rudravate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ niravapat kr̥ṣṇānāṃ vrīhīṇāṃ, tasya yatkiṃca dhr̥tarāṣṭrasyāsīt, tat sarvam avakarṇaṃ [*avakīrṇam?] vidrāṇam abhivyaucchat, tā vipraśnikā avindan, brāhmaṇo vai tvāyam abhicarati, tasmin nāthasveti, tam upāśikṣat, tasmai bahv adadāt, so 'gnaye surabhimate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ niravapac chuklānāṃ vrīhīṇāṃ, tato vai tad vyadasyad* […]

> "The Naimiṣya [Vrātyas] performed a Sattra seating. After standing back up they claimed and obtained twenty-seven young calves from the Kuru-Pañcālas. Vaka Dālbhi (=Baka Dālbhya) said to them: 'you divide those among yourselves – I, instead, will go to this Dhr̥tarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya. He will make me a homestead!' He went to him. He (the king) did not take good care of him. He made him drive these cows forth, and said 'O pseudo-brahmin, Paśupati kills cows(/is killing [these] cows),[62] go away and cook with them.' 'Their [the cows'] Devasū [i.e. Rudra; cf. Falk 1986: 59 fn. 166/the king?] has just conceded [them] to me as "king food".' After cutting [the meat], he cooked the shanks. Whilst it was cooking, [the meat] vanished. He offered to Agni Rudravant an oblation consisting of eight cups of black rice. Whatever [cattle, i.e. wealth] belonged to that Dhr̥tarāṣṭra, that all appeared scattered [**avakīrṇaṃ*][63] and dispersed. The fortune-tellers (f.) found out: 'This brahmin is putting a spell on you. Do approach him

62 Heesterman (1962: 30 fn. 84) interprets this passages as follows: "The implication seems to be that the Naimiṣīyas are devotees of Rudra Paśupati, kill cows and eat them, as they are indeed said to do in JB 3.332. The same may be true of the Vrātyas, though definite indications are wanting; according to BŚS 18.24:372.4 they apparently slaughter goats and cook them, which action is equated to the normal animal sacrifice. Dhr̥taraṣṭra's contemptuous answer seems to mean: since you, as devotees of Paśupati, slaughter cows, take these that are already killed by Paśupati; which is another way of saying, cows that have perished somehow (cf. the parallel in Mbh 9.41: *yadr̥cchayā mr̥tāḥ*)." On the interpretation of the text, see also the notes in Falk 1986: 58ff. as well as Sontheimer 1997: 96f.

63 The parallel in Mbh 9.40 reads *avakīrṇa-*.

> respectfully.' He (the king) offered him his service. He gave much to him. He (Vaka Dālbhi) offered to Agni Surabhimant an oblation of eight cups of white rice. Then, that [spell] vanished."

Here the King insults the Vrātya by not providing hospitality, by giving him sick cows, and by misusing the name of Paśupati. The Vrātya uses a trick: he takes the cows as a gift of Paśupati (or the king, depending on our interpretation of Devāsu). By throwing 'king food' into the fire and causing it to be consumed by it, he causes the king's wealth to vanish. Whatever belonged to the king "appeared" (?*abhi-vi-vas-*, according to Falk, indicates that it happened on the following day) scattered (**avakīrṇam*), just like he scattered (*nir-vap-*) the oblation on the fire, and dispersed (*vidrāṇam* < *vi-drā-*, lit. running away; perhaps the wealth intended is cattle). Thus, once again, failure to provide proper hospitality to a Vrātya leads to a curse.

The most striking evidence for this phenomenon, however, comes from the Vrātyakāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda (AVŚ 15, AVP 18.27–43), perhaps the most emblematic of Vrātya texts. This AV book, fully in prose, exalts the Ekavrātya as the Vrātya *par excellence* (most likely the Vrātya leader who got the result of "one" at the dice game; cf. Kershaw 2000: 240ff., 269ff.) as he wanders through all the quarters of the universe.

In this text, the claim to proper hospitality is very prominent, although rarely stressed by scholars. Out of eighteen *paryāyas*, this theme is found in seven. Such prominence in the most important Vrātya texts suggests the centrality of this theme to the Vrātya culture.

The preoccupation with being properly respected is the subject of the four following *paryāyas* (10, 11, 12, 13). *Paryāya* 10 deals with receiving hospitality from a king (the same situation as in the KS passage):

> AVŚ 15.10.1–2 (~ AVP 18.36.1abc), *tád yásyaiváṃ vidvā́n vrā́tyo rā́jñó 'tithir gr̥hā́n āgáchet || śréyāṃsam enam ātmáno mānayet táthā kṣatrā́ya nā́ vr̥ścate táthā rāṣṭrā́ya nā́ vr̥ścate ||*
>
> "Then, should an initiated Vrātya go as guest to the homestead of whatever king—he (the king) should consider him better than himself; in this way, he (the king) does not get cut down before royal power, he does not get cut down before kingship" (my transl.).

*Paryāya* 11 is fully dedicated to how a householder should host a Vrātya:

> AVŚ 15.11 (~ AVP 18.37), *tád yásyaiváṃ vidvā́n vrā́tyó 'tithir gr̥hā́n āgáchet* || 1 || *svayám enam abhyudétya brūyād vrā́tya kvā̀vātsīr vrā́tyodakáṃ vrā́tya tarpáyantu vrā́tya yáthā te priyáṃ táthāstu vrā́tya yáthā te váśas táthāstu vrā́tya yáthā te nikāmás táthāstv íti* ||2|| *yád enam ā́ha vrā́tya kvā̀vātsīr íti pathá evá téna devayā́nān áva runddhe* ||3|| *yád enam ā́ha vrātyodakám íty apá evá ténā́va runddhe* ||4|| *yád enam ā́ha vrā́tya tarpáyantv íti prāṇám evá téna várṣīyāṃsaṃ kurute* ||5|| *yád enam ā́ha vrā́tya yáthā te priyáṃ táthāstv íti priyám evá ténā́va runddhe* ||6|| *aínaṃ priyáṃ gachati priyáḥ priyásya bhavati yá eváṃ véda* ||7|| *yád enam ā́ha vrā́tya yáthā te váśas táthāstv íti váśam evá ténā́va runddhe* ||8|| *aínaṃ váśo gachati vaśī́ vaśínāṃ bhavati yá eváṃ véda* ||9|| *yád enam ā́ha vrā́tya yáthā te nikāmás táthāstv íti nikāmám evá ténā́va runddhe* ||10|| *aínaṃ nikāmó gachati nikāmé nikāmásya bhavati yá eváṃ véda* || 11 ||
>
> "Then, should an initiated Vrātya go to someone's homestead—he (the host) himself, having come towards him, should say, 'O Vrātya, where have you just spent the night? O Vrātya, some water? O Vrātya, let them please you! O Vrātya, as you please—of

course! O Vrātya, whatever your command is—of course! O Vrātya, whatever you are eager for—of course!' When he says to him 'O Vrātya, where have you just spent the night?' by asking that he secures the paths along which the gods ride. When he says to him 'O Vrātya, some water?' by asking that he secures the waters. When he says 'O Vrātya, let them please you!' by asking that he makes his life longer. When he says 'O Vrātya, as you please—of course!' by asking that he secures what is dear. What is dear comes to him; he becomes dear to his dear one (m.), if he knows so. When he says 'O Vrātya, whatever your command is—of course!' by asking that he secures his [own] authority. Authority comes to him; he becomes the commander of commanders, if he knows so. When he says 'O Vrātya, whatever your wish—of course!' by asking that he secures his [own] wish. His wish comes to him; he becomes in the wish of wish (?), if he knows so."

*Paryāya* 12 claims the priority of hosting a Vrātya over the householder's ritual duties of performing the Agnihotra:

AVŚ 15.12 (~ AVP 18.38), *tád yásyaiváṃ vidvā́n vrā́tya úddhṛteṣv agníṣu ádhiśrite 'gnihotré 'tithir gṛhā́n āgáchet* ||1|| *svayám enam abhyudétya brūyād vrā́tyā́ti sṛja hoṣyā́mī́ti* ||2|| *sá cātisṛjéj juhuyā́n ná cātisṛjén ná juhuyāt* ||3|| *sá yá eváṃ vidúṣā vrā́tyenā́tisṛṣṭo juhóti* ||4|| *prá pitṛyā́ṇaṃ pánthāṃ jānāti prá devayā́nam* ||5|| *ná devéṣv ā́ vṛścate hutám asya bhavati* ||6|| *páry asyāsmíṃl loká āyátanaṃ śiṣyate yá eváṃ vidúṣā vrā́tyenā́tisṛṣṭo juhóti* ||7|| *átha yá eváṃ vidúṣā vrā́tyenā́natisṛṣṭo juhóti* ||8|| *ná pitṛyā́ṇaṃ pánthāṃ jānāti ná devayā́nam* ||9|| *ā́ devéṣu vṛścate ahutám asya bhavati* ||10|| *nā́syāsmíṃl loká āyátanaṃ śiṣyate yá eváṃ vidúṣā vrā́tyenā́natisṛṣṭo juhóti* ||11||

"Then, should an initiated Vrātya go to the someone's homestead when the fires are set up [on the altar] and the Agnihotra is taking place, he himself, approaching him, should say: 'O Vrātya, release me [from my duties towards you], I am about to make an oblation'; and should he (the Vrātya) give leave, he may make an oblation; should he not give leave, he may not make an oblation. He knows in advance the paths along which the fathers and the gods ride; he does not get cut down before the gods; his oblation becomes [effective]; in this world his *āyatana* is left intact, if he makes an oblation after having been given leave by an initiated Vrātya. Then, if he makes an oblation without having been given leave by an initiated Vrātya, he does not know in advance the paths along which the gods ride; he gets cut down before the gods; his oblation is nullified."

Finally, *paryāya* 13 lists additional benefits gained from hosting Vrātyas for a number of nights, and explains what to do if a non-Vrātya asks for hospitality. The householder can reject him. If he does not reject him, he should treat him in a different way than one would do a Vrātya:

AVŚ 15.13 (~ AVP 18.39), *tád yásyaiváṃ vidvā́n vrā́tya ékāṃ rā́trim átithir gṛhé vásati* ||1|| *yé pṛthivyā́ṃ púṇyā lokā́s tā́n evá ténā́va runddhe* ||2|| *tád yásyaiváṃ vidvā́n vrā́tyo dvitī́yāṃ rā́trim átithir gṛhé vásati* ||3|| *yé 'ntárikṣe púṇyā lokā́s tā́n evá ténā́va runddhe* ||4|| *tád yásyaiváṃ vidvā́n vrā́tyas tṛtī́yāṃ rā́trim átithir gṛhé vásati* ||5|| *yé diví púṇyā lokā́s tā́n evá ténā́va runddhe* ||6|| *tád yásyaiváṃ vidvā́n vrā́tyaś caturthī́ṃ rā́trim átithir gṛhé vásati* ||7|| *yé púṇyānāṃ púṇyā lokā́s tā́n evá ténā́va runddhe* ||8|| *tád yásyaiváṃ vidvā́n vrā́tyó 'parimitā rā́trīr átithir gṛhé vásati* ||9|| *yá evā́parimitāḥ púṇyā lokā́s tā́n evá ténā́va runddhe* ||10|| *átha yásyā́vrātyo vrātyabruvó nāmabibhraty átithir gṛhā́n āgáchet* ||11|| *kárṣed enaṃ ná cainam kárṣet* ||12|| *asyaí devátāyā udakáṃ yācāmīmā́ṃ*

*devátāṃ vāsaya imắm imắṃ devátāṃ pári veveṣmîty enaṃ pári veviṣyāt* ||13|| *tásyām evắsya tád devátāyāṃ hutáṃ bhavati yá eváṃ véda* || 14 ||

"Then, [if] an initiated Vrātya spends one night in someone's house as guest: whatever nice places [there are] on earth, thanks to that, he (the host) secures them. Then, [if] an initiated Vrātya spends a second night in someone's house as guest: whatever nice places [there are] in the atmosphere, thanks to that, he (the host) secures them. Then, [if] an initiated Vrātya spends a third night in someone's house as guest: whatever nice places [there are] in heaven, thanks to that, he (the host) secures them. Then, [if] an initiated Vrātya spends a fourth night in someone's house as guest: whatever 'nice of the nicest' places [there are], thanks to that, he (the host) secures them. Then, [if] an initiated Vrātya spends innumerable nights in someone's house as guest: whatever innumerable nice places [there are], thanks to that, he (the host) secures them. Now, should a non-Vrātya, calling himself a Vrātya, but carrying the name only, come to someone's homestead as guest: he (the host) may reject him (lit., he may draw a furrow [before] him); should he not reject him—"I solicit some water for this deity here (i.e. the guest); I make this deity stay; I attend to this deity"—in such a way he should attend to him. His oblation to that deity becomes effective, if he knows this."

Moreover, also in the first few *paryāyas*, which describe the Ekavrātya's wandering, we find very numerous formulas containing curses addressed to whoever insults a Vrātya. At the same time, these formulas explain that whoever is initiated in the Vrātya knowledge and gets insulted is bound to become the *priyá dhắman* of various deities—a dynamic that clearly resembles that of the *sakraler Stehlrecht*.

For instance, *paryāya* 2 introduces a series of symbolic equivalences in connection with the Vrātya's wandering in all directions (eastward, southward, etc). For each direction, the secret equivalences are given, and the following formulas, presenting two alternatives, are repeated:

AVŚ 15.2.3–4 (~ AVP 18.28.1cdef), *bṛhaté ca vaí sá rathaṃtarắya cādityébhyaś ca víśvebhyaś ca devébhya ắ vṛścate yá eváṃ vidvắṃsaṃ vrắtyam* ***upavádati*** || *bṛhatáś ca vaí sá rathaṃtarásya cādityắnāṃ ca víśveṣāṃ ca devắnāṃ priyáṃ dhắma bhavati yá eváṃ véda* ||

"He gets cut down before the Bṛhat and the Rathantara *sắmans*, before the Ādityas and all the gods (or the All-gods), he who insults an initiated Vrātya. He becomes the *priyá dhắman* of the Bṛhat and the Rathantara *sắmans*, of the Ādityas and all the gods (or the All-gods), he who is initiated."

AVŚ 15.2.11–12 (~ AVP 18.28.3cdef), *yajñāyajñíyāya ca vaí sá vāmadevyắya ca yajñắya ca yájamānāya ca paśúbhyaś cắ vṛścate yá eváṃ vidvắṃsaṃ vrắtyam* ***upavádati*** || *yajñāyajñíyasya ca vaí sá vāmadevyásya ca yajñásya ca yájamānasya ca paśūnắṃ ca priyáṃ dhắma bhavati yá eváṃ véda* ||

"He gets cut down before the Yajñāyajñiya and the Vāmadevya *sắmans*, before the sacrifice and the patron and the animals, he who insults an initiated Vrātya. He becomes the *priyá dhắman* of the Yajñāyajñiya and the Vāmadevya *sắmans*, of the sacrifice and the patron and the animals, he who is initiated."

AVŚ 15.2.17–18 (~ AVP 18.28.5cdef), *vairūpắya ca vaí sá vairājắya cādbhyáś ca váruṇāya ca rājña ắ vṛścate yá eváṃ vidvắṃsaṃ vrắtyam* ***upavádati*** || *vairūpásya ca*

*vaí sá vairājásya cāpā́ṃ ca váruṇasya ca rā́jñaḥ priyáṃ dhā́ma bhavati yá evā́ṃ véda* ||

"He gets cut down before the Vairūpa and the Vairāya *sā́mans*, before the waters and king Varuṇa, he who insults an initiated Vrātya. He becomes the *priyá dhā́man* of the Vairūpa and the Vairāya *sā́mans*, of the waters and king Varuṇa, he who is initiated."

AVŚ 15.2.23–24 (~ AVP 18.28.7cdef), *śyaitā́ya ca vaí sá naudhasā́ya ca saptarṣíbhyaś ca sómāya ca rā́jña á vṛ́scate yá evā́ṃ vidvā́ṃsaṃ vrā́tyam* ***upavádati*** || *śyaitásya ca vaí sá naudhasásya ca saptarṣīṇā́ṃ ca sómasya ca rā́jñaḥ priyáṃ dhā́ma bhavati yá evā́ṃ véda* ||

"He gets cut down before the Śaita and the Naudhasa *sā́mans*, before the seven seers and King Soma, he who insults an initiated Vrātya. He becomes the *priyá dhā́man* of the Śaita and the Naudhasa *sā́mans*, of the seven seers and King Soma, he who is initiated."

In all these passages, it is said that whoever insults (*upa-vad-*) a Vrātya is cursed to incur the wrath (*ā-vṛ́sc-*) of various deities, whereas whoever knows the secrets expounded in this book (i.e. the initiated Vrātya) becomes the *priyá dhā́man*[64] of such deities.

Note, moreover, that the lexeme *upa-vad-* occurs only in this book of the AV, and it is precisely the same expression found in BŚS 18.26, quoted above (the Kuru boys' legend). Thus, it might belong to a specifically Vrātya lexicon.

Further, similar curses are added (only) in the AVP version of the kāṇḍa at the end of *paryāyas* 8 and 9 (the rest of the *paryāya* is the same in the two recensions). Notably, the lexeme *upa-vad-* is employed again.

AVŚ 15.8.3 (~ AVP 18.34.1cd), *viśā́ṃ ca vaí sá sábandhūnāṃ cā́nnasya cānnā́dyasya ca priyáṃ dhā́ma bhavati yá evā́ṃ véda* || (in the AVŚ recension, the *paryāya* ends here, but AVP 18.34.1ef adds: *viḍbhyaś ca vai sa sabandhubhyaś cānnāya cānnādyāya cā *vṛ́scate ya evaṃ *vidvāṃsaṃ vrātyam* ***upavadati*** ||

"He becomes the *priyá dhā́man* of the settlements and the kinsmen and the food and the edibles, he who is initiated. He gets cut down before the settlements and the kinsmen and the food and the edibles, he who insults an initiated Vrātya."

AVŚ 15.9.3 (~ AVP 18.35.1cd), *sabhā́yāś ca vaí sá sámiteś ca sénāyāś ca súrāyāś ca priyáṃ dhā́ma bhavati yá evā́ṃ véda* || [In the AVŚ recension the *paryāya* ends here, but AVP 18.35.1ef adds: *sabhāyai ca vai sa samitaye ca senāyai ca surāyai cā *vṛ́scate ya evaṃ vidvāṃsaṃ vrātyam* ***upavadati*** ||].

"He becomes the *priyá dhā́man* of the *sabhā́* assembly, and of the *sámiti* assembly, and of the army, and of the *súrā* alcoholic drink, he who is initiated. He gets cut down before the *sabhā́* assembly, before the *sámiti* assembly, before the army, before the *súrā* alcoholic drink, he who insults an initiated Vrātya."

## 11. Conclusions

We may summarise our results as follows:

1) Receiving proper hospitality was a great concern for the Vrātyas: the Vedic texts preserve

64 On this expression, see Gonda 1967b and Bodewitz 2002b.

stories about the curses one may incur if he disrespects the Vrātyas.

2) The immediate Vrātya cultural model for the Pāśupata idea of stealing *iṣṭapūrta* is precisely this preoccupation with being properly respected. The Vrātyakāṇḍa formulas are explicit: whoever insults (*upa-vad-*) a Vrātya gets cut down (*ā-vṛśc-*), whereas the initiated Vrātya becomes the *priyá dhā́man* of various deities. Similarly, whoever insults a Pāśupata loses his accrued merits (*iṣṭāpūrta*), whilst the initiated ascetic gains them.

3) Ultimately, this idea goes back to the Indo-European *Männerbund*'s conception of being entitled to a *sakraler Stehlrecht*.

4) As illustrated above, institutionalisation of this idea originally served a socio-economical goal, i.e. avoiding social conflict by allowing marginalised people to find a place in society. In my view, this same dynamic is at the origin of the traditional respect for the practice of asking for alms and the prescription to offer hospitality to ascetics.[65] As pointed out by Dundas (2002: 154):

> "The Hindu philosopher Bhāsarvajña (c. 900 CE) speculated that one of the main attractions of religions such as Jainism for potential ascetic recruits was the possibility which they offered the poor and those of low caste of an escape from the harshness of society."

This was the case for most ascetic groups, including the original Pāśupatas, in the epoch when the Vrātya *Jugendbünde* turned into ascetic *Gefolgschaften* and then gave rise to the *śramaṇa* orders.

(5) My contention is that some of these groups reclaimed the legitimacy of their marginalised status by requesting the same treatment their Vrātya predecessors were entitled to by a sacred right. The Śaiva ascetics, with their frightening outfits and unorthodox behaviour, are the marginalised *par excellence* (even by choice). The Pāśupatas may have re-elaborated this concept by internalising it within their religious practice. The efforts aimed at finding means of material subsistence were transformed into a path of spiritual purification. The transfer of *iṣṭāpūrta* (based on contemporary ideas of transfer of merit) in the Pāśupata system replaced the gifts of cattle or hospitality that the Vrātya would request.

65 In the *dharma* literature, the *gṛhastha* is a *śeṣabhakṣa*, 'eater of the leftovers' of his guests. See ĀpDhSū II.4.11–12, II.8.2 and Manu III.94, III.116, cited in Malamoud 1994: 29–30.

**12. Table: The development of cultural traits from Indo-European culture to Vedic culture and later Śaivism.**

| | **Indo-European *Männerbund*** | | **Vedic Vrātyas** | | **Śaiva cults (esp. Pāśupata)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| M1 | Males. | V1 | Males. | P1 | Males. |
| M2 | Originally: *Jugendbund*, youth age-set<br>Later: *Gefolgschaft* (marginalised people, thieves, etc.). | V2 | Initiated boys and marginalised categories (*kaniṣṭhās*, *jyeṣṭhās*, *nṛśaṃsās ninditās*) | P2 | Ascetics (social category attracting marginalised people). |
| M3 | Worship of a **korios* god (riding god/hunter god; bow) vs **teuteh₂* god. | V3 | Worship of Rudra (bow) and Indra (*vajra*). | P3 | Worship of Pāśupati and Lakulīśa. |
| M4 | Status: in *marge*, initiated. | V4 | Status: initiated (Vrātyastoma ritual). | P4 | Initiated (*dīkṣā*); marginalised status especially if seeking dishonour. |
| M5 | Living in wilderness. | V5 | *Sabhā*, *araṇya* | P5 | Living outside society, in temples, in cremation grounds, etc. |
| M6 | Learning traditional lore and *Dichtersprache* (sacred, secret). | V6 | Riddles, special secret *vrātya* language | P6 | Conceiling pure speech (*gūḍhapavitravāṇiḥ*). |
| M7 | Special clothing: black garments, belt, animal skins/masks. | V7 | Special clothing: black robes (animal skins), belt, turban, etc. | P7 | Tiger skins (Śiva), smearing body with ashes, black robes of the Vaggayyas, etc. |
| M8 | Representing dead ancestors, ghosts. | V8 | "Dead" leader, *vipatha*, offerings to the Pitṛs | P8 | Smearing body with ashes, living in cremation grounds, Kāpālikas, etc. |
| M9 | Seasonal activities: mobility in winter (expeditions, cattle) vs. sedentary time in summer (learning);<br>Winter festival (masked parade). | V9 | - summer to winter solstice → *brahmacārya*<br>- winter to summer solstice → raids<br>- Mahāvrata festival / Gharma ritual | P9 | Stage 1 in a temple, Stage 3 in a cremation ground, i.e. outside society.<br>vs Stage 2 (*govrata*) among people (*manuṣyeṣu carati*). |
| M10 | Licentiousness, ecstatic drinking. | V10 | Accompanied by prostitutes; *surā* drink; licentious dialogue at the Mahāvrata. | P10 | Breaking of sexual restrictions during the *govrata*. |
| M11 | *sakraler Stehlrecht* (Höfler), *Raubrecht* (Meuli), right of rapine (Eliade). | V11 | 1) the Vrātyas are robbers.<br>2) Great concern with receiving proper hospitality. | P11 | Stealing merit (*iṣṭāpūrta*). |
| M12 | Animal transformation by wearing animal skins and masks. | V12 | dog/tiger *vrata* and bull/ox *vrata*. | P12 | *govrata*, *mṛgadharma*, *kukkuravrata*, *pāśupatavrata*, the Vaggayyas. |

# APPENDIX II

**A new interpretation of the Atharvavedic hymn to the draft-ox (ŚS 4.11 ~ PS 3.25) with a new critical edition of the Paippalāda version.**

The aims of this chapter are: 1) to provide a new critical edition of the Paippalāda version of the Anaḍutsūkta, PS 3.25 (~ ŚS 4.11), with a translation and a philological commentary on the basis of new manuscript material; 2) to highlight the textual parallels between the Anaḍutsūkta and PS 17 ch. 6, which suggest that the two texts are closely connected: in particular, the former possibly contains poetic material to be recited in the context of rituals of which the latter text gives a *brāhmaṇa* exegesis; 3) to provide a new interpretation of the Anaḍutsūkta on the basis of PS 17 ch. 6 and to test Acharya's (2013) suggestion according to which both texts deal with an archaic observance that involves the imitation of the behaviour of bulls, which is also the prototype of the Pāśupata observance; 4) to highlight the fact that the Anaḍutsūkta consists of two separate sections, referring to two different rituals, the Gharma and a celebration of the Twelve Nights of winter; and 5) to attempt an interpretation of these facts in light of the notion that the *anaḍudvrata* is derived from Indo-European *Männerbund* initiation practices (as argued in Appendix I). Finally, 6) the latter will allow us to understand a number of elements of the Anaḍutsūkta that cannot be explained by the simple comparison with PS 17 ch. 6, such as the notion of an ascension to the *sukṛtásya loká*, the role of Indra as the performer of the vow, his position in the observance next to Rudra, and the identity of the ploughman (*kīnā́śa*).

## 1. Introduction

The Paippalāda version of the Atharvavedic hymn to the draft-ox (Anaḍutsūkta) was first critically edited by Barret (1912) and Raghu Vira (1936–42) on the basis of the Kashmirian ms., and later by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya (1970), and his son Dipak Bhattacharya (1997) (without translation or commentary) on the basis of newly discovered Odia mss., but it has not received due attention yet. On the contrary, the ŚS version has attracted the interest of numerous scholars since the 19th century. However, the apparent obscurity of the hymn has withstood close scrutiny and no one has been able to produce a satisfactory hypothesis that could account for all of the apparently unrelated elements in the hymn: the reference to the *gharmá*, the reference to the twelve *vrátyā* nights of Prajāpati, the role of the draft-ox, the role of Indra, the notion of the ascension to the *sukṛtásya loká*, the identity of the ploughman (*kīnā́śa*) and finally whether the ox was given as *dakṣiṇā*, whether it was a sacrificial victim, or whether it was simply a metaphor.

Quite eloquently, Gonda (1965a: 287), in undertaking a survey of the earlier scholar's opinions on the text, introduced them as "other authors who failed to grasp the meaning of this text". Although I shall claim that Gonda himself also failed like the others, this statement largely remains true, which impels us to take up the study of this hymn once again.

### 1.1. The Anaḍutsava

Much of the discussion has revolved around uncovering what kind of ritual use the KauśS ascribes to the text. In fact, we find our hymn quoted (by means of a *pratīka*—see below) in the eighth adhyāya, comprising kaṇḍikās 60 to 68, which are dedicated to illustrating a category of domestic rituals called Savas or Savayajñas (see Gonda 1965a, Modak 1993: 66–67, Bloomfield 1899: 78–79).

The true nature of these rituals is debated. First of all it is not entirely clear whether all the Savas (22 according to Keśava's commentary; see Bloomfield 1890: 364) are to be considered as variants of one single ritual model. This standard view is solely based on the fact that the first few

chapters of the KauśS section (60–63) describe at length a Savas called Brahmaudanasava, whereas the subsequent chapters (64–68) briefly mention the other Savas with simple *pratīkas*, implying that they are variants of the rite that was illustrated first.

For instance our hymn is referred to with *anaḍvān* [= ŚS 4.11, the draft-ox-hymn] *ity anaḍvāham* (KauśS 8.7[66].12),[1] and only the following line—*sūryasya raśmīn* [= ŚS 4.38.5] *iti karkīṃ sānūbandhyāṃ dadāti* (KauśS 8.7[66].13), "He gives a white calf with a (barren) cow which is to be fastened[2] to the accompaniment of ŚS 4.38.5ff." (my transl., after Gonda 1965a: 98) —allows us to supply *dadāti* and translate "[He gives] a draft-ox with the accompaniment of ŚS 4.11". However, the text does not give any further instruction, and one is led to assume that the ox simply replaces the *odana* in the framework of the Brahmaudana rite described earlier in the text.

This, however, led to further confusion (perhaps even among ancient commentators) because of the peculiar nature of the KauśS Brahmaudanasava in which a rice meal (*odana*) is both in part offered to the brahmins as *dakṣiṇā* (in part also to the Fathers as *śrāddha*) and in part to the gods, but the latter portion is not sacrificed as an oblation in the fire (Heesterman 1993: 105, pace Modak 1993: 67),[3] so that there is a striking "absence of anything like a clear and consistent distinction between offering(s) and *dakṣīṇā*(s) as is usual in the description of the Śrauta rites" (Gonda 1965a: 18). The problem is that many of the other KauśS Savas involve the presence of an animal as "*sava*", such as our Anaḍutsava. If these are really based on the model of the Brahmaudana, it is not clear whether the animals are to be given to the brahmins as *dakṣīṇā* or immolated and offered in the fire as in a bloody sacrifice.

Secondly there is uncertainty as to the precise meaning of the term *sava*, due to the homophony between *savá*-, m., 'pressing' (Lubotsky 1997 s.v. *savá*-[2]) 'gepreßter Soma-saft' (EWAia II p. 713 s.v. SAV) (RV+), from *sav/su*- (pres. *sunoti*), 'to press', and *savá*-, m., 'impulse' (Lubotsky 1997 s.v. *savá*-[1]), 'Antrieb' (EWAia II p. 715 s.v. SAV$^{i2}$) (RV+) from *sav$^{i}$/sū*- (pres. *suvati*), 'to impel'—which is parallel to the homophony between *sávana*-, 'Pressung, Somafest' (RV+) and *sávana*-, 'das Antreiben' (RV+).

Such confusion as to why the KauśS Savas bear such a name is due to the existence of other, better known rituals of the same name, described in various Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras as one-day soma rituals (Ekāhas) that involve a consecration (*abhiṣeka*) aimed at the fulfilment of a certain wish (Bloomfield 1899: 78, Gonda 1965a: 13–17; Mylius 1995: 132; Renou 1954: 162). Thus, the question arises as to whether these rituals and the KauśS Savas are the same, whether one type is derived from the other, or whether they are independent.

As these Śrauta Savas are soma rituals, it would be natural to interpret *sava* as meaning 'pressing'. This seems to be the opinion of Hillebrandt (1897: 140) who classifies both kinds of Savas under "Andere Ekāha's" and does not make any distinction. Similarly Mylius (1995: 132) includes all sources in one single lemma in his dictionary of Vedic ritual. Renou (1954: 162) does not mention the KauśS kind at all. However, this cannot be correct for the domestic AV Savas, which apparently do not include any soma pressing. Indeed, PW makes a clear distinction between the two rituals as it distinguishes the two *savá* words.

Bloomfield (1899: 78) seemed to have sought a compromise, as he regards the KauśS Savas as a specialisation of the Śrauta Savas "in the direction of the bestowal of *dakṣiṇā*" on the basis of the frequent occurrence of the expression *savaṃ dā*-, 'to give a *sava*', or X(acc.) *dadāti*, 'he gives X' in the *sava* section of the KauśS. Thus, according to him, the hymns contained in this section of the KauśS are "obviously intended to accompany the bestowal of substantial *dakṣiṇās*, and, what is

1 Note that KauśS 8.7[66].19 reads *prajāpatiś ca* [= ŚS 9.7.1] *ity anaḍvāham*, "[He gives] a draft-ox with the accompaniment of ŚS 9.7". ŚS 9.7 is also dedicated to higlighting a series of sacred equations between body parts of a draft-ox with deities and other entities, much in the style of the second part of PS 17 ch. 6. The relations between these texts should be investigated further.

2 Here Gonda specifies "for slaughtering", according to his interpretation.

3 The *odana* is "set apart from its Śrauta counterpart, the *caru*, equally a rice mess but cooked on a proper Śrauta fire and destined for offerings in the fire" (Heesterman 1993: 91).

more singular, to elevate the ceremonies connected therewith to the position of independent sacral acts of great formality and dignity".

This view is opposed by Gonda (1965a: 18f), who believes that the KauśS Savas entail the immolation of the animal (1965: 63). Gonda (1965a: 12–13) also believed that ancient Indians deliberately played with the assonance between the roots of *suvati*, 'impel', and *sūte*, 'procreate', to convey the idea of conferring "stimulations of power", a "creative instigations", "(or for the sake of brevity) 'consecrations'". This, he believed, and not the pressing of soma, was the central notion behind the Sava rituals, as illustrated by the presence of an *abhiṣeka*.

Further confusion is due to the fact that some Śrauta Savas also bear the same name as some KauśS Savas. For instance, beside the KauśS Brahmaudanasava mentioned above, we know of a Śrauta Brahmaudanasava. However, this rite is significantly different from the KauśS rite of the same name (Gonda 1965a: 16, 59ff.; Heesterman 1993: 105) so that even a direct derivation of the latter from the former (and hence of all the other KauśS Savas from the Brahmaudana or the other non-KauśS Savas) is unwarranted[4].

In conclusion, at least as far as our Anaḍutsava is concerned, I am inclined to agree with Bloomfield's (1899: 78) observation that the our hymn was only "adapted secondarily" to the context of the KauśS Savas. Bloomfield does not expand this observation further, and Gonda (1965a: 64) dismisses it by stating that he "would not be able to substantiate it". However, it will soon become evident from our research that our sūkta was conceived in a cultural milieu that pre-dated that of the Atharvavedic Savas. It would of course remain to investigate why such a hymn would have been attached to the Sava rituals and included in the AV and KauśS. But, at any rate, it seems clear that the original meaning of the hymn is not to be found in the context of the KauśS Savas. Thus, it is now time to turn to reviewing other hypotheses based on the content of the hymn.

### 1.2. Previous interpretations

We may classify the hypotheses of those scholars who according to Gonda (1965a: 287), failed to understand our sūkta on the basis of which of the elements of the hymn they decided to consider as central.

Some, understandably, focused on the draft-ox. Thus, Whitney (1905: 163) takes the hymn as referring to a real animal and gives it the title "In praise of the draft-ox". He believes that "the hymn offers an example of that characteristic Hindu extollation, without any measure of limit, of the immediate object of reverence, which, when applied to a divinity, has led to the setting up of the baseless doctrine of 'henoteism'".

Gonda's (1967a, 1965a) interpretation also focuses on the ox. However, he does not consider it so much as the object of an extollation on the basis of admiration, but rather as an "indispensable" element in the Anaḍutsava ritual, which according to him required the immolation of the animal. Gonda appears to subscribe to the later views of Cūlikopaniṣad (11 and 20ff.), which supports a mystic identification of a number of concepts treated by various hymns (*brahmacārin*, *skambha*, *rohita*, *ucciṣṭhā*, *prāṇa*, *kāla*, *bhagavān ātmā*, *puruṣa*, *īśvara*, Prajāpati, Virāj, etc. and also the *anaḍvah*) with a fundamental principle beyond reality. Thus, according to Gonda (1965a: 64) the identifications found in the hymn "express the idea that, at least in the sacred sphere of the rite which is being performed, the animal represents, or simply is, the highest deity or the highest power. The rites […] are to transform it into a 'divine' 'universal' bull or 'draught-ox', to identify it with manifold ideas representing the last and most general concepts which had by various sages and thinkers been assumed to be the foundation of all phenomenal existence and which were at the same time supposed to be of the utmost importance for those who aspire to the Highest Good. The

4 In fact Heesterman (1993, ch. 3) argues for the domestic character intrinsic in the Śrauta Brahmaudana and regards it as an adaptation of an older ritual based on the notion of communal meal.

victims are means of realising the ambitions of these sacrificers who by the proper ritual techniques or by identifying themselves with them by means of the right ritual and 'mystic' knowledge wished to gain heavenly or divine existence. The man who believes in the Highest (whether it is God, or a power), who (which) is also the sacrificial bull or ox, will, provided he perform the rite prescribed by Kauśīka, succeed and eventually gain celestial life, or be absorbed in God (Cūlikopaniṣad 20f.)".

Winternitz (1909: 134) is sceptical of the possibility of discovering "grosse philosophische Wahrheiten" in the text, and likens the draft-ox to other extolled animals, such as the bull of ŚS 9.4, who appears to be "nur ein gewöhnlicher Opferstier".

Conversely, according to Aufrecht's view (adopted and cited by Muir 1884: 399), the text is not about a real ox, but rather about a *gharmá* kettle (not explicitly the one used in the Pravargya rite) "used for boiling milk and other materials for sacrificial purposes" and possibly characterised by four legs, which would have suggested the image of an ox. This view is based on the observation of the numerous references to the *gharmá* pot being equated with the draft-ox in our hymn.

Deussen (1894) focused on the fact that the hymn mentions the twelve nights as consecrated (*vrátyāḥ*) to Prajāpati. Thus, he discusses the sūkta in a chapter on Prajāpati (p. 181–239) as "die zeugende und gebärende Kraft der Natur" (p. 230), in particular as a personification of the year (*saṃvatsará*) and the sacrifice (*yajñá*) (p. 207ff.). He conjectures that the animals that are praised in hymns such as ours or ŚS 10.10 (an extollation of the cow, *vaśá*) might be connected to Prajāpati as *yajña*, as "diese Tiere hier als symbolische Vertreter der in der Natur wie im Opfer verwirklichten zeugenden und erhaltenden Kraft zu figurieren scheinen" (p. 210).

I find it quite surprising that Deussen did not rather connect our hymn with Prajāpati as the 'year', rather than as '*yajñá*' (although the two notions are closely connected). This was the idea of Weber (1858b: 388; further developed in 1898: 39ff.), then adopted by Zimmer (1897: 366) and echoed by Ludwig (1878). According to Weber, the hymn deals with the donation of an ox for the celebrations of the Twelve Nights of the winter solstice, and is proof that the Vedic people also shared the old Indo-European tradition of adding twelve days at the end of the year to harmonise the solar year with the lunar year of 354 days. This view was dismissed by later Indologists, but I shall review it in more detail below in light of my interpretation of the *anaḍudvrata* as informed by the Indo-European practices of the *Männerbund*. If I am correct, it will appear that Weber, who was among the first to interpret our sūkta, was also closest to the truth.

### 1.3. Acharya's archaic *govrata*

A completely new perspective on the Anaḍutsūkta was provided by Diwakar Acharya. In his 2013 article he reviewed a number of textual sources on the *pāśupatavrata* and demonstrated that at all stages of the practice the ascetic was originally required to imitate the behaviour of a bull. This conduct was deliberately aimed at attracting the censure of clueless onlookers who would regard the disguised ascetics as madmen: in this way, the ascetics believed that they could provoke an exchange of merit and rob their detractors of their *iṣṭāpūrta*, thus speeding up along their spiritual path to finally achieving *duḥkhānta* and union with Rudra[5].

Acharya investigated the origin of the practice of behaving like bulls and found evidence of the existence of a more archaic *govrata* (the different texts use various denominations: *gośīla*, *godharma*, etc.) that involved drinking from puddles, eating grass from the ground, headbutting people, evacuating whenever one felt the urge, sexually attacking women, and similar scandalous behaviour.

Among the sources that talk about such a practice, Acharya mentions Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa II.74.46ff., in which it is said that the blind sage Dīrghatamas was instructed by a bull to perform the *godharma*. According to the legend, it was precisely after practising such an observance which

5 On the dynamics of the merit exchange, see Appendix I.

involved the breaking of sexual restriction with a female relative, that Dīrghatamas was sent away from the house of his cousin who was hosting him. The figure of Dīrghatamas is interesting for us, because he is the author of the Ṛgvedic Riddle Hymn (RV 1.164). This is one of the earliest sources on the Gharma ritual, which will occupy us at length, as our sūkta equates it with the *anaḍudvrata*. Dīrghatamas, blind and unable to support himself or marry, is also the perfect example of a person who would be marginalised in Vedic society and would resort to alternative means to obtain economic and spiritual satisfaction. I will return to this issue below.

Acharya also mentions JB 2.113, which describes the Gosava, a ritual aimed at winning the world of the draft-ox (*anaḍuho ha lokaṃ jayati*) and that similarly required the practitioner to behave in a scandalous way. The Gosava has been studied by Mylius in a dedicated article (Mylius 1976). It is one of the Śrauta Savas that I have mentioned in §1.1 above. As Mylius has illustrated, it was an Ekāha to be performed by a king; it involved an *abhiṣeka* and required the imitation of the behaviour of a bull for one year. The aim of the practice was to obtain cattle (*paśu*), autonomy (*svarājya*) and prominence among peers (*puras-kṛ-*). As I will highlight below, these goals match the needs of the warrior brotherhoods in which the practice of imitating the behaviour of bulls arose out of older Indo-European traditions of animal masking (see also Appendix I).

Acharya (2013: 122ff.) also found evidence of this practice in the Atharvaveda, namely in PS 17 ch. 6 and in our Anaḍutsūkta. He claimed that the myth alluded in our sūkta, according to which Indra was the first performer of the *vrata* (as stated also in PāśSū 4.10–13), is told in more detail in PS 17 ch. 6, thus establishing a connection between these two texts. Accordingly, he identified this *anaḍudvrata* with the *govrata*, *gośīla*, *godharma*, *gosava* attested in the other sources from which eventually the *pāśupatavrata* emerged. Bisschop (2018) has adduced further textual evidence that proves that the text of the Pāśupatasūtra was informed by PS 17 ch. 6.

In part III above, I have presented a new critical edition of PS 17 ch. 6. This chapter contains a *brāhmaṇa*-style prose exegesis, which includes a narrative. The latter describes how Indra wished to wield the *vajra*, but could not hold it (*dhṛ-*) because of its fiery nature. The *vajra* slipped from his hands into the sea in the form of a lightning bolt. Indra tried to hold (*dhṛ-*) each of the three parts of the *vajra*: Viśvāsah in the sky, Viśvānara (the sharp blade) in the atmosphere and celestial ocean, and Vaiśvānara (the handle) in the wind, but fails (*sa nādhārayat*, "he could not hold [it]", says the text). Thus, Indra decided to perform a *vrata*, to acquire the necessary strength to wield the *vajra*. This *vrata* in many respects resembles that of the Pāśupatas. Indra becomes lean and emaciated like an ascetic and seeks the censure of the Asuras. However, the gods deem this observance as too "heavy" (*guru*). Therefore Indra resorts to the draft-ox, the animal who is most accustomed to hauling heavy burdens. The animal offers his help in exchange of a place in the *bradhnasya viṣṭap*, 'the top of the ruddy one (i.e. the sun). Indra acquires his strength embodied in the ox's withers (*váha*), and is finally able to withstand the Asura's insults, and to steal their *iṣṭāpūrta* by remaining calm. With this power he successfully rests the *vajra* on his arms' joints, slays Vṛtra and finds a *pratiṣṭhā*.[6] The text promises a similar success to whomever performs the observance, which is called *anaḍudvrata*. The *anaḍudvratin* is promised both worldly rewards (long life, cattle, a homestead, wealth, etc.) as well as ascension to the *svargá loká*.

Now that we have established a reliable text, we are in a position to fully evaluate the relationship between PS 17 ch. 6 and the Anaḍutsūkta, and we may resort to PS 17 ch. 6 in order to understand the most obscure parts of the sūkta. Thus, in the following chapters I will provide a new critical edition of PS 3.25 with a translation and a commentary, in which I will especially focus on highlighting the textual connections between the two texts in order to test (and eventually confirm as correct) Acharya's claims. It will be shown that many of the sūkta's obscure references can now be easily understood thanks to our knowledge of PS 17 ch. 6.

However, it will turn out that the text of PS 17 ch. 6 is not sufficient to uncover all the

6 The one presented here is my reconstruction of the narrative. The actual sequence of the episodes as they appear in PS 17 ch. 6 is much more garbled. See part III above.

mysteries of our sūkta. Therefore it will be necessary to resort to other resources. In Appendix I, I have showed that the archaic *vrata* described in our text arose in the cultural milieu of the early Vedic warrior brotherhoods of the Vrātyas, and that it is based on earlier Indo-European cultural models connected with the practices of the so-called *Männerbund*. Thus, in §3 I will approach the sūkta from this perspective, and show that this research framework can indeed help us decipher most of the remaining enigmas of our hymn.

### 1.4. The structure of the hymn

Before we start with the critical edition of the PS version of the sūkta, a comparison between the PS and the ŚS versions can first of all allow us to make some observations on the structure of the text. I try to illustrate this in Table 1, in which the correspondences between the single stanzas are highlighted by lines.

| ŚS | PS | metre |
|---|---|---|
| 4.11.1 | 3.25.1 | 11 |
| 4.11.2 | 3.25.2 | 11 |
| 4.11.3 | 3.25.3 | 11 |
| 4.11.4 | 3.25.4 | 11 |
| 4.11.5 | 3.25.5 | 11 |
| 4.11.6 | 3.25.6 | 11 |
| 4.11.7 | | prose |
| 4.11.8 | 3.25.7 | 8 |
| 4.11.9 | 3.25.8 | 8 |
| 4.11.10 | 3.25.9 | 8 |
| 4.11.11 | 3.25.10 | 8 |
| 4.11.12 | 3.25.11 | 8 |
| | 3.25.12 | 8 |
| | 3.25.13 | 8 |
| | 3.25.14 | prose |

Table 1. Comparison of the stanza order in the two recensions of the Anaḍutsūkta.

The order of the stanzas clearly differs in the two hymns. The texts do not follow a narrative, nor is a ritual sequence immediately evident. Thus, on the basis of content alone, I find no criterion for making sense of the rationale behind the reshuffling of the stanzas and determine whether the ŚS order or the PS order is more original.[7]

However, it is remarkable that, regardless of which of the two versions we may want to

7 The PS stanza order in what I call 'first section' lends itself to a few observations: the first three stanzas all begin with the word *anaḍvān*; stanzas 3 to 6 all deal with the *gharmá*. In the second section the first two stanzas deal with the Twelve Nights, the third and fourth with the *dóhas*. With respect to these four themes, the ŚS stanzas appear all mixed up. However, it is hard to make an argument about the original order on the mere basis of these observations.

consider as original (it is not to be excluded of course that both are dependent on a third version), the first six stanzas appear to be reshuffled, and similarly do the following stanzas (ŚS st. 8–12, PS st. 7–12), quite conspicuously as if they formed two groups.

In addition to this, whereas the first six stanzas are composed in eleven-, sometimes twelve-syllable lines, mostly with Triṣṭubh cadence, all the stanzas of the second group are composed in the octosyllabic Anuṣṭubh metre.

Moreover, after the first six stanzas, the ŚS version features a prose paragraph (absent from the PS version). As is well known, prose portions are often found in the AV at the end of a hymn, which speaks in favour of their being secondary additions (see Renou 1955: 73). Notably, we find another prose paragraph at the end of the PS version (PS 3.25.14).

Thus, it seems that we should consider the hymn as comprising two independent sections. The redactors seem to have been aware of such a division, as they have, in fact, inserted prose portions secondarily only at the end of the two sections.

This raises the question whether the structural division that emerges from the comparison of the two versions is also reflected in the content of the stanzas. That is precisely the hypothesis that I want to test in the rest of this paper.

It should be noted that Ludwig (1878) implicitly recognised the independence of the two sections, as he translated the first six stanzas (of the ŚS version) in a section dedicated to the symbolism of the cow under the heading "Gharma" (p. 543), and the rest of the hymn (including the prose stanza 4.11.7) in a chapter in which he discusses Vedic notions of time measurement (p. 190). The part of the second section that is relevant for him in this regard is obviously stanza 11 with its reference to the Twelve Nights. In this he builds on Weber's (1858b: 388; 1898: 39ff.) and Zimmer's (1897: 366) theories.

Thus Ludwig had already identified what I also believe are the two main themes of the two sections of the hymn: the *gharmásya vratám* and the *dvā́daśa rā́trīr vrátyā prajā́pateḥ*. Before looking at these two themes more closely, however, I shall devote the next section to providing a new critical edition of the PS recension of the sūkta, focusing in particular on highlighting the textual connections with PS 17 ch. 6, in order to test Acharya's claim that the two texts both deal with the observance of the draft-ox, and to see how much of the sūkta can be explained thanks to the text of PS 17 ch. 6..

## 2. A new critical edition of PS 3.25[8]

8 Notations in the edited text: a raised plus sign ($^{+}$) indicates an emendation based on ms. material: the emendation reconstructs the supposed text of the written archetype **G**. The asterisk (*) indicates a conjecture in case we assume that a reading was already corrupted in the written archetype **G**. When a vowel needs to be restored for metrical reasons, it is subscript. Spelling normalisation: in pausa, the *-ṃ* of the mss. is normalised to *-m*; the cluster *-cch-* (<*sk-) is normalised to *-ch-*; note that the Śāradā script distinguishes *v* from *b*, but the Odia script does not. The readings of the Kashmirian Śāradā ms. (**K**) have been collated on the basis of Bloomfield & Garbe 1901. The readings of four Odia manuscripts are reported from Bhattacharya's (1997) apparatus, namely those of **Ma**$_1$, **Ma**$_2$, **Ja**, **Vā**. If such readings were not explicitly reported, but had to be deduced from Bhattacharya's implicit apparatus, they are marked by the sigla of the mss. placed between square brackets, e.g. **[Ma$_1$]**. The following five mss. have been collated on the basis of photographs kindly provided by Prof. A. Griffiths: **Ek**$_1$, **Ek**$_2$, **Ji**$_3$, **Ku**$_1$, **V153**. It was not possible to collate **V123**. Further information on these mss. can be found in Griffiths 2003. The agreement of all the Odia mss. is noted with the siglum **O** (which is placed between brackets, **[O]**, if the readings of Bhattacharya's mss. were not all explicitly reported in his apparatus). Comments by the editor are placed between round brackets. The following notation is used: [.] = unreadable akṣara (each dot equals one akṣara); [x] = one erased akṣara now unreadable; [~~ka~~] = one erased akṣara which seems to have read *ka*; [C] = an *akṣara* was not visible in the examined photo, because it was covered by the cord that binds the ms.; (//) = line or page break; (*ka*→)*kā* = *ka* has been corrected to *kā*; *om.* = *omisit*; *s.s.* = *super scriptum*; *subs.* = *subscriptum*; a comma stands for a *virāma*; the sign | indicates a pāda marker. An early draft of this critical edition was presented and discussed in a seminar

## 2.1. First section

### 3.25.1 ~ ŚS 4.11.1

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | anaḍvān dādhāra pr̥thivīṃ dyām utāmūm | $13^T$ | [ ∪ – – – – ∪ \| ∪ ∪ – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | anaḍvān dādhār$_a$o$_u$r$_u$v antarikṣam \| | $12^T$ | [ ∪ – – – – ∪ \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |
| c | anaḍvān dādhāra pradiśaḥ ṣaḍ urvīr | $12^T$ | [ ∪ – – – – – \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |
| d | anaḍvān {idaṃ} viśvaṃ bhuvanam ā viveśa \|\| | $12^T$ | [ ∪ – – {∪ –} – – \| ∪ ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |

The draft-ox upholds the earth and the sky over there.
The draft-ox upholds the wide atmosphere.
The draft-ox upholds the six wide directions.
The draft-ox has taken possession of all{this} existence {here}.

anaḍvān dādhāra] **V153** anaḍvāṃ (*vs*. anaḍvāṅ Barret) dādhāra **K Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$ Ja Vā Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$** anaṛvāṃ dādhāra **Ku$_1$** anaḍvāndādhā[C] **Ek$_2$** • pr̥thivīṃ] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$ V153** pr̥thivyaṃ **Ji$_3$** pr̥thivī **K** • dyām utāmūm] **Ma$_2$ Ja Vā Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** dyā(mu→)mūtāmūm **Ma$_1$** dyāmutāmūṃ ˈ m **Ek$_2$** dyāmutāsūm **K** • anaḍvān dādhārorv] **Ek$_1$** anaṛvān dādhārorv **Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$** anaḍvāṃ (*vs*. anaḍvāṅ Barret) dādhārorv **K Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$ Ja Vā Ji$_3$ V153** • antarikṣam |] antarikṣaṃ | **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$ V153** aṃntarikṣaṃ | **Ji$_3$** antarikṣaṃ **K** • anaḍvān dādhāra] anaṛvān dādhāra **Ek$_2$** anaḍvāṃ (*vs*. anaḍvāṅ Barret) dādhāra **K Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$ Ja Vā Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$** anaṛvāṃ dādhāra **Ku$_1$** anaḍvāṃ dādhāra(*s.s.*→)ḥ **V153** • pradiśaḥ] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ku$_1$ V153** pradiśaḥ[x] **Ek$_2$** pradiśa **Ji$_3$** pradiṣaṣ **K** • ṣaḍ urvīr anaḍvān] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$ V153** ṣaṛ urvīr anaṛvān **Ek2 Ku$_1$** • viśvaṃ] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$** [.]iśvaṃ **V153** • \|\|] **[O]** *om*. **K**

ŚS 4.11.1
anaḍvā́n dādhāra pr̥thivī́m utá dyā́m
anaḍvā́n dādhārorv àntárikṣam |
anaḍvā́n dādhāra pradíśaḥ ṣáḍ urvī́r
anaḍvā́n víśvaṃ bhúvanam ā́ viveśa ||

**Metre**. The first pāda is hypermetrical (13 syllables) in both the PS and ŚS versions. The reason for this irregularity is that the pāda is modelled after older Ṛgvedic lines that surely belonged to the poet's repertory, such as RV 3.59.1b, *mitró dādhāra pr̥thivī́m utá dyā́m* ($11^T$), RV 6.51.8b, *námo dādhāra pr̥thivī́m utá dyā́m* ($11^T$) and the PS variant in particular after RV 10.121.1c, *sá dādhāra pr̥thivī́ṃ dyā́m utémā́m* ($11^T$). Similarly, pāda **b** also finds a model in lines such as RV 6.47.4d, *sómo dādhārorv antárikṣam* ($11^T$). Pāda **c** follows the same pattern. The insertion of a trisyllabic word, *anaḍvān*, at the beginning of the verse, without changing the rest of the line structure, which required a disyllabic word (*mitró*, *námo*), explains the fairly unusual six-syllable openings.

Pāda **d** also appears hypermetrical. Comparison with the ŚS parallel suggests that the pronoun *idaṃ* might be an interpolation. The collocations *idaṃ viśvam* (or *viśvam idam*), *idaṃ bhuvanam* and *viśvam bhuvanam* are all well-known alternatives in the poetic languages of the Vedas. If we remove *idaṃ* from the metrical count we obtain a not uncommon 12-syllable line with Triṣṭubh cadence, which conforms to the pattern of the previous lines (with a regular five-syllable

organised in Paris in September 2017 with Werner Knobl, Carmen Spiers, Arlo Griffiths, Kristen de Joseph, Duccio Lelli and Kenji Takahashi. I am very grateful for their feedback. In October 2018 Carmen Spiers also kindly shared with me a draft of her edition of the text to appear in her PhD dissertation.

opening).

**d**. In the AV and later literature, the lexeme *ā-viś-*, 'to enter, penetrate', is often used to describe the notion of obsession, or the way a curse affects a cursed person. Indeed, curses and obsessions are considered, much like other diseases, to be caused external forces that penetrate the body of the victim. Thus, *ā-viś-* can be translated with 'to magically possess, to take control of by means of magic' (cf. *āveśa-*, 'possession, demoniacal frenzy'): e.g. PS 17.40.7, [...] *tena dviṣantaṃ ā viśati*, "with that he takes control of [his] hater"; PS 7.8.10 (against curses), *taṃ vayāṃsīva pakṣiṇa ā viśantu patatriṇaḥ | śaptāraṃ śapathāḥ punaḥ* ||, "Let them (the curses), winged and pinioned like birds, enter him. [Let] the curses [enter] the curser again" (Griffiths). Our line rather conveys a positive meaning: as the text is to be read on two levels, one referring to the ox, and one referring to the *vratin* who impersonates it, it seems to imply that the *vrata* of the draft-ox allows one to rule the world. Compare RV 3.32.10, *tváṃ sadyó apibo jātá indra mádāya sómam paramé vyòman | yád dha dyā́vāpr̥thivī́ ā́viveśīr áthābhavaḥ pūrvyáḥ kārúdhāyāḥ* ||, "You, Indra, just born, drank the soma for exhilaration in the highest distant heaven. After you had entered heaven and earth, then you became the first to suckle the bard" (J-B), in which Indra's sovereignty over heaven and earth is most likely implied by the same lexeme. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the observance of the draft-ox is witchcraft (*kr̥tyā-*; cf. PS 17.35.2, *kr̥tyā vā eṣā manuṣyeṣu carati yad anaḍvān yad anaḍudvratī*, "This is witchcraft, when, as a draft-ox, as one practising the observance of the draft-ox, one wanders among humans") and magic (*māyā-* cf. PS 17.35.4–5 and PāśSū 4.10-12 *indro vā agre asureṣu pāśupatam acarat | sa teṣām iṣṭāpūrtam ādatta | māyayā sukr̥tayā samavindat*, "Indra, in the beginning, practised the Pāśupata [observance] among the Asuras. He took the merit gained from worship and offering from them. He obtained [it] with well-performed magic"). At any rate, rather than painting a mystical vision of the draft-ox as a principle beyond reality, the purpose of the stanza must be a glorification of the draft-ox's ability to uphold the heaviest of burdens. This is why the *vratin* identifies with this animal in order to bear (*bhr̥*) the observance, in the same way that Indra resorted to his strength to bear the powerful *vajra* according to PS 17 ch. 6. The root *dhr̥-* in particular is found in the PS 17 ch. 6 refrain *sa nādhārayat* and in the expression *so 'dhārayata* in ŚS 4.11.7d (see my comment in §2.2).

### **3.25.2** ŚS 4.11.4

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | anaḍvān duhe sukr̥tasya loka | 11 | [ ∪ – – ∪ – \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | ainaṃ ⁺pyāyet pavamānaḥ purastāt \| | 11 | [ – – – – \| ∪ ∪ – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| c | parjanyo dhārā maruta ūdho asya | 12$^{T}$ | [ – – – – – \| ∪ ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |
| d | yajñaḥ payo dakṣiṇā doho asya \|\| | 11 | [ – – ∪ – \| – ∪ – \| – ∪ – × ] |

The draft-ox milks out into the world of merit.
May the [wind] blowing from the east swell him.
His streams are Parjanya, his udder is the Maruts.
His milk is the ritual of worship, his milking is the priestly fee.

anaḍvān duhe] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā]** anaḍvāṃn duhe **Ek$_1$** anaṛvāṃ duhe **Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$** anaḍvāṃ (*vs.* anaḍvāṅ Barret) duhe **K Ji$_3$ V153** • loka ainaṃ] **[O]** lokaṃ enaṃ **K** • ⁺pyāyet] pyāẏeti **O** pāhet **K** • pavamānaḥ] **[O]** pavamānaḳ **K** • purastāt |] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** pura[C]t || **Ek$_2$** purastāt **K** • maruta ūdho] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$** maruta udho **Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$ V153** marutodho **K** • asya] **[Vā] Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$** 'sya **Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$ Ja Ek$_1$ Ku$_1$** ('→)asya **V153**[9] sya **K** • yajñaḥ] **[O]** yajñaḳ **K** • doho] **[O]** draho **K** • asya] **[Vā] Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$** 'sya **Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$ Ja Ek$_1$ Ku$_1$**

9 Twice in this stanza, **V153** shows *avagrahas* that have been corrected (overwritten) to *a*, perhaps by a second hand. The same situation is found in 25.3b and 25.13c (see apparatus).

('→)asya **V153** sya **K** • ||] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$ V153** | **K Ji$_3$**

ŚS 4.11.4
anaḍvā́n duhe sukr̥tásya lokā́
aínaṃ pyāyayati pávamānaḥ purástāt |
parjányo dhā́rā marúta ū́dho asya
yajñáḥ páyo dákṣiṇā dóho asya ||

Bhattacharya's edition reads **pyāyeta* in pāda **b**.

**ac**. The root *duh*- 'to yield milk, give milk, milk out' is not infrequently used in the sense 'to provide, to yield (something desired)', so it is not strictly restricted to the metaphor of the draft-ox found here, but belongs to the larger group of pastoral metaphors commonly employed in the language of the Vedas. It also does not imply that the draft-ox is actually female, although quite interestingly his udder (*ūdho asya*)—note the masculine pronoun!—is mentioned in pāda **c**.

As throughout the hymn and in PS 17 ch. 6, the draft-ox stands for the *vratin*; I wonder if this could be a hint of the practice of dressing like a girl, which is typical of rites of passage from boyhood to adulthood and is attested also in the Indo-European world (e.g. the case of Achilles mentioned in Bremmer 1978: 7 with references). However, I find no further evidence in support of this. It also possible that the *anaḍvah* here is simply conceived as a bovine in general with characteristics of both sexes (note that the word *gauḥ* can be both m. and f.). Instances in which the poet mixes bovine male body parts with female body parts are far from uncommon (see the references collected by Gonda 1965a: 291 and Spiers, in prep.)

If we accept the Odia locative *loka* (in sandhi for *loke*) in accordance with the ŚS tradition, rather than **K** *lokaṃ*, the verb *duhe* must have an intransitive sense: 'to give milk, to deliver results' (i.e. 'the *vrata* of the draft-ox grants its promised results in the world of merit'). It would be tempting to favour the Kashmirian reading *lokam* (acc., as object of *duhe*) as, in fact, access to the 'world of merit' is the promised result of the observance according to PS 3.25.6 below. However, as in general, we find instances of contamination of **K** but not **O** under the influence of ŚS, agreement between the readings of **O** and ŚS might point to the authenticity of such readings against **K**. Moreover, **K** reads *lokaṃ enaṃ* instead of *lokamenaṃ*, which suggests that the independent akṣara for initial *e*- belonged to the original written text, and that the *anusvara* was inserted in the hiatus. Most likely we should take the *sukr̥tasya loke* as a locative of goal. Compare RV 9.72.2b, *índrasya sómaṃ jaṭháre yád āduhúḥ*, "When they have milked the soma into the belly of Indra" (J-B). Thus, our line is saying that the "milkings" of the ox, i.e. the results, effects, and rewards of the observance of the draft-ox will be available in the *sukr̥tasya loka*. See my comment on pāda **d**, below.

**b**. If we accept Bhattacharya's emendation, *ā … *pyāyeta*, we must take the optative middle verb in the intransitive meaning 'to swell'. This would force us to regard *enam* as being governed by *purastād*: "may the purifying one / the one being purified (the soma?) swell in front of him". However, compare PS 5.16.1, which opens a hymn for protection of cattle: *dyauś vemam yajñaṃ pr̥thivī ca saṃ duhātāṃ mātariśvā pavamānaḥ purastāt | tvaṣṭā vāyuḥ saha somena vāta imaṃ saṃ duhrām anapasphurantaḥ* ||, "Let Heaven and Earth together yield [us] this sacrifice, Mātariśvan, blowing from the east, Tvaṣṭar, Vāyu with Soma, Wind, let them [all] together, unkicking, yield [us] this [sacrifice]" (Lubotsky). The formula *mātariśvā pavamānaḥ purastāt* (also found in PS 20.23.5b) strongly suggests that we should interpret our *pavamānaḥ purastāt* as one syntagm indicating the eastern wind, and that we should discard the hypothesis that *enam* is governed by *purastāt*.

Thus, since *enam* must be the object governed by the verb, we need a transitive verb. According to Jamison (1983: 149), the lexeme *ā-pyai*- forms only an intransitive middle present (*ā́ pyāyate*, 'swells') in RV, but from the AV onwards, also a transitive active *aya*-present (*ā́ pyāyayati*, 'makes swell') based on the older middle. Since at least the Odia evidence points to an active

ending -*ti*, one could consider the ŚS reading, *pyāyayati*, as a plausible reconstruction. Odia *pyāẏeti* could be regarded as a prakr̥tism (-*aya*- > -*e*-) from *pyāyayati* (cf. Ved. Var. II p. 338)—although, as Spiers (in prep.) points out, the -*h*- of **K** is more difficult to explain. At any rate, this would yield a 13-syllable line, which is undesirable.

Whitney (1905: 164) had suggested that **K** *pāhet* underlies a form *pyāyet*, which would fit the metre. In his edition of the Kashmirian ms., Raghu Vira (1936: 55) did not take up this suggestion, and instead proposed a 3sg. opt. *pyāyayet* based on the transitive active *aya*-stem, which would yield a 12-syllable line with Triṣṭubh cadence, much like pāda **c**. In an essay on linguistic peculiarities of the PS, Renou (1957b: 111; cf. also 1957c: 66 and 1957a: 92) followed Whitney and interpreted **K** *pāhet* as a corruption of *pyāyet*, an otherwise unattested 3sg. opt. based on an active thematic present *pyāyati*. This would yield a regular Triṣṭubh and is indeed closer to the manuscript evidence. This solution was once again rejected by Kulikov (2012: 331f) on the grounds that "the active inflection (with the causative meaning?) is impossible with the stem *pyāya*- in Vedic".

On the other hand, Spiers (in prep.) has argued in favour of Renou's interpretation by showing that a present *ā-pyāyati* must be presupposed in order to explain the imperfect *āpyāyat* in PS 20.55.8 (this stanza also illustrates the semantic distinction between this trans. act. form and the middle *ā pyāyasva*): PS 20.55.7–8, *vidma tvā vayaṃ somaṃ rājānaṃ ye tvā na viduḥ | teṣāṃ cakṣuṣā śrotreṇa prāṇena prajayā paśubhir gr̥hair dhanenā pyāyasva || eṣā ta oṣadhīs tayā tvam ā pyāyasva | *āpīno asmān āpyāyac cakṣuṣā śrotreṇa prāṇena prajayā paśubhir gr̥hair dhanena ||*, "Nous savons que tu es le roi Soma, ceux qui ne le savent pas, enfle-toi de leur œil, de leur oreille, de leur souffle vital, de leur progéniture, de leur bétail, de leurs maisons, de leur argent (7). Celle-ci [est] ton herbe, avec elle, toi, enfle-toi! Enflé, il nous a enflés de leur œil, etc. (8)" (Spiers).[10] As this is the lightest emendation possible, I also accept it.

**d**. The aim of the *anaḍudvrata* described in PS 17 ch. 6, as well as of the *pāśupatavrata* is to appropriate the *iṣṭāpūrta* of the people who insult the *vratins*, regarding them as madmen (see Appendix I). The *iṣṭāpūrta* is the merit acquired with worship (*yajña*) and with donations to the priests (*dākṣiṇā*). Thus, it seems attractive to interpret the words *yajñaḥ* and *dakṣiṇā*, the two products (*dohas*) of the ox according to this line, as evoking precisely those *iṣṭāpūrta* merits that the *anaḍudvrata* allows the *vratin* to acquire. By accumulating these merits the *vratin* can have access to the *sukr̥tásya loká*: this must be the sense of pāda **a**. I will discuss this dynamic and the concept of *sukr̥tásya loká* in §3.3 below. On the *dohas* of the ox see also PS 3.25.9–10 below.

### 3.25.3 ~ ŚS 4.11.2

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | anaḍvān indraḥ sa paśubhyo vi caṣṭe | $12^{T}$ | [ U – – – – \| U U – \| – U – × ] |
| b | $^{+}$trayāñ chakro $_{a}$pa mimīte adhvanaḥ \| | 12 | [ U – – – \| U U U \| – U – U × ] |
| c | sa bhūtaṃ bhaviṣyad bhuvanaṃ duhānaḥ | $12^{T}$ | [ U – – U – – \| U U \| – U – × ] |
| d | sarvā devānāṃ {bibhrac} carati vratāni \|\| | 11 | [ – – – – – {– –} \| U U \| – U – × ] |

Indra is the draft-ox, he looks out for the cattle / he appears from the cattle.
The mighty one (Śakra, i.e. Indra) measures out the triple roads.
He, milking out what existed, what will exist, what exists (i.e. the past, the future, the present);
He practices, {bearing [them, their burden]}, all the observances of the gods.

anaḍvān] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ku$_1$ V153** anaṛvān **Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$** • indraḥ sa] **[O]** indrasya **K**

10 Spiers (ibid.) also notes a possible occurrence of *pyāyet* in GB 1.1.22f (Gaastra 1919: 15), *etayaiva tad ṛcā pratyāpyāyet*, "C'est avec cette strophe qu'il doit le faire enfler à nouveau" (Spiers), but points to the presence of the alternative form *pratyāpyāyayet* three lines before, which makes her doubt of the reading in Gaastra's edition.

• $^{+}$trayāñ] traẏāṃ **Ek$_1$** (ta →)traẏāṃ **Ma$_1$** taẏāṃ **Ma$_2$ Vā Ja Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** tvāyaṃ **K** • chakro pa mimīte] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** cchakropa mimīte **Ja** ya śakro a mimīte **K** • adhvanaḥ] **K [Vā] Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$** 'dhvanaḥ **Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$ Ja Ek$_1$ Ku$_1$** ('→)adhvanaḥ **V53** |] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** || **Ek$_1$** *om*. **K** • sa] **[O]** saṃ **K** • duhānaḥ sarvā] **[O]** duhānassarvā **K** • bibhrac carati] **[O]** bibhraś carati **K** • ||] **[O]** *om*. **K**

ŚS 4.11.2
anaḍvā́n índraḥ sá paśúbhyo ví caṣṭe
trayā́ṃ chakró ví mimīte ádhvanaḥ |
bhūtáṃ bhaviṣyád bhúvanā dúhānaḥ
sárvā devā́nām carati vratā́ni ||

Bhatttcharya edits *trayāṃ chakropa mimīte* in pāda **b**.

**a**. The identification between the draft-ox and Indra is now understandable in light of PS 17 ch. 6, as the observance there described, the *anaḍudvrata*, requires that the *vratins* emulate Indra's deeds: PS 17.35.4a, *indro vā *agre (')sureṣv anaḍudvratam acarat*, "Indra, in the beginning, practised the observance of the draft-ox among the Asuras"—which is later rewritten into PāśSū 4.10, *indro vā agre asureṣu pāśupatam acarat*, "Indra in the beginning practised the Pāśupata [observance] among the Asuras". It is by resorting to the draft-ox and acquiring his strength by practising his *vrata* (i.e. by imitating the draft-ox's natural behaviour) that Indra is able to bear the power of the *vajra*.

The translation of *vi-cakṣ-* has been a matter of debate: Weber (1898: 40) translated with "Er schaut hin (sorgt) für das Vieh"; Ludwig (1878: 534) "Er schaut auß [sorgt] für die tiere [die lebenden überhaupt, oder: er schaut herauß den lebenden wesen?]"; Deussen (1894: 232), "Der Ochs ist Indra, ist des Vieh's Behüter"; Muir (1884: 399), "He watches over the beasts"; Griffith (1895: 144), "o'er the beasts he watches"; Whitney (1905: 163), "he looks out from (for?) the cattle"; Gonda (1965a: 97) "he looks away from the domestic animals (?)" (see also Gonda 1965a: 289 for a discussion).

Spiers (in prep.) argues for translating (after Weber) with 'he looks out for the cattle', 'Il veille au loin pour le bétail', on the basis of comparison with PS 9.12.5a, *paśubhyo naḥ paśupate mṛ̥da*, "O Paśupati, be merciful towards our cattle" (my transl.), and PS 18.8.9b ~ ŚS 14.2.18b, *paśubhyaḥ sumanāḥ*, "well-disposed towards the cattle" (my transl.), with *paśubhyaḥ* as *dativus commodi*. She also refers to PS 5.32.5 as an example of *vi caṣṭe* used "pour décrire le regard protecteur et policier d'un dieu/roi sur le monde/peuple": *sarvaṃ tad rājā varuṇo vi caṣṭe yad antarā rodasī yat parastāt | saṃkhyātā asya nimiṣo janānām akṣān na śvaghnī bhuvanā mimīte* ||, "King Varuṇa beholds all that is between the two worlds, [all] that beyond. Counted by him are the winkings of the eyes of men. Like a lucky gambler the dice, so does he (Varuṇa) arranges the beings" (Lubotsky).

At the same time, according to Jamison (1983: 125) *vi-cakṣ-* can mean both 'sees' (tr.) or 'appears' (intr.). The latter meaning can be seen for instance in RV 5.19.1, in which Agni is described as peeping out from his mother's lap (i.e. from the lower churning stick), *abhy àvasthā́ḥ prá jāyante prá vavrér vavríś ciketa | upásthe mātúr ví caṣṭe* ||, "Die anderen Umstande kommen zur Geburt. Sein Leib schimmert aus ihrem Leib hervor. lm Schoße der Mutter lugt er aus". Thus, a translation like "he appears from the cattle" is not to be excluded. In this case, Indra would be described as a draft-ox, emerging, making himself visible, from among the herd (with *paśubhyaḥ* as ablative).

It is tempting to interpret the *paśus* in verse as the *vratins*. Depending on our understanding of the verb, the line might refer to Indra as the protector of his adepts, or as one of the *vratins*—they identify with Indra, after all—who emerges successfully from the crowd, having completed his initiation. In the first case, *indraḥ paśubhyo vi caṣṭe* appears as a paraphrasis of the epithet Paśupati, the lord protector of cattle and protector of his adepts, who behave like cattle. On the relationship

between Indra and Rudra/Paśupati, see §3.5 below.

**b**. I follow Griffiths (2009: lix) in regularising the sandhi of *-n ś-* to *-ñ ch-*, as this was the most likely orthography of the PS archetype.

Bhattacharya prints *chakropa*, which he no doubt understands as Abhinihita sandhi, but which could be misconstrued as underlying a voc. *śakra* followed by *upa*. However, the lexeme *upa-mā-* is only used in the active (in the meaning 'zuteilen, verleihen') in early Vedic, whereas the middle ('vergleichen'; cf. *upamā-*, f., 'comparison, simile') is first attested only in Nirukta, Mbh, etc. (see PW s.v. for references). On the other hand, the lexeme *apa-mā-*, 'to measure off/out', is found in PS 18.67.3a ~ ŚS 18.2.40a (*ápa … mimīmahe*) and ŚS 19.57.6a (*apamā́ya*; cf. PS 3.30.7a *avamāya*). Thus, we must restore a syllable, reading *śakro apa* [=*śakraḥ_apa*] and taking *śakraḥ* as a nom. sg. m. This yields both a better meaning and a perfect Jagatī metre.

The lexeme *vi-mā-*, 'durchmessen, durchschreiten, durchlaufen' (GW), featured in the ŚS parallel, is already found in RV. This and the fact that the ŚS stanza features a perfect sequence of $12^{T}$, 11, $12^{T}$, 11, might suggest that the ŚS reading is original. At any rate, *vi-mā-* is not attested with *ádhvan-* as object in RV nor AV. Nevertheless, the phrase *ádhvan mā-*, 'to measure out, traverse, travel down (a road)', is attested once in RV 1.146.3. According to J-B (p. 323) this latter stanza describes to the ritual fire as being tended by the two churning sticks (in the ritual realm), as well as by Night and Dawn (or Heaven and Earth) in the cosmic realm, "measuring their roads whose end can never be reached": s*amānáṃ vatsám abhí saṃcárantī víṣvag dhenū́ ví carataḥ suméke | anapavr̥jyā́ṁ̐ ádhvano mímāne víśvān kétāṁ̐ ádhi mahó dádhāne* ||, "Converging upon the same calf, the two well-grounded milk-cows wander apart on their separate ways, measuring their roads whose end can never be reached, taking upon themselves all the intentions of the great one" (J-B). As a side note, I should add that, interestingly, this enigmatic hymn (RV 1.146) is ascribed to the same sage, Dīrghatamas, who according to the legend contained in *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* II.74.46ff. (quoted in Acharya 2013: 113ff.) was instructed by a bull on the *godharma* and composed the Riddle Hymn (RV 1.164) that deals with the Gharma ritual (see §3.1 below).

The three *adhvanas* mentioned in this line not only refer to the three items mentioned in pāda **c** (*bhūtaṃ bhaviṣyad bhuvanam*), or generally to the three worlds (earth, atmosphere, sky) in the typical Vedic imagery, but once again specifically recall PS 17 ch. 6, and in particular PS 17.30–32, in which Indra follows the downward path of the *vajra* thunderbolt and "strides" (*kram-* + loc.) into the domains of its three forms: Viśvāsah (17.30) in the sky (equated with the vajra's sharp-rimmed top, *tigmavīryam*, in 17.27.2b); Viśvānara (17.31) in the atmosphere and celestial ocean (equated with the *vajra* mace's body in 17.27.2a); and Vaiśvānara (17.32), the wind (equated with the *vajra*'s handle, *ārambhaṇam*, in 17.27.2c). This sequence is then followed by the killing of Vr̥tra (PS 17.33), whose pieces, shattered by the falling lightning bolt, become the mountains that provide Indra/the *vratin* with a *pratiṣṭhā*. This is of course to be read in the context of the initiation of the *Jugendbund*, and in the context of the Vrātya *Gefolgschaften* (see Appendix I). As such, it is certainly a metaphor for the successful acquisition of the necessary means of subsistence (*pratiṣṭhā*) in order to enter adulthood and start a family, or be re-integrated into society as a householder. I will return on this in §3 below.

**d**. The phrase *bibhrac carati* may be interpreted as comprising a pres. ptc. from *bhr̥-* and a pres. of the root *car-* used as an auxiliary, thus "he keeps bearing". However, comparison with the ŚS version suggests that the pres. ptc. *bibhrac* may be an interpolation, which can be removed to restore the correct metre. The meaning of this interpolation becomes clear once we become familiar with the text of PS 17 ch. 6. Here the successful performance of the draft-ox *vrata* is constantly equated with the acquisition of the ability to wield the *vajra* (i.e. acquire its power). Indra, in fact, starts performing the *vrata* because he is not able to wield the *vajra*, which slips from his hands (PS 17.28). The *vrata* is deemed *guru* (PS 17.34.1), which is why Indra needs to resort to the draft-ox (PS 17.34.2), the animal that is most accustomed to hauling heavy burdens, in order to acquire the power to bear (*bhr̥-*) the *vrata*/*vajra*. Thus, throughout PS 17 ch. 6, the act of performing the draft-

ox *vrata* is expressed by the unique lexeme *vratam bhṛ-*. Cf. the refrain "[...] *ya evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti*, "he who, being initiated, 'bears' the observance of the draft-ox" (17.27.4, 28.33, 30.4, 31.4, 32.4, 33.4, 34.5, 35.12, 36.3, 37.4, 37.8, 39.2, 40.9, 41.6, 42.7, 43.8). Clearly, the participle *bibhrat* in our sūkta is a gloss to clarify the meaning of *car-* (which is the root normally used to describe the act of practising an observance), as specifically referring to the observance (*vratam*) of the draft-ox.

**3.25.4** ~ ŚS 4.11.5

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yasya neśe yajñapatir na yajño | 11 | [ – ∪ – – \| – ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |
| b | nāsya $^{+}$dāteśe na pratigrahītā \| | 11 | [ – ∪ – – – \| – ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |
| c | yo viśvabhṛd viśvakṛd viśvakarmā | 11 | [ – – ∪ – \| – ∪ – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| d | gharmaṃ no brūta yatamaś catuṣpāt \|\| | 11 | [ – – – – ∪ \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |

Over whom neither the lord of the ritual of worship rules, nor [does] the ritual of worship;
neither the giver rules over him, nor [does] the receiver;
who bears everything, crafts everything, does everything,
do tell us about the *gharmá* pot which really is four-footed!

neśe] **[O]** neṣe **K** • yajñapatir] **[O]** yajñapatin **K** • na] **[O]** ni **K** • $^{+}$dāteśe] jāteśe **Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$ Ja Vā Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ V153** jā[C]eśe **Ek$_1$** [~~kā~~]jāteśe **Ku$_1$** dāteśaya **K** • pratigrahītā] **[O]** pratigṛhītā **K** • \|] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** \|\| **Ek$_1$** *om*. **K** • viśvabhṛd viśvakṛd viśvakarmā] **Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ V153** (? **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā]**) viśvabhṛd viśvakṛ(*subs*.→dvi)śvakarmā **Ku$_1$** viśvadṛg viśvakṛd viśvakarmā **K** • gharmaṃ no] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] Ji$_3$ V153** gharmanno **Vā Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$** gha[x]rmanno **Ek$_1$** gharma no **K** • brūta] vrūta **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$ V153** vṛta **Ji$_3$** vrūta **K** • yatamaś] **[O]** yamaś **K** • catuṣpāt \|\|] **[O]** catuṣpāt, **K**

ŚS 4.11.5
*yásya náśe yajñápatir ná yajñó*
*nā́sya dāteśe ná pratigrahītā́ \|*
*yó viśvajíd viśvabhṛ́d viśvákarmā*
*gharmáṃ no brūta yatamáś cátuṣpāt \|\|*

Bhattacharya writes pāda **c** as *yo viśvabhṛd viśvakarmā*, omitting *viśvakṛd*, most likely by mistake, as I find in all of my mss., including **K**. His apparatus is silent with regards to his mss. The ŚS also has three epithets.

This stanza opens a series of three in which the draft-ox, i.e. the *vratin* that practises the observance of the draft-ox, is equated with the *gharma*-pot. I will discuss this topic in §3.1 below.

**b**. The emendation to $^{+}$*dāteśe* (in conformity with the ŚS reading) was proposed by Bhattacharya.

**c**. On these triplets of epithets, compare my comment on PS 3.25.3b.

**d**. Spiers (in prep.) is right in noting that this last pāda contains what seems to be a riddle formula. She refers to ŚS 8.9.17ab (~ PS 16.19.7ab), *ṣáḍ āhuḥ śītā́n ṣáḍ u māsá uṣṇā́n ṛtúṃ no brū́ta yatamó'tiriktaḥ*, "Six they call the cold, and six the hot months; tell ye us the season, which one [is] in excess" (Whitney). We may also compare the refrain *skambháṃ táṃ brūhi katamáḥ svid evá sáḥ*, "Tell us about that prop: what can it ever be?" in ŚS 10.7 ~ PS 17 ch. 2. In fact, I would add, the following stanza, PS 3.25.6, might sound like a response to the riddle posed here. This could speak in favour of regarding the PS stanza order as more original.

**3.25.5** ~ ŚS 4.11.3

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| indra eṣa manuṣ$_{i}$yeṣ$_{u}$v antar | 11 | [ – ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |
| gharmas taptaś carati śośucānaḥ \| | 11 | [ – – – – \| ∪ ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |
| suprajā asat sa u dāre na $^{+}$sarṣad | 12$^{T}$ | [ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – \| ∪ ∪ – \| – ∪ – × ] |
| yo nāśnīyād anaḍuho vijānan \|\| | 11 | [ – – – – \| ∪ ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |

This one (i.e. the draft-ox, the *vratin*) is Indra, he goes about (i.e. he practises the observance) among humans as a heated *gharmá* pot, constantly glowing bright.
He will be of good offspring and will not run into a cleft [on the path],
he who, discerning, would not eat of the draft-ox.

indra] **K [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** i(→e?)ndra **Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$** • śośucānaḥ] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ V153** śoṣucānaḥ **Vā** śośucā[x]naḥ **Ku$_1$** saṃśiśānaḥ **K** • \|] **[O]** *om*. **K** • taptaś] **[O]** tapataś **K** • suprajā asat sa] **[O]** supradāsassa **K** • u dāre na] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** u dāre ṇa **K Ja Vā** • $^{+}$sarṣad yo] sarṣahyo **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$** sarṣahiyo(*subs*.→ hyo) **V153** sariṣad yau **K** • nāśnīyād] nāśnīẏād **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ V153** nāṣṇīẏād **Ek$_1$ Ku$_1$** nāśnīhād **K** • anaḍuho] **K [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$** anuḍuho **Ma$_1$ Ek$_2$ V153** anu[x]ḍuho **Ku$_1$** • vijānan \|\|] **[O]** vijānan, **K**

ŚS 4.11.3
índro jātó manuṣyèṣv antár
gharmás taptáś carati śóśucānaḥ \|
suprajā́ḥ sánt sá u dāré ná sarṣad
yó nā́śnīyā́d anaḍúho vijānán \|\|

Bhattacharya's edition reads *sarṣad* in pāda **c**, with no emendation sign.

**ab**. These pādas clearly recall PS 17.35.2, *kṛtyā vā eṣā manuṣyeṣu carati yad anaḍvān yad anaḍudvratī*, "This is witchcraft, when, as a draft-ox, as one practising the observance of the draft-ox, one wanders among humans", leaving no doubt that the *anaḍudvrata* of PS 17 ch. 6 is to be intended here.

Once again the Gharma ritual is connected with the observance of the draft-ox. It appears that the heated *gharmá* pot represents the *vratin*. See §3.1 below.

In pāda **b**, the **O** mss. agree with the ŚS in reading *śośucānaḥ*. The Kashmirian reading *saṃśiśānaḥ* (for *śośucānaḥ*), 'sharpening' (< *śā*-) seems less semantically fitting. However, the form recalls the participle *saṃśijñānaḥ* (< *saṃ-śiñj*-, 'to produce a noise by collision') used in PS 17 ch. 6 to describe the sound produced by the *vajra*/lightning bolt after it slips from Indra's hands as it falls and collides with the sea (see my comment *ad loc*.), making the sea water undrinkable: PS 17.28.3–4, **saṃśiñjāno (')tiṣṭhad dhariharā bhavann $^{+}$etad $^{+}$ṛchan || sa samudraṃ prāviśat sa samudram adahat*, "It kept on making a [sizzling, crackling] noise as it collided [with the sea], blazing up, hitting down there. It entered into the sea; it burned the sea". It should be noted that the onomatopoeic root *śiñj*- is also the verbal root used in Dīrghatamas' Riddle Hymn (RV 1.164.29) to describe the sound made by the *gharmá* pot as its content bursts out as a fiery pillar that the poet describes as an inverted lightning bolt (see §3.2 below). Thus, perseveration or re-adaptation is not to be excluded here in the case of **K**. At any rate, this might be an additional clue that the two texts are closely related.

**c**. The sequence *udāré* has deceived many of the previous translators, who mostly have interpreted it as as one word, a locative of *udārá*-, 'rising fog' (?). Weber (1898: 40–41) translated with "Mit guter Nachkommenschaft versehen eilt (der) gleichsam im Vorsprung (?) dahin" and commented "'nicht im Nebel' wandeln, oder: 'gleichsam im *udāra*, im Aufsteigenden', im Vorsprung(?) wandeln"; Ludwig (1878: 534) and Deussen (1894: 232) translated with "der geh nicht

im Nebel"; Muir (1884: 399) skipped this line; Griffith (1895: 144) translated with "Let him not pass off in vapour"; Whitney (1905: 164) with "He shall not go in mist" (noting that the commentary reads *ud āre* as two words); Gonda (1965a: 97) with "He shall not run in the mist". Gonda (1965a: 291) also refers to ŚS 11.10.1, AB 2.31.4, and in particular to ŚS 6.113.2, in which 'seizure' (*gráhi*) "is ordered to 'go unto the mists and the fogs' [*udāráṅ gachotá vā nīhāráṅ*] and to disappear 'along the foams of the rivers' [*nadī́naṃ phénāṁ ánu táṅ ví naśya*]".

However, Narten (1964: 269–270) noted the existence of a lexeme *dāre sṛ-*, 'run into a cleft on the path (*dārá-*)', which occurs in PB 15.3.7 and JB 3.248. Acharya (2013:123) interpreted our line accordingly, following a suggestion by Werner Knobl. If this is the expression intended here, then *u* must simply be a conjunction. Narten (ibid.) interprets *sarṣad* as a sigmatic aorist subjunctive. Note that no other sigmatic aorist is attested for the root *sṛ-* (in RV only forming the redupl.pres. *sisarti*), whereas the thematic aorist is widely attested.

The two passages cited by Narten with regard to *dāre sṛ-* recount (PB only briefly, JB 3.244ff. at greater length) an episode of the Battle of the Ten Kings. A translation of the first passage can be found in Caland's (1931: 393–394) monograph on the PB. The protagonist is King Divodāsa who is trying to escape from the battle with his *purohita* Bharadvāja: PB 15.3.6–7, *bharadvājasyādārasṛd bhavati, divodāsaṃ vai bharadvājapurohitaṃ nanājanāḥ paryayanta sa upāsīdad ṛṣe gātuṃ me vindeti tasmā etena sāmnā gātum avindad gātuvid vā etatsāmānena dāre nāsṛnmeti tad adārasṛto 'dārasṛttvaṃ vindate gātuṃ na dāre dhāvaty adārasṛtā tuṣṭuvānaḥ*, "There is the *adārasṛt* of Bharadvāja. Divodāsa, who had Bharadvāja as his house-chaplain, (once upon a time) was hemmed in by various individuals (enemies). He approached (his chaplain), saying: 'Seer, find me a way out of this ('procure me a refuge')'. For him, by means of this *sāman*, he found a way out. A refuge procuring one is this *sāman*. (Because they thought): 'By means of this (*sāman*), we have not fallen into a pit' (*dāre nāsṛnma*), thence it has its name *adārasṛt*. He who in lauding has practised the *adārasṛt*, finds a way out of his difficulties and does not run into a pit" (Caland). Note the variant *dāre dhāv-*.

Caland translated the long JB passage (JB 3.244–247) first in German in his JB anthology as chapter §205 (1919: 284–287) and re-translated/summarised it in English in a footnote to the above-quoted PB translation (1931: 394 fn. 2). Here the protagonist is Kṣatra, son of Pratardana, who similarly finds himself in trouble during the Battle of the Ten Kings at Mānuṣa, and thus resorts to his *purohita* Bharadvāja. The sage "sees" the *sāman* that is the focus of the JB chapter and lauds Indra with it. Indra takes on the shape of an old man, clad in an antelope hide and carrying a shoulder-yoke (*vivadhá*), a basket with a cake hanging at one side and an *āmikṣā* mixed with butter on the other. He then appears to Kṣatra's wife Upamā, Saveda's daughter, who was mourning the loss of a brother, and dances to her as if to seduce her. The woman reveals her vision to the king, who recognises the old man as Indra and asks her to befriend him and to tell him, "Let us win the battle". On the following day he reappears and dances for her again. Every time she tries to approach him he dances a little farther away. Finally, after she speaks to him as instructed, the god shakes off his antelope hide, and claims that just like the hairs are scattered in all directions, so Kṣatra's enemies will flee from Mānuṣa. Immediately, numerous war chariots arise from the scattered hairs and, thanks to these, Kṣatra is able to prevail in battle. The passage ends with the following close: *vijayate hanti dviṣantaṃ bhrātṛvyaṃ, dāre dviṣantaṃ bhrātṛvyaṃ sārayati, nātmanā dāre dhāvayaty* […] *ya evaṃ veda*, "He wins and slays his hating rival, he makes his hating rival run into a cleft, he himself does not drive a chariot into a cleft […] if he knows thus" (my transl.). It is tempting to interprtet the image of Indra—as an old man clad in animal skin[11], who dances licentiously and magically provides the troubled king with new war chariots—as representing the leader of a Vrātya *Gefolgschaft* who provides the king with additional fighting forces (Vrātya mercenaries?). At any rate, this passage shows quite clearly that the *dārá-* is a cleft in

11 Note that he also carries a shoulder-yoke (*vivadhá*). It seems attractive to take this as a reference to an ox *vrata*!

the road, as one can fall into it by driving with a war chariot (*dhāvayati*; on the meaning of this verb see Bodewitz 1974). This is also the impression of Bodewitz (1999b: 212), who, commenting on the PS passage, says that "the pitfall is metaphorical and *gātu* denotes a way out, but the metaphor is clearly based on finding a passable 'road' (*gātu*) without the risk of crashing with the chariot due to fissures or splits in the terrain".

In general, in fact, the metaphor of falling into a pit or hole (not only with a chariot) is extremely frequent in the Vedas and may convey both the idea of going to hell in the underworld, as well as indicate a moral or social fall (Bodewitz 1999b: 211). This is particularly interesting because, as I will observe below (§3.3), the members of the brotherhoods that developed the observance of the draft-ox were particularly interested in obtaining both a successful life in society as well as access to the after life. The mention of *prajā* in our pāda speaks in favour of this interpretation: if a *vratin* obtains offspring, it means that he was able to become a householder; moreover, offspring is one of the means to attain life in the other world, as it is the task of the descendants to feed the Fathers and keep them alive in the afterlife.

In conclusion, we might take *na sa u dāre sarṣat*, "he will not run into a cleft" in our line simply as a metaphor for escaping adverse circumstances, or, on the grounds of the above-quoted passages, we might assume that the intended circumstances are specifically military difficulties. Finally, we might interpret the pāda as a promise of a successful life in society for both the initiated youth aiming to join the society of adults, as well as for the marginalised Vrātya who aims to become a wealthy householder.

As far as metre is concerned, the ŚS line is a regular Triṣṭubh, just like the other three pādas, whereas the PS line features an extra syllable in the opening, resulting in a 12-syllable line with Triṣṭubh cadence, which is odd in an otherwise fully regular stanza. However, the subjunctive *asat* seems semantically preferable to ŚS *sant*, because (pace Whitney) the pres.ptc. of *as-* would almost certainly not be used, unless it carried a clear, normally concessive function (Werner Knobl, in his teachings), but this would seem out of place in our line. Moreover, the conjunction *u* makes sense in the PS line, but would not fit the ŚS line syntactically, regardless of whether we take the pres. ptc. in a concessive sense or not: "(although) being of good offspring ***and* he will not run into a cleft".

**d**. I take *anaḍuho* as a partitive genitive, but this form could theoretically also be interpreted as an accusative plural direct object, although this interpretation seems less probably to me.

This line possibly sounds like a dietary prescription with magical or religious consequences: those who, having discernment, do not eat ox (meat) will have the benefit of having good offspring and not incurring obstacles. However, this line could also refer to the danger highlighted by Ahinās Āśvatthi in PS 17.35.1, *athāhīnā āśvatthir abravīn na tād brāhmaṇaṃ nindāni yād enam aśṛṇon ned iṣṭāpūrtena vi bhavānīti* ||, "Then Ahīnas Āśvatthi said: 'Therefore I will not censure [this/a] brahmin for having learned about him (i.e heard about Indra and imitated his observance), lest I be deprived of [my] merits gained from worshipping and gifting'"; and again in 17.35.3, y*a evaṃ viduṣo (')sādhu kīrtayatīṣṭam evāsya pūrtaṃ {māyāṃ} saṃ vṛkte* ||, "He who speaks ill of the initiated one, his merits accumulated with worship and those accumulated with gifts {[and his] magical power} are appropriated". Thus, the eating of the oxen('s meat) might be a metaphor for abusing the disguised *anaḍudvratins*. Those who do so see their merits stolen, whereas those who do not abuse them, because they know about the observance (*vijānan*), enjoy additional merits. It is the old principle of *sakraler Stehlrecht*, which I discuss in Appendix I.

At the same time, as I will suggest below, this could be a reference to the benefits that a householder would obtain by not eating his best cow but gifting her to the Vrātya host on the Ekāṣṭakā night (see §3.4 below).

**3.25.6** ~ ŚS 4.11.6

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| yena devāḥ $s_u$var āruruhur | 10(?) | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ ∪ × ] |
| hitvā śarīram amṛ̨tasya dhāma \| | 11 | [ – – ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |
| tena $g_a e_ī$ṣma sukṛ̨tasya lokaṃ | 11 | [ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – × ] |
| gharmasya vratena yaśasā $^+$tapasyayā \|\| | $13^J$ | [ – – – ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ ∪ \| – ∪ – ∪ × ] |

[That observance] by means of which the gods ascended to heaven,
to the location of immortality, after abandoning [their] body,
by means of that [observance] we would like to step into the world of merit.
By means of the observance of the *gharmá*, by means of glory, by means of heating / the practice of austerities.

devāḥ svar āruruhur] **$[Ma_1]$ $[Ma_2]$ [Ja] [Vā] $Ek_2$ $Ku_1$ V153** devā[C]svar āruruhur **$Ek_1$** devā svar āru **$Ji_3$** devāstuvārurhatar **K** • dhāma |] **$[Ma_1]$ $[Ma_2]$ [Ja] [Vā] $Ek_1$ $Ek_2$ $Ku_1$ V153** dhāmāma | **$Ji_3$** dhāma (*om.*) **K** • yaśasā] **K $[Ma_1]$ $[Ma_2]$ [Ja] [Vā] $Ek_1$ $Ek_2$ $Ji_3$ V153** ya[x]śasā **$Ku_1$** • +tapasyayā] tapasyaẏāt **$Ma_1$ $Ma_2$ V153** tapaśyaẏāt **Ja Vā $Ek_1$ $Ek_2$ $Ji_3$ $Ku_1$** tapasvyā **K** • ||] **[O]** *om*. **K**

ŚS 4.11.6
yéna devā́ḥ svàr āruruhúr
hitvā́ śárīram amṛ̨tasya nā́bhim |
téna geṣma sukṛ̨tásya lokáṃ
gharmásya vraténa tápasā yaśasyávaḥ ||

This stanza concludes the first section in both the PS and the ŚS version—although in the latter it is followed by an additional *brāhmaṇa*-style prose commentary (see below). This stanza explicitly describes the *vratins*' path, consisting of the *gharmasya vrata* as modelled after that of the gods (*devāḥ*), possibly as a spiritual path ("having abandoned the body"), and as aiming at the world of merit (*sukṛtasya lokam*), which is regarded as the abode or the location of immortality (*amṛtasya dhāman*). I will discuss this stanza at length in §3.3 below.

**b**. Note the variation between ŚS *amṛ̨tasya nā́bhim*, 'to the navel of immortality' (on this expression see Gonda 1954: 87f), and PS *amṛ̨tasya dhāma*, 'to the location of immortality' (see Gonda 1967b: 45). Lubotsky (2002a: 85) regards the latter as a "formulaic end of a Triṣṭubh verse" (cf. RV 6.21.3c, 9.94.2a, 9.97.32b. PS 20.1.3c); the same can be said of the ŚS variant (cf. RV 2.40.1d, 3.17.4d, 4.58.1d, 5.47.2b, 8.101.15b; ŚS 9.1.4a; PS 8.13.1d, 16.32.4b, 19.31.12b). In fact, there are very numerous instances of the gen. *amṛ̨tasya* followed by a disyllabic word in the cadence of a line.

**c**. On the *sukṛtasya loka* see §3.3 below.

**d**. Barret notes that the PS reading "looks like an accidental inversion of the better reading" of the ŚS. The form *tapasyayā* (the emendation is Bhattacharya's) is the instrumental of a feminine stem *tapasyā*-, which is only attested as an adjective (PW glosses it as 'aus Hitze entstanden') in KātyŚS 25.11.28, namely in the formula *tapasyābhyo 'dbhyaḥ svāhā*, one in a series of similar formulas involving the waters (e.g. *rudriyābhyo'dbhyaḥ svāhā*, *bībhatsābho'dbhyaḥ svāhā*, etc.). A noun *tapasyā*- f., 'austerity', is only attested much later (Harṣacarita, etc.). However, such a noun would be a perfectly regular and intelligible abstract derivative of the -*ya*-denominative *tapasyati* (ŚB+), 'to undergo religious austerities', meaning 'the practice of austerities'.

At the same time, given the importance of "heat" in the Gharma ritual and the fact that the students who undergo the *avāntaradīkṣā* need to accumulate the heat of the sun (see §3.1, §3.2), it may be advisable to keep in mind that *tapasyati* and *tapasyā* are all based on *tápas*-, 'heat', and translate more literally as 'heating'.

## 2.2. The ŚS additional prose passage

Stanza 6 ends the first section in both recensions of the sūkta. However, in the ŚS we find the following additional prose passage:

**ŚS 4.11.7 [prose]**

a índro rūpéṇāgnír váhena prajā́patiḥ parameṣṭhī́ virā́ṭ |
b viśvā́nare akramata vaiśvānaré akramatānadúhy akramata |
c só ’dṛṃhayata só ’dhārayata ||7||

He is Indra by [his] form, he is Agni by means of [his] withers; [he is] Prajāpati, Parameṣṭhin, Virāj.
He approached Viśvānara, he approached Vaiśvānara, he approached the draft-ox.
He made himself firm. He held his [*vajra*].

This portion is most likely to be considered prose. However, the sequence *prajā́patiḥ parameṣṭhī́ virā́ṭ* occurs in ŚS 8.5.10c, PS 1.53.2b, and 16.27.10c, and line **b** can theoretically be divided into three 8-syllable pādas (however, without a regular Anuṣṭubh cadence).

Whitney calls this “the obscurest verse of this obscure hymn”. After editing PS 17 ch. 6, we can now say that this is one of the clearest verses.

**a**. PS 17 ch. 6’s concluding chapter (17.43) begins with a *yajus*-style prose section that contains a series of mantras, partly in the 2nd person, addressed directly to the ox/*vratin*. The two opening lines (PS 17.43.1–2) correspond word for word to PS 3.25.14 below, the prose portion that is attached to the end of our PS sūkta. The third line, instead, recalls our ŚS 4.11.7a here: PS 17.43.3, *indro (’)sīndrasya rūpam asi prajāpatir asi parameṣṭhy asi* ||, “You are Indra, you are Indra’s form, you are Prajāpati, you are Parameṣṭhin”. The idea behind these lines is that of an identification between the ox, the *vratin*, Indra, Prajāpati and Parameṣṭhin.

Gonda (1965a: 294) believed that the ox is identified with Agni, because the root *vah*- and derivatives (*váhni*-, *havyavā́hana*-, etc.) are very often employed to describe Agni’s function of conveying the oblation (but also the people who have acquired religious merits) to the world of the gods.

On the word *váha*, see my comment on PS 3.25.11 below, which describes the *váha* as the *madhyam* of the ox. PS 3.25.11 corresponds to ŚS 4.11.8. The reference to the *váha* might be the reason why this latter stanza and our prose portion are placed next to each other in the ŚS.

**b**. On the idiom *kram*- (mid.) plus the name of a deity in the loc., see my comment on PS 17.30.1. The three statements in this line recall PS 17.30–32, in which it is told that Indra (or the *vratin*) strides (*kram*- + loc.) into the domains of the three forms of the *vajra*[12] (Viṣvāsah, Viśvānara, Vaiśvānara) in an attempt to get ahold of the *vajra*. After each attempt, we find the following refrain: *sa nādhārayat*, “he (i.e. Indra) did not / he could not hold [the *vajra*] / sustain [the power of the *vajra* / the burden of the observance]”. That is why, as told in PS 17.34, Indra resorts to the draft-ox[13].

Interestingly, here we find three elements, Viṣvā́nara and Vaiśvānará followed by *anaḍvah* instead of Viśvāsah. Unlike in PS 17.30–32, the focus here is on Indra finally being able to hold the *vajra*. Therefore, our line aims to evoke the last episode, corresponding to 17.34, in which Indra resorts to the draft-ox, i.e. acquires his strength and is finally able to bear (*bhṛ*-; see my comment on

12 First presented in PS 17.27.2: *yo vajraḥ sa viśvānaro yat *tigmavīryaṃ sa viśvāṣāḍ yad* $^{+}$*dhārambhaṇaṃ sa vaiśvānaraḥ* ||, “The *vajra*, that is Viśvānara; the [top part] whose power is sharp, that is Viśvāsah; the handle, on the other hand, that is Vaiśvānara”. See also my comment on PS 3.25.3 above.

13 Note that, however, PS 17.34.1 reads *so (’)naḍvāham upādhāvat*, “He (Indra) ran to / resorted to the draft-ox”, with *upa-dhāv*- + acc., not *kram*- + loc. The lexeme *upa-dhāv*- + acc. is also used in PS 17.28.8–25 (see my comment *ad loc*.) and specifically means ‘to resort to X for help’.

PS 3.25.3d, *bibhrat*, above) the heavy burden of the *vrata* (*guru etad vratam*, in PS 17.34.1) and hold (*dhṛ*-) the *vajra*.

Clearly the two verbal forms in the last pāda, *adṛṃhayata* and *adhārayata*, refer to the same event outlined above. However, the differences in root (*dhṛ*- vs. *dṛṃh*-) and voice (act. *adhārayat* vs. mid. *adṛṃhayata*, *adhārayata*) need to be explained. The previous translators have often given a cosmic interpretation (as they did not know about the *anaḍudvrata* of PS 17 ch. 6), kept it ambiguous, or did not really distinguish the meanings of the two verbs. Weber (1898: 40–41) translated with "Er festigte (Alles), er hielt (Alles) fest"; Ludwig (1878: 534), with "der ward fest, der hielt sich"; Deussen (1894: 232), with "Er ward [der Welt] Befestiger, er der Träger"; Griffith (1895: 144), with "he firmly fortified and held securely"; Whitney (1905: 164) with "he made firm, he sustained"; Gonda (1965a: 97), with "He established; he sustained". Jamison (1983:155) takes *adṛṃhayata* as a "secondary med. intransitive generated from the fundamentally trans. act. *dṛṃhayati* 'makes firm'". She also points out (1983:95) that from a paradigmatic perspective, the root *dhṛ*- expresses the active indicative singular meaning with the stem of *dādhā́ra*, while the stem *dhāraya*- forms all kinds of other forms (indicative plural, imperfect, etc.) in complementary distribution with *dādhā́ra* (we only find the 3sg. *dhārayati* once in RV). So the two stems would be equivalent: *adhārayat* is the impf. of the presentic pf. *dādhā́ra* in the transitive meaning "to uphold". This suggests to me that the PS phrase *sa nādhārayat* (the refrain of PS 17.30–32) must imply an object, most likely the *vajra*, even if it is omitted from the text. In the case of our stanza here, I follow Kulikov's suggestion (personal comm.) that we should take *adṛṃhayata* as a direct reflexive based on the causative, "he made himself firm, he stabilised himself", and *adhārayata* as a 'possessive reflexive', "he held his [*vajra*]". Thus, in my view, the most recent translation of this passage, the one by Acharya (2013: 123), "he made [himself] firm, he sustained" is almost correct, but we need to specify the implied object: "he sustained (or rather "held, wielded") his [*vajra*]", as is clear from the narrative in PS 17 ch. 6. This also stresses the idea that Indra first had to make himself firm (*adṛṃhayata*) by acquiring the strength of the ox, before he could hold the *vajra*.

## 2. 3. Second section

In this section we no longer find explicit references to the *gharmásya vratá*. The attention rather shifts to the twelve *vrátyā* nights.

The direct textual connections with PS 17 ch. 6 are also fewer (with the exception of PS 3.25.13 and 14—both absent from the ŚS), which also suggests that this part of the sūkta deals with something different.

Moreover, whereas all the stanzas in the first sections were composed of eleven- or twelve-syllable lines, mostly with Triṣṭubh cadence, all the stanzas in this section are composed in the octosyllabic Anuṣṭubh metre.

**3.25.7** ~ ab: ŚS 4.11.11ab; cd: PS only (but cf. ŚS 4.11.11cd)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | $d_u$vādaś$_a$ai$_e$tā rātrīr | 8# | [ ∪ – ∪ ∪ \| – – – × ] |
| b | vratyā āhuḥ prajāpateḥ \| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | tatrāpi brahmaṇo vrataṃ | 8 | [ – – ∪ – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| d | tatrāpy anaḍuho balam \|\| | 8 | [ – – ∪ ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

These [well-known] nights are twelve:
They call [them] the [nights] dedicated to the observance of Prajāpati.
On that occasion too [takes place] the observance of the *bráhman*.

On that occasion too [one finds] the strength of the draft-ox.

N.B. Pādas **cd** are missing in **K**. The copyist's eye must have skipped from **7b** *prajāpateḥ* to **8a** *prajāpater*.

---

dvādaśaitā] **K** dvādaśa itā **Ma₁ Ma₂ Ja Vā Ek₂ V153** dvādaśaẏitā **Ek₁ Ku₁** dvādaśa ītā **Ji₃** • rātrir vrātyā āhuḥ] **[Ma₁] [Ma₂]** ratrī vratyā āhuḥ **Vā** ratrīdvratyā āhuḥ **Ja Ek₁ Ek₂ Ku₁ V153** ratrīdvratyā hu **Ji₃** rārvartyāhuḥ **K** • prajāpateḥ |] **[O]** (*cf.* prajāpater *in 8a*) **K** • tatrāpi] **[O]** *om*. **K** • brahmaṇo vrataṃ] **[O]** *om*. **K** • tatrāpy anaḍuho] **[Ma₁] [Ma₂] [Ja] [Vā] Ek₁ Ji₃ V153** tatrāpy anaṛuho **Ek₂ Ku₁** *om*. **K** • balaṃ] (=valaṃ) **Ja Vā Ek₁ Ek₂ Ji₃ Ku₁ V153** vaḷaṃ **Ma₁ Ma₂** *om*. **K** • ||] **[O]** *om*. K

ŚS 4.11.11
dvā́daśa vā́ etā́ rā́trīr
vrátyā āhuḥ prajā́pateḥ |
tátrópa bráhma yó véda
tád vā́ anaḍúho vratám ||

I discuss the topic of this stanza at greater length in §3.4 below.

**a**. ŚS has an additional *vā́* (=*vaí*) in the opening, which yields a regular Anuṣṭubh line only if we neglect to restore the initial syllable of *d(u)vā́daśa*, which, however, is normally quadrisyllabic.

The pronoun *etā*(*ḥ*) has here a cataphoric function: it refers to pāda **b**. Hence I translate with "these". At the same time it might indicate that its referent is "well known" to the listener.

**cd**. The adverb *tatra* seems to have a temporal meaning here: 'then, on that occasion'. This means that during the twelve nights, the observance of the *bráhman* takes place, and the strength of the draft-ox is to be found.

Notably, *tatra* is followed by the conjuction *api*, 'too, as well'. As I will suggest in §3.4, this seems to imply that we are dealing with two events: on both of those occasions the *brahmaṇo vratam* (it is not clear what this refers to) and the *anaḍuho balam* took place; the latter expression must stand for *anaduḍvrata*, as the purpose of such observance is to acquire the strength of the draft-ox (also note that ŚS 4.11.11d has *anaḍúho vratám*!). Perhaps the first of these two occasions was the event described in the first section, in which the observance of the draft-ox took the form of the *gharmásya vrata*. Now it is said that a second occasion corresponds to the twelve nights.

**3.25.8** ab: PS only; cd: ŚS 4.11.11cd

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | yās ta āhuḥ prajāpater | 8 | [ – ∪ – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| b | vratyā rātrīr d$_u$vādaśa \| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | tatrāpi brahma yo veda | 8# | [ – – ∪ – \| ∪ – – × ] |
| d | tad vā *anaḍuho balam \|\| | 8 | [ – – ∪ ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

[Those] which they say [belong] to Prajāpati,
the nights of the observance are twelve.
He who knows the *bráhman* (i.e. is initiated) on that occasion too,
he is (i.e. he embodies / acquires) the strength of the draft-ox.

N.B. The lacuna in **K** continues up to *prajāpater* in pāda **a**. I illustrate the lacuna in table 2 (below). The fact that **K** also contains pāda **8b** shows that **K** is not influenced by the ŚS (if that were true, **K** would continue from **7b** to **8c**), but that it simply features a lacuna caused by eye-skip.

---

yās ta āhuḥ] **[Ma$_1$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$ V153** yās tā āhuḥ **Ma$_2$** yās ta āhaḥ **Ji$_3$** *om*. **K** • prajāpater vratyā] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$]** prajāpatedvratyā **Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** prajāpatedvatyā **Ja Vā** • rātrīr dvādaśa] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$]** rātrī dvādaśa **K Vā Ja Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** rātrīddvādaśa **Ek$_2$** • |] **[O]** *om*. **K** • tatrāpi] **[O]** tad vāpi **K** • brahma yo veda] **Vā Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ V153** vrahma yo veda **K** brahmaṇo veda **Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$ Ek$_1$ Ku$_1$** braḥma(ṇo→)yo veta **Ja** • tad vā *anaḍuho] tadvā ’naḍuho **Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$ Ja Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$** tadvā ’nuḍuho **Ku$_1$** tadvānaḍuho **Vā V153** tadvānaṛuho **Ek$_2$** tadvānuḍuhau **K** • balaṃ] **K [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ V153** baḷaṃ **Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$** baṃlaṃ **Ku$_1$** • ||] **[O]** *om*. **K**

ŚS 4.11.11
*dvā́daśa vā́ etā́ rā́trīr*
*vrátyā āhuḥ prajā́pateḥ* |
tátrópa bráhma yó véda
tád vā́ anaḍúho vratám ||

It is hard to determine whether ŚS 4.11.11 was composed after the two PS stanzas, or if the two PS stanzas are an expansion of the one stanza preserved in the ŚS. Note that the ŚS phrase *anaḍúho vratám*, so clearly recalling PS 17 ch.6, actually never occurs in the PS version of the sūkta, where it is replaced by *anaḍuho balam*. It is perhaps possible that *balam* is the original reading of 3.25.7d and has replaced *vratam* in 3.25.8d out of perseveration. On the other hand, although the ‘strength’ of the draft-ox is, in fact, what Indra aims to obtain in PS 17 ch.6 in order to ‘bear’ (*bhṛ*-) the *vrata*/*vajra*, the word *bala*- never actually occurs in that text.

**b**. Note the inversion in the word order as compared to PS 3.25.7a. In the latter line, the predicate expressing the new information (*dvā́daśa*) was fronted (and in the ŚS regularly marked by *vaí*). Here we have the normal word order: subject (*vratyā rātrīr*) followed by predicate (*dvādaśa*).

**d**. Bhattacharya correctly emends to *vā *anaḍuho*. The original phrase *vai* + *anaḍuho*, in sandhi *vā anaḍuho*, must have been corrupted by double sandhi to *vānaḍuho*; however, part of the tradition (see mss. **Ma$_1$**, **Ma$_2$**, **Ja**, **Ek$_1$**, **Ji$_3$**, **Ku$_1$**) seems to have been aware that a vowel was missing and must have inserted the *avagraha* exactly to point that out. Otherwise the presence of the *avagraha* in the mss. is unexplained. A similar case is found in the transmission of pāda a of the following stanza. Comparison with the ŚS as well as metrical considerations suggest that *vā* is very unlikely to be the adversative conjunction meaning ‘or’; rather, it must be the sandhi form of *vaí*.

In this line, *tad* must be neuter simply out of attraction to *balam* (***sa vā anaḍuho balam* would be grammatically incorrect), and it must be the correlative of *yo* in pāda **c**. Thus the sentence structure is “he who (*yaḥ*) … , he (*sa*, which becomes *tad* in agreement with *balam*) …”

| **My edition (based on O)** | **K** | **ŚS edition** |
|---|---|---|
| st. 7<br>dvādaśaitā rātrīr<br>vratyā āhuḥ prajāpateḥ \|<br>tatrāpi brahmaṇo vratam<br>tatrāpy anaḍuho balam \|\| | <br>dvādaśaitā rār<br>vartyāhuḥ prajāpa... | st. 11<br>dvā́daśa vā́ etā́ rā́trīr<br>vrátyā āhuḥ prajā́pateḥ \| |
| st. 8<br>yās ta āhuḥ prajāpater<br>vratyā rātrīr dvādaśa \|<br>tatrāpi brahma yo veda<br>tad vā *anaḍuho balam \|\| | <br>… … … …ter<br>vratyā rātrī dvādaśa<br>tad vāpi vrahma yo veda<br>tad vānuḍuhau balaṃ | <br><br><br>tátrópa bráhma yó véda<br>tád vā́ anaḍúho vratám \|\| |

Table 2. Synopsis of PS st. 7 and 8, and ŚS st. 11.

**3.25.9** ~ ŚS 4.11.12

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | duhe vā *anaḍvān sāyaṃ | 8# | [ ∪ – – ∪ \| – – – × ] |
| b | duhe prātar duhe divā \| | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | dohā ye asya saṃyanti | 8# | [ – – – – \| ∪ – – × ] |
| d | tān vidmānupadasvataḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – – – ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

The draft-ox milks out in the evening.
He milks out in the early morning. He milks out during the daytime.
His milkings which come together,
we know them as inexhaustible.

vā *anaḍvān] vā'naḍvān **Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$** vānaḍvān **Ja Ek$_1$ Ku$_1$** vānaṛvān **Ek$_2$** vānaḍvāna **K Vā Ji$_3$ V153** • sāyaṃ] **K** sāẏaṃ **[O]** • \|] **[O]** *om*. **K** • ye asya] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$** ye asya[x] **Ku$_1$** [x](→ *subs*. [x]→ *s.s.*)ye asya **V153** ye sya **K** • saṃyanti] **[O]** sayantā **K** • tān] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ V153** tāna **Ku$_1$** • vidmānupadasvataḥ] vidvānupadasvataḥ **Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$ Ja Vā Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$ V153** viddvānupadasvataḥ **Ek$_2$** vindānupadasvataḥ **Ku$_1$** vidmānupadasyataḥ **K** • \|\|] **[O]** *om*. K

ŚS 4.11.12
duhé sāyáṃ duhé prātár
duhé madhyáṃdinaṃ pári \|
dóhā yé asya saṃyánti
tấn vidmấnupadasvataḥ \|\|

This is the concluding stanza of the ŚS recension.

**ab**. Bhattacharya correctly edits *vā *anaḍvān*. See my comment on pāda **d** of the preceding stanza.

On the semantics of *duh*-, see my comment on PS 3.25.2 above.

Note the different phrasing of the ŚS, which however expresses the same meaning as the PS version.

Early morning, midday and evening are the moments when the three daily pressings of soma take place on the pressing-days (*sutyāha*) of a soma ritual. This seems to support the view that the celebration of the twelve nights involved a Sattra and thus the pressing of soma.

**cd**. The milkings of the draft-ox (i.e. the rewards of the observance) are of course those mentioned in 3.25.2 above, namely *yajña* and *dakṣiṇā*, or rather the merits gained from *yajña* and *dakṣiṇā*, i.e. the *iṣṭāpūrta*- that the *vratin*s are able to snatch away (*apa*/*sam*-*vṛj*-) from their detractors by means of the *anaḍudvrata*, and which allow them to reach the *sukṛtasya loka*.

However, on the *dohas* see also the following stanza.

The formation *ánupadasvant*- first occurs in the AV. Compare in particular ŚS 7.80.2ab (To the night or goddess of full moon), *vṛṣabháṃ vājínaṃ vayáṃ paurṇamāsáṃ yajāmahe \| sá no dadātv ákṣitāṃ rayím ánupadasvatīm*), "We sacrifice to the vigorous bull of the full moon; let him give us unexhausted unfailing wealth" (Whitney). Other occurrences are: ŚS 2.36.5ab ~ PS 2.21.5ab, *bhágasya nấvam ấ roha pūrṇấm ánupadasvatīm*, "Ascend thou the boat of Bhaga, full, unfailing" (Whitney); and the next stanza, 3.25.10 ~ ŚS 4.11.9.

**3.25.10** ~ ŚS 4.11.9

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | yo vedānaḍuho dohān | 8 | [ – – – ∪ \| ∪ – – × ] |
| | sapt$_a$ā$_a$nupadasvataḥ \| | 8 | [ – ∪ ∪ ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | prajāṃ ca lokaṃ cāpnoti | 8 | [ ∪ – ∪ – \| – – – × ] |
| | tathā saptarṣayo viduḥ \|\| | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

He who knows the milkings of the draft-ox,
seven, inexhaustible,
he obtains both progeny and the world.
Thus know the seven sages.

yo vedānaḍuho] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** yo vedānaṛuho **Ek$_2$** ye devānaḍuho **K** • dohān] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ V153** dohāna **Ek$_1$ Ku$_1$** • saptānupadasvataḥ] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ V153** saptānr̥pada[x]svataḥ **Ji$_3$** sa[x]ptānupadasvataḥ **Ku$_1$** asvapnānupadasyaca **K** • \|] **[O]** *om*. **K** • prajāṃ ca] (*vs*. prajāmca Barret) **K** prajāñca **O** • saptarṣayo] **K** saptarṣayo **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$** sapta(r̥→)rṣayo **Vā** saptar̥ṣayo **Ja** saptaruṣayo **Ji$_3$** saptar(*subs*.→ ru)ṣayo **V153** • \|\|] **[O]** *om*. **K**

ŚS 4.11.9
yó védānadúho dóhān
saptā́nupadasvataḥ \|
prajā́ṃ ca lokáṃ cāpnoti
táthā saptar̥ṣáyo viduḥ \|\|

I discuss this stanza in §3.3 below.

**3.25.11** ~ ŚS 4.11.8

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | madhyam etad anaḍuho | 8# | [ – ∪ – ∪ \| ∪ ∪ ∪ × ] |
| b | yatraiṣa vaha āhitaḥ \| | 8 | [ – – ∪ ∪ \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | etāvad asya prācīnaṃ | 8# | [ – – ∪ – \| ∪ – – × ] |
| d | yāvān pratyaṅ samāhitaḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

This is the centre of the ox,
[namely] where those withers are located.
So much of him [the ox] is in front [of the withers],
as much as he is put together / located behind [the withers].

etad] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ V153** ed **Ku$_1$** • anaḍuho] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$** anaṛuho **Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$** anuḍuho **V153** • yatraiṣa] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ V153** yacatraiṣa **Ku$_1$** yata iṣa **K** • vaha āhitaḥ] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja]** va āhitaḥ **Vā Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** vāhitaḥ **K** • prācīnaṃ] **[O]** prācīna **K** • yāvān] yāvān, **[O]** yāvāṅ **K** • pratyaṅ samāhitaḥ] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$** pratyaṅ, samāhitaḥ **V153** pratyaṅgā samāhitaḥ **Ek$_2$** • \|\|] **[O]** *om*. **K**

ŚS 4.11.8
mádhyam etád anaḍúho
yátraiṣá váha ā́hitaḥ \|
etā́vad asya prācī́naṃ
yā́vān pratyáṅ samā́hitaḥ \|\|

**ab**. Previous translators have oscillated between various interpretations of *váha*- as the yoke, a body part of the ox, or his ability to carry and draw weights. Gonda (1965a: 294) was particularly

supportive of this latter interpretation, and commenting on Ś 4.11.7 *agnír váhena*, translates it as "Agni by his drawing (conducting) function" (1965a: 97). In both ŚS 4.11.7 and 8, Whitney translates with "carrying"; he employs the same literal translation for the occurrence of *váha* in ŚS 9.7.3 (~ PS 16.139.3), but in his comments explains it as "properly the 'carrying' part, that on which the yoke rests". Spiers (in prep.) points out that ŚS 9.7 features *váha* among a long list of the oxen body parts, which excludes other interpretations. ŚS 9.7.3 reads: *vidyúj jihvā́ marúto dántā revátir grīvā́ḥ kr̥ttikā́ skandhā́ gharmó váhaḥ* ||, "His tongue is the lightning bolt, his teeth are the Maruts, his neck is the constellation Reváti, his shoulders are the constellation of the Kr̥ttikās, his withers (*váha*) are the *gharmá*" (my transl.). This line shows that the *váha* is distinguished from the neck (*grīvā́*) and the shoulders (*skandhá*); the hump (*kakúd*) is also distinguished in ŚS 9.7.5. Thus, it must indicate the withers, i.e. the area between the shoulders, above the neck, and below the hump, where commonly, and even more so in the case of the Indian humped oxen, the so-called "withers yoke" is placed.

The "middle part" (*madhyam*) of the ox is mentioned in PS 17 ch. 6 (in a section that, much like ŚS 9.7 ~ PS 16.139, contains a long list of equations between the ox's body parts with deities, cosmic elements or ritual implements): PS 17.38.3–6, *yo (')sya dakṣiṇo (')rdhas tau śāradau māsau yaḥ savyas tau haimanau || yo (')sya jaghanārdhas tau śaiśirau māsau yaḥ pūrvārdhas tau vāsantau || yad asya pr̥ṣṭhaṃ tau graiṣmau māsau yan madhyaṃ tau vārṣikau || saṃvatsaro vā eṣa saṃbhr̥to yad anaḍvān yad anaḍudvratī* ||, "His right side, that is the two months of autumn; [his] left [side], that is the two [months] of winter. His hind side, that is the two months of the cool season; [his] front part, that is the two [months] of spring. His back, that is the two months of summer; [his] middle part (*madhyam*), that is the two [months] of the rainy season. Taken all together, this, the draft-ox, the one who practices the observance of the draft-ox, is the full year" (my transl.). However, it is unclear whether this middle part is to be identified with the same *madhyam* of our sūkta and thus with the *váha*.

In PS 17 ch. 6, the *váha* is mentioned as the part that embodies the essence of the strength of the ox. In fact, in PS 17.35.5 it is said that Indra acquired the ox's power with the following words: *so (')naḍuho vahe (')kramata *sarvāṃl lokān prājānāt* ||, "He strode onto the withers of the draft-ox. He foreknew the way to every place". The lexeme *kram-* + loc. is the same that was used to describe Indra's previous (failed) attempts to get ahold of the *vajra*/lightning bolt by following it along its downward path and striding into the three domains of its three forms: Viśvāsah, the sharp-rimmed top of the *vajra* mace in the sky (PS 17.30; PS 17.28.2b); Viśvānara, the body of the *vajra* mace in the atmosphere (PS 17.31; PS 17.28.2a); and Vaiśvānara, the handle of the *vajra* mace in the wind (PS 17.32; PS 17.28.2c). After each attempt it is said that Indra *sa nādhārayat*, "He could not hold [it]". In 17.34.5, however, he finally resorts to the draft-ox (17.34.2), strides onto his withers (17.35.5), and, as ŚS 4.11.7 remarks, *só 'dhr̥ṃhayata só 'dhārayata*, "He made himself firm, he held his [*vajra*]" (cf. 17.28.31, *tam ādatta taṃ paruṣy ādhatta*, "He (Indra) took it (the *vajra*), he put it on [his arm's] joint"). PS 17 ch. 6 highlights the importance of the *váha* again in PS 17.43.5, *yenāsya vahas tena yajño yena vahati tena lokaḥ* ||, "By the fact that he has the withers, he is the ritual worship; by the fact that he hauls, he is the world".

Thus, the *váha* is *madhyam* not so much because of its location (in fact, it is technically rather forward in the anatomy of the animal), but because it represents the essence, the centre of its power.

**cd.** The phrasing of these pādas is enigmatic. The enclitic *asya* must refer to the ox or to the *váha*, but *pracīnam* can't, as it is neuter. It could, however, be an adverb. The words *pratyāṅ* and *samāhitaḥ* are both masculine, and thus most likely refer to the ox. It seems that the poet is playing with the paradox that the *váha* is not located at the anatomical centre of the ox, and yet it represents his centre, as it houses its strength. Thus, he the pādas might state the paradox that "so much of him [the ox] is in front [of the withers], as much as he is put together/located, behind [the withers]".

Compare also the following statement contained in the same section of PS 17 ch. 6 which

lists numerous sacred equations concerning the ox's body parts: PS 17.40.7–8, *yad asya prācīnaṃ nābhyās tena dviṣantam ā viśati || atha yad asya pratīcīnaṃ nābhyās tena mṛtyuṃ nāṣṭrām avartiṃ tarati || pra patho ⁺devayānāñ jānāti ya (evaṃ vidvān anaḍuho vrataṃ bibharti)* ||, "The part [of his belly] to the front of his (the draft-ox's) navel, with that he (the *vratin*) takes control of [his] hater. Moreover, the part [of his belly] to the back of his (the draft-ox's) navel, with that he (the *vratin*) overcomes death, calamity, misfortune. He foreknows the paths of the gods, he who (knowing so, "bears" the observance of the draft-ox)". The phrasing is similar to that of our stanza. Could the navel (*nābhi*) mentioned here stand metaphorically for 'essence', i.e. the *madhyam*, the centre of the ox's power, which would be located not in the actual navel, but in the ox's withers, the *vaha-* according to our stanza? It is true that the metaphor of the navel meaning something's centre is frequent (see e.g. the phrase *amṛ́tasya nā́bhi* in ŚS 4.11.6), but given that PS 17.40 is found within the section containing the long list of the ox's body parts, I think that it is more likely that *nābhi* carries the concrete meaning 'navel' there.

**3.25.12** ~ ŚS 4.11.10

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | padbhiḥ sedim avakrāmann | 8# | [ – – – ∪ \| ∪ – – × ] |
| b | irāṃ jaṅghābhir utkhidan \| | 8 | [ ∪ – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |
| c | śrameṇānaḍvān kīlālaṃ | 8# | [ ∪ – – – \| – – – × ] |
| d | kīnāśaś cābhi gachataḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ∪ – ∪ × ] |

Treading down weariness with [his] feet,
extracting refreshment with [his] hind ankles,
with toil the draft-ox and the ploughman
obtain the *kīlāla* drink.

padbhiḥ] **[O]** padbhis **K** • sedim avakrāmann irāṃ] sedim avakrāmaṃn irāṃ **Ek₁ Ku₁** sedim avamakrāmaṃn irāṃ **Ma₂** sedi(v ama→)m avakrāmaṃ **Ma₁** sediv amakrāmaṃn irāṃ **[Vā]? Ja Ek₂ Ji₃ V153** sedhim amakrāmaṃn irāṃ **K** • jaṅghābhir] jaṃghābhir **K**[14] **Ma₁ Ma₂ Ja Vā Ek₁ Ek₂ Ku₁ V153** jaghāṃbhir **Ji₃** • utkhidan] utkhidaṃ **[O]** ukṣida **K** • |] *om*. **K** • śrameṇānaḍvān] śrameṇānaḍvān, **[Ma₁] [Ma₂] [Ja] [Vā] Ek₁ Ji₃ V153** śrameṇānaṛvān, **Ek₂** śrameṇānaṛvāna **Ku₁** śrameṇānaḍvāṇa **K** • kīnāśaś cābhi] kīnāsaś cābhi **O** kīnāśasya upa **K** • gachata] **[O]** gacchata **K** • ||] **[O]** | **K**

ŚS 4.11.10
padbhíḥ sedím avakrā́mann
írāṃ jáṅghābhir utkhidán |
śrámeṇānaḍvā́n kīlā́laṃ
kīnā́śaś cābhí gachataḥ ||

Bhattacharya's edition reads *gacchataḥ* in pāda **d**.

**a**. On *sedí-* see Griffiths's (2009: 445–446) comment on PS 7.19.7.

**b**. On the lexeme *ut-khid-* see Spiers's (in prep.) comment on this stanza.

The *jaṅghās* (usually found in the dual) are not the 'shanks', as in later Sanskrit (where the word replaced Vedic *asthīvá(nt)-* 'shank of the hind leg', which dies out after the Brāhmaṇas), but rather the 'ankles of the hind legs' (see Lubotsky 2002b).

**d**. Note that the two present participles *avakrāman* and *utkhidan* are both singular, and only the last verb (*gachataḥ*) is dual.

14 Barret incorrectly reads *jaṅghābhir*.

On the *kīnāśa*, ‘ploughman’, see my discussion in §3.6 below.

## 2.4. The additional PS portions

**3.25.13** PS only

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | indra eṣa manuṣyeṣ$_{u}$v | 8# | [ – ᴜ – ᴜ \| ᴜ – – ᴜ ] |
| b | anaḍvān it$_{i}$y ucyate \| | 8 | [ ᴜ – – ᴜ \| ᴜ – ᴜ – ] |
| c | śaphāso asya mā *riṣan | 8 | [ ᴜ – ᴜ – \| ᴜ – ᴜ – ] |
| d | sarvā yāś cāsya kuṣṭhikāḥ \|\| | 8 | [ – – – – \| ᴜ – ᴜ – ] |

That one is Indra, among humans,
he is called “draft-ox”.
May his hooves not get injured,
nor all the dewclaws that he has.

indra] **[O]** i **K** • eṣa] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$** eṣu **V153** • anaḍvān] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** anaṛvān **Ek$_2$** • ity ucyate] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$ V153** ityu(//)tyucyate **Ji$_3$** • |] **[O]** *om*. **K** • śaphāso asya] **Vā Ji$_3$** śa[C]āso asya **Ek$_2$** śaphāso (’→)asya **V153** śaphāso ’sya **Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$ Ja Ek$_1$ Ku$_1$** śaphasomya **K**[15] • mā *riṣan] mārṣaṃ **O** pārṣaṃ **K** • yāś cāsya] **K** yāsyāsya **O** • kuṣṭhikāḥ] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** ku(ṣṭhi→)ṣṭikāḥ **Vā** kuṣṭhinaḥ **K** • ||] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$ V153** | **Ji$_3$** *om*. **K**

This stanza is only present in the PS. Thematically it seems related to PS 3.25.5 (~ ŚS 4.11.3), *indra eṣa manuṣ$_{i}$yeṣv antar gharmas taptaś carati śośucānaḥ* |, “This one (i.e. the draft-ox, the *vratin*) is Indra, he goes about (i.e. he practises the observance) among humans as a heated *gharmá* pot, constantly glowing bright”—and thus to PS 17.35.2, *kṛtyā vā eṣā manuṣyeṣu carati yad anaḍvān yad anaḍudvratī*, “This is witchcraft, when, as a draft-ox, as one practising the observance of the draft-ox, one wanders among humans”.

Because of this thematic connection, and because the Kashmirian version begins with a single “*i*” instead of “*indra*”, Barret (1912: 372) regared it as “an incomplete bit of commentary belonging to st. 3 [=ŚS 4.11.3]”. Notably, as illustrated in Table 3 below, said “*i*” stands at the end of the penultimate line of the page (line 17; the final line, line 18, begins with *eṣa*). Thus, Barret entertained the idea that the “*i*” stood for the initial word of the next stanza (*indro balenāsya*...), and that the rest of the text found in the last line (line 18) could have been a scholium in the manuscript from which **K** was copied.

| | |
|---|---|
| f56a line 17 | rukṣidaśrameṇāḍvāṇakīlālaṃkīnāśasyaupagacchata \| i |
| f56a line 18 | eṣa manuṣyeṣv anaṣvān ity ucyate śapha somya pārṣaṃ |
| | |
| f56b line 1 | kuṣṭhinaḥ indro balenāsya parameṣṭhī vratenāina gaus tena vaiśvadevāḥ |

Table 3. Reproduction of the position of PS 3.25.13 in the Kashmirian ms.

However, where **K** reads “*i*”, the **O** mss. have “*indra*”. This suggests that **K**’s copyist might simply have forgotten an akṣara *ndra* near the margin.

15 Bhattacharya incorrectly transcribes *sobhya*.

At any rate, the absence of this stanza from the ŚS version, its position near the end of the hymn, and its thematic connection with the first section of the sūkta rather than with the second, all speak in favour of considering it a secondary addition.

**c**. The emendation to **riṣan* was proposed by Bhattacharya. The reading *mārṣam* with omission of *i* for original *mā riṣam* is common: see Ved. Var. II p. 341 §753 (which also cites KauśS *tārṣat* for *tāriṣat*). Spiers (in prep.) has collected several cases from PS book 3 in her comment on this stanza.

**d**. With regards to the syntax of this pāda and the collocation *sárva- yá-*, Spiers (in prep.) compares ŚS 1.15.2cd (~ PS 1.24.4cd), *ihaítu sárvo yáḥ paśúr asmín tiṣṭhatu yā́ rayíḥ* (PS: *asya vardhayatā rayim*), "Let every beast there is come hither; let what wealth there is stay with him (PS: increase his wealth)".

### 3.25.14 **[prose]** PS only ~ PS 17.43.1–2

a indro balenāsi parameṣṭhī vratena yena gaus tena vaiśvadevaḥ |
b yo (')smān dveṣṭi yaṃ (**K**: ca) vayaṃ dviṣmas tasya prāṇān saṃ *vr̥ha tasya prāṇān vi vr̥ha ||

By strength you are Indra, by means of [your] observance [you are] Parameṣṭhin; by the fact that you are a bovine, you belong to the All-gods.
The one who hates us, (and) the one we hate, tear out his life-breaths altogether, tear his life-breaths apart.

indro] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$ V153** īndro **Ji$_3$** • balenāsi] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** balenāś(ī →)i **Ek$_2$** balenāsya **K**[16] • parameṣṭhī] **K [Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$ V153** parameṣṭhi **Ji$_3$** • vratena yena gaus] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ V153** vratena yena 'gaus **Ku$_1$** vratenaina gaus **K** • vaiśvadevaḥ] **[O]** vaiśvadevāḥ **K** • |] **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** || **Ek$_1$** *om*. **K** • yo (')smān] yo smān **K** yo 'smāṃ **Ma$_1$ Ma$_2$ Ja Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ V153** yo (asmān,→)'smāṃ **Vā** yo smāṃ **Ek$_1$ Ku$_1$** • yaṃ (ca) vayaṃ] yaṃ vaẏaṃ **Ek$_1$** ẏaṃ vaẏaṃ **Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** **([Ma$_1$]? [Ma$_2$]? [Ja]? [Vā]?)**[17] yaṃ ca vaya **K** • dviṣmas] **[O]** dviṣsas **K** • prāṇan] prānān, **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ku$_1$ V153** prāṇāna **Ek$_2$ Ji$_3$** prāṇāna **K** • saṃ *vr̥ha tasya] saṃ vr̥hat tasya **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] [Vā] Ek$_1$ Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$ V153** saṃ vr̥has tasya **Ek$_2$** sa vahes tasya **K** • prāṇān] **K** prāṇan, **[Ma$_1$] [Ma$_2$] [Ja] V153** prāṇan,[x] **Ek$_1$** prāṇāna **Vā Ji$_3$ Ku$_1$** [C]ṇāna **Ek$_2$** • vi vr̥ha] **[O]** vi varhaḥ **K** • ||] **([Mā1]? [Mā2]? [Ja]? [Vā]?)** || ru 14 || 25 || **Ek$_1$** || ru 14 || 25 || a 5 || **Ek$_2$ Ku$_1$** || 25 || ru 4(→*s.s.* 14) || 5 a || **Ji$_3$** ||[?] (*space*) || ru 14 || 25 || (//) || a 5 || **V153** Z 5 Z a 5 Z **K**

PS 17.43.1–2
indro balenāsi parameṣṭhī vratena yena gaus tena vaiśvadevaḥ |
yo (')smān dveṣṭi yaṃ (**K**: ca) vayaṃ dviṣmas tasya prāṇān saṃ vr̥ha tasya prāṇān vi vr̥ha ||

Bhattacharya's edition reads *yo asmān* (but *yosmān* in PS 17.43.2) and *saṃ bṛhat*.

This prose passage is taken from the final, partly *yajus*-style section (17.43) of PS 17 ch. 6, in which the ox (or the *vratin*) is addressed directly. I refer to my edition for further comments. The position of this passage at the end of the sūkta suggests that it is a secondary addition. At the same

16 Bhattacharya incorrectly reads *valenāsya*.

17 Note that all of my **O** mss. read *dveṣṭi ẏaṃ vaẏaṃ* with the exception of **Ek$_1$**, which has *dveṣṭi yaṃ vaẏaṃ*. The same is true for my mss. containing the parallel from PS 17.43, with only the exception of **JM$_3$**,which has *dveṣṭi y(i→)aṃ vaẏaṃ*. In my comment on the PS 17.43 parallel, I have suggested that this might be due to the fact that since this was a very frequent formula, it was pronounced as one single continuous utterance, in which the sequence *dveṣṭiẏaṃ* was not perceived as two separate words.

time, the borrowing of this passage from PS 17 ch. 6 proves beyond doubt that the two texts were learned and employed together.

**b**. Both here and in the parallel in PS 17.43.2, the Kashmirian ms. adds the conjunction *ca* between *yaṃ* and *vayaṃ*, whereas the same conjunction is absent from all the **O** mss. It is hard to decide for one or the other reading. This is a very frequent formula, and in almost all of the AV occurrences there is no *ca*: ŚS 2.11.3, 2.19–23, 3.25.1–6, 7.81.5, 10.5.15–21, 25–35, 16.1.5, 16.7.5; PS 1.57.3, 1.63.4, 2.48.1–5, 3.24.1–6, 16.129.1–10, 16.131.1–11, 16.132.1, 18.44.2, 19.2.12, 19.5.12, 20.29.6, 20.43.6, 20.44.3–7, 20.54.10). However, our variant with *ca* is not a unique case. We find it once in PS 16.52.2c, and not infrequently in other texts: KauśS, MS, TS, VS, BŚS, and other Śrautasūtras. Of course, one could consider the influence of some other text on the Kashmirian tradition, but this is hard to demonstrate. Also, the same observation that this *ca* almost never occurs in the AV could compel us to consider **K**'s reading as the *lectio difficilior*, as the **O** tradition could have simply levelled out the reading on the more common model of this formula without *ca* in the AV. I would be ready to dismiss it as an innovation if it occurred only here, but this *ca* is found also in **K**'s version of PS 17.43.3, which suggests that (at least for the Kashmirian tradition) it is not accidental, but truly part of the tradition of the texts connected to the *anaḍudvrata*. Thus, I signal **K**'s variant between round brackets in the edited text.

Both our manuscript readings as well as the readings of the mss. of PS 17.43.2 (*yo 'smāṃ dveṣṭi* **V122**, *yosmāndveṣṭi* **K Mā Ja**, *yosmāṃ dveṣṭi* **Ma**, *yosmādeṣṭi* **V71**, *yosmāṃ dveṣṭi* **JM$_3$ Ji$_4$ Pa$_c$**) confirm that the PS archetype most probably read *yo smān*.

My emendation to *saṃ *vṛha tasya* (against Bhattacharya's *saṃ bṛhat tasya*) is supported by the parallel in PS 17.43.2 (where Bhattacharya also edits *saṃ vṛha tasya*). The mss. readings are the following: *saṃ vṛha tasya* **[Mā] JM$_3$ [Ma] Pa$_c$**, *saṃ vṛhattasya* **V71 Ja V122**, *saṃ vṛhaṃ tasya* **Ji$_4$**, *sambaṛha tasya* **K**.

Compare also the use of *apa-vṛj-* in PS 17 ch. 6.

## 3. Interpretation

Acharya (2013) claimed that PS 17 ch. 6 and our sūkta both deal with the archaic *govrata* that also informed the Pāśupata cult. After carrying out the above textual comparison, we can say that he was correct. Not only does the expression *anaḍudvratam* of PS 17 ch. 6 correspond to the *anaḍúho vratám* of ŚS 4.11.11d (corresponding to the *anaḍuho balam* of PS 3.25.7d, 8d), but reading our sūkta side by side with PS 17 ch. 6 allows us to clarify a great number of points in the text that appeared obscure to previous editors and translators. There is no doubt that the two texts are related and deal with the same topic.

Yet, there are several points that we have not been able to explain by simple textual comparison, because they are not prominent in PS 17 ch. 6. Among these is the significance of the two other references to *vratas* in the sūkta: the *gharmásya vratá* of ŚS 4.11 ~ PS 3.25.6; and the twelve nights of the *vrata* (*vrátyāḥ*) of Prajāpati mentioned in ŚS 4.11.11 ~ PS 3.25.7–8.

If the main focus of the hymn is the observance of the draft-ox, then what are these other two *vratas*? Are these are simply two expressions that refer to one and the same *vrata*? Are these *vratas* really the same as the archaic *govrata* described by Acharya? Do they refer to two different *vratas*, or perhaps to different moments or stages in the performance of the archaic *govrata*?

### 3.1. The *gharmásya vratá*

The first section of the hymn contains several references to the *gharmá*. In PS 3.25.4d (ŚS 3.25.5d), we are presented with a riddle: "who is the *gharmá* that really is four-footed (*catuṣpāt*)?"

The answer is clearly the draft-ox (i.e. the *vratin*), mentioned in the previous verses.

But PS 3.25.5 (ŚS 3.25.3) is even more explicit: "That one (i.e. the draft-ox, the *vratin*) is Indra; he goes about (i.e. he practises the observance) among humans as a heated *gharmá* pot, constantly glowing bright". Here the text clearly recalls the notion, expressed in PS 17 ch. 6, that the *vratin* performs among humans (PS 17.35.2, *kṛtyā vā eṣā manuṣyeṣu carati yad anaḍvān yad anaḍudvratī*, "This is witchcraft, when, as a draft-ox, as one practising the observance of the draft-ox, one wanders among humans"), the same observance that Indra first performed among the Asuras (PS 17.35.4a, *indro vā *agre (')sureṣv anaḍudvratam acarat*, "Indra, in the beginning, practised the observance of the draft-ox among the Asuras"; PāśSū 4.10, *indro vā agre asureṣu pāśupatam acarat*, "Indra in the beginning practised the Pāśupata [observance] among the Asuras").

Finally PS 3.25.6 (~ ŚS 4.11.6) enunciates the wish of the *vratins* to follow the Devas on their path to heaven, to the location of *amṛ́ta* and the *sukṛ́tasya loká*, after abandoning their bodies, and claims that this can be done through glory, asceticism, and the *gharmásya vrata*.

Gharma is the alternative name for the Pravargya ritual. What does this ritual have to do with the *anaḍudvrata*?

We find no answer in PS 17 ch. 6. However, in Appendix I, I have shown that the *anaḍudvrata/govrata* must have developed within the culture of the Vrātyas or similar warrior brotherhoods that continue the cultural institution of the Indo-European *Männerbund*. In fact, it can be shown that the Gharma ritual too features numerous traits that can be ascribed to this cultural milieu. I shall now describe the ritual, highlighting these traits.

The Gharma/Pravargya ritual has been the object of numerous studies, above all by van Buitenen (1968) and Houben (1991, 2000a, 2000b, 2007). Cf. also Oberlies 2012: 283–289. Although originally it must have been an independent ritual, in its Śrauta form, it does not take place as an independent sacrifice, but only as an episode within a larger soma sacrifice. It consists of an offering of hot milk to the Aśvins, called *gharmá*, an offering of hot curd to Indra called *dádhigharma*, and the manifacturing, heating, worshipping, and disposing of a clay pot, called either *gharmá* or *mahāvīra*, 'great hero'.[18] Its composite nature and its secondary character within the soma rituals has led scholars to speculate about its origins and its original form;[19] van Buitenen for instance assumed that it was a mix of different rituals coalesced into one. However, this is uncertain. Therefore, for the sake of this study, I will treat it as a single ritual.

The performance[20] takes place twice a day, on the mornings and evenings of the three *upasad* days that precede the day(s) of the soma pressing. The *mahāvīra* pot, which is prepared beforehand (see below), is placed on a special fire inside the *prāgvaṃśa* hut. Ghee is heated in the pot until the latter is burning red. A cow is milked and the milk is poured into the hot ghee as an offering to Indra and the Aśvins. This produces a dramatic explosion: a pillar of fire and smoke rises upwards. Ghee is poured again and a second pillar of fire arises. Then the pot is brought to the *āhavanīya* altar and the content is poured into the fire as an offering to the Aśvins. After the second performance of the third day the implements are disposed of. On the fourth day, the day of the soma pressing, another performance takes places after the Midday Laud: the Pratiprasthātṛ brings a ladle of heated curds (the *dádhigharma*) from the *āgnīdhra* altar and pours it into the *āhavanīya* fire in

18 Thus, the word *gharmá* can indicate the hot milk for the offering, the vessel in which it is heated, or the entire Pravargya ceremony (van Buitenen 1968: 1 fn. 3)

19 From the RV evidence, it would seem that the ritual was performed at dawn, right after the cows were milked (e.g. RV 5.76.1; van Buitenen 1968: 3; Houben 2000a: 10). From RV 5.30.15 we understand that the ritual pot was originally a metal kettle. Witzel (1995d: 15 fn. 93) regards the Śrauta use of clay as a deliberate attempt to make the rite look more archaic. Also, as I will remark again later, according to RV 7.103.9 the ritual originally took place at the beginning of the rainy season around the summer solstice. The RV connects the *gharmá* with the figure of Atri, who was rescued by the Aśvins (Houben 2002a: 9 with ref.). Other sources connect it to the myths of Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa, Viṣṇu or Makha, the mytheme of the beheading, and the notion of the 'head of the sacrifice' (cf. van Buitenen 1968: 16ff; Houben 1991: 26ff.; Heesterman 1967).

20 I try to provide here only a very brief summary of the essential moments of the rite.

honour of Indra.

The pillar of fire is certainly the most characteristic element of the ritual, but there are also other traits that make it stand out from the other sacrifices.

The patron's wife cannot participate. She has to hide in the *patnī-śālā* (van Buitenen 1968: 63). This strongly characterises the ritual as male-only business.

The doors to the sacrificial hut get shut (van Buitenen 1968: 63), which gives the impression that participants are conducting the performance in secret.[21]

Indeed, the Pravargya is the most prominent *āraṇyaka* rite next to the Mahāvrata, and can only be officiated by priests who have undergone a special initiation called *avāntaradīkṣā* (van Buitenen 1968: 38ff.; Houben 1991: 21ff.) which takes place in the wilderness (where the village rooftops are no longer visible) and includes a one year *vrata* during which the initiate is supposed to accumulate the heat of the sun.[22] In short, the initiate needs to heat up like the *mahāvīra* pot.

Thus, the initiate of the *avāntaradīkṣā* is not a *yájamāna*, as in the case of the normal *dīkṣā*, but a *brahmacārin*, who will then become a priest. One of the main RV sources on the Pravargya ritual is the Frog Hymn (7.103): this composition describes a group of young students returning after a year-long observance (st. 1, 9), during which they have been studying poetry with their elders (st. 3, "saying 'akhkhala'[/repeating syllables] like a son to a father (at lesson)", J-B). It is the beginning of the rainy season (st. 3), and in this context the Gharma ritual is performed (st. 8, 9). From this and other early evidence, Oberlies (2012: 283–289) has regarded the original Pravargya as an initiatory ritual and concluded: "Danach kam mit der RVschen Initiationsfeier, dem Pravargya, die erste Phase der Initiation im 16. Lebensjahr der Jugendlichen zu ihrem Ende, die der Einlernung des traditionellen Wissens der vedischen Stämme gewidmet war. Damit erlangten die Jugendlichen ihre Volljährigkeit" (p. 286). Oberlies (2012: 468 fn. 305) has noted that, according to the ĀpŚS, at the disposal ceremony of the ritual tools, these are to be deposited in the shape of a man, and has interpreted this as indicating that the young man has been constituted as an adult. Moreover, Oberlies has compared the initiation to the Pravargya with the later Upanayana ritual, and concluded that the Pravargya was a pre-form of the initiation ritual of the classical period (p. 288). Indeed, at sixteen years of age, the *brahmacārin* underwent an *avāntaradīkṣā*, followed by four years in the wilderness, during which he let his hair grow, wore a black clothing and a turban (see also Falk 1986: 66ff., Kershaw 2000: 204). Clearly, we are in the realm of the *Jugendbund* as I have described it in Appendix I.

The Pravargya, and especially the rite concerning the *mahāvīra* pot, looks like a representation of the initiation of an Indo-European warrior. The fact that the pot is called 'great hero' is perhaps the least conspicuous element. I shall now survey the others.

The 'great hero' pot is is composed of three parts (*uddhi*): a base, a middle part, and a head with a sort of mouth-like spout at the top. A ring of clay is added to the human shape to represent a girdle (*rāsnā*). As I have pointed out in Appendix I, the girdle is a typical element of the outfit of the Indo-European initiated warrior, and hence of the Vrātya.

Moreover, the pot is wrapped up in a black antelope hide and hung, suspended until the performance. The black antelope hide is a very special element in Vedic ritual: it is only employed in the *dīkṣā* of the *yájamāna* during the soma rituals, which, as Heesterman (1962) demonstrated, is modelled after Vrātya practices; it is the garment of the ritually dead Vrātya leader, and marks a

21 In modern performances this prescription is not followed.

22 After being led to the wilderness, the novice lights four *udumbara* sticks smeared with ghee representing 1) earth and fire, 2) midspace and wind, 3) heaven and the sun, and 4) Prajāpati. Then the teacher blindfolds him as if to make him retain the light of the sun. He then makes him return to the village at sunset and spend the night without lying down. Then he is brought to the wilderness again, where he is shown seven objects: fire, sun, a water pitcher, a calf, a rock, a naked woman (*mahānagnī*) and a piece of gold. Afterwards, for a year, he is forbidden to use umbrellas, to cover his body, to study in the shade or when it's cloudy or in wet places, etc. —all prescriptions connected to keeping oneself dry and hot to preserve the energy of the sun. Even riding wheeled vehicles is forbidden: possibly a taboo originating from the idea that the sun is a wheel.

transformation, the separation from the world of the living (Falk 1986: 20–21; 2002: 33).

Thus the pot is placed in *marge* like an initiated warrior. To clear out all doubts that we are dealing with an initiation, the pot is anointed with ghee, just like the *yajāmana* is, during the soma rituals' *dīkṣā*, or the king during the consecration of the Rājasūya.

Finally, the pot is placed on a throne, the *saṃrāḍāsandī́*, 'the emperor's throne', in a fashion that resembles the welcoming of the soma as a guest (*ātithyam*) by offering it a seat on the 'king's throne' (*rājāsandī́*); and, similarly, recalling how the Ekavrātya is welcomed as a guest and offered a seat after a year of wandering according to the Vrātyakāṇḍa (ŚS 15.3, PS 18.29).[23]

Indeed, with its girdle and black antelope skin the *mahāvīra* pot looks conspicuously like the Vrātya leader.

Now, van Buitenen (1968: 11) specifies that the ring of clay is called 'girdle' (*rāsnā*) by Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, but 'collar' (*parigrīvam*) in TĀ 5.3.5. He notes that the three parts of the pot are separated by two joints. The top joint is called "middle" (*madhyam*). Thus, van Buitenen (ibid.) writes, "It is possible that the description of the joint between top and central element as the 'middle' of the pot […] have raised the belt from its original position around the trunk to the top part so that TĀ might call it 'collar'". However, after reading our Anaḍutsūkta, I cannot help but recall PS 3.25.11 (~ ŚS 4.11.8), which states, *madhyam etad anaḍuho yatraiṣa vaha āhitaḥ*, "This is the centre of the ox, [namely] where these withers are located". As I have explained above, the *váha* is not simply the 'withers', but the very centre of the ox's strength, which Indra (and the *vratins*) wish to acquire in order to bear (*bhṛ*-) the *vrata* and hold (*dhṛ*-, *dṛṃh*-) the *vajra*. In light of the equation of the draft-ox with the *gharmá* pot, it seems attractive to consider that the *madhyam* of the *mahāvīra* pot, the joint between the head and the torso of the Great Hero, is its *váha*. The word *grīvá* indicates the 'nape, back part of the neck', and can be used to refer to the neck of an ox (e.g. in ŚS 9.7.3). If the pot were conceived as a bull, the denomination 'collar' (*parigrīva*, literally 'around the nape') would make more sense.

But of course, during the performance the pot is constantly worshipped with stanzas that address Indra, often as portrayed as a soma drinker and as a fierce bull. For instance, while the second pillar of fire arises, we hear the following dialogue between the Hotṛ and the Prastotṛ: the Hotṛ recites RV 8.72.12, "Pour wealth into the pressed-out draught, wealthy, adorning both worlds. The Rasā will take the bull!" (transl. by van Buitenen); the Prastotṛ responds with RV 8.92.22, "Let the drops enter you, like rivers the sea. Nothing surpasses you, Indra" (J-B). During the closing ceremony, when the implements are laid out in the shape of the sun (to stress that the sun's power has been acquired) or in the shape of a man (to indicate that the young boy has become a man), the Prastotṛ sings RV 9.2.6: "The tawny bull has bellowed; the great one, lovely to see like an ally, shines along with the sun" (J-B), followed by RV 8.93.23, "The oblations that were offered have been let go at the sacrifice to nourish Indra. Now to the final carrying-off with strength" (transl. by van Buitenen). More examples can be found.

23 This is the text of ŚS 15.3 (~ PS 18.29 with minor variants); note that the previous paryāyas describe the Ekavrātya's wanderings in all directions: *sá saṃvatsarám ūrdhvó 'tiṣṭhat táṃ devā́ abruvan vrā́tya kíṃ nú tiṣṭhasi* ||1|| *só 'bravīd āsandī́ṃ me sáṃ bharantv íti* ||2|| *tásmai vrā́tyāyāsandī́ṃ sám abharan* ||3|| *tásyā grīṣmáś ca vasantáś ca dvaú pā́dāv ā́stāṃ śarác ca varṣā́ś ca dvaú* ||4|| *bṛ́hác ca rathaṃtaráṃ cānūcyè ā́stāṃ yajñāyajñíyaṃ ca vāmadevyáṃ ca tiraścyè* ||5|| *ṛ́caḥ prā́ñcas tántavo yájūṃṣi tiryáñcaḥ* ||6|| *véda āstáraṇaṃ bráhmopabárhaṇam* ||7|| *sā́māsādá udgīthó 'paśrayáḥ* ||8|| *tā́m āsandī́ṃ vrā́tya ā́rohat* ||9|| *tásya devajanā́ḥ pariṣkandā́ ā́sant saṃkalpā́ḥ prahāyyà víśvāni bhūtā́ny upasádaḥ* ||10|| *víśvāny evā́sya bhūtā́ny upasádo bhavanti yá eváṃ véda* ||11|| , "1. He stood a year erect; the gods said to him: Vrātya, why now standest thou? 2. He said: 'Let them bring together a settle for me'. 3. For that Vrātya they brought together a settle. 4. Of it, both summer and spring were two feet, both autumn and the rains [were] two. 5. Both *bṛ́hat* ad the *rathaṃtará* were the two length-wise [pieces], both *yajñāyajñíya* and *vāmadevyá* the two cross[-pieces]. 6.The verses (*ṛ́c*) were the forward cords, the sacrificial formulas (*yájus*) the cross ones. 7. The Veda the cushion, the *bráhman* the pillow. 8. The chant (*sā́man*) the seat, the *udgīthá* the support (?). 9. That settle the Vrātya ascended. 10. Of him the god-folk were the footmen, resolves the messengers, all beings the waiters. 11. All beings become his waiters who knoweth thus" (Whitney).

Moreover, in Dīrghatamas's Riddle Hymn[24] (RV 1.164) the *mahāvīra* pot is likened to a bellowing cow that transforms itself into a lightning bolt (the pillar of fire that arises from the heated pot when milk is poured into it by the Adhvaryu). The metaphor is found throughout RV 1.164.26–29: *úpa hvaye sudúghāṃ dhenúm etā́ṃ suhásto godhúg utá dohad enām | śréṣṭhaṃ savā́ṃ savitā́ sāviṣan no 'bhīddho gharmás tád u ṣú prá vocam* || 26 || *hiṅkṛ́ṇvatī́ vasupátnī vásūnāṃ vatsám ichántī mánasābhy ā́gāt | duhā́m aśvíbhyām páyo aghnyéyāṃ sā́ vardhatām mahaté saúbhagāya* || 27 || *gaúr amīmed ánu vatsám miṣántam mūrdhā́naṃ híṅ akṛ́ṇon mā́tavā́ u | sṛ́kvāṇaṃ gharmám abhí vāvaśānā́ mímāti māyúm páyate páyobhiḥ* || 28 || *ayáṃ sá śiṅkte yéna gaúr abhīvṛ́tā mímāti māyúṃ dhvasánāv ádhi śritā́ | sā́ cittíbhir ní hí cakā́ra mártyaṃ vidyúd bhávantī práti vavrím auhata* ||, ""26. I call hither this cow easy to milk; and a dexterous milker shall milk her. May Savitṛ incite us with a perfect incitement. The *gharmá* (pot) is heated: this I hereby announce. 27. Making a *hiṅ*-sound, longing for the calf in her mind, the mistress of riches has come near. Let this (cow which is) not for slaughter give milk for the two Asvins; let her prosper for great happiness. 28. The cow has lowed after the calf which blinks its eye; she was making a *hiṅ*-sound to begin lowing. Yearning for the hot mouth (of the calf; ideally that of the heated *gharmá* pot), she lows her lowing, swells with milk. 29. This one is humming, by which the cow is enveloped. She lows a lowing (when she is) placed on the sparkling (fire). With her cracklings she has indeed put down the mortal. Transforming herself to lightning (*vidyút*), she pushed back her covering" (transl. slightly adapted from Houben 2000b).

Indeed, the central moment of the Pravargya is the placing of the *mahāvīra* on the fire and the pouring of milk into the pot full of boiling ghee, which produces a pillar of fire. The heated 'Great Hero', girdled and glowing (cf. *śóśucānaḥ* in PS 3.25.5 ~ ŚS 4.11.3), looks like a warrior, red with ecstatic frenzy, the *furor heroicus* that is so typical of the Indo-European warrior. One only need recall the proverbial fury of the *berserkir* (*wut*, *berserkgangr*)[25] or the 'wolfish rage' (λύσσα) of the Homeric heroes (see Lincoln 1975; McCone 1987; Kershaw 2000: 69ff.). It is certainly not a coincidence that the Maruts, the thunder-like young warriors—notably, like the Indo-European *Jugendbund*, also an age-set (cf. RV 1.165.1)—who accompany Indra, are likened to *gharmá* pots in RV 5.54.1: *prá śárdhāya mā́rutāya svábhānava imā́ṃ vā́cam anajā parvatacyúte | gharmastúbhe divá ā́ pṛṣṭhayájvane dyumnáśravase máhi nṛ́mṇám arcata* ||, "Der marutischen Heerschar, der selbstglanzenden, Berge erschütternden, will ich diese Rede als Schmuck anlegen; die wie der heiße Milchtrank singt, die auf des Himmels Rücken opfert, der glanzberühmten preiset ihren hohen Mannesmut!" (Geldner); "Forth—for the Marut troop with its own radiance I will anoint this speech, for (the troop) shaking the mountains, for (the troop) with the rhythm of the *gharmá* pot, sacrificing on the back of heaven, of heaven-bright fame—sing (forth) their great manliness" (J-B).

In this respect, one case that is especially interesting for our comparison is that of the Irish hero Cú Chulainn, 'Culann's hound'. According to the Táin Bó Cúailnge, on his way home from his adventures, the hero was filled with so much warrior rage that he threatened his own people in Emain Macha. For this reason, before he being re-admitted into the tribe, he was dipped into three barrels full of water, one after the other, to moderate his heat. McCone (1987: 112f. and 2002: 47f.) has connected this scene with a famous image depicted on the side of the Gundestrup Cauldron, in which a group of foot soldiers walks in the direction of a priest-like figure who dips them into a vessel, from which they emerge as horseback riding warriors. The initiatic character of the scene

24 It should not be forgotten that the author of this hymn, the blind sage Dīrghatamas, is said to have performed the *govrata* (or *godharma*), which was taught to him by a bull according to Bhrahmāṇḍapurāṇa II.74.46ff. (see §1.3 above). That one of the main sources on the Gharma ritual was composed by a performer of the *govrata* is certainly not due to chance.

25 Ynglingasaga, 6 contains the following passage describing Odin's *bersekrir*: "They went without shields, and were mad as dogs or wolves, and bit on their shields, and were strong as bears or bulls; men they slew, and neither fire not steel would deal with them; and this is what is called the fury (*wut*) of the berserkr" (transl. by Morris & Magnusson, 1893, cited by Lincoln 1975: 101 f. 16; cf. McCone 1987: 102)

was already recognised by de Vries (1961: 47f.); McCone interpreted it as representing the rite of passage marking the end of the training of the youth in the *Männerbund* and their admission in the society of the adult warriors[26].

The notion of a purifying bath to extinguish the youth's uncontrolled fury before they join the society of adults must be an old one, as we find it also in India. In fact, at the end of the *brahmacarya*, the novice has to take a bath, and is then called a *snātaka*, 'one who has bathed', a Vedic graduate who is ready for marriage (see Lubin 2011, 2018). A similar procedure is found in the case of the *yájamāna*'s *dīkṣā*: although the initiation takes place on the first day of the soma ritual, the patron remains in a liminal status until the end of the whole sacrifice, when, finally, he takes a purifying bath (*avabhrthá*) before returning to society.[27]

Interestingly, according to a Ṛgvedic aitiological myth, the Gharma ritual was instituted by Atri, who had fallen into a pit and had been rescued by the Aśvins (RV 5.73.6; Houben 2000a: 8ff.). According to RV 1.119.6 (belonging to a list of helpful deeds carried out by the Aśvins) the Aśvins helped Atri by cooling the *gharmá* with snow: RV 1.1196ab, *yuváṃ rebhám páriṣūter uruṣyatho hiména gharmám páritaptam átraye* |, "You give Rebha space from being besieged, (and you cool) the intensely heated, hot (vessel) with snow for Atri" (J-B). The snow of the myth hinted at here and the milk that is poured in the vessel in the actual ritual must be equivalent. Only after this procedure, the cooled down pot is brought to the *āhavanīya* for the offering. Thus, the *mahāvīra* pot is at the same time both the hero that is heating up with fury as well as the tub in which the young hero is cooled down. By pouring milk in the heated pot, the Adhvaryu cools it down, transforming the young hero from a dangerous warrior of uncontrolled rage into a full-fledged adult that can be re-integrated into society.

In conclusion, the secret Pravargya/Gharma ritual, restricted to males, and taught in the wilderness, appears to be an initiatory rite of the *Jugendbund*, in which a pot is employed to represent the young warrior, girdled (or collared like a bull), anointed, clad in an antelope skin, who accumulates the heat and strength of the sun during a year-long observance, and finally burns with youthful warrior fury that needs to be extinguished by a pouring of milk before the young hero can become an adult man.

Our interpretation of the Gharma/Pravargya ritual as a rite of the *Männerbund* also clarifies why, as Houben (1991: 28) notes, when the KaṭhĀ describes the ritual as aiming at the sun, it recites: "yonder Āditya (the sun) is actually Rudra Mahāvīra".

### 3.2. The pillar of fire

We have not yet uncovered the full significance of the most dramatic element of the rite: the pillar of fire and smoke that arises from the *mahāvīra* pot when the Adhvaryu pours milk on it.

In his interpretation of the Riddle Hymn on the basis of the Pravargya, Houben (2000b) has stressed the symbolism of the three fires: the terrestrial fire that burns on earth, in this case the burning *mahāvīra* pot; the celestial fire that burns in heaven, i.e. the sun, and the midspace fire represented by the lightning bolt. In the Riddle Hymn, the pillar of fire is specifically likened to a lightning bolt. We may quote RV 1.164.29 again: *ayáṃ sá śiṅkte yéna gaúr abhī́vṛtā mímāti māyúṃ dhvasánāv ádhi śritā́ | sā́ cittíbhir ní hí cakā́ra mártyaṃ vidyúd bhávantī práti vavrím auhata* ||, "She [the pot] lows a lowing (when she is) placed on the sparkling (fire). With her cracklings she has indeed put down the mortal. Transforming herself to lightning (*vidyút*), she pushed back her

26 McCone highlights the fact that in the Celtic and Germanic world the *Männerbund* (**korios*) fights on foot, whereas the adult warriors (**teuteh₂*) ride on horses.

27 Next to the bathing rite, a hair-cutting rite also takes place. Long hair is also a characteristic trait of the *Jugendbund*; it represents their feral nature and their uncontrolled behaviour, and sets them apart from society. During the initiatory period, in fact, the patron has to let his hair grow. The Vrātyas too are frequently referred to with the epithet *keśin*, 'long-haired', which later on qualifies ascetics. See i.a. Heesterman 1962.

covering" (transl. slightly adapted from Houben 2000b).

Note that the verb *śiṅkte* is derived from the onomatopoeic root *śiñj-*, which is employed in PS 17 ch. 6 to describe the sound that Indra's *vajra*, in the form of a thunderbolt produces when hitting the sea (PS 17.28.3, *saṃśiñjāno 'tiṣṭhad*). Indeed, the *vajra*/thunderbolt is the protagonist of PS 17 ch. 6: it is precisely because Indra is unable to wield the *vajra* (which slips from his hands and falls into the sea) that the god undertakes the observance: he first fails to hold the *vajra* in his three aspects of Viśvānara, Vaiśvānara, and Viśvāsah; finally, he resorts to the draft-ox, who offers his help in exchange for the access to the world of the sun (*bradhnaloko 'sāni bradhnasya viṣṭapi śrayā*, PS 17.34.3). Only then is he able to wield the *vajra*, defeat Vr̥tra and find a *pratiṣṭhā*[28]. Thus, the lightning bolt is the means by which Indra succeeds. And the draft-ox observance (*anaḍudvrata*) is the means by which Indra is able to wield the *vajra*.

It seems evident that these metaphors describe an actual observance in which the *vratins* identified with Indra, behaved like oxen and bulls (cf. Acharya 2013), and aimed to acquire the world of the sun (17.34.3) or the heavenly world (*svarga loka*, PS 17.43.4) via the *devayāna path* (PS 17.31.3–4, 17.40.9) and finally a *pratiṣṭhā* (PS 17.33.4; 17.43.7–8). The means to achieve this goal was the lightning bolt that allowed them to defeat the dragon Vr̥tra in what is clearly a rite of passage (PS 17.33.1–4).

Similarly, in the case of the Gharma, the novices aim to acquire the strength of the sun. And it is certainly not a coincidence that the climax of the ritual which centres on the heated pot—which, as we have seen, represents the initiated warrior—consists in the dramatic explosion that forms a pillar of fire that is likened to an inverted lightning bolt.

Pontillo (forthc.), discussing Houben's (2000b) observations on the Riddle Hymn, writes: "the Gharma-milk becomes a sort of lightning, unexpectedly directed at heaven, and represents the initiated man, whose identification with the sun is ritually targeted. With this sudden upward movement, he instantaneously, so to speak, 'mirrors' the solar rays which by contrast unceasingly move towards the earth".

Pontillo (ibid.) has suggested that the upward explosion of the fiery pillar in the Pravargya ritual might have "functioned as a 'laboratory' for some speculative reflections on the human chance of gaining a higher status" in a spiritual sense. In her article, Pontillo investigates, in particular, the origin of the notion of the *devayāna path*. This is both the rising course of the sun from the winter to the summer solstice, the path of the soul of the dead towards heaven (as opposed to the Pitr̥yāna) in later reflection (e.g. BĀU 6.2.2), as well as the path along which the gods descend from heaven to earth and along which the offering travels from the earthly fire to the gods. The lightning bolt, the intermediate fire, seems to be the connecting element between the heavenly world, whose fire is the sun, and the earth, whose fire is represented by the ritual fire. In the case of the Pravargya, the earthly fire is the burning pot, and the pillar of fire, the inverted lightning bolt seems to constitute a way to heaven—to the heavenly fire which is the sun.[29] Pontillo has collected a number of texts, in which it is said that the Vrātyas were excluded from the *devayāna path*— they were left behind by the Devas (PB 17.1; JB 2.221) or excluded by King Varuṇa (PS 24.18.2)— and thus from the *svarga loka*/*svargasya loka*; however, their leader (*gr̥hapati*, *sthapati*), Budha or Dyutāna Māruta led them along the path of the gods thanks to the Vrātyastomas (more on these texts and rites below). Now, the name of this Dyutāna Māruta not only recalls the lightning bolt (*vidyút*), but is applied in RV 10.181 (a hymn related to the Pravargya ritual: cf. J-B p. 1656) to a

28 As I have highlighted above, the order of the episodes is slightly different in the actual text. The episode of defeat of Vr̥tra occurs before Indra resorts to the draft-ox, but clearly the text does not follow a linear narrative. See my edition of the text in Part III above.

29 Note that the novice who undergoes the Pravargya *avāntaradīkṣā* in the wilderness has to light up four *udumbara* sticks smeared with ghee, representing 1) earth and fire, 2) midspace and wind, 3) heaven and the sun, and 4) Prajāpati. This sequence seem to represent the same upward direction from the earth to the sun. Here however the middle element is the wind. Interestingly, the three worlds are followed by a fourth item, Prajāpati, which is mentioned in our sūkta as well, in the second section (see below).

founder (*dhātṛ́*), to whom, together with Savitṛ, Viṣṇu and the sun, we owe both the Rathantara (st. 1) and Bṛhat (st. 2) Sāmans, which are used in the Gharma ritual (and are also very prominent in the Vrātyakaṇḍa), as well as the Gharma rite itself: RV 10.181.3, *tè 'vindan mánasā dī́dhyānā yájus ṣkannám prathamáṃ devayā́nam | dhātúr dyútānāt savitúś ca víṣṇor ā́ sū́ryād abharan gharmám eté* ||, "They found, as they reflected with their mind, the *yajus* that sprang forth first, going to the way of the gods: from the flashing Founder (*dhātúr dyútānāt*) and from Savitar and Viṣṇu, from the sun, have they carried here the hot milk (*gharmá*)" (J-B). On the basis of this evidence Pontillo establishes a connection between the Vrātyas and the Gharma, and thus seeks to find the origin of the notion of the *devayāna path* in the philosophical speculation centred around the inverted lightning bolt of the Gharma rite.

I cannot follow Pontillo (ibid.) in her analysis of the distribution of the notion of *devayāna path* as predominantly found in those texts that Asko Parpola has linked with the so-called Proto Indo-Aryan I culture (RV 8, 1, 10, and AV—as opposed to RV 2–7, which would be linked with the Proto Indo-Aryan II culture), as I do not believe that the Vrātyas should be connected with one of more waves of Indo-Aryan migrants nor with a particular non-Aryan or non-orthodox Aryan tribe: as I explained in Appendix I (fn. 33), I believe that the Vrātya elements in the Vedic text represent either the relic of initiatic rituals connected with the *Jugendbund*, which must have been present in every Vedic tribe, or with the practices of the *Gefolgschaften*, i.e. brotherhoods of warriors and marginalised men, which were in fact the actual social realia behind some of the so-called "tribes".

Nevertheless, I believe that Pontillo was onto something in her investigation, something that, now that we have established a more solid connection between the Vrātyas and the Gharma, will allow us to understand the meaning of the lightning bolt as a means to reaching heaven, as well as help us understand one of the most interesting stanzas of our sūkta: ŚS 4.11.6 ~ PS 3.25.6.

### 3.3. The *sukr̥tásya loká*

Let us go back to our text, and in particular to PS 3.25.6 ~ ŚS 4.11.6: *yéna devā́ḥ svàr āruruhúr hitvā́ śárīram amŕ̥tasya nā́bhim* (PS: *dhāma*) | *téna geṣma sukr̥tásya lokáṃ gharmásya vraténa tápasā yaśasyávaḥ* (PS *yaśasā* $^{+}$*tapasyayā*)||, [That observance] by means of which the gods ascended to heaven, to the location of immortality, after abandoning [their] body, by means of that [observance] we would like to step into the world of merit, by means of the observance of the *gharmá*, by means of heat/austerities (PS: heating/the practice of austerities), desiring glory (PS: by means of glory)" (my transl.).

This stanza explicitly describes the *vratins*' path consisting of the *gharmasya vrata* as modelled after that of the gods (*devā́ḥ*), as a spiritual path ("having abandoned the body"), and as aiming at the world of merit (*sukr̥tásya lokám*), which is regarded as the abode or the location of immortality (*amŕ̥tasya nā́bhim* / *amṛtasya dhāman*).

The idea of following the path of the gods is certainly a reference to the foundational myth of the Vrātyas, which I have mentioned above, according to which the gods went to heaven, but left behind (*hi*-) the *daiva*/*divya* Vrātyas[30]. This mythical Vrātya group with Budha or Dyutāna Māruta as leader (*sthapati* or *gr̥hapati*) aimed at following the gods on their path. Eventually the Maruts (PB) or Prajāpati (JB), depending on the version of the myth, provide them with the necessary knowledge or the proper rituals that allow them to reach the gods in the *svarga loka* via the *devayāna path*. These are the Vrātyastomas, special rituals that need to be performed when forming

30 According to Witzel (2004: 620–622), the Daivya Vrātyas together with Gandharvas and Apsarases are "the divine counterparts of the *Männerbund* of the *vrāt*(*y*)*as* on earth". Note that the *mahāvīra* pot is addressed as Gandharva Ranti a few times during the Pravargya ritual (see van Buitenen 1968). The role of the Gandharvas in the initiation of the youth has been touched upon by Dumézil (1929) in his study on the Centaurs. The legend of the Aśvins, Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa and the horse's head might also be connected. Further research is needed to elucidate these myths.

a Vrātya alliance before undertaking a Vrātya expedition, as well as at the end of the expedition, in order to be re-integrated into society (see Heesterman 1962).

According to PB 24.18.2, the so-called *daiva* Vrātyas were excluded by king Varuṇa from sharing the sacrifice and from knowing the path of the gods: *daivā vai vrātyāḥ sattram āsata budhena sthāpatinā te ha vā aniryācya varuṇaḥ rājanaṃ devayajanaṃ didīkṣus tān ha vā varuṇo rājān u vyājahārāntar emi vo yajñiyād bhāgadheyān na devayānaṃ panthānaṃ prajñāsyatheti tasmāt tebhyo na havir gṛhṇanti na graham*, "The *daiva* Vrātyas held a sacrificial session with Budha as their *sthapati*. They consecrated themselves without having previously begged King Varuṇa for a place for divine worship. King Varuṇa thus addressed them [by saying]: 'I preclude you from sharing the sacrifice. You shall not know the paths leading to the gods'. Therefore they do not take the sacrificial substance or a draught by means of these" (transl. by Pontillo, forthc.).

In another version narrated in the PB (17.1), the *daivā* Vrātyas, whose *gṛhapati* is Dyutāna Māruta are left behind by the Devas. Only later they can follow the gods, once the Maruts teach them the Dyautāna Sāman: *devā vai svargaṁ lokam āyaṁs teṣāṁ daivā ahīyanta vrātyāṁ pravasantas ta āgacchan yato devāḥ svargaṁ lokam āyaṁs tena taṁ stomaṁ na chando 'vindan yena tān āpsyaṁs te devā maruto 'bruvann etebhyas taṁ stomaṁ tac chandaḥ prayacchata yenāsmān āpnavavān iti tebhya etaṁ ṣoḍaśaṁ stomaṁ prāyacchan parokṣaṁ anuṣṭubhaṁ tato vai te tān āpnuvan* || […] *marutstomo vā eṣa yāni kṣudrāṇi chandāṃsi tāni marutām* || 3 || […] *tāsu dyautānam* || 6 || *dyutāno mārutas teṣāṃ gṛhapatir āsīt ta etena stomenāyajanta te sarva ārdhnuvan yad etat sāma bhavaty ṛdhyā eva* ||, "1. The gods went to the heavenly world. Among them the *daivas*, who were leaving for a Vrātya expedition, were left behind. They came to the place from which the gods had gone to the heavenly world. They found neither the *stoma* nor the metre by which they might reach them. The gods spoke to the Maruts: 'Deliver that *stoma*, that metre, to them, by means of which they may reach us'. To them they (the Maruts) delivered that sixteen-versed *stoma*, (which) cryptically (is) the Anuṣṭubh. Thereupon, they reached them. […] 3. This is the *stoma* of the Maruts. The smaller metres belong to the Maruts. […] 6. On these (Anuṣṭubh verses) [is sung] the Dyautāna Sāman. 7. Dyutāna Māruta was their *gṛhapati*. They (the Vrātyas) performed this (Vrātya-)stoma and all of them came to prosper. In fact this Sāman is for prospering" (transl. adapted from Candotti & Pontillo 2016 after Caland 1931, and Pontillo, *forthc*.).

In the version of JB 2.221, the *divyā* Vrātyas led by Budha fail to find the way to heaven until Prajāpati teaches it to them: *athaite vrātyastomāḥ divyā vai vrātyā vrātyām adhāvayan budhena sthapatinā | ta ete ekavrātyām ārchann imaṁ vaiva yo 'yaṁ pavata | īśānaṁ vā devam | tān yajñasyātyāvidhyat | te svargaṁ lokaṁ na prājānan | te 'kāmayanta—pra svargaṁ lokaṁ jānīyāmeti | te prajāpatim evopādhāvan | tebhya etaṁ vrātyastomaṁ yajñaṁ vyadadhāt | tam āharan | tenāyajanta | tato vai te svargaṁ lokaṁ prājānan | muhyantīva vā ete ye vrātyāṁ dhāvayanti | tad yad vrātyastomena yajante svargasyaiva lokasyānukhyātyai |*, "And these are the Vrātyastomas. The divine Vrātyas ran the Vrātya expedition with Budha as their *sthapati*. They targeted on the *ekavrātya* position, that is, on the [God] who purifies or on the Lord. He wounded them with an injury to their sacrifice. They did not learn (the way to) the world of heaven. They longed for that, <by saying> "We should learn (the way to) the world of heaven." They had recourse to Prajāpati. He arranged this Vrātyastoma sacrifice for them. They grasped that. They sacrificed by means of this. Therefore they learned indeed (the way to) the world of heaven. They who run the Vrātya expedition are as if they were disoriented. This is the reason why they sacrifice by means of the Vrātyastoma, specifically in order to obtain the revelation of [the way to] the world of heaven" (I quote text and translation from Candotti & Pontillo 2016: 190–192). Cf. also BŚS 18.26.

Note that this story is clearly paralleled by the myth according to which Rudra/Paśupati was "left behind" (*hi-*) and excluded from the gods's sacrifice:[31] Candotti & Pontillo (2016: 189) quote (after Charpentier 1911) ŚB 1.7.3.1, *yajñena vai devāḥ divam upodākrāmann | atha yo 'yaṁ deva*

31 This story may have partly contributed to the development of the complex myth of Śiva's exclusion from Dakṣa's sacrifice.

*paśūnām iṣṭe sa ihāhīyata* A *tasmād vāstavya iti āhur vāstāv hi tad ahīyata* |, "The gods ascended to heaven by means of the sacrifice. But the god who rules over the cattle was left behind here: therefore they call him Vāstavya, for he was then left behind on the (sacrificial) site", and ŚB 1.7.3.3, […] *ahāsy a hāntaryanty u mā yajñād iti* […], "Alas, I have been left behind, they are excluding me from the sacrifice".

As I have explained in Appendix I, the youth or the marginalised led the Vrātya life in order to find a means of subsistence and be able to return to society as economically independent adults in order to marry and become householders. Thus, the texts seem to always play out on two levels: on the one hand, the Vrātyastomas allow the *daiva/divya* Vrātya to follow the gods to the *svarga loka*; at the same time, they allow the human Vrātyas to conduct cattle raids, find economic stability, and be re-integrated into society. The texts seem to make an implicit equivalence between the Devas and the society of adult householders. It may be possible to interpret the figure of King Varuṇa in JB along the same lines: according to Oberlies (2012: 19ff.), Varuṇa represents the political authority in times of peace (*kṣéma*) as opposed to the military authority of Indra in times of war (*yóga*).[32] Thus, being excluded by King Varuṇa seems to mean that the Vrātyas have been excluded from the peaceful community of the tribe.

But what does it mean that they are excluded from the *devayāna path*? What is the relation between the mythological, religious, and spiritual side of the story and the concrete, social side of it? I will show that understanding the reference to the *sukr̥tásya loká* in our stanza will allow us to solve this riddle.

The concept of *sukr̥tá* has been treated by Bodewitz on numerous occasions (1993a, 1993b, 1998, 2013). Bodewitz has challenged previous views (e.g. Gonda 1966: 115–143) according to which this term specifically indicated the well-performed sacrifice and the merits acquired from the correct performance of rituals (hence translations of *sukr̥tám* as 'well-performed (sacrifice)' and *sukr̥tásya loká* as 'the world of the well-performed'). Bodewitz regards the *sukr̥tá* as a stock of merit that people can accumulate as a reward for positive behaviour and that, being stored in heaven, permits the continuation of life after death in the heavenly world, the *sukr̥tásya loká*. Notably, its negative counterpart, *duṣkr̥tám*, indicates 'sin, vice, demerit' with no specific relation to the performance of sacrifice (1993a: 73, 2013: 32; cf. Gonda 1966: 126ff. fn. 53). Indeed, Bodewitz (2013: 34ff.) shown that the term *sukr̥tá* can also be used outside the ritual context, and that various kinds of behaviour beside ritual piety can procure merit, such as liberality, hospitality, or asceticism —although morality in the Western sense hardly plays a role. Obviously, given the ritualistic nature of the Vedic texts, our sources focus on ritual as the main means with which to acquire merit, but even then, the focus is not the priest and the correctness of his performance, but rather on the *yájamāna* and his willingness to sponsor a sacrifice and give donations to the priests (2013: 39ff.): Bodewitz (2013: 66) writes: "The person who is called a *sukr̥t* is the wealthy sacrificer or a wealthy giver in general who buys his own future".

Interestingly, among the cases of *sukr̥tá* being used outside of a ritual context, Bodewitz (2013: 38–39) cites the case of a stanza from the Wedding Hymn, which describes how the bride who leaves her parent's house is placed "in the womb of order (*r̥tásya yónau*) and the world of merit (*sukr̥tásya loké*) together with her husband; i.e. she becomes lawfully married": RV 10.85.24cd (~ ŚS 14.1.19cd ~ PS 18.2.6cd), *r̥tásya yónay sukr̥tásya loké áriṣṭāṃ tvā sahá pátyā dadhāmi* (ŚS: *syonáṃ te astu sahásaṃbhalāyai*; PS: *syonaṃ te astu saha patnyai vadhu*). A second stanza from the AV version of the Wedding Hymn reads: ŚS 14.1.59bc (~ PS 18.6.7bc), *imáṃ nárīṃ sukr̥té dadhāta | dhātā́ vipaścít pátim asyai viveda*, "Set this woman in what is well-done; inspired Dhātar found for her a husband" (Whitney). In ŚS 12.3.44d (~ PS 17.54.4d), belonging to a funeral hymn dedicated to reuniting a married couple in the afterlife, the man and the woman are both addressed with the epithet *sukr̥t*: *etáṃ svargáṃ sukr̥tāv ápītam* "go ye (du.), O well-doers, unto this

32 It is in light of this that Trasadasyu can say "I am Indra, [I am] Varuṇa" (RV 4.42.3), i.e. a king both in war and peace (Oberlies 2012: 20).

heavenly world" (Whitney). Bodewitz (ibid.) interprets these passages as indicating "that married life is *sukṛtám* because it potentially provides the opportunity of gaining merit (especially in comparison with the state of being an unmarried woman)".

Marriage is thus the way by which a woman gains access to the means of acquiring merit. However, the same can be said for men. The *sukṛtá* is a prerogative of the adult married householder who can act as *yájamāna*. This means that, just as unmarried women are unable to acquire merit, so is the young boy who hasn't finished his training with the *Jugendbund* or the marginalised member of the Vrātya *Gefolgschaft* who doesn't have the economical means to support a family. Being excluded from performing rites, they are unable to acquire *iṣṭám*, and lacking the wealth that would allow them to act as liberal donors, they are unable to acquire *pūrtám*; as such, they are unable to accumulate merit (*sukṛtám*) in the standard way and secure a place in the afterlife for themselves until they become proper adults (in the case of the youth) or proper citizens (in the case of the marginalised). In this way, they are "left behind" by those Devas, i.e. those householders who have made it in life. Securing a place in the afterlife (*svarga loka*) hinges on securing a place in society during this life, because the *svarga loka* is also a *sukṛtásya loká*, and the *sukṛtám* can only be acquired by the adult householder.

Thus, we need to read the references on the Vrātyas following the Devas in their ascension to heaven while leaving their body behind on two levels:

1) as a metaphor for the rite of passage from boyhood into adulthood (*Jugendbund* interpretation). We may recall the rite of the disposal of the Pravargya, during which they are laid down in the shape of a man; Oberlies (2012: 468 fn. 305) may be right in interpreting this as representing the new adult that has been constructed with the initiatory rite. But this could also represent the body of the young warrior (the *mahāvīra* pot and other implements), who is now left behind, disposed of.

2) At the same time it is likely that early on, after notions of a blissful afterlife had fully developed and spread throughout the larger society,[33] those who, belonging to the Vrātya warrior circles of the *Gefolgschaften*, saw little chance of re-joining society, and felt that they were not only excluded from the advantages of this world, but also from the possibility of enjoying their future

33 Bodewitz notes that in the oldest parts of the RV, "the destination of the deceased was [an] unhappy underworld to be compared with Hades" (1994: 39; cf. 1999a, 1999b, 2000a, 2000b, 2002a). The situation is the same in the oldest parts of the AV (1999a: 113). Bodewitz observes that "the reticence of the future of the deceased in the old books [of the RV] may be due to the fact that life after dath was regarded as gloomy for all of the deceased. There was no reason to hope for it or to promise it to the liberal patrons. The darkness of the underworld was consigned to the adversaries. For themselves and for their patrons the poets hoped that this 'life' after death could be postponed or temporarily avoided. […] The possibility of becoming deified (to some extent) was not unknown [but] was only reserved for some mythical ancestors, the Aṅgirasas and the Ṛbhus. No claim to this is made on behalf of the later mortals. Pitṛs regarded as a large category of deceased turn up as soon as the prospects for the deceased had become ameliorated. The funeral hymns of the tenth book accompany rituals. Here we find references to a world of the blessed dead. Though the hymns may be rather late, an institution like a ritual presupposes some tradition. It is unclear when and how ideas on a life in a heavenly world were developed. This much is clear that the oldest parts of the [RV] do not show any traces of them" (1994: 37). The idea of the bliss of heaven also appears in the funeral hymns of the AV (as these are often based on the RV), and it is found in a number of AV hymns that are employed in the KauśS Savayajñas (this is the case of our hymn as well): in these hymns, it seems that liberality towards the brahmins (who are given a rice mess in the Brahmaudanasava, or animals in other Savas) is seen as "an investment for the heavenly future of the giver" (Bodewitz 1999a: 113–114). Incidentally, according to Bodewitz (ibid.), as the idea that liberality towards ritualists granted a blissful afterlife spread and Śrauta ritualists looked for sponsors ready to give enormous *dakṣiṇās*, the Atharvavedins created the Savas as cheaper but just as effective rituals (hence the name Sava in imitation of the more expensive soma rituals). Note that rice, which is used in the Brahmaudanasava, is a late-comer to Vedic culture: it is not mentioned before the AV, and it testifies to the expansion of the Vedic tribes into the Gangetic plain from their earlier home in the northwest, where barley (*yáva*) was the main crop (Witzel 1995a: 101–102). This also supports the view that the Savas are late creations.

life in the other world. Note that the Vedic texts often say that immortality can be acquired through *prajā́*, offspring: this is because the descendants are supposed to keep the deceased Fathers alive in the afterlife by feeding them with special ritual offerings. Clearly this too was inaccessible to those who, unable to marry, could not generate offspring. Thus, they looked for new spiritual paths, and conceived alternative methods of acquiring merit outside the standard path of becoming a householder, sponsoring sacrifices, donating to priests, offering hospitality, generating offspring, etc.

The birth of ascetic movements can certainly be understood in this social context. The cultural milieu was a military one. Bodewitz (2013: 59) has drawn attention to hymn RV 10.154,[34] which "mentions several types of human beings who have reached heaven through merits or virtues: brave warriors, liberal patrons, ascetics, mystics. On the one hand we find men in the world who bravely fight or give rich *dakṣiṇās* at a sacrifice, on the other hand people who perform asceticism and have mystic experiences with the Ṛta (cosmic order) in heaven. The first category wins its aim by the virtue of braveness which looks like Plato's cardinal virtue *andria*". He is referring in particular to RV 10.154.3ab, *yé yúdhyante pradháneṣu śū́rāso yé tanūtyájaḥ* |, "Die in den Kämpfen als Helden streiten, die ihr Leben opftern" (Geldner), "Those who fight in prize-contests, who as champions abandon their bodies" (J-B). This is what Das (2002: 145), after Michaels (1998: 299), has called a *vīrya-marga*. As I have already pointed out in Appendix I, Bollée (1981) and Dundas (1991: 173f.) have explained the military attitude and vocabulary of the early Buddhist and Jaina communities as originating in the warrior sodalities. Similarly, the observance of the draft-ox, which later evolved into the Pāśupata ascetic movement, must have developed out of the warrior brotherhoods' practices involving masquerades and the identification of the warriors as wild animals, in particular bulls (as ubiquitously attested in the RV)—Indra being the bull-warrior *par excellence*—as an alternative way for the members of the Vrātya *Gefolgschaften* to acquire merit. Their method consisted of stealing *iṣṭāpūrta* (see Appendix I), in the same way in which they, as a warrior brotherhood, acquired wealth by looting.

Now, our sūkta identifies the original locus of the draft-ox *vrata* as the youth initiation process that culminated with the Gharma ritual. In this context, the lightning bolt, Indra's weapon, acquired a new meaning. The initiated youth imitated the behaviour of bulls/oxen so that the animal's strength would be transferred to them, allowing them to become full-fledged adult warriors just like Indra did in the beginning: he identified with the bull/ox, acquired his strength, and wielded the *vajra*. The acquisition of the *vajra*/lightning bolt represented the young warrior's achievement of success. During the performance of the Gharma initiation ritual, the acquisition of the *vajra* by the young warrior who had behaved like a bull and had finally completed his initiatic path was enacted by the production of the pillar of fire, the inverted lightning bolt that burst out of the red-hot girdled *mahāvīra* pot representing the young warrior at the apex of his youthful warrior fury. As a full-fledged adult, the initiate could now acquire merit and aspire to thrive both in this life and in the afterlife. These rituals and their symbolism were kept alive even in the Vrātya *Gefolgschaften*, whose members were all kinds of marginalised people. For some of these, the aim of acquiring a

34 RV 10.154, *sóma ékebhyaḥ pavate ghṛtám éka úpāsate | yébhyo mádhu pradhā́vati tā́mś cid evā́pi gachatāt* || 1 || *tápasā yé anādhṛṣyā́s tápasā yé svàr yayúḥ | tápo yé cakriré máhas tā́mś cid evā́pi gachatā*t || 2 || *yé yúdhyante pradháneṣu śū́rāso yé tanūtyájaḥ | yé vā sahásradakṣiṇās tā́mś cid evā́pi gachatāt* || 3 || *yé cit pū́rva ṛtasā́pa ṛtā́vāna ṛtāvṛ́dhaḥ | pitṝ́n tápasvato yama tā́mś cid evā́pi gachatāt* || 4 || *sahásraṇīthāḥ kaváyo yé gopāyánti sū́ryam | ṛ́ṣīn tápasvato yama tapojā́m̐ ápi gachatāt* || 5 ||, "1. Für die einen wird Soma geläutert, andere sitzen bei dem Schmalz. Für die der Met rinnt, auch zu diesen soll er gelangen. 2. Die durch Kasteiung unbezwingbar waren, die durch Kasteiung zum Sonnenlicht gegangen sind, die die Kasteiung zu ihrer Herrlichkeit gemacht haben, auch zu diesen usw. 3. Die in den Kämpfen als Helden streiten, die ihr Leben opftern, oder die Tausend als Dakṣiṇā schenken, auch zu diesen usw. 4. Die die ersten Pfleger der Wahrheit, die wahrhaftigen Mehrer der Wahrheit waren, zu den Kasteiung übenden Vätern, o Yama, auch zu diesen usw. 5. Die als Seher tausend Weisen kennen, die die Sonne behüten, zu den Kasteiung übenden Ṛṣi's, o Yama, zu den durch Kasteiung (neu)geborenen soll er gelangen!" (Geldner).

position in society started to appear secondary to the spiritual goal of acquiring merit and storing it for the afterlife. As merit could only be acquired by householders, the Vrātyas focused on robbing householders of their merits as they used to rob them of their cattle. It is in this way that, to these warrior ascetics, the pillar of fire, the inverted lightning rising from the earthly fire towards that fire in heaven that is the sun, represented a direct spiritual path to the world of merit from which they had previously been excluded.

We are now also in the position to fully appreciate stanza PS 3.25.10 (~ ŚS 4.11.9), in which it is said that *yo vedānaḍuho dohān saptānupadasvataḥ | prajāṃ ca lokaṃ cāpnoti tathā saptarṣayo viduḥ* ||, "He who knows the milkings of the draft-ox, seven, inexhaustible, he obtains both progeny and the world. Thus know the seven sages" (my transl.). Here *prajāṃ* and *lokaṃ* can be taken as expressing the worldly desires of the members of the *Männerbund*: offspring and space (*loká-* can very concretely indicate the space, the land on which to herd one's cattle), which characterise the life of a married householder. At the same time, *lokaṃ* here can also stand for *sukr̥tásya loká*, i.e. a place in heaven granted by the merits acquired on earth as a householder; and *prajāṃ* can be taken as indicating the descendants who would keep one alive in the afterlife with offerings. Thus the stanza can have both a concrete, worldly meaning, and a more spiritual one.

### 3.4. The twelve *vrátyā* nights of Prajāpati

Besides the *anaḍudvrata* and the *gharmasya vrata*, our sūkta mentions a third *vrata* in the second section: stanza ŚS 4.11.11, corresponding to PS 3.25.7 and 8, speaks of twelve nights (*dvā́daśa rā́trīḥ*) that are dedicated to the *vrata* (*vrátyāḥ*) of Prajāpati (*prajā́pateḥ*).

As I have mentioned in the introduction, this obscure reference especially caught the attention of Weber, who, in his work on *Omina und Portenta* (1858b: 388), and later on in his analysis of our sūkta (1898: 39ff.), put forward the hypothesis that Prajāpati here refers to the year,[35] and that this might be a reference to an old Indo-European tradition of celebrating a midwinter festival connected with the practice of inserting twelve additional days at the end of the year to harmonise the solar year with the lunar year of 354 days. Thus, Weber titled our sūkta "Verschenkung eines Pflugstieres zur Feier der Zwölften". Zimmer (1897: 366) also claimed that the Vedic people knew the notion of the twelve intercalary nights at the end of the year, and believed to have found further proof of this in the legend according to which the Ṛbhus, the genies of the three seasons,[36] sleep "in the house of Agohya" for twelve nights (RV 4.33.7[37]; cf. RV 1.110.2–3; RV 4.51.6). Ludwig (1878: 187) too explicitly connected the twelve nights of AV 4.11.11 and of the Ṛbhus with the midwinter Ekāṣṭakā celebrations.

Weber's view was summarily dismissed by Gonda (1965a: 298) as "far from convincing". Zimmer's arguments were harshly criticised by Macdonell & Keith (1912: 413) who believed that the twelve days are "merely the 'reflection of the year' (*saṃvatsarasya pratimā*) in the sense that they represent the twelve months, and have no relation to chronology at all".

However, the frequent expression *saṃvatsarásya pratimā́* (cf. Macdonell & Keith ibid. fn. 19) can indeed be understood as Weber suggested (1858b: 388), namely as meaning that each of the twelve additional nights at the end of the year correspond to one of the twelve months of the year: they "reflect in miniature the months of the year to come" (Lyle 2008: 116). The night of Ekāṣṭakā, falling on the *aṣṭakā* day that is closest to the winter solstice (see Falk 1896: 144ff.) is also called

35 On Prajāpati as the year, see above all Gonda 1984.

36 See Oberlies (2012: 157f.). In early Vedic culture, there were three seasons, each consisting of four months—a notion that has been preserved in the Cāturmāsya ritual (see Oberlies 2012: 402 fn. 284).

37 RV 4.33.7, *dvā́daśa dyū́n yád ágohyasyātithyé ráṇann r̥bhávaḥ sasántaḥ | sukṣétrākr̥ṇvann ánayanta síndhūn dhánvātiṣṭhann óṣadhīr nimnám ā́paḥ* ||, "When the Ṛbhus enjoyed the hospitality of Agohya for twelve days, sleeping (there), (then) they made the fields good and led the rivers; plants arose upon the dry land and waters upon the low ground" (J-B).

*saṃvatsarásya pratimā́* in ŚS 3.10.3, certainly not because it lasts 12 months, but rather because it is the last and first night of the year, and is thus a model for the year. In fact, according to TS 7.4.8.1, it is preceded by 12 *dīkṣā*-days (Falk 1986: 145 and fn. 405)[38].

These twelve additional days and nights comprised the most dangerous moment of the year: they were the darkest nights of the year, when the energy of the sun was at its lowest and in need of re-kindling. They stood somewhat outside the normal course of time and thus marked a suspension of the natural order. This is why it was believed that, at this time, demonic forces, notably the dead ancestors, might endanger the community and needed to be appeased. Both Weber and Zimmer were obviously aware that this tradition was very much alive in the Germanic traditions of the Rauhnächte, and was even transformed into the Christian tradition of Christmastide, corresponding to the twelve days between Christmas and the Epiphany. During this period of time, though often spread out across a period of time that goes from the month of October to the month of March, one can find both in ancient and modern Europe a variety of folk festivals that involve role reversals, licentious behaviour, bonfires, the cult of trees or poles and, of course, age-set masquerades, during which the initiated youth parade into the settlement, impersonating the dead ancestors asking to be appeased with gifts. These festivals have been treated multiple times by the numerous scholars who have studied the Indo-European *Männerbund* (see Appendix I). In light of all these studies, it is no longer possible, as some Indologists have done in the early 20th century, to dismiss the possibility that Vedic culture too shared this tradition.

In fact, Kuiper (1960, 1962) has collected evidence from both the RV and the Avesta that shows that the New Year festival was extremely important for the early Indo-Iranians. In his view, the RV itself might be an anthology of poetry composed in the context of this festival. According to Kuiper (1978: 30), "the characteristic features of this Aryan 'winter ritual' can be summarised in the following points: 1) it took place at the end of the year and its object was a) to overcome a period of crisis by winning (or, finding) the sun and the waters, that is, by reiterating Indra's demiurgic act; b) to win progeny and prolongation of life; c) to win wealth and social prestige, 'fame' (*śrávas-, yáśas-*). 2) It seems to have mainly consisted of a) word duels (verbal contests), Ved. *vívāc-,* LAv. *vyāxman-* b) chariot-races, which served the purpose of deciding who got 'fame' as the winner of the 'prize proposed' (*dhána-*, *hitá-*, *mīḷhá-*) and, on the other hand, of helping the sun, by a well-known act of imitative magic, to round the 'turning point'; c) distribution of wealth (*vidátha-*), which must have had a potlatch-like character, the sponsors (*maghavan-*) reiterating Indra's liberality in the beginning of the world".

Later Vedic literature preserves hints of what the popular aspects of this midwinter festival might have looked like in the texts that deal with the orgiastic *āraṇyaka* rite called Mahāvrata, which is associated with the Vrātyas and takes place at the winter solstice (see Gonda 1961; Rolland 1973; Kershaw 2000: 233ff.; Heesterman 1993: 55; Hauer 1927: 246ff.). In its Śrauta form, this rite is merely an episode within the year-long schedule of the Gavāmayana ritual (see Murakawa 2000): it appears as a normal soma ritual, within which, however, the ritual ground is the stage of a number of unusual scenes: a *māgadha* and a prostitute exchange an obscene dialogue and perform a ritual intercourse; an *arya* and a *śūdra* fight for a round white hide representing the sun; a praiser (*abhigara*) and a detractor (*apagara*) respectively laud and insult the officiating priests; a warrior mounts a chariot and shoots a target with a bow armed with three arrows (recalling Rudra and the Vrātya leader); a group of maidens circumambulate the *mārjālīya* fire with water-filled vases while singing; and dancing, singing, and music are all very prominent—we find flutes, string-instruments and an "earth drum" (*bhūmidundubhi*) consisting of a hide placed on a ditch that mimics the sound of thunder—all of which give the rite an orgiastic, popular atmosphere.

Within the Gavāmayana ritual the Mahāvrata follows the Daśarātra, a ten-night long rite that also forms the core of a typical Sattra, or Dvādaśāha, the twelve-day soma ritual: the latter consists of an Atirātra, followed by a Daśarātra, followed by another Atirātra. Thus the standard twelve-day

38 This corresponds to the Dvādaśāha, culminating in the Mahāvrata, which I mention below.

(Dvādaśāha) ritual revolves around twelve nights. The Sattra soma ritual of the classical Śrauta ritualism derives from the original Vrātya rite of the same name, in which all the participants act both as officiating priests as well as *yájamānas* (see Heesterman 1962): they were in fact a band of warriors consuming soma in preparation for a cattle raid. This military background is still visible in many aspects of the classical soma ritual, from the *prasarpaṇa* procession, in which the priests crawl around the ritual ground like hunters in the bush, to the use of soma itself, which was most likely a stimulant (ephedra) that produced a state of alertness inducive to conducting cattle raids at night (see Falk 1989, Nyberg 1995, Houben 2003).

The Daśarātra that forms the central part of the twelve-day/night rite lends his name to the numerous autumn folk festivals throughout the Indian subcontinent—called Dashain, Dussehra, Dasarā, etc.—which take place on the tenth day following Navarātri (Falk 1986: 41), and which preserve numerous traits that go back to Vrātya traditions: I shall only recall Sontheimer's (1997) studies on the dog *vratas* connected with this festival in South India (see Appendix I §8). Kershaw (2000: 230) comments on this festival with the following words: "The festival itself has much in common with the Mahāvrata; true, it does not take place at the winter solstice, but this is to be expected: the solstices are not in India the dramatic events that they are in northern lands. The rhythms of expectation and dread are connected, not with the waxing and waning of the light, but with the coming and going of the monsoon rains, and this is what Dasarā marks: the end of the rains, when the youthful warriors ride out to fight the demons. This is why we find at Dasarā the dog and horse maskers which in Europe are active at the midwinter—but also at Carnival, the end of winter, and beginning of the season of war".

Falk (1986) has also studied the rituals associated with the Vrātyas in the context of the midwinter celebration complex. By comparing several rituals described in the Vedic text, such as the Śūlagava, the Agnyādheya, the Gopiṭ̊yajña, and the Rājasūya, all of which involve a game of dice and the sacrifice of a cow, he was able to reconstruct an archaic rite that would take place on the night of Ekāṣṭakā around the time of the winter solstice, and during which a "confrontation between the productive forces of society in the form of the householders and the *Jugendbünden* was recognisable. One side represented life, *prajā́*, fire, and light, the other death and darkness. By handing over a sacrificial cow, the householder secured the blessing for the coming year" (Falk 1986: 193). After this cow was given to Rudra and his host, the members of the Vrātya brotherhood would play a ritual game of dice to determine a loser, who would become their leader, Rudra incarnate, and who would be assigned the task of killing and dismembering the sacrificial cow.

Thus, the reference to the twelve nights in our sūkta deserves to be taken seriously, even more so because we have established above that the rites described by our sūkta, the *anaḍudvrata* and the Gharma are connected with the Indo-European tradition of the *Männerbund*, that lives on in the rites concerned with the initiation of the youth, and in the practices of groups that developed out of warrior brotherhoods. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that the *dvā́daśa rā́trīḥ vrátyāḥ prajā́pateḥ* in which the *anaḍudvrata* took place are the twelve nights of the midwinter festival.

The reference to Prajāpati might be a reference to the start of the new year.[39] It may also be noted that the night of Ekāṣṭakā, near the time of the winter solstice (see Falk 1986: 144ff.), when the Vrātya ceremonies took place in the *sabhā*, is called "the daughter of Prajāpati" (*duhitā́ prajā́pateḥ*, ŚS 3.10.13)—and so are called the *sabhā* and the *samiti*, the assemblies of the warriors, as well as Uṣas (Falk 1986: 97; Kershaw 2000: 233–234, 252).

One may even speculate that the Anaḍutsava of the KauśS consisting in a donation of an ox (*anaḍvāham* [*dadāti*]) (see §1.2 above), might have evolved out of the archaic rite reconstructed by Falk as mentioned above. It is to be noted that the KauśS Savas are Gṛ̊hya rites that concern the householder and his wife. Thus, it is perhaps possible that the reference found in PS 3.25.5 ~ ŚS

39 Note that PS 9.20 contains a sequence of twelve stanzas, each dedicated to one of twelve nights, and each night is consecrated to a deity: the twelfth deity (in PS 9.20.12) is Prajāpati. The following section, PS 9.21 is probably also related.

4.11.3 to a prescription about not eating the draft-ox (*suprajā asat sa u dāre na* $^{+}$*sarṣad yo nāśnīyād anaḍuho vijānan* ||, "He will be of good offspring and will not run into a cleft [on the path], he who, discerning, would not eat of the draft-ox") could also be read from the point of view of a householder who is supposed to donate a head of cattle to the host of the *vratins*. This may have been a single episode within a larger complex of rites to be performed at the winter solstice that involved the initiation of the youth, an animal masquerade, and much more.

This gives us the opportunity to offer an interpretation of the Gosava (see §1.3 above) as well. If the KauśS Anaḍutsava is the evolution of the *anaḍudvrata* from the perspective of the householder, vice versa the Gosava seems to have evolved from the perspective of the leader or the members of a *Gefolgschaft*. As Mylius (1976) has shown, it is an Ekāha to be performed by a king; it involves an *abhiṣeka* and requires imitating the behaviour of a bull for a year. For this reason, and since according to JB 2.113 the rite was aimed at winning the world of the draft-ox (*anaḍuho ha lokaṃ jayati*), Acharya (2013) correctly connected it with our *anaḍudvrata*. It seems clear that the *anaḍudvrata*, and Anaḍutsava, as well as the various *godharma*, *gośīla*, etc. mentioned by Acharya, are all variants or evolutions of a single original archaic *vrata*. As I have already pointed out, the Gosava was aimed at acquiring cattle (*paśu*), autonomy/sovereignty (*svarājya*), and prominence among peers (*puras-kṛ-*). Thus, it seems to be an answer to the economical concerns of the marginalised members of a *Gefolgschaft*. The fact that it was meant to be performed by a king suggests that the original *govrata* was re-adapted into the Śrauta Gosava to fit the needs and aspiration of the leader of a *Gefolgschaft* who might have aimed to acquire economical independence, perhaps found a new community and establish himself as the new king.

There remains one issue to address: how does the Gharma ritual relate to the Twelve Nights? Was the Gharma ritual also performed at the winter solstice?

The little evidence we have seems to point to the fact that the Gharma was performed on the Viṣuvant day, i.e. at the summer solstice, at the onset of the rainy season (Oberlies 2012: 284 and 343 fn. 55). This evidence comes from the Frog Hymn and the Riddle Hymn, both of which, as we have already seen, deal extensively with the Gharma ritual.

The Frog Hymn (RV 7.103) revolves around the comparison between the Vedic students returning to the village after their studies, and the frogs that appear as the rainy season approaches. In RV 7.103.9, the *gharmás* are said to be released at the arrival of the rainy season: *deváhitiṃ jugupur dvādaśásya ṛtúṃ náro ná prá minanty eté | saṃvatsaré prāvṛ́ṣy ā́gatāyāṃ taptā́ gharmā́ aśnuvate visargám* ||, "They guarded the godly establishment of the twelve(-month); these men do not confound the season. In a year, when the rainy season has come, the heated *gharmás* obtain their own release" (J-B slightly modified). This most likely means that the pillars of fire are released from the heated *mahāvīra* pots, or that the content of the pots is poured in the ritual fire, and metaphorically that the heated *gharmás*, i.e. the initiated young boys, are released from their *vratas*.

The Riddle Hymn has been studied from the perspective of the Gharma ritual by Houben (2000b). In RV 1.164.43 it is said: *śakamáyaṃ dhūmám ārā́d apaśyaṃ viṣūvátā pará enā́vareṇa | ukṣā́ṇaṃ pṛ́śnim apacanta vīrā́s tā́ni dhármāṇi prathamā́ny āsan* ||, "From afar I saw the smoke of dung, in the middle, on the farther side of this nearer one. The heroes cooked the spotted bull. These were the first regulations" (Houben 2000b: 523). Houben (ibid.) explains the dung smoke as referring to the smoke from horse dung that is used to fumigate the *mahāvīra* pot (a preliminary rite within the Pravargya ceremony) and the locations listed in pādas ab as referring to the ritual ground (see his explanation for further details). This interpretation is also followed by J-B (Brereton) who translate: "At the midpoint, beyond this nearer (fire), I saw dung-smoke from afar. Heroes cooked the dappled bullock. These were the first foundations (of the rite)" (J-B). On the other hand, Oberlies (2012: 284) interprets *viṣūvátā* as an explicit reference to the Viṣuvant day, the summer solstice, which is the midpoint of the year; J-B (p. 354) also admit this possibility. This obviously corresponds to the beginning of the rainy season as evinced by the Frog Hymn.

In support of the view, according to which the Gharma took place on the summer solstice,

we may cite Oldenberg's (1894) interpretation of the rite, accepted by van Buitenen (1968: 29ff.) and Oberlies (2012: 284), according to which the ritual aimed to reinforce the sun so that it would survive the rainy season, during which it was constantly threatened to be obscured by the monsoon clouds. Thus, the taboos against water, moisture, shade, etc. that characterise the conduct of the novice during the *avāntaradīkṣā* (see fn. 22 above) should be interpreted as serving this very purpose.

If this is correct, we need to interpret each of the two sections of our sūkta as referring to two independent episodes of the ritual complex associated with the *anaḍudvrata*. The second section, which mentions the twelve nights of Prajāpati, points to the midwinter celebrations, whereas the first section, with its reference to the Gharma ritual, points to the summer solstice celebrations.

This might also be supported by the fact that PS 3.25.7, referring to the twelve nights, says that "on that occasion *too* (*tatra_api*)", the *vrata* is performed, which seems to imply that the *vrata* was performed on more than one occasion.

On the other hand, while discussing the Riddle Hymn—which, as we have seen, is closely connected with the Gharma ritual—, J-B (p. 349) point out that "according to Aitareya Āraṇyaka V.3.2, verses 1–41 are part of the Vaiśvadevaśastra, a recitation at the midday offerings of the Mahāvrata ceremony, and Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka II.18 places the whole of the hymn in the Mahāvrata rite. This Mahāvrata rite is a variation of the Agniṣṭoma soma ritual that was performed on the next to last day of the year-long Gavāmayana rite. It may well be that the application of the hymn in the Mahāvrata rite is secondary (Houben 2000b: 502), since there is no explicit reference to the Mahāvrata in the hymn and, for such a long hymn, little even to the soma sacrifice more generally. But there is a thematic connection between this hymn and the Mahāvrata. According to Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa XIX.3, the Mahāvrata fell on the winter solstice. Whatever else I.164 may be about, much of it concerns the sun in one way or another (e.g., vss. 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 25, 33, 44, 46, 48). The winter solstice, when the sun has halted its southward movement and is about to turn northward, would be a natural time to consider the sun and its appearance and therefore may provide the seasonal context for the hymn".

Indeed, Oldenberg (1894) and van Buitenen may be right in interpreting the Gharma ritual as aimed at reinforcing the sun, but this interpretation may be regarded as also fitting the context of the winter solstice, when the sun is weakest, just as well as or even better than the context of the summer solstice when, despite the monsoon clouds, the energy of the sun is at its peak.

Moreover, it could be argued that it makes more sense that the initiated young boy is reborn as an adult at the winter solstice, when the year itself is reborn, and when more importantly Indra himself is born. Cf. ŚS 3.10.12–13 (belonging to a hymn dedicated to Ekāṣṭakā night): *ekāṣṭaká tápasā tapyámānā jajā́na gárbhaṃ mahimā́nam índram | téna devā́ vy àsahanta śátrūn hantā́ dásyūnām abhavac chácīpátiḥ || índraputre sómaputre duhitā́si prajā́pateḥ | kā́mān asmā́kaṃ pūraya práti gr̥hṇāhi no havíḥ ||*, "12. The Ekāṣṭakā, becoming hot with heat, generated an embryo, a greatness, Indra. Thanks to him the gods overcame their enemies. The Lord of Might became a slayer of Dasyus. 13. [You] whose son is Indra, whose son is Soma, you are the daughter of Prajāpati. Fulfil our desires! Accept our oblation!" (my transl.).

However, we probably need to read the above reference to Indra being born on the Ekāṣṭakā as meaning that the young boys are born anew as initiated members of the *Jugendbund* on this day:[40] in fact, this time of the year marked the beginning of the war season (later moved to the end of the rainy season) when the young boys set out to perform cattle raids (see Falk 1986: 28). Thus, it seems reasonable that the rite of passage into adulthood (the Gharma ritual) would take place on

40 Note that the reference to Indra's birth might also refer to the consecration of a king, although it is not easy to tell whether this was the normal situation, or whether it was the case in the context of those *Gefolgschaften* that founded new communities with their leader as king and turned rituals that originally belonged to the youth into solemn rituals of the warrior elite. Many Śrauta rituals may be explained in this light.

their return, at the summer solstice, once they would have acquired strength thanks to their experience, just like the sun would have acquired energy and warmth in its upward course.

Recently, Witzel (2005, 2008: 277ff., 2009, 2012: 154; cf. also Lyle 2009) has also claimed that the midwinter celebrations deal with the release of the sun, associated with the Vala myth, whereas the midsummer celebrations are associated with the myth of the slaying of the dragon and the release of the waters, which in my view is the mythical version of a rite of passage through which the young hero becomes the adult hero (see below). Thus the *anaḍudvrata*, the Gharma and the myth of the slaying of Vr̥tra, after which Indra obtains a *pratiṣṭhā* according to PS 17 ch. 6, might all be connected with this rite of passage associated with the summer solstice.[41]

After all, RV 1.164.43d states that the performance of the Gharma at the Viṣuvant day corresponds to the first foundations of the rite (*tā́ni dhármāṇi prathamā́ny āsan*). The fact that the Riddle Hymn is employed in the context of the Mahāvrata in later texts might simply bear witness to the original close connection between this rite and the Gharma rite as they both belonged to the ritual complex of the celebration of the solstices that involved the *Männerbund*.

As J-B (p. 350) point out "These two rituals, the Mahāvrata and the Pravargya, have one thing in common: they are the principal subjects of Āraṇyaka texts. The Āraṇyakas or 'forest' books are later Vedic works that explored rituals and the interpretations of rituals thought to be too dangerous to be taught within the village. The Ṛgvedic Āraṇyakas concern especially the Mahāvrata rite, and the Yajurvedic Āraṇyakas, the Pravargya". After our research, we can safely say that the reason why these two rites are so special, secret, and so closely connected with each other, is the fact that they are both associated with the initiation of the youth, the male society of the Vrātyas, the Vedic *Männerbund*.

41 Note that Falk (1997) has challenged Kuiper's theory that the RV is about a midwinter festival. He focuses on the theme of the release of the waters, and on the basis of observations on climate and geography, proposed to locate the Ṛgvedic homeland in the Sīstān along the course of the Helmand river, where the economy would have been very dependent on the swelling of the rivers at the melting of the snow of the Hindukush in spring. Thus, spring would have been the appropriate time for the celebration of the festival during which RV poetry would be composed. Only later, once the Vedic tribes moved east into Punjab and the Gangetic plain, would their economy have become dependent on the rainfall of the monsoon and Indra would have become a god of the rains opening the mountains of clouds. Much of the issue also depends on whether one considers the myths of Vala and Vr̥tra as independent, as Schmidt (1968) or Witzel (see above) did, or whether they are duplicates. Falk (1997: 81f) tends to believe that they might originate in two different groups and that "an exchange or blend between the two groups would most naturally have led to an amalgamation of their mythologies, pertaining as they did to the very same event". It seems to me that even if Falk's scenario was correct, it is not excluded that Vedic people would simply have re-adapted to the Iranian geography and climate older ideas rather connected with the solstices. Further arguments in favour of one or the other view may be built on the basis of the symbolism of the pillar or pole. Can the pillar of fire of the Gharma ritual be compared with other Indra pillars found in folk festivals across India and by extension to other poles found in European festivals? Here we can adduce the Christmas tree along with the Maypole or other *pali* or *alberi della cuccagna* ("greasy poles") that are present in both winter carnivals as well as summer festivals in Europe. The matter is probably complicated by the fact that climate differences may have displaced the single elements of an original ritual complex throughout the year in different regions. Similarly, it is not easy to evaluate the evidence from different parts of India and different epochs of Indian history, and indeed, Vedic religion must have undergone "many changes [that] may be traced back to the geographic particularities of the areas people passed by in the course of millennia" (Falk 1997: 87). In this light, it may be said that even if we regard the moment of the rite of passage into adulthood as originally associated with the summer solstice, the relationship between this and the monsoon, that is the idea that the Gharma rite is meant to reinforce the sun against the rain clouds, could be a secondary creation that arose specifically in the Indian subcontinent because of the specific characteristics of the climate.

### 3.5. The role of Indra

One of the most important achievements of Acharya's 2013 article is to have shown that the archaic *govrata,* from which the *pāśupatavrata* is derived, belonged to the cult of Indra.

Acharya (ibid.) also demonstrated that Indra's cult was still popular at the time of Meghastenes's visit to India. The Greek author describes the Sibae people as worshippers of a "Herakles" and observes that "they wore skins like Herakles, and carried clubs and branded the mark of a cudgel on their oxen and mules" (Indika, frag. XLVI, transl by Schwanbeck & McCrindle 1877: 110–111, cited in Acharya 2013: 119). Acharya identified these Sibae as the Śibis, whose king performed the *govrata*/Gosava according to JB 2.113, and argued that their god must have been Indra. It seems clear to me that the Sibae/Śibis described by Megasthenes must have been an Indian *Männerbund* of the kind described by Bollée (1981) and Vassilkov (2015).

Ingalls (1962) had already drawn attention to the similarity between the name of Lakulīśa, the "lord of the club", worshipped by the Pāśupatas as the first divine teacher of Pāśupatism, the incarnation of Śiva/Paśupati in the current, Kali age (see Bakker 2011), and the name of Herakles, the Greek deity worshipped by the Cynics and often portrayed as carrying a club, who was popular in India up to the Kuṣāṇa era. Ingalls suggested a direct influence of the Greek cult on the Indian one.

This view has been challenged by Bakker (2011: 27), who first of all noticed that the name first occurs in the form Lāguḍi (or in the variant Lākulin), 'club-bearer', in the Skandapurāṇa (550–650 A.D.) Given the absence of explicit references to this figure in the earliest Pāśupata sources, Bakker doubted the validity of Ingalls's theory, and rather wished to identify an "orthogenetic root of the club-bearing deity" in the fact that the club in the early depictions of Lakulīśa can be seen as a "variant of the traditional stick or staff (*daṇḍa*) of the brahmin ascetic" and the Śaiva ascetic in particular. According to him, the fact that the stick was replaced by the club (perhaps even under the influence of Herakles's iconography) might have been due to the latter's "more outspoken phallic, i.e. Śaiva connotation" (Bakker 2011: 27–28).

I agree with Bakker that an orthogenetic explanation is preferable, but his solution is unsatisfactory. On the other hand, Acharya's finds present us now with a convincing orthogenetic explanation of the origin of the figure of Lakulīśa and the *pāśupatavrata* in the cult of Indra and his *anaḍudvrata* that should clear out the doubts raised by Bakker about the identity of the object carried by Lakulīśa in his early depictions.

However, Acharya's finds did not solve the issue of the relationship between Indra and Rudra/Śiva, who is the main deity of the historical Pāśupata cult.

Acharya (2013: 124f.) and Oberlies (2000) before him have shown that several traits of the Pāśupata deity are actually more typical of Indra than of Rudra: for instance, the epithet *balapramathana*, 'destroyer of the Vala', in the second Pāśupata *brahmamantra*; the fact that in the form of Lakulīśa, he is depicted as holding a staff or club, which clearly appears to be derived from Indra's *vajra*, rather than holding a bow or other weapons that are more typically associated with Rudra/Śiva; the Pāśupata notion of *māyā* which in the Veda pertains specifically to Indra (and which Oberlies wishes to explain as an evolution of war tricks used to improve the chances of victory in battle).

Acharya (ibid) has suggested that there must have been a "transitional period [when] Rudra was still under the shadow of Indra", and Oberlies (2000: 183) has spoken of a process of replacement (*Ablösung*) of Indra by Rudra/Śiva, evidence of which he also finds in the Mahābhārata where Śiva seems to appropriate Indra's warrior nature.

In fact, numerous points of contact between Rudra/Śiva and Indra have been reviewed by Das (2000, 2002). Among these, we find the fact that Rudra is also sometimes characterised by the *vajra*; that the two gods share certain epithets; that both have a special connection with healing and medicine (it is Indra who teaches the Āyurvedic tradition to humans); both gods are associated with

bulls (Śiva's vehicle is the white bull Nandin); while in Vedic times Indra is known as a 'destroyer of strongholds' (*purandará*, etc.), in post Vedic literature it is Śiva who is the protagonist of the myth of the destruction of Tripura, the triple stronghold of the Asuras; both gods are associated with fertility and sexuality; both are associated with the *axis mundi* (Indra's pole and Śiva's *liṅga*), etc.[42] Therefore, it is clear that the issue of the relationship between Indra and Rudra/Śiva goes beyond the Pāśupata horizon.

In the discussion above, we have learned that the original context of the archaic bull *vrata* (whether we call it *anaḍudvrata* or *govrata*) is to be found in the rites connected with the initiation of the youth and the warrior brotherhoods that had a prominent role in the seasonal festivals of the Mahāvrata and the Gharma at the winter and summer solstices. On both occasions, Indra was the protagonist, yet the deity that is normally associated with the Vrātyas is Rudra. What is then the role of Indra?

Moreover, Kuiper (1960, 1962) has suggested that the prominence of Indra in the RV might be explained by the fact that the RV itself was a collection of poems composed on the occasion of the midwinter New Year festival. Falk (1986: 44ff.) has highlighted the centrality the Sattras held by the warrior brotherhoods as the context in which Vedic poetry was composed, as well as the role of riddles (*brahmodya*) in their ritualised raids, and concluded that "Diese Ungewißheit bei den Nachgeborenen, die nie wußten, ob sie als Untergebene, Freie oder 'Tote' enden würden, war die treibende Kraft der frühvedischen Kultur. Ihr haben wir einen Großteil der Dichtung des RV zu verdanken" (Falk 1986: 14). If we owe the early Vedic poetry to the initiated youth or the marginalised Vrātyas that organised the Sattras, if the RV itself was composed during the midwinter celebrations in which the warrior brotherhoods played a major role, if it celebrates the deeds of the early Vedic tribes, many of which were in fact warrior brotherhoods, then why is Indra so prominent in the RV, and not Rudra, since the latter is the most prominent deity of the Vrātyas?

Actually, the secondary role of Indra in Vrātya culture might just be a matter of perspective, a bias of the scientific literature, perhaps due to the inclination of the first Indologists who studied the Vrātyas to consider them an unorthodox phenomenon, even extraneous to the Ṛgvedic religion. Recently, in fact, Dore (2015, 2016) has found evidence of the prominence of Indra in Vrātya culture, and also uncovered Vrātya themes in the RV. My research into the *anaḍudvrata* can be considered another step in this direction.

Das (2000, 2002) too has suggested that the key to this riddle of the relationship with Indra and Rudra/Śiva is to be found in their connection with the warrior sodalities of the Vrātyas and their Indo-European background. However, he also writes, "If now Rudra/Śiva exhibits ancient, pre-Indo-Arya Indo-European characteristics, has much in common with Indra, but is, in contrast to the latter, not perceptible from ancient non-Indian sources, then it must very seriously be considered whether here we might not have a development similar to that shown to have occurred in the case of Bṛhaspati by Hanns-Peter Schmidt, i.e. that Rudra, like Bṛhaspati, represents the individual development of what was originally an aspect of Indra […] It must, however, be pointed out that the data at our disposal, even though it strongly suggests an affirmative answer to the possibility broached, nevertheless does not allow us to make unequivocal statements on the previous identicalness of Indra and Rudra" (2000: 116; cf. 2002: 149).

Das's statement, according to which there would be no term of comparison for Rudra in ancient non-Indian sources, is surprising, as he himself states on the previous page (2000: 115; 2002: 149) that both Indra and Rudra share similarities with Óðinn. It is precisely through comparative mythology that, I believe, we can find an explanation for the roles of Indra and Rudra in connection with the *Männerbund* and thus explain their alleged syncretism in Vedic culture and later Hinduism. In my view, a useful framework that we can employ to understand the relationship

42 More may be added: an interesting detail is the similarity between the three-pointed shape of Indra's *vajra* (as can be seen from the depiction of the Buddhist deity Vajrapāṇi) and Śiva's trident (*triśūla*). Note the triple nature of the *vajra* in PS 17 ch. 6.

between these two gods is the reconstruction of Indo-European society proposed by McCone more than 30 years ago.

McCone (1987) has challenged Dumézil's theory of a functional tripartition of Indo-European society, and proposed a division (especially of male society) based on age-grades characterised by gradually decreasing warlike activity and increasing occupation with peaceful business: the first age-group was the **korios*,[43] the *Männerbund*, consisting of the **$h_2$iuh$_1$enes*, the young unmarried boys (also called **moriōs* or **ulk$^{w}$ōs*), who form the frontline of the army and fight with light armour, weapons, and bows, displaying their belt, with unshaven hair, possessed by fury. The second age-group is that of the **uiHrōs* or **$h_2$neres*, the adult men, who are both householders in time of peace and warriors in times of war; they fight on chariots (later on horseback), with full armour, spears, and shields. Finally, the third age-group is that of the **senōs* or **ger$h_2$ontes*, the elders who have given up their arms. The second and third group together form the **teuteh$_2$*, the 'Volk', or the 'Königreich', the society of the adults.

According to McCone (1987: 133) the warlike activity of the **korios* and that of the **teuteh$_2$* were each embodied by a patron god— Kershaw (2000: 195f.) calls them the **korios* god and **teuteh$_2$* god. McCone identified several such divine couples: Óðinn/Týr, Quirinus/Mars, Lug/Núadu, Enyalios/Ares as well as Rudra/Indra. To be fair, all these identifications present some problems, as it is often the case that one deity shows some syncretic assimilation of traits that supposedly should belong to the other: thus we find Óðinn riding a horse in the Wild Hunt (Kershaw 2000: 32ff.) or Mars as a wolf god and patron of the *ver sacrum* (Kershaw 2000: 196). I think that McCone's intuition is correct, but that a couple of specifications should be added:

1) the **korios* god does not represent the young warriors; they may certainly identify with him, but he specifically represents the **korionos*, the leader of the brotherhood, the Vrātya leader clad in a black animal skin, who carries a bow, who is ritually dead, an "ascetic" who does not join the battle, but is carried on a hearse (the *vipatha*) by the members of the sodality: he embodies the mysterious wisdom that comes from the world of the dead ancestors and that the boys come into contact with during their life in the wilderness;

2) the **teuteh$_2$* god indeed represents the adult warriors, and especially the king (**rēks*); however, since every adult had to be a young boy and undergo initiation into the *Jugendbund*, the same god also represents the young warrior before he has become an adult. Depending on the situation, on the episode in the myth, the **teuteh$_2$* god may represent either the adult male or the initiated boy. This is why Indra can be both the adult warrior, the king *par excellence*, who wields his *vajra* and rules over the earth, but he can also be the young novice who needs to perform a *vrata* to acquire his proverbial bull-strength, and *only then* is he able to wield the *vajra*, slay the dragon, raid the cattle, and finally join the society of the adults as a full-fledged warrior who has demonstrated his abilities.

Thus two gods represented three functions or roles: 1) the *Männerbundler* (the "young Indra"), 2) the mysterious, wild, dead leader of the *Männerbund* (Rudra), and 3) the adult warrior (the "adult Indra"). In my view, the historically attested cases of syncretism can be explained with the fact that in different contexts (mythological, symbolical, historical), one of the three functions would prevail over the other, and one brotherhood, or one poet, would choose to highlight one or the other aspect, deciding to worship one or the other god. Moreover, in case a *Jugendbund* turned into a *Gefolgschaft* and proceeded to found a new community, it was possible that the leader (supposedly incarnating the **korios* god) would become the king of the new community (thus incarnating a function proper to the "adult Indra"-type **teuteh$_2$* god). This is the phenomenon behind the many cases of "lion kings" studied by Vassilkov (2015), and this is probably why Śiva also became the tutelary deity of many Indian dynasties—precisely because the latter emerged from *Gefolgschaften* that founded new cities or arose to power. In my view, this perspective can help explain much of the syncretism between Indra and Śiva in later Hinduism.

43 In the following lines, I adapt and update McCone and Kershaw's spelling of these Indo-European terms.

Thus, both Rudra and Indra were associated with the archaic bull *vrata* and *pāśupatavrata* from the beginning, as they were both connected with warrior brotherhoods from the very start. Rudra/Śiva was Paśupati all along, as can be seen by the fact that he is called "Lord of Cattle" already in the Brāhmaṇas (e.g. AB 3.33.3–4[44]). Lakulīśa, the lord with the club, the first teacher of the Pāśupata cult is a "young Indra" who has completed his path, has become an "adult Indra" and can now brandish his mace; Rudra/Paśupati, on the other hand, is the mysterious, wild god who embodies the knowledge that the Pāśupata novice has to acquire along his ascetic path.

In conclusion, we can say that the ultimate sense of the bull/draft-ox *vrata* in its many historical forms is to allow Indra as a boy to become an adult, to allow Indra as a warrior to acquire wealth and have a successful life, to allow Indra as a marginalised man who had been left behind by society to acquire merit like a householder and find a path to the world of heaven, and finally to allow Indra as an ascetic to accumulate merit and achieve *duḥkhānta* and union with Rudra.

### 3.6. The ploughman

In relation to the evolution of the Indra cult in later Hinduism, one aspect that deserves attention is the re-elaboration of Indra related themes into the cult of Viṣṇu, particularly in his role as the king *par excellence*—note that Viṣṇu is also sometimes associated with the Maruts and described as the leader of a Vrātya band (e.g. BŚS 18.26)—but also in the cult of Kr̥ṣṇa: a case study could be the episode of the slaying of the serpent Kalīya by Kr̥ṣṇa as an adolescent, which evokes the slaying of Vr̥tra by Indra (specifically the "young Indra").

Particularly interesting is also relationship between Indra and the figure of Balarāma/Baladeva, 'the god of strength' who in the Mbh teaches Duryodhana and Bhīma how to fight with a mace. Balarāma is also the patron of farmers and agriculture, and is portrayed as wielding a plough in his hand. Notably we also find cases in which Śiva is worshipped as a "lord of the plough", such as Śiva-Laṅgaleśvara in Odisha (see Smith 1999). The assonance between Laṅgaleśvara and Lakulīśa is also striking. Bakker (2011: 28) discusses the word *lāṅgula*, 'stick', 'penis', possibly of Austro-Asiatic origin, in relation to the names of Lāguḍi and Lakulīśa. The sexual, phallic symbolism of the plough (*lā́ṅgala*, RV; later also *laṅgala*) can hardly be denied, and the same can be said of early representations of Lakulīśa's club: Bakker (2011: 23–25) reports the image of a third-century sculpture of the god in which the club is clearly characterised as a phallus.

The matter deserves an in-depth investigation that I cannot conduct here. However, it can be said that fertility has very much been associated with the gods of the *Männerbund* and the *Männerbund* itself since the Indo-European age. The frightening masquerades of the age-set impersonating the dead always bring blessings to the pious householders who give them gifts: "the ancestors, as a part of their ongoing concern for their descendants, are thought to bring blessings to family, flock, and field. This is why the [Wild] Hunt was believed to be propitious, and why people welcomed it despite the chaos and even danger that came with it, an attitude which persisted long after the religious practice had become mere folk custom, as Höfler, Meuli, Wolfram, and others have amply attested. The **korios* brings increase for the same reason it brings order: because it makes the Ancestors present among the people" (Kershaw 2000: 34). We may recall the notion found for instance in MS 1.6.10 and MS 4.2.3 (see Appendix I, §10), that a householder saves

44 This passage illustrates a folk etymology of various epithets of Rudra, among which is Paśupati. According to the myth the gods created Rudra to punish Prajāpati who had committed incest with his daughter: AB 3.33.3–4, *taṃ devā abrūvann, ayaṃ vai Prajāpatir akr̥tam akar imaṃ vidhyeti, sa tathety abravīt, sa vai vo varaṃ vr̥ṇā iti, vr̥ṇīṣveti, sa etam eva varam avr̥ṇīta paśūnām ādhipatyaṃ, tad asyaitat paśuman nāma, paśumān bhavati yo 'syaitad evaṃ nāma veda*, "The gods told him: 'This Prajāpati has just done something not done [before (i.e not to be done)]; pierce this one!'. 'So be it', he said, 'Let me choose a boon of yours'. 'Please choose!'. He chose the following boon: the lordship of cattle. Hence that well-known name of his containing the word '*paśu*' (i.e. Paśupati). One becomes rich in cattle, if one knows that name of his in this way" (my transl.).

himself from hunger in the coming year if he gives a cow to Rudra on the Ekāṣṭakā. Moreover, the licentious behaviour of the *Männerbund* (see Appendix I, trait **M10**) is also conducive to fertility.

Notably, Kezich (2011: 83ff.; 2015: 38)[45] has identified the *ritual ploughing* as one of the core themes (besides the masquerades, the house-to-house begging, the mock wedding, the scapegoat, etc.) shared by winter festivals and carnivals all across Europe (cf. Caro Baroja 1989: passim). One may also recall the tradition of Plough Monday, which marked the start of the agricultural year in Britain, and fell on the first Monday after the Epiphany, i.e. shortly after the twelve days of winter. "On that occasion, it was customary to draw a plough while begging for alms. The masked figures who would draw it were called 'Plough Bullocks'" (Caro Baroja 1989: 279, my transl.; cf. Kezich 2015: 102; Hutton 1996, ch. 11).

Agriculture played a relatively secondary role in the pastoralist Indo-European and Indo-Iranian cultures, but it was not at all absent. In fact, Indra himself is associated with agriculture on several occasions in the Atharvaveda (see Renou 1946: 123; Griffiths 2009: 182ff. on PS 6.15). An interesting case is PS 11.10 (not found in the ŚS), a hymn dedicated to the 'pile, heap (?) of Indra' (*indrarāśi*-), which "lies on the threshing floor" (*khale śaye*, PS 11.10.3d) and is "the nourishment of the brahmins" (*brāhmaṇānām ... pituḥ*, PS 11.10.2d) that "the non-brahmins should not eat" (*nainam aśnīyād abrāhmaṇo*, PS 11.10.3a). It is not exactly clear what this *rāśi* is, but it is said that whoever spreads it (clearly a brahmin) would obtain various benefits (PS 11.10.6, *ya indrarāśiṃ nirvapād vardhayāt khalamānyāḥ | sphātiṃ ca khalyāṃ gṛhṇātu gavāṃ ca bahu puṣyatu* ||). We are clearly in an agricultural context. In fact, the last two stanzas read as follows: PS 11.10.9, *+anaḍuhāṃ pṛśniśaphānāṃ vahatāṃ *vaharāviṇām*[46] | *kīnāśasya śramāt svedād indrarāśir ajāyata* || 9 || *yat kināśasya sveda eti saṃtaptas tanvas pari | apāṃ gāva iva tṛṣyantīr indrarāśiṃ so aśnute* || 10 ||, "9. The pile (?) of Indra was born from toil, from the sweat of the ploughman (*kīnāśa*-), of the oxen with speckled hooves, groaning under the yoke while drawing. 10. When the sweat of the ploughman, burning hot, goes away from [his] body, he attains the pile (?) of Indra, like cows thirsty of water" (my transl.).

These stanzas are very reminiscent of the Anaḍutsūkta stanza, PS 3.25.12 (~ ŚS 4.11.10): *padbhiḥ sedim avakrāmann irāṃ jaṅghābhir utkhidan | śrameṇānaḍvān kīlālaṃ kīnāśaś cābhi gachataḥ* ||, "Treading down weariness with [his] feet, extracting refreshment with [his] hind ankles, with toil the draft-ox and the ploughman obtain the *kīlāla*-drink" (my transl.). We find the ploughman (*kīnāśa*), the toil (*śrama*), a nourishment/refreshment (*irā*, *pitu*), and of course the ox (*anaḍvah*). Given the obscurity of all the elements, every interpretation is tentative, but it is tempting to see Indra in the figure of the ploughman (and hence to interpret this *kīnāśa* as a proto-form of the later 'lords of the plough', like Balarāma and Laṅgaleśvara). It might be the case that poet is exploiting the notion of Indra as an agricultural god on the grounds that here Indra's warriors behave like draft-oxen, or it is possible that our stanza actually refers to the function of propitiating fertility that is proper to the *Männerbund*. Moreover, the ox "groaning under the yoke" (*vaharāvin*-), whose burning-hot sweat (*sveda ... saṃtaptas*) leaves his body, recalls the burning-hot *mahāvīra* pot, which represents the initiated warrior, and bursts with the sound of a bellow when the pillar of fire arises as lightning (*ayáṃ sá śiṅkte yéna gaúr … vidyúd bhávantī*, recounts the Riddle Hymn at RV 1.164.29). We seem to discern a common symbolism that revolves around Indra, the Gharma, the figure of the ploughman and the oxen. Thus we have the *vratins* of the Gharma, who sweat under the sun for a year during the *avāntaradīkṣā* in their attept to acquire his power, and the *vratins* who behave like draft-oxen following the example of Indra, the ploughman who leads them.[47]

45 See also http://www.carnivalkingofeurope.it/themes/ritual-ploughing.php.

46 **O** has *vaharāpiṇām*, **K** *vaharāpṛṇāṃ*; Bhattacharya writes *vaharāp̲iṇām* with an underline. However, the word *vaharāvin*-, 'groaning under a yoke' is attested in AB 5.9.

47 Notably the metaphor of the sweating ploughman (with the variant *kīnā́ra*-; see EWAia I p. 356) is also mentioned in RV 10.106.10, belonging to a hymn attributed to Bhūtāṃśa Kāśyapa and dedicated to the Aśvins, the deities associated with the Gharma ritual. J-B (p. 1569) describe this without question as "the most

It seems tempting to assume that the figure of the ploughman and a ritual ploughing might have been part of the ritual complex connected with the celebrations of the solstices also in Vedic culture, as it is in Europe. Further investigations into the cult of the Vaiśnava and Śaiva "lords of the plough", as well as into folk traditions in ancient and modern India, may hopefully one day shed light on this issue.

frustrating hymn in the Ṛgveda [as it] presents blizzards of similes [whose] style goes beyond the recondite to the utterly incomprehensible, with impossible hapaxes or unusual morphological structure, seemingly in part driven by phonological play", to the extent that J-B completely refrain from translating four out of 11 stanzas. For the sake of completeness, I simply quote the stanza with J-B's translation: RV 10.106.10, *āraṅgaréva mádhv érayethe sāraghéva gávi nīcī́nabāre | kīnā́reva svédam āsiṣvidānā́ kṣā́mevorjā́ sūyavasā́t sacethe* ||, "Like *āraṅgara* you produce (the milk) in the cow whose opening is below, as bees produce honey, like plowmen sweating out their sweat. Like earth, (a cow) that feeds on good pasture, you are accompanied by nourishment" (J-B).

# ABBREVIATIONS

## Texts

| | |
|---|---|
| AB | Aitareyabrāhmaṇa; ed. Aufrecht 1879; transl. Keith 1920. |
| ĀpŚS | Āpastambaśrautasūtra; ed. Garbe & Kashikar 1983; transl. Caland 1921. |
| ĀśvŚS | Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra; ed. Vidyāratna 1864–74. |
| AV | Atharvaveda: see PS, ŚS. |
| AVPariś | Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas, ed. Bolling & von Negelein 1909–1910. |
| BĀU | Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad; text and transl. Olivelle 1998. |
| BŚS | Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra; ed. Caland 1904–1924; ed. and transl. Kashikar 2003. |
| ChU | Chandogyopaniṣad; text and transl. Olivelle 1998. |
| GB | Gopathabrāhmaṇa; ed. Gaastra 1919. |
| JB | Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa; ed Vira & Chandra 1954; transl. Caland 1919. |
| KauśS | Kauśikasūtra; ed. Bloomfield 1890a. |
| KS | Kāṭhakasaṃhitā; von Schroeder 1900–10. |
| KātyŚS | Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra; ed. Weber 1859. |
| LāṭyŚS | Lāṭyāyanaśrautasūtra; ed. Vedāntavāgiśa 1872; Parpola 1968–69. |
| MānGS | Mānavagṛhyasūtra; ed. Knauer 1897; transl. Dresden 1941. |
| Manu | Manusmṛti / Mānavadharmaśāstra: ed. and transl. Olivelle 2005; transl. Doniger & Smith 1991. |
| Mbh | Mahābhārata; ed. Sukthankar *et al*. 1927–59. |
| MS | Maitrāyaṇīsaṃhitā; ed. von Schroeder 1881–96; ed. and transl. Amano 2009. |
| PāśS | Pāśupatasūtra: ed. Sastri 1940; Bisschop 2006b; Bakker & Bisschop 2018; transl. Hara 1966. |
| PB | Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa; ed. Śastri & Śastri 1935–36; transl. Caland 1931. |
| PS | Paippalādasaṃhitā; reference is made for Kāṇḍa 1 to Zehnder 1993, for Kāṇḍa 2 to Zehnder 1999, for Kāṇḍa 5 to Lubotsky 2002, for Kāṇḍa 6 and 7 to Griffiths 2009, for Kāṇḍa 8 and 9 to Kim 2014; for Kāṇḍa 13 and 14 to Lopez 2010, for Kāṇḍa 15 to Lelli 2015, for Kāṇḍa 3, 4, 10–12, 16–18, 19–20 to Bhattacharya 1997, 2008, 2011, 2016, for Kāṇḍa 20.1–30 to Kubisch 2012. |
| RV | Ṛgvedasaṃhitā; ed. Aufrecht $^{2}$1877; transl. Griffith 1889–92, Geldner 1951–57, Jamison & Brereton [=J-B] 2014. |
| ŚāṅkhĀ | Śāṅkhāyanāraṇyaka; ed. Dev 1980; transl. Keith 1908. |
| ŚB | Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, Mādhyaṃdina recension; ed. Weber 1855; transl. Eggeling 1882–1900. |
| ŚS | Śaunakasaṃhitā; ed. Roth & Whitney 1856 (revised Lindenau 1924); with padapāṭha and commentary by Sāyaṇa: Pandit 1894–98, Vishva Bandhu 1961; transl. Whitney 1905, Bloomfield 1897, Griffith 1895–96. |
| SuśrS | Suśrutasaṃhitā; ed. ācharya & ācharya 1938. |
| TĀ | Taittirīyāraṇyaka; ed. Phaḍake 1897. |
| TB | Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa; ed. Goḍabole 1898. |
| TS | Taittirīyasaṃhitā; ed. Weber 1871–72: transl. Keith 1914. |
| VaitS | ed. Garbe 1878; Vishva Bandhu 1967; transl. Caland 1910. |
| VS | Vājasaneyisaṃhitā; Kāṇva rec. (VSK): ed. Sharma 1988–99; Mādhyaṃdina rec. (VSM): ed. Weber 1852; transl. Griffith 1899. |

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|---|---|
| AiGr | Altindische Grammatik: Wackernagel & Debrunner 1896–54. |
| BHSD | Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary: Edgerton 1953. |
| EWAia | Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoiranischen: Mayrhofer 1992–96 and 1997–2001. |
| GW | Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda: Grassmann 1873 (1996). |
| J-B | Jamison & Brereton 2014. |
| KEWA | Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen: Mayrhofer 1956–80. |
| LVV | Liste vedischer Verbstämme und -Formen: Kümmel 2015. |
| MW | Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Monier-Williams 1899. |
| PW | Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (‘Großes Petersburger Wörterbuch’): Böhtlingk & Roth 1855–75. |
| Ved. Var. | Vedic Variants: I: Bloomfield & Edgerton 1930; II: Bloomfield & Edgerton 1932;III: Bloomfield & Edgerton & Emeneau 1934. |
| WG | Whitney’s Sanskrit Grammar:Whitney 1889. |
| W-P | Walde & Pokorny 1927–30. |

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‘Book five’, *JAOS*, 37 (1917), 257–308 – ‘Book seven’, *JAOS*, 40 (1920), 145–169 – ‘Book eight’, *JAOS*, 41 (1921), 264–289 – ‘Book nine’, *JAOS*, 42 (1922), 105–146 – ‘Book ten’, *JAOS*, 43 (1923), 96–115 – ‘Book eleven’, *JAOS*, 44 (1924), 258–269 – ‘Book twelve’, *JAOS*, 46 (1926), 34–48 – ‘Book fourteen’, *JAOS*, 47 (1927), 238–249 – ‘Book thirteen’, *JAOS*, 48 (1928), 36–65 – ‘Book fifteen’, *JAOS*, 50 (1930), 43–73 – *Books Sixteen and Seventeen* [*AOS*, 9]. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1936 – ‘Book eighteen’, *JAOS*, 58 (1938) 571–614 – *Books Nineteen and Twenty*. [*AOS*, 18]. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1940.

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# SUMMARY

The main goal of this thesis is to provide a new critical edition of the three 'new' chapters (anuvākas) contained in book (kāṇḍa) 17 of the Paippalādasaṃhitā (PS) of the Atharvaveda (AV).

The AV is second only to the Ṛgveda (RV) in importance, extent and antiquity among the texts belonging to the literature of Vedic India. While the RV is a collection of praise hymns addressed to various gods, recited during solemn rites, the AV mostly contains charms, spells, prayers, and rituals belonging to the domestic and popular spheres. The AV comprises 20 books and appears in two recensions (saṃhitās), the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda, which in large part overlap. While the Śaunaka recension has survived thanks to both oral and manuscript transmission, and has been widely edited and studied, the PS was known to have survived only in a single Kashmirian Śāradā manuscript (ms.) until a series of new manuscripts (mss.) were discovered in Odisha in 1957–60. Since then, new mss. have emerged and scholars have set out to critically edit the text.

Book 17 of the PS comprises eight anuvākas. These were not collected on a thematic basis, but on the grounds that they are all texts of a considerable length, as opposed to the shorter compositions found in most other books. Of these eight anuvākas, five have a parallel version in the Śaunaka recension, whereas three (anuvākas 3, 5, and 6) lack a parallel and have never been translated before. These three chapters are the focus of this thesis.

The methodology and editorial policy is laid out in the introduction. Besides the Kashmirian ms. written in the Śāradā script (indicated with the siglum **K**), five mss. written in the Odia script (indicated with the sigla **V122**, **Ji**$_4$, **Pa**$_c$, **V71**, **JM**$_3$) and belonging to the Odisha branch of the text's transmission have been collated in addition to the three used in Dipak Bhattacharya's 2011 editio princeps (**Ma**, **Ja**, **Mā**). Evidence is put forward for the existence of two separate sub-branches within the Odisha tradition with respect to book 17: a first sub-branch (**O**$^{\mathbf{A}}$) comprises mss. **Ma**, **Ja**, **V122**, **Ji**$_4$, and **Pa**$_c$; a second sub-branch (**O**$^{\mathbf{B}}$) comprises mss. **Mā**, **V71**, and **JM**$_3$. The introduction also includes a study of the spelling variants of the word *duṣvápnya*.

The main body of the thesis is divided into three parts, each one devoted to one of the three anuvākas. For each metrical stanza or prose paragraph, the edited text is presented and is followed by an English translation (the stanzas are also followed by a metrical analysis). Below the translation, the critical apparatus is provided. The apparatus is implicit in that only the words for which variants are found in the mss. are reported, but every single entry in the apparatus is explicit in that all the variants of all mss. are reported. The apparatus is followed by a philological commentary.

Part I is devoted to anuvāka 3. This text is the longest AV collection of spells aimed at repelling Sadānuvās, a category of female demons who were believed to attack women and children, threatening pregnancy and birth. The edition of the text is preceded by an introduction that describes the nature of these demons and highlights the rhetorical techniques that the Vedic exorcists employed to ensure the efficacy of their verbal exorcisms.

Part II is devoted to anuvāka 5. This text is a composite collection of curses against enemies, spells to exorcise poor sleep (*duṣvápnya*), and curses to send poor sleep to an enemy. The largest part of the text is composed in *yajus*-style prose, intermixed with a few metrical verses. The edition is preceded by an introduction that describes the characteristics of the *yajus*-style prose in which the text is composed.

Part III is devoted to anuvāka 6. This is a single composition in *brāhmaṇa*-style prose that illustrates a so-called *anaḍudvrata*, 'the observance of the draft-ox', which forms the Vedic prototype of the later *pāśupatavrata*, and requires the initiate to imitate the behaviour of a bull. The texts also introduces an aitiological myth according to which the god Indra was the first to perform

this observance. The edition is preceded by an introduction containing a summary of the myth and an overview of the characteristics of the *brāhmaṇa*-style prose in which the text is composed.

Two appendices further expand on the topic of Part III.

Appendix I is a study on the ideology and praxis of the above-mentioned *anaḍudvrata*, the characteristics of which are traced back to the initiatic practices of the Indo-European *Männerbund*. By highlighting the socio-economic factors that drove the development of the *Männerbund* from an institution devoted to the education of the youth (*Jugendbund*) to a warrior and ascetic brotherhood (*Gefolgschaft*) that provided a means of social mobility to marginalised people, this study aims to uncover the dynamics that led to the re-elaboration of archaic Indo-European cultural practices into Vedic Vrātya culture and later Śaiva asceticism.

Appendix II is devoted to the so-called Anaḍutsūkta, 'the hymn to the draft-ox' (ŚS 4.11 ~ PS 3.25), a second Vedic text that deals with the *anaḍudvrata*. This study aims to provide a new critical edition of the PS version, and present a new interpretation of the hymn based on both the comparison with PS 17 anuvāka 6 and the data from the cultural reconstruction outlined in Appendix I, uncovering the connections between the *anaḍudvrata* and the celebrations of the solstices: the Gharma ritual at the summer solstice and the celebrations of the twelve *vrátyā* nights at the winter solstice.

# SAMENVATTING

Dit proefschrift heeft als voornaamste doel om een nieuwe kritische editie te bieden van de drie ‘nieuwe’ hoofdstukken (anuvākas) die boek (kāṇḍa) 17 van de Paippalādasaṃhitā (PS) van de Atharvaveda (AV) bevat.

De AV is na de Ṛgveda (RV) de belangrijkste, grootste en oudste tekst uit de literatuur van Vedisch India. Waar de RV een verzameling is van lofhymnes, die aan diverse goden gewijd zijn en gereciteerd werden tijdens plechtige ceremonieën, bestaat de AV voornamelijk uit bezweringen, spreuken, gebeden en rituelen van huiselijke en volkse aard. De AV telt 20 boeken en is overgeleverd in twee varianten (saṃhitās), de Śaunaka en de Paippalāda, die elkaar deels overlappen. In tegenstelling tot de Śaunakavariant die in mondelinge en schriftelijke overlevering bewaard is gebleven en uitgebreid bestudeerd is, dachten we dat de PS slechts in één enkel Śāradāmanuscript uit Kasjmir bewaard is tot er een nieuwe serie manuscripten ontdekt werd in Odisha in 1957–60. Vanaf dat moment zijn er nieuwe manuscripten opgedoken en zijn wetenschappers begonnen om de tekst wetenschappelijk te bestuderen.

Boek 17 van de PS bevat acht anuvākas. Deze zijn niet bijeengebracht omdat ze thematisch overeenkomen, maar omdat ze allemaal een aanzienlijke lengte hebben. Hierin onderscheiden ze zich van kortere tekstcomposities die we in de meeste andere boeken aantreffen. Van deze acht anuvākas hebben er vijf een parallelle versie in de Śaunakavariant, terwijl de overige drie (anuvākas 3, 5, en 6) geen parallelle versie hebben en nooit eerder vertaald zijn. Deze drie hoofdstukken vormen de kern van dit proefschrift.

De methodologische en redactionele werkwijze wordt uiteengezet in de introductie. Naast het Kasjmirmanuscript, dat in het Śāradāschrift geschreven is, (aangeduid met **K**), zijn er vijf manuscripten in het Odiaschrift (aangeduid met **V122**, **Ji**$_4$, **Pa**$_c$, **V71**, **JM**$_3$), die behoren tot de Odishatak van de tekstoverlevering. Deze worden met elkaar vergeleken, samen met de drie manuscripten (**Ma**, **Ja**, **Mā**) die gebruikt zijn in de 2011 editio princeps van Dipak Bhattacharya. Er wordt bewijs aangeleverd voor het bestaan van twee aparte takken binnen de Odishatraditie ten aanzien van boek 17: de eerste tak (**O**$^{A}$) bevat de manuscripten **Ma**, **Ja**, **V122**, **Ji**$_4$, en **Pa**$_c$; een tweede tak (**O**$^{B}$) bevat de manuscripten **Mā**, **V71**, en **JM**$_3$. De introductie bevat tevens een onderzoek naar de spellingsvarianten van het woord *duṣvápnya*.

Het hoofdgedeelte van dit proefschrift is opgedeeld in drie delen, waarvan elk deel aan een van de drie anuvākas gewijd is. Van elke metrische strofe of proza-alinea wordt de tekst gepresenteerd, gevolgd door een Engelse vertaling (de strofes worden bovendien voorzien van een metrische analyse). Onder de vertaling wordt het kritisch apparaat gegeven. Het kritisch apparaat is in zoverre impliciet dat alleen de woorden vermeld worden waarvan varianten gevonden worden in het manuscript. Elke enkele invoer in het kritisch apparaat is echter expliciet in de zin dat alle varianten van alle manuscripten vermeld worden. Het kritisch apparaat wordt gevolgd door filologisch commentaar.

Deel I is gewijd aan anuvāka 3. Deze tekst is de langste AV-verzameling van toverspreuken die gericht zijn op de verdrijving van Sadānuvās, een soort vrouwelijke demonen waarvan werd gezegd dat ze vrouwen en kinderen aanvielen en een bedreiging vormden voor zwangerschap en geboorte. De editie van de tekst wordt voorafgegaan door een introductie waarin de aard van deze demonen wordt beschreven en wordt gekeken naar de retorische technieken die de Vedische geestenbezweerders gebruikten om te zorgen dat hun woordelijke exorcisme doeltreffend was.

Deel II is gewijd aan anuvāka 5. Deze tekst is een samengestelde verzameling van vervloekingen die tegen vijanden gericht zijn, toverspreuken die slechte slaap (*duṣvápnya*) verdrijven en vervloekingen die een vijand slechte slaap bezorgen. Het grootste deel van de tekst

bestaat uit proza dat geschreven is in de *yajus*-stijl, afgewisseld met een aantal metrische verzen. De editie wordt voorafgegaan door een introductie waarin de kenmerken van het proza in *yajus*-stijl worden beschreven.

Deel III is gewijd aan anuvāka 6. Het betreft hier een enkele prozatekst die geschreven is in de *brāhmaṇa*-stijl. Deze tekst illustreert een zogeheten *anaḍudvrata*, 'het ritueel van de trekos', die het Vedische prototype van de latere *pāśupatavrata* vormt en de ingewijde opdraagt om het gedrag van een stier na te bootsen. Deze teksten introduceren ook een etiologische mythe die stelt dat de god Indra de eerste was die dit ritueel uitvoerde. De editie wordt voorafgegaan door een introductie die een samenvatting over de mythe bevat en een overzicht geeft van de kenmerken van het proza in *brāhmaṇa*-stijl, waarin deze tekst is opgesteld.

Het onderwerp van Deel III wordt nader belicht in de twee appendices.

Appendix I onderzoekt de ideologie en de praktijk achter de hierboven genoemde anaḍudvrata, waarvan de kenmerken teruggaan naar de overgangsriten van de Indo-Europese *Männerbund*. In dit onderzoek worden de socio-economische factoren belicht die de *Männerbund* omvormden van een institutie die gewijd was aan de opvoeding van de jeugd (*Jugendbund*) tot een ascetisch broederschap van krijgers (*Gefolgschaft*) dat sociale mobiliteit verschafte aanmensen in de marge van de samenleving. Hiermee streeft dit onderzoek naar het blootleggen van de dynamiek die geleid heeft tot een nieuwe uitwerking van oeroude Indo-Europese culturele gebruiken in de Vedische Vrātyacultuur en later het Śaiva-ascetisme.

Appendix II is gewijd aan de zogenoemde Anaḍutsūkta, 'de hymne aan de trekos' (ŚS 4.11 ~ PS 3.25), een tweede Vedische tekst waarin de *anaḍudvrata* aan bod komt. Dit onderzoek biedt een nieuwe kritische editie van de PSversie en geeft een nieuwe interpretatie van de hymne die zowel op de vergelijking met PS 17 anuvāka 6 als op de data van de culturele reconstructie zoals beschreven in Appendix I gebaseerd is. In deze interpretatie worden de verbanden tussen de *anaḍudvrata* en de vieringen van de zonnewendes blootgelegd: het Gharmaritueel bij de zomerzonnewende en de vieringen van de twaalf *vrátyā*-nachten bij de winterzonnewende.

# CURRICULUM VITAE

Umberto Selva was born in Biella, in the region of Piedmont, Italy in 1984, and grew up in Castelletto Cervo, a small Alpine village in the same region. He obtained a first BA in Lingue e Letterature Straniere (Foreign Languages and Literatures) with a focus on Area Studies (Oriental languages, Indology) from the University of Turin in 2008 after study periods in Japan and India in 2006 and 2007. He then obtained a second BA in Lettere (Classics) with a focus on Philology and Historical Linguistics from the same university in 2011. Both degrees were awarded a grade of 110/110 *cum laude*. In the fall of 2011 he moved to the Netherlands to pursue a Research M.A. in Linguistics at Leiden University with a focus on Comparative Indo-European Linguistics and decided to specialise in Vedic. His Research MA thesis, written under the supervision of Prof. A. M. Lubotsky, was titled "The Paippalādasaṃhitā of the Atharvaveda, Kāṇḍa 17, First Anuvāka (PS 17.1-6), 'To the Earth'. A New Critical Edition with Metrical Analysis, Translation and Commentary" and was graded 9, *cum laude*, in September 2014. This work was shortlisted (top 4) for the National Master's Thesis Prize 2014 organised by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leiden, and won the first prize for the Indogermanische Gesellschaft MA Thesis Award for the best MA thesis in the field of Indo-European Linguistics in 2015. Between October 2014 and July 2015, Selva worked as a research assistant of Prof. Lubotsky at LUCL. In the fall of 2015 Selva obtained a three-year scholarship to pursue a doctorate in cotutelle between the University of Turin and Leiden University, and continue his work on the Paippalāda. During his PhD research, he was invited to speak at several conferences around Europe and to hold a lecture at the University of Venice, Ca' Foscari. In 2018 he also taught a course on Vedic Prose at Leiden University. In the fall of 2018 he won a Gonda Fellowship to conduct further research at the IIAS in Leiden in 2019 upon obtaining his doctoral degree.