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**Title:** The Paippalādasamhitā of the Atharvaveda kāṇḍa 15: a new edition with translation and commentary  
**Issue Date:** 2015-03-31
15.1. For the protection of the kingdom

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOD</th>
<th>QUARTER</th>
<th>SEASON</th>
<th>WIND</th>
<th>SAMAN (Prṣṭha)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agni</td>
<td>Samidh</td>
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<td>(Samudra) vāṭa</td>
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<td>Trivṛt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indra</td>
<td>Ugrā</td>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>(Sagara) vāṭa</td>
<td>Bṛhat</td>
<td>Triṣṭubh</td>
<td>Pañcadaśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-Gods</td>
<td>Prācī</td>
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<td>Vairūpa</td>
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<td>Dhartrī</td>
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<td>Anuṣṭubh</td>
<td>Ekaviṁśa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛhaspati</td>
<td>Samrāj</td>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>Avasyuvāṭa</td>
<td>Śākvara</td>
<td>Pānkti</td>
<td>Tripāva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savitar</td>
<td>Ērhdhvā</td>
<td>Cool season</td>
<td>Vivasvadvāṭa</td>
<td>Raivāta</td>
<td>Atichandas</td>
<td>Trayastriṁśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aditi (as Viṣṇu’s consort)</td>
<td>Dhruvā</td>
<td>Sarṇḍhvāṇā vāṭa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Agni Vaiśvānara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anumati</td>
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The corresponding brāhmaṇa section of the TS (7.5.15) explains the artificial nature of the mantras in the following way: ‘Now for the fire which is produced on the fire-altar and for Soma, the king, the beast for Agni and Soma is the guest-offering. Again the fire which is piled up is cruel, and if one were not to cast upon the fire which has been piled up these oblations, the cruel fire would spring up in wrath, and injure the offspring and cattle of the sacrificer. In that he casts the oblations on the fire which has been piled up, he appeases it with its own portion, and the cruel fire does not spring up in wrath and injure his offspring and cattle. There are ten oblations. Nine are the breaths in man, and the navel is the tenth; verily he places breaths in the sacrificer. Again the Viraj is of ten syllables; the Viraj is food; verily he finds support in the Viraj as food. ‘It must be piled with the seasons, the metres, the Stomas, and the Prṣṭhas’, they say. In that he casts these oblations, he piles it with the seasons, the metres, the Stomas, and the Prṣṭhas. ‘The quarters can be won by one who has pressed the Soma’ they say. In that he casts these oblations, (it is) for the winning of the quarters. The gods made Indra sacrifice with it, and therefore is it Indra’s pressing; men made Manu sacrifice with it, and therefore is it Manu’s pressing. As Indra among the gods, as Manu among men, becomes he who knowing thus sacrifices with this sacrifice. The Puronuvakyas contain the word ‘quarter’, for the conquest of the quarters’ (Keith).
Of the ten veneration prescribed in the Yajurvedic texts, the first seven are found in the PS with some significant differences as shown in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOD</th>
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<th>WIND</th>
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<td>Winter</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Śākvara</td>
<td>Triṇava</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savitar [in reverse order]</td>
<td>Ėrđhva</td>
<td>Cool season</td>
<td>*Vivasvadvāta</td>
<td>Raivata</td>
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<td>Dhruvā</td>
<td>Sriṇdhānā vātās</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

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

In the PS, each veneration/invocation occupies two stanzas: in every odd stanza the quarters, the seasons and the gods are mentioned; in the even ones, the Sāmans, the metres, the Stomas and the winds. PS 15.1.9–10 are the only two stanzas that do not conform to this pattern, but in this case the PS agrees with the Yajurvedic texts; then, while the Yajurvedic texts strictly follow an established pattern, the order of the elements of the invocation is reversed in PS 15.2.1–2 and 15.2.3–4, where the quarters, the seasons and the gods are invoked in the even stanzas after the Sāmans, the metres, the Stomas and the winds. I think that this reverse order, found also in the ĀśvSS, can be interpreted as a secondary development, probably due to the critical position of the stanzas involved at the beginning of a ‘new’ hymn. The omission of the samidh- quarter, the Trivṛt Stoma and the Atichandas metre, the misplacement of the Paṅkti metre and the Ekavimśa Stoma, the misunderstanding of the references to the winds are some other indications of the later origin of these hymns and their dependence on the Yajurveda. Other
clear evidence in favour of the late and composite nature of the hymn will be discussed in the commentary under 1.1a, 1.2c, 1.4ac, 1.6bd, 1.9c, 2.1ab, 2.2c, 2.3c.

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

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


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

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possibly due to the influence of the word 9.109.8b, etc.). It is not easy to understand why the redactor changed the text here, but it was the epithet of the verb of the verb natural. The PS line indeed seems to make reference to Soma, as is suggested both by the use according to our hope’. The text of the Yajurvedic Sa

disintegrated, then he should make oblation with the two [mantras] beginning with samid

This stanza is quoted in AthPrāy 6.5: rāthaṁtaraṁ cet stūyamānāṁ vyāpadyeta samyag digbhya iti dvāḥbhyaṁ juhuyāt ‘If the Rathaṁtara [sāman], when being sung, should disintegrated, then he should make oblation with the two [mantras] beginning with samyag digbhya’ (see VON NEGELEIN 1913–14: 139; samyag digbhya must be a conjecture, the manuscripts’ readings being samāḍigbhya BC, samāḍiśya AD). The identification of this pratīka with PS 15.1, which von Negelein proposes in a note, is obviously correct, because the first two stanzas of this hymn (cf. iti dvāḥbhyaṁ) are concerned with the sāman rathantara- (see next stanza).
b. Madhu and Mādhava are the names of the two spring months; cf. TS 4.4.11.1 = VS 13.25 ≈ MS 2.8.12:116.3 = MS 4.6.7:89.6 = KS 17.10:35.9 mādhuḥ ca mādhavaḥ ca vāsatikāv [MS, KS vāsantikā] trū ‘[You are] Madhu and Mādhava, the months of spring’. Here the PS agrees with the TS, but the easier and probably original reading is that of the KS madhur ato mādhavaḥ ‘Madhu and then Mādhava’. For a discussion of the variants in the parallel texts, see Ved. Var. II, 382, III: 210 and MITTWEDE 1986: 148. KEITH 1914: 351 translates our pāda ‘From Madhu may Mādhava protect us’, but in a footnote he proposes the alternative ‘after Madhu’.

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

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

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

The cadence is wrong.

rathantarāṁ sāmabhīḥ pātv avasmān
   gāyatreṇa Chandasā viśvarūpām |
   ṃvaśādaśā ēṣtāya stomo aḥnā
   samudro vāca idam ojah pipartu ||

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


TS 4.4.12.1
rathantarāṁ sāmabhīḥ pātv avasmān gāyatṛē chandasāṁ viśvarūpā ē |
trīvṛṇ no viṣṭhāyā stōmo aḥnāṁ samudrō vāta idām ojah pipartu ||
rathantaraṁ sāmabhīḥ pātv asmāṁ gāyatrī chandasāṁ viṣvarūpāḥ

trivṛdh viṣṭhaẏā stomo āhnāṁ samudro vāta idam ojaḥ pipartu

MS 3.16.4:187.16–188.1

rathantaraṁ sāmabhīḥ pātv asmāṁ gāyatrī chandasāṁ viṣvarūpāḥ

trivṛṇ no viṣṭhaẏā stomo āhnāṁ samudrō vāta idám ojaḥ pipartu

Bhattacharya edits vāca idamojaḥ* in d.

b. Once again the parallel passages have an easier text: gāyatrī chandasāṁ viṣvarūpā ‘The Gāyatrī, the glittering one among the metres’ (Keith). I connect viṣvarūpam with rathantaram and translate gāyatrenā chandasā ‘with the Gāyatrī metre’ (cf. TS 7.1.18.1 quoted below). On the connection of Agni with Gāyatrī, see e.g. RV 10.130.4a agnīr gāyatry ābhavat sayūgvā ‘The Gāyatrī became Agni’s yoke-fellow’, AB 1.1.7 gāyatram agneś chandas ‘The Gāyatrī is the metre of Agni’. On the association of Gāyatrī with the spring season, see TS 7.1.18.1 gāyatrenā tvā chandasā yunajmi vasanteṇa vartunā haviṣā dīkṣayāmī ‘With the Gāyatrī as metre I yoke you, with the spring as season [I yoke you], with an oblation I consecrate you’.

More complete associations, involving also the Stoma and the Sāman, are found, e.g., in AB 4.29.1 agnir vai devatā prathamam ahar vahati trivṛt stomo rathantaram sāma gāyatrī chando ‘Agni as deity bears the first day; the Trivr̥ṭ as Stoma [bears the first day], the Rathantara as Sāman [bears the first day], the Gāyatrī as metre [bears the first day]’.

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

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

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

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

ugrā diśāṁ abhibhūtīr vayodhāḥ Ta

śuciḥ śukre ahaṁ yojasye | *(+#)Ta

indrādhipatiḥ piṛptād ato no +Tb

*mahi kṣatram viśvato dhārayedam || Ta

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

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

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

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

d. The readings of K (mahat) and of the parallel passages suggest changing the text to ‘mahī, which is the solution I choose. The expression mahi kṣatrāṁ is found in the same position, at the beginning of a pāda, also at RV 1.54.8d mahī kṣatrāṁ sthāviraṁ vāṣyayāṁ ca ‘A great kingdom, firm and mighty’, 1.54.11b mahī kṣatrāṁ janāṣāl indra távyam ‘O Indra, a great
kingdom, subduing men, strong’, 5.68.3c mahī vāṁ kṣatráṁ devēsu ‘Great is your kingdom among the gods’, 7.28.3c mahē kṣatrāya śāvase hī jajñē (in the dative) ‘For you are born for great kingdom and power’, 7.30.1d mahī kṣatrāya pāumsyāya śūra ‘For great kingdom, heroic deed, O strong one, 8.22.7d mahē kṣatrāya jīnvalaḥ (in the dative) ‘You impel for great kingdom’. The reading of Or could be secondary and influenced by PS 1.33.4d mayi kṣatrāṁ varca ā dhattā devūh ‘O goddesses, bestow on me the kingdom and splendour’ or ŚŚ 3.5.2ab: mayī kṣatrāṁ parṇamaṇe mayi dhārayatād rayīm ‘Hold firm in me, O parṇa-amulet, the kingdom, [hold firm] in me wealth’.

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

bhād rāṣṭram kṣatrabhṛd vyḍhavṛṣṇyaṁ#
triṣṭubhaujaḥ śubhitam ugravīram |
indrā stomaṁ paṅcadaśena varca
idaṁ vātena sagareṇa rakṣatu ||

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

bṛhad rāṣṭram kṣatrabhrd vyṛdhavṛṣṇyaṁ
kṣatrabhrd K vyṛdhavṛṣṇyaṁ
Ku Pa Mā [Ma], vyṛdhavṛṣṇiyāṁ (?) JM, vyṛdhavṛṣṇyaṁ RM, vyṛṣṇis K triṣṭubhaujhaḥ [trīṣṭubhaujas K, trṣṇyabhōjaḥ Ku Pa Mā [Ma], trṣṇyabhōjaḥ JM, trṣṇyabhōjaḥ RM śubhitam] Or, sukṛtam K ugravīram

TS 4.4.12.2 = ĀśvŚŚ 4.12.2
bhāt sāma kṣatrabhrd vyṛdhavṛṣṇyaṁ triṣṭubhaujaḥ śubhitam ugravīram |
indrā stomaṁ paṅcadaśena mádhyaṁ idāṁ vātena sagareṇa rakṣa ||

KS 22.14:70.1–2
bhāt sāma kṣatrabhrd vyṛdhavṛṣṇyaṁ triṣṭubhaujaś śubhitam ugravīram |
indrā stomaṁ paṅcadaśenauating idāṁ vātena sagareṇa rakṣa ||

MS 3.16.4:188.4–5
bhāt sāma kṣatrabhrd vyṛdhavṛṣṇyaṁ triṣṭubhaujaḥ śubhitam ugravīram |
indrāḥ stomaṁ paṅcadaśena mádhyaṁ idāṁ vātena sagareṇa rakṣat ||

For the association of Indra with the Brhat Sāman, Triṣṭubh metre and Paṅcadaśa Stoma, see e.g. RV 10.130.5b indrasya triṣṭup ihā bhāgāḥ āhnah ‘the Triṣṭubh here was Indra’s portion [of the oblation] of the day’, AB 4.31.1 indro vai devatā dviitīyam ahar vahati paṅcadaśah stomo bhṛhat sāma triṣṭup chandha ‘Indra as deity bears the second day, the Stoma [is] the Paṅcadaśa, the Sāman [is] the Brhat, the metre [is] the Triṣṭubh’. For the connection of the Triṣṭubh metre with the summer season, see TS 7.1.18.1 triṣṭubhana tvā chāndasā yunajmi
grīsmēna tvartānā haviśā dīkṣayāmi ‘With the Viśvottāma as metre I yoke you, with the summer season as oblation I consecrate you’.

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


cd. Note the unusual sequence stōmaih pañcadaśena, instead of which the parallel texts have the easier stōmena pañcadaśem in pāda | sahajya ‘with the fifteen-fold Stoma’. It seems that all the varieties of Stoma are first generally mentioned, and then the panciaśa variety is explicitly addressed.

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

15.1.5 [Viśvottāma-Jagatī] TS 4.4.12.2 ≈ KS 22.14:70.3–4 ≈ ĀsvŚS 4.12.2, MS 3.16.4:188.6, 8
prācī diśāṁ sahayaśā yaśasvatī
viśve devāḥ *prāvṛśāhnaṁ sa varvatī | +Ja
idaṁ kṣatraṁ duṣṭaram astu ojo *Ja
anādhṛṣṭarāṁ *sahasyaṁ sahasvat || #Ta

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

prācī diśāṁ sahayaśā viśve devāḥ prāvṛśāhnaṁ sūvarvatī | *Ja
idaṁ kṣatraṁ duṣṭaram astu ojo ‘nādhṛṣṭarāṁ saharsiyaṁ sahasvat || #Ta

15.1.5 [Viśvottāma-Jagatī] TS 4.4.12.2 ≈ KS 22.14:70.3–4 ≈ ĀsvŚS 4.12.2, MS 3.16.4:188.6, 8
prācī diśāṁ sahayaśā yaśasvatī viśve devāḥ prāvṛśāhnaṁ sūvarvatī | +Ja
idaṁ kṣatraṁ duṣṭaram astu ojo ‘nādhṛṣṭarāṁ saharsiyaṁ sahasvat || #Ta

KS 22.14:70.3–4
prācī diśāṁ sahāśayā no viśve devāḥ prāvṛśāhnaṁ svarvita | +Ja
idaṁ kṣatraṁ duṣṭaram astu ojo ‘nādhṛṣṭarāṁ saharsiyaṁ sahasvat || #Ta

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prācit diśāṁ sahāyaśā yaśasvatī víśve devāḥ prāvyṛśāhūnāṁ śvārvaṭī |  
[...]  
idāṁ kṣatrāṁ duṣṭāram astv ójò 'nādhṛṣṭaṁ sahasyāṁ sāhasvat |  

ĀśvŚS 4.12.2  
prācit diśāṁ sahāyaśā yaśasvatī víśve devāḥ prāvyṛśāhūnāṁ śvārvaṭī |  
idāṁ kṣatrāṁ duṣṭāram astv ójó 'nādhṛṣṭaṁ sahasyāṁ sāhasvat ||  

Bhattacharya edits sahasyaṁ in d.  
a. Instead of the synonymous sequence sahayaśā yaśasvatī, K reads sahadiśāṁ sahasvatī. The first form is a mistake due to the repetition of the word diśāṁ; at the end of the line, the word sahasvatī 'victorious', which could also be a good reading, seems instead to be a mistake due to the repetition of the same elements in the compounds: the sequence saha-yaśā-yaśasvatī was changed into saha-diśāṁ-sahasvatī. The Or readings are common to all the parallel passages, so I adopt them in the text.  
b. Bhattacharya edits prāvyṛśūnāṁ, which is the reading of all the parallel texts, despite his usual policy to edit the text of the Orissa manuscripts. At 1.2c, 1.5b, 1.7c and 2.2b the forms ahnā and ahnām alternate in the manuscripts without consistency, and Bhattacharya is inconsistent as well, since he edits ahnām in the first two passages, ahnā in the other two. Apart from 1.2c, which is a very corrupt line, it seems that the genitive is better than the instrumental in the other passages. The genitive is used in all the parallel texts with the exception of the MS, which in three cases out of four has the instrumental in accord with the Orissa manuscripts.  
cd. The MS inverts pādas cd of this stanza with pādas ab of the next one. Note the variant 'nādhṛṣyaṁ' that K shares with the ĀśvŚS, and which is a good reading too. At the end of pāda d, I emend the text according to the reading of the MS and ĀśvŚS. The reading duṣṭaramam in K shows a meaningless repetition of the ending.  

15.1.6 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ TS 4.4.12.2 ≈ KS 22.14:70.5–6 ≈ MS 3.16.4:188.7, 9 ≈ ĀśvŚS 4.12.2  
vairūpe *sāmann iha tac chakeyarī Ta  
*jagatyainarī viṅgā v ā veśayāmi | Tb  
viśve devāḥ saptadaśena vadyam +#Ta  
idāṁ kṣatrami *salilavātam ugram || +#Ta  

Here with the Vairūpa Sāman may I be able [to do] that, with the Jagaṭī I cause him to enter into the clans. O All-gods, with the seventeenfold [Stoma] let the speech [protect] this kingdom, ocean-wind, mighty.
anaphoric sense; an emendation to *
versions. The neuter can hardly be correct here, since the enclitic is used exclusively in an
possible in late Gupta script.

15.1.7 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī] ≈ TS 4.4.12.3 ≈ ĀśvŚŚ 4.12.2 ≈ KS 22.14:70.7–8 ≈ MS 3.16.4:188.10–11
dhartrī diśāṃ kṣatrāṃ idaṃ +dādhartu-
-upasthāśānāṁ mitravad astav ojah |  (+#)Ta

Bhattacharya edits sāmanyaha in a and salilāvatam in d.
For the association of the All-gods with the Vairūpa Sāman, Jagatī metre and Saptadaśa Stoma, see, e.g., RV 10.130.5c vīsvān devāḥ jāgaty ā viveśa ‘The Jagatī entered the All-gods’, AB 5.1.1 vīśe vai devā devatās tṛtyām ahar vahanti saptadaśāḥ stomo vairūpaṁ sāma jāgatī chando ‘The All-gods as deities bear the third day, the Stoma [is] the Saptadaśa, the Sāman [is] the Vairūpa, the metre [is] the Jagatī’. For the connection of the Jagatī metre with the rainy season, see TS 7.1.18.1 jāgatena tvā chandasā yunajami vairūpāṁ vairūpāṁ sāma jāgatī chando ‘With the Jagatī as metre I yoke you, with the rainy season as oblation I consecrate you’.

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

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

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

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

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

15.1.8 [Triṣṭubh-Jagati] TS 4.4.12.3

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

TS 4.4.12.3 = MS 3.16.4:188:12–13
vairāje sāmanā adhi me maniṣṭunubhā sāṁbhṛtaṁ vīryāṁ sāhāḥ ||
idāṁ kṣatraṁ mitrāvād ārdradānu mitrā vāruṇā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ ||

KS 22.14:70:9–10
vairāje sāmanā adhi me maniṣṭunubhā sāṁbhṛtaṁ duṣṭaraṁ sahāḥ ||
idāṁ kṣatraṁ mitrāvād ārdradān̄v ojo mitrā varuṇa rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ ||

ĀśvŚŚ 4.12.2
vairāje sāmanā adhi me maniṣṭunubhā sāṁbhṛtaṁ vīryāṁ saḥāḥ ||
idāṁ kṣatraṁ mitrāvād ārdradānu mitrā varuṇa rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits *piṭā in c.

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

b. For the connection of the Anuṣṭubh metre with the autumn season, see TS 7.1.18.1–2 anuṣṭubhena tvā chándasā yunajmi šaradā tvartūṇā havīśa dīkṣayāmi ‘With the Anuṣṭubh as metre I yoke you, with the autumn season as oblation I consecrate you’. I translate the asyndetic expression vīryāṁ saḥāḥ (lit. ‘manliness, power’) as a hendiadys.

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

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

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

15.1.9 [Triśūbb-Jagatī] TS 4.4.12.3 ≈ KS 22.14:70.11–12 ≈ MS 3.16.4:188.14–189.1 ≈ ĀśvŚŚ 4.12.2
samrāḍ diśāṁ *sahasāṁnī sahasvaty
ṛtur hemanto *viṣṭhayā naḥ pipartu |
osajātāṁ bṛhatī ca sakvarī-
-imaṁ yajñam *avatāṁ no ghrātācī ||

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


TS 4.4.12.3
samrāḍ diśāṁ sahasāṁnī sahasvaty ṛtur hemanto viṣṭhayā naḥ pipartu |
avasyuvātāṁ bṛhatī nā śakvarīr imāṁ yajñāṁ avantu no ghrātācī ||

KS 22.14:70.11–12
samrāḍ diśāṁ sahasāṁnī sahasvaty ṛtur hemanto viṣṭhayā pipartu naḥ |
avasyuvātāṁ bṛhatī no śakvarīmaṁ yajñāṁ avatu yā ghrātācī ||

MS 3.16.4:188.14–189.1
samrāḍ diśāṁ sahasāṁnī sahasvaty ṛtur hemanto viṣṭhayā naḥ pipartu |
avasyuvātāṁ bṛhatī nā śakvarīr diśāṁ tevy avatu no ghrātācī ||

ĀśvŚŚ 4.12.2
samrāḍ diśāṁ sahasāṁnī sahasvaty ṛtur hemanto viṣṭhayā naḥ pipartu |
avasyuvātāṁ bṛhatī nu śakvarīmaṁ yajñāṁ avatu no ghrātācī ||

Bhattacharya edits oṣajāṭāṁ and tu in c.
a. Note the word play between the two forms sahasāmnī and sahasvatī, both beginning with the sound sequence s-a-h-a-s-
.

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

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

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

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

d. I slightly emend the text of the majority of the Orissa manuscripts to avatān, 3rd singular imperative future.


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


TS 4.4.12.4

sūvarvatī sudūghā naḥ payasvatī disāṁ devy avatu no ghṛtācī |
tvāṁ gopāḥ puraetotā paścād bṛhaspate yāmyāṁ yuṅgdhi vācam ||

KS 22.14:70.13–14

svarvatī sudūghā yā payasvatīmaṁ yajñam avatu yā ghṛtācī |
tvāṁ no gopā avitota yantā bṛhaspate yāmyāṁ yuṅgdhi vācam ||
svārvatī sudūghā naḥ payasvatimāṅ yajñām avatu yā ghrācā
tvāṁ gopāḥ puraetotā paścād bhāspate yāmyāṅ yuṇgdhi vācama
c. For the construction of puraetar- with adverbs, see TICHY 1995: 358–359. This epithet refers to Bhāspati at ŚS 7.8.1b = PS 20.4.2b and, in the PS only, at 1.71.2a, 4.10.1b, 19.38.14b, 20.25.8b.
d. I take yāmyām as a feminine accusative singular from the adjective yāmya-, connected with vācam. The adjective yāmya- means ‘relating or belonging to Yama’, the king of the dead, as well as ‘southern’, as Yama’s abode was traditionally situated in the South. Another possible translation would be ‘a southern voice’, but then the meaning would be unclear.

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

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

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15.2.1 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ TS 4.4.12.4 ≈ KS 22.14:70.17–18 ≈ MS 3.16.4:189.6–7 ≈ ĀśvŚŚ 4.12.2
stomaikariṇīṣe bhuvanasya patni T
*vivasvadvāte abhi no grṇīhi | T
ghṛṭavaṭi savitār ādhipatyay T
payasvatī rāntir āśā no astu || Ta

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

Bhattacharya edits vivasvavāte in b.

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

b. The erroneous reading vivasvavāte is certainly due to perseveration from PS 2.36.5a and PS 5.7.2a, where the word visvagvātā- ‘a wind blowing from all directions’ is attested (note that K reads visvagvāte at PS 2.36.5a and viśvagvāto at PS 5.7.2a). I emend the text according to the parallel passages. The meaning of vivasvadvāta- is uncertain (MW ‘(prob.) loved by Vivasvat’, Keith ‘breathed on by Vivasvat’), but it seems that here again a wind is concerned.
15.2.2 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ TS 4.4.12.4 ≈ KS 22.14:70.15–16 ≈ MS 3.16.4:189.4–5 ≈ ĀśvŚŚ 4.12.2

urdhvā diśāṁ rāntir āśauṣadhiṁ
sarīvatsareṇa savitā no āhnām
revat sāmāṅamba paṅktiṁ chandasāṁ
ajāṭaśatrūḥ sYaṁ no astu ||

Ta
tb
t1c
+

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

Bhattacharya edits āhnā in b and *paṅkti in c.

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

c. The “---”-sign before paṅkti is unnecessary. Note that this is a catalectic Triṣṭubh pāda. This pāda is found in a Triṣṭubh stanza together with three hendecasyllables. From a general point of view, it is not uncommon to find pādas of ten syllables among hendecasyllables — a phenomenon that appears to be increasingly common in the AV. Moreover, this verse could be scanned as a Triṣṭubh pāda by reading chandasāṁ, but this restoration would produce an irregular cadence, which suggests that in this case an interpretation as a “Pentadenreihe” is preferable. This hypothesis is also supported by the wordplay on the number “five” created by the mention of the Paṅkti (lit. “a set of five”) metre that follows the caesura, pointing to a division of the line into 5 + 5 syllables. This is surely a secondary development in relation to the parallel texts, which mention the Atichandas metre, whose position after the Paṅkti metre is more appropriate.
In order to understand why this pāda was intentionally composed as a decasyllable and that the redactor had a specific purpose in mind, one has to consider the context of the whole hymn. One of the major roles in the axiological systematization of the universe as described in this hymn is indeed represented by the various forms of metre. It is very attractive to think that the redactor tried to reproduce the concept expressed by his poetic words (the mention of a specific metre, Paṅkti), in the concrete shape of their metrical form (a ‘Pentadenreihe’).

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

15.2.3 [Triṣṭubh] \(\approx\) TS 4.4.12.5 \(\approx\) MS 3.16.4:190.1–2, ab: \(\approx\) KS 22.14:71.1 \(\approx\) ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

\[
\text{viṣṭambhō dīvo dharaṇaḥ prthivyā asyeśānā jāgato viṣṇupatnī} \quad +\text{Tb}
\]

\[
\text{viśvavyacā iśāyantī suhūṭiḥ} \quad \text{Ta}
\]

\[
\text{syonā no astaṃ aditer upasthe} \quad \text{Ta}
\]

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

TS 4.4.12.5

viṣṭambhō dīvo dharaṇaḥ prthivyā asyeśānā jāgato viṣṇupatnī \(\mid\)

viśvavyacā iśāyantī suhūṭiḥ śivā no astaṃ adītir upāsthe \(\parallel\)

MS 3.16.4:190.1–2

viṣṭambhō dīvo dharaṇaḥ prthivyā asyeśānā jāgato viṣṇupatnī \(\mid\)

vyācavatiśāyantī suhūṭiḥ śivā no astaṃ adītir upāsthe \(\parallel\)

KS 22.14:71.1

viṣṭambhō dīvo dharaṇaḥ prthivyā asyeśānā sahaso viṣṇupatnī

ĀśvŚS 4.12.2

viṣṭambhō dīvo dharaṇaḥ prthivyā asyeśānā jāgato viṣṇupatnī \(\mid\)

vyācavatiśāyantī suhūṭiḥ śivā no astaṃ adītir upāsthe \(\parallel\)

Bhattacharya edits suhūṭiḥ in c.

The reading suhūṭiḥ of Bhattacharya’s edition makes no sense and produces an irregular cadence. I adopt the text of JM suhūṭiḥ, which features a regular cadence and for which see PS 1.95.1ab rudra mā tvā jihiḍāma suṣṭutyā maghavan mā suṣṭiyā ‘O Rudra, we don’t want to make you angry, with an excellent praise, O bountiful, with a good invocation/oblation’, ŚS 7.4.1a = PS 20.1.10a ēkayā ca daśābhiṣ ca suhūte ‘With one and with ten, O easily-invoked

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one’ and the hapax suhūtala- attested at PS 5.1.3a hā amba suhūtale ‘Hey, mother Suhūtalā (easy to invoke’).

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

15.2.4 [Triṣṭubh] TS 4.4.12.5 = ĀśvŚŚ 4.12.2 ≈ MS 3.16.4:189.15–16, cd: KS 22.14:71.2
dhruvā diśāṁ viṣṇupatny aghorā-
-asyeśāṁ sahaso yā manotā
bṛhaspatir mātariśvota vāyuḥ
sarīdhānā vātā abhi no grāṇantu ||

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


TS 4.4.12.5 = ĀśvŚŚ 4.12.2
dhruvā diśāṁ viṣṇupatny aghorāsyēśāṁ sāhaso yā manotā l bṛhaspatir mātariśvota vāyuḥ sarīdhuvānā vātā abhi no grāṇantu ||

MS 3.16.4:189.15–16
dhruvā diśāṁ viṣṇupatny aghorāsyēśāṁ sāhaso yā manotā l bṛhaspatir mātariśvota vāyuḥ sarīdhuvānā vātā abhi no grāṇantu ||

KS 22.14:71.2
bṛhaspatir mātariśvota vāyuḥ sarīdhuvānā vātā abhi no grāṇantu ||

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

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

yo naḥ pitā janītā yo vīdhārta
yo naḥ satō abhū yā saj jajāna
sa aśiśā draviṇam ichaṁañāḥ
prathamachado (’)vara ā viveśa ||

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

yó naḥ pitā janitā yó vidhātā (MS vidhartā) yó naḥ satō abhy ā sāj jajāṇa ||

KS 18.1:265.10 = KapKS 28.2:121.16
yó naḥ pitā janitā yó vidhātā yó nas (KapKS naḥ) satō abhy ā sān nināya |

RV 10.81.1 = TS 4.6.2.1 = KS 18.1:265.3–4 = KapKS 28.2:121.10–11= MS 2.10.2:133.1–2 = VSM 17.17
yā imā vīśvā bhūvaṇāṁ jūhvad ṛṣir hōtā ny āśāvat (TS niṣaśātā) pitā naḥ |
sā āśaśā drāviṇam ichāmāṇaḥ prathamachād (TS, KS paramachād) āvarāṁ ā viveśa ||

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

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

abhī ā vartasva pṛthivī
yajñena payasā saha |
*vapāṁ te agnir iṣīto (’)va rohatu ||

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


TS 4.2.7.1
abhīva vartasva prthivi yajñēna páyasahā |

vapāṁ tē agnir iṣīto ‘va sarpatu |

abhīva vartasva prthivi yajñēna páyasahā |

vapāṁ tē agnir iṣīto arohat |

Bhattacharya edits prthivī in a and apānto in c.
a. Bhattacharya follows the readings of the Orissa manuscripts prthivī, but K, prima manu, has prthivi (then corrected to prthivī by the scribe). The vocative is no doubt correct here.
c. I emend the text according to the readings of the TS, KS, MS and VSM. The word vapā- indicates the omentum, a fatty membrane that covers the intestines and part of the viscera of a male goat and is offered during the animal sacrifice. The emendation is not certain, but the form apāmlapān (genitive plural ‘of the waters’) found in the manuscripts seems impossible. The word vapā- also occurs at RVKh 2.14.6b, and then only from the YV onwards. In the RV it is attested only as the first member of a compound; cf. the formations vapāvant- ‘furnished with or enveloped in the omentum’ (5.43.7b, 6.1.3d), vapōdara- ‘fat-bellied, corpulent’ (8.17.8a).

Note that the PS has a 3rd singular imperative like the TS, but of the same verb as the other Yajurvedic Sarṇhitās.

15.2.7 [Gāyatrī] ≈ TS 4.2.7.1 ≈ KS 16.14:237.5–6 = KapKS 25.5:98.11–12 = VSM 12.104 ≈ MS 2.7.14:95.5–6
yad agne candrāṁ yat pūtāṁ #A
yac chukraṁ yac ca yajñiyam | A
tad devēbhīyo bharāmasī || A

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


TS 4.2.7.1
āgne yāt te śukrāṁ yāc candrāṁ yāt pūtāṁ yād yajñīyam |
tadh devēbhīyo bharāmasī ||

āgne yāt te śukrāṁ yāc candrāṁ yāt pūtāṁ yāc ca yajñīyam |
tadh devēbhīyo bharāmasī ||
ab. The PS leaves out the enclitic te and slightly rearranges the relative clauses of the other Sarîhîtâ versions, making only one of the four clauses change position (1234 > 2314); as a result, the metre becomes a regular Anuştâbhb.

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

iṣam āṁrjâm aham ata ādi
yajñasya yonau mahiśasya dhâman | (+)#T1
ā no gośu *viśastv ā praṇāyâṁ
jahâmi sedim anirâm amîvâm ||

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


TS 4.2.7.1
iṣam āṁrjâm aham itâ ādada ṭâsya dhâmino amîtasya yôneḥ |
ā no gośu viśatv âuṣadhîṣu jahâmi sedîm ânirâm âmîvâm ||

KS 16.14:237.7–8
iṣam āṁrjâm aham itâ ādy ṭâsya yônîṁ mahiśasya dhârâṁ |
ā no gośu viśatv â tanûṣu jahâmi sedîm ânirâm âmîvâm ||

MS 2.7.14:95.7–8
iṣam āṁrjâm aham itâ ādâm ṭâsya yônîṁ mahiśasya dhârâṁ |
ā no gośu viśatv ōṣadhiṣu jahâmi sedîm ânirâm âmîvâm ||

VSM 12.104
iṣam āṁrjâm aham itâ ādâm ṭâsya yônîṁ mahiśasya dhârâṁ |
ā mā gośu viśatv â tanûṣu jahâmi sedîm ânirâm âmîvâm ||

KapKS 25.5:98.13–14
iṣam āṁrjâm aham itâ ādâm ṭâsya yônîṁ mahiśasya dhârâṁ |
ā no gośu viśatv â tanûṣu jahâmi sedîm ânirâm âmîvâm ||

Bhattacharya edits viśastvâ in c.

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

b. I emend the reading of all the manuscripts viśastvâ in accordance with the parallel passages.

occurs at RV 7.71.2c yuyutám asmád ánirām āmīvām ‘May you two (Āśvins) keep away from us lack of nourishment, disease’; cf. also RV 8.48.11a āpa tyā asthur ánirā āmīvā ‘Those lacks of nourishment [and] diseases disappeared’ and RV 10.37.4cd = PS 17.25.7cd tēnāsmād vīśvām ánirām ānāhutim āpāmīvām āpa duṣvāpyaṁ suva ‘with that, drive off from us every lack of nourishment, worthless sacrifice, [drive] off disease, [drive] off the nightmare’.

Note the variant in K, which reads ajāram ‘unaging’ instead of anirām.
15.3. Against various diseases and witchcraft: with the Traikakuda ointment

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

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

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


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

15.3.1 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 19.44.1

āyuṣo (')si prataranāṁ #A
vipraṁ bhesajam ucyaśe | A
tad āñjana tvāṁ saṁśāti | #A
*asi māyobhavaṁ kṛtam || A

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

bhesajam\(\text{ Or, bhejam K}\) \(\text{ tad ā\text{n}jana}\) \(\text{ Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], tad ā\text{n}jan, Pa, yad ā\text{n}jani K}\) \(\text{ tvān| Or, bhra\text{n}\ K}\) \(\text{ śa\text{r}itā\text{t}e| K, santāte Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], santate Pa} \text{ ‘asi} | \text{ si Or, asi K} \text{ mā\text{y}obhavā} | \text{ Or, nā\text{n}yobhavā K} \text{ kṛtām} \text{ kṛtāṁ} || \text{ Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, kṛtām | RM, kṛtām, 1 Z K}\)

ŚS 19.44.1
āyuśo ‘si pratāraṇaṁ vípraṁ bhesajam ucyase
śaṁ āΣāṁ āṁ yobhava

Bhattacharya edits \(\text{sāntāte in e}\) (this reading is erroneously ascribed to K in his critical apparatus).

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

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

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

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

15.3.2 [Anuṣṭubh] SS 19.44.2

yo harimā jāyāṇyo
aṅgabhedo visalpakaḥ |
sarvaṁ te yakṣmam áṅgebhyo
bahir nir hanttv āñjanam ||

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


SS 19.44.2
yó harīmā jāyānyo 'ṅgabhedō visālpakaḥ
sārvāṃ te yākṣam āṅgebhyo bahūr nīr hantv āṅjanam

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

15.3.3 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚŚ 19.44.3
āṅjanam pṛthivyāṁ jātāṁ
bhadrāṁ puruṣājīvanam |
ṅrṇotv ∗āpramāyukaṁ
rathajūtim anāgasam ||

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


ŚŚ 19.44.3
āṅjanam pṛthivyāṁ jātāṁ bhadrāṁ puṣuṣājīvanam |
ṅrṇotv āpramāyukaṁ rāthajūtim anāgasam ||

Bhattacharya edits atpramāyukaṁ in c.

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

c. As regards *āpramāyukaṁ, I emend the text according to the ŚŚ. The PS tradition seems here to perseverate an ancient mistake of *G, consisting in the repetition of the -t- in the sequence -tva tpra-. As noted by KULIKOV forthc., (ā)pramāyuka- is derived from the compound verb prá-mī- ‘die prematurely’, and should therefore translated as ‘non-dying-prematurely’, rather than as simply ‘unperishing’ as in Whitney’s translation. He very pertinently argues that “this interpretation perfectly agrees with the qualification of the ointment as the remedy which enables to reach the established life-time in 1a”. This stanza could have been pronounced by the officiant or by the patient: I prefer the first hypothesis and add the understood object ‘you’, which can be inferred from the previous stanza.
The compound ráthajūti-, which occurs only in these two parallel passages, has been interpreted as an adjective meaning ‘driving swiftly in a chariot’, ‘swift like a chariot’ (GRIFFITH 1895–6: 300, WHITNEY 1905: 967, SANI-ORLADDI 1992: 236) or as a proper name or honorific title (pw V, 166, SPARREBOOM 1985: 139). I believe that a literal translation ‘having the speed of a chariot’ (i.e. ‘swift like a chariot’) fits perfectly the context of the hymn, which aims to free a patient from various diseases that weaken the limbs (see the previous stanza) and from the snares of Nirṛti (see next stanza): the wish to be swift and unrestrained, like a chariot rushing along in an open space, sounds natural and needs no further explanation.

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

15.3.4 [Prose] ŚS 19.44.4 = KauśS 47.16 = AVPariś 37.1.10, cf. PS 19.42.6a
prāṇa prāṇaṁ trāyasva- P
-aso asave mṛḍa | P
nirṛte nirṛtyā naḥ pāśebhya muṇca || P

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


ŚS 19.44.4 = KauśS 47.16 = AVPariś 37.1.10
prāṇa prāṇaṁ trāyasvāsō asave mṛḍa |
nirṛte nirṛtyā naḥ pāśebhya muṇca ||

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

ab. On prāṇa- and āsu-, see BODEWITZ 1986 and cf. PS 15.4.6–10b. For cd, cf. PS 15.4.5cd. c. Cf. ŚŚ 1.31.2cd = PS 1.22.2cd té no nirṛtyāḥ pāśebhya muṇcatāṁhaso amhasaḥ ‘So (O gods), release us from bonds of Nirṛti, from every distress’. There are many variants to express the idea ‘let s.o. free from the bonds of s.o.’: see e.g. RV 1.24.13d vidvāṁ ādabho vi mumoktu pāśān ‘Let the wise one, uninjurable, loosen the bonds’, 5.2.7c evāṃmād agne vi mumugdhi
pāṣāṇ ‘So, O Agni, loosen from us the bonds’, 6.74.4c prā na muñcataṁ vārunasya pāṣāṇ ‘Release us from the bonds of Varuṇa’, 7.59.8c druḥāḥ pāṣāṇ prāti sā muciṣṭa ‘May he put on himself the bonds of injury’, 7.88.7b vṛy āsmāt pāṣāṇ vāruno munocat ‘Varuṇa will loosen from us the bond’, 10.85.24a prā tvā muñcāni vārunasya pāṣāṇ ‘I do release you from the bonds of Varuṇa’, ŠŚ 9.3.24a ≈ PS 16.41.2a mā nah pāṣāṇ (PS pāṣāṇ) prāti muco ‘Do not put on us the bond(s)’ etc.

15.3.5 [Prose] ŠŚ 19.44.5, c: PS 1.80.5b

śindhor garbhā ‘(your) eye’
vidyutāṁ puspam |
vāṭaḥ prāṇaḥ sūryaś cākṣur divas payaḥ ||

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


ŚŚ 19.44.5
śindhor garbhā ‘si vidyutāṁ puspam |
vāṭaḥ prāṇaḥ sūryaś cākṣur divās payaḥ ||

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

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

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

The associations between sūrya- and cākṣus- and between prāṇa- or ātmān- and vāta or vāyū- are common: cf. e.g. RV 10.16.3a sūryam cākṣur gachatu vātam ātmā ‘Let [your] eye go to the Sun, [your] vital breath to the wind’, ŠŚ 5.9.7 sūryo me cākṣur vāṭaḥ prāṇo ‘My eye [is] the sun, my breath [is] the wind’, ŠŚ 8.2.3ab ≈ PS 16.3.3ab vāṭaḥ te prāṇāṁ avidaṁ sūryāc cākṣur ahāṁ táva ‘From the wind I found your breath, from the Sun [I found] your eye’, ŠŚ 11.8.31ab = PS 16.88.2ab sūryāc cākṣur vāṭaḥ prāṇāṁ pūrṇasya ví bhejire ‘The sun [and] the wind shared [respectively] the eye [and] the breath of man’, PS 2.82.2–3 vāṭaṁ te prāṇaḥ *siṣactus yātuḥdhiṁ svāhā | sūryaṁ te cākṣuḥ *siṣactus yātuḥāṁ svāhā ‘Let your breath follow the wind, O sorcerer. Hail! Let your sight follow the sun, O sorcerer. Hail!’ , PS 12.19.5ab cākṣuḥ sūrya punar dehi víta prāṇam sam īraya ‘O sun, give again the sight; O wind, set the breath in motion’ etc. Other more limited associations are found at RV 5.59.3b sūryo nā cākṣu
rájaso visárjane ‘As the Sun’s eye at the end of the darkness’, 10.90.13b câkṣoḥ sūryo ajāyata ‘From [his] eye the Sun was born’ and 13d prāṇād vāyūr ajāyata ‘From [his] breath the wind was born’, ŚŚ 5.24.9a sūryaḥ câkṣuṣāṁ ādhipatiḥ sā māvatu ‘Surya is the overlord of the eyes/sights; let him help me’.

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

15.3.6 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚŚ 19.44.6, b ≈ ŚŚ 2.4.2d = ŚŚ 2.7.3d, cd: PS 1.100.1cd
devānjanaṁ traikakudāṁ  #A
parī mā pāhi viśvataḥ |
na tvā taranty oṣadhayo  #A
bāhyāḥ parvatīyā uta ||  #A

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


ŚŚ 19.44.6
devānjana trāikakuda pāri mā pāhi viśvataḥ |
nā tvā taranty oṣadhayo bāhyāḥ parvatīyā uta ||

PS 1.100.1cd
na tvā taranty oṣadhayo bāhyāḥ parvatīyā uta ||

Bhattacharya edits devānjanaṁ traikakudāṁ in a.

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

cd. Here and at PS 1.100.1c, K reads tvā caranty oṣadhayo and Barret analysed the verb as ā + car, which could also be a good reading. With these pādas, cf. also ŚŚ 19.34.7ab ≈ PS 11.3.7ab nā tvā pārvā oṣadhayo nā tvā taranty yā nāvāḥ (Or tarantu, K caranty, for which see above) ‘Neither the ancient herbs surpass you, nor the recent ones’ and PS 7.12.2cd na tvā sapatnī sāśāḥ gaireyā ca na bāhyā ‘No rival from the mountains overpowers you, none from abroad either’. Note the unusual metrical pattern of pāda c, without the syllabic resolution of the semivowel (cf. also pāda 8a below).
This ointment, a demon-slayer remover of afflictions, crept down in the middle, frightening away the diseases, driving away from here inauspicious omens.

Bhattacharya edits *rakṣohāṁivacātanaḥ* in b.

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

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

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

15.3.8 [Anuśṭubh] ŚŚ 19.44.8, cd: PS 15.3.9cd

bahiḥ idāṁ rājan varuṇa- #A
-anṛtam āha pūruṣaḥ | A
tasmāt sahasravīrya *A
muṇḍa naḥ pari:y ārīhastaḥ || *A

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


ŚŚ 19.44.8
bahiḥ idāṁ rājan varuṇānttam āha pūruṣaḥ |
tasmāt sahasravīrya muṇḍa naḥ pāry ārīhastaḥ ||

a. The word ánṛta- provides, together with the first two pādas of the next stanza, a possible explanation for the use of ánagasa- in 3.3d: the sin committed by the patient would consist in perjury. Cf. ŚŚ 4.9.7ab = PS 8.3.13ab idāṁ vidvān āñjana satyāṁ vasyāṁī nāṁṇtam ‘Knowing this, O ointment, I shall speak truth, not untruth’.

b. An interesting question is whether in this stanza pūruṣa- refers to the patient or to an impersonal man, that is to mankind in general. I incline to the second hypothesis, as the entire sentences, asserting a general statement, seems to have a gnomic character. There are other examples of the word used without reference to a specific man, cf. ŚŚ 5.5.2ab yās tvi pibati jīvati trāyase pūruṣam tvām ‘Who drinks you stays alive, you rescue the man’, 5.7.8 utā nagnā bōbhuvaṁ svapnyāṁ sacase jānāṁ ārāte cittāṁ vṛt茅nt yākūṭim pūruṣasya ca ‘And constantly becoming naked, you follow a person in dreams, O Arāti, baffling the intention and the wish of a man’, 7.76.4ab pakṣi jāyānyaḥ patati sā ā viśati pūruṣam ‘Having wings, the jāyānya flies; as such, she enters into a man’, 8.2.25 sārvo vā tātra jīvati gāur āśvah pūruṣaḥ paśūḥ yātreṇām brāhma kriyaṁ paridhīr jīvaṁīni kāṁ ‘Every one, verily — cow, horse, man, cattle — lives there where this formula is performed, a protection for living’, 12.4.13cd hīṁste ādattā pūruṣam yācitām ca nā ādīsati ‘[The cow], not given, harms a man, when he does not want to give her when asked for’.

d. For a semantic study of the word ānīhas- in Vedic, see GONDA 1957b. In this passage, ānīhas- seems to be identical to ánṛta-. Cf. ŚŚ 10.5.22 ≈ PS 9.22.4 (= PS 16.130.1) yād arvācīnaṁ traihīṇyānād ánṛtāṁ kīṁ codima | āpo mā tāsmāt sārvamād duritāṁ pāṇtv ānīhasah ‘Whatever untruth we have said since a three years’ period, may the water protect me from that difficulty, form [that] sin’. See also RODHE 1946: 43. His translation of ánṛta- as ‘evil’ does not convince at all, and his statement that “there does not seem to be more than one single passage in the Veda [viz. ŚŚ 19.44.8], where decisively committed evil is indicated by this word [viz. ānīhas]” is no doubt an exaggeration (cf. the parallel passages quoted above).
15.3.9 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚŚ 19.44.9, ab: ŚŚ 7.83.2cd ≈ PS 20.33.5ce, VS 20.18 ≈ TS 1.3.11.1, MS 1.2.18:28.5, KS 3.8:27.2 etc., cd: PS 15.3.8cd

yad āpo aghnyā īti

varuneti yad ūcima |

tasmāt sahasravīrya

muṇca naḥ pari yañ arīhasaḥ ||

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


ŚŚ 19.44.9

yad āpo aghnyā īti vāruneti yad ūcima |
tāsmāt sahasravīrya muṇca naḥ pāry ārīhasaḥ ||

ŚŚ 7.83.2cd ≈ PS 20.33.5ce ≈ VS 20.18

yad āpo aghnyā īti vāruneti yad ūcima |
tāto varaṇa muṇca naḥ ||

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

yad āpo aghnyā vāruneti śāpamahe tāto varaṇa no muṇca |

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

40 The most striking and inconsistent translation is that of SANI-ORLANDI 1992: 236, 538. Orlandi translated ŚŚ 7.83.2cd ‘Se abbiamo detto: ‘Le acque sono inviolabili’, se abbiamo detto: ‘O Varuṇa’, which is probably the correct understanding of this passage (see my comment, passim) but then she translated ŚŚ 19.44.9ab in a completely different way — and, in my opinion, wrongly: ‘Se abbiamo invocato a sproposito le acque e le mucche, se abbiamo invocato a sproposito Varuṇa’.
Moreover, it is likely that at the time of the composition of the Yajurvedic texts the oath was not understood anymore. In its original form, with the nominatives ā́po aghnyā, the mantra is to be understood as a nominal sentence with zero copula (‘Erlesene Kühe sind die Wasser’). Narten has proposed also another option, which is very attractive, though it can not be proved: on account of the presence of iti, the nominatives ā́po aghnyā could be interpreted as pratīka of an old, unattested mantra pronounced during oaths. In a rather speculative, but fascinating way, with the help of parallel texts of similar content she reconstructed this hypotetic mantra as *ā́po aghnyā ihā máṁ avantu*: ‘Die Wasser, die erlesene Kühe, sollen mir hier beistehen’, concluding, however, that for the understanding of this stanza it is not relevant whether the words ā́po aghnyā are interpreted as a nominal sentence or as pratīka of an unattested mantra; the crucial point — which I tried to observe in my translation — is that aghnyā- is not an element of an enumeration as in the later Yajurvedic texts, but it is a predicate, or an apposition, of the word ā́po. That is to say, aghnyā- is a poetic designation of the (divine) Waters.

15.3.10 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚŚ 19.44.10
mitraś ca tvā varaṇaś ca-
-anupreyatārāṇāja A
-tau tvānugatya dūram +A
bhogāya punar *ohatuḥ || A

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

mitraś] Or, mitraś K varuṇaś] K, vaṇaś Or cânupreyatārāṇāja] Or, cânupraidujana K tvānugatya]
Or, tyānakatya K punar *ohatuḥ] punarohatu Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa K, pu · · · Mā || || f 10 || 3 || Ku JM,
| r | 3 | RM. || 3 || f 10 || Pa Mā [Ma], Z 10 Z kāṇḍaḥ 3 Z K

ŚŚ 19.44.10
mitraś ca tvā vāruṇaś cânupreyatārāṇāja |
tau tvānugatya dūram bhogāya pūnār ohatuḥ ||

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

b. Regarding the preverb pra-, KULIKOV forthc. observes, “In this context, the preverb prá might have an additional directional meaning, ‘go eastward’, which is also found in some of its derivatives, such as pránc- ‘directed forwards; turned eastward’, prācīna- ‘turned towards the front, eastward’. Given the assumption that the Traikakuda ointment was brought from the mountain Trikakud (modern Trikuta) in the Western Himalayas, the journey of Mitra and Varuṇa should have started to the west of this area — that is, in the Sindhu (Indus) valley (Northern Pakistan), where early Vedic Aryans lived indeed around 1000 BC”. The greatest difficulty of this hypothesis is that the directional meaning ‘eastward’ — which of course is secondary even in the derivatives mentioned above — is never found when prá- functions as preverb. The only instance in which this meaning can be feebly traced is a Ṛgvedic passage (1.103.4c) describing Indra advancing victoriously over the Dāsyus, the enemies who opposed the Aryans during their advance toward the East: upaprayān dasyuhātyāya vajrī ‘The one holding the cudgel, rushing upon to strike the Dasyus’. Assuming that upa-pre- has here an
additional directional meaning seems indeed a strained interpretation, and there is no need to force the meaning of the verb. Moreover, the other attestations of the verb *anu-pre-* used in this stanza show clearly that a directional shade of meaning is not involved at all: cf., e.g., ŚŚ 5.7.3cd = PS 7.9.4cd 闼 antics anuprémo vayāṁ námo astv 闼 taye ‘We look for Arāti, homage be to Arāti’. For the idea of a medicine brought from afar, cf. PS 20.14.4ab dūrād etat saṁ bharantīryāyā nāma bheṣajam ‘From afar they bring together that medicine, namely against jealousy’, 20.25.1ab dūrād bheṣajam ābhṛtāṁ bahūny ati *yajanā ‘From afar the medicine has been brought, over many yojanas’.

d. The verb must be dual here (because of *tau* in pāda c) and the best solution seems that of Shankar Pandurang Pandit, who analysed the sequence as punah : ā : āhatuh (root vah- with ā). For a discussion of this passage, see WHITNEY 1905: 968.
Bring together the sorcery to the sorcerer’s house, as [one pays] debt because of [being in] debt. O ointment, crush the ribs of the evil-hearted one, whose formula [is] his glance.

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

On the expression rnaṁ saṁ nāya-, see also ŚS 19.57.1 (≈ ŚS 6.46.3) = PS 2.37.2 = PS 3.30.1 yatāḥ kalāṁ yathā šapahām yathā rṇaṁ saṁnāyanti | evā duṣyāpnyāṁ sārvam āpriye sāṁ nayāmāsmi ‘Like a sixteenth, like an eight, like a debt they bring together, so do we bring together every nightmare on an enemy’.

As noted by KULIKOV forthc., the reading saṁ naya of the PS is syntactically more appropriate than the readings of the ŚŚ manuscripts saṁnayāṁ, saṁnayāṁ, which were already emended to saṁ naya in Ṛ-W. Whitney’s translation of this stanza follows the conjecture samināyan, which was adopted in Ṛ-W, but there is no need to unite pādas ab and cd in a complex sentence; the PS reading is no doubt the original one.

The idea that, through a spell, an act of witchcraft can be sent back to the witchcraft-maker is common in the Atharvaveda (see e.g. ŚŚ 5.14, 5.31, 10.1 etc); the effectiveness of the counter spell is often emphasized through similes which underline its power and violence: see, e.g., ŚŚ 5.14.12–13 ≈ PS 7.1.4/2.71.5 īṣvā āyāṁ paṭatu dyāvāpṛthivī tāṁ prātāḥ | sā tāṁ mṛgāṁ iva grhnātā kṛtyā kṛtyākātraṇā pāṇāḥ || agnir ivaitu pratikālam anukālam ivodakām | sukhā ráthā iva vartatāṁ kṛty ċ kṛtyākātraṇā pāṇāḥ ‘O Heaven and Earth, straighter than an arrow let it fly against him. As such, may the witchcraft seize again the witchcraft-maker, like [a hunter seizes his] prey. May it go like fire up-stream, like water down-stream. Like a chariot having good wheel’s hollows may the witchcraft roll back to the witchcraft-maker’, ŚŚ 6.37.2cd ≈ PS 20.18.2cd śaptāram ātra no jahi divō vṛksāṁ ivāsāniḥ ‘Strike the one who curses us here, as a
thunderbolt from heaven [strikes] a tree’, ŠŚ 10.1.14 = PS 16.34.4 krāma nānadaś vínadahā gardabhīva | kartīṇa nakṣasvetārī nutā brāhmaṇā vīrāvata ‘Step away, constantly making noise, like an unfastened she-ass. Attain your makers, pushed away from here with a powerful formula’. It is noteworthy that in many instances the return of the witchcraft to its maker is compared with the return of (mostly living) beings to a place or person closely associated with them, suggesting that going back to the witchcraft-maker is for witchcraft a natural and ineluctable process: cf. PS 2.71.2 yathā te deva oṣadhe pratiṣcīnaṁ phalaṁ kṛtām | evā tvaṁ kṛtvāṁ kṛtyāṁ hastagṛhya parā na va ‘Just as your fruit, O heavenly herb, is made to point backward, so you must lead the witchcraft [far] away to the one who has made it, having grasped it by the hand’, PS 2.71.3ab punah kṛtyāṁ kṛtyākṛte godhevāvatam *anv ayat (but ZEHNDE 1999: 160 proposes to read kṛtyā kṛtyākṛtam) ‘The witchcraft shall go back to the witchcraft-maker, like a monitor lizard into its hole’, ŠŚ 4.18.2 = PS 5.24.2 yó devāḥ kṛtyāṁ kṛtvā hārād avidūṣo grhām | vatsā dhārār iva mātārām tāṁ pratyāg úpa padyatām ‘O gods, may [the witchcraft], like a suckling calf to its mother, go back to him who, having made a witchcraft, will bring it to the house of one unknowing [of it]’, ŠŚ 4.18.4cd = PS 5.24.4cd prāti smo ca krīḍā kṛtyāṁ priyāṁ priyāvate hara ‘Bring back the witchcraft to the one who has made it, [like] a mistress to her beloved’, ŠŚ 5.14.10 ≈ PS 7.1.8 putrā iva pitārāṁ gacha svajā ‘vābhāṣṭhitā dāsa | bandhām ivāvakraṁi gachā kṛtye kṛtyākṛtam pūnah ‘Go as a son to his father, bite like a viper trampled upon. O witchcraft, go back to the witchcraft-maker, treading down [your] bond’, ŠŚ 10.1.3 = PS 16.35.3 śūdrākṛtya rájakaṁ śṛṅkṛtya brahmābhīḥ kṛtā | jāyā pātyā nuttevé kārtāram bāndhv (PS ‘bāndhum) rchatu ‘Made by a Śūdra, made by a king, made by a woman, made by Brahmans: as a wife turned away by her husband [goes] to her kin, let it go to its maker’, ŠŚ 10.1.25–26 = PS 16.37.5–6 abhyākṣāktā svāramkṛtyā sāram bhārantī duritām párehi | jāṇihi kṛtye kartāram duhitēva pitārām svām ‘Anointed, well-prepared, bearing all difficulty, go away! Recognize, O witchcraft, your maker, as a daughter her father’. The simile of our stanza is slightly different in character and it seems not immediately clear, but it expresses the same idea of something — in this case, probably money — going back to its owner as it is due. The comparison was probably suggested by passages like RV 8.47.17ad ≈ ŠŚ 6.46.3 ≈ 19.57.1 = PS 2.37.3 (= PS 3.30.1, 19.46.11) yathā kalām yathā śaphāṁ yathā ṛṇāṁ samānāyāmasi | evā dusvāpnyām śārvaṁ āpyte sāṁ nayāmasy ‘As [we pay] the sixteenth part, as [we pay] the eighth part, as we pay the [whole] debt: thus we bring together every nightmare to Āptya’, where the compound verb saṁ niḥ- is used in its double meanings of ‘bring together/deposit’ and ‘pay back’, which are difficult to render with a single verb in the translation. Compare also the similar expression at ŠŚ 6.118.2cd = PS 16.50.4cd ṛṇāṁ no nā ṛṇāṁ ērtsamāno yamāsyā lokē ādhiraṭjīr āyat ‘The one having a rope will come to Yama’s world, not wishing to obtain from us debt from debt’ (Griffith: ‘Not urging us to pay the debt we owed him’).

c. The compound cāksurmantra- was translated by Withney ‘eye-conjurer’ and by Bloomfield ‘who bewitches with [his] eye’. It is a Bahuvrīhi which literally means ‘whose mantra (i.e. magic formula) is the glance’, ‘having glance as a mantra’; the adjective durhārd- qualifies the conjurer’s gaze as malignant. See GONDA 1969: 39–40: “The close relation between directed looks and potent formulas may in a way even lead to their interchangeability. The compound cāksa mantra-[…] might indeed have qualified the man whose mantra’s (formulas’) are in his eyes, that is who can achieve with his eyes those baleful effects which
usually are brought about by incantations’. For cākṣus- in the sense of ‘(malignant) glance’ cf. PS 20.22.2a sūryo mā cakṣuṣah pātu ‘Let the Sun protect me from the (malignant) glance’.

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

d. The expression pṛṣṭir (api) śṛ- ‘to break the ribs’ is extremely frequent, especially in the AV: it occurs — with uncompounded verb — e.g. at RV 10.87.10c = ŚŚ 8.3.10c = PS 16.6.10c tāṣyāgne pṛṣṭir hārasā śṛṇihi ‘O Agni, crush his ribs with [your] flame’, PS 7.2.6c = ŚŚ 2.32.2c = 5.23.9c (against a worm) śṛṇāmy asya pṛṣṭir ‘Its ribs do I break’; with the preverb api it occurs, e.g., at PS 2.8.4cd = ŚŚ 4.3.6ab (against wild beasts) mūrṇā mṛgyāsyā dāntā āpiśīrṇu a pṛṣṭायāḥ ‘Crushed [are] the teeth of the beast and broken [are its] ribs’, PS 19.11.7b (against Piśācas) pṛṣṭir vo ’pi śṛṇāti aṅgih ‘Agni will crush your ribs’ ≈ ŚŚ 6.32.2b pṛṣṭir vō ’pi śṛṇātu yāṭudhānāḥ ‘Let him crush your ribs, o sorcerers’, PS 20.18.4cd pṛṣṭir api śṛṇimasi ‘We will crush the ribs’, ŚŚ 16.7.12a = PS 18.51.8a tāṁ jahi tēṇa mandasva tāṣya pṛṣṭir api śṛṇihi ‘Slay him, rejoice in it, crush his ribs’. Note that the reading of K drṇāṇjanam is also plausible (except for the final nasal): as suggested by PRAUST 2000: 426, the form drṇa ‘break, split open’ could even be considered lectio difficilior in comparison to śṛṇa of the other versions (as regards the preverb, api of Or and ŚŚ is correct against apa of K, but Praust makes no mention of the reading of the Orissa manuscripts and quotes the PS only from K).

15.4.2 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚŚ 19.45.2, ab: ŚŚ 19.57.4de

| yad asmāsu duṣvapnyāṁ | #A |
| yad goṣu yac ca no gṛhe | A |
| †amāmagaṭyaṣṭa? +durmārd | +A |
| *apriyah prati muṇcatāṁ || A |

Let an evil-hearted enemy put on himself the nightmare which [is] in us, which [is] in the cows, and which [is] in our home … (?).
follow Kulikov’s suggestion, consisting in removing the last syllable of pā and which is in our home’. This would perhaps suggest to read ánāmagas tāṁ ca durhārdāḥ priyāḥ práti muñcatāṁ.

ŚŚ 19.57.4d
asmāsu duṣvāpnyaṁ yād gōṣu vāc ca no grhe

Bhattacharya edits amāmagatvāsta durhārdāḥ priya prati muñcatāṁ in cd.

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

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

I can offer no convincing solution for the beginning of c. The most plausible solutions are Kulikov’s restoration, based on the reading of the PS, *amā ṣāgyāṁ yāt *tād ‘[that] which is at home [and] on the way’, and Lanman’s emendation based on ŚŚ 19.57.5 anāṃmākās tād durhārdō ’priyāḥ práti muñcatāṁ ‘let him who is not of us, the evil-hearted, the unfriendly, put upon himself’. It is important to note that anāṃmākās occurs after the same identical two pādas also at PS 3.30.6 yad asmāsu *duṣvāpyaṁ yād gōṣu yac ca no grhe | anāṃmākās tad deva$pīyāḥ piyāruṁ niṣkam iva prati muñcatāṁ ‘Let the one who despises the gods, who is not of us, put upon himself, like a mocking breastplate, the nightmare which [is] in us, which [is] in the cows, and which [is] in our home’. This would perhaps suggest to read anāṃmākās also here at the beginning of the verse, so that pādas cd would sound *anāṃmākās *tad *durhārd *apriyaḥ práti muñcatāṁ ‘(Let) the one who is not of us, the evil-hearted enemy put on himself that’ (but still this would make pāda c heptasyllabic).

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

Regarding the meaning of the verb prati-muc, see SOMMER 1977: 64, and GRIFFITHS 2009: 267 and 332. The expression duṣvāpyaṁ prati-muc- occurs also at ŚŚ 9.2.2ac ≈ PS 16.76.2ac yan me manaso na priyaṁ na caksusō yan me ṣāgyāye niṣkamandati | tad ṣ̣uṣvāpyaṁ prati muṅcāṁi sapatne ‘What of my mind and sight is not agreeable, what does not please my heart, that nightmare I put on my rival’ and PS 20.54.7 aksivepaim ṣuṣvāpyaṁ ārīṁ puruṣāreśinīṁ | tad asmad aśvinā yuvam apriye prati muñcatam ‘The nightmare which makes the eyes tremble, the pain hurting men; that, O Aśvins, put you two from us upon the unfriendly one’.

15.4.3 [Triṣṭubh-Jagati] ŚŚ 19.45.3
apāṁ ūrja ṣōjasya vārvdhānam
Ever growing from the strength of the nourishment of the waters, born from Agni Jātavedas, the ointment of four virtues, coming from the mountains, will make the quarters and the intermediate quarters auspicious to you.

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

a. Bhattacharya edits the reading of the Orissa manuscripts, but K has a better text, which I adopt with the correct sandhi restored. As noted by KULIKOV forthc., the alternative interpretation of ārja as an ablative coordinate with ojasas, proposed by Whitney in his commentary, “seems to be ruled out by ŠŚ 18.4.53 [= PS 18.80.10b], where ojas- is construed with the genitive ārjas”: ārjō bālan sahā ojo na āgān ‘The strength, the power, the force of the nourishment have come to us’.

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

15.4.4 [Triṣṭubh-Jagati] ≈ ŠŚ 19.45.4

cāturvīraḥ badhyata ānjanaṁ te | +#Ta
sarvā diśo abhayās te bhavantu | Ta
dhruvas tiṣṭhāsi savīteva vārya | *T/Jb
imā viśo abhi harantu te balim || +#Ja

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

15.4.5 [Triṣṭubh] ŚS 19.45.5

āṅkṣvaikaṁ maṇīṁ ekaṁ kṛnuśva
+sūḥ,y ekena pibai,ksam
 + Ta
+ Tb
 caturvīraṁ naṁrtebyaṁ caturbyho
gṛāhyā bandhebyaṁ pari pāt,v asmān ||

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


ŚS 19.45.5

āṅkṣvaikaṁ maṇīṁ ekaṁ kṛnuśva snāhy ekenā pibai,ksam
 caturvīraṇaṁ naṁrtebyaṁ caturbyho gṛāhyā bandhebyaḥ pari pātv asmān ||

Bhattacharya edits +sūḥyekeṇa in b.

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

Note that in the reading snāhy all the Orissa manuscripts show the frequent confusion between -Hy- and -jy-.
d. Kulikov forthc. points to the fact that “in the context of a hymn addressed to an ointment which is used, in particular, against evil dreams, it is important to note that sleep is described (AVŚ 16.5.1) as one of the sons of Grāhi (closely related to Nirṛti, or destruction”).

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

\[
\text{agnir } \text{māgniṇāvatu} \quad P \\
\text{prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe} \quad P \\
\text{varcasa ojase tejase svastaye subhūtaye svāhā} \quad P
\]

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


ŚŚ 19.45.6

agnir māgniṇāvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe vārcasa ojase |
tējase svastaye subhūtaye svāhā ||

Bhattacharya edits māghiṇāvatu in a.

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

bc. On prāṇa- and āpāṇa-, see BODEWITZ 1986 and cf. 3.4a above. According to Kulikov forthc., “the eight favourable things listed here must correspond to the eight cardinal and intermediary directions mentioned in verse 3”. Associations of these terms are common in the AV: cf., e.g., ŠŚ 3.13.5cd ≈ PS 3.4.5cd āvṛō rasō madhupṛcām araṅgamā ā mā prāṇēna sahā vārчасā gamet ‘May the pungent sap of the honey-mixed ones, ready to help, come to me with breadth, with splendour’, ŠŚ 10.5.36cd ≈ 16.8.4 ≈ PS 10.10.4fg, 6fg idām ahām āmusyāyaṇāṣyāmusyāḥ putrasya vārças tējah prāṇām āyur nī veṣṭayāmī ‘Now I grasp the splendour, the ardour, the breath, the longevity of him, son of N.N. as father, of N.N. as mother’, PS 5.22.9ab punaś caksuḥ punaḥ prāṇām punar āyur dehi no jātavedah ‘Again the sight, again the breath, again the [full] life-time give us, O Jātavedas’, etc.
15.4.7 [Formula] ŚŚ 19.45.7, bc: PS 15.4.6bc, 8–10bc
indro mendriyenaḥvatu ॐ ॐ ॐ  ||  P

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

mendriyenaḥvatu] mendriyenaḥvatu ||ā Ku, mendriyenaḥvatu || JM Mā [Ma] Pa, mendriyenaḥvatu | RM, mā indrenāḥvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe varcasa ojase tejase svastaye prabhūtaye svāhā Z 7 Z K

ŚŚ 19.45.7
indro mendriyenaḥvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe vārcaṣa ójase |
tējase svastāye svabhūtaye svāhā  ||

Bhattacharya edits mendriyenaḥvatu in a.
   a. See my comment under 4.6a.
   bc. The refrain of stanzas 7–9 is written in abbreviated form in all the Orissa manuscripts (for the superscribed sign kā in Ku, see Introduction). Only K has the full text, without any sign of abbreviation.

15.4.8 [Formula] ŚŚ 19.45.8, bc: PS 15.4.6–7bc, 9–10bc
somye mā somyenaḥvatu ॐ ॐ ॐ  ||  P

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

somyenaḥvatu] somyenaḥvatu ||ā Ku, somyenaḥvatu || JM Mā [Ma] Pa, somyenaḥvatu | RM, somyenaḥvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe varcasa ojase tejase svastaye prabhūtaye svāhā Z 8 Z K

ŚŚ 19.45.8
sōmo mā sāmyenaḥvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe vārcaṣa ójase |
tējase svastāye svabhūtaye svāhā  ||

15.4.9 [Formula] ŚŚ 19.45.9, bc: PS 15.4.6–8bc, 10bc
bhago mā bhagenenaḥvatu ॐ ॐ ॐ  ||  P

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

bhagenenaḥvatu] bhagenenaḥvatu || JM RM [Ma], bhagenenaḥvatu - Ku, bhagenānāḥvatu || [Mā], bhag{o}enāḥvatu || Pa, bhagenāḥvatu | prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe varcasa ojase tejase svastaye subhūtaye svāhā Z 9 Z K

ŚŚ 19.45.9
bhágo ma bhagenenaḥvatu prāṇāyāpānāyāyuṣe vārcaṣa ójase |
tējase svastāye subbhūtaye svāhā  ||
In Whitney 1905: 969, 972 it is twice erroneously stated that this stanza is wanting in the PS, but it is indeed attested also in K. The symbol kā for the abbreviation of repeated words is blurred in Ku.

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

\[ \text{maruto mā gaṇair avantu } ° ° ° \] \[ \text{P} \]

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


ŚŚ 19.45.10

\[ \text{marūto mā gaṇair avantu pṛaṇāyāpānāyuṣe vārcasa ōjase tējase} \]

svastāye subhūtaye svāhā ||

\[ \text{a. Cf. PS 5.18.5b trāyantāṁ maruto gaṇaiḥ ‘Let the Maruts with [their] troops rescue [him]’} \]

and PS 6.17.10a ā yantu maruto gaṇaiḥ ‘Let the Maruts come with [their] troops’.

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

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

PS 15.5 and 6 comprise a single composition of twenty connected stanzas, split over two hymns (10 + 10). The hymn is composite both in metre and in content; it alternates Trīṣṭubh/Jaṅgaṭī pādās with Anuṣṭubh pādās, and looks like a collection of stanzas taken from different sources and put together in order to be used during a royal ceremony. Textual evidence suggests this kind of ritual context; see, e.g., the occurrence of concepts often connected with a king and royalty: āyūṣ-, praṇā-, ojas-, rāyaprasaṣa- (and rāyaṣ ca pusa-), varcas-, sarman-, puṣṭī-, rāṣṭra-, kṣatra-, suvīra-, sthīra-, as well as expressions describing actions that are typical for a king: pra maṇīhī durasyataḥ, sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ (both occurring twice, at 5.7cd and 6.10cd), bhavā kṛṣṭīnām abhisāsaitapā u (6.2b), (a)bhrū vāpīnām abhisāsaitapā u (6.3b), vaśīṇī cārur vibhājāṇī (6.3d). The ultimate evidence is offered by the commentary on hymn ŚS 2.13, which for stanzas two and three (= PS 15.6.1–2) quotes AVPāṇiś 4.1 pari dhattēti dvāhyāṁ rājino vastram abhimantrya prayacchet ‘Having consecrated the king’s garment with the two stanzas [beginning with] pari dhatta, he should give it [to the king]’, where these two stanzas are pronounced in the morning by a purohita handing to a king the garment he is to put on.

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

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

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

Phrasal and thematic correspondences with the preceding hymn (3 + 4) are contained throughout: the word āyus-, found in various forms (cf. the compound āyurdaḥ in 5.1a, āyur in 5.2a, āyuṣe in 5.3a, 5.9a, 5.10a, āyuḥ in 5.4a, 5.1b, 6d, 7d, 8d), corresponds with āyuṣo in 3.1a; jātavedah in 5.2a with jātavedasah in 4.3b; ojaḥ, 5.2b, with ojaṣo in 4.3a and ojase in 4.6b as well as the refrain of the following stanzas; varcase in 5.3a and varcas[a] in 6.1a with varcas in 4.6b and the refrain of the following stanzas; madhyam in 5.6b occurs identically in 3.7a, while abhayam in 5.6b corresponds with abhayās in 4.3b; with svastaye in 6.3a and svasti in 6.7d, compare svastaye in 4.6b and the refrain of the following stanzas; āha in 6.5c occurs also in 3.8b. Other links are provided by the words prataram in 5.4ab (cf. pratraṇam in 3.1a), sūrṣo in 6.8d (cf. sūrṣya in 3.5c) and the verb forms harāmi in 6.9b (cf. harantu in 4.4d) and avantu in 6.9b (cf. avatu in 4.6a and in the refrain of the following stanzas — avantu in 4.10a). Finally, in both hymns the gods Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Savitar and Bhaga are mentioned.
15.5.1 [Triṣṭubh] \(\approx \) ŚS 2.13.1, MS 4.12.4:188.8–9 \(\approx\) KS 11.13:160.11–12, TS 1.3.14.4 (= TB 1.2.1, TĀ 2.5.1, ĀśvŚŚ 2.10.4), VSM 35.17, ĀpMP 2.2.1, ŚāṅkhGS 1.25, HirGS 1.3.5

āyurdā deva jarasaṁ pṛṇāno

gṛṭapraṭīko gṛṭapṛṣṭho agne |

gṛṭaṁ pibann amṛtaṁ cāru gavyaṁ

pītēva putraṁ jarase nayemāṁ

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


ŚS 2.13.1

āyurdā agne jarasaṁ pṛṇāno gṛṭapraṭīko gṛṭaṁ pibann amṛtaṁ cāru gavyaṁ pītēva putraṁ abhī rakṣatād imāṁ ||

MS 4.12.4:188.8–9

āyurdā deva jarasaṁ pṛṇāno gṛṭapraṭīko gṛṭaṁ pibann amṛtaṁ cāru gavyaṁ pītēva putraṁ abhī rakṣatād imāṁ ||

KS 11.13:160.11–12

āyurdā deva jarasaṁ pṛṇāno gṛṭaṁ pibann amṛtaṁ cāru gavyaṁ pītēva putraṁ abhī rakṣatād imāṁ ||

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

āyurdā deva jarasaṁ pṛṇāno gṛṭaṁ pibann amṛtaṁ cāru gavyaṁ pītēva putraṁ abhī rakṣatād imāṁ ||

VSM 35.17

āyuṣmān agne haviṣo juṣṭāno gṛṭapraṭīko gṛṭaṁ pibann amṛtaṁ cāru gavyaṁ pītēva putraṁ abhī rakṣatād imāṁ ||

ĀpMP 2.2.1

āyurdā deva jarasaṁ gṛṇāno gṛṭapraṭīko gṛṭaṁ pibann amṛtaṁ cāru gavyaṁ pītēva putraṁ abhī rakṣatād imāṁ svāhā ||

a. The PS agrees with the MS, the KS and the ĀpMP in reading deva, while the other texts have agne. I consider the reading pṛṇāno of the Orissa manuscripts authentic. The variant pṛṇāno, shared by K, the ŚS and the MS, seems to be the lectio facilior and could be — as noted by Lanman (in Whitney 1905: 56) — a misplaced reminiscence of RV 10.18.6a = ŚŚ 12.2.24a ā rohatāyur jarasaṁ pṛṇānā ‘Rise up, choosing longevity, old age’, which also occurs at PS 17.32.5ab ā rohatāyur jarasaṁ pṛṇānā, where K again reads pṛṇānā against the Orissa manuscript (cf. also the reading gṛṇānas at TĀ 6.10.1). The same distribution of these variants
in the PS tradition is found at PS 17.4.7c, where again the Orissa manuscripts read pṛṇānā and K reads vṛṇānā.

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

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

c. The PS agrees with the MS, the KS and the ĀpMP, while the other texts have a slightly different pāḍa: ghṛtāṃ pītāvā mādhu cāru gāvyāṁ ‘Having drunk the ghee, sweet, pleasant, coming from the cows’.

d. Once again, as in pāḍa a and c, the PS agrees with the MS (whose reading ma emāṁ must be a mistake for nayemāṁ), the KS and the ĀpMP. The other texts have pītēva putrām (ŚŚ putrāṃ) abhi rākṣatād imāṁ ‘Protect this one like a father [protects] his son(s)’. It is indeed easier to understand the protective role of a father towards his sons rather than to imagine a father leading a son into old age; in this case, however, one could think that an educational and tutorial role is involved together with the idea of protection. The expression jarāse ni- is common in the AV and especially in the PS (note that instead of the verb nī-, the ŚŚ often has vah-): cf. PS 1.14.2d ta enam svasti jarase navāthā ‘So (= as such), you will lead him happily to old age’ (nayantu at PS 20.11.5d, vahantu at ŚŚ 7.53.4d) ≈ ŚŚ 1.30.2d svasty enam jarāse vahātha ‘Happily you will carry him to old age’, PS 1.62.3c indro yathainām jarase navāthī ‘So that Indra will lead him to old age’, 1.69.4e sa enam jarase navāt ‘As such he will lead him to old age’, 20.59.9d tāṃ agne jarase naya ‘O Agni, lead that [offspring] to old age’, ŚŚ 3.11.6cd śāṛtram asyāṅgāṁi jarāse vahatam pīnāh ‘You two must carry his body, his limbs to old age again’, 6.5.2d jīvātave jarāse naya ‘Lead him to life, to old age’.

15.5.2 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ ŚŚ 2.29.2, d: ŚŚ 1.10.2d

āyur asmai dhehi jātavedaḥ 
prajāṁ tvāṣṭar adhi ni dhehiy ojaḥ |
rāyaspoṣaṁ savitar ā suvāsmai |
śataṁ jīvāti śaradas tāvāyam ||

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


ŚŚ 2.29.2

āyur asmai dhehi jātavedaḥ prajāṁ tvāṣṭar adhinīdhehi asmai |
rāyaspoṣaṁ savitar ā suvāsmai śatāṁ jīvāti śaradas tāvāyām ||

Bhattacharya edits onaḥ in b.
This stanza is repeated at PS 19.17.11, where the abbreviation āyuṛ asmai ity ekā refers back to the present stanza.

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

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

d. The sequence tāvāyam, without an explicit subject, is rather unusual and occurs only here and in the identical pāda ŚS 1.10.2d. The sequence of tava plus a form of the pronoun ayāṁ is indeed quite common in the RV, but it is always found with another noun in the nominative connected with the pronoun: cf. RV 1.135.2d tāvāyam bhāgā āyāṣu ‘This [is] your share among living beings’, 3d tāvāyāṁ bhāgā ṛtvīyaḥ ‘This [is] your share which is in proper time’, 7.32.17cd tāvāyāṁ vīṣvah puruhūta pārhīvovo ‘vasyūr nāma bhikṣate ‘O much invoked one, every inhabitant of the earth here, wishing for help, implores your name’, 7.98.6a tāvedāṁ vīṣvam abhītaḥ paśavayāṁ ‘Yours is all this cattle everywhere’, 9.66.6a tāvēṁe saṁptā śīndhavaḥ ‘These seven rivers of yours’ etc. Similarly in the AV: cf. ŚS 6.44.1d = PS 20.34.7d tīṣṭād rōgo ayāṁ tāva ‘May this disease of yours stand firm’, ŚS 11.2.11a = PS 16.105.1a uruḥ kōśo vasudhānas tāvāyam ‘This wide vessel, containing wealth, is yours’. I interpret our passage as having an understood subject ‘worshipper’, ‘devotee’. This is also the interpretation given by Griffith and Bloomfield, who translate, respectively, ‘Let this thy servant live a hundred autumns’ (both at ŚS 2.29.2d and ŚS 1.10.2d) and ‘May this one, who belongs to thee, live a hundred autumns’ (thus at ŚS 2.29.2; at 1.10.2d ‘This thy (man) shall live a hundred autumns’).

Whitney’s translations ‘May he live a hundred autumns of thee’ (2.29.2) or ‘A hundred autumns of thee shall this man live’ (1.10.2d) are incomprehensible to me.

For a similar construction, cf. RV 10.97.2cd ādhā śatakraṭvo yūyāṁ imāṁ me agadāṁ kṛta ‘And so let you, having thousand powers, free this [patient] of mine from disease’.

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

imam agna āyuṣe varcase dhāḥ || +Ta
priyaṁ reto varuṇa mitra rājan | #Ta
mātevāṃśa adite śarma yacha Ta
viśve devā jāradaśīr yathāsat || Ta

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41 At PS 1.68.4f Bhattacharya edits kumbhaṁ, which clearly needs to be emended according to the reading of the ŚS. Kurīra- and kumba- refer to some kind of head-dress and head ornament used by women. See WHITNEY 1905: 384, and PARPOLA forthe.
O Agni, you will dispose this one toward longevity, toward splendour, [you will dispose his] dear seed, O Varuṇa, O king Mitra! As a mother, O Aditi, offer this one protection, so that he will be one reaching old age, O All-gods.

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

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

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

d. On the word jarādaṣṭi-, see TUCKER 2002.
Let Agni make a crossing for you toward longevity, let Soma provide a crossing for you toward prosperity. Let Indra, attended by the Maruts, speak in your favour. Let Aditi give you protection with the Adityas.

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

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

15.5.5 [N.N.] abd: ≈ ĀpMP 2.2.3, KāṭhGS 41.5
revāṭīs tvā vṛy *aṅkṣaṇan
krṭṭikās ṣaṅkṛṭtus tāvāvā
apasas tvā vy *atadvata
dhiyo ṣavayam avāṅnāyīṛ *apṛjjan ||

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

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

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

d. See similar expressions at RV 6.75.12d ādityāś śarma yachatu ‘Let Aditi give protection’ and PS 2.70.5b ādityāś śarma yachata ‘O Adityas, give protection’.
dhīyo ʾvayann āva gnā avṛñjant sahāsrāmaṁtvān abhīto ayachan ||

KāṭhGS 41.5
revatīs tvā vy akṣāṇa kṛttikās cakratus tvāpasas tvā vy atanvata dhīyo ʾvayann ava gnā amṛjan |

Bhattacharya edits vyakṣanāṁ in a.

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

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

b. Both the readings cakratus of K and cakṛtas of Or point to a perfect form cakṛtas from kṛt- ‘to spin’, on which see KÜMMEL 2000: 139. The word kṛttikās is the name of the Pleiades, the third nakṣatras of the zodiac, and it is first attested in the Atharvaveda, as stated by KNOBL 2009: 134–135. PS 15.5.5b could be added to the list of the earlier attestations of this word provided by Knobil: ŠS 9.7.3a ≈ PS 16.139.3a vidyāy jihvā marūto dāntā revātir grīvāḥ kṛttikā skandhā ghrarmō vāhah ‘The tongue [is] lightning, the teeth [are] the Maruts, the neck [is] the Revati, the shoulders [are] the Kṛttikās, the carrying [is] the hot drink’, ŠS 19.7.2a suḥāvam agne kṛttikā rōhinī ‘O Agni, easy to be invoked [by me] the Kṛttikas, the Rohini stars’, PS 19.38.13cd devānāṁ patiṁ ḍ kṛttikā imaṁ tantum *amāmuhan ‘The Kṛttikas, wives of the gods, have confused this warp’.42

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

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

d. This pāda was discussed at length by HOFFMANN 1985: 176 (note 16). I quote in extenso his brilliant observations: “Statt avā gnā āyurvantaṁ, wie Barret, JAOS 50, 1930, 51 die Aksara-Folge des Kaschmir-Ms. zerlegt, lesen die Or.-Manuscripts avāgnāyīrappṛćan, das offensichtlich in ava aṅnāyī aprṛćan aufzulösen ist. Daß dieser Wortlaut auch dem verstümmelten Komplex avāgnāyur-vantaṁ des Kaschmir-Ms. Zugrunde liegt, zeigt deutlich das ā von avā-. Der Plural aṅnāyīḥ ist wohl elliptisch zu verstehen: aṅnāyī- ‘die Frau des Agni und die Frauen der anderen Götter’, vgl. RV I 22, 12 indrāṇīṁ... varuṇanīṁ... aṅnāyīṁ, RV V

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

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

sahasram antāṁ abhito ('')dadanta-
-āśīṅ madhyam abhayāṁ vi nārīḥ |
devīr devāya paridhe savitre
mahat tad āśāṁ *abhavan mahītvam ||

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


ĀpMP 2.2.4
devīr devāya paridhī savitrē mahāt tād āśāṁ abhavan mahītvanam ||

ŠŚ 14.1.45ab
yā ākṛṇtān āvayan yās ca tatnirē yā devīr āntāṁ abhītō ’dadanta ||

KāṭhGS 41.5
sahasram antāṁ abhito ’dadantāśīr madhyam avayann u nārīḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits aghavan in d.

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

b. HOFFMANN 1985: 174 states that this pāda is to be read, according to KāṭhGS, as āśīṅ madhyam avayann u nārīḥ ‘achtzig Frauen aber (u?)’ webten die Mitte?; in a note, however, he underlines the awkward position of the particle u after the unaccented verb, as well as the fact
that the word *abhayam*, being common both to the K and Or traditions, cannot simply be corrected to *avayam*, and must therefore be the authentic PS reading. The implied verb of this line can be inferred from the preceding pāda, so I supply the preverb *vi* with adadanta. It seems to me that the PS version of this pāda is indeed more original and gives a better sense than the KāṭhGS. The cloth having been woven in stanza 5.5, it seems illogical that the verb *ve-* should be used again in this stanza. The image depicted in the PS is clearer: while the thousand goddesses stretch the (already finished) cloth by holding out its hems, eighty goddesses keep up the middle, preventing it from touching the ground.

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

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

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

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>imam aśmānam ā tiṣṭha-</td>
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<tr>
<td>-aśmeva tvāṁ sthiro bhava</td>
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<tr>
<td>pra mṛṇihi durasyataḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td>sahasva prṭanāyataḥ</td>
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Step on this stone, become firm like a stone. Destroy those wishing to injure, overcome those who fight [you].


ĀpMP 2.2.2
ā tiṣṭhēmām aśmēna āŚmeva tvāṁ sthirō bhava |
abhi tiṣṭhā prṭanyatās sahasva prṭanāyataḥ ||

ŚāṅkhGS 1.13.12
aśmānam ātiṣṭhāśmeva tvāṁ sthirā bhava |
abhi tiṣṭhā prṭanyataḥ sahasva prṭanāyata iti ||

HirGS 1.4.1
ā tiṣṭhēmām aśmēnan āŚmeva tvāṁ sthīro bhava |
pra mṛṇihi durasyēn sahasva prṭanāyataḥ ||

JG 1.12b
imam aśmānam ārohāśmeva tvāṁ sthīro bhava |

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

15.5.8 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 19.24.1

yena devaṁ savitāraṁ
pari devaṁ *adhāpayan |
tenemāṁ *brahmaṇaspatiṁ
pari rāṣṭrāya dhattana ||

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


ŚS 19.24.1

yēna devāṁ savitāraṁ pāri devā ādhāpayan |
tēnemāṁ brahmaṇaspate pāri rāṣṭrāya dhattana ||

Bhattacharya edits adhārayan in b.

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

cd. Note that the verb is plural; the subject should be singular and connected with the transmitted vocative brahmaṇaspate. To explain this fact, WHITNEY 1905: 934 refers to the opinion of the commentator on the ŚS, who quotes TS 6.1.1.4 tād vā etāt sarvadevatiyāṁ yād vāsas ‘that is indeed the garment which belongs to all the gods’, “to the effect that this same garment belongs to all the gods”. I prefer to emend the transmitted text to *brahmaṇaspatiṁ because besides solving the problem of the subject of the verb, which can be easily inferred from pāda b (the gods), the emendation creates a perfect parallelism between imāṁ *brahmaṇaspatiṁ in 5.8c, imāṁ indram in 5.9a and imāṁ somam in 5.10a (note that the three divinities Brhaspati, Savitar and Indra are quoted together at 6.5d).
The transmitted text tenemāṁ brahmaṇaspate is for sure due to perseveration from the identical pādas PS 1.11.1c = PS 18.17.1d.

15.5.9 [Anuṣṭubh] ŠŚ 19.24.2, abd: cf. PS 15.5.10abd, c: PS 15.5.10c
parīmāṁ indram āyuṣe
mahe kṣatrāya dhattana |
yathaināṁ jarase ṇayāṁ
*jyok kṣatre adhi jāgarat ||

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

Ku JM RM Pa

ŚŚ 19.24.2
parīmāṁ indram āyuṣe mahē kṣatrāya dhattana |
yathaināṁ jarāse nāyāj jyok kṣatrē ’dhi jāgarat ||

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

c. The reading nayāṁ is in all the ŠŚ manuscripts too. WHITNEY 1905: 934 has proposed the emendation nāyāt, but the form actually found in all the manuscripts can be interpreted as a 3rd plural subjunctive from the root nī- (nayāṁ) with the sandhi -in j- between final -n and initial j-, which occurs several times in such cases (cf. GRiffiths 2009: LXI). Cf. RV 1.161.3cd (≈ PS 1.62.3cd = ŠŚ 3.11.3cd, 20.96, 8cd) śatāṁ yāthemaṁ śarādo nāyāṁ śrotre viśvasya duritāsyā pārām ‘So that Indra will lead him for a hundred years over the further shore of every difficulty’.

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

15.5.10 [Anuṣṭubh] ŠŚ 19.24.3, abd: cf. PS 15.5.9abd, c: cf. PS 15.5.9c, KāṭhGS 41.7, PS 2.39.4b, BaudhŚŚ 12.11:101.12, TS 1.8.14.1
parīmāṁ somam āyuṣe
mahe śrotṛāya dhattana |
yathaināṁ jarase ṇayāṁ
Wrap this Soma for longevity, for great hearing, so that [the gods] will lead him to old age, so that he will watch over hearing for a long time.

ŚS 19.24.3
pārīmāṃ śrotre adhi jāgarat ||

Bhattacharya edits nayāṁ in e.

b. The word śrotre- usually means ‘the organ of hearing, ear’ or ‘the act of hearing’. It is difficult to understand its meaning in this context. Another possible translation could be ‘listening’, both the acts of hearing and listening being convenient for a king. Whitney translates it with ‘instruction’. A concrete meaning is suggested by the parallel passage ŚŚ 10.6.8cd tāṁ sómaḥ prāty amuñcata mahē śrōtrāya cākṣase ‘That amulet Soma fastened on, for great hearing [and] sight’. Cf. further PS 2.39.4ab saṁ prāṇāpānābhyaṁ sam *u cākṣuṣā saṁ śrotrenā gachasva soma rājan ‘O king Soma, unite yourself with exhalation and inhalation, with the sight, with the ear’, TS 1.8.14.1 sómo rājā vāruṇa devā dharmasūvaś ca yē | té te vācaṁ suvantāṁ té te prāṇāṁ suvantāṁ té te cākṣuḥ suvantāṁ té te śrōtram suvantāṁ ‘King Soma, Varuṇa and the gods instigating order; let them instigate your speech, let them instigate your exhalation, let them instigate your sight, let them instigate your ear’.

cd. The structure of pādās cd of this stanza must be identical with cd of the preceding one. See my note on 5.9cd above.
15.6. The king’s investiture (continued)

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

paridh dhatta dhatta varcasemaṁ +T1
jarāṁṛtyuṁ kṛñuta dirgham āyuḥ ] +#Ta
bṛhaspatiḥ prāyachad vāsa etat !+#Ta
somāya rājñe paridhātavā u || Tb

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


ŠS 2.13.2 = ŠS 19.24.4
pári dhatta dhattā no vārcasemām jarāṁṛtyuṁ kṛñuta dirghāṁ āyuḥ ]
bṛhaspāṭiḥ prāyaḥcād vāṣa etat sōmāya rājñe páridhātavā u ||

HirGS 1.4.2 = ĀpMP 2.2.6
pári dhatta dhattā vāṣasaināṁ śatāyusaināṁ kṛñuta dirghāṁ āyuḥ ]
bṛhaspāṭiḥ prāyaḥcād vāṣa etat sōmāya rājñe páridhātavā u ||

This stanza and the following one are quoted in AVPariś 4.1 (see introduction to PS 15.5).
Bhattacharya edits varcasemaṁ in a.

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

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

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

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

jarāṁ su gacha pari dhatsva vāso Tb
bhavā grśṭṇāṁ abhiśastipā u ] Tb
śataṁ ca jīva śaraḍaḥ suvarcā Tb
rāyaś ca poṣam upasaṁyayasya || Tb
Advance safely toward old age, wear the garment, and become one defending people from curses. And being full of splendor, live a hundred autumns. Cover yourself in abundant wealth.


Ś 19.24.5
jarāṁ sū gacha pārī dhatsva vāso bhāvā grṣṭiṁam abhiśastipā u || śataṁ ca jīva śarādāḥ purūcī rāyaś ca pośam upasāṁvyayasva ∥

Ś 2.13.3
pārīdāṁ vāso adhithāḥ svastāyē bhūr grṣṭiṁam abhiśastipā u || śataṁ ca jīva śarādāḥ purūcī rāyaś ca pośam upasāṁvyayasva ∥

ĀpMP 2.2.7
jarāṁ gacchāsi pārī dhatsva vāso bhāvā kṛṣṭiṁam abhiśastipā vā || śataṁ ca jīva śarādas suvārccā rāyaś ca pośam āpasaṁvyayasva ∥

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

Note the metrical lengthening of the final vowel in bhavā (R V 10×).

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

15.6.3 [Triṣṭubh-Jagati] ŚS 19.24.6, ĀpMP 2.2.8, abc: ŚS 2.13.3abc, c: cf. PS 15.6.2c
parīdāṁ vāso *adhithāḥ svaṁvastaye | *Jb
′bhūr v āpīṁnām abhiśastipā u || *Tb
śataṁ ca jīva śaradaḥ purūcīr Tb
vasūni cāruṇ vibhajāsi jīvan ∥ Tb

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


Ś 19.24.6
pārīdāṁ vāso adhithāḥ svastāyē bhūr v āpīṁnām abhiśastipā u || śataṁ ca jīva śaradaḥ purūcīr vāsūni cāruṇ vī bhajāsi jīvan ∥

Ś 2.13.3
In every exploit, in every contest we, as friends, call Indra, the stronger one, for help.

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

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

b. On the word vājra-, see Kuiper 1960 (especially pp. 239–40).

15.6.6

_a_. K reads _ajayas_, ‘unconquered’, ‘invincible’ instead of _ajaraḥ_.

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

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

Bhattacharya edits _yadottamattantubaddhāya nāvad_ in _a_ and _bhadrāṭikāsamajaram_ in _c_.

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

I tentatively propose to read _yadā_ _uttamatantumad_, interpreting the hapax _uttamatantumad_ as a Bahuvarīḥi meaning ‘having excellent threads (tāntu-)’, but I have no solution for the last part of the verse.

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

Also the compound _pururūpapēsas_- is a hapax, probably an extension of the compound _pururūpa-_ ‘multiform, variegated’ (RV+), modeled on the synonymous compounds _purupēsas_- , _visvāpēsas_- ‘multiform, having all adornments’ (RV +).

_c_. I analyse the sequence _bhadrāṭikāsamajaram_ as _bhadrāṭikāsam_ and _ajaram_ (cf. 6.5a above). The compound _bhadrāṭikāsa_- is a hapax; while its first member is widely attested in the sense of ‘auspicious, fortunate, beautiful’, the word _atikāsa_- is rare; besides here, it is
attested at MS 1.2.2:11.9–10 = KS 2.3:9.18 = TS 1.2.2 ≈ KapŚ 1.15:13.7 (atiśaśa-)

nākṣatraṇāṁ mātikāśāt pāḥi ‘Protect me from the brightness of the stars’. In this passage, it is clear that the word means ‘brightness, lustre’ (as expected in a derivative from the root kāś- ‘to be visible, to shine’), but in other occurrences, namely at PS 4.40.3b, TS 6.1.1 and AB 8.17.2 the meaning ‘hole, aperture’ fits the context better than the meaning ‘brightness’. It is significant that another derivative of the same root, namely ākāśā-, could mean both ‘open space, sky’ and ‘aperture, opening’, in different contexts (see Hoffmann 1976: 521 note 4). This is not surprising, as in many languages a word meaning ‘light’ can also mean ‘hole’, ‘aperture’ (cf. Italian ‘lume’).

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

15.6.7 [Triṣṭubḥ] PS only

yasya brahmāṇaḥ sicam ārabhante
ṣrathnanto *nīvīṃ pratiranta āyuḥ |
tasya devā devahūtiṁ juśantāṁ
sa viśvahā sacatāṁ s, vaca \\

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


Bhattacharya edits *sicam in a and nīvam in b.

a. The readings of JM and RM make the ‘***’-sign before sicam unnecessary. For the verb ārabh-, see Göto 1976. The expression sicam ārabh- occurs at RV 3.53.2cd pitūr nā putrāḥ sicam ā rabhe ta āṅdra svādīṣṭayā girā śacīvāḥ ‘O mighty Indra, with the sweetest song I take hold of your hem, as a son [takes hold of] his father’s’.

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

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

d. Cf. RV 1.1.9c sācasvā nah svastāye ‘Stay with us for well-being’, 4.11.6cd dosā śivāh sahasaḥ sūno agne yām devā ā cit sācase svastī ‘O Agni, son of the strength, at night benevolent is he whom you, the god, stay with, for well-being’, 5.28.2b havis kṛṇvāntaṁ sacaśe svastāye ‘You stay with him who makes the obligation, for well-being’.

15.6.8 [Triṣṭubḥ] PS only
anyad ā dhatsva pari dhatsva vāsa +Tb
imat ulbam apa *lumpāmi yas te | +Ta
jarase tvāṁ ṛṣayaḥ saṁ vyayantu +Ta
sūryo bhagas te pra *tiranta v āyuḥ || Tb

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


Bhattacharya edits apalaṁpāmi in b.

This stanza and the following ones are addressed to the king and describe his rebirth after the placement of the newborn after you, well born, growing with good growth.

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

15.6.9 [Triṣṭubh] ≈ ŚS 2.13.5 ≈ HirGS 1.7.17 ≈ ĀpMP 2.6.15
yasya *te vāsah prathamaṁvatasyaṁ *(+)#Tb
harāmi taṁ tvā viśe avantu devāḥ | T2
taṁ tvā bhrātaraḥ suvṛdhā vardhamānam | T2
anu jāyantāṁ bahavaḥ sujātam || +Tb

Let the All-gods help you here, whose garment, formerly worn, I take. May many brothers be born after you, well born, growing with good growth.
śyāya te vāsah prathamavāśyāṁ hārāmas tāṁ tvā viśve `vantu (ĀpMP avantu) devāḥ |

tāṁ tvā bhrātarāḥ (ĀpMP bhrātaras) suvīdhā vārdhamānam ānu jāyantāṁ bahāvaḥ (ĀpMP bahāvas)
sujātam ||

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


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

ahatenaḥato bhava A
sthira sthīrena sam bhava | A
pra mṛṇihī durasyataḥ A
sahasva prtanāyaataḥ || A

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


ŚŚ 10.3.1cd
tenā rabhasva tvāṁ śatrūn prá mṛṇihī durasyataḥ ||

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

Note the chiastic structure ahaten[a] — [a]hato vs. sthira — sthīrena.
15.7 To various gods

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PS 15.7/8/9</th>
<th>ŚŚ 5.24</th>
<th>TS 3.4.5</th>
<th>PārGS 1.5.10</th>
<th>ŚāṅkhŚŚ 4.10.1</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Savitar/Impulses</td>
<td>Agni/Beings</td>
<td>Agni/Beings</td>
<td>Agni/Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varuṇa/Waters</td>
<td>Agni/Trees</td>
<td>Indra/The eldest/the chiefs</td>
<td>Indra/Powers</td>
<td>Vāyu/Intermediate Space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāyu/Intermediate Space</td>
<td>Heaven and Earth/Givers</td>
<td>Yama/Earth</td>
<td>Yama/Earth</td>
<td>Savitar/Impulses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūrya/Heaven</td>
<td>Varuṇa/Waters</td>
<td>Vāyu/Intermediate Space</td>
<td>Vāyu/Intermediate Space</td>
<td>Sūrya/Constellations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon/Constellations</td>
<td>Mitra and Varuṇa/Rain</td>
<td>Sūrya/Heaven</td>
<td>Sūrya/Heaven</td>
<td>Soma/Herbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasu/Years</td>
<td>Maruts/Mountains</td>
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<td>Moon/Constellations</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year/Seasons</td>
<td>Soma/Plants</td>
<td>Bṛhaspati/Brahman</td>
<td>Bṛhaspati/Brahman</td>
<td>Mitra/Truths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agni/Trees</td>
<td>Vāyu/Intermediate Space</td>
<td>Mitra/Truths</td>
<td>Mitra/Truths</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indra/Rites</td>
<td>Sūrya/Sight</td>
<td>Varuṇa/Waters</td>
<td>Varuṇa/Waters</td>
<td>Indra/The eldest/the chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savitar/Impulses</td>
<td>Moon/Constellations</td>
<td>Ocean/Rivers</td>
<td>Ocean/Streams</td>
<td>Prajapati/Creatures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śivas/Mountains</td>
<td>Indra/Heaven</td>
<td>Food/Lordship</td>
<td>Food/Lordship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tvaśṭar/Forms</td>
<td>Maruts/Father/Cattle</td>
<td>Soma/Herbs</td>
<td>Soma/Herbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudra/Cattle</td>
<td>Death/Creatures</td>
<td>Savitar/Impulses</td>
<td>Savitar/Impulses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soma/Milk</td>
<td>Yama/Fathers</td>
<td>Rudra/Cattle</td>
<td>Rudra/Cattle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parjanya/Herbs</td>
<td>Old time Fathers/Young time Fathers/Fathers/Grandfathers</td>
<td>Tvaśṭar/Forms</td>
<td>Tvaśṭar/Forms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocean/Rivers</td>
<td>Viṣṇu/Mountains</td>
<td>Viṣṇu/Mountains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syllable Hirnt/Sāmanams</td>
<td>Maruts/Troops</td>
<td>Maruts/Troops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarasvatī/Ritual Words</td>
<td>Fathers/Grandfathers</td>
<td>Fathers/Grandfathers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pūṣan/Paths</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gayatrī/Metres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛhaspati/Gods</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prajapati/Offspring</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yama/Fathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old time Fathers/Young time Fathers/Grandfathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from the table that the order of the invocations and the combination of the deities with their sphere of influence is rather free. The ŚŚ and the PS have six pairings in common,
but in general the PS has an independent status, in that it has the most extensive list of invocations and, as stated above, addresses every god as ádhyakṣa-, instead of ádhipati- ‘lord, overlord’ as do all the other parallel texts. Moreover, the PS differs also in the number and order of the actions mentioned in the refrain.

It is almost impossible to determine the precise ritual application of these hymns: the generic enumeration of priestly actions in the refrain and in the last stanza does not help in defining any practical use, and seems indeed to intentionally leave these hymns apt for several rites. Cf. the use of ŚŚ 5.24 in the KaúśŚ in a royal coronation (17.30), in the nuptial ceremonies (78.11), in the ājyatantra (137.42). As pointed out by WHITNEY 1905: 263, “many of the verses [of ŚŚ 5.24] appear also in VaitŚ, with oblators to the various divinities mentioned, in different ceremonies: thus, in the āgrayana, vs. 7 (8.7); in the cāturmāśyāni, vss. 1–3 [1 = PS 15.7.10; 2 = PS 15.7.8], 6, 7 (8.13), 4 [= PS 15.7.2] (8.22), 9 (9.27); in the agniṣṭoma, vss. 8 [= PS 15.7.3] (19.2), 5 (19.3), 11 (19.11)”. Note further that ŚāṅkhŚŚ 4.10.1 states that, after the word svāhā, at the end of the list, “he inserts whatever is his special wish” (transl. Caland). According to my interpretation, the inclusion of this hymn — composed by extending a pre-existing set of invocations — in a collection of royal compositions could have been prompted by the word purodhā- ‘office of a purohita’ used in the refrain. This word, which never occurs in the RV and is attested for the first time in these parallel Atharvanic hymns, in the TS43 and then in the Brāhmaṇas (TB 27.1.2, AB 7.31.2, 8.24.1, 27, ŚB 4.1.4.5, PB 13.3.12; 9.27), perfectly meets the Paippalādins’ need to present themselves as best suited to be the king’s purohitas.

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

15.7.1 [Formula] bcde ≈ ŚŚ 5.24.1bcde
mitraḥ prthivyā adhyakṣaḥ | P
sa māvatv asmin brahmany asmin karmanya | P
asyāṁ purodhāyāṁ asyāṁ devahūtyāṁ asyāṁ ākūtyāṁ asyāṁ āsiṣi svāhā || P

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


ŚŚ 5.24.1

43 The occurrences in the TS are of particular interest, as they show that becoming a purohita was a highly desirable goal, but also a very difficult rank to obtain. In TS 2.1.2, a sacrifice is prescribed to one ‘who has a dispute for the office of the Purohita’: āgneyāṁ kṣnāgrijam ā labheta saumyāṁ bahhrāṁ āgneyāṁ kṣnāgrijam purodhāyāṁ spārdhamānāṣ ‘He who has a dispute for a Purohitaship should offer (a beast) with a black neck to Agni, a brown one to Soma, and one with a black neck to Agni’ (Keith). In TS 7.4.1 it is Bṛhaspati himself who wishes to gain the office of the purohita of the gods: bṛhaspatīr akāmaya sarāṁ me devā ḍāḍhīran gicheyam purodhām ītī ‘Bṛhaspati desired, ‘May the gods have faith in me, and may I become their Purohita’’ (Keith).
Bhattacharya edits ssvāhā in c.

a. At the end of every pāda a of this hymn, K reads adhyakṣa. For some remarks on the word adhyakṣa-, involving the idea of protection, control and guardianship, see GONDA 1969: 66–68. The translations ‘overseer’, ‘supervisor’ are no doubt more literal, but it would be difficult to make a corresponding feminine to them (cf. stanzas 8.8 and 8.10 below). This stanza is quoted in a sentence at AthPrāy 1.2.44

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

15.7.2 [Formula] ≈ ĢS 5.24.4

varaṇo (’)pām adhyakṣah o o o || P

Varuṇa is the overlord of waters etc. etc.


ġs 5.24.4
vāraṇo ’pām ādhipatiḥ sā māvatu etc. etc.

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

15.7.3 [Formula] ≈ ĢS 5.24.8

vāyur antārikṣasyādhyakṣah o o o || P

Vāyu is the overlord of intermediate space etc. etc.


ġs 5.24.8
vāyur antārikṣasyādhipatiḥ sā māvatu etc. etc.

a. Cf. TB 3.2.1 vāyūr vā antārikṣasyādhyakṣah ‘Vāyu is the overlord of the intermediate space.

15.7.4 [Formula] ≈ ĢS 5.24.9

44 GONDA 1969: 68 mentions AthPrāy 1.2, but makes no reference to PS 15.7.1.
sūryo dīvō (')dhyakṣaḥ o o o || P

Sūrya is the overlord of heaven etc. etc.


Ś Ś 5.24.9
sūryaś cākṣuṣāṃ ādhipatiḥ sā māvatu etc. etc.

15.7.5 [Formula] ≈ ŚŚ 5.24.10
candrāmā nakṣatrasāṃ adhyakṣaḥ o o o || P

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


ŚŚ 5.24.10
candrāmā nākṣatrasāṃ ādhipatiḥ sā māvatu etc. etc.

15.7.6 [Formula]
vasuḥ sarīvatsarāṃ adhyakṣaḥ o o o || P

Vasu is the overlord of the years etc. etc.


15.7.7 [Formula]
+sarīvatsara ṛṭunām adhyakṣaḥ o o o || P

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


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

15.7.8 [Formula] ≈ ŚŚ 5.24.2
agnir vanaspatīnām adhyakṣaḥ o o o || P

Agni is the overlord of the trees etc. etc.

ŚS 5.24.2
agnir vánaspāṁām ādhipatiḥ sā māvatu etc. etc.

15.7.9 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.11
indraḥ karmaṇām adhyakṣaḥ o o o ||

Indra is the overlord of rites etc. etc.


ŚS 5.24.11
śānḍīr divō ’dhipatiḥ sā māvatu etc. etc.

15.7.10 [Formula] ≈ ŚS 5.24.1
savitā prasavānāṃ adhyakṣaḥ o o o ||

Savitar is the overlord of the impulses etc. etc.


ŚS 5.24.1
savitā prasavānāṃ ādhipatiḥ sā māvatu etc. etc.
15.8. To various gods (continued)

15.8.1 [Formula] \( \approx \) ŚS 5.24.6

\[ \text{viṣṇuḥ parvatānām adhyakṣaḥ} \]

Viṣṇu is the overlord of mountains etc. etc.

\[ \text{viṣṇuḥ} \] Or, \( \text{viṣṇuḥ} \) K \( \text{parvatānām} \) Or, \( \text{parvatānānām} \) K \( \text{adhyakṣaḥ} \) Or, \( \text{adhyakṣa} \) K || JM Pa Mā [Ma], | Ku RM, Z 1 Z K

ŚS 5.24.6
marūtaḥ párvatānām ádhipatayas té māvantu etc. etc.

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

15.8.2 [Formula]

\[ \text{tvaśtā rūpānāṃ adhyakṣaḥ} \]

Tvaśtar is the overlord of forms etc. etc.

rūpānāṃ] K, ṭpānāṃ Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, ṭpānāṃ JM RM \( \text{adhyakṣaḥ} \) Or, \( \text{adhyakṣa} \) K || JM Pa Mā [Ma], | Ku RM, Z 2 Z K

a. The god Tvaśtar, who was thought to have fashioned, among other things, Indra’s cudgel (see, e.g., RV 5.31.4b), was considered the creator of all forms of beings, both human and animal. Cf. RV 1.188.9ab \textit{tvaśtā rūpāṇi hi prabhūḥ paśūn visvān samānajé} ‘For the lord Tvaśtar has created the forms, all the animals’, 10.184.1b \textit{tvaśtā rūpāṇi pīṁśatu} ‘Let Tvaśtar fashion the forms’, ŚS 2.26.1c = PS 2.12.1c \textit{tvaśtā yēsāṁ rūpadheyāni véda} ‘whose forms and figures Tvaśtar knows’, TB 1.1.7 \textit{tvaśtā vai rūpānāṁ īśe} ‘Tvaśtar indeed rules over the forms’ etc. See also PS 1.75.3 \textit{tvaśtā rūpeṇa ... tvā ... abhi raksatu iha} ‘Let Tvaśtar protect you here with the form’ and ŚB 11.4.3.17 \textit{tvaśtā rūpānāṁ rūpakād rūpāpatih rūpēṇa paśūn asmīn yajñē máyī dadhātu} ‘Let Tvaśtar, the fashioner of forms, the lord of forms, bestow cattle with form on me at this worship’.

15.8.3 [Formula] \( \approx \) ŚS 5.24.12

\[ \text{rudraḥ paśūnāṃ adhyakṣaḥ} \]

Rudra is the overlord of cattle etc. etc.

rudraḥ] K, ēdraḥ Or \( \text{adhyakṣaḥ} \) Or, \( \text{adhyakṣa} \) K || JM Pa Mā [Ma], | Ku RM, om. K
ŚŚ 5.24.12
marūtāṁ pitā paśunām ādhipatiḥ sā māvatu etc. etc.

15.8.4 [Formula] ≈ ŚŚ 5.24.7
somaḥ payasāṁ adhyakṣāḥ ॐ ॐ ॐ ||
Soma is the overlord of milk etc. etc.

somāḥ Or, somaḥ K adhyakṣāḥ] Or, adhyakṣa K || | JM Pa Mā [Ma], | Ku RM, Z K

ŚŚ 5.24.7
sóma vṛūdhāṁ ādhipatiḥ sā māvatu etc. etc.

15.8.5 [Formula]
parjanya oṣadhiṇāṁ adhyakṣāḥ ॐ ॐ ॐ ||
Parjanya is the overlord of herbs etc. etc.


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

15.8.6 [Formula]
samudro nādināṁ adhyakṣāḥ ॐ ॐ ॐ ||
The Ocean is the overlord of rivers etc. etc.


15.8.7 [Formula]
hiṁkāraḥ sāmnāṁ adhyakṣāḥ ॐ ॐ ॐ ||
The syllable hiṁ is the overlord of the Sāmans etc. etc.


a. On the mystic importance of the syllable hiṁ in the recitation of Sāmans, see e.g. PB 6.8.7 esam vai sāmnāṁ raso yad dhīnkāro ‘The him-sound in the sap of the sāmans’ (Caland), ŚB 1.4.1.1 hiṁkṛtyānvāḥa nāsāmā yajñō ’sīti vā āhurna vā āhiṁkṛtya sāma gīyate ma yād dhīnkarkōti tād dhīnkārasya rūpāṁ kriyate praṇāvaṁsāvaṃ rūpam úpagacatyoṁ om ity eteṇo hāsyaiṣa sārva eva sāsāṁ yajñō bhavati ‘He recites after uttering (the syllable) ‘Hiṁ!’’. Sacrifice, they say, is not (performed) without the Sāman; and neither is the Sāman chanted
without ‘Hīṅ’ having been uttered. By his uttering ‘Hīṅ!’ the peculiar nature (rūpam) of the word ‘Hīṅ’ is produced (in the sacrifice); and by the sacred syllable (om) it assumes the nature of the Sāman. By uttering ‘Om! Om!’ this his entire sacrifice becomes endowed with the Sāman (Eggeling). Cf. also ŚB 2.2.4.12 and 13.2.3.2, in which the connection between the sacred syllable and the Sāmans is repeated in mythological and sacrificial contexts. For other occurrences of the word, see VISHVA BANDHU 1966: 860-61.

15.8.8 [Formula]

sarasvatī vācāṃ adhyakṣā ṣ ṣ || P

Sarasvatī is the mistress of words etc. etc.


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

15.8.9 [Formula]

pūṣā pathīnāṃ adhyakṣāḥ ṣ ṣ || P

Pūṣan is the overlord of paths etc. etc.


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

The genitive plural pathīnāṃ (from a strong stem panth-, weak stem pathi- before consonant, path- before vowel) is an innovation — the regular form being pathāṃ — due to the
fact that the stem *pathi-* was extended to plural cases with vowel-initial termination (cf. AiGr. III, § 159, p. 308). The form *pathiñoṃ* is already attested once in RV 5.1.11c and once in ŚS 9.5.19d. In the PS, besides this passage, it is attested also at 2.39.4d = 16.99.5d (in both cases, K has the correct form *pathiñoṃ*). On the association of Pūṣan with Sarasvatī (see the previous stanza) and of Pūṣan with paths, see GONDA 1985: 79–81, 82 ff., 145–164.

15.8.10 [Formula]

\[
gāyatrī chandasāṃ adhyakṣā o o o ||
\]

P

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

\[|| r 10 || 8 || Ku JM, || r 8 || RM, || 8 || r 10 || Mā [Ma] Pa\]

This stanza is not found in K.
15.9. To various gods (continued)

15.9.1 [Formula]

\[ \text{Brhaspatir devānām adhyakṣaḥ} \quad \|
\]

Brhaspati is the overlord of gods etc. etc.

\[ \text{Or, adhyakṣa} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{Ku JM Mā} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{Pa, | RM, Z K}
\]

15.9.2 [Formula] \approx \text{ŚS 5.24.13}

\[ \text{prajāpatiḥ prajānām adhyakṣaḥ} \quad \|
\]

Prajāpati is the overlord of offspring etc. etc.

\[ \text{Or, adhyakṣa} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{Ku JM Mā} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{Pa, | RM, Z K}
\]

\[ \text{ŚS 5.24.13}
\]

mṛtyuḥ prajānām ādhipatiḥ sā māvatu etc. etc.

15.9.3 [Formula] \approx \text{ŚS 5.24.14}

\[ \text{yamaḥ pitṛṇām adhyakṣaḥ} \quad \|
\]

Yama is the overlord of the Fathers etc. etc.

\[ \text{Or, pitṛṇām} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{Ku JM Mā} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{Pa, | RM, Z K}
\]

\[ \text{ŚS 5.24.14}
\]

yamaḥ pitṛṇām ādhipatiḥ sā māvatu etc. etc.

15.9.4 [Prose] \text{ŚS 5.24.15–17}

\[ \text{pitarah pare (')}\text{varas tatas }^*\text{tatāmahāḥ} \quad |
\]

\[ \text{te māvantv asmin brahmaṇy asmin karmany} \quad |
\]

\[ \text{asyāṁ purodhāyāṁ asyāṁ devahūtyāṁ asyāṁ ākūtyāṁ asyāṁ āśiṣi svāhā} \quad |
\]

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

\[ \text{varas tatas} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{K, varas thatas Or }^*\text{tatāmahāḥ} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{thatāmahāḥ Or, tadāmahas K} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{māvantv} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{Ku, māvaritv JM} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{RM Mā} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{[Ma] Pa} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{purodhāyāṁ asyāṁ} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{Or, om. K} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{ākūtyāṁ} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{K Or, ākūtyāṁ JM} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{āśiṣi} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{RM, āśiṣiḥ Ku} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{JM Mā} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{[Ma] Pa, āśiṣas K} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{Ku JM Mā} \quad \|
\]

\[ \text{[Ma] Pa, | RM, Z K}
\]

\[ \text{ŚS 5.24.15}
\]

\[ \text{pitarah pāre te māvantu etc. etc.}
\]

\[ \text{ŚS 5.24.16}
\]

tatā āvare te māvantu etc. etc.

c. The sequence *purodhaḥyām* was lost in *K*.

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

-devānāṁ devā devā deśv adhīdevāḥ parā kramaḥvam | P
-prathamā dvitiyeśu dvitiyās trtīyeśu || P

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

*Ku* JM Má [Ma] Pa, ] *RM*, Z *K*

KS 38.12:113.3–5

bḥaspatipurohita devā devānāṁ devā devaḥ prathamajā devā deśu pārā kramadhvam prathamā dvitiyeśu dvitiyās trtīyeśu trir ekādaśas trayastāriśā ānu va ārabha idāṁ śakeyaṁ yād idāṁ karōmi (…)

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

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

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

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

-trir ekādaśā viśve vaiśvānārā | P
-mahi mahānto anu mārabhadhvam | P
-idaṁ śakeyaṁ yad idaṁ kṛṣnom svāhā || P

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

Bhattacharya edits na mā rabhadhvam in b.

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

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

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15.10. Weapons of war

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

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<td>15.10.2</td>
<td>≈ ṚV 6.75.2 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.3:185.12–13 = VSM 29.39 = ĀpŚŚ 20.16.5 etc.</td>
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<td>≈ ṚV 6.75.5 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:185.14–15 = VSM 29.41 = ĀpŚŚ 20.16.7 etc.</td>
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<td>15.10.6</td>
<td>≈ ṚV 6.75.6 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:185.16–17 = VSM 29.41 = ĀpŚŚ 20.16.7 etc.</td>
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<td>15.10.7</td>
<td>≈ ṚV 6.75.7 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:185.17–18 = VSM 29.42 = ĀpŚŚ 20.16.8 etc.</td>
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<td>= ṚV 6.47.29 = SS 6.125.2 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:186.13–14 = VSM 29.54 = ĀpŚŚ 20.16.13</td>
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<td>15.11.10</td>
<td>= SS 6.126.2 = ṚV 6.47.30 = SS 6.125.2 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:186.15–16 = VSM 29.56 = TS 4.6.6.7</td>
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<td>15.12.4</td>
<td>a: ṚV 1.163.1c, b: cf. SS 6.126.3a, PS 15.11.8a c: ṚV 6.47.26c, PS 15.11.8c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.12.5</td>
<td>= ṚV 1.95.7</td>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

ṚV 6.47 and 6.75 (from which six and thirteen stanzas are borrowed, respectively) served the redactor as the source for this hymn; they both focus on the theme of war and warfare and are used during the ritual of the Aśvamedha. In the stanzas borrowed from ṚV 6.75, all the war equipment and weapons of war are mentioned and praised (armour, bow, bowstring, bow-ends,
quiver, reins, horses, chariot, spears, arrows, hand-guard, horsewhip, drum), while the six stanzas from 6.47 celebrate the chariot and the drum.

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

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

In this hymn, many of the same gods as in the preceding hymn are named, such as Indra, Savitar, Mitra, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati. There are other concatenating links: pitaro in 10.9a and pitaraḥ in 10.10a corresponds with pitṛṇām in 9.3a and pitaraḥ in 9.4a; prthivyāḥ in 11.6a and prthiviṁ in 11.9a with prthivyā in 7.1a; divas in 11.6a with dīvo in 7.4a; vanaspatybhyaḥ in 11.6b and vanaspate in 11.8a with vanaspātīnām in 7.8a; apām in 11.6c with ’pām in 7.2a; paśubhir in 12.2c with paśīnām in 8.3a; prathamah in 12.2d with prathamā in 9.5b; prajāyā in 12.8d with prajānām in 9.2a; the compound verb parā kramadhvam in 12.8b occurs also in 9.5a.

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

[jīmūtasyeva bhavati pratiḥkaṇi] Tb
yad varmī yāti samadām upasthe | Tb
anāviddhayā tanvā jaya tvāṁ
sa tvā varmaṇo mahimā pipartu || +Tb

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


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

jīmūtasyeva bhavati pratiḥkaṇi yād varmī yāti samadām upasthe |
ānāviddhayā tanvā jaya tvāṁ sā tvā vármaṇa mahimā pipartu ||

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

a. This stanza depicts an armed warrior approaching a battle, and focuses on the splendour and might of the armour that covers his body and protects him. The simile between the warrior and the rain cloud can be interpreted on two levels: on a concrete level, it may refer to the exterior appearance of the warrior, whose armour, probably made of black leather straps,
resembles in its colour a dark raincloud (thus DANGE 1966: 125). Metaphorically, the simile could also suggest the fury of the warrior and his menacing and war-like attitude. The double meaning is possibly intentional.

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

c. Note the accent on tanvā. This is the only accented word in the entire kanda in K; the anudātta is marked under the aksara -ta-, and the svarita under the aksara -nvā-.

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

dhanvanā gā dhanvanājiṁ jayema +Ta

dhanvanā tīvrāḥ samado jayema | +Tb

dhanuḥ śatrōr apakāmaṁ kṛṇotu Ta

dhanvanā sarvāḥ pradiśo jayema || +Tb

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


RV 6.75.2 = TS 4.6.6.1 = MS 3.16.4:185.12–13 = VSM 29.39 = ĀpŚS 20.16.5 etc.
dhānvanā gā dhānvanājiṁ jayema dhānvanā tīvrāḥ samado jayema |
dhānuḥ śatrōr apakāmaṁ kṛṇot dhānvanā sarvāḥ pradiśo (MS pṛtanā) jayema ||

Bhattacharya edits dhanvanājiṁ jayema in a and pṛtanā jayema in d.

c. All the parallel passages have kṛṇoti instead of kṛṇotu, but the imperative is plausible here, and fits the context well; therefore, I adopt it. The genitive śatrōr is a genitivus objectivus. For a parallel construction of apakāma- ‘abhorrence, displeasure’ plus verb kṛ-, cf. ŚŚ 2.12.5d = PS 2.5.5d, in which the same word is found in connection with the agent-noun kartár-: pāpāṁ ā rchāv apakāṁṣya karrā ‘Der Täter von Abscheulichem soll ins Unglück kommen’ (Zehnder).

d. I edit the reading of K pradiśo, which is in all the parallel passages (with the exception of the MS) and is confirmed by the evidence of the Āṅgirasa tradition (cf. SANDERSON 2007: 213 n. 47). It seems reasonable that also the Orissa manuscripts had once the reading pradiśio and that the text was altered under the influence of passages like PS 5.4.1d tvayādhyakṣeṇa pṛtanā jayema ‘With you as overlord may we win the battles’.
Note the five-fold anaphora and the polyptoton on the name of the bow; the complexity of the rhetorical structure of this stanza is increased by the three-fold anaphora of the verb \textit{jayema} at the end of p\ddas \textit{a}, \textit{b} and \textit{d} (see Watkins 1995: 22).

15.10.3 [\textit{Triṣṭubh}] \approx \text{RV 6.75.3} = \text{TS 4.6.6.1.} = \text{MS 3.16.3:185.14–15} = \text{VSM 29.40} = \text{ĀpŚS 20.16.6 etc.}

\text{vakṣya}ntīvēd ā \text{ganīganti} kārṇāṁ \hfill \text{Ta}
\text{priya}ṁ sakhāyāṁ \text{pari}ṣasvajānā \mid \hfill \text{Tb}
\text{yo}ṣeva śiṅkte \text{vitātādhi} \text{dhanva}ṁ \hfill \text{Tb}
\text{j}yā śiṅ接轨 \text{pārayantī} || \hfill \text{*+#Ta}

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

\text{ganīganti} \text{Or}, \text{ganīganti} \text{K} \text{priya}ṁ \text{Or}, \text{priya}ṁ \text{K}, \text{pari}ṣasvajānā \text{Pa}, \text{pari}ṣasvajānāṁ \text{K} śiṅkteś \text{Or}, \text{śiṅkte} \text{K} \text{dhanva}ṁ \text{K}, \text{dhanva}ṁ \text{Or} \text{iya}ṁ \text{Or}, \text{iya}ṁ \text{K} \text{pārayantī} \text{Ku JM RM [Ma], pari}ṣasvajānā \text{Ma, pari}ṣasvajānāṁ \text{Pa, pari}ṣasvajānāṁ \text{K} \text{śiṅkte}ś \text{Or}, \text{śiṅkte} \text{K} \text{dhanva}ṁ \text{K}, \text{dhanva}ṁ \text{Or} \text{iya}ṁ \text{Or}, \text{iya}ṁ \text{K} \text{pārayantī} \text{Ku JM RM [Ma] Pa, pārayantī Mā, pārayantī K} \hfill || \text{JM Mā [Ma] Pa, Ku RM K}

\text{RV 6.75.3} = \text{TS 4.6.6.1} = \text{MS 3.16.3:185.14–15} = \text{VSM 29.40} = \text{ĀpŚS 20.16.6 etc.}
\text{vakṣya}ntīvēd ā \text{ganīganti} kārṇāṁ \text{priya}ṁ sakhāyāṁ \text{pari}ṣasvajānā \mid \text{yo}ṣeva śiṅkte \text{vitātādhi} \text{dhanva}ṁ \text{yj}yā \text{śiṅ接轨 sāmane pārayantī} ||

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

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

15.10.4 [\textit{Triṣṭubh}] \approx \text{RV 6.75.4} = \text{TS 4.6.6.2} = \text{MS 3.16.3:185.16–17} = \text{VSM 29.41} = \text{ĀpŚS 20.16.7 etc.}

\text{te ācara}ṁ\text{tī samane}va \text{yo}ṣā \hfill \text{Tb}
\text{māteva putra}ṁ \text{pipṛtām} \text{upas}ṭhe \mid \hfill \text{Tb}
\text{apa śa}ṭrūṇ \text{vidhyatāṁ} \text{saṁvidāne} \hfill +\text{Ta}
\text{āṛtī ime visphurantī amitrāṁ} || \hfill \text{Ta}
Let these two, like a young woman approaching to a rendez-vous, protect [us] like a mother [protects] her child in the lap. Let these two bow-ends, coming together, jumping asunder, pierce the enemies, the foes.

a. This simile is also found at RV 4.58.8ab = PS 8.13.8ab abhí pravanta sánaneva yóṣāḥ kalyāṇyāḥ smāyamāṇāsō agrnī ‘They hasten toward Agni as beautiful, smiling women [hasten] to a rendez-vous’, and RV 10.168.2b ≈ PS 1.107.2b áiṇāṁ gachanti sámanāṁ ná (PS sánaneva) yóṣāḥ ‘They come to him as women to a rendez-vous’.


See also PS 15.10.1d above (sa tvā varmaṇo mahimāḥ pipartu ‘Let the might of your armour protect you’) and RV 1.156.3b r̥táṣya gārbhāṃ januśāḥ pipartana ‘protect the germ of order from its birth on’, ŚŚ 9.1.5c tām jātām tāruṇāṁ piparti mātā ‘The mother protects this tender one, when born’, 12.1.12c parjānyauḥ pitā śā u naḥ pipartu ‘Parjanya is the father; so let him protect us’, etc.

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

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

cd. This stanza is full of words expressing the idea of movement: observe the opposition of the two compound verbs sāṃvid- ‘meet, come together’, which echoes ācār- ‘approach’ and sāmana- ‘meeting, reunion’ in pāda a, and visphur- ‘dart asunder’, which describes the opposite movements of the bow-ends when an arrow is being shot.
It is the father of many, manifold is his son. It makes free space, when it has gone down to battles. Fastened on the back, put to action, the quiver wins all fights and battles.

Standing on the chariot, a skillful charioteer leads his horses forward, wherever he wants. Praise of passages like this one, in which he is mentioned as the one ‘standing on the chariot’, is a variant of K kṛṇotu. I prefer the reading of the Orissa manuscripts, which is found in all the parallel passages. This pāda is a variant of RV 6.75.5b ciścā kṛṇoti sāmanāvagātya ‘It clatters when it has gone down to the meetings’.

15.10.6 [Jagatī] RV 6.75.6 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:186.3–4 = VSM 29.43 = ĀpŚŚ 20.16.9 etc.
rathe tiṣṭhaṃ nayati vaṃjīnaḥ puro
yatrayatra kāmavyāte susārathīḥ |
abhīśūṇāṃ mahimānaṁ panāyata
manāḥ paścād anu yachanti raṃmayāḥ ||

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


RV 6.75.6 = TS 4.6.6.2 = MS 3.16.3:186.3–4 = VSM 29.43 = ĀpŚŚ 20.16.9 etc.
rath the tiṣṭhaṃ nayati vaṃjīnaḥ pūrō yātra yatra kāmavyāte susārathīḥ |
abhīśūṇāṃ mahimānam panāyata mánaḥ paścād ánau yachanti raṃmayāḥ ||

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

It is interesting to point out that the Avestan compound rataeštā-, which literally means ‘the one who stands in the chariot’, and corresponds to Vedic ratheṣṭhā-, ‘id.’, has become in the
Avesta the technical term to designate a member of the warrior class (see KELLENS 1974: 231–32), rather than the charioteer.

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

15.10.7 [Triśṭubh/Jagatī] ≈ RV 6.75.7 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.5–6 = VSM 29.44 = ĀpŚś 20.16.10 etc.

tīrāṇ ghoṣāṇ krṇvatāṁ vṛṣapāṇayo
sāvā rathebhīḥ saha vājayantah |
*avakrāmantaḥ prapadair amitrān
kśniānti śatrūṁr anapavyayantah ||

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


RV 6.75.7 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.5–6 = VSM 29.44 = ĀpŚś 20.16.10 etc.
tīrāṇ ghoṣāṇ krṇvate vṛṣapāṇyō śvā ráthebhīḥ saha vājāyatantah |
avakrāmantaḥ prápadair amitrān kśniānti śatrūṁr ānapavyayantah ||

Bhattacharya edits krṇvatāṁ in a and apakrāmantaḥ in c.

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

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

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

d. It is difficult to give an accurate translation of the participle ānapavyayantah. Most of the existing translations are based on the interpretation given by Sāyaṇa, who explained the word with the gloss [a]palāyamānā ‘not fleeing’. Roth’s translation ‘nicht ablassend’ has been
accepted by Grassmann; Geldner and Griffith translate, respectively, ‘ohne sich zu entziehen (?)’ and ‘never flinching’; Oldenberg 1909: 416 renders it ‘nicht entkleidend’, and explains ‘d. h. von ihnen das sie umhüllende Gewand des Unheils nicht abtund’. Renou 1938: 71 translates ‘sans lâcher prise’. Bergage 1884: 51–54 has dedicated to this word a short study, which has been characterized by Oldenberg “weniger glücklich”. First he points out the opposition between the term prapadair ‘with the forefeet’, and the epithet vr̥ṣapāṇayas, which he interprets as ‘whose hands are male’, i.e. ‘the stones for pressing soma’; then he concludes, “Au vers 6,75,7, en même temps qu’ils ont les pierres du pressoir à la main, ils triomphent des ennemis en les écrasant de la pointe du pied, et sans se dégager d’eux, c’est-à-dire en somme, sans le moindre effort, et sans changer de place”.

The meaning of the verb apavyaya- ‘to uncover’ is confirmed by a passage like RV 7.81.1cd, which describes the action of Uṣas removing the mantle of the darkness that covers the earth during the night: ápo máhi vyayati cākṣase tāmo jyotis krṇoti sīnārī ‘Removing the mighty darkness, so that we may see, the beautiful lady makes the light’.

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

15.10.8 [Triśṭubh] RV 6.75.8 = TS 4.6.6.3 = VSM 29.45
rathavāhanaṁ havir asya nāma +Tb
yatṛāyudhaṁ niḥtam asya varma | +#Ta
tatrā ratham upa śaṃgamaṇa sa dema Ta
viśvāhā vayaṁ sumanasyamānāḥ || +Tb

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


RV 6.75.8 = TS 4.6.6.3 = VSM 29.45
rathavāhanaṁ havir asya nāma yatṛāyudhaṁ niḥtam asya vārma |
tatrā ratham upa śaṃgamaṇa sa dema viśvāhā vayaṁ sumanasyamānāḥ ||

a. The word rathavāhana- has long been debated, at least since the remarks made by Roth 1888: 95–97. Most scholars agree that rathavāhana- indicates a movable frame or platform to hold and convey the chariot (when not in use). Sparreboom 1985: 29–30, commenting on the late occurrence of the word at BaudhŚŚ 11.6:72.8 (= KātyŚŚ 15.6.28 rathavāhaṇa), follows the interpretation of the Vedic Index, and explains it as a conveyor or stand for the chariot, drawn by two horses or oxen (rathavāhanavāhau). He adds, “It may be considered strange that a light, two-wheeled vehicle is transported on another car. Could a chariot, fit for battle or race, not be driven to the scene of action by itself? Of course, the possibility cannot be ruled out that this usage was just for the sake of adding more lustre to the stateliness of the chariot, which was, for this reason, delivered to the starting place of the race-course with due ceremonial pomp and circumstance. However, circumstantial evidence appears to suggest another, and very practical explanation: the race car was disassembled when not used […]. The wheels would have to be set into position just before the start”. Kazanas 2002: 308–309 proposes a different
interpretation, observing that in the hymn there is no mention that the wheels and the box of the chariot were separate; in his opinion, “It seems reasonable that rathavāhana- is the chariot itself, lauded per se in stanza 8,” and he adds, “There is no need to assume a chariot-carrying platform. […] Furthermore, this very stanza says that upon this vehicle are already laid (nihita) weaponry (āyudha) and mail (varma). So O’ Flaherty and others say that on this ‘platform’ weapons are first laid and mail and then chariot itself. Is it likely that practical men would load the chariot (whole or dismantled) afterwards and thus possibly damage the weaponry? Of course not.”

Kazanas’s arguments are, however, rather weak.

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

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

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

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

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

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

cd. KAZANAS 2002: 309 notes that the verb upasad- has an intransitive meaning ‘to sit by/near/on’, and in a figurative sense ‘revere, approach respectfully’. These meanings have been adopted by Keith and Griffith, who translate, respectively, ‘May we sit on the strong car’, and ‘Let us honour the helpful car’. Cf. also PS 1.92.3a agnim sāmityam upa saṁ sadema ‘Zum Versammlungsfeuer möchten wir uns sitzen’ (Zehnder). Other translators attribute to the verb
a transitive meaning that is usually inherent only in causative forms (*ūpasādaya- ‘make sit on, place upon’): Geldner translates ‘auf den wollen wir der Wagon setzen’, O’Flaherty (1981: 237) ‘on it let us place the working chariot’. The context indeed suggests that the verb *upasad-, contrary to the usual intransitive meaning (18× in the R̤), is used here, exceptionally, in a transitive sense. Cf. CASARETTO 2004 [2010]: 79.

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

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

15.10.9 [Triśṭubh] RV 6.75.9 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.13–14 = VSM 29.46 = ĀpŚS 20.16.11

svāduṣaṁsadaḥ pitāro vayodhāh
kṛchreśritaḥ śaktīvanto gabhīrāḥ |
citrasenā iṣubālā amṛdhraḥ
satovīrā uravo vrātasāhāḥ

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


RV 6.75.9 = TS 4.6.6.3 = MS 3.16.3:186.13–14 = VSM 29.46 = ĀpŚS 20.16.11
svāduṣaṁsādaḥ pitāro vayodhāḥ kṛchreśritaḥ śaktīvanto gabhīrāḥ |
citrasenā iṣubālā amṛdhraḥ satovīrā uravo vrātasāhāḥ ||

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

According to ARNOLD 1905: 127, a short -i- must be restored in śaktīvanto, and this restoration would give a regular anapestic rhythm to the break (cf. the parallel case quoted by
Arnold, RV 5.31.6c śaktibyo yād vibhārā rōdasī ubhé, which is, however, less significant, for a second long syllable in the opening of a Jagatī pāda is highly favored).

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

brāhmaṇāsah pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ
śive no dyāvāpṛthaḥ aneḥasā |
pūṣā nah pātu duritāḥ ṭāvṛdho
rakṣā mākir no aghaśaṁsī īṁata ||

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


RV 6.75.10 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:186. 15–16 = VSM 29.47
brāhmaṇāsah pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ śive no dyāvāpṛthivī aneḥasā (MS ubhé stām) |
pūṣā nah pātu duritāḥ ṭāvṛdho rakṣā mākir no aghaśaṁsī īṁata ||

RV 6.71.3cd
hiranyajihvaḥ suvītya nāvyase rakṣā mākir no aghaśaṁsī īṁata ||

ŚŚ 19.47.6ab
rakṣā mākir no aghaśaṁsī īṁata mā no duḥśaṁsī īṁata ||

d. The reading rakṣā, which is found in all the manuscripts, is variously interpreted as a 2nd singular imperative from rakṣ-, or as nominative singular from rakṣas- (see WHITNEY 1905: 975). Although Geldner ad loc. notes that “der Sg. rakṣā (auf Pūṣan?) paßt hier schlecht”, I think that the imperative is still the best solution. Also GRIFFITHS 2009: 218 translates PS 6.20.6a rakṣā mākir no aghaśaṁsī īṁata as ‘Give protection! Let no slanderer become our master’, but in the Index verborum he puts the word rakṣā under the lemma rakṣas-, not under rakṣ-.
15.11.1 [Triśūṭḥ] RV 10.42–44.11 = ŠS 20.17.11, 94.11 = TS 3.3.11.1 ≈ ŠS 7.51.1, 20.89.11
= PS 16.8.11, KauśŚ 59.19 = VaitŚ 25.2

bhṛhaspatir näḥ pari pātu paścād
utottarasmād adharād aghāyoh\
indraḥ purastād uta madhyato näḥ
sakhā sakhibhavo varivaḥ kṛṇotu ||

Let Br̥haspati protect us all around, from behind, from above and from below against the malignant one. Let Indra, as friend to [his] friends, make free space for us in the front and in the middle.

bhṛhaspatir näḥ | Or, bhṛhaspatin näḥ K | utottarasmād | Or, utottarāsmād K | adharād | JM RM Mä [Ma] Pa K, adharāj Ku | indraḥ | Or, indraḥ K | näḥ | Or, nas K | varivaḥ | Or, varivaḥ K || | Ku Mä [Ma] Pa, | JM RM, Z K

RV 10.42.11 = ŠS 20.17.11, 94.11 = TS 3.3.11.1 = ŠS 7.51.1, 20.89.11 = PS 16.8.11, KauśŚ 59.19 = VaitŚ 25.2
bhṛhaspātir näḥ pāri pātu paścād utōttarasmād ādharād aghāyōḥ\
inderā purāstāt utā madhyātō näḥ sākḥā sākhibhavo vārivaḥ kṛṇotu ||

d. As regards the expression vārivaḥ kṛ- ‘to make free space’, the PS shows the same alternation, found also in the ŠS, between the use of vārivas- (3.1.7b, 3.36.5c, 15.11.1d, 19.8.3c, 20.35.1c) and vārīyas- (16.8.11d, 16.25.9b). According to Ved. Var. II: 130, 258, the form vārivas- is older, and vārīyas- “more popular”.

15.11.2 [Triśūṭḥ] ≈ RV 6.75.11 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:187. 2–3 = VSM 29.48 etc., b: cf. PS 15.11.8c
suparṇaññ vaste mṛgo asyā danto

| gobhiḥ sārinaddhā patati prasūtā ||
yatā naraḥ sāri ca vi ca dravanti +#Tb
tatrāsmbhyam iṣavaḥ śarma yachān ||

She wears eagle[’s feathers], her teeth are [that of] a deer; bound with (straps made of) calf, set in motion, she flies. Where the heroes run hither and thither, there let the arrows give us protection.


RV 6.75.11 = TS 4.6.6.4 = MS 3.16.3:187. 2–3 = VSM 29.48 etc.
suparṇaññ (MS supārṇaññ) vaste mṛgō asyā (MS āsyā) dānto gobhiḥ sārinaddhā patati prasūtā |
yatā naraḥ sāri ca vi ca dravanti tatrāsmbhyam iṣavaḥ śarma yarṇsan ||
Bhattacharya edits *tad asmabhyaṃ* in d.

**ab.** The arrows were feathered in order to balance them in flight, and were tipped with horn or metal (the RV refers to arrows with poisoned heads of horn — 6.75.15 ālakta- ‘anointed with poison’, ráruśīraṇ- ‘deer-headed’ — as distinct from other metal-headed arrows — ibid., ādo mukha- ‘having a metal mouth’). The mention of the deer makes it clear that arrows with horn head are intended here. Straps were probably used to fasten the arrow-head to the shaft. On the various kinds of feathers and heads used for arrows, see Pant 1978: 97 ff. The insertion of the feathers into the arrow-shaft must have been a very delicate and important manufacturing process, since we find it in similes as an element of comparison with a work of effective skill: cf. RV 10.18.14ab *pratīcīne mām āhanīsvāh parṇām ivā dadhuḥ* ‘At a later day they will place me like an arrow’s feather’, ŚŚ 5.25.1 pārvatād divō yóner āṅgādaṅgāt samābhṛtam | śēpo gārbhasya retodhāḥ sārau parṇām ivā dadhat ‘Brought together from the mountain, from the sky, from the womb, from every limb, the penis, seed-placer of the embryo, shall place [it] like the feather on the shaft’.

**c.** On the syntagma saṁ ca vi ca, see Hoffmann 1975: 297 note 25: discussing the opposition between *saṁ ca* and *vi ca*, he quotes the parallel constructions *saṁ ca vi ca aṅca-* (RV 5.78.6) ‘zusammen- und auseinanderbiegen’, *saṁ ca vi ca dru-* (RV 6.75.11) and the PS form *saṁcavica- ‘sich vereinigend und trennend’ (attested at PS 1.107.6; see the discussion of this passage in Hoffmann 1975: 232–233).

**d.** K reads *tatrāssabhyaṃ ṣayah*, but in the manuscript there is the correction -dā- over the akṣara -trā-. I adopt the reading of K *ante correctionem*, which is confirmed by all the parallel passages. The reading *tad asmabhyaṃ* of Or and of K *post correctionem* implies the interpretation ā + asmabhyaṃ, but it might be relevant to point out that the sequence *tad asmabhyaṃ* occurs three other times in the PS at the beginning of a pāda (at 1.18.1c, 20.7.1c, 2d) and may be due to perseverance in our passage.

The reading of K ṣayah ‘the seers’ represents something between a real variant and a graphic mistake. Note that the PS has the present subjunctive of the root yam-, instead of the s-aorist subjunctive of the other versions.

15.11.3 [Ṭriṣṭubha] PS only

| suparṣo vāso yad u sarpir *āśāṁ | Tb |
| mano hiranyam ṣavaḥ patattrī | Tb |
| *māṃsmaṁ* arann amuta ṣaṭpattīr | +Tb |
| itaḥ praḥitaḥ savitar jayantu || +Tb |

The cloth is eagle[’s feathers], and what of them is melted butter. The intention is the gold, the arrows are a bird. Let them (the arrows), flying from there, not hit us. Being sent forth from here, let them be victorious, O Savitar.
The first half of pāda a corresponds in content to the first half of 11.2a, suparṇaṁ vaste ‘She wears eagle[’s feathers]’.

The interpretation of these two pādas is difficult and problematic. It seems that each pāda can be divided into two hemistichs, so that we have four parts: 1) suparno vāso; 2) yad u sarpir *āśāṁ; 3) mano hiranyam; 4) isavah patatrī. Since this stanza describes an arrow, each part should be interpreted as pointing to a feature of an arrow as well.

The first statement is clear: as it has been said in the previous stanza, arrows were provided with feathers on one end, to balance them while flying.

The second phrase (for the syntactic structure, see PS 16.101.8d vidvān bhūtam yad u bhavyam asya ‘Knowing the past and the future of his’) could then refer to the other end of the arrow, the arrowhead. The word sarpi-, which means ‘clarified butter’, seems out of the context, and the only solution I can think of is a reference to some sort of poison smeared on the arrowhead, to make it brighter or smoother.

The third expression reveals the intention (mānas-) of the arrow (or of the shooter?) that aims to acquire gold, i.e. a booty.

The last part, isavah patatrī, combines the name of the arrow with the adjective patatrīn- ‘winged, feathered’, which can mean ‘bird’ if used in the masculine (and later also ‘arrow’, see PW s.v.). The comparison between an arrow and a bird is natural and fits the context well, but the syntax is awkward, because the arrows are mentioned in the plural, while patatrīn- is singular (this is the reason why Bhattacharya edits patatī with underlining).

\[15.11.4 \text{[Triṣṭubh]} = \text{RV 6.75.14 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.4–5 = VSM 29.51 etc.} \]

ahīr 'va bhogaṁ pari etā bāhum
jyāyā hetim apabādhamānāḥ ||

*-Tb

haṭaghno viśvā vayunāṇi vidvān
pumān pumāṁsaṁ pari pātu mṛtyoḥ ||

Tb

Like a snake with his coils, he goes around the arm, keeping away the shot of the bowstring.

Let the hand-guard, knowing all expedients (of a bow-battle), as a man protect the man from death.


\[\text{RV 6.75.14 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.4–5 = VSM 29.51 etc.} \]

ahīr iva bhogaṁ pary etā bāhum jyāyā hetim paribādhamānāḥ ||

haṭaghna viśvā vayunāṇi vidvān pumān pumāṁsaṁ pāri pātu viśvātāḥ ||

\[\text{a. Cf. PS 1.64.3cd yāṁ tvāhir iva bhogair nākulena parīmasi ‘You, whom we go around with a mongoose’’ derived [amulet], like a snake [curls itself up] with his coils’, and PS 5.10.10d, which shows the same pāda beginning: ahīr 'vaināṇ pra ropaya ‘Like a snake, cause them racking pain’}.\]
c. On hastaghna-, cf. LUDERS 1942: 39 [= 1973: 506] (with notes) and PANT 1978: 220. It denotes an archer’s guard, worn around the left arm to protect the wearer from the recoil of the bowstring. In the PS, the word occurs here and at 7.7.5c, in the hapax compound hiranyahastaghna- ‘being / having [as it were] a golden hand-guard’, which metaphorically refers to the darbha plant (see GRIFFITHS 2009: 320–321).

Although the word vayúna- is still described in EWAia as “von umstrittenener Bedeutung”, the expression viśvā/viśvāni vayunāni vidvāṅ has been meticulously studied by Pischel (PISCHEL–GELDNER 1889: 295–308), who convincingly argued that in this case vayúna- is synonymous with later Sanskrit mārga- ‘way’, and that the whole expression means ‘knowing all ways/paths and means’. In most cases, it refers to Agni, who knows all the paths that lead to heaven, following which he can bring the oblations to the gods. When it is applied to the hand-guard, the expression means that the hand-guard itself knows all the tricks and expedients of a bow-battle (thus also RENOU 1938: 71, who translates ‘Instruit de tous artifices’). The same idea is expressed at ŚŚ 5.20.9cd à PS 9.27.9cd, which is about the war-drum: śrīyo vanvanā vayunāni vidvāṅ kārtim bahābhīyo vi hara dvirājē ‘Procuring fortune, knowing all expedi ents (of a battle), distribute fame to many in battle between two kings’. THIEME 1949: 13 ff. proposes another interpretation and renders the word with ‘Umhüllung’; although this translation is in some cases very attractive, and would fit well also in our passage, in consideration of the simile with the snake that covers the arm with his coil, Thieme’s conclusion that “die Aufgabe des Handschutzes ist doch eine einfache und hat mit den Küsten des Bogenkampfes überhaupt nichts zu tun” (p. 16) is untenable because, as already said, the main task of the handguard is indeed to protect the arm from the recoil of a bowstring.

d. Note the interesting variant of PS at the end of this pāda (mṛtyoh instead of viśvātaḥ of the RV and all the other texts), which might be due to perseveration from PS 1.108.1d pūṣāsmān pari pātu mṛtyoh ‘Let Pūṣan protect us around from death’.

15.11.5 [Anuṣṭubh] ≅ RV 6.75.13 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.6–7 = VSM 29.50

ä jaṅghanti sānv eṣāṁ ] +A
+jaṅghantiṁ upa jighnate |
āsvājani pracadaya- A
-āsvān samatsu vājaya || A

It constantly strikes their back, it slaps their buttocks: O horsewhip, impel the horses, urge [them] in the battles.

RV 6.75.13 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:187.6–7 = VSM 29.50
ä jaṅghanti sānv eṣāṁ jāṅghānān (MS jaṅghānāṁ) āpa jighnate (MS jighnatu) |
āsvājani prācetasō ’svān samatsu codaya (MS nodaya) ||

Bhattacharya edits pādaya in d.
abc. These pādas contain a recurrent word play based on the repetition of two forms of the verb ‘to strike’, jaṅghaṇ- and jighaṇ-, a “similar but unrelated word” jaghaṇa- ‘buttock’, and the name of the whip, aśvājani; as noted by WATKINS 1995: 110, “the effect is a purely phonetic, non-semantic anaphora A JANghanti... asvAJANi ... iconic to the whip itself”. For a similar expression, cf. PS 5.15.7c parjanyaśya maruta uḍadhiṁ sānv ā hata ‘Hit, O Maruts, the water-reservoir, the back of Parjanya’.

d. The reading of the Orissa manuscripts pādaya ‘cause to fall’ is unsatisfactory in meaning. The parallel texts have codayā ‘urge’, which in the PS is found in the preceding pāda — pracodayā — instead of pracetasō. I rather adopt the reading of K vājya ‘urge’, ‘incite’, ‘impel’, which occurs in a similar passage at TS 1.7.8.4 āśvājani vājini vājeṣu vājinīvayā āśvānt samātsu vājaya ‘O horsewhip, strong, driving swift mares in the contest, urge the horses in the battles’.

15.11.6 [Jagatī] = RV 6.47.27 = ŚŚ 6.125.2 ≈ TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:186.9–10 = VSM 29.53

divas prthivyāḥ par, y o ja ābhṛtaṁ
vanaspatibhyāḥ pari saṁbhrṛtaṁ sahaḥ |
apām ojmānaṁ pari gobhir *āvṛtam
indrasya vajraṁ haviśā rathaṁ yaja ||

[Its] strength was brought here from heaven, from earth; [its] power was collected from the trees. With an oblation, you must worship the chariot, the power of the waters, bound round with (straps made of) cattle, Indra’s cudgel.

Ku RM, Z 6 Z K

RV 6.47.27 = ŚŚ 6.125.2

divas prthivyāḥ pāry o ja ʿdbhrṛtaṁ vānaspatibhyāḥ pāry ābhṛtaṁ sahaḥ |
apām ojmānaṁ pari gobhir āvṛtam āndrasya vajraṁ haviśā rathāṁ yaja ||

Bhattacharya edits ābhṛtaṁ in c.

c. At the end of the pāda, all the manuscripts read ābhṛtaṁ, while the other texts have the better reading āvṛtam. I emend the text according to the parallel passages, because ābhṛtaṁ, which is difficult to explain in this context (paryābhṛta- means ‘fetched or extracted from’ plus ablative), is almost certainly due to the occurrence of the same form in pāda a.

d. The identification of the chariot with Indra’s vājra is common in Vedic texts. See e.g. TS 1.7.7.2 = TS 1.8.15.1 āndrasya vājro ‘si vārtraṅgas tvāyāyāṁ vṛtrāṁ vadhyaṁ ‘You are the Vṛtra-killing cudgel of Indra, with you let him slay Vṛtra’, TB 1.3.61 vājro vái rāthah vajrenāvādi dīso ‘bhūyatī ‘The chariot is indeed a cudgel, verily with the cudgel he conquers the quarters’. Cf. also PS 15.11.10d and 15.12.4b below, where the chariot is compared with Indra’s fist. Although the origin of this identification can be traced to the use of the chariot during Indra’s vṛtrahāya, the term vājra later became common for any identification explaining an act of aggression.
[Being] the cudgel of Indra, the front of the Maruts, the embryo of Mitra, the navel of Varuna, O god, O chariot, enjoying this oblation of ours, accept the oblations.

a. The ŚŚ has the independent and possibly later reading ójo, instead of vajro in all the parallel texts, including the PS.

c. At the beginning of the verse, I adopt with slight adjustment the reading of the Orissa manuscripts, semān. The manuscript K, by contrast, does not apply the sandhi between sa and imā, nor does the ŚŚ; Whitney ad loc. comments that all the parallel texts, with the exception of the PS (= K), “combine sé ’mām at beginning of c, against the requirement of the meter”, but the application of the sandhi is certainly evidence in favour of the authenticity of the reading, rather than an argument against it for metrical reasons.

d. The same expression práti havyā grbhāya also occurs in the parallel verse R̥V 1.91.4d rājan soma práti havyā grbhāya ’O king Soma, take/receive the oblation’. Discussing the semantics of the verb grbhṇāti and of its derivative grbhāyati, SCHRIJVER 1999: 120 quotes R̥V 6.47.28d among the occurrences in which the context does not allow one to distinguish the subtle difference between ‘(actively) grab, take’ — which is the prevalent meaning of the nasal formation — and ‘(passively) receive, get’ — which is the meaning of the *ye-derivative of the nasal present. Both the translations ‘take’ and ‘receive’ are conceivable here.
O tree, may you indeed become strong in your limbs, having us as friends, furthering, rich in heroes. Bound with (straps made of) cattle, be strong, O chariot! Let him who ascends you win the booty.


RV 6.47.26 = ŠS 6.125.1 = TS 4.6.6.5 = MS 3.16.3:186.7–8 = VSM 29.52 = ĀpŠŚ 20.16.13
vānaspati viḍvaṅgo [MS viḍvaṅgo] há bhūyā asmātsakhā pratarāṇah savīraḥ | gobhiḥ sārinaddho asi viḷaiyasvāsthātā te jayatu jētvāni ||

Bhattacharya edits ratha in c.

a. Note the use of the particle hi with the precative, which seems to correspond to the use with the optative at PS15.20.1b and PS 15.20.4a.

b. Bhattacharya adopts the reading of the Orissa manuscripts ratha, ‘O chariot’. K has asi, the same reading as the parallel texts. Again, it is not easy to decide which one of the two branches of transmission has preserved the authentic PS reading: the variant ratha is probably to be preferred as the lectio difficilior.

Note that the imperative viḍyāvasva echoes the compound viḍvaṅga-, which occurs in pāda a, and whose first member is the adjective viḍū- ‘strong, firm’, derived from the same root viḍ- ‘be strong’.

c. The form jētv- is a gerundive, which literally means ‘to be gained, to be won’ (cf. AiGr. II/2, § 526b, p. 712). Reference is made here to the booty, the spoils of battle. Note the figura etimologica created by the juxtaposition of jayatu and jētvāni, both derived from the root ji- ‘to win, conquer’.

15.11.9 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī] RV 6.47.29 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:187. 8–9 = VSM 29.55 ≈ ŠS 6.126.1

upa śvāsaya prthivīm uta dyāṁ Tb
purutrā te manutāṁ viṣṭhitam jagat | Ja
sa dundubhe sajūr indreṇa devair +#Ta
dūrād davīyo apa sedha śatrūn || Tb

Make the earth and the sky rumble, let the far-flung people think of you in many places. So, O drum, together with Indra and the gods, chase away the enemies farther than far.


RV 6.47.29 = TS 4.6.6.6 = MS 3.16.3:187. 8–9 = VSM 29.55 ≈ ŠS 6.126.1
úpa śvāsaya prthivīm utā dyāṁ purutrā te manutāṁ (ŚŚ vanvatāṁ) viṣṭhitam jāgat | sa (MS sāṁ) dundubhe sajūr indreṇa devair dūrād davīyo āpa sedha śatrūn ||
These two pādas are not found in K, “probably by an error of the copyist”, as already noticed by WHITNEY 1905: 375 (incidentally, Lanman’s remark that Whitney’s reference to PS 15 “seems to be an error for Pāipp. VII” is wrong). Possibly the copyist skipped the hemistic because of the similar beginning of pāda c in this stanza and in the following one (sa dundubhe – apa sedha dundubhe).

The expression dūrād daviyo ‘farther than far’ is to be compared with two other similar constructions found at PS 15.23.9c ksudrāt kṣodīyasī ‘smaller than small’ and 15.23.10b śivāc chivatarā ‘more propitious than propitious’. As stated by RENOU 1957: 119 (and 1955: 55, note 1), these expressions are the same as the R̥gvedic yaśastaro yaśāsām ‘more beautiful than beauty’ and urōr vārīyaḥ ‘wider than wide’: “Ce sont des substituts du superlatif, se fondant sur les tendances allittérantes si communes aux mantra. Il est permis d’y avoir l’essai du type qui se fixera en skt. bouddhique sous la forme kṣudrāt kṣodīra (pa. khuddākā nukhuddā)”. On (āpa) sedh-, see LUBOTSKY 2004a (especially pp. 328–329).

15.11.10 [Triṣṭubh-Jagatī] ŚŚ 6.126.2 ≈ RV 6.47.30 = MS 3.16.3:187.10–11 = VSM 29.56 ≈ TS 4.6.6.7

ā krandayā bālam ojo na ā dhā
abhī śṭana duritā bādhamānāḥ
apa sedha dundubbe *duchunām ita
indrasya muṣṭir asi viḍayasya

Shout out to [your] strength, put vigour in us, make a thunder-clap driving away dangers. O drum, chase misfortune away from here. You are the fist of Indra, be strong!

ŚŚ 6.126.2
ā krandayā bālam ojo na ā dhā abhī śṭana duritā bādhamānāḥ
apa sedha dundubbe duchunām ita īndrasya muṣṭir asi viḍayasya

Bhattacharya edits *duchunām in c (this is not a real emendation; on the spelling -ts- for -ch- in the Orissa manuscripts, see GRIFFITHS 2009: LXIV–LXV).

On ā krandayā-, see JAMISON 1983: 28, “As Thieme has shown (1929: 28), those forms of krandayati that appear with ā (...) actually belong to a denominative built to ākrandā- ‘noise’, first encountered in the AV, and should be distinguished from both krandayati ‘makes roar’ and ‘krandayati ‘makes race (...). ā krandayati is transitive and attested with acc. object”, as in our passage.

In the translation, I interpret bālam as object of ā krandayā, but there are also cases that point to an intransitive use of the verb: cf. ŚŚ 2.36.6a = PS 1.43.1a = 19.41.13a ā krandayā dhanapate.
‘Shout out, O lord of wealth’,\textsuperscript{45} PS 5.34.2a ā kranyarulā kuru ‘Shout out, wail’ (Lubotsky). If we take the verb as intransitive also in our passage, both bālam and ójo would be object of the following the verb (the two words indeed occur very often together, e.g. at RV 5.57.6b, 7.82.2d; PS 1.53.3c, 1.54.2b, 3c, 3.19.2b, 14.7.2c, 19.29.2b, 20.60.1b [= PSK 20.57.1b] etc.).

\textsuperscript{45} Both Whitney and Zehnder interpret the verb as transitive, taking the understood object from the following verb. They translate, respectively, ‘Shout out [to him], O lord of riches’ and ‘Ruf (ihn) herbei, Herr des Schätze’. It seems, however, that there is no need to supply the verb with an understood object.
15.12. Weapons of war (continued)


Conquer those ones, let these ones be victorious, let the drum constantly sound clearly. Let our heroes, having horses for wings, fly together. Let our charioteers be victorious, O Indra.

prāmūṇ Jayābhīme Jayantu
ketumad dundubhir vāvadītu |
sam aśvaparṇāḥ patayantu no naro
aśmākam indra rathino jayantu ||

ŚŚ 6.126.3

prāmūṇ Jayābhīme Jayantu ketumad dundubhir vāvadītu |
sam aśvaparṇāḥ patayantu no naro 'smākam indra rathino jayantu ||

RV 6.47.31 = TS 4.6.6.7 = MS 3.16.3:187.12–13 = VSM 29.57 = ĀpŚŚ 20.16.14 etc.

āmār aja pratyāvartayemāḥ ketumad dundubhir vāvadītu |
sam aśvaparṇāḥ cārantī (MS cārantu) no naro 'smākam indra rathino jayantu ||

b. The intensive vāvadītu is used with an iterative meaning, which stresses the constant noise of the drums, without reference to the volume of the sound; see SCHAEFER 1994: 177–78: “Hier ist nicht etwa ein einzelner, besonders lauter Paukenschlag gemeint, sondern eine kontinuierliche Abfolge von Paukenschlägen, die die ganze Handlung (Vorbereitung einer Schlacht) begleiten”. The translation of ketumād- that I propose is rather free. Since ketū- means ‘bright appearance’, ‘clearness’, ‘mark, sign’, ketumād- would literally mean ‘possessing brightness’, ‘clear (as a sound)’. On the word ketū-, see DANGE 1964, who attributes to it the meaning, ‘war-banner’, ‘bright sign’, ‘symbol that stands at the foremost place’. Dange’s opinion that in the expression ketumad dundubhir vāvadītu, “We have the picture of the advancing Aryan army wherein the war-drum with the banner occupied the front position” needs to be better explained. The word ketumād- is here an adjective in the neuter, used with the function of an adverb, and cannot indicate the war-banner, either on its own or bound to the drum. The same adjective is used in ‘acoustic context’ also at SS 3.19.6cd = PS 1.56.3ab pṛ̥thag ghōṣā ululāyāḥ ketumānta ̱ud ▼ratām ‘Let the noises, the clear howls rise apart’.

In other words, the notion of ketū- meaning ‘war-banner’ could have been present in the redactor’s mind and also intentionally exploited in the context of a war-hymn in order to establish a connection between the senses and images, but it is only hinted at, and not explicitly expressed.

c. There are many variants of the verbal form in this pāda: the RV, the TS and the VSM read caranti, the MS has carantu, the SS patantu. The same oscillation between the use of the indicative and the imperative is also found in the readings of the PS (Or patayantu, K
patayanti); I choose the reading of the Orissa manuscripts because every pāda of this stanza has an imperative and it would be awkward to break this pattern. As for the meaning, the PS agrees with the ŚŚ, since the causative form of the verb pat- ‘to fly’ shares the same meaning as the thematic form (see JAMISON 1983: 61–62), but both the readings of the PS are worse for the metre. The use of the verb pat-, which is metaphorically applied to the horsemen, was probably suggested by the epithet āśvaparna- ‘whose wings are horses’, ‘having horses for wings’, for which see RV 1.88.1ab ā vidyūnmadbhir marutāḥ svarkāi rāthebhir yāta rṣṭimādbhir āśvaparnaḥ ‘O Maruts, drive here with your chariots possessing lightnings, singing beautifully, furnished with spears, having horses for wings’. According to SINGH 1965: 58, horsemen are mentioned in this passage, and “there is a distinction, clear and deliberate, between the cavalry and the chariots who have gathered together on the field of battle to court the goddess of victory”. This idea is hardly possible: the abovementioned Ṛgvedic passage makes it clear that the epithet āśvaparna-, when not used metaphorically, refers to the chariot; moreover, it is unlikely that in Vedic times horses were actively used in warfare, as there is no evidence for the use of stirrups, which solely could have provided to the rider the balance and support necessary to fight with the bow or other weapons.

c. My translation follows the syntactic pattern of the ŚŚ, in which the verb patantu is unaccented and belongs therefore to a main sentence, connected per asyndeton with the following one (another main sentence as well). The ṚV and the other parallel passages have in pāda e an accented verb, which indicates that the sentence is subordinate (in this case, probably a conditional sentence). On this way of expressing conditional clauses without formal indication (i.e. conditional particle), see LEHMANN 1985: 31.

15.12.2 [Triṣṭubh] = ṚV 5.31.1

indro rathāya prapadaṁ kṛṇotu
yam adhyaśṭhān maghavā jayantam |
irya iva paśubhir *yuyotu gopā
ariśto jātaḥ prathamāḥ *siśāsan ||

Let Indra make the prapada [?] for the chariot, the victorious [chariot] which the bountiful has mounted. Like a zealous shepherd with his animals, let him ward off [dangers], uninjured, [even] when just born, always seeking to gain [goods].


ṚV 5.31.1

indro rāthāya pravātan kṛṇoti yāṁ adhyaśthāṁ maghavā vājyāntam ||
yāthēva paśvō vy uṇoti gopā āriśto yāti prathamah siśāsan ||

Bhattacharya edits jātaḥ in d.

a. The Ṛgvedic version of this pāda, indro rāthāya pravātan kṛṇoti ‘Indra makes a smooth course for the chariot’, is clearer. Apart from the common oscillation between the indicative and the imperative, the reading prapadam of the PS is problematic. Both prapad- and prāpada-
mean ‘fore part of the foot’ and the latter word occurs at 15.10.7c above (prapada-ir), so that the reading prapada-ir in Or could possibly be interpreted as perseveration and emended to *pravatam. However, it is also possible that prapad-(a)-, which is connected to the root prapad- ‘step forth’, refers to a technical term or a specific manoeuvre of the chariot.

b. On the secondary -ṣṭ- in adhyasṭhān, see AiGr. I, § 205, p. 235 and HOFFMANN 1992: 821. At the end of the verse, K reads jayantam (adopted by Bhattacharya), while the Orissa manuscripts read jayantām (but a 3rd plural imperative is syntactically impossible here). I also adopt the text of K, but an emendation to *vājayantam, which is the reading of the RV and is better for the metre, would be perfectly justified; the text found in our manuscripts could be due to haplography (maghavā – vājayantam). Although maghavā- is one of the commonest epithets of Indra, in the context of this hymn it seems to refer to the king, especially in considerations of the following two pādas.

c. At the beginning of the pāda, K and Pa read ahir iva, clearly due to perseveration from PS 15.11.4a. Then K reads paśūn triryetu, Or paśubhir yujotu, which I emend slightly to paśubhir *yuyotu. The meaning of this expression is difficult to understand. The expression iryo gopāḥ is a fixed phrase (cf. RV 7.13.3b, 8.41.4e, PS 1.18.4b, 5.16.5d etc.). Cf. also ŚŚ 12.3.11cd = PS 17.37.1cd sā no devy adite viśvavārā irya iva gopā abhi raksā pakvām ‘O goddess Aditi, bestowing all treasures, defend our cooked (offering) like a zealous shepherd’. I interpret the simile in the sense that the king should protect his subjects from dangers like a zelous and energetic shepherd wards off wild animals and dangerous beasts from his cattle.

As regards the metre, I tentatively read irya iva at the beginning of the line, in order to have a dodedasyllable with caesura after the fourth syllable and a Triṣṭubh cadence.

d. Both the readings of Or (jāṭah) and K (yātu) are theoretically possible: the reading of K could be defended by explaining jāṭah of Or as perseveration from PS 7.5.4a and making reference to the common expression yāṭi prathama- ‘he drives at the head’, attested, e.g., at RV 2.27.12c, 8.27.8c. But I prefer the reading of Or because the expression prathama- jāṭa- ‘just born’ is also common (e.g. RV 2.12.1a, 4.1.11a; prathama- jāyamāṇa- at RV 1.163.1a, 4a, 4.17.7a, 4.50.4a), and moreover it could refer to the ‘new birth’ of a recently consecrated king, who, as soon as re-born, is able to fulfill his duties and acquire wealth.

The emendation to *siṣāsan has been proposed by Bhattacharya and is almost certain, since — as has already been noted — the confusion śīs is very common both in the mss. of the ŚŚ and the PS, especially in the context before iva (see KULIKOV 2009: 142, with note 3).

On the meaning of the desiderative siṣās- (from san- ‘to acquire’), cf. HEENEN 2006: 239–42, who very aptly notes, “À l’exception de quelques exemples en prose, siṣās marque toujours un effort de volonté et de force physique du sujet vers une victoire. Cet effort n’est pas du tout éphémère, mais au contraire le plus souvent ressenti comme voué au succès de l’action. En particulier le part. siṣāsant- [as in our case] est utilisé pour caractériser une personne ou une déité comme agissant de façon efficace ou intrasigante pour la victoire”.

It might be added that the verb san- very frequently has vājia- ‘booty’ as direct object, so that the victory corresponds to the gaining of the booty itself.

15.12.3 [Triṣṭubh] PS only

| parjanyasyeya stanayitnur *āśor | Tb |
| indrāngyor 'va cekhidyate ghosho asya | */+#Tb |
| *sahasraviraḥ śatarīn sasanvān | T1c |
The noise of this quick one strikes constantly like the thunder of Parjanya, like [the thunder] of Indra and Agni. O chariot, being sufficient for a thousand men, having won a hundred, having won great numbers, be gracious here.

Bhattacharya edits āsor in a and sāhashro vīraḥ in c.

a. The emendation to *āsor is certain because in both the Śāradā and Oriya scripts the sibilants are often confused.

b. Cf. RV 10.168.1b = PS. 1.107.1b, which is about the chariot of the god Vāyu: rujāṇn eti stanāyann asya ghōṣaḥ ‘It keep crashing, the noise of this is thundering’.

c. Bhattacharya edits the reading of Or, but the reading of K and Pa makes the emendation probable. Cf. 12.9b below and AiGr. II/1, § 7c, p. 25.

d. I adopt Bhattacharya’s reading mṛđeha, as it seems the lectio difficilior. The reading of K mṛḷaya would be better for the metre in that it would give a regular Jagat cadence, and there is no significant difference in meaning between mṛđa- and mṛḷaya- (see Jamison 1983: 102–103). The metre of the whole stanza, however, is too irregular (pāda b is extended, pāda c has no caesura) and cannot be used as an argument to settle the issue.

15.12.4 [Virāj] a: RV 1.163.1.c, b: ŚŚ 9.4.8b, c: RV 6.47.26c, PS 15.11.8c

The two wings of a falcon, the two forelegs of a deer, the fist of Indra, the front of the Maruts: you are bound with [straps made of] cattle, be strong!

The noise of this quick one strikes constantly like the thunder of Parjanya, like [the thunder] of Indra and Agni. O chariot, being sufficient for a thousand men, having won a hundred, having won great numbers, be gracious here.
b. At the beginning of the verse, K reads āśvinor aṁsau ‘the (two) shoulder of the two Aśvins’, which was probably triggered here from PS 16.24.7ab *indrasyausya varuṇasya bāhūḥ aśvinor aṁsau marutāṁ iyāṁ ikatuk ‘The strength of Indra, the (two) arms of Varuṇa, the (two) shoulders of the Aśvins, this head of the Maruts’. Therefore, I adopt the reading of Or.

Pādas a and b may contain a description of some parts of the chariot, maybe the wheels or its framework; the horse may also be concerned, because pāda a, in its Rgvedic attestation, refers to the fore legs and hind legs of a horse. The expression marutāṁ anīka- possibly refers to the array, to the front line of the Maruts rather than to their faces, so that again the front part of the chariot, where horses are yoked, might be intended. Cf. RV 8.96.9a tigmāṁ āyuḍham marutāṁ anīkaṁ ‘The front of the Maruts is a sharp weapon’.

c. This pāda is evidently addressed to the chariot, but this does not contradict the earlier mention of the horse: horses’ shoulders were bound to the yoke with neckstraps.

15.12.5 [Triśṭubh] = RV 1.95.7

ud yariṇyāṁīti saviteva bāhū
ubhe sīcau yatate bhīma ṛ̥ṇjan
uc chukram ātkam ajate sācībhīr
navā māṭrybhayo vasantā jahāti

Like Savitar, he constantly stretches up his arms. He puts in order the two ends (of the army), pressing ahead, the terrible one. He helpfully takes off his brilliant garment, he leaves to the mothers new clothes.


RV 1.95.7

ud yariṇyāṁīti savitēva bāhū ubhe sīcau yatate bhīma ṛ̥ṇjan
uc chukram ātkam ajate simāsmān navā māṭrybhayo vasantā jahāti

Bhattacharya edits yajate in b.

This stanza, which is attested with minor variants also at PS 8.14.7 and is taken from RV 1.95.7, is about Agni, compared with the chief of an army (see Geldner’s comment ad loc.). The reutilization of the Rgvedic stanza in our hymn was probably suggested by the military character of pāda b and by the identification of the subject of the actions with the king himself (cf. PS 15.5–6 above for the role of the garment in royal ceremonies).

b. The majority of the manuscripts have the same reading as the RV, yatate, which is no doubt correct. The same cadence occurs also at RV 4.38.8d duṟvārtuṁ sūṁ bhavati bhīmaḥ ṛ̥ṇjān ‘He becomes irresistible, the terrible one, pressing ahead’.

c. The PS has the worse variant sācībhīr instead of simāsmān ‘from all’ of the RV. In the RV, 22 attestations of sācībhīr out of 36 are found in the cadence of a Triśṭubh pāda.
Strong are your two felloes, strong are your tires, strong are the pegs of the lofty chariot. The pole here, the reeds, your felts are strong. Agni is the urging eye of the chariot. Drive with that, crushing foes and enemies.

Bhattacharya edits *iṣātra and namatis in c.

b. Note that as in the preceding stanzas the metre is rather irregular. With this stanza begins the description of the chariot (see Sparreboom 1985: 122–139). The first two pādas describe the wheels: nemī- is the felloe of a chariot-wheel (cf. RV 1.32.15, 2.5.3, 5.13.6 etc.), i.e. a segment or the whole rim of a wheel into which the outer ends of the spokes are attached and onto which a metal tyre, called pavi-, is usually applied (cf. RV 1.34.2, 1.88.2, 1.180.1, 5.31.5, 5.52.9 etc.). The word saṅkā- denotes a peg, nail or spike, whose function in the wheel is difficult to determine. Probably it refers to the nails with which the tyre was fixed to the felloe: cf. RV 1.164.48 dvādasā pradhyāya cakrām ēkāṁ ēkaṁ nirñā skyāni kā u tāc ciketa | tāsmin sākāṁ triṣatā nā saṅkāvo ’ritāḥ śaśīrī nā calacalāsāḥ `Twelve are the felloes, and the wheel is one; three are the naves. Who has understood it? Therein are set together three hundred and sixty pegs, which cannot be loosened in any way’.

c. The interpretation of this pāda is problematic. The word iṣā- is the pole of the chariot (cf. RV 3.53.17, 10.135.3); venū- means ‘bamboo’, ‘reed’, ‘cane’. This word is attested only at RV 8.55.3 satāṁ venūḥ chatāṁ śūnāḥ satāṁ cārmanī mlātāni | satāṁ me balbajastukā āruṣināṁ cātuḥṣatam ‘A hundred bamboo’s sticks, a hundred dogs, hundred tanned skins; for me a hundred (sheeps) with flakes like tufts of balbaja-grass, four-hundred red (cows)’, ŚS 1.27.3 nā bahāvah sām aśakān nārbhakā abhi dādhrshuḥ | venōr ādgha īvābhīto `samṛdha aghāyavah ‘Not many had power, the weak ones couldn’t overpower; like the sprout of a bamboo round about, the malignant ones were not successful’, PS 1.59.2 nāśṛg asti pataṅgaṣya tārdasya maśakād yāh | venōh pūtudrōr nāṣṭy asṛṇ māṣya glaur māpacīd bhuvaṇ ‘The blood is not for the Pataṅga, for the Tarda, for those who descend from a mosquito. The blood is not for the bamboo, not for the Pātu tree. May it not become his lump, his sore’ and PS 4.14.1 ab yasmīn āśiḥ pratihiṇa idāṁ tac chalyo venūr veṣṭanaṁ tejanam ca ‘Wherein you were attached, [all]
that is here: the arrow-tip, the bamboo, the wrapping, and the shaft’ (Griffiths — Lubotsky 2014). It probably refers to the material with which parts of the chariot were built.

As regards *namata, the proposed emendation calls into question the word namata- ‘felt’. This word, which was previously considered to be attested only later in Sanskrit, is a loanword from Iranian namata- ‘Reisig’, ‘Geflecht aus Reisig, Hürde’ (BARTHOLOMAE 1904: 1068), and could refer to some kind of internal or external covering for the chariot, made of felt. According to KUZ’MINA 2007: 113, “The frame of the vehicle was planked and above it were bent arched planks; it was re-covered by a ‘cap’ (gadhā-) made of mats or pieces of felt”.

Another possible interpretation is to take the word as referring to the wheel; if so, it could indicate the wooden rim of the wheel bent into a curved shape (see RAU 1983: 17 and cf. RV 7.3.20cd ā va ēndram puruhūtām name girā nemīṁ tāṣṭeva sudṛvāṁ ‘I bend with a song your Indra, the much-invoked one, like a carpenter [bends] the felloe made of solid wood’). In any case, an emendation of the transmitted text seems unavoidable.

15.12.7 [Triṣṭubh] PS only

arā nābhayayo balam it te ḍaṣṭā +Tb
ugrau te koṣau saha nisyādhībhāyaṁ Tb
āṇyor vardhrāṇi uta *koṣayor ā *Tb
sthānaṁ bandha uta vandhuraṁ te || T1

The spokes, the naves, the axle [are] indeed your strength. Strong are your two boxes, together with the two? . The straps are in the two pins and in the the two boxes, the standing-place and the seat are in the binding.


Bhattacharya edits nisyādpabhāyaṁ in b, vadhṛāṇ and koṣaghora in c.

a. The word arā- indicates the ‘speak’ (cf. RV 1.32.15, 1.141.9, 10.78.4); nābhi- means ‘nave of a chariot-wheel’, i.e. the thickest portion of the chariot wheel, used to link the axle to the spokes. Why is nābhi- in the plural here? Ākṣa- is the ‘axle’ of the chariot (cf. RV 1.30.14, 1.166.9, 3.53.17), and it usually projected somewhat from the nave of the wheel, so that a linch-pin (āni-) was applied to secure the wheel in its place.

b. The word koṣa- means ‘box, the inner part of a chariot’. Since we know that usually two persons stood together on the same chariot (see my comment at 10.6ab), there must have been a sort of division inside the chariot. That is probably the reason why the word is in the dual here.

At the end of the pāda, nisyādpabhāyaṁ is a problematic word.

It must be an instrumental dual, governed by saha, and somehow related to the two boxes already mentioned. I interpret it as an instrumental dual from a hapax nisyada- ‘driving/flowing down’, derived from the verb nisyand- ‘to flow down’ and indicating a sort of gutter or draining channel that was put on both sides of the chariot (on the derivatives from the root syand-, cf.
AiGr. II/2, § 10c, p. 25 and § 22c, p. 74, with the examples raghusyad- ‘moving/flowing quickly’, sasyād- ‘stream’, havana-syād- ‘hastening to an invocation’ and the thematic formations in syāda- ‘driving’, go-syada- ‘driving cows’, aśva-syada- ‘driving horses’.

c. On the word āṇī- see my comment above. As regards vadhrāṇi, an accusative plural from vādhra- ‘a leathern strap or thong’ is syntactically wrong. One could emend to *vadhrā, nominative plural; K, on the other hand, may have preserved a better reading here, vardhrāṇi, which I interpret as a nominative plural neuter from vārdhra- ‘leather, strap’. I adopt it in the text, although it makes the verse metrically irregular (no caesura).

I emend the compound kosaţhorā-, whose meaning is not clear, to *kośayar ā, for which see RV 6.47.9b vāhiśṭhayoh satāvann āsvarō ā (put us) on two horses drawing best, O lord of hundreds’, where the postposition ā is similarly found at the end of a pāda after a dual form.

d. The word bandhūra- has to be interpreted as a varia lectio for vandhūra-, which means ‘seat of the chariot’, or maybe better, following KEWA, ‘Wagenkorb, wicker basket tied upon the wagon, wicker carriage’.

15.12.8 [Triştubh] PS only

gośthe balaṁ mrga ekam aṅgaṁ
parā kramadhvaṁ maha ā suvanta |
abhīśavo hatānena vrṭtram
aryaṁ kṣatreṇa prajayāstū,graḥ ||

The strength is in the cow-pen, the deer (horn) cheek-piece [combines the reins into] one part. Step forward, procuring greatness. O reins, slay Vṛtra through this one. Let this one here be strong with the kingdom, with offspring.


Bhattacharya edits gośthe in a.

a. This pāda is problematic. It seems very probable to me that the manuscripts JM, RM and Ku post correctionem have preserved a more original reading (gośthe), which is supported also by the reading of K (goştha). As regards the meaning, it is likely that the verse makes reference to the reins, explicitly addressed in pāda c. They were probably made of leather, and since the leather straps are called go-, it is logical to state that ‘the strength is in the cow-pen’, i.e. in the stable, where the cow abide. The word mrga-, which literally means ‘deer’, could refer to the cheek-pieces or psalia that were made of horn (on the cheek-pieces, see KUZ’MINA 2007: 115 ff.).

b. For the use of the verb ā-sū- ‘procure, yield, grant’, cf. 5.2c above, and for parā kramadhvaṁ, see the comment at 15.9.5a.

c. Cf. RV 1.23.9ab hatat vṛṭtram sudāvana īndreṇa sāhasā yujā ‘O bountiful gods, slay Vṛtra with mighty Indra as ally’ and PS 16.27.3a anenendro maṇinā vṛṭram ahann ‘Indra, slaying Vṛtra with this amulet’.
Mount [the chariot], overcoming quickly the rivals. Being strong as a thousand men, drive and crush the enemies. O side-yokes, make you two heroic deeds. Then let the two strong ones go to that chariot of his.


Bhattacharya edits sāhasro vīraḥ in b, praṣṭiṣyuge in c and *tadetām in d.

a. Note the exceptional use of the adjective jiṣṇu- ‘victorious’ with the direct object (sapatnān); this adjective never governs an accusative in Vedic, a construction which is attested only later (Bhartṛhari 1.5, Vopadeva 5.26; cf. the epic compounds satyajīṣṭu- ‘winning the truth’, ripujāṣṭu- ‘winning the enemy’). In order to avoid this construction, the accusative sapatnān can be considered, together with śatrūn, the object of the participle pramṛṇan in the next pāda.

b. The reading of K sahasravīra is much better. Cf. also 12.3c above, where the same epithet refers to the chariot.

c. I slightly emend the reading of the Orissa manuscripts praṣṭiṣyuge to *praṣṭiṣyuge, which is a hapax. As pointed out by SPARREBOOM 1985: 32, “The praṣṭi- is the side-horse or, in technical terms, the outrigger or trace-horse. This is a horse, not directly under the yoke, but connected loosely with the vehicle, either by straps to other horse(s) or to the axle. Normally, there is a side-horse on either side (...)”.

d. The “++”-sign in *tadetām is unnecessary, because K has the correct reading. Possibly sāgme is a nominative dual referred to the two side-horses.

Let the seers put together eight eyes, driving straight two pairs of horses symmetrically disposed. Let the prop be favourable to you like a father. Accept in [your] lap this one who has stepped: he will make life-time [safely] pass over [obstacles and dangers].
If the interpretation of the preceding stanza is correct, there are four horses in total, two under the yoke and two side-horses, one on either side. The mention of eight eyes is thus explained (or the two men in a chariot and the two horses?).

The word prākāśa- means, according to the dictionaries ‘Metallspiegel’ (PW), ‘a metallic mirror’ (MW). (Are the mirrors a gift? Cf. PB 18.9.10 prākāsāv adhvaryor yāv iva hy adhvaryā atho cakṣusī evāsmin dadhāti ‘Two mirrors to the two Adhvaryus (the Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthāṭr); the two Adhvaryus are as much as twins. Besides, he brings eye-sight into him (into each of them)’ [Caland]).

On dhāvayati, see BODEWITZ 1974, who points out that the verb, which only means ‘to drive’, appears usually with ellipsis of the object (viz. ‘chariot’ or ‘horse-chariot’). In this PS passage, however, the object is expressed.

As regards the word skambhā- ‘prop, support’, see SINGH 1965: 31, who notes that in RV 1.34.2c the chariot of the Aśvins, “is said to have three supports fixed in it to lay hold of (trāya skambhāsa skabhitāsa ārābhe), which might have secured the rider’s balance when the vehicle was at full speed”).

This pāda is too long, and must contain an interpolation; the expression pra tīrāty āyuḥ is the best candidate to be a later addition.

15.12.11 [Śakvarī] PS only
kavibhiḥ syūtaḥ sa rathe vibaddhah +Tb
sa dhanvadhir ṛdhancit te jajāna† |
+*anuprasyemāni prthu madhyamā\y
asvēbhyaḥ śaṁtvāya kavibhiḥ kṛtāni
+T2c
tebhīṣ te śarma yachantu devāḥ ||

Sewn by the seers, bound in the chariot, that bow-case? . Throw after broadly those middle ones, made by the seers for the horses, for auspiciousness (?). With those let the gods grant you protection.

abh. This stanza confirms Singh’s supposition that “On the analogy of Middle Eastern evidence and that of later Sanskrit literature, quivers containing arrows and spears must have been tied to the box of the chariot” (SINGH 1965: 31). From the evidence of the PS, however, it seems that not the quiver itself was bound to the chariot, but a bow-case, which could
conceivably contain both the bow and the quiver with arrows. This is the earliest attestation of the word dhanvadhi- ‘bow-case’, further attested in JB 2.103 = ĀpŚŚ 22.12.4 = ŚaṅkhŚŚ 14.33.20. According to the JB passage, the bow-case was made of (snow) leopard skin (dvaipa; see LUBOTSKY 2004c: 4).

The sequence dhanucitte is problematic. We can analyze dhanucit te or dhanucitte. In both cases, the form dhanu- is unexpected (the regular thematic form is dhanva- or, in post-Ṛgvedic text, dhanus- [cf. indra-dhanuṣ, dhanuṣ-ṛt- , dhanuṣ-kāra-])

At any rate, there are several compounds with -cit as a second member meaning ‘piled up’, so in the first case, if we could explain the form dhanu-, the meaning of the whole expression would be ‘that bow-case is born for you, as a collector of bows’.

c. The verb anuprās- ‘to shoot after’ is late (ŚB). Which is the object in neuter plural?
15.13. To various gods: for relief from oppression

This hymn and the following one form a single group of 21 connected stanzas, which correspond to ŚS 11.6. The Śaunakīya version of this hymn has two stanzas more than the PS, and the material is arranged in considerably altered verse order, as shown in the table below:

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Each stanza contains an invocation to various gods for relief from oppression (āṁhas-), and is rather independent from the preceding and following stanzas. Since the order of the stanzas is not relevant in deciding which of the two recensions has preserved the more original text, one should look for other clues to settle the issue, although in most cases this seems to be “little more than arbitrary guesswork” (GRIFFITHS 2009: 423).

As regards the metre, the PS seems superior in general (cf. 13.8b, 14.8b), but there are also lines where the ŚS is better (13.10c, 14.11c), so it is almost impossible to say in such cases whether the best text has “an archaic trait preserved, or a result of later polishing of originally irregular poetry” (GRIFFITHS ibid.). Moreover, the occurrence of heptasyllabic pādas in Anuṣṭubh stanzas is common in the AV, and cannot seriously be considered a metrical irregularity.

As regards the content, there are at least two instances in which the PS has preserved a better text, viz. at 13.9a and 13.10b (and 13.10d?). In only two cases (14.1c and 2c) I emend the text of the PS according to the ŚS readings.

The most conclusive evidence suggesting that the PS could be more original is the fact that the two stanzas that are found in the ŚS, but not in the PS, are almost certainly later additions: ŚS 11.6.20 is nearly a repetition of the preceding stanza, and ŚS 11.6.23 “is so discordant with the rest of the hymn as to seem an addition made to it” (see Whitney’s comment ad loc.).

There are many links with the preceding hymn, such as the names of the gods (Agni, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Savitar, Mitra, Varuṇa, Pūṣan) and several words: vanaspatīn in 13.1a corresponds with vanaspatibhyah in 11.6b; nāma occurs also at 10.8a; paśāva in 13.9a corresponds with paśubhir in 12.2c; mṛgāḥ in 13.9b with mṛga in 11.2a and mṛga in 12.8a; pakṣino in 13.9c with pakṣau in 12.4a; ugraḥ in 13.10b with ugrau, ugrā, ugrāḥ in 12.6ab and ugrau in 12.7b; iṣur in 13.10c with iṣavaḥ in 11.2d, 3b; ‘po in 14.4b with apāṁ in 11.6c; pīṭṛn in 14.4c with pitaro in 10.9a and pitarāḥ in 10.10a; pīṭṛvydhaḥ in 14.5b with pīṭṛvydho in 10.10c; pṛthivyāṁ in 14.7c with pṛthivyāḥ in 11.6a and pṛthivīṁ in 11.9a; paścāṭ in 14.8b with paścāṭ in 10.6d, 11.1a; purastāṭ in 14.8c with purastāṭ in 11.1c; uttarāt in 14.8c with uttarasmād in 11.1b; mṛtyūn in 14.9c with mṛtyoḥ in 11.4d; cf. also the compounds diviṣado in 14.7a and antarikṣasadaś in 14.7b with svādusāṁsadaḥ in 10.9a.

15.13.1 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 11.6.1

agniḥ brūmo vanaspatīn
oṣadhir uta vīrudhaḥ
indraṁ bṛhaspatiṁ sūryāṁ
tena muṇcantav aṁhasah
We address Agni, the trees, the herbs and the plants, Indra, Bhāspati, Śūrya: let them free us from oppression.


ŚS 11.6.1
agniṇī brūmo vānaspaṁī oṣadhīr utā vīrūdhaḥ |
īndraṇī bhāspatirṇ śūryaṁ te no muñcāntv āṁhasah ||

d. For the meaning of the word āṁhas- in this hymn and in the following one, see my note on PS 15.3.8d. This stanza is erroneously numbered in K with the indication “Z 2 Z” after it. This mistake was evidently due to the lacuna of the following stanza, which caused a reorganization of the numbering in order to reach the final number of ten stanzas at the end of the hymn.

15.13.2 [Anuśṭabh] ŚŚ 11.6.3 ≈ MS 2.7.13:94.17–18
brūmo devam savitāraṁ #A
dhātāram uta pūṣaṇam | A
tvaśtāram agriyaṁ brūmas +#A
te o o o || *A

We address god Savitar, Dhātar and Pūṣan; Tvaśtar, the foremost, we address: (let them… ).


ŚŚ 11.6.3
brūmo devāṁ savitāraṁ dhātāram utā pūṣaṇam |
tvaśtāram agriyaṁ brūmas te no muñcāntv āṁhasah ||

MS 2.7.13:94.17–18
brūmo rājānaṁ vāraṇaṁ dhātāram uta pūṣaṇam |
tvaśtāram agriyaṁ brūmas te no muñcāntv āṁhasah ||

This stanza is not found in K. Bhattacharya edits agriyaṁ in c.

ab. Griffith’s translation ‘We call on Savitar the God, on Pūshan the establisher’ is disqualified both by the syntax — for utā does not behave like the enclitic ca — and by the sense, both because Pūṣan is never called ‘establisher’ and because dhātār- should be considered an independent divinity. This is confirmed, e.g., by PS 11.14.6ab dhātā pūṣā bhṛhaspatir … ajīgaman ‘Dhātar, Pūṣan [and] Bhṛhaspati bring together’, in which the use of the plural in the verb shows that there are more than two subjects and that three gods are mentioned; cf. also PS 20.30.6ab medaṁ dhātā medaṁ pūṣā medaṁ indro dadhātu me ‘Fat let Dhātar, fat let Pūṣan, fat let Indra provide me’, in which the names of the two gods are found close to each other but are clearly unrelated.
The reading *agriyā* of Bhattacharya’s edition should be read *agriyāṁ* in order to obtain an octosyllabic páda. I adopt the reading of JM and RM, which is better for the metre and is the same reading as that of the parallel passages. The adjective *agriyā-* refers to Tvaṣṭar at RV 1.13.10a *ihá tvāṣṭāram agriyāṁ viśvārūpam āpā hvaye* ‘I invite here Tvaṣṭar, the foremost, having all forms’ and to Agni at RV 6.16.48a *agnīn devāsō agriyāṁ indhāte vṛtrahāntam* ‘The gods kindle Agni, the foremost, best slayer of Vṛtra’. It is not clear whether *agriyā-* means ‘foremost’ or ‘first-born’ when applied to the gods, and the available translations are not consistent (at ŚŚ 11.6.3c Whitney translates it ‘at the head’, Griffith ‘the foremost’, Bloomfield ‘first-born’, Sani-Orlandi ‘primigenio’ etc.). At any rate, it should be noted that Tvaṣṭar’s status as first-born seems to be suggested by passages like RV 10.64.10ab *utá mātā bhṛhaddivā śrṇotu nas tvāṣṭā devēhir jānibhiḥ pitā vācaḥ* ‘And let Bhṛhaddivā, the mother, hear our call, Tvaṣṭar, the father, with the gods and their wives’ and especially RV 9.5.9ab *tvāṣṭāram agrajāṁ gopāṁ puroyāvānam ā huve* ‘I call here Tvaṣṭar, the first-born, protector [and] leader’, where the adjective *agrajā-* ‘first-born’ is synonymous with *agriyā-*. 

*a. The reading *agriyāṁ* of Bhattacharya’s edition should be read *agriyāṁ* in order to obtain an octosyllabic páda. I adopt the reading of JM and RM, which is better for the metre and is the same reading as that of the parallel passages. The adjective *agriyā-* refers to Tvaṣṭar at RV 1.13.10a *ihá tvāṣṭāram agriyāṁ viśvārūpam āpā hvaye* ‘I invite here Tvaṣṭar, the foremost, having all forms’ and to Agni at RV 6.16.48a *agnīn devāsō agriyāṁ indhāte vṛtrahāntam* ‘The gods kindle Agni, the foremost, best slayer of Vṛtra’. It is not clear whether *agriyā-* means ‘foremost’ or ‘first-born’ when applied to the gods, and the available translations are not consistent (at ŚŚ 11.6.3c Whitney translates it ‘at the head’, Griffith ‘the foremost’, Bloomfield ‘first-born’, Sani-Orlandi ‘primigenio’ etc.). At any rate, it should be noted that Tvaṣṭar’s status as first-born seems to be suggested by passages like RV 10.64.10ab *utá mātā bhṛhaddivā śrṇotu nas tvāṣṭā devēhir jānibhiḥ pitā vācaḥ* ‘And let Bhṛhaddivā, the mother, hear our call, Tvaṣṭar, the father, with the gods and their wives’ and especially RV 9.5.9ab *tvāṣṭāram agrajāṁ gopāṁ puroyāvānam ā huve* ‘I call here Tvaṣṭar, the first-born, protector [and] leader’, where the adjective *agrajā-* ‘first-born’ is synonymous with *agriyā-*. 

15.13.3 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚŚ 11.6.2, a: cf. MS 2.7.13:94.17

| brūmo rājānaṁ varuṇaṁ | A #A |
| mitraṁ viṣṇum atho bhagam | A |
| aṁśaṁ vivasvanāṁ brūmas | A #A |
| te ° ° ° || *A |

We address king Varuṇa, Mitra, Viṣṇu, and also Bhaga; Aṁśa, Vivasvant we address: (let them...).


ŚŚ 11.6.2

| brūmo rājānaṁ vāruṇaṁ mitrāṁ viṣṇum átho bhāgam | A |
| aṁśaṁ vívasvanāṁ brūmas té no muñcantv aṁhāsaḥ || |

bc. Aṁśa ‘share’ is nearly always named together with Bhaga ‘fortune’. Both are listed among the minor Ādityas, and their relationship has been variously interpreted: according to THIEME 1970: 401, “[Bhāga] ist der (zugeteilte) Teil — im Gegensatz zu aṁśa m. der [durch Los, Glück erlangte] Teil”; BRERETON 1981: 308 proposes, “If Bhaga is Fortune, then Aṁśa is best regarded as the Share which Fortune brings”. Note that none of the Orissa manuscripts has the correct reading (also Bhattacharya edits the reading of K aṁśaṁ).

15.13.4 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚŚ 11.6.4

| gandharvāpsaro brūmo | A +#A |
| aśvinā brahmaṇaspatim | A |
| aryamā nāma yo devas | A +#A |
| te ° ° ° || *A |
We address the Gandharvas and the Apsarases, the two Aśvins, Brahmaṇaspati, the god called Aryaman: (let them...).


ŚS 11.6.4
gandharvāpsarasā brūmo aśvinā brahmanaṃ pātim l
aryamā nāma yō devās te no muñcántv āṁhasah ∥

15.13.5 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚS 11.6.6
vātaṁ brūmaḥ parjanyam *#A
antarikṣam atho diśah ∥
āśāś ca sarvāḥ brūmas A7
te ° ° ° ∥ *A

We address Vāta, Parjanya, the intermediate space, and also the quarters, and all regions we address: (let them...).


ŚS 11.6.6
vātaṁ brūmaḥ parjanyam antārikṣam atho diśah ∥
āśāś ca sārvāḥ brūmas tē no muñcántv āṁhasah ∥

a. This pāda could be more easily considered a heptasyllable, but a quadrisyllabic scansion of parjanya-, though not common, is however very probable here and at PS 2.63.3a (= 3.14.6a) yāsā pitā parjanyo.

15.13.6 [Anuṣṭubh] ≈ ŚS 11.6.5
ahorātre idaṁ brūmaḥ *#A
sūryācandramasā ubhā ∥ A
ādit, yāṁ sarvān brūmas *#A
teho muñcāntv āṁhasah ∥ *A

We address Day and Night here, both the Sun and the Moon; all the Ādityas we address: let them free us from oppression.


ŚS 11.6.5
ahorātre idaṁ brūmaḥ sūryācandramāśv ubhā ∥
vīśvān ādityān brūmas tē no muñcāntv āṁhasah ∥
Bhattacharya edits \textit{sarvāna} in c, which must be a misprint due to the omission of the \textit{virāma} sign.

b. On the sandhi -\textit{au} Ĺ-, which fluctuates between -\textit{āv} Ĺ- and -\textit{ā} Ĺ-, cf. AiGr. I, § 274, p. 326. In contrast to the ŚŚ, the PS shows the typical Rgvedic sandhi here.

c. The ŚŚ reads \textit{viśvān ādityān} instead of \textit{ādityān sarvān} in the PS. Although \textit{sārva}- and \textit{viśva}- have different shades of meaning, especially in the most archaic portions of the RV, the two words become synonymous already in the latest part of the RV itself; in our passage the variant is not significant (the reading of the ŚŚ may at best be considered an archaism; see WITZEL 1989: 238).

d. All the manuscripts give the pāda without abbreviation, because in the following stanza the last pāda is different; the refrain starts again in stanza eight, where pāda d appears in full as well. The same situation is found at 14.9–11.

15.13.7 [\textit{Anuśṭubh}] ≈ ŚŚ 11.6.7, a: RV 10.97.16a

\begin{verbatim}
muñcántu mā śapathyād #A
ahorātre atho uṣāḥ |
somo mā divyo muñcatu #A
yam āhuś candramā iti || A
\end{verbatim}

Let Day and Night, and also Dawn, free me from what comes from a curse. Let the divine Soma, whom they call the Moon, free me.

\begin{verbatim}
ŚŚ 11.6.7
muñcāntu mā śapathyād ahorātre atho uṣāḥ |
sómō mā devō muñcatu yām āhuś candramā iti ||
\end{verbatim}

bc. On the relation between Soma and the Moon, see HILLEBRANDT 1927: 269 ff.

15.13.8 [\textit{Anuśṭubh}] ≈ ŚŚ 11.6.15

\begin{verbatim}
paṅca rājyāni virudhāṁ A
somaśreṣṭhāni brūmāsi |
baṅgo darbhō yavaḥ sahas A
te no muñcaṁtv arīmhasaḥ || *A
\end{verbatim}

We address the five kingdoms of the plants, having Soma as their chief. Hemp, \textit{darbha}, barley, \textit{saha}: let them free us from oppression.

\begin{verbatim}
ŚŚ 11.6.15
\end{verbatim}
The seven domestic animals and the beasts belonging to the jungle; the winged birds we address: (let them...).

grāmyāḥ | Or, grāmyas K mṛgāḥ | Or, mṛgāś K śakuntān paksīno brūmas | JM RM Mā [Ma] Pa K, śaku · · · NO Ku | te ||| Ku, JM [Ma], te | RM, te no || JM, no muñcætv arñ Mā, te Z 9 Z K

ŚS 11.6.8
pārthivā divyāḥ paśāva āranyā uta yē mṛgāḥ | śakūntān paksīno brūmas té no muñcætv arñhasaḥ ||

a. The ŚS version of this pāda, pārthivā divyāḥ paśāva ‘The earthly, the heavenly animals’, was considered by Whitney as inferior to that of the PS; it was probably triggered here by ŚS 11.5.21a, which is identical. Cf. also ŚS 3.10.6cd (and ŚS 2.34.4a) yē grāmyāḥ paśāvo viśvārūpāḥ tēṣāṁ saptānāṁ máyā réntir astu ‘The domestic animals of all forms — of those seven let the willing stay be with me’ (Whitney). Whitney reports the explanation of the commentator, who “specifies the seven (i.e. domestic) animals as cow, horse, goat, sheep, man, ass, camel; but the number seven is doubtless used only as an indefinite sacred one”.

c. Note the combination of two words, śakunt- and paksī-, which each individually can mean ‘bird’. This kind of combination is not unusual in the PS (see GRIFFITHS 2009: 333).

15.13.10 [Anuṣṭubh] abc: ≈ ŚS 11.6.9abc
bhavāśarvāv idarī brūma | +#A
ugṛha paśupatiś ca yāḥ | A
iṣūr yā eśārīn vidmas | *+#A
te no muñcætv arñhasaḥ || *A
Bhava and Śarva we address here, and him who is the fearsome lord of animals. Their arrows which we know: let them free us from oppression.

ŚŚ 11.6.9

bhavāśarvāv śāṁ vidmā tā naḥ santu sādā śivāḥ ||

b. Note the interesting variant of the ŚŚ, which reads rudráṁ instead of ugraḥ in the PS. Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati are all names or embodiments of Rudra, used as full proper names or epithets (see BLOOMFIELD 1897: 618); therefore, the reading of the PS seems to be the lectio difficilior (all the more so since ugraḥ- can also be used as epithet of Rudra).

c. The ŚŚ reads sanvīdmā, which is better for the metre but could also be a secondary improvement. I have decided to follow Bhattacharya, who edits vidmas with K and Mā. The anomalous form of the 1st plural perfect, vidmas, which we find in the PS, is also attested at PS 8.15.6c pṛṣṭhāṁ yāṁ janimāṁ vidmas, while vidmasi is found at PS 17.12.2b = 17.13.13c nāmadheyāṁ vidmasi and at PS 19.47.2b mayūraṁ vayaiṁ vidmasi. As suggested by LUBOTSKY 2007: 28, “The latter form is secured by the metre and conclusively shows that vidmas is not a mistake of the transmission, but an original 1 pl. form of PS, although it is not attested in ŚŚ. The present form vidmas(i) is most probably due to the reinterpretation of ppf. avet as an impf.”.

d. Instead of the refrain te no muñcantv aṇīhasaḥ, the ŚŚ inserts a completely different pāda, tā naḥ santu sādā śivāḥ ‘Let them always be propitious to us’, which is found in nearly identical form at PS 14.10d = ŚŚ 11.6.22d and seems to be out of place here because it does not suit the pattern. This insertion, however, may be regarded as natural from a point of view of a medieval priest, since Sadaśiva was an important Śaiva deity in medieval Hinduism.

This last pāda is written in full in all the manuscripts with the exception of JM and RM, which have it in the abbreviated form.
15.14. To various gods: for relief from oppression (continued)


yajñāṁ brūmo yajamānam
ṛcaḥ sāmāni bheṣajā |
yajūṃṣi *hotrā brūmas
te no muñcantav āṁhasaḥ ||

We address the worship, the initiator of worship, the stanzas, the Sāmans, the healing charms; the sacred formulas, the invocations we address: let them free us from oppression.


ŚŚ 11.6.14

yajñāṁ brūmo yājamānam ṛcaḥ sāmāni bheṣajā |
yajūṃṣi hōtrā brūmas tē no muñcantv āṁhasaḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits hotrān in c.

bc. In these two pādas, the sacred texts are addressed: ṛcaḥ refers to the Rgveda, sāmāni to the Sāmaveda, bheṣajā to the Atharvaveda and yajūṃṣi to the Yajurveda. Note the reference to the Atharvaveda as ‘the healing charms’; on this and other descriptive names, with which the Atharvaveda was designated, see BLOOMFIELD 1899: 1.

The form hotrān is impossible because there exist hotrā- n. ‘sacrificing’, ‘the function or office of hotṛ’ and hōtrā- f. ‘sacrifice’, or ‘invocation’, but not a corresponding masculine noun. I emend the text according to the reading of the ŚŚ.

Is it possible to read hōtrān for the sake of the metre?

d. The refrain is abbreviated in K, JM and RM, while the other manuscripts have it written in full.

15.14.2 [Anuṣṭubh] ŚŚ 11.6.17, bc: ŚŚ 3.10.9bc

ṛtūn brūma ṛtuptāṁ
ārtavaṁ uta hāyanāṁ |
samāḥ sarīvatsarāṁ māsas
tē ° ° ° ||

We address the seasons, the lords of the seasons, the seasonal ones and the years; the half years, the full years, the months: (let them… ).


ŚŚ 11.6.17
We address heaven, the constellations, earth, spirits, mountains, oceans, rivers, ponds: (let them... ).

Even the seven seers we address here, the heavenly Waters, Prajāpati; the Fathers having Yama as their chief we address: (let them... ).

a. One must read saptaṛṣīṇ for the metre. The manuscripts of the PS are not consistent in the treatment of the sandhi -al-ā followed by r- (see e.g. BHATTACHARYA 1997: 27, 266, 606 etc.). Since all the manuscripts unanimously read saptaṛ- here, I have decided to keep this sandhi in
the text. For this sandhi, cf. LOPEZ 2010: 138. Based on the readings of all the manuscripts, LOPEZ edits sapta ōṣayāḥ at PS 14.2.3c and sapta ōṣayo at PS 14.2.4a; ZEHNDER 1999: 152, at PS 2.66.5c, edits sapta *ṛṣayō (following K against Or); LUBOTSKY 2002: 82, at PS 5.15.8a, edits sapta ōṣayāḥ and reads sapta ōṣayāḥ metri causa; GRIFFITHS 2009: 97 edits saptarṣayo at PS 6.7.9b (where only the ms. RM reads sapta ōṣayo; he further edits with all the manuscripts saptarṣayō at 7.5.2c, saptarṣayaś at 7.5.3b, saptarṣivantam at 7.16.7a, saptarṣivantam at 7.17.7a). Cf. further under PS 15.14.10b below.

15.14.5 [Anuṣṭubh] ≈ ŠŚ 11.6.19

viśvān devān idān brūṃaḥ
satyasandhāṃ rtaṃdhaḥ ||
viśvābhiḥ pāṃbhiḥ sākaṁ
te no muñcant av āṁhasaḥ ||

All the gods we address here, faithful, increasers of Ṛta, together with all their spouses: (let them...).


ŠŚ 11.6.19
viśvān devān idān brūṃaḥ satyasarṇdhāṃ rtaṃdhaḥ ||
viśvābhiḥ pāṃbhiḥ sahā te no muñcavt āṁhasaḥ ||


ādityāḥ rudrā vasavo
devā daiव atharvāṇaḥ |
āṅgiraso maniśinās

A
te o o o ||

The Ādityas, the Rudras, the Vasus, the gods, the divine Atharvans, the wise Āṅgirases: (let them...).


ŠŚ 11.6.13
ādityā rudrā vāsavo divé āṭhavāṇaḥ |
āṅgiraso maniśinās te no muñcavt āṁhasaḥ ||

b. The ŠŚ reads divé āṭhavāṇaḥ, which Whitney translates, ‘The gods in heaven, the Atharvan’, then improving the translation in the note, ‘The divine Atharvans in heaven’ (thus

46 Lopez’s two quotations of PS 6.7.9c are wrong: it is pāda 6.7.9b that is concerned. Lopez says: “Zehnder (1999) and Lubotsky (2002) also edit -a ṛ-”, but this is wrong again, because at PS 2.66.5c Zehnder edits sapta *ṛṣayō.
also Bloomfield). This translation seems better because the gods dwelling in heaven are mentioned in the first pāda of the next stanza.

15.14.7 [Anuṭubh] ŚŚ 11.6.12, ab: ŚŚ 10.9.12ab

ye devā diviśado
antarikṣasadāś ca ye
ō pṛthivyāṁ śakrā ye śritās
tē ° ° ° ||

The gods whose seat is in heaven and [those] whose seat is in the intermediate space, the mighty ones who stand on the earth: (let them…).


ŚŚ 11.6.12
ye devā diviśado antarikṣasadāś ca ye || pṛthivyāṁ śakrā yē śritās té no muñcantaṁ añhaśa ||

ŚŚ 10.9.12
ye devā diviśado antarikṣasadāś ca ye yē cemē bhūmyāṁ ādhi || tēbhyaś tvāṁ dhūṣya sarvadā kṣīrāṁ sarpr ātho mádhu ||

Bhattacharya edits śakrā in c, but the reading of RM now makes the “+”-sign unnecessary.

15.14.8 [Paṅkti] = ŚŚ 11.6.18
eṛta devā dakṣiṇataḥ
paścāt prāṇca ud etana |
purastāc chakrā uttarād
viśve devāḥ samet,ya
tē ° ° ° ||

O gods, come from the south, from the west come up eastwards. From the east, O mighty ones, from the north, all the gods, having come together: (let them…).


ŚŚ 11.6.18
eṛta devā dakṣiṇataḥ paścāt prāṇca udēta |
purāstāt uttarāc chakrā viśve devāḥ samet,ya té no muñcantaṁ añhaśa ||

Bhattacharya edits paśvāt in b, which must be a misprint.
b. At the end of the line, the ŠŚ reads *udētā; K reads *udetu naḥ*, which Barret emends to *udeta naḥ* (cf. WHITNEY 1905: 642: “Pp. rectifies the metre of b by adding *nas* at the end”). The Orissa manuscripts have probably preserved a better reading, *udetana*, a 2nd plural imperative with the ending -*tana*, which is better for the metre as well as the source from which the corrupt reading of K could derive. Therefore I follow Bhattacharya and adopt it in the text.

On the imperative ending -*tana*, see BAUM 2006: 31–32.

15.14.9 [Anuṣṭubḥ] ≈ ŠŚ 11.6.16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>arāyān brūmo rakṣāṁsi</th>
<th>#A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sarpān puṇyajanān uta</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mṛtyūn ekaśataṁ brūnas</td>
<td>+#A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te no muṃcantav arāhaśaḥ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We address the Arāyas, the demons, the snakes and good people; the hundred and one deaths we address: let them free us from oppression.


The reading *pitr* in the ŠŚ, at the end of the line, is closer to the parallel passages, but the Fathers were already mentioned at 14.4c above.

a. On the word *arāya*- and its metrical behavior, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 104. K reads *rāyān*, with the omission of initial a-; the alternation Or/ŠŚ *arāti*- :: K *rāti*- occurs in several passages of the PS (cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: 339). The word *arāya*- (translated inconsistently by Whitney as ‘the niggard’ or ‘the arāyas’) seems to refer to “ein vor allem Frauen befallen Dämon” (cf. ZEHNDER 1999: 153–154), and has several attestations in the ŠŚ (2.25.3, 8.6.4–6/12, 11.6.16, 16.6.7) and in the PS (i.a. 2.67.1–5, 6.8.6, 6.14.6–8, 7.11.7, 7.19.5, 16.79.4–6 etc.).

b. Cf. ŠŚ 8.8.15ab (= ŠŚ 11.9.24cd = PS 16.30.5ab) *gandharvāpsarāsāḥ sarpān puṇyajanān pitṛn* ‘The Gandharvas and the Apsarases, the snakes, the gods, the good people, the Fathers’. In the PS, a plural Dwanda-Compound *sarpapuṇyajanās* ‘snakes and good people’ is attested three times (PS 9.25.6a, 10.14.2a, 16.84.7b), and always appears in connection with the compound *gandharvāpsaras-. It also occurs in VaitS 7.22, GB 1.3.11x and AVP 45.2.9. The reading *pitṛn* in the ŠŚ, at the end of the line, is closer to the parallel passages, but the Fathers were already mentioned at 14.4c above.

c. The refrain is written in full here and at 14.11.d because the stanza 14.10 has a different final pāda. The same situation is found at 13.6–8.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yā deviḥ paṇca pradiśo</th>
<th>#A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ye devā dvādaśa rtavah</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarvāṣṭarasasya ye dāṁṣṭras</td>
<td>+#A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te naḥ santu sadā śivāḥ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
They that are the five divine directions, that are the twelve divine seasons, that are the teeth of a full year: let them always be propitious to us.


ŚS 11.6.22
yā devīḥ paṇca pradīśo yē devā dvādaśa rtāvaḥ |
saṁvatsarasāya yē dāṁśṭrāsā te naḥ santu sādā śivāḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits dvādaśartavaḥ in b.

b. Bhattacharya edits dvādaśartavaḥ, but gemination of the dental in such clusters is merely an orthographic feature of the Orissa manuscripts (cf. i.a. PS 6.11.3d, 7.6.1b, 13.2.3b etc.). For the sandhi, cf. my note at 15.4a above. Note that also all the ŚŚ manuscripts read here dvādaśa rtāvaḥ (see Whitney 1905: 643).

c. The expression saṁvatsarasāya daṁśtra- (on which see Gonda 1984a: 13) also occurs at PS 1.63.2cd (= ŚŚ 10.5.43) saṁvatsarasāya (ŚŚ vaśvānarāya) daṁśṭrāḥḥyāṁ hetis taṁ sam adhād abhi ‘The missile has snapped upon him with the two fangs of the full year’.

15.14.11 [Anuṣṭubh] = ŚŚ 11.6.21
bhūtaṁ brūmo bhūtapatīṁ
bhūtānāṁ uta yas patiḥ |
bhūtāni sarvā brūmas
| te no muñcantav arṁhasah || #A

A
A7
*A

Ghost we address, ghost-lord and [him] who is the lord of ghosts. All ghosts we address: let them free us from oppression.


ŚŚ 11.6.21
bhūtāni brūmo bhūtapatīṁ bhūtānāṁ utā yō vaśī |
bhūtāni sārvā saṁgātyā te no muñcantv arṁhasah ||

bc. The ŚŚ reads yō vaśī ‘who is the ruler, the lord’ at the end of b. The two variants are metrically equivalent and synonymous, so it is difficult to say which one is authentic. At the end of c, the reading saṁgātya of the ŚŚ is metrically better than brūmas of the PS.
PS 15, 16 and 17 form a composition of 28 connected stanzas, split over three hymns of ten, ten and eight stanzas, respectively (10 + 10 + 8).

The hymn, which praises the healing virtues of the herb arundhatī, can be divided into three or four parts. Until stanza 16.4 it is rather unitary: the redactor alternatively addresses the herb (stanzas 15.1–4, 15.7–9, 16.1–3) and a patient to be cured with the herb itself (stanzas 15.5–6, 10).

From stanza 16.4, the hymn acquires a formulaic character by means of a refrain repeated in pādas cd of every stanza until 17.7. Within this section, stanzas 16.4–17.4 form a subgroup in that they also share the same syntax and formulaic elements in pādas ab, while the three following stanzas form another subgroup in that they show a different structure in the first two verses. The stanza 17.8 then closes the hymn without the refrain.

There is no consensus at all as to what the word arundhatī- precisely refers to, although scholars have speculated on its etymology at length (cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: 62, ZYSK 1985: 198–99, HAINAL 1999: 90f.). However, this hymn and passages like PS 1.85.4cd = 8.7.10cd *imāṁ hy asmā oṣadhīm ā harāmy arundhatīṁ ‘For him I fetch this herb, Arundhatī’, and PS 8.7.9cd kalmāsasapuccham oṣadhīe jambhayāsy arundhati ‘O herb, O Arundhati, you will devour the spotted-tailed [viper]’ make it clear that arundhatī- must refer to a herb. As pointed out by ZYSK 1985: 97, “One of the most auspicious oṣadhīs […] is Arundhatī whose various forms were considered extremely efficacious in the treatment of broken limbs and flesh wounds. Because of her profound ability to bring about the cure of such infirmities, a mythology evolved, surrounding her and her various forms, which may be summarized as follows: She is described as a perennial, harmless, life-giving herb with a saving honey-sweet flower; and as sahādevī, she is said to protect quadrupeds (especially domestic ones), men and (small) birds from yāksma and from harm. As rōhanī, she is the healer of the severed bone. In her form as sīlācī, she is called the gods’ sister whose mother is the night, father, the cloud and grandfather, Yama […]. As lāksā, she is called the sister of the waters whose self has become the wind and is described as hairy-sided. As sīlācī and lāksā, she is said to be very beautiful, golden, sun-and fire-colored and goat-brown, to be born from the blood of Yama’s tawny horse and to be arising out of, mounting and creeping on trees. In the form of viṣānakā, she is said to have arisen from the fathers’ root; and as pippalī, she is mentioned as having been buried by the āsuras and dug up again by the gods”.

Many features mentioned in this description occur also in our hymn, such as the herb’s role of protector of bipeds and quadrupeds (15.155.2c), its healing power against yāksma (15.17.8a) and its kinship with the gods (15.15.3ab). Moreover, when the redactor addresses the patient in stanzas 15.15.5–6, he invokes the waters, the wind, the sun and the night, which are all entities connected with the imagery of Arundhā, as mentioned above.

Besides contributing to our knowledge of the properties and healing virtues of Arundhā, this hymn confirms that there must have been a close connection between the herb and Rudra, as was already suggested by PS 2.20, a hymn for protection addressed to Rudra and Bhava-Śarva, which ends with a stanza in praise of Arundhā (see ZEHNDER 1999: 65).

In our hymn, this connection is clearer and more deeply developed, as it takes the form of a list of seven names of Rudra occurring in the following order in stanzas 16.7–17.3: Bhava, Śarva, Rudra, Paśupati, Ugra, Mahādeva, Īśāna. The herb, it is said, can heal anyone who is
struck by these gods (viz. by their arrows). The mention of Rudra and his various forms is even more significant in that it echoes the occurrence of some of Rudra’s embodiments referred to at 15.13.10ab, and also anticipates hymns 15.20–21, which are entirely devoted to Rudra.

Moreover, it is certainly not a coincidence that the list of the names of Rudra occurring in our hymn corresponds to the list found in the seven stanzas of ŚŚ 15.5, which belongs to the vrātyakāṇḍa; one of the principal divinities worshipped by the vrāyas was indeed Rudra, as hinted by his epithets in the long Šatarudriya litany that accompanies the 425 oblations to Rudra on the completion of the brick-piled fire altar. As I have already suggested in the Introduction, this correspondence, together with the large presence of Rudra in the hymns of the PS, may be considered a small piece of evidence that groups of Paippalādins could have shared (at least) some aspects of the Vrāyas’ culture.

Finally, the hymn provides clear evidence that the herb Arundhatī was also used to cure a disease called vātīkāra (= vātīkṛta). The dictionaries translate it simply as ‘eine bestimmte Krankheit’ (PW) or ‘a particular disease of the eyes’ (MW), while the interpretations of the scholars fall broadly into two categories, depending on the etymology accepted for the first part of the compound, vātī-.

The majority of scholars have followed the explanation of Śāyaṇa, who connected the name of the disease with the word for ‘wind’, vāta- (for instance, ad ŚŚ 6.109.3c = PS 19.27.10c Śāyaṇa glosses vātīkṛta as vātarogāvīṣṭāśarīra ‘the body possessed by the wind-disease’).

Although Whitney 1905: 313 already admitted that “vātīkṛta, like vātīkāra, is too doubtful to render” and “its derivation from vāta ‘wind’ is extremely unsatisfactory”, most of the scholars have interpreted the word in such a way.

Śyśk 1985: 32 n. 9 renders the word as “a symptom of injury caused by a wound”. Although he himself admits that the exact meaning of vātīkṛta is in question, he nevertheless proposes that it “may be rendered as ‘that which is made to become wind’, i.e. a type of stomach or intestinal upset” (p. 212), again defining it as “a symptom manifested by a victim of a wound […] which suggests a type of dyspepsia” (p. 213).

Filliozat 1949:140, discussing the compound vātīkṛtaṇāśanī, points out that “cette expression signifiant ‘qui détruit ce qui est transformé en vent’ et non pas ‘qui détruit ce qui est fait par le vent’. D’ailleurs ce composé qualifie un remède qui est dit au vers précédent ‘remède du flux (diarrhéique, probablement)’ āsrāvabheśajām, et le vent en question est sans doute celui des intestins”, adding in a footnote, “D’ailleurs vātīkāra […] qui parait être une autre forme de vātīkṛta — ne peut signifier que ‘ce qui produit du vent’”. According to him, this is the only possible interpretation: “Mais nous venons de voir que vātīkṛta était ‘ce qui est transformé en vent’ (il n’est pas grammaticalement possible de l’interpréter autrement)” (p. 141).


Schindler 1980: 386 n. 7 rejects the meaning ‘zum Wind machend’ for vātīkāra, and cautiously suggests ‘Windmacher’, noting that “Anscheinend hat sich vor kr- der Ersatz von -a- durch -r- vereinzelt auch auf Bildungen ausgebreitet, denen die Bedeutung ‘machen’ und nicht ‘zu etwas machen’ zugrunde liegt”.

Lubin 2007: 90–92 offers a more detailed study of the word; the core of his interpretation is based on an analysis of PS.15.16 ff. While the stanzas PS 15.16.4–6 show a connection between
the disease and shooting, making clear that anyone who is afflicted by vātikāra must have suffered from a puncture wound, the following stanzas seem to establish a relationship between the disease itself and Rudra. Lubin concludes that “considering the nature of the injury and its effects, the word’s seeming connection with the wind, and the fact that is was considered an apt epithet for Rudra”, a meaning ‘lightning-bolt’, ‘lightning-striking’ is conceivable, also on account of the association of storms and wind with Rudra. He admits, however, that other interpretations are possible, and mentions two other possibilities, namely, that vātikāra refers to an infection associated with a wound caused by an arrow or a bite, or to an outbreak of unopened sores, boils or pustules.

A different explanation has been proposed by Hoffmann 1967: 26 note 3 (= 1976: 466 note 3) and accepted by Mayrhofer (cf. EWAia s.v. vāta-). According to Hoffmann, the name of the disease has nothing to do with the wind and should be connected with the root VĀ² ‘erlöschen, dahinschwinden, ermatten’.

Neither Hoffmann nor Mayrhofer have explained the form in detail, but it seems clear enough that they interpret vātikāra / vātikṛta- as meaning ‘procuring vanishment, fatigue’.

This etymological solution, which is more satisfactory, does not preclude the connection of the disease with a wound caused by an arrow (be it Rudra’s or not), a puncture wound or bite, as pointed out by Lubin.

This hymn is quite clearly linked with the preceding one: ugra in 15.1c and ugreṇa in 17.1a correspond with ugraḥ in 13.10b; oṣadhe in 15.1c, oṣadhīḥ in 15.6d and oṣadhīṁ in 15.7b with oṣadhī in 13.1b; vāṭah in 15.5c with vāṭāṁ in 13.5a; bhāspatiḥ in 15.5c with bhāspatīṁ in 13.1c and sūryaḥ in 15.1b, 5d with sūryaṁ in 13.1c.

15.15.1 [Anuṣṭubh] a: PS 19.9.10a, ab: PS 7.11.10ab, c: cf. PS 7.11.10c

| yāvad dyaur yāvat prthivī | #A |
| yāvat paryeti sūryaḥ | *A |
| tāvat tvam ugra oṣadhe | A |
| pari pāhṛy arundhati || *A |

As far as the sky, as far as the earth [stretches forth], as far as the sun goes around: so far must you, O fearsome herb, protect [me] around, O Arundhatī.


As pointed out by Griffiths 2009: 371, the text of this stanza in nearly identical to that of PS 7.11.10 yāvad dyaur yāvat prthivī yāvat paryeti sūryaḥ | *tāvat tvam ugra gulgulo parīmāṁ pāhi viṣvataḥ ‘As far as the sky, as far as the earth [stretches forth], as far as the sun goes around: so far must you, o fearsome Gulgulu, protect her here, all around’, and its structure is to be compared with that of PS 4.22.4 yāvad sūryo vitapati yāvoc cābhi vipaśyati | tāvad viṣasya dūṣaṇam vaco nir mantrayāmahe ‘As far as the sun heats up, and as far as it overloeks: so extensive an utterance do we use as mantra, to spoil poison’, and PS 19.9.10 yāvad dyaur yāvat prthivī yāvad ābhāti sūryaḥ | tāvat sṛjāmi te viṣam yāvad arṣanti sindhavaḥ ‘As far as the sky, as far as the earth [stretches forth] — as far as the sun gives light: so far do I hurl your poison [away], as far as the rivers flow’ (Griffiths’s translations). For the structure of the stanza, one
could compare also PS 5.27.3ac yāvatī dyāvāprthivī varimāṇa yāvad vā sapta sindhavo mahītvā | tāvatī nirūrīr viśavavārā ‘As great as are Heaven and Earth in width, as much as are the seven rivers in greatness, so great is Nīrūtī’ (Lubotsky). Pāda e occurs in similar passages in which a herb is part of a comparison expressed by yathā… eva: cf. PS 1.98.1c = PS 4.20.6c ≈ PS 19.41.17c evā tvam ugra oṣadhe ‘Thus you, O fearsome herb’. See further PS 11.12.1c darbho ya ugra oṣadhis ‘The darbha which [is] a fearsome herb’.

15.15.2 [Anuṣṭubḥ] ab: PS only, c: PS 1.65.3, cd: RV 10.97.20cd, TS 4.2.6.5, VSM 12.95cd
arihastas tvā khanaty *#A
arihastya khanāmi tvā +#A
dvipāc catuśpad asmākaṁ #A
sarvam astuṁ anāturam || *A

Unharmed, he digs you up. I dig you up for the sake of (him) being unharmed. Let every biped rivers in greatness, so great is Nirṛm.


RV 10.97.20 = TS 4.2.6.5, VSM 12.95 ≈ PS 1.65.3
mā vo riṣat khanitā yāsmi cāhāṁ khānāmi vaṁ |
dvipāc catuśpad asmākaṁ sarvam astuṁ anāturām ||

PS 1.65.3 (ab = PS 9.3.2cd, 19.42.15ab)
mā te riṣaṁ khanita yasmā ca tvā khanāmaśi |
dvipāc catuśpad asmākaṁ mā riṣad devy oṣadhhe ||

ab. The first two pādas express the same idea of the parallel passages of the other Samhitās, but with a simpler, asyndetic syntax. In a, K reads tvākhanat ‘one dug you up’. The imperfect is very attractive here, in opposition to the present tense of the next line (especially if compared with a passage like ŠŚ 4.4.1 = PS 4.5.1 yāṁ tvā gandharvā ākhanad vārūṇāya mṛtābhraje | tāṁ tvā vayāṁ khanamasya oṣadhīṁ śepahārāṇīṁ ‘We dig you up, the herb causing erection, which the Gandharva dug up for Varuṇa, whose virility was dead’). Note the chiastic structure at the end of the two verses (tvā khanataḥ — khānāmi tvā).

cd. On Arundhati as protector of cattle and men, see ŠŚ 6.59 ≈ PS 19.14.10–12, which I quote in extenso: anaṇḍudhiya tvāṁ prathamāṁ dhentēbhyas tvāṁ arundhati | adhēnavē vāyāve śārma yachā cātūspaṁe || śārma yachātv oṣadhipi sahā devīr arundhati | kārat pāyasvantāṁ goṣṭhāṁ ayāksamāṁ uta pūṛuśāṁ āḥ | visvārūpāṁ subhāgāṁ achāvādāṁ jīvalāṁ | sā no rudrāyāśtāṁ hitāṁ dārāṁ nayatā gobhīyaḥ ‘O Arundhati, give protection to the draft-oxen first, to the cows, to the cow which yields no milk, to splendor, to the quadruped. May the herb Arundhati, which stays with the gods,47 give protection. It will make the cow-pen full of

47 The translation follows the emendation of sahā devīr to sahādevi, for which see Whitney 1905: 325. He admits that sahādevi “may be here simply the name of the plant” (this is also the interpretation given by Sāyana) “but yet probably with pregnant implication of its etymological sense”. Bloomfield 1897: 490 proposed the slightly different emendation to sahā devair ‘along with the gods’. In both cases, the meaning is in accord with the content
milk and the men free from *yaksma*. I speak to the one having all forms, prosperous, full of life. So let it lead the missile thrown by Rudra far from our cattle. A similar phrasing occurs also at ṚV 1.114.1cd *yathā śām āsad dvipaḍe ātuspaḍe viśvam puṣṭāṃ grāme asmīṃ anātūrām* ‘so that weal there may be for the biped and the quadruped, [so that] every wealth in this village [may be] free of damage’. On the meaning of *(an)āturā-,* see ZYSK 1985: 316. Cf. also PS 15.16.1c below.

15.15.3 [Anuṣṭubh] a: PS 19.13.6b, d: ṚV 10.97.17d = TS 4.2.6.5 = ŚS 6.109.2d (for a cf. ŚS 5.5.1d = ŚS 6.100.3b = PS 6.4.1d, ṚV 2.32.6b = ŚS 7.46.1b = PS 20.11.12b; for c cf. ṚV 10.97.17c)

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{devānām asi svasā} & A \\
\text{marutām asi sañcarā́} & A \\
\text{yaṁ jīvam āsnūte tuvarṇā́} & *A \\
\text{na sa riṣyāti pūruṣāḥ} & A
\end{array}\]

You are the sister of the gods, you are the companion of the Maruts. The man, whom you reach alive, will not get hurt.

devānām asi] KU J\(\text{Mā} [\text{Ma}]\) Pa, devānāsi RM, tevānām K marutām Or, ma · · · K sañcarā́

\(\text{Or, siñcanī K yaṁ]\) 
Ku K, yaṁ J\(\text{M R M Mā [Ma] Pa jīvam]\) 
Ku J\(\text{M R M Mā [Ma] K, jījavam Pa āsnūse]\) 
Ku J\(\text{M R M [Ma] Pa K, āsnuse Mā riṣyātī]\) 
Ku J\(\text{M Mā [Ma] Pa, riṣyati RM, riṣyāt K pūruṣāḥ}\) 
pūruṣā Or, pauruṣāḥ K || Ku J\(\text{M Mā [Ma] Pa,}[\text{RM, Z 3 Z K}}

PS 19.13.6ab

asurāṇāṁ asi duḥtā devānām asi svasā |

ṚV 10.97.17cd = ŚS 6.109.2cd = TS 4.2.6.5

yāṁ jīvāṁ āsnāvāmahaṁ nā sa riṣyāti pūruṣāḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits *sañcarā́* in b.

a. Note the erroneous reading of *K* tevānām; the confusion between -t- and -d- in this same word occurs at 6.9a above. As in the parallel texts listed above, it seems that the redactor wants to establish a kinship between the plant and the gods.

b. The interpretation of this pāda is problematic because of the form *sañcarā́*, which is the reading of all the Orissa manuscripts. I adopt it as the best one regarding both the formation and the meaning. It can be interpreted as a derivative from the verb *sañcar-* ‘to go together, meet, join’ (on the writing of -nīc- as -nīc- in the Orissa manuscripts, see my note at 11.2c), meaning ‘the one (f.) who moves together, companion’ (for the formation in -carī-, see AiGr. II/2, § 250, pp. 402–403 and cf. the later attested formations *amucarī-* ‘a female attendant’, *sahacarī-* ‘a female companion’ etc.). The hapax *sañcarā́*, which is the oldest attestation of this type of formation, could have had the function of highlighting the kinship between the plant and the gods.

It has to be noted that also the reading of *K* siñcanī is very attractive. Considering the mention of the Maruts, to whom the root *sic-* ‘to pour’ is often associated, and the use of the

of PS 6.4.1, 15.15.3 etc., where the poet, ascribing divine relatives to the plant, seems to establish a kinship between the plant itself and the gods (see next stanza).
imperative *(anu)sīńca* addressed to the plant at 15.9a, it would be tempting to adopt the reading of *K* and interpret it as a feminine formation in -ī with the suffix -*ana-* from the root *sic*-

According to AiGr. II/2, § 89d, p. 203, radical nouns in -*ana-* can retain the nasal of the present stem, so that from the root *sic*- (present *sińcāti*) we have next to each others the "regular" formation with the root in the full grade *secana-* ‘sprinkling, watering’ and the formation with the nasal infix *sińcana-* ‘id’. As to the correspondent feminines, next to *secanī-* one would expect *sińcanī-* the form actually attested in *K*. If the interpretation of the noun as nomen actionis is correct, the translation of the verse would be ‘You are the sprinkling of the Maruts’, which would suit the context as well. The only problem is that is not easy to explain the confusion between *rī* and *nī* in Oriya script, while the two akṣaras are very similar in the Śarada script. The reading of *K* could have been also favoured by the presence of the verb *anu sīńca* at 15.9a.

15.15.4 [Anuṭṭubh] PS only, bc: PS 7.10.6bc

*You are called Arundhatī, in the third heaven from here. There is the mounting of immortality. Therefore we invite you.*

arundhatī nāmā,si |  
ṝṭiẏasyāṁ ito divi ||  
tatrāṁṛṭasya rohaṇaṁ  
tena tvācchā vadāmasi ||  

RM, Z 4 Z

PS 7.10.6

*asvatho devasadanās ṛṭiẏasyāṁ ito divi ṭtatrāṁṛṭasya cakṣaṇarī tataḥ kuṣṭho jāyata ṁ *


For the interpretation of these pādas, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 356–57, who discusses the formulaic elements of this stanza and the parallel passages in which they are attested. He notes that the opening *tatrāṁṛṭasya …* is combined with various nouns (*cakṣaṇarī, cētanaṁ* etc.), but he does not quote this passage from PS 15, in which it is combined with the noun *rohaṇa-* ‘growing’. The occurrence of this noun, derived from the root *ruh*- ‘to ascend, mount, climb’, may conceal a reference to the name *rōhaṇī*, with which the herb Arundhatī was also called. See ZYSK 1985: 198, ‘The word *rōhaṇī*, being derived from the root *ruh*, ‘to grow’, seems to mean […] ‘one who makes grow’, i.e. in the context with a broken bone, ‘a healer’’. Another interpretation of the name as ‘the one who climbs [the trees]’ could also have played a role here (as the herb was a kind of creeper plant). On the idea of mounting the heaven, the realm of immortality, cf. RV 1.52.9abc *ḥrāt svāścandram āmavad yād ukthāvām ākṛṣṇaṁ bhiyāśaṁ rōhaṇaṁ divāh* ‘With fear they (the gods) made the mounting of heaven, which was high, self-brilliant, powerful, praiseworthy’. See also PS 2.20.5b = 9.11.10c (both of which refer to

15.15.5 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only
*śaṁ ta āpo *ḥṛadyāḥ  
*śaṁ te kulijyā uta |  
śaṁ vātaḥ śaṁ bṛhaspatiḥ  
śaṁ te tapatu sūr/yāḥ ||

Weal for you [may be] the waters of the pond and weal for you [may be the waters] of the jugs. Weal [may be] the wind, weal [may be] Bṛhaspati; let the sun burn weal for you.


Bhattacharya edits ḫṛadyāḥ in a.

This and the following stanza are addressed to the patient.

a. The reading ḫṛadyāḥ of the majority of the Orissa manuscripts is not incorrect, but the mention of the water ‘of the heart’ (i.e. ‘internal’) does not suit the context. The emendation to *ḥṛadyāḥ ‘of the pond’ is supported by the parallel passage TS 7.4.13.1, which consists in a series of mantras accompanying offerings to the waters; among them, one recites hrādyābhyaḥ svāhā ‘To [the waters of] the pond, hail!’ See further my comment on b below.

b. The interpretation of kulijyā is problematic. It could be somehow related to kulija-, n. ‘a particular vessel’ (later ‘a sort of measure’), which is attested three times in the KauśS and from which derives the hapax kulijinīr found at PS 4.17.6e. In the three attestations of the KauśS, kulija- always appears as member of compounds: KauśS 12.6 udakulija- ‘a jug filled with water’, 12.7 surākulija- ‘a jug filled with Surā’, 43.3 kulijakṛṣta- whose meaning Caland was unable to determine exactly and which is probably a corrupt reading (see CALAND 1900: 147–148). The PS hapax kulijin- means ‘having, carrying a jug’, cf. PS 4.17.6cde tās te viṣam vi jahira udakaṁ kumbhinīr iva kāpāt kulijinīr iva ‘They have brought your poison backwards, like women carrying pots, like women carrying jugs [bring] water from a well’. If we assume that kulija- is a -ya- derivative from kulija- meaning ‘relating, pertaining to a jug’, and that in this pāda the word āpas is to be understood again, the translation would be ‘and weal for you [may be] the ones (i.e. the waters) of the jugs’, with a parallelism between hrādyāḥ and kulijyā.

Another solution would be to assume an ancient graphic mistake y > jy in both Or and K and emend the text to *kulyā, interpreting ‘[water] pertaining to the rivers, to the streams’. This emendation would be partially supported also by the reading kulyā of Pa — no matter how casual it may be. The word kūlyā-, which occurs also at PS 1.29.3a, is probably a late Vedic ya-derivative from kulyā ‘small river, canal’ (see EWAia I, 377 and ZEHNDER 1993: 54).

The TS passage quoted above would give another argument in favour of this emendation; among the series of mantra addressed to the waters, next to the one referring to the waters of the ponds, we find one mantra referring to the water of the stream (kālīyābhyaḥ svāhā ‘To [the waters of] the stream, hail!’).
d. Cf. RV 8.18.9bc śām naḥ tapatu sūryah | śām vāto vāty arapā ‘Weal for us may the sun burn, weal may the wind blow, not hurting’, SS 7.69.1ab śām no vāto vātu śām nas tapatu sūryah ‘Weal for us may the wind blow, weal for us may the sun burn, SS 8.2.14cd = PS 16.4.4cd śām te sūrya ā tapatu śām vāto vātu te hṛde ‘Weal for you may the sun heat, weal may the wind blow in your heart’ and PS 6.23.7ab asaṁ asyāi vāto vātv asaṁ tapatu sūryah ‘Unfavorably may the wind blow for her, unfavorably may the sun burn’. On the verb tapati, see BLAIR 1961 (especially pp. 27, 35 and 118). The use of the word śaṁ is common in this context because the waters, the sun and the wind were believed to have a beneficial power against enemies, diseases etc.

15.15.6 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, b: SS 7.69.1d = PS 20.34.1d, d: cf. PS 16.4.4g

śaṁ ta indrāgni bhavatāṁ || #A
śaṁ rātri prati dhīyatām | A
śaṁ te prthivyāṁ vīrūdhaḥ || #A
śaṁ u te santrv oṣadhiḥ || *A

Weal for you may Indra and Agni be, weal may the Night draw near. Weal for you [may be] the plants on the earth, and weal for you may be the herbs.


ŚS 7.69.1cd

āhāni śaṁ bhavantu naḥ śaṁ rātri prāti dhīyatāṁ ||

b. Whitney translates awkwardly, ‘Weal let the night be applied’, commenting, “All [scil. the parallel texts] have alike in d the strange expression prāti dhīyatāṁ”. Griffith’s rendering ‘May night draw near delightfully’ seems better. On the meaning ‘to approach’ of the verb pratidhā-, used in the passive, see PW III, 921.48

Cf. also ŚaṅkhGS 4.18.2b ≈ PārGS 3.2.12b suhemantaḥ suvasantaḥ sugriśmaḥ pratidhīyatāṁ ‘May a good winter, a good spring, a good summer draw near’.

d. The particle u is used here with clear conjunctive, not-coreferential role, in the context of a stylistic anaphora. On this resumptive use of u within a series of repeated terms and its connection with adverbs, see KLEIN 1985: 33, 35 and 1978: 124 ff.

15.15.7 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, cd: PS 15.16.3cd, d: PS 5.23.2d, 11.6.10d

bahvīṣu hi tvām avidam #A
ōṣadhiṁ vīrīyāvatīṁ | *A
arunhati tvām āhārṣam #A
ito mā pārayān itī || A

48 The passive form dhīyate has been studied by KULIKOV 2012: 102–105, who, however, does not quote any example of the verb with the prefix prati.
Since among many [plants] I have just found you, the powerful herb; O Arundhatī, I brought you here [with the intention]: “They will protect me from this”.

PS 5.23.2
satyajitāṁ śapathāyāvanṁ sahamānāṁ punaḥsārāṁ
sarvāḥ sam *ahvy oṣadhīr ito mā pārayāṁ iti ||

PS 11.6.10cd
āvitsi sarvā oṣadhīr ito mā pārayāṁ iti ||

d. This pāda is out of place in this stanza, and it is clearly a quotation from the parallel passages listed above, where the subject of the action — in both cases, the herbs — is easily understood. The intention of the practitioner is obviously that the herb Arundhatī will grant protection.

15.15.8 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only
abhiprepsa jīvantam +#A
*avidasyed arundhatī | A
*eśātividdhabheṣajī A
devī vāṭikṛṭasya ca || A

Try to reach him while he is alive! Arundhatī is indeed inexhaustible. That one (f.) is the wounded-curing goddess and [the one curing] Vāṭikāra.

Bhattacharya edits abhi dasyed in b and eśādavidvabheṣajī in c.

a. The sequence abhiprepsa can be analyzed as abhiprepsa plus iva; the verbal form is an imperative of the desiderative from abhiprāp- ‘to reach, obtain’. The same 2nd singular imperative form, without preverbs, is attested at TB 2.7.14.1–23x = PB 20.3.23x (cf. HEENEN 2006: 89 ff.). Although the meaning of the compound verb does not differ significantly from that of the uncompounded one, the two preverbs, however, stress the directional sense of the action.

Cf. PS 1.80.3a jārāṁṛtyum prepsatu jīva eṣa ‘This one, living, shall reach the death in old age’.

b. I emend the reading of Or abhi dasyed to *avidasyed and interpret this sequence as avidasyā + id. The adjective avidasyā- means ‘not ceasing, inexhaustible’ and is attested at RV 7.39.6c, where it qualifies the word rayī:- dhātā rayīṁ avidasyāṁ sadāsāṁ ‘Give not ceasing, always lasting wealth’.

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c. Bhattacharya proposes in the critical apparatus to read esātividdhabhesajī ‘that one (f.) is the wounded-curing’. I tentatively adopt his emendation, even if all the Orissa manuscripts point to a form with initial david-. The reading of K is correct, but it is certainly the lectio facilior.

d. The syntax is not plain. An adjective like bhesajī must be supplied, as if the redactor wants to create a variatio between the compound viśvabhesajī and the construction with the genitive vātikṛtasya [bhesajī] (cf. PS 15.15.9c below).

On the word vātikāra (= vātikṛta), see the introduction to this hymn.

15.15.9 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, bcd: PS 15.15.10bcd, c: ŚS 6.109.3c = PS 19.27.10c

Pour upon us, make this [for us]. Surely he will become free from disease. Arundhatī, the goddess curing Vāṭikāra, has come here.

anu śiṇca nas tat kurv [A]
agado vai bhaviṣyati [A]
vātikṛtasya bhesajī [A]
āgan dev.y arundhatī || [A]

Bhattacharya edits bhaviṣyati in b.

b. It seems clear to me that in pāda b we should follow the reading of the Orissa manuscripts and read bhaviṣyati, since the plant is addressed in pāda a but the following line obviously refers to the patient. In the next stanza, on the contrary, the patient is addressed in pāda a (mā bibher na mariṣyasya), so that bhaviṣyasi in b suits perfectly the context. Cf. PS 9.13.8ab mā bibher na mariṣyasi jaraḍaṣṭir bhaviṣyasi ‘Do not be afraid, you will not die. You will become one who attains old age’.

The word agadā- ‘free from disease’ is attested twice in the RV, 8 times in the ŚS and 18 times in the PS. Literally, it means ‘free from the gada-disease’, but it is not clear to which kind of disease gada refers (cf. EWAia I, 460, with references). It is probable that the original meaning of the word agadā- had already become opaque to the redactor, who used it in the sense of ‘healthy, sane’.49

15.15.10 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, a: ŚS 5.30.8a, PS 2.2.3a, 9.13.8a (cf. PS 16.5.4b), bcd: PS 15.15.9bcd

mā bibher na mariṣyas.y [A]
agado vai bhaviṣyasi [A]
vātikṛtasya bhesajī [A]
āgan dev.y arundhatī || [A]

49 Kim 2010: 217 analyzes the word agadā s.v. vi-gadā, but his interpretation is marred by a misunderstanding of the name of the disease as “agadā-Krankheit” (or are there just several misprints?) and by incorrect translations (e.g., ŚS 5.29.6–9 agadō yām astu means ‘Let this one here be free from disease’ and not, as Kim translates it, “dieser soll die agadā-Krankheit sein”).
Do not be afraid, you will not die. Surely you will become free from disease. Arundhatī, the goddess curing Vāṭikāra, has come here.

*mā… arundhatī om. K • bhaviṣyasi| Ku JM RM Mā [Ma], bhaviṣyaṣiṁ| Pa āgaṇ| Ku [Ma], āgaṇān| JMJ Mā, agan RM, āgaṇāndh)n Pa arundhatī arundaṁ\n
ŚŚ 5.30.8ab
mā bibher nā mariṣyasi jarādaṣṭiṁ kṛṇomi tvā |

PS 2.2.3ab
mā bibher na mariṣyasi pari tvā pāmi viṣvataḥ |

PS 16.5.4ab
so ’riṣṭa na mariṣyasi na mariṣyasi mā bibheḥ |

This stanza is not found in K.
15.16. To the plant Arundhatī (continued)

15.16.1 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

arundhatayāḥ saṁ vadante $\text{+A}$
gāvah pravrājinir īva $\text{A}$
yam āturam abhigachāma- $\text{°A}$
-āvataṁ *kṛṇavāmā tam $\text{A}$

The Arundhatī herbs speak to each other like wandering cows: “We will stay near him whom we reach sick”.


Bhattacharya edits kṛṇu māvataṁ in d.

a. The verb sāṁvad- ‘speak together’ is often followed by an instrumental (with or without saha: cf. RV 10.97.22a oṣadhayāḥ sāṁ vadante sōmena sahā rājñā ‘The herbs speak together with Soma, [their] king’, ŚS 11.4.6b abhīvṛṣṭā oṣadhayāḥ prāṇēna sāṁ avādiran ‘The herbs, being rained, talked together with prāṇa’), but it is attested also alone (cf. ŚS 6.109.2ab = PS 19.27.8ab pippalyāḥ sām avadatīyatīr jānanād ādhi ‘The berries talked together, coming from their birth’). In the medium, sāṁvad- has a clear reciprocal meaning (see Gotō 1987: 282).

b. The word pravrājin- ‘running after, wandering’, is attested in Vedic only three times, in a simile occurring in identical passages at PS 9.11.10b = 15.16.1b = 19.31.11b gāvah pravrājinir īva ‘like wandering cows’. Commenting the occurrence of pravrājā- ‘bed of a river’ at RV 7.60.7c, KIM 2010:187 notes that “pra-vrāj- bezeichnet wohl einen Ort, wo der Flußlauf durch eine Freilassung aus der Enge seine Geschwindigkeit erhöht”; if this interpretation is correct, gāvah pravrājinir may indicate cows that have left the fence and roam freely (cf. the meaning of the verb pravrāj- ‘to go forth’, proceed, depart from (abl.), set out for, go to, leave home and wander forth as an ascetic mendicant’).

Interestingly, in 9.11.10 Arundhatī is addressed, and 19.31.11 is about a plant which serves to cure the Vāṭikāra.

cd. On āturā-, see PS 15.15.2d above and ZYSK 1985: 316. I analyze abhigachāmāvataṁ as abhigachāma + āvataṁ. The next sequence kṛnumāvataṁ can hardly be correct, as it contains, in its second part, a repetition of āvataṁ. I emended the transmitted text to *kṛṇavāmā (1st plural present subjunctive of kṛ-) tam. Although the metre and the meaning are still not completely satisfactory, this emendation is supported by the use of the adjective āvataṁkarana- ‘making proximity’, attested at PS 1.100.3b, 10.6.12d and 19.37.3d, to which the construction āvataṁ *kṛ- corresponds.

15.16.2 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

imaṁ me tvāṁ ‘jārāṁṛtyuṁ $\text{#A}$
puruṣaṁ kṛṇavo oṣadhe | *A
rājñī hi sarvāśaṁ asy | *#A
oṣadhīnāṁ arundhati || A

O herb, make for me this man one who dies of old age. For surely you are the queen of all the herbs, O Arundhati.


Bhattacharya edits arundhati in d.


b. At the end of the verse, all the manuscripts read arundhati. Although the nominative can be justified if we interpret ‘For surely you are the queen of all the herbs, [you are] Arundhati’, the vocative is more natural here, and since the confusion of short and long -r- is frequent both in Or and K (cf. the note at PS 15.19.6b), I have decided to emend the text.

15.16.3 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, cd: PS 15.15.7cd, d: PS 5.23.2d, 11.6.10d

trāyamāṇaḥ hṛasyasi *A7
jīvalā vīrīyāvatī | #A
arundhati tvāṁ āhārṣam
ito mā pārayāṁ iti || A

For you are the protecting one, full of life, powerful. O Arundhati, I brought you here [with the intention]: “They shall protect me from this”.


ab. The words trāyamāṇa- and jīvalā- are often used as epithets referring to plants (and to Arundhati in particular). See GRIFFITHS 2009: 348 and 352, with exhaustive references.

cd. The manuscript K has two complete different pādas, arundhati tvāṁ tasyāsi viṣasya viṣadūṣanī, which are the refrain of the following stanzas; the refrain was probably anticipated here by a mistake of the copyist.

15.16.4 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only, cd: PS 15.17.7cd
dighenā ca viddhasya- A7
-aghāṣyāghaviṣṣā ca yā | A
arundhati tvāṁ tasyāsi #A
viṣasya viṣadūṣanī || A

And of one pierced with an anointed [arrow] and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhati, you are the poison-destroyer of that poison.

For the analysis of this stanza and the following ones, see the Introduction to the hymn 15.15 and LUBIN 2007: 91–92. For the interpretation of aghāviṣā- as ‘a poisonous [arrow]’, see LUBOTSKY 2002: 102–103. Poisoned arrows are often mentioned in the RV and in the AV (cf. e.g. RV 6.75.15, ŚŚ 4.6 = PS 5.8, PS 5.22 etc.).

15.16.5 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only
   āheyena ca daṣṭasya-
   -aghasyāghaviṣā ca yā o o o || A

And of one stung by a snake-bite, and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: (O Arundhati...).


15.16.6 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only
   vāṭikārenā ca kṣiptasya-
   -aghasyāghaviṣā ca yā o o o || A

And of one struck by Vāṭikāra and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: (O Arundhati...).


15.16.7 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only
   bhavena ca o o o A7

And of one struck by Bhava (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī...).


a. This stanza is not found in Mā. From this stanza until stanza 17.3 seven manifestations or embodiments of Rudra are mentioned (the various aspects of the god vary in number from seven to nine, and are not always listed in the same order: cf. ŚŚ 15.5, Kauśī 51.8, VS 39.8 etc. and BLOOMFIELD 1897: 618). See also my Introduction to hymn 15.15.

15.16.8 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only
   śarveṇa ca o o o A7


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And of one struck by Śarva (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous arrow): O Arundhatī…).

15.16.9 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only
rudreṇa ca ° ° ° ||

And of one struck by Rudra (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous arrow): O Arundhatī…).

rudreṇa ca| ṛdreṇa ca Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, ṛdreṇa ca kṣiptasyāghasyāghaviṣa ca yā, JM, om. K || Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, || Kā JM, || RM.

This stanza is not found in K.

15.16.10 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only
paśupatinā ca ° ° ° || °A

And of one struck by Paśupati (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous arrow): O Arundhatī…).

15.17. To the plant Arundhatī (continued)

15.17.1 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only

ugreṇa ca devena ca kṣiptasya ° ° ° || °A

And of one struck by the fearsome god (Ugra), (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī…).


15.17.2 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only

mahādevena ca kṣiptasya ° ° ° || °A

And of one struck by Mahādeva (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī…).


15.17.3 [Anuṣṭubh-Formula] PS only

īśānena ca kṣiptasya- #A -aghasyāghaviṣā ° ° ° ||

And of one struck by Īśāna (and of the ill which is an ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī…).


15.17.4 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

yat prthiviyāṁ viṣam *A7
vīrutsv adhi yad viṣam ° ° ° || °A

The poison which is in the earth, the poison which is in the plants: (O Arundhatī…).


With this stanza begins a new section of the hymn: this stanza and the following three show a different syntactical structure in pādas ab, while in pādas cd they repeat the same refrain as it is found in the preceding stanzas.

15.17.5 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

yad oṣadhibhyāḥ saṁbhāranti °A
brahmaṇo menaye viṣam ° ° ° ||
The poison which the Brahmins collect from the herbs for a missile: (O Arundhati...).

*b. On the word mené-, see my comment at 23.1a. Here the word seems to have the concrete meaning of ‘missile weapon’.

15.17.6 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

\[\text{yad brāhmaṇаḥ sarībharaṇti} \]
\[\text{+A} \]
\[\text{+tṛṣṭaṁ āśiṃśaṁ viśaṁ} \]
\[\text{+ o o} \]

The poison — the harsh venomous snake — which the priests collect: (O Arundhati...).

*b. The word āśiṃśa- indicate ‘a kind of venomous snake’. In Vedic it is further attested only at ŚŚ 12.5.34 āsamaṁ gandhāna śuṅg uddhriyāmānāśiṃśa ād dhṛṭaḥ (≈ PS 16.144.3b) ‘Discord by smell. Pain when being taken up, a poison-snake when taken up’ (Whitney) and later, twice, in the Brāhmaṇas (AB 6.1.4 āśiṃśa vai no rājānam avekṣate ‘A venomous snake looks at our king’ and JB 1.287 caturaṅkāraṇī ha vā agre cha ndāṁsy āsur ayajñavāhgy atha hendrasya tridive soma āsa taṁ hāṅgayo gandhārva jugupur etva dhiṣṇyās ta u evāśiṃśaḥ ‘In the beginning the meters were of four syllables [and] they did not convey the oblations [to the gods]; at that time Soma was in the third heaven of Indra; the Fires and the Gandharvas protected it; they are indeed the Dhiṣṇyas, but also the venomous snakes’). The manifold repetition of the word viśa- ‘poison’ — which besides several other occurrences within the hymn appears also in the name of the snake — produces a distinct echo effect. Cf. ŚŚ 5.18.3 = PS 9.17.10 āvīṣṭaṁ ghūvāśa prādākāriva cārmanā | sā brāhmaṇāsya rājānya tṛṣṭaṁ sa gaṁ anādyā ‘An ill-poisonous [arrow], like a prādākā- snake [covered] with a hide, so this cow of the priest is harsh, not to be eaten, O noble’ (for the interpretation of this passage and some parallels, see LUBOTSKY 2002: 102–103).

15.17.7 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

\[\text{yaj kaśipto maṛtyunā yakṣmair} \]
\[\text{+#A} \]
\[\text{yo daṭṭas tṛṣṭaṁśaṁśaṁ} \]
\[\text{+ A} \]
\[\text{arundhati tvāṁ taśyaśi} \]
\[\text{+ A} \]
\[\text{viṣasya viṣadduṣaṇī} \]
\[\text{+ A} \]

Who was struck by death, by the yakṣmas, who was stung by those biting roughly: O Arundhati, you are the poison-destroyer of that poison.
Bhattacharya edits *mṛtyunā yasmair* in a.

a. The manuscript JM is the only one that has preserved the correct reading *yakṣma* (cf. pāda a of the next stanza). K is broken at the beginning of folio 163b20 and the only visible letters on the birchbark are *mṛtyunāya e o*, which are at any rate compatible with the reading of JM. Note the change from the neuter forms of the relative pronoun to the masculine ones.

15.17.8 (*Anuṣṭubh*) PS only, d: ŠŚ 5.30.6d

> saṁi jihīṣvāmuktāḥ yakṣmād  
> ārukṣo lokam uttamam |  
> apā jīvasi pātreṇa-  
> -adhi jīvapūrā ihi ||

Rise up, you have been released from *yakṣma*. You have ascended the highest world. You live through the water, through the cup. Go to the strongholds of the living ones.

jihiṣvāmukthāḥ | Ku JM Mā [Ma], jihīṣvākthā RM, jihīṣvāmu{th} Pa, jisvāmuktvā K yakṣmād] \  

ŠŚ 5.30.6

ihāídhi puruṣa sārveṇa mánasā sahā \  
> dūtāu yamāsya mānu gā āḍhi jīvapūrā ihi ||

a. Cf. ŠŚ 2.10.6a (= PS 2.3.5a) āmukthā yākṣmād duritād avadyād ‘You have been released from *yakṣma*, from danger, from shame’.

b. Cf. ŠŚ 17.8c = PS 18.55.2d hitvāśastiḥ dīvam ārukṣa etāṁ ‘Having left behind the curse, you have ascended this heaven’. Note the further occurrence of a verb from the root *ruh- (āruksa)*, which refers to the patient, but again contains an allusion to one of the names of the herb (see my comment at 15.14.4bc).

c. The word *pātra*- means ‘a drinking vessel, a cup’. It is worthwhile noting that it is used in connection with the word *viṣā*- ‘poison’, occurring many times in this hymn, at RV 10.136.7cd ≈ PS 5.38.7cd *keśi viṣāsya pātreṇa yād rudrēṇāpibat sahā* ‘When the one with long hair drank the poison together with Rudra out of the cup’.

d. This pāda is to be compared with ŠŚ 5.30.6d (= PS 9.13.6cd) dūtāu yamāsya mānu gā āḍhi jīvapūrā ihi ‘Do not go after Yama’s two messengers, go to the strongholds of the living ones’ and ŠŚ 2.9.3b (= PS 2.10.5b) āḍhi jīvapūrā agān ‘He had attained the strongholds of the living ones’ (ZEHNDER 1999: 45–46: ‘Zu den Festungen der Lebenden ist er gelangt’). PS 15.15.17d, not quoted by Zehnder, is another passage in which *jīva-purās* is used “als Metapher des Überlebens”.

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PS 18 and 19 are a single composition of 22 connected stanzas (10 + 12). The last four stanzas of hymn 19, however, are repeated from 7.13.11–14, and can be considered a later addition; without them, the hymn conforms to the norm of eighteen stanzas per hymn expected by the title of the kāṇḍa. The hymn is divided into two parts: the first part consists of stanzas 18.1–9 and the second part of stanzas 18.10 and 19.1–12, which are linked by a refrain that occurs in the last two pādas of every stanza (on the type of abbreviation found in this hymn, see Introduction, p. 30).

As regards the content, the hymn is addressed against the Apsarases and might seem out of place in this “Rudraic section” of the fifteenth kāṇḍa, as suggested also by the lack of clear links with the preceding hymn. Nevertheless, the entire hymn is full of Rudraic elements, such as the use at 18.2b of the adjective śikhaṇḍin- ‘crested’, which usually describes Rudra’s hairstyle; the mention of vidyū- ‘thunder’ at 19.5b, vāta- ‘wind’ and reṣmān- ‘storm’ at 19.8b, all elements which are often related to Rudra as a storm god; the occurrence of the compound nīlavakta- ‘blue ornaments’ at 19.7b, whose first member is the same of Rudra’s epithet nīlagrama- ‘blue necked’, and of the expression dūrād enāḥ pratypaśyām ‘I saw them from afar’ at 18.4a, which is parallel to PS 14.3.1 = NU 1.1 apaśyam tvāvarohantim ‘divataḥ prthivīṁ iva | apaśyam asyanta rudrayaḥ nīlagramaḥ śikhaṇḍinam ‘I saw you descending from heaven down to earth. I saw Rudra, the blue-necked one, the crested one shooting [his arrows]’ (Lopez 2010: 144).

On the one hand, therefore, the inclusion of this hymn within the section of “Rudraic hymns” can be perfectly justified; on the other hand, the hymn offers new important evidence for our understanding of many features of the Apsarases, although some details remain obscure.

The Apsarases addressed in this hymn form a group of 80, and are called Uluṅgulukā- ‘belonging to Uluṅgula’, a name which is probably an epithet or a proper name of a Gandharva (see my comment at 18.6c).

The table below shows the data concerning the Apsarases that can be collected from this hymn.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>PLACES</th>
<th>ACTIVITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They wear big golden ornaments.</td>
<td>Heaven.</td>
<td>They can reach everyone and seek in particular the absent-minded men, in order to confuse their mind and disturb the sacrifice to the gods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They wear dark blue ornaments.</td>
<td>Intermediate space.</td>
<td>They dance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They have various hairstyles</td>
<td>Ocean.</td>
<td>They swing in a swing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(crested, long hair etc.)</td>
<td>Lakes.</td>
<td>They make grimaces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rivers.</td>
<td>They make loud noises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fords.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>They come from all the four cardinal directions (East, South, West, North.).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As pointed out by Griffiths 2009: 383, several hymns in the PS are dedicated to the Apsarases (e.g. 1.29, 1.89, 12.7–8, 7.13), and “thematic and verbatim correspondences are noticeable also in the various PS hymns to the Sadānuvās […] to the Kanvās […] and to other noxious female creatures”.

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As already said, there are no clear links with the preceding hymn, except for the mention of Indra in 18.2a, 4a and the occurrence of vātena in 19.8b, which corresponds to vātaḥ in 15.5c. The hymn, however, is quite clearly linked to more distant hymns through dūrād in 18.4a (cf. 11.9d) samudram and samudrād in 18.5d and 19.11a (cf. 14.3c), sūryasya and sākaṁ in 19.2b (cf. 13.1c, 14.5c), antarikṣa in 19.8a (cf. 13.5b), nādiḥ in 19.9a (cf. 14.3c) ghoṣān in 19.11b (cf. 10.7a, 12.3b). The list of the direction found in every first pāda of stanzas 19.2–5 (purastād, adharād, pascād, uttarād) is found identical in 11.1a. Note also the occurrence of the compound gandharvāpsarasō in 13.4a.

15.18.1 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, b: cf. SS 1.11.5a

apsarasō vi vo yakṛd
vi vo bhinadmi mehanam |  A
vi caṇḍalāṁ vy arjunaṁ
vi vāṛtraṁ bhinadmi vaḥ ||  A

O Apsarasēs, I split open your liver, your urethra. I split open your … (?).


ab. For the structure of this stanza, cf. SS 1.11.5 vī te bhinadmi méhanaṁ vī yóniṁ vī gavānike | vī māṭarāṁ ca putrāṁ ca vī kumārāṁ jārayunāva jārayu padyatāṁ ‘I split open your urethra, your womb, your [two] ureters; [I split open] the mother and her son, the boy from the afterbirth. Let the afterbirth fall’. Cf. also SS 1.3.7ab (= PS 1.4.4ab, 20.42.3cd = PS 19.20.13cd), addressed to a patient who suffers from urinary retention: prā te bhinadmi méhanaṁ vāṛtraṁ veśantyā iva ‘I split up your urethra like the dam of a lake’.


Although this hymn is clearly directed against the Apsarases, who are said to be struck by Indra, and are constantly requested to go away to distant places, the two actions described in these pādas do not necessarily have a violent connotation. The expression mehanam vibhid- (or prabhid-), at least, is always used in curative contexts to favour a patient’s urination or a child’s birth; the action of splitting open the liver could be of course interpreted as more damaging, but it is not excluded that it aims at an appeasing effect, as for example the release of bile.

c. The meaning of this pāda and of the following one is unclear. For the sake of symmetry, one would expect other body parts to be mentioned, but the text does not seem to support this hypothesis. At the beginning of the verse one can read caṇḍalāṁ following Or, or *taṇḍalāṁ following K.

The word caṇḍāla- means ‘an outcast, man of the lowest and most despised of the mixed tribes (born from a Śudra father and a Brahman mother)’, but this definition does not make any sense in the context of this stanza. Moreover, its etymology is not clear; according to EWAia, it is likely to be a pre-Aryan tribe’s name and has no connection with caṇḍa- ‘name of a demon, fierce, passionate, violent’ (this connection was suggested in AiGr II/2, § 158b, p. 269 and § 178a, pp. 288–89, and would be of some value if caṇḍāla could be related to the mention of the
liver in pāḍa a and interpreted as the name for the gallbladder; can the action of splitting it open be another way to to appease the Apsarases?)

On the basis of the reading of K, Barret proposes to read tanḍālaṁ, but admits that the meaning is not clear at all (could it be a formation from tanḍ- ‘beat’?).

As regards the word arjun-, whose meaning must be ‘white, whitish, made of silver’, it can refer to the swing of the Apsarases, or to nuts used as musical instruments, as suggested by two parallel stanzas addressed to the Apsarases as well, ŚS 4.37.5 yātra vah preṅkhā hárita ārjunā utā yātrāghāṭāḥ karkaryāḥ samvādānti | tāt pāretāpsarasah prātiṣuddhā ābhūtāna ‘Where your swings yellowish and whitish [are], and where cymbals and lutes sound together, there go away, O Apsarases. You have been recognized’, and PS 12.7.8 yatra vo ‘kṣa haritā arjunā *aghāṭayāḥ karkaryāḥ samvādānti | tāt pāretāpsarasah prātiṣuddhā ābhūtāna ‘Where your nuts yellowish and whitish, your cymbals and lutes sound together, there go away, O Apsarases. You have been recognized’. Could then candāla be the name of another instrument?

d. Note that the spelling ttr instead of tr is usual in K. On account of the parallel passages quoted above, would it be conceivable to read vartraṁ and reconstruct the verse as vi + iva + vartraṁ ‘I split you open like a dam’?

15.18.2 [Anuśṭubh] PS only, b: cf. ŚS 4.37.4b = PS 12.7.7b, cd: cf. RV 10.155.4cd

viśvajanyāḥ pāṇcajanyāḥ + A
mahārukmāḥ śikh×</minipage>āṁśiṁīḥ | A
sarvā indrasya vajreṇa +#A
hatā budbudayātavaḥ || A

The ones relating to all men, the ones relating to the five races of men, the ones having big golden ornaments, the crested ones: all whose witchcraft is a bubble were struck by Indra’s cudgel.

viśvajanyāḥ K pāṇcajanyāḥ K pañcanyāḥ K mahārukmāḥ K mahārkāmāḥ Or mahārukmā K śikh</reg>

RV 10.155.4cd
hatā īndrasya sātravaḥ śarve budbudāyāśavaḥ ||

a. With this stanza begins the description of the Apsarases. The two adjectives viśvajanyā- and pāṇcajanyā- qualify the Apsarases as ‘relating to all men’ and ‘relating to the five races of men’, which seems to mean ‘relating to everybody’, ‘pertaining to all’, pointing at their capacity to reach all men in order to mess up their sacrifices and bewitch their mind (cf. next stanzas). Compare the use of pāṇcajanyā- next to the locative plural jānesu at RV 5.32.11ab ēkāṁ nū tvā sātpatim pāṇcajanyāṁ jātāṁ śṛṇomi yaśasam jānesu ‘I hear that you alone were born as might lord [ruling] over the five races, honoured among the people’. See also PS 15.19.12a, where the Apsarases are said to go ‘from man to man’ (janaṁjanam).

b. The compound mahārukma- is a hapax. The word rukma- (on which see RAU 1973: 54–55) indicates silver or golden ornaments used for chariot, horses and especially worn by the Maruts on the chest (cf RV 1.64.4b, 1.166.10b, 5.54.11b) or over the arms (RV 8.20.11b). On account of this PS passage it seems likely that this kind of ornaments was used also by females.
On śikhaṇḍin-., see Kuiper 1955: 152–154, who identifies śikhā- (in viśikha- ‘with loose topknot’) as a non Indo-Aryan word. The adjective clearly refers to some kind of (non Indo-Aryan?) hair styles. It is usually applied to Rudra: see PS 14.3.1cd = NU 1.1.cd apaśyam asyantāṁ rudraṁ nīlagraśvāṁ śikhaṇḍinām ‘I saw Rudra shooting [his arrows], the blue-necked one, the crested one’, ŚŚ 11.2.12a = PS 16.105.2a.; Rudra is further called nīlāśikhaṇḍa- ‘blue-crested’ at ŚŚ 2.27.6ab = PS 2.16.4ab rádru jālāśabheṣaja nīlāśikhaṇḍa kārmakṛt ‘Rudra, possessing soothing medicines, blue-crested, performer of (magic) actions’, PS 14.4.1a = NU 2.11a 5a, PS 14.4.5a = NU 2.15a, PS 20.62.7c = NU 3.26c, ŚŚ 11.2.7a = PS 16.104.7a. At PS 20.55.10a = NU 3.23a and PS 20.60.7a = NU 3.24a the compound qualifies Śarva as an embodiment of Rudra (similarly at ŚŚ 6.93.1b = PS 19.14.13b). At ŚŚ 4.37.7a = PS 12.7.9a śikhaṇḍin- refers to the Gandharvas. Both the golden ornaments and the tufts of hair of the Apsarases are confirmed by iconographic evidences, since they are usually represented wearing ornaments and having up to six braids of hair on their head.

This pāda can be compared to ŚŚ 4.37.4ab = PS 12.7.7ab yātṛśvatthā nyagṛdhā mahāvyṛkṣāḥ śikhaṇḍināh ‘Where the Aśvatthas [are], the Nyagrodhas, the great trees, the crested ones’, in which the adjective, rather strangely, refers to the trees.

d. The reading budbudayātavaḥ is common to all the manuscripts. This compound is a hapax to be compared with budbudayāśavah ‘whose semen is a bubble, impotent’ attested in the late “atharvanic” hymn RV 10.155.4cd: hat ā indrasya śatravah sārve pudbudāyāśavah ‘All Indra’s enemies, whose semen is a bubble, were struck’.

An emendation to *budbudayāśavah is not convenient here, because such an epithet does not fit to female beings. I tentatively translate this compound as a Bahuvrīhi meaning ‘whose witchcraft is a bubble (i.e. ineffective)’, but there could be also an alternative interpretation, which would consist in including this compound in the series ulūkayātu- ‘a demon in the shape of an owl’, kokayāyu- ‘a demon in the shape of a cuckoo’, grdrayātu- ‘a demon in the shape of a vulture’, śvayātu- ‘a demon in the shape of a dog’. But what kind of demon would be a ‘demon in the shape of a bubble’?

15.18.3 [Gāyatrī] PS only

andhācīṁ asitācīṁ
ulūkhalasya budhnena |
avaitāṁ vatsapaṁ jahi ||

Strike down with the bottom of a mortar the darkish one (f.), the blackish one (f.), that vatsapa.


a. The two adjectives andhā- and asitā- are hapax legomena, formed respectively from andhā- ‘dark’ and āsīta- ‘black’ with the suffix -aṅc- ‘going to, direct to, turned to’, thus

50 As Werner Knobl informs me (per litteram, March 2014), the Bahuvrīhi compound vi-sikhā- cannot mean ‘having no tuft of hair, bald’, as the use of vi- as a negative prefix is rare in Vedic (the only example is vy-ēnas- ‘without guilt’). At RV 6.75.17b vi-sikhā- has to be interpreted as ‘mit aufgelöstem Haarbusch’ (Geldner). Therefore the compound means ‘with loose, disheveled topknot (tuft of hair)’.
indicating a particular shade of color that is close to the one indicated by the adjective used as base (cf. śvityānic- ‘whitish’ :: śvitrā- ‘white’ and AiGr. II/2, § 56, pp. 152 ff.). It is not easy to decide whether andhācī- and asitācī- are proper names of two Apsarases or just two epithets. Compare the parallel stanza 18.7, which has three pādas as well and begins with the two vocatives āskandike viskandike ‘O Here-Jumper, O There-Jumper’, which are possibly two other names of the Apsarases. On the association of the Apsarases with darkness see 15.19.4b below.

c. The addressee of the imperative jahi is probably Indra (cf. indrasya vajreṇa hatā at 18.2d and indro... hanat at 18.4d).

The word vatsāpa- is attested at ŚS 8.6.1d = PS 16.79.1d, where it denotes a durnāman demon in a charm used to protect a pregnant woman. It occurs also at PS 6.14.5b in a hymn against noxious creatures, full as well of previously unattested words (see GRIFFITHS 2009: 169 ff.). Its connection with the Apsarases, besides the fact of being a malignant creature to ward off, is not clear.

15.18.4 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, d: PS 1.89.3d

I saw them from afar, flying towards [here] below the heaven. Indra will slay the Apsarases confusing [our] oblation to the gods.

dūrād enāḥ pratyapaśyam
āpatantīr *adho ḍivāḥ |
devānāḥ havyamohanīr
indro apsaraso hanat ||

Bhattacharya edits atho divaḥ in b.

a. The enclitic pronoun ena-, almost always used substantively, obviously refers to the Apsarases.

Although the issue of the aspectual functions of the Vedic imperfect is still under dispute, it would be very attractive to assign to this form the connotation of a visionary experience, which seems to be vividly remembered and to some extent repeated at the moment of reciting the verse. HOUBEN 2000: 518–519, has pointed out this value of the Vedic imperfect: “Already Oldenberg drew attention to the occurrence of this word in another hymn of Dirghatamas, viz., 1.163 (vss. 5 and 7) and spoke of an “Ausdrucksgewohnheit” (habit of expression) of the author. In 1.163 it occurs even a third time: in vs. 6. In 1.164 we have already seen one other occurrence: in vs. 31 (here accented at the beginning of the pada). In addition, vs. 43 has ārād apasaśyam ‘I saw from afar’ In most of these occurrences (especially those in 1.163), as in many of the other sixteen occurrences in the RV, the context favors the acceptance of apasaśyam with the connotation of a visionary experience […]” which seems to be either “an idiomatic exception to the general rule, or rather an exemplary instance of a durative use of the imperfect”. It is worth it to point out the occurrence, both in our passage and in RV 1.164.43, of an adverb expressing distance or remoteness (dūrād, ārād).
Cf. also the parallel construction of PS 14.3.1 = NU 1.1 *apaśyaṁ tvāvarohantāṁ dvivatāḥ prthivīṁ iva | apaśyaṁ asyantāṁ rudraṁ nīlāgrīvaṁ śīkhaṇḍinam* ‘I saw you descending from heaven down to earth. I saw Rudra, the blue-necked one, the crested one shooting [his arrows]’ (Lopez).

b. The reading *atho* of Or may be due to perseveration from PS 1.29.1b and 7.13.3.b, two passages for which the reading *adho* is also attested and almost certainly correct. K, which at PS 1.29.1b and 7.13.3.b has the correct reading *adho*, shows again the same mistake at PS 15.21.7b, where the reading *atho divaḥ* is again to be emended to *adho divaḥ*.

c. The compound *havyamohana-* ‘bewildering/confusing the oblations’ is a hapax. Whereas *havyā-* ‘oblation’, is attested from the RV onwards alone and in compounds (both as first and second member), *mohana-* is never attested in the RV nor in the SS (where we find at 8.8.9c the synonym *móha-* ‘loss of consciousness, bewildermment’, used in a military context as a weapon — a magical charm — to be cast against an hostile army). In the PS it is attested three times, always as a second member of a compound: beyond 15.18.4, it is found at 3.6.5a *senāmohanaṁ krnv* ‘make the bewildermment of the army’ = ‘bewilder the army’ and 20.55.9d *tat satyaṁ cittamohanam* ‘that [is] the truth that bewilders the mind’. In KauŚS 3.1 the hymns SS 3.1 and 3.2 are qualified as *mohanāni*, i.e. formulas to be recited in order to bewilder an enemy.

The word *mohana-* seems thus to denote especially (but not exclusively) a magical power of a formula by which one is able to cause the victim (an enemy, a rival or an hostile army) to lose the normal control of his mind and senses. According to my interpretation, at PS 15.18.4c *havyamohana-* is a Tatpuruṣa used in the function of a Nomen Agentis, meaning ‘bewildering/confusing the oblations’. This compound is to be compared with the compound *manomūḥ-* ‘mind-confusing’ attested at SS 2.2.5b = PS 1.7.5b, which refers to the Apsarases as well. It is worth noting that the Apsarases against which this hymn is directed are depicted in the last stanza in the action of “going from man to man, greedily seeking out the absent-minded one” (15.19.12ab).

d. This pāda, found identical at PS 1.89.3d, is to be compared also with PS 7.13.1d *indro +api +kṛtac chiraḥ* ‘Indra shall cut off the head’, in which the intervention of the god is directed against the Apsarases as well. Note that at the beginning of the verse the Orissa manuscripts do not apply abhinihita sandhi between *indro* and *apsaraso*; this sandhi is certainly metrically preferable.

15.18.5 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, a = PS 1.29.2c

āhatā apa tā itaḥ
kahalād ‘vā yātudhāṇyaḥ |
amuṅ gachata pūruṣaṁ
samudram apa gachata ||

Them, beatened up, [remove] away from here, like sorceresses from the threshing-floor. Go to that man over there, go away to the ocean.

Bhattacharya edits gacchatī+ in d.

a. A verb should be supplied. The comparison with the sorceresses suggests a verb like ‘remove, drive away’ to be understood — as the sorceresses would not go voluntarily away from the threshing-floor. Accordingly, I interpret tā as an accusative plural. The corrupt reading of K ahatāpātyati may suggest to read yantu instead of itāḥ, so that the whole pāda would be āhatā apa tā yantu ‘Being beaten off, let them go away’.

d. The singular gacchati is impossible here. Note that instead of the two pādas cd, K has only imāṁ gachataḥ, since the copyist must have skipped from the first gachata in pāda c to the second one at the end of pāda d (“saut du meme au meme”). On the association of the Apsarases with the ocean, cf. PS 15.19.11 below and GRIFFITHS 2009: 395–6.

15.18.6 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only
divaṁ gachantu divyāḥ
saro gachantu sārasiḥ |
uluṅgulasya yo gṛhas
tad u gachantu v āsuriḥ ||

Let the heavenly ones (f.) go to the heaven, let the ones (f.) coming from a lake go to the lake. Where the house of Uluṅgula [is], there let the female demons go.

c. The Apsarases addressed in this hymn are called Uluṅgulāki- ‘belonging to Uluṅgula’ (cf. 18.10e below); for this value of the suffix -ka-, see AiGr. II/2, § 362f, p. 526: “Seltener tritt -ka- an eine Personenbezeichnung in der Bedeutung ‘zu der betr. Person in Beziehung stehend, ihr zugehörig’”. As regards the formation, one would expect a feminine derivative in -ikā- (according to AiGr. II/2, § 199b, pp. 314–15), but -uka- is often found instead of -ikā- (AiGr. II/2, § 293a, pp. 482–83), and the two preceding -u- could have affected the color of the vowel before the suffix. The name Uluṅgula could be analyzed as uru(m)gula- ‘having a broad glans’, as an epithet or proper name of a Gandharva (Praust p. c.). The spelling ulu- instead of uru- can be interpreted as a feature of women’s speech.

15.18.7 [Gāyatrī] PS only, b: cf. PS 15.18.9b
āskandike viskandike
arācīr apa *nṛtyantu |
sārāngeṣa śunā saha ||

O Here-Jumper, O There-Jumper: let them dance away into the distance, together with the dappled dog.
Bhattacharya edits *nṛtyatu* in b.

a. This stanza is parallel to 15.18.3, which has three pādas as well and begins with two vocatives, too. The two vocatives āskandike viskandike ‘O Here-Jumper, O There-Jumper’ are possibly two other names of the Apsarases or just e pithets. See my comment under 18.3a.

b. The singular *nṛtyatu* is impossible here. On the association of the Apsarases with dancing, cf. PS 15.18.9 below and Griffiths 2009: 388.

c. Griffiths 2009: 385 suggests that ‘the dappled dog’ is the sun, as it seems clear also from the next stanza.

15.18.8 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, b: PS 19.16.16b, c: PS 8.7.6d, 19.16.16c, d: PS 16.14.6d, 19.16.1d, 19.24.3d

I have grabbed the name of the dappled dog, having golden teeth, heavenly, floating around, for the safety of this one here.

15.18.9 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, b: cf. PS 15.18.7b

… (?) dance turning away. O terrible ones, with a formula I break your ribs, and your vertebras.
Bhattacharya edits *adyāṁ te vīraṇi* in a.

a. The reading *adyāṁ te vīraṇi* is transmitted by all the Orissa manuscripts, while K reads *kaṅkate vīraṇa*. Barret proposes “something like ye *'kaṅkate vīraṇhi*”. I can offer no convincing solution for the interpretation of this phrase. The first part of the verse may contain a verbal form or a combination of *adya* ‘today’ + *ante* ‘at the end’. As regards vīraṇī, one could think of the verb vīraṇ- ‘to cause to sound, play upon a musical instrument’, and emend to *vīraṇaṇih*, which would give the verse the correct number of syllables. Another possibility is also the noun *vīraṇi/-f* ‘a side glance’, which could correspond to the expression found at 19.6b sācy *aksi karikraṭiḥ* ‘constantly making sidelong glances’, but again the text would be not grammatically correct.

b. On the association of the Apsarases with dancing, see my note at 15.18.7b above.

c. Both K and Or read *prṣṭi*, but a dual is hardly conceivable here. Besides being never attested in the dual, the word *prṣṭi*-, meaning ‘rib’, is often found in the plural as object of the verb *śṛ-/ ‘to crush, break’ (cf. RV 10.87.10c = ŚS 8.3.10c = PS 16.6.10c, ŚS 2.7.5d = PS 20.18.4d, ŚS 2.32.2c = 5.23.9c = PS 7.2.6c, ŚS 6.32.2b, 6.50.1b etc. etc.). The emendation to *prṣṭi* is thus highly recommended.

31 rich in horses and four Guṅgūs, ten benevolent, ten famous, twenty-five having long hair. I paid homage here to the Ulungulukā Apsarases.

ekatriṁśad aśvavatiś  
catasra uta guṅguvaḥ |  #A  
śivā daśa *śrutā daśa  
keśiniḥ paṇcaviṁśatih |  A  
idam uluṅgulukābhayo  
apsarābhayo *karaṁ namaḥ ||  

Thirty-one rich in horses and four Guṅgūs, ten benevolent, ten famous, twenty-five having long hair. I paid homage here to the Ulungulukā Apsarases.


ŚS 2.2.5cd

tābhayo gandharvābhayo *psarābhayo *karaṇ nāmāḥ ||
the Guṅgus I established (king) Atithigya like nourishment, I put among the clans the one overcoming enemies’. Cf. also PS 2.65.1f viśas tvā sarvā anu guṅgavo bhavantu ‘Let all the clans, the Guṅgus, devote themselves to you’. The mention of this mythical clan is slightly out of the context and could be justified on account of the two adjectives viśvājanya- and pāñcājanya- that qualify the Apsarases at 18.2a. It seems that the word is used as an epithet of four Apsarases here.

c. The correct reading is clear, since the Oriya vowel sign -r- is pronounced [ru] and the confusion between -ś- and -s- is very frequent in K.

ef. The total number of Apsarases is thus 80. These two pādas are the refrain repeated in the following twelve stanzas.
15.19. Against Apsarases (continued)

15.19.1 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, a: cf. PS 5.9.6b, cd: PS 15.18.10ef

Who swing in a swing, like girls from Mālavā (?) in a line. (I paid homage here…).

Who approach from the East together with the rays of the sun: (I paid homage here…).

a. The Apsarases and the Gandharvas are often associated with a ‘swing’ in the PS: besides the identical verse PS 5.9.6b, cf. PS 7.13.4ab yāsāṁ preṅkho divi baddho antarikṣe hiranyayāḥ ‘They [Apsarases] in the intermediate space whose golden swing is tied in the sky’ and PS 12.7.5ab yatra preṅkho gandharvāṇāṁ divi baddho hiranyayāḥ ‘Where the Gandharvas’ golden swing is tied in the sky’.

b. The translation I give here was proposed by Griffiths 2009: 388.

15.19.2 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, a: PS 1.29.1a = 1.36.1a, ab: PS 7.13.2ab

Who approach from the East together with the rays of the sun: (I paid homage here…).

a. This pāda is identical with PS 1.29.1a, 1.36.1a, PS 7.13.2a. The first pādas of PS 15.19.2–5 are found in the same sequence at PS 1.29.1–2 and PS 1.36.1–4.

b. As noticed by Griffiths 2009: 386, this pāda features the same content as ŚŚ 4.38.5ab sūryasya raśmīṇ ānu yāḥ saṅcāranti mārīcīr vā yā anusaṅcāranti ‘[The Apsarases] that move along the rays of the sun, or that move along [its] beams’.

15.19.3 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, a: PS 1.29.2a = 1.36.2a

Who swing in a swing, like girls from Mālavā (?) in a line. (I paid homage here…).
Who approach from the South with a cart, with a canopy: (I paid homage here…).

Or, saruṣā K ]] KM Mā [Ma] Pa, ||ā JM. | RM, Z 3 Z K

b. The word ánas-, which in the RV often refers to Uṣas-Sūryā’s chariot, is defined in EWAia as ‘Lastwagen, Troßwagen, Reisekarren; im Gegensatz zum Streit- oder Rennenwagen, rátha’; chadis means ‘cover’, ‘roof of a carriage’, ‘roof’. These two words are attested together also at RV 10.85.10ab māṇo asyāt āśīd dyāur āśīd utā čadī̯h ‘Her [of Sūryā] mind was the bridal cart, the canopy thereof was heaven’. Since the Gandharvas and the Apsarases are sometimes requested to be propitious to a passing wedding procession (cf. ŚŚ 14.2.9), this stanza may contain an allusion to this function of the Apsarases. For the association of the Apsarases with chariots, see also GRIFFITHS 2009: 389.

15.19.4 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, a: PS 1.36.3a

yāḥ paścād ācaraṇty
andhena tamasā saha ° ° ° ||

Who approach from the West together with the darkness, with the gloom: (I paid homage here…).

<?] Ku, ta(·)masā Pa || [Ma] Pa, ||ā JM, | RM, om. Ku, Z K

PS 1.36.3
yāḥ paścād ācaraṇty puraṣṭād vā sadānvāḥ |
aśmānam rchanfīr yantu yo ‘yam svādāv *anādyāḥ |

b. This stanza is to be read in parallel with PS 15.19.2. Since the East is naturally associated with the rays of the sun, the West is seen as the kingdom of darkness. The Apsarases are called tāmiṣicayat ‘dusky’ at ŚŚ 2.2.5a = PS 1.7.5a.

15.19.5 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, a: PS 1.36.4a

yā uttarād ācaraṇty
varṣeṇa vidyutā saha ° ° ° ||

Who approach from the North with the rain, with the lightning: (I paid homage here…).

Or, vidyutās K ]] Mā [Ma] Pa, ||ā Kum. | RM, Z 4 Z K

PS 1.36.4ab
yā uttarād ācaraṇty adharād vā sadānvāḥ |

15.19.6 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, b: PS 7.13.7b

yā adhastād udviṣante
sācīy *akṣī kariṅraṭīh ° ° ° ||

#A  *A
Who look upward from below, constantly making sidelong glances: (I paid homage here…).


PS 7.13.7ab
yā vṛkṣarīn parīsarpanti sācy *aḵśi karikratīḥ |

Bhattacharya edits sācyakoṣi in b.

b. For the interpretation of the word sācī, see Griffiths 2009: 390–I. Bhattacharya edits aḵśi here and at PS 7.13.7b, where the readings of the manuscripts are the same. As stated by Griffiths, “It is clear that we rather need a dual here, which is provided by the archaic form aḵśi (AiGr. III, § 158, p. 303). Confusion of short and long ḫ is rampant in the Orissa manuscripts and may have been caused here by the fact that the form aḵšī was no longer known to the reciters (having been replaced by aḵšīṇa)”. For the idea of the Apsarases making grimaces and other demoniac gestures, cf. PS 1.29.2b jihmā mukhā karikratīḥ ‘[The Apsarases] constantly making their mouths oblique/making grimaces’.

15.19.7 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

yā upariṣṭād avekṣante
nīlavyoṭāni bibhratīḥ ∗∗∗ || A

Who look down from above, wearing dark-blue ornaments: (I paid homage here…).


b. The meaning of the compound nīlavyoṭa-, which is a hapax, is difficult. The first member is clear: it is the adjective nīla-, which means ‘blue, dark-blue’. The second member is more problematic; vyākta- means ‘adorned, beautiful, manifested, visible’, and I interpret the neuter plural as ‘beautiful things, ornaments’ (see Kuiper 1953: 87 = 1997: 272). Cf. also the noun vyānja- ‘decoration, ornament’, which derives from the same verb vyāṇy- ‘to decorate, adorn’.

15.19.8 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

yā antariṣṭē ḷrayanti
vātena ṛeṣmāṇā saha ∗∗∗ || A

Who raise (the waters?) in the intermediate space, with the wind, with the storm: (I paid homage here…).

Bhattacharya edits *antarikṣa ṭrayanti* in a.

a. The text of the Orissa manuscripts is problematic. The verb ṭrayati ‘raises’, ‘sets in motion’ is always transitive (cf. INSLER 1967: 253–54 and JAMISON 1983: 124), so we would expect an object here, but it is difficult to determine which word should be understood. In PS 5.7.4a — a verse which appears in a hymn for abundant rain — *ud ṭrayata marutaḥ samudratas* ‘Raise, o Maruts, [the waters] from the ocean’, ṛpas can be understood because it occurs as object of the same verb in a stanza of the same hymn (PS 5.7.10b); in our hymn, on the contrary, this is the only occurrence of the verb. The best solution seems to follow the reading of K and edit *ṛayanti* (‘they bark’; cf. RENOU 1957c: 111), which is better also for the metre (the text of Or would give an extended Anuṣṭubh pāda, while that of K gives an Anuṣṭubh pāda with a final trochaic rhythm).

15.19.9 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

yā nadīr iti catasraḥ

PS 7.13.11ab (+ different refrain)

yā nadīḥ pratīgāhante +#A
sairrabhya kanyā iva ] *A
[ idam uluṅgulukābhyo #A
apsarābhyo ’karaṁ namaḥ ]

Who plunge into the rivers, like girls holding on to each other: (I paid homage here…).

yā nadīr iti catasraḥ] Ku JM Mā [Ma] K, yā nadīr iti catasraḥ Pa RM idam uluṅgulukotārāḥ Ku Pa [Ma]
idam uluṅgulukotārāḥ JM RM, idam ulukotārāḥ Mā, idaṁ uluṅgulukotārāḥ K || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || || |
Who rise up from the ocean, constantly making loud noises: (I paid homage here…).

a. On the association of the Apsarases with the ocean, see PS 15.18.5 above, ŚŚ 2.2.3 (≈ PS 1.7.3) anavadyābhiḥ sām u jagma ābhir apsarāsv āpi gandharvā āśīt | samudrā āśāṁ sādānaṁ ma āhur yātaḥ sadyā ā ca pārā ca yānti ‘He became united with those irreproachable ones. The Gandharva was there, among the Apsarases. Their seat — they say to me — is in the ocean, from which they always come and go’ and PS 12.7.4a yatrāmartyā apsv antaḥ samudre ‘Where the immortal ones (scil. Apsarases) [are], under the waters, in the ocean’.

b. On the noise of the Apsarases, see the parallel passages quoted and translated by Griffiths 2009: 384–5. To those passages one could add also ŚŚ 2.2.5 = PS 1.7.5, which is closer to our text as it refers to the Apsarases too: yāḥ klandās tamīścayo aksakāmā manomuḥaḥ | tābhya gandharvapatiṇibhyo apsarābhya ‘karaṁ namaḥ ‘Who [are] noisy, dusky, fond of dice, mind-confusing: I paid homage here to these Apsarases, the Gandharvas’ wives’. Cf. also ŚŚ 5.20.1a = PS 9.27.1a uccaīrghoṣo dundubhīḥ satvanāyān ‘The war-drum, sounding aloud, warrior-like’ and ŚŚ 9.1.8ab = PS 16.32.8ab hiṅkārikatī bhātī vayodhā uccaīrghoṣabhyēti yā vratām ‘She who crying much, high, bestowing strength, sounding aloud, goes along the course (?)’, in which the compound adjective uccaīrghoṣa- ‘sounding aloud’ is equivalent to the phrase uccaīr ghōṣān kṛ- found in our pāda.

Who go from man to man, greedily seeking out the absent-minded one: I paid homage here to the Uluṅgulukā Apsarases.

b. Following Delbrück 1888: 185, I take bahu adverbially. For other occurrences of the expression prayutam ichati in the PS and of similar images of demons bothering sleeping or absent-minded persons, see Griffiths 2009: 177.
15.20. To Rudra

PS 15.20 and 21, which contain ten and eight stanzas respectively, must be considered a single hymn that conforms to the norm of 18 stanzas per hymn expected in this kāṇḍa. It is significant that the norm concerning the number of stanzas is observed in this particular hymn, as it is dedicated exclusively to Rudra and represents, so to speak, the core of the section I have designated as the “Rudraic hymns” of kāṇḍa 15.

The hymn is very composite: the first seven stanzas, with the sole exception of stanza six, attested only here in the PS, are an original, skilful and to some extent playful rearrangement of RV 2.33, a hymn dedicated to Rudra. The eighth stanza contains an homage to the lightning, while stanzas nine and ten are again addressed to Rudra, who is requested to bestow protection and ward off the yakṣma. At the beginning of the “new hymn”, Rudra is addressed with the epithet paśupati ‘lord of cattle’, used in the dual (paśupatī ‘the two lords of animals’), with reference to Bhava and Śarva, two embodiments of the god himself, who are praised in order that they protect the cattle and are benevolent.

There are a few clear links with the preceding hymn: paśyasi in 20.7c corresponds to paśyam in 18.4a; namas in 20.8ac to namah in the refrain of hymn 19 (pāda d of every stanza); adho divah in 21.7b occurs also at 18.4b; divah in 21.7b and divi in 21.8d correspond to divah in 18.4b and divaṁ in 18.6a. The verb jaghnatus in 21.2c echoes the three forms of the root han- found at 18.2d (hatā), 3c (jahī) and 4d (hanta).

15.20.1 [N.N.] PS only, cf. RV 2.33.2

| tvaj jatā rudra śantamā   | A       |
| vaṁ hi no babhuryā bheṣajebhiḥ | *Ta     |
| vi yakṣmān yāvayāsmad v.y †anjho | *T3   |
| v.y amīvāś cātayāsmad viśūcīḥ  | *+Ta   |

O Rudra, the most beneficent ones (medicines) are born from you. Since you would sustain us with [your] medicines. Keep the forms of yakṣma away from us, [keep] away distress; make the diseases flee from us in all directions.


RV 2.33.2
tvādattebhī rudra śāṃtamebhiḥ śatāṁ hīmā asīya bheṣajebhiḥ ||
vy āṣmād dvēśo vitarāṁ ṛy ṛy amīvāś cātayasvā viṣūcīḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits babhuryā in b, vyakṣmān in c and viṣūcī in d.

a. I interpret jātā and śantamā as two nominative neuter plurals that refer to an understood noun bheṣaja ‘medicines’, which can be easily inferred from the next pāda (bheṣajebhiḥ) and from the parallel Gṛvēdic passage. This Anuṣṭupbh line is a recast version of the Triṣṭubh line RV 2.33.2a tvādattebhī rudra śāṃtamebhiḥ ‘O Rudra, with the most beneficent (medicines) given by you’.

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b. I translate babhuryā as a 2nd singular perfect optative active from the root bhṛ-. As regards the reduplication, forms with ja- and ba- are both already attested for the perfect stem of this root in the RV (with ba- only in the middle; cf. KÜMMEL 2000: 338–343). Kümmel’s statement that active forms with b- reduplication are found from the ŚB onwards needs to be corrected, since the PS provides the earliest attestation of this type of formation. For the root form, cf. the desiderative bābhūṛṣatī (attested from the Brahmans onwards), and for the meaning ‘to sustain, to protect’, cf. my comment at PS 15.10.4b. The particle hi occurs with an optative also at 15.20.4a.

As noted in Bhattacharya’s critical apparatus, the manuscript Mā adds the word iraya ‘raise’ after babhuryā, which is probably a gloss of this uncommon verbal form.

c. The form vyāksmaṁ is clearly an accusative plural (the use of the anusvāra is a common spelling for the final nasal in Or, especially after long -ā; cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: LVI-LVIII. In this case, moreover, the correct ending is preserved in K). I do not mark such cases as an emendation (see also under 15.22.1bc below). At the end of the line, Bhattacharya edits +vyāmīha, which is confirmed by the Rgvedic parallel. As regards the metre, this Tristūbh catalectic pāda could be regularized by reading yaksmaṇ (see KUBISCH 2007: 7–8 and PS 15.22.4ad below), which would make the opening regular.

d. The evidence of the Orissa manuscripts makes the “+”-sign before viṣūcīh unnecessary.

15.20.2 [Tristūbh] PS only, ab: cf. RV 2.33.3ab

tvaṁ devānāṁ asi rudra śrwaṣṭhas

*tavastamas tavasām ugrabāho | Ta

hrīṇyaśā manasā modamāṇa Ta

ā babhūvitha rudrasya sūnoḥ || +*Tb

O Rudra, you are the chief of the gods, the strongest among the strong ones, O you having powerful arms. Enjoying in your very angry mind, you are born from the son of Rudra.


RV 2.33.3ab

śrwaṣṭho jātasya rudra śrīyāśi tavāstamas tavāsāṁ vajrābhō |

Bhattacharya edits tavastavas in b.

a. The word śrwaṣṭha- is often to be read śrāvyaṣṭha for the sake of the metre (e.g. at RV 4.1.6a, 5.82.1c, 6.16.26a, 68.2a, 10.76.2a). In the RV, it is found twice in the cadence, as in our stanza, viz. at 6.16.2a krātvā dā astu śrwaṣṭha and 10.63.16a svastīr ādhi dhī prápathe śrwaṣṭha.

b. In the critical apparatus, Bhattacharya admits that the text is emendable according to RV 2.33.3b. The mistake of the manuscripts was obviously favoured by the long sequence of identical akṣaras at the beginning of the line (sīla-vā-sta-ma-sta-vā-sā).

c. The form hrīṇyaśā is problematic. Following DELBRÜCK 1874: 204–5, NARTEN 1982: 141 interprets the form hrīṇyaṁaḥ- (RV +) as a denominative formation from an unattested noun
With your medicines pray set in motion our heroes. O bountiful, attended by the Maruts, let them raise us. You will lead us to the opposite side of distress, to well-being; drive away from us all the attacks.


RV 2.33.3cd
pāraṣi naḥ pārām arīhasah svastī viśvā abhītur rápasā yuyodhi ||

RV 2.33.4cd
un no vīrāṇ arpayā bheṣajebhir bhīṣāktaṃvair tvā bhīṣājāṃ śṛṇomi ||

RV 2.33.6ab
un mā mamanda vrṣabhō marūtvān tvākṣiśyasā vāyasā nādhamānam |

Bhattacharya edits urām no bhavantamaghavo maruvat in b.
a. This pāda is to be compared with RV 2.33.4c ún no vrśaḥ arpaya bhesajēbhīr ‘Raise up our heroes with your medicines’. At PS 1.95.1d the verse occurs nearly identically as in the RV, the only difference being the use of īrāya instead of arpaya (on which see ZEHNDER 1993: 166). Our passage is a step further from the original source; besides having īrāya as in PS 1.95.1d, the beginning of the pāda seems to be a repetition of 15.20.1d (tvaṁ hi no babhuryā bhesajēbhīḥ), as suggested by the use of hi with an imperative (on which see DELBRÜCK 1888: 522) and by the metre (dodescasyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda with penta syllabic opening — with irregular rhythm — trisyllabic break and a Triṣṭubh cadence). Note that the same pāda-opening occurs also in the next stanza.

b. The interpretation of this verse is difficult. I follow the reading of JM, which seems to be the manuscript with the best text as regards both the meaning and the metre (note that in Or, the vocal sign -r- is pronounced [ru]).

Although it is metrically awkward, the occurrence of amhasah in the next line is semantically functional in creating the well-known opposition between ‘wide space’ and ‘narrowness’.

For the vocative maghavas, from maghavan-, due to the influence of vant-stems, see AiGr. III, § 144, p. 264. Also marutvan shows the later vocative ending -van, which is attested from AV onwards (see AiGr. III, § 142, p. 258).

c. This pāda is identical with the Rgvedic parallel except for the initial verb. Instead of pārṣi, the PS has karā, which I interpret as a 2nd singular aorist subjunctive with double characterization.

d. This pāda is a variation of RV 2.33.3d vīśvā abhīṣṭā rápaso yuyodhi ‘Ward off all the attacks of injury’. The PS variation arises from a different segmentation of the sequence abhīṣṭā rápaso, re-interpreted as abhīṣṭā āpa followed by a verb.

15.20.4 [Triṣṭubh-Jagati]  PS only, a: cf. RV 2.33.7d

\[
\begin{align*}
tvaṁ hi no vrśaḥ & \text{ *cakṣamīthā} \\
asmai rudrāy | & \text{ *(+#)Ta} \\
kṣayadvṛya pra & \text{ *J1c} \\
yathā nṛḥ śaṁ aso & \text{ Jb} \\
dvipade śaṁ catuspade & \text{ oJa}
\end{align*}
\]

O bull, may you become indulgent to us. To this one, to Rudra, the mighty, the patron, to the ruler of men we bring praise, so that you be auspicious to our biped, auspicious to our quadraped.

*Bhattacharya edits caksimesthā in a.

a. The verbal form should be a 2nd singular optative perfect middle from kṣam- ‘be indulgent’ (note that the reading of K has the -a- of the root), so I emend the text according to the parallel Rgvedic passage 2.33.7d abhīṣṭā mā vrśaḥ cakṣamīthāḥ ‘O bull, now may you become indulgent to us’. It is worth noting that the redactor addresses Rudra twice with the perfect optative accompanied by the particle hi (here and in the first stanza).
d. This pāda is extended (14 syllables). The unanimous reading of all the manuscripts advises against any deletion, but both naḥ and the second śam seem superfluous.

15.20.5 [N.N.] RV 2.33.7abc
kāva teśu rudra hasta
mṛdayāko jalāṣaḥ |
apabhartā rapaso dāviyasya ||

O Rudra, merciful one, where is indeed your soothing hand, which takes away the ailment of the gods (coming from the gods)?


RV 2.33.7
kvā syā te rudra mṛlayākur hāsto yō ásti bheṣajā jalāṣaḥ |
apabhartā rápaso dāviyasyābhī nú mā vrṣabhā caksamāhāḥ ||

The first two pādas of this stanza are a rearrangement of RV 2.33.7ab, while the third one is identical to RV 2.33.7c.

a. As regards teśu, a locative plural ‘among them’ is out of place here and semantically awkward. On the other hand, the Gṛyedīc parallel suggests the interpretation of te as the second singular pronoun meaning ‘of you, yours’, and my translation follows this interpretation, although the sequence te śu is rare and occurs only once in the RV (in which the distribution of the two words is 10x sū te: 1x te sū: 1x té śu: 1x té sū; could our passage be reminiscent of RV 1.169.5c té śu no marūto mṛlayantu ‘Let these Maruts be merciful to us’)?

b. The term jalāṣa- ‘soothing, healing’ refers to Rudra himself at RV 7.35.6c = ŚS 19.10.6c = PS 12.16.6c śāṁ no rudrō rudrēbhīr jalāṣaḥ ‘Weal [may be] for us Rudra, the healer, with the Rudras’. The compound jalāṣabheṣaja- ‘whose medicines are soothing’ always refers to Rudra, viz. at RV 1.43.4b, 8.29.5b, ŚS 2.27.6 = PS 2.16.4a, PS 5.22.9c, 14.3.3c, 20.62.2a.

15.20.6 [Virā] PS only, a: cf. ŚS 2.10.5b
pra yakṣmaḥ pra nīṛtir etuśv asmat
*seneva śṣṭā pracatāṁ amīvā |
ārādhvarāṁ sanā vṛjanā *jahita ||

Let the yakṣma, let Nīṛṭi go away from us. Let the disease [go away] stealthily, like a shot spear. Be satisfied forever, leave our settlements.
Bhattacharya edits *ṣṛṣṭā* and *catāmamīvā* in *b*, *ārāddhat sanā* and *jahāti* in *c*.

a. Since the second *pra* belongs with *etu*, it would be better to have the caesura after the third syllable, but the prosodic structure of the line does not allow it.

b. In the critical apparatus, Bhattacharya proposes the reading *catān amīvāh*. I interpret *pracatām* as an adverb (hapax) meaning ‘stealthily’, derived from *pracatā* ‘id.’ with addition of the final -*m*, which is the typical adverbial termination.

c. In the first part of the verse, the manuscripts *JM, RM* and *K* seem to have preserved a better reading *ārā(d)hvaṁ*, a 2nd plural imperative aorist from the verb *ā-rādh*- ‘to conciliate’, be satisfied’. The addressees of this imperative are the three malevolent entities mentioned in pādas *a* and *b* (*yāksma*, Niṛṛti, the disease).

At the end of the line the form *jahāti* is grammatically impossible and calls for an emendation to a 2nd plural *jahīta*, slightly supported by the reading *jaitāh* of *K*.

15.20.7 [N.N.] abc: cf. RV 2.33.10abc, de: ŠŚ 11.2.25bc = PS 16.106.5df

| arhan dhanur hitaṁ bibharsy | *°A |
| arhan niśkāṁ rajataṁ viśvarūpam | Ta |
| arhann idaṁ dayase viśvam ējan | Ta |
| na te dūraṁ na pariśṭhāsti te bhava | Jb |
| sadyaḥ *sarvāṁ pari paśyasi bhūmīm || | #Ta |

Being venerable, you carry your speeding bow; being venerable, [you carry] your silver necklace, glittering; being venerable, you cut in pieces this [world] everything that moves. There is nothing far for you, nothing impeding for you, O Bhava. At once you look over the whole earth.


RV 2.33.10
ārhaṁ *bibhāraṁ sāyakāṇi dhānvārhaṁ niśkāṁ rajataṁ viśvāṛupam ||
ārhaṁ idaṁ dayase viśvam ābhvaṁ nā vā ājīyo rudra tvād asti ||

ŠŚ 11.2.25bc = PS 16.106.5df
nā te dūraṁ nā pariśṭhāsti te bhava sadyaḥ sārvāṁ pāri paśyasi bhūmīm ||

Bhattacharya edits *sarvāṁ* in *e*.

a. Cf. also ŠŚ 11.2.12a = PS 16.105.2a, which is about Rudra too: *dhānur bibhāraṁ hāritam hitam hiranyāyam* ‘You carry your yellowish, golden bow’. This extended Anuṣṭubh pāda seems indeed an incomplete trimeter, since the sequence *hitam bibharsi* would be a perfect fit in a cadence.
b. On the word nîşkā, see Oberlies 1992, who suggests that it indicates an ornament that “vom Nacken und Hals auf die Brust herabhängt” (p. 11). In the PS passage, this ornament is qualified as being made of silver (rajatam), while in the RV it is said to be ‘worthy of worship, adorable’ (yajatam).

c. At the end of the verse, the PS has the variant ejan instead of ābhvaṁ ‘immense (power)’ in the RV. The expression viśvam ējat (with which compare the compound viśvamejaya- ‘making everything tremble’) occurs in the cadence of Triṣṭubh lines also at PS 14.2.5c, 16.69.9b, 17.1.4c.

d. Here and at PS 16.106.5f, Bhattacharya edits sarvān, which is the reading of all the manuscripts, but is not grammatically correct. This mistake, which is found also in the majority of the ŚŚ manuscripts, must be very old and already present in the archetype of the Ur-AV. Note that the cadence of this verse is wrong.

15.20.8 [Anuṣṭubh]  \~ ŚŚ 1.13.1 = PS 19.3.9; a: PS 16.21.2c, b: PS 16.21.2b, ab: VSM 36.21ab, PS 15.23.11ab

namas te astu vidyute  A
namas te +stanayitnave |  A
namas te astu vāśmane  *A
yena pradīṣam asyasi ||  A

Homage be to your lightning, homage to your thunder; homage be to your bolt with which you shoot into the intermediate direction.


ŚŚ 1.13.1

nāmas te astu vidyute nāmas te stanayitnāve |
nāmas te astu vāśmane yēnā dūḍāśe āsyasi ||

Bhattacharya edits pradīṣam asyasi in d.

b. In the Orissa manuscripts, the form stanayitnave is spelled with the usual simplification ayi > ai (cf. the spelling of this same word at 15.12.3a, 15.23.11b).

d. The verb as- ‘to shoot’ is generally followed by a noun in the dative or locative case; since this is not the case, I interpret pradīṣam as an accusative of direction, but it should be noted that K has a different text, yenā dūrāt pradijassasi, emended by Barret to yenā dūrāt praty asyasi ‘With which you shoot from afar’ (see also Whitney 1905: 14), which yields a good sense too. In this case it is very difficult to decide whether Or or K has preserved the more original text. I adopt the text of the Orissa manuscripts because it does not require any emendation and is quite satisfactory as regards the meaning. For the construction of the verb as- with an instrumental, besides the parallel ŚŚ passage quoted above, cf. RV 2.24.8c tāṣya sādhvīr īṣavo yābhīr āsyati ‘Leading straight to the goal are his arrows, with which he shoots’.

15.20.9 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only
O powerful king of the gods, let our men not get hurt. With a formula do we make disappear the demons and the forms of yakṣma, away from us.


Bhattacharya edits *riṣan in b.

b. The confusion ṛ :: ri is quite common in the Orissa manuscripts: cf. e.g. 6.12.7b, 7.8.8d, 7.10.2c (and probably also 23.12d).
The expression mā […] puruṣo ṛiṣat is frequent in the PS (cf. i.a. 4.22.5d, 7.7.6d).

15.20.10 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

brahmaṇeto nāśayāmo +A
yat kiṁ cāṅgeṣv āmaya | *A
śalyān yakṣmasyātho ropis #A
tā ito vi nayāmāsi || A

With a formula we make disappear from here whatever hurts in the limbs. We remove from the splinters of the yakṣma and also the pains.


b. Bhattacharya adopts (with all the manuscripts) the reading śalyāṁn, which is obviously to be understood as an accusative plural. On the meaning of śalyā-, see GRIFFITHS-LUBOTSKY 2014. They consider PS 15.20cd a passage in which, for this word, “a meaning such as ‘splinter’, or in any case a ‘foreign body’ less directly associated with arrows, might be preferable”. Although this may be true, it should be noted, however, that the use of śalyā- in this hymn could have been suggested by the frequent mention of the arrows and missiles of Rudra-Bhava: cf. 20.6b, 7a and stanza 15.13.10 above. For the association of śalyā- with diseases, cf. PS 1.46.2cd *māsyā susron nāśayā vyadhmano viṣam bahiḥ śalyāś caratu rogo asmāt ‘Let no [blood] of his flow forth: make the poison disappear from the wound. Let the tip, the disease go outside out of him’ and PS 7.15.4b śalyān yakṣmāṁ vi vyhāmo vayaṁ te ‘We pull out from you the [arrow] tips, the forms of yakṣma’ (Griffiths’s translations).
The rare word rōpi- ‘acute pain’ is associated with Rudra — addressed as Bhava — also at ŚŚ 2.11.3b = PS 16.104.3 krāndāya te prāṇāya yāś ca te bhava rōpayah | nāmas te rudra
krṇmah sahasrākṣāyāmartya ‘To your cry, your breath and the pains that are yours, O Bhava: we pay homage, O Rudra, having thousand eyes, immortal’.


d. The pronoun tā is in grammatical agreement with the feminine plural ropīs, but refers ad sensum also to the masculine plural śalyān.
15.21. To Rudra (continued)

15.21.1 [Anuṣṭabh] PS only, c: ŠS 16.6.4a, PS 18.50.4a, 20.18.5a, KS 22.5:61.3, VSM 15.15–16 etc.

\[\text{nayāmi vāṁ pāṣupātī} \quad \#A\]
\[\text{ghṛtenājyena vardhayan} \quad A\]
\[\text{yaṁ dvīṣmo yaś ca no dveṣṭi} \quad +\#A\]
\[\text{tasya *dveṣāḥ *kariṣyathāḥ} \quad A\]

I lead you two, O lords of animals, increasing [you] with ghee, with ājya. You two will make hostility to him whom we hate, and who hates us.


Bhattacharya edits veṣāḥ in d.

a. Note the uncommon occurrence of the verb ni- ‘to lead’, which is never applied to a situation when a mortal would lead a god. Besides maybe having a specific ritual meaning, the verb is probably used here also in opposition to the expression vi nayāmasi, occurring at the end of the preceding stanza; after having removed the yakṣma, the officiant is ready to guide the two gods (to the sacrifice?).

The name pāṣupati ‘lord of the cattle’ is a common epithet of Rudra; the dual pāṣupatī must refer to Bhava and Śarva, two embodiments of Rudra himself (cf. 15.16.7a, 8a, 10a).

b. For a discussion of the words ghṛta- and ājya-, see GONDA 1980: 176 (with note 4). These two words “are said to be interchangeable, although [ājya] is ritualistically prepared (consecrated) butter, [ghṛta] not”. They often occur together, already at RV 10.79.5b ājyair ghṛtāīr juhōti pūṣyati ‘He sacrifices offering oblations with ājya, with ghee; he nourish [him]’; cf. also ŠS 19.27.5ab = PS 10.7.5ab ghṛtena tvā sām ukṣāmy āgne ājyena vardhayan ‘I besprinkle you with ghee, O Agni, increasing [you] with ājya’, PS 9.3.5ab ājyena ghṛtena juhomi kīlāsabhesajam ‘With ghee, with ājya I offer in sacrifice the remedy against leprosy’ (cf. also PS 16.24.8ab, 76.1ab, 7a, etc.).

d. The reading veṣāḥ of all the Orissa manuscripts (with the exception of Mā) means ‘neighbour, dependent, vassal’ (cf. ŠS 2.32.5 = PS 2.14.3cd hatāso asya veṣāso hatāsah pāriveṇasah ‘Struck are his neighbours, struck the further neighbours’, with Whitney’s comment ad loc., and the parallel Avestan word vaēsa ‘servant’ mentioned by ZEHNDER 1999: 52).

This reading, although satisfactory in meaning, seems impossible for two reasons; first of all, it is not grammatically correct, because veṣa- (also veṣā-) is masculine, and a nominative does not fit here; the preceding genitive, then, is syntactically awkward.

The emendation to *dveṣas has been proposed by Barret. It is supported by the initial d- of the reading of Mā and suggested by the common confusion of the sibilants in the manuscripts. Moreover, dvēṣa-(s)- can be neuter, and interpreted as an accusative singular, which fits in the formula dveṣa-(s)- kr- ‘make hostility’. Cf. PS 1.3.2d apa dveṣāmsy ā kṛdhī ‘drive away hostilities’. Cf. also ŠS 3.30.1b = PS 5.19.1b āvīdveṣāṁ kṛṇomi vah ‘I make for you non-
hostility’, ŚS 5.21.1cd vidveṣāṁ kāśmaśaṁ bhayāṁ amītreṣu nī dadhmasy ‘We put among our enemies mutual hate, fear, confusion’, with the the use of the root dhā- instead of kr-. This expressions usually requires a dative or a locative, but it is common that the genitive functions as a dative in Vedic (Speijer 1886: 96 ff., Delbrück 1888: 162).

15.21.2 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

adhi brūtaṁ paśupaṭī
dvipade me catuṣpade
prasūtāu yatra jagnhatus
tato me mā paraṁ riṣat

O you two lords of animals, speak in favour of my biped, in favour of my quadruped. When the two, being requested, have slain, then may what is further of mine not get hurt.


Bhattacharya edits mātaram riṣat in d.

ab. Bhava and Śarva are described as lords of both bipeds and quadrupeds at ŚS 4.28.1–7c = PS 4.37.1–7c yāv asyēśāthe dvipādo yāu cātuṣpadas ‘(you two) who rule over these bipeds [and] quadrupeds’. Cf. also ŚS 11.2.1 = PS 16.104.1 bhāvāsvarau mṛdātāṁ mābhī yātam bhūtapatī pāsapatī nāmo vām | prātihitām āyatāṁ mā vi srāṣṭām mā no hiṁsiṣṭām dvipādo mā cātuṣpadaḥ ‘O Bhava and Šarva, be gracious; do not drive against [us]; O lords of beings, O lords of cattle, homage to you! [The arrow] that is fitted, that is thrown, do not let fly; do not harm our bipeds, [do not harm] our quadrupeds.’.

d. The meaning of this pāda is difficult. It is clear that mā goes with riṣat and the whole expression means, ‘May it not get hurt’. The reading taram of the Orissa manuscripts yields little sense, while the reading paraṁ of K can possibly be understood as an adjective used as a noun and governing the genitive me, so that the verse would mean, ‘May what is further of mine (besides bipeds and quadrupeds) not get hurt’. I prefer this interpretation, although it is far from satisfactory. Alternatively, paraṁ can be connected with tatās, thus forming a common adverbial expression (tatās paraṁ) meaning ‘after that’; in this case, however, the word me would be left over.

15.21.3 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, d: cf. 21.5e

yā vāṁ *rudrā *śivās *tanūr
yā vāṁ santy *arogānāḥ |
yā vāṁ āyuṣmaṇīs tanūs
tābhir no mṛdātāṁ yuvam

O you (two) Rudras, be you two merciful to us with these forms of yours, which are beneficient, which are not causing disease, which provide long life.
Bhattacharya edits *rudraḥ* in a and *sānti rogaṇāḥ* in b.

a. The nominative singular *rudraḥ* of *Or* does not fit here. The verb in the 3rd plural (*sānti, in b*) requires a nominative plural, and the form *tāṇāḥ* is attested as a nominative plural also at Kausō 131.2 (cf. AiGr. III, § 98, p. 190). Therefore, I have emended the readings of the mss. *śivā tāṇāḥ*, which must already have been corrupt in the archetype, to *śivās *tāṇūr*, and I interpret *rudrāḥ* as a vocative dual. Cf. PS 14.3.8a *yā te rudraś śivā tāṇūr* ‘That benign form of yours, Rudra’ (in the singular), which could also have been the source of the mistake in our passage (perseveration).

Since the addressees, in the vocative, are Bhava and Śarva, a dual would have been natural also for the mention of their bodies, but it is conceivable that this stanza refers to the various forms and physical aspects that Rudra can assume.

b. In the critical apparatus Bhattacharya proposes the reading *aroganāḥ*, which I adopt as clearly correct and confirmed by the reading of *K aroginī*.

15.21.4 [Prastārapadā] PS only

| na praminanti vratino vratāni | +Tb |
| satyaṁ jinvanto vidathā vadantāḥ | Tb |
| yasyeṁ rodaśi ubhe | A |
| saṁyukte manasā hṛdā || | A |

The ones observing a vow do not violate their vows, furthering truth, announcing distributions of wealth. He whose both these surfaces (heaven and earth) are united in mind, in heart […]

minanti| *Or, mṛḍanti* K vratino| *Or, vrajino* K jinvanto| *Or, janvanto K yasyeṁ* | *K Ku Mā [Ma] Pa, yaseme JM, yasyme RM rodaśī* | *Or, rodaśī K || *Ku JM Mā [Ma] Pa, || RM, | K |

a. On the expression *vratāṃ/vratā(ni) + (pra) mī-, which is a fixed collocation occurring 16 times in the RV, cf. THIEME 1941: 82–116 = 1971: 7–41, SCHMIDT 1958 and BRERETON 1981: 87. In the PS it also occurs at 5.32.2e yo ‘sya ‘vratāṁ pramināti kaś ca ‘Whoever violates his vow’, 18.57.5c (= ŚS 18.1.5c = RV 10.10.5c) nakir asya praminanti vratāni ‘No one violates his vows’, 19.47.5a (= ŚS 19.59.2a = RV 10.2.4a) yad vo vayaṁ pramināma vratāni ‘When we violate your vows’. Cf. also the important parallel passage RV 3.28.4cd, in which the verb is found in connection with *vidātha-*: ágne yahvāsya táva bhāgadēyaṁ nā prá minanti *vidāthēṣu dhīrāḥ* ‘O Agni, the wise ones, during the distributions of wealth, do not diminish the portion of yours, the swift one’.

According to my interpretation, the people mentioned in this stanza are the Vṛāṭyas themselves, who are bound by a common vow to the observation of certain rules (cf. FALK 1986: 17 ff.).

b. The word *vidātha-* has been discussed by THIEME 1949: 35–49 and by KUIPER 1974: 129–132, who conclusively proves that the meaning of this word is ‘distribution’, ‘distribution of
wealth’. The expression vidātham (ā)yad- means ‘to announce a vidāthā’, ‘to announce a distribution of wealth’, as a manifestation of vitality and prestige of the giver.

cd. These two pādās belong syntactically to the next stanza.

15.21.5 [N.N.] PS only, e: cf. 21.3d, fg: PS 5.17.8ef

sa prajānāṁ prajāpatiṁ | A
sādhu raksatī varṣatī | A
sa veda ratnabhēṣajaṁ | A
devebhyas parv ābhṛtam | *A
tenō mṛḍatāṁ yuvam | !A
jīvātave na martave | A
atho ariṣṭaṭātaye || A

[He whose both these surfaces (heaven and earth) are united in mind, in heart,] he is the (progeny-)lord of progenies, he protects the right, he rains. He knows the choice medicine


c. For the construction prajānāṁ prajāpati-, literally ‘progeny-lord of the progenies’, see Watkins 1995: 242 ff = 1997: 216 ff.: “The gentive construction with a compound of pati- ‘lord’ as in gaṇānām gānapati- ‘throng-lord of throngs’ is by no means unique in the Rigveda, though it is clearly somewhat stereotyped and both formally and semantically restricted. […] Of the 17 Rigvedic examples of the construction, 10 are in the vocative or accompany a second person pronoun, and of the oldest 8 examples, in the family books, 7 are vocatives or accompany a second person pronoun. All are gods. The construction therefore clearly is originally most at home in the liturgy”. The expression prajānāṁ prajāpati-, which has not been taken into account by Watkins, occurs two more times in the PS, at 11.1.11ab ā te nayāṁi vsaṇaṁ yah prajānāṁ prajāpatiṁ ‘I lead here your bull, who is the lord of progenies’ and 16.37.2ab indrāgni asmān raksatāṁ yau prajānāṁ prajāpati ‘Let Indra and Agni protect us, the two ones who are the lords of progenies’. Although Watkins states that this construction “is commonest in triṣṭubh lines where it conveniently fills the seven syllables after the caesura”, in the PS it occurs only in Anuṣṭubh pādās. In the context of this stanza it refers to Rudra, as is confirmed by the mention of the medicine (ratnabhēṣaja-, which is an hapax) in pāda e.⁵¹

ef. The expression jīvātave na martave ’tho ariṣṭaṭātaye occurs as such at PS 5.17.8ef, and it has been described by Lubotsky 2002: 90 as “an AVP variant […] of the formula RV

⁵¹ Gonda 1986: 25 quotes four pādās from PS 15.21.5, but his interpretation is wrong. He states that “In AVP 15, 21, 5 Prajāpati is even regarded as producing rain alone: ‘Prajāpati with mind (manaś) and heart of whom both heaven and earth are united, rains, rains properly’”. As I have pointed out above, Rudra is concerned here, not Prajāpati; moreover, the reading of K (which has twice varṣatī) is not correct.
10.60.8de (repeated 9de, 10cd) jīvātave nā mṛtyāvē ‘tho ariṣṭātātaye, with a nonce form martave’. The same expression is indeed attested also at PB 1.5.18. The meaning of atho in this sentence has been discussed by Klein 1985: 84, who made very convincing arguments against Geldner’s interpretation of the particle in the sense of ‘sondern’ and against the violation of the pāda structure (Geldner assumes the structure (jīvātave) (nā mṛtyāvē | ‘tho ariṣṭātātaye) with enjambement). Geldner’s solution seems very unlikely, as the opposition between jīvātave and mṛtyāvē is clear, there are no other examples of atho in the sense of ‘sondern’ and the sequence átho ariṣṭatāti- is found in additive conjunction with a preceding term also at RV 10.137.4ab ā tvāgamaṁ śaṁtātibhir átho ariṣṭātātibhiḥ ‘I have come to you with benefits and safeties’.

15.21.6 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

saguṇāsa āsate  
śaṁyuktā balāya kam |  
teśāṁ yad indriyam *bhād  
ati rocati rocanā ||

Those of matching qualities sit together, united for the sake of the strength. What is the great power of them outshines the stars.


Bhattacharya edits vrhaçatirocatirocanā in cd.

a. It is not clear who is the subject of the action, but probably the same persons mentioned in 21.4. This is the earliest attestation of the word saguṇa-.

b. Note the occurrence of the same word saṁyukta- used in 21.4d, as if the redactor wants to compare the harmony between these men to that of the couple heaven and earth.

cd. In order to have two Anuṣṭubh pādas in cd, the first word of the sequence vrhacatirocatirocanā must belong to pāda c. I emend the text according to PS 19.48.18a mayi tyad indriyam bhāt ‘In me [is] that great power’, in which the expression indriyam bhāna occupies the same position in the verse. The mistake of the manuscripts was probably favoured by the repetition of the same syllables in the sequence (c)ati rocati.

Cf. ŚS 4.28.1b (∼ PS 4.37.1b) yāyor vām idāṁ pradūṣi yād virōcate ‘(Bhava and Śarva), in whose control is what shines forth here’. In the AV, the word rocanā- ‘bright, shining’ can mean also ‘stars’ when used in the neuter plural (cf. ŚS 4.10.2, 6.31.2, 6.75.3, 19.7.1).

15.21.7 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, d: cf. 21.8a

ye te rocane bhātāḥ  
antariṣke *adhō divāḥ |  
tāḥbhām upa pra yāhi naḥ  
sarvavīrāṁ ariṣyataḥ ||

Your two high stars that are in the intermediate space, below the heaven: from them drive down towards us, who are accompanied by safe and sound heroic sons, unhurt.

Bhattacharya edits *ado in b.

b. On the emendation *ado, see my comment on 18.4b above.

c. The addressee of the imperative must be Rudra.

d. On sarvavīra-, see GONDA 1955b: 56–57, who criticizes the translations of MW ‘all-heroic, consisting of or relating to or accompanied by or leading all men or heroes’ and the renderings by Whitney-Lanman ‘having all heroes’, ‘preserving heroes’, ‘with all his heroes’, pointing out that, according to original meaning of sarva- ‘undivided, complete, uninjured’, the compound must express ‘the idea of ‘with complete, saved men (heroic sons)’, i.e. ‘with the full number of them safe and sound’’.

15.21.8 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, a: cf. 21.7d

sarvavīrā ariṣyanto
rocane adhi tathima |
†yathā nas trṣṇamad vasu A
divi kṣīpadbhyo apsu yā† || A

Accompanied by safe and sound heroic sons, unhurt, we rely on [these] two stars. So that our wealth … (?) in the sky … (?) in the waters.


Bhattacharya edits trṣṇamadyasu in cd.

cd. The reading of the Orissa manuscripts Mā and Ma, according to Bhattacharya’s critical apparatus, is uncertain: trṣṇamadyasu? The interpretation of these corrupt pādas is unclear to me. After yathā one would expect a subjunctive, which may be concealed in the sequence trṣṇamad (trṣṇavad?). The form kṣīpadbhyo may be an ablative plural of the present participle active from kṣip- ‘throw, wound’, meaning ‘from the ones wounding’.
15.22. Against hail, for the protection of the crop

PS 15.22–23 belong together as one single composition of 23 connected stanzas split over two hymns of ten and 13 stanzas, respectively.

This hymn, which has no parallel in the Śaunakīyasamhitā, deals with a ritual against bad weather, especially against thunderbolts; it is a charm for the protection of the crop, sortable among those hymns, quite common in both recensions of the Atharvaveda, aiming to secure prosperity against various dangers (puṣṭikarmāṇi). The uniqueness of PS 15.22–23 lies in the fact that, as far as I am aware, it is the only example in all the Vedic corpus of a charm explicitly addressed against hail. It is true that at least two others hymns, ŚS 1.13 ≃ PS 19.3.4–6, 9 and ŚS 7.11 were used in the Kauś (38.8–10) in a ritual which could have been performed against hailstorm. Caland 1900: 129 had already suggested, on the basis of Dārila’s corrupted commentary, that the ritual prescriptions of the Kauś probably were directed to warding off the hail from the crop and that the word aśāni- might mean ‘hailstone’ rather than ‘thunderbolt’ in that context. However, if in this case the situation remains ambiguous — because the ŚS hymns quoted by the Kauś mention clearly the thunderbolt and not the hail as a dangerous atmospheric agent, they don’t have clear references to the hail and their ritual application against hailstorm could therefore also be considered a later development — there can be little doubts about PS 15.22–23, where the hail is specifically named and described with an amazing realism.

Although a detailed comparative approach falls outside the purpose of this commentary, it should be stressed that spells for the protection of the crop against bad weather and hail are attested in many Indo-European and non-Indo-European linguistic areas. Many common magical features and ritual parallel practices have been studied in order to show how the mechanism of these kind of incantations works. If, on the one hand, the Atharvaveda and its ancillary literature provided much material for comparison, on the other hand the ancient Indian literature seemed to lack completely spells against hail, so well attested in other traditions like the Roman and the Greek ones. This situation has now changed, and in this respect PS 15.22–23 is even more precious and worth studying, since it offers the Indian (and more specifically Atharvavedic) counterpart of a tradition of charms known as φυλακτήρια, κωλυτήρια or κωλύματα, designed to protect who pronounced them from a potential threat — in this case, from hail. It is indeed thanks to the comparison with other traditions that we can understand some difficult and at first sight unintelligible passages of our hymn.

The hymn is closely connected with the preceding one through repetition of several words and similar expressions: cf. 23.11ab namas te astu vidyute namas te stanayitnave and 20.8ab namas te astu vidyute namas te *stanayitnave or the couple dvipad-catuspad in 23.11c, which occurs also in 20.4d and 21.2b. The word ghṛṇa in 22.3c corresponds to ghṛtn[ə] in 21.2b; vidyotamāṇa in 22.6a and vidyutam in 22.7a, 8a to vidyute in 20.8a; stanayan in 22.6a to stanayitnave in 20.8a; dhanvāni in 22.7d to dhanur in 20.7a; namo in 22.8c to namas in 20.8ac; mṛdayāta in 23.4a to mṛdayāko in 20.5b and mṛdataṁ in 21.3d, 5e; aśmabhiḥ in 23.3b, 4b to

52 See, e.g., ŚS 3.17 ≃ PS 2.22, ŚS 3.24 ≃ PS 5.30, ŚS 4.15 ≃ PS 5.7, ŚS 6.142 ≃ PS 20.49, ŚS 7.11 ≃ PS 20.2.9, ŚS 7.18 ≃ PS 20.8.3, 20.47.
53 Note that ŚS 1.13.1ab ≃ PS 19.3.9ab occur also in our hymn at 15.23.11ab.
54 See Fernández Nieto 2010, with exhaustive literature.
55 See Fehrle 1912, Fiedler 1930, MacCartney 1934.
aśmane in 20.8c; the verbs yāvayāta in 22.3d, yāvayāmasi in 23.3d, 4d and yāvayād in 23.13c to yāvay[a] in 20.1c; nāśayāmasi in 23.8d to the same form in 20.9d and nāśayāmo in 20.10a.

15.22.1 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

indrāgni huve prathamau #A
hvayāmi marutaḥ śivān | A
hvayāmi viśvān devān A7
imaṁ homam avantu me ||

Indra and Agni I call as first, I call the Maruts, the propitious ones, I call the All-gods. Let them help this oblation of mine.


Bhattacharya edits śivāṁ at the end of b and viśvāṁ in c.

bc. Both in śivāṁ and viśvāṁ underlining is unnecessary. As regards śivāṁ, the reading is clear and it is with no doubts an accusative plural, since the use of anusvāra is a common spelling, both in K and Or, for the final nasal (especially after a long -ā, cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: LVI-LVIII). Then the majority of the Orissa manuscripts read viśvān, and the reading of Ma and Mā could easily be explained with the same 'spelling-argument'.

The order in which the gods are named is not random but neither is it strictly respected in the following stanzas: Agni is mentioned in all the first five stanzas but Indra only in stanza nine; the All-Gods are nowhere mentioned as Viśvedeva, though a comprehensive list of divinities is found in stanza four, in which Agni is again addressed. The Maruts, then, appear only after this general list of divinities. The order in which the gods are listed in the first stanza reflects their ritual importance, and the hierarchy thus established corresponds to the role they generally play in the sacrifice. The central role of Agni in this field is confirmed by the following two stanzas, in which his supremacy is justified from an ontological point of view.

What it is more significant is how many times these gods are named throughout the hymn and as it is natural in a charm against bad weather, the Maruts, the storm-gods par excellence, are mentioned more than the other gods (seven times in total), almost always in connection with atmospheric phaenomena. Frequent references to the Maruts are even more understandable in this hymn because they are closely and specifically connected with hail.

d. Note the frequent confusion between -ma- and -sa- in the reading of K hosam. The verb avantu is transmitted correctly only in K, since all the Orissa manuscripts have lost the middle syllable of the word (see Introduction, p. 12).

15.22.2 [Triṣṭubh] PS only

tavaṁ prathamo anṛtatvam agne *+Tb
devo devatvaṁ prathamo jigetha | Tb
 tava devi ṣṛdayaṁ sarī babhūva +Ta
 sa naḥ śivā {āpo} jātavedo ni yacha || +#Ta

219
You, O Agni, have won as first immortality. [you have won] as first god the godhead; your heart is joined with the sky. So, O Jātavedas, bring down to us the propitious waters.


ab. This stanza is linked to the preceding one through the repetition of the word prathama- in the first two pādas (anaphora), which stresses the priority of Agni among the other gods. On the idea of the gods attaining immortality, cf. RV 3.60.2d tēna devatvāṁ ṛḍhavaḥ sāṁ ānaśa ‘With this, O Rāhu, you attained the godhead’, RV 10.53.10d yēna devāso amṛtatvāṁ ānaśuḥ ‘With which the gods attained immortality’ and PS 2.73.1b yenāgre devā amṛtatvāṁ āyan ‘With which the gods in the beginning reached immortality’, PB 22.11.2e etena vai devā devatvam agacchan ‘With that indeed the gods obtained the godhead’.

c. The construction of the verb sāṁbhū- with locative is rare; it is found, e.g., at ŚŚ 12.3.51a = PS 17.41.1a esā tvacāṁ pūruse sāṁ babhūva ‘That one among the skins is united with the man’.

d. This verse has thirteen syllables, with an early caesura and a Triṣṭubh cadence. The more probable solution for restoring the metre of this pāda is to consider the word āpo an interpolation, a gloss that explained the word śivā and later found its way into the text. A possible source for this interpolation could be PS 8.8.11a = ŚŚ 19.2.5a tā apāḥ śivā apō (which is a problematic verse as well, see Whitney 1905: 900). If we admit that āpo is an interpolation, there are two possible explanations for this nominative form: either “śivā(ḥ): (This are) the waters” is meant (as a gloss), or an accusative is intended and the gloss thus attests the use of the nominative plural āpas as an accusative plural. This use is already attested six times in the RV (maṇḍalas I and X, the latest additions) and sixteen times in the AV; it is also found in the PS (besides our passage, cf. PS 5.7.10b). See AiGr. III, § 25, p. 61 and § 131, p. 240.

15.22.3 [Triṣṭubh] PS 12.18.1, ab: ŚŚ 4.39.9ab

agnāv agnir ity ekā


PS 12.18.1

agnāv agniś carati praviṣṭa T1
ṛṣiṇāṁ putro adhirāja eşāḥ T

tasmāi juhomi haviṣā gḥṛtena T

mā devānāṁ yūyavad bhāgadheyam Ta

Agni, the son of the Rṣis, that sovereign king, moves around having entered into the fire. To him I sacrifice with an oblation, with ghee: let the portion of the gods not be removed.

a. All the manuscripts read agnāv agnir ity ekā. On this type of abbreviations in the manuscripts, cf. p. 29–30. The stanza is repeated from PS 12.18.1 and occurs further at PS
20.45.9. Discussing the relation between gods and powers, GONDA (1957a: 68) observes, “The divinity and the element are distinguished in such a way that the former is described as having ‘entered’ into the latter: AV 4,39.9 ‘Agni is continually to be found in the fire’ (agnāv agniś carati praviśtaḥ; more ‘literally’: ‘Agni continues having entered into the fire’)

c. The expression tasmai juhomi haviṣā ghṛtena is common in the PS, and besides the two passages just mentioned is attested, with variants, at PS 2.52.1c tebhyo juhomi haviṣā ghṛtena, PS 2.61.2d yasmai carāmi haviṣā ghṛtena, and PS 16.99.4d tābhyo juhomi haviṣā ghṛtena. I translate haviṣā ghṛtena ‘with an oblation, with ghee’, according to the traditional interpretation of ghṛtena as a specification of haviṣā. An alternative interpretation has been proposed by OLSEN 2011, who suggests that in this and other cases ghṛtā- might have an adjectival/participial function in the sense of ‘sprinkled’, and that the phrase haviṣā ghṛtena could be rendered ‘with a sprinkled oblation’, concluding (p. 175) that “in any case contexts like this illustrate the potentially fluid borderline between noun and verbal adjective, ghee being the (sprinkled) libation par excellence”.

§§ 4.39.9
agnāv agniś carati práviṣta ṣīnāṁ purtrá abhiśastāpā u ||
namaskārēṇā nāmāṣa te juhomi mā devānāṁ mitthuyā karma bhāgām ||

15.22.4 [Triṣṭubh] PS only, ab: cf. PS 1.14.3ab

ye devā divī *ṣṭha ye prthivyāṁ +#T3
jātavedo ya urāv antarikṣe +Ta
ye girīṣu parvateśv apsuva antas *

te devā aśaniṁ yāvayātha ||

O gods who are in the sky, who [are] on earth, who [are] in the wide atmosphere, O Jātavedas; who are in the mountains, in the rocks, in the waters: O gods, you will keep the thunderbolt away!


ad. Pādas a and d are two catalectic Triṣṭubh lines with a trisyllabic opening followed by a trisyllabic break (a cretic in pāda a, an anapast in pāda d). The metre of these two pādas could be easily regularized by reading deva,ā before the caesura in both cases. Cf. also 15.20.1c above.

The Viśvedevas addressed in the first stanza of the hymn are here invoked again in this general list of deities. The gods are grouped according to the traditional partition of their abodes. Cf. RV 1.108.11ab yād indrāgniḥ divī śthó yāt prthivyāṁ yāt pārvateśv ोṣadhiśv apsu ‘If, O Indra and Agni, you are in the sky, if you [are] on earth, if you [are] in the rocks, in the herbs, in the waters’, RV 5.60.6ab yād uttamāt marutā madhyamāt vā yād vāvamāt subhagāsā divī śthā ‘If, O wealthy Martus, you are in the higest, or in the midmost, or in the lowest sky’, RV 6.52.13ab viśve devaḥ śṛnutémāṁ hávam me ye antarikṣe yā upa dyāvī śthā ‘O All-Gods, listen to this invocation of mine, you who are in the atmosphere, who are above the sky’. Cf. also the
very similar passage PS 1.14.3ab: *ye devā divi śtha ye prthivyāṁ | ye antariṅka oṣadhīśv apsu* ‘O gods who are in the sky, who [are] on earth, who [are] in the atmosphere, in the herbs, in the waters’.

15.22.5 [Trīṣṭubh] PS only

mitraṁ digbhīḥ kṛṇuṣva jātavaeda
āśābhir mitram adhipā vipaścit |
mā no hīṁśr divyenāgniṁ *sasyaṁ
yena yanti maruta spardhamāṇaḥ ||

Make an alliance with the quarters, O Jātavedas, with an alliance with the regions, O wise king. Do not harm our crop with the celestial fire, with which the Maruts keep competing.


Bhattacharya edits sasyāṁ in c.

c. The sequence short-long-long-anceps is very rare in a Trīṣṭubh cadence (0.12% out of the total in the R̄V, see VAN NOOTEN-HOLLAND 1994: XVII). A similar case with strange measuring of agnīnā is found at ŚŚ 11.2.26b = PS 16.106.6c mā naḥ śāṁ srā divyēnā,gninā ‘Do not hit us with the celestial fire’.

The reading sasyāṁ is impossible, since sasyā- ‘crop’ is only neuter. K reads sasyena, which does not help because this univerbation shows a graphical omission of (part of) an akṣara at the end of the word sasya-. The only correct transmitted reading is that of Pa, sasyā, which could be interpreted as an archaic neuter plural. I prefer the emendation to sasyaṁ because the form sasyā is actually never attested, while sasyam occurs twice within this same hymn, at PS 15.23.2e *sasyam me mā vadhīd iti ‘May it not destroy my crop’ and 15.23.10d *sasyam upā cara ‘Come near to this crop’. The emendation is suggested also by ŚŚ 7.11.1cd mā no vadhīr vidyūtā deva sasyāṁ | mōta vadhī raśmībhīḥ sāryasya ‘O god, do not destroy our crop with the lightning and do not destroy [it] with the beams of the sun’, where the lightning and the sunbeams are again concerned.

d. The same combination of the verb i- with the participle spardhamāṇa- is found at ŚŚ 3.2.6ab = PS 3.5.6ab asāu yā sēnā marutaḥ pāreśām | asmān āity abhy ōjasā spardhamāṇā ‘O Maruts, that army of [our] adversaries over there, that keeps competing against us with power’. The interpretation of this verse is dubious: the idea could be that the Maruts, with their lightnings, compete with the celestial fire, viz. the sun. For the association of the Maruts with lightnings, cf. the epithet rṣṭīvidyut- ‘having lightnings as spears’ applied to them at R̄V 1.168.5a.

15.22.6 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

vidyotamāṇa stanayan
vrṣe vaiśī kanikradat |
bhīmaḥ parjanya te rathaḥ

222
sa u naḥ śarma yachatu ||  !A

Flashing, thundering, you advance like a neighing stallion. Fearsome is your chariot, O Parjanya. So let it grant us protection.


b. An alternative translation would be ‘You keep neighing like a stallion’.


c. For Parjanya’s chariot, cf. cf. RV 5.83.7ab abhī kranda stanāya gārbham ā ṛdhā | udanvātā pārī diyā rāthena ‘Roar out, thunder, place the embryo. Fly around with your chariot abounding in water’.

15.22.7 [Purastādbṛhati] PS only, a: cf. PS 15.22.8a

ye vidyutam aṣanim ātanvanti  +#Ta
marutaḥ salilād adhi  | A
kṛṣyai no viśvavārāyā  +#A
ava dhanvāni tanvatāṁ || A

Let the Maruts who stretch (as a bow) the lightning [and] the thunderbolt from the ocean (the salty one) loosen [their] bows for the sake of our all-beneficient agriculture.


Bhattacharya edits avadhānāni tanvatāṁ in d, but the reason of underlying is unclear, being perhaps only due to a wrong division of the words.

a. Note that at the beginning of the pāda K reads yo (cf. my note at PS 15.22.8a below). This Triṣṭubh line is probably not original and one of the two objects of the action — vidyutam or aṣanim — may be a secondary interpolation not belonging to an old stage of transmission, triggered from the first pāda of the next stanza.

The verb ātan- is used in its technical meaning ‘to stretch [a bow for shooting]’, since the Maruts are represented while shooting the lightnings with their bows.

b. The heavenly waters are meant.

c. On the epithet viśvāvāra- ‘all-beneficent, bestowing all treasures’, see Gonda 1959: 115, 119 and 139. This adjective occurs often in the RV (35×), and it qualifies almost exclusively the gods, a property or possession (rayī-); once it refers also to the chariot (6.37.1a), once to the sacrificial ladle (5.28.1c), etc. In the SS it is attested only eight times in similar contexts and in all these passages viśvāvāra- has a general meaning, pointing to abundance of wealth that is not further specified. In this PS passage, however, it may have a very concrete meaning, referring primarily to the fruits of the soil (which will eventually bring wealth as well).
15.22.8 [N.N.] PS only, a: cf. PS 15.22.7a

ye vidyutam aśaniṁ pātayanty
antarikṣād uta vātād divaḥ ca |
tebhya marudbhayo namo astav ojase ||

The ones who make the lightning, the thunderbolt fly from the intermediate space and from the wind and the sky: homage be to the Maruts, to strength!


Bhattacharyya edits yo vidyutam aśaniṁ ātaṁty in a.

a. The Orissa manuscripts Mā and Ma, by reading yo, show here the same mistake made by K at the beginning of PS 15.22.7a, but the subject of the action is clearly the Maruts, so that in both cases we must read ye, according to the reading of all the other manuscripts. At the end of the pāda, K has probably preserved the original reading, which I adopt in the text. A similar syntagma is found at ŚŚ 11.2.26c ≈ PS 16.106.6d anyātrāsmaṁ vidyutāṁ pātayātāṁ ‘Make that lightning fly elsewhere than on us’.

b. Note that RM is the only manuscript that does not apply abhinihita sandhi between namo and astv, as required by the metre.

15.22.9 [Anuṣṭubḥ] PS only; c: PS 15.23.12f

tā yantu svarāṅkṛtāḥ
syonāḥ śivatamāḥ pathāḥ |
mā na indra yavaṁ vadhiṁ
mitram enena kṛṣmahe ||

Let them go over the path well-adorned, gentle, very propitious. O Indra, do not destroy our barley. We make an alliance through this [spell].


ab. At the beginning of pāda a, all the manuscripts read tā. As suggested by Zehnder (per litteras, November 2012), the subjects of the action could be the lightnings, which are set in motion by the Maruts (cf. pādas ab of the two preceding stanzas). For the idea of lightnings that are going, cf. RV 9.41.3c cāranti vidyāto divī ‘Lightnings are moving around in the sky’. The adjective svarāṅkṛta- ‘well-arranged’, ‘well-prepared’, ‘well-adorned’ (past passive participle of āram kr ‘arrange, prepare’ with su- ‘well’) is attested at RV 1.162.5c, in which it refers to the sacrifice and at ŚŚ 10.1.25a = PS 16.37.5a, in which it refers to kṛtyā (f.) ‘witchcraft’. In this case, with reference to the lightnings, it may mean ‘shaped in a form, that
they will not harm our crop (*vel sim.*)'. Another possibility would be to emend tă in *te and take as subject the Maruts, whose paths in the sky are often mentioned, along with their
decoration, garlands and other ornaments, but this seems a too heavy and unnecessary
emendation (moreover, the Maruts can hardly be called ‘well-arranged’.) In order to avoid the
presence of *salta* pronoun at the beginning of a line, which is strange, one can think of another
verbal form, e.g. gāyantu (cf. PS 5.7.5a ganaś tvopa gāyantu mārutāḥ ‘Let the troops of the
Maruts sing to you’). The whole would then mean: ‘Let them (the Maruts) sing well-prepared,
gentle, propitious [songs] on their way’.

15.22.10 [N.N.] PS only, ab: PS 7.7.1ab
darbho agra oṣadhīnāṁ || A
śatakāṇḍo ajāyata | A
sa devaiḥ prahito (’)yam āgaṇ svastaye N.N.
vrṣā mṛḍbhiḥ saha +saṁvidāṇaḥ || T1

The *darbha* grass, hundred-jointed, was born at the head of the herbs. So this one, sent by the
gods, has come for well-being, the bull, joined together with lumps of clay.

sahā] Or, maha K *saṁvidāṇaḥ] samvidāṇaḥ Or, saṁvidāṇaḥ K || r 22 || Ku, || r 9 || 22 || JM, || r || 22
| RM, || 22 | r | Mā [Ma] Pa, Z 10 Z K

PS 7.7.1
darbho agra oṣadhīnāṁ śatakāṇḍo ajāyata |
sa sahasravīryaḥ pari ṇaḥ pātu viśvataḥ ||

Bhattacharya edits marudbhir in d.

ab. For the analysis of these two pādas, cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: 317–8. Cf. also ŚŚ 19.32.1 =
PS 11.12.1 śatākāṇḍo duścyavanāḥ sahasruparṇa uttirāḥ | darbhó yā ugrā oṣadhis tāṁ te
badhmāyā āyuṣe ‘Hundred-jointed, difficult to be felled, having thousand leaves, uplifting (?)
the darbha grass that is a fearsome herb, that I bind on you for longevity’. On the idea of the
supremacy of the darbha grass among other herbs, cf. PS 1.87.1a tvan darbhāsi patir
oṣadhīnāṁ ‘O darbha, you are the lord of the herbs’.

c. The metrical analysis of this pāda is problematic. In all probability, sa′vastaye has four
syllables, so we get an Anuṣṭubh-pāda in the second half: *yam āgaṇ sa′vastaye. The first three
words are comparable to PS 1.95.4a (= PS 3.10.3a) yā devaiḥ prahiteṣuḥ patāt, which is
metrically problematic as well (no caesura after 4 or 5 syllables). A similar pāda is PS 11.11.4a
agnir no dūṭaḥ prahito (’yam āgaṇ, seemingly a Triṣṭubh pāda with prahito in the break.

d. The reading marudbhir of the Orissa manuscripts is better for the metre but, in my opinion,
is the lectio facilitor compared to the reading of K mṛdbhiḥ ‘with lumps of clay’. Clods of clay
or earth were used in ceremonial purifications, because they were believed to dispel evil and
have beneficial powers, and are also often related to (medicinal) plants (see GRIFFITHS 2009: 88).
You are the *menī*-power of the bull-eyed *asura*. I know you thus as such … (?). Do not go down to it (f.), I protect the periods of twelve days (?).

Bhattacharya edits *tvayā* in b.

a. The compound *vṛśākṣa*- ‘bull-eyed’ links this stanza with the preceding one, where the *darbha* grass is compared to a bull (*vṛṣa*-). The word *menī*- has been discussed at length by JAMISON 1996, GRIFFITHS 2009: 145–46, and RONZITTI 2006: 150–163 (see also HOFFMANN 1975 : 56–57). It indicates “the power or embodiment of negative exchange, of thwarted exchange. It is the dangerous force that is created when the standard system of tit-for-tat is interfered with. The threat of it enforces behavior in exchange relations, and when released, it can become the vehicle of requital for violations of these same relations” (JAMISON 1996: 193).

b. I decide to slightly emend the text and read *tāṁ* *tvā* *tathā* *veda* ‘I know you (scil. the *menī*) thus’, for which cf. PS 3.30.4b *tāṁ* *tvā* *svapna* *tathā* *vidma* ‘We know you thus as such, O sleep/dream’ and PS 20.59.7ab *agner* *ḥṛdayam* *asī* *vidyut* *tāt* *tvā* *tathā* *veda* ‘You are the heart of Agni. That lightning knows you thus’.

Note also that the reading of *K* *tānvā* is quite near to *tāṁ* *tvā*.

c. The readings of this verse are obscure. The first word, *karna-*, means ‘ear’ or ‘having long ears, furnished with chaff (as grain)’. If we assume the meaning ‘having long ears’, the epithet could refer to the *asura* mentioned in pāda a. The word *kauvīda*- looks like the vrddhi formation of *kovidā*- ‘skilled, learned in’. At the end of the verse there are various possibilities, but I would suggest to read ‘*māśā*- ‘months’ (a form of *māsa*- ‘bean’ seems less probable).

d. Cf. PS 8.19.8ab *dāsarāṭreṇa* *saṁmito* *dvādaśāhena* *kalpate* ‘Dem Daśarātra-Opfer entsprechend richtet sich [der Ziegenbock] nach dem Dvādaśāha-Opfer’ (KIM forthc.) and PS 14.6.4ab *sataudanā* *dvādaśāhena* *saṁmitā* *śataṁ* *prṣṭhāni* *sasṛje* *svaryatī* ‘The heaven-going *sataudana*-cow emitted one hundred *prṣṭha*-sāmans, measured out in twelve-days’ (Lopez). The mention of periods of twelve days could refer to the *dvādaśa* ritual, which, as pointed out by LOPEZ 2010: 188, “is the basic paradigm of a *sattra*, a soma sacrifice that lasts at least 12 days. All the performers of the *sattra* must be consecrated Brahmans”.

15.23.2 [Pañkṭi] PS only

*asir me* *tīmāḥ* *svāyasa* #A

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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.

Bhattacharya edits *tigmasvāyasā* in a and *dāduniṁ* in c.

a. Bhattacharya suggests in the critical apparatus the reading *tigmaḥ svāyasah*, which I adopt in the text for several reasons (on the sandhi, see GRIFFITHS 2009: LXVIII). First of all, one could interpret the sequence *tigmasvāyasā* as *tigmasya + ayasa[h]*, and translate ‘my knife is of sharp metal’, but a genitive here is syntactically awkward (the genitive of material does not occur at all in Vedic, and is rare even in later Sanskrit). Then one has to consider that the confusion between -sy- and -sv- is a common mistake, both in K and Or. Finally, the adjective *svāyasas-*, ‘of good metal’, refers to *asi- also at ŚŚ 10.1.20a = PS 16.36.10a svāyasā asāyāḥ santi no grhē ‘In our house there are knives of good metal’.

On the word *asi-*, see THIEME 1958: 514f. In the RV, this word is attested four times (only in the latest portions, at 1.162.20, 10.79.6, 10.86.18, 10.89.8) and it always denotes a ‘knife for cutting up slaughtered animals’, a ‘knife for severing the joints’; here, as well as in other passages of the PS (e.g. 5.15.9c, 6.23.10d = 19.47.8a), it seems to mean simply ‘knife’, without involving the idea of cutting the flesh of a victim nor the presence of sacrificial animals. In this stanza, however, the knife — whose sharpness is particularly emphasized — is certainly used in a ritual context; in my opinion, in a ritual against hail, it had the specific function of “cutting” the hail cloud, in order to destroy it and prevent hail from falling down. The same practice of cutting hail clouds by means of an axe, hoe or knife has been recorded in rituals against hailstorms in the Slavic tradition (in north-western Serbia, for example, a gradobranitelj ‘hail defender’ is a man who can avert hailstorms performing various magical practices, including weaving a knife against a hail cloud, or placing it on the ground with the blade turned towards the cloud).

b. The readings of the manuscripts susaṁsita (Or) and susaṁsataḥ (K) attest again the frequent confusion of the sibilants, especially in the context before *iy* (see my note at 12.2d).

c. Bhattacharya proposes in the critical apparatus the reading *udāduriṁ*, which is not really clear (should it be interpreted as *ud + āduri-* ‘attentive’, ‘destroyer of enemies’)? The emendation to *hrāduniṁ*, which suits perfectly the context (see the preceding note), sheds light on the whole hymn and is confirmed by the content of the following stanzas, has been suggested to me by Lubotsky (March 2011). The word *hrādūni-* is already attested twice in the RV, one time as a separate word and one time as first member of a compound. At RV 1.32.13ab ≈ PS 227
12.13.3ab the hail is mentioned together with other atmospheric agents used by Vṛtra in the battle against Indra: nāśmai vidyān nā tanyatih sīsedha nā yām mitam ākirad dhṛadūniṃ ca ‘Nicht furchtete ihm Blitz und Donner, nicht Nebel und Hagel, den er ausstreute’ (Geldner); at RV 5.54.3c the compound hṛadūnyāṭi- ‘covered or hidden by hail’, ‘whirling the hail’ refers to the Maruts, and is again associated with lightning, winds and storm: vidyānmahaso nāro āśmadidyaya vātavṛtya parvatacyūtaḥ | abdayā cīṁ mūhur ā hṛadūnyāṭa stanayadamā rabhasā údojasaḥ ‘Die blitzstrahlenden Männer mit den Steingeschossen, heftig wie der Wind, Berge erschütternd, die Marut, die, obwohl sie Wasser geben wollen, im nu Hagel herbeirollen, von donnernder Wucht, wild, kraftgehoben’ (Geldner). The word is never attested in the ŚŚ; in the PS, besides this passage and 12.13.3b quoted above, it occurs in the plural at 11.16.8a ugrā vai nāmaitā āpo yaḥ *dhrādūnayaḥ tāśāṁ maruto adhipatayaḥ ‘Mighty indeed are those waters by name; the Maruts are overlords of them, which are hail’s’.

It is then attested three times in the MS, once as first member of a compound, at 3.6.10: 74.2 (hṛadūniḥhatā-), and twice as separate word, at MS 3.15.8:180.2 and MS 4.4.1:51.1.

Strong evidence supports the correctness of this emendation. First of all, three manuscripts, namely Ku, JM and RM point to an initial h-; these three Orissa manuscripts represent the “central Orissa” tradition, which has often preserved a better text in comparison with the manuscripts, e.g. at PS 5.7.13c (in which instead of hṛadasya, two manuscripts from Orissa read drudasva and bhṛdvasva, and in all occurrences of the word for ‘hail’ (besides 15.23.2c, cf. PS 11.16.8a, where the initial hrā- of ‘hail’ is written vrā- in all the Orissa manuscripts, and PS 12.13.3b, where the word is written with initial drā-). This could also suggest that the word hṛadūni- was not familiar to the redactors of the PS.

Evidence of content is even more convincing, as it becomes clear in the next stanzas.

15.23.3 [N.N.] PS only, cf. PS 15.23.4

marutaḥ pari vṛṇḍhi no               A
divaḥ kṣudrebhir *āśmabhīḥ | A
udumbarasya sākhayā cākṣuṣā-
-asaniṁ yāvayāmasi || Tb

O Maruts, spare (sg.) us with the little stones of the sky. With a branch of the Udumbara tree, with the sight, we keep off the thunderbolt.


Bhattacharya edits kṣudrebhiraśmibhiḥ in b (but in the critical apparatus he proposes the reading āśmabhīḥ).

a. The 2nd singular is no doubt wrong here, because the addressee of the imperative is plural. It is probably due to perseveration from PS 12.1.10d = PS 5.21.6d tābhī śma pari vṛṇḍhi nāḥ
Z 4 Z

K

203 translates the two words as ‘meine Sehkraft’ and ‘meine scharfe Sehkraft’, but admits that “die Deutung der Sprüche ist schwierig”.

emendation to * next stanza, are obviously the hailstones.

O Maruts, be merciful to us with the white stones of the sky. With a branch of the Udumbara tree, with a clear sight, we keep off the thunderbolt.

maruto] K, maṛto Or *mrdayata Ku RM Mā [Ma] Pa, mrḍa(+)yā)ta JM, mṛlayāti K divaḥ

Bhattacarya edits śukrebhiraśmabhīḥ in b (but in the critical apparatus he keeps proposing the reading āsmabhīḥ).

a. Note the unusual lengthening in the reading mṛdayāta of Or. K has a subjunctive form, but it does not fit syntactically. The form of the Orissa manuscript cannot be correct, and an emendation to *mrdayata seems the best solution, although other emendations are possible (e.g. to *mrdayātha, 2nd plural subjunctive; I prefer the imperative as the same mood is found in the parallel pāda 23.3a above). A similar phrase occurs at PS 2.70.4c devā maruto mṛḷata naḥ ‘O gods Maruts, be merciful to us’.

b. The correct text is preserved in K, which reads śukrebhiraśmabhīḥ (Barret’s transcription — śukrebhiraśmabhīḥ — is wrong). Note that the instrumental does not suit the verb mṛḍ-, and was probably used by the redactor to maintain the parallel with the preceding stanza.

c. I interpret vicakṣas- as synonymous of vicakṣas- ‘clear sight’; see the note at 23.3c above.

15.23.5 [Anuśṭubh] PS only, cd: cf. PS 15.23.6cd

*varṭrād *vartram ā kṛāma A7
parvatād adhi parvatām | A

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Step from dam to dam, from rock to rock. Even though being echoed on a mountain, shatter the trees, not the barley.

In stanza five begins the so-called *apopompé* formula, which is developed in four stanzas. In general, anyone who pronounces this kind of formula wants to banish the malignant powers to a destination where they cannot harm any living being; hence we constantly find them being sent to the desert, uninhabited mountains, the sea or the end of the earth. Note that stanzas five and six show a symmetric pattern.

Bhattacharya edits *vartād vartam* in a.

a. The emendation is quite certain, since the mistake in the Orissa manuscripts could be due to the simplification of the cluster -rt(t)r-. Compare the variant readings PS 1.4.4b *vartaim* vs. ŠS 1.3.7b *vātrām*. The same construction X-ablative + X-accusative ‘from X to X’ is found at PS 15.4.1a *ṛṇād ṇāma* and 4.14.7a *hastād ānusthānam ayo bhriyamāno* ‘You will become united, being carried from hand to hand’ (Griffiths — Lubotsky 2014).

c. Bhattacharya edits *pratiśrāta*. The Oriya vowel sign -r- is pronounced [ru], so that there are no real variants for this word and there is not textual problem; underlining is unnecessary. Cf. also 23.6c.

d. Cf. PS 5.20.7cd *atho vṛṣasya phalgu yad ghuṇā adantu mā yavam* ‘Let the ghuṇas eat a little bit of the tree, but not the barley’.

15.23.6 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, cd: cf. PS 15.23.5cd

I bind you together with a bond. … (?). Even though being echoed on a mountain-ridge, shatter the grass, not the barley.

Bhattacharya edits *adāmnā* in a, *yāvanyā* in b and *pratiśrāta* in c.

a. The compound *adāman* - an unbounded one’ could also have a factitive meaning, viz. ‘the one that does not bind’, thus denoting the spell itself. Following a suggestion by Sadovski (p.
c. September 2012) I decide to adopt the reading ādāmnā, which is a hapax, of the manuscripts JM, Pa (post correctionem) and Ma (ante correctionem): the expression ‘to bind with bond’ is very common in Indo-Iranian ritual tradition and has parallels also in ancient Greek magical texts. It is noteworthy that in our passage the syntagma ‘to bind + (with) bond(s)’ is not expressed with words derived from different roots, as is usual in this kind of formulae, but both the words for ‘bond’ and ‘to bind’ derive from the same root dā- (< PIE *deh₁-) ‘to bind’ and create a proper figura etymologica. On the root dā- ‘to bind’, see Kuiper 1974: 121 ff.

b. Note the (uncertain) reading yā(→lā?)vanyā of Pa. On the basis of this reading and of the content of the following stanza, I would propose to read āvanyāḥ, from āvanya- n., ‘saltiness, the taste or property of salt’. The word bhūrnyām can only be locative singular from bhūrni- ‘restless, active, excited, rash’, but pari never takes the locative. So one possible solution is to read *āvanyāḥ pari *bhūrnyāḥ. ‘at the salty impetuous one’, with ablative singular feminine, referring to dyu- f. ‘heaven’ (cf. divas pari).

c. Bhattacharya suggests, both for pāda 23.5c and 23.6c, the reading pratiśritā, which makes no sense. See my comment at 23.5c.

15.23.7 [Prose] PS only

uṣatī nāmāsi salindā nāma | P
anyāṃ *āśāṃ gacha yaṁ dviṁsas taṁ gacha || P

You are called the wishing one, salindā you are called. Go to another region, go to that one whom we hate.


Bhattacharya edits āśāṃ in b.

The metrical analysis of these two pādas is problematic. Since total lack of caesura is very rare (cf. Kubisch 2007: 7), in pāda a the caesura could be generated by reading uṣatī nāmāsi salindā nāma. In pāda b there is no correct metre at all, because the last but one syllable (gacha) is long positione, so it is not a Jagatī, and a Tristubh with twelve syllables must have an opening of five syllables. Maybe we could assume these two lines to be prose.

a. I propose to analyze the hapax salindā- (f.) as sal-ind-ā, and identify its first part with the Indo-European word for ‘salt’, PIE *sal-. This proper name, here used as an epithet, could have preserved the ancient name for ‘salt’ that is also found in other Sanskrit words (sarīt -, salīlā-/sairīrā-, sarsāpā-, according to the interpretation of Thieme 1961). For the suffix, cf. AiGr. II/2, § 224, p. 353, where -inda- is defined as “Ausgang einiger etymologisch undurchsichtiger Personen- und Volksnamen”. Addressing the hail as ‘the salty one’ is no surprising even at first sight, in that hailstones look indeed like pieces of salt, but there is also a more convincing evidence supporting this hypothesis. The notion ancient Indians had about salt has been brilliantly investigated by Slaje 2001 in a series of articles devoted to the interpretation of Yājñavalkya’s Saindhava Drṣṭānta in BĀU II 4,12. In order to make entirely clear the famous simile about the dissolution of salt into water, Slaje has come to the conclusion that for ancient Indians salt was “nothing but a certain state of water changed to a solid form” (p. 33), “conceived as being indeed substantially the same as water, albeit in a particular crystallized
state of water, similar to, e.g., ice or hailstones as a frozen state of water” (p. 42). It is worth quoting also Slaje’s observations on the connection between hail and salt, which are basically two changed states reached by the originally liquid manifestation of water through the influence of heat: “Solid manifestation of water were explained as caused by the influence of heat through an obstruction of its natural liquidity. The argument covering hail-stones etc. is based upon the causal factor ‘heavenly fire’ (divya tejas). Heavenly fire is what comes from the sun or appears as lightning. Lightning and hail-stones quite often occur simultaneously, as is well known. The inference based upon an observation of nature and immediately suggesting itself was, therefore, that this heavenly fire through contact effects a solid form of the water atoms […]. Water, the natural liquidity of which had thus been obstructed, would fall down from heaven in its hardened form of hailstons. […] it is a matter of everyday experience that here on earth heat causes also a change of the natural liquidity of water in that it ‘transforms’ water to ‘solid salt’: fire as an earthly manifestation (bhauma tejas) […]. Śaṅkara has it explicitly, causes a change of the natural liquidity of (salty) water to solid lumps of salt. Therefore, heavenly fire causes the solidification of water in the form of hail, fire in the form of salt” (SLAJE 2001: 34–35). The almost total identification established between the two substances may thus provide a convincing explanation for the epithet salindā- applied to hail (cf. the occurrence of the word salilā- at 22.7b and possibly of lāvayā- at 23.6b).

b. The emendation is quite obvious, since both in K and Or the sibilants are often confused.

15.23.8 [Pañkti] PS only, a: ŠŚ 6.29.3d = PS 20.28.8b

parācīṁ anu saṅvataṁ
parācīṁ anu saṅvidaṁ
parācy anu ni drava |
itas tvā nāśayāmasi
brahmaṇā vīṛyāvatā ||

Turning away, run to a region away, to a property away. With a powerful spell we cause you to disappear from here.


abc. Note the accumulation of figures of speech, which gives the first three pādas of this stanza a formulaic character, also from a rhetorical point of view. There are two series of anaphora, involving the words parācīṁlparācī and anu. The repetition of the same word declined in different cases at the beginning of the three verses (parācīṁlparācīṁlparācī) gives rise to a polyptoton, and the words saṅvataṁ and saṅvidaṁ at the end of pādas a and b offer a good example of homoiooteleuton and paranomasia at the same time. For pāda a, cf. also RV 1.191.15d parācīr ānu saṁvātah ≈ PS 4.17.5d apācīṁ anu saṁvataṁ.

15.23.9 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only

vār bhavo,udakaṁ bhava-
-udakasyodakaṁ bhava |

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kṣudrāt kṣodīyaśi bhūtvā-
-athehy adhamaṁ tamaḥ || +#A

Become water, become [a little amount of] water, become [a little amount of] water of [a little amount of] water. Having become smaller than small, then go to the lowest gloom.


a. I prefer the metrical scansion bhava-udakaṁ rather than assuming a disyllabic scansion of vār (on which see LUBOTSKY 1995: 231). Also the metre of pāda a of the next stanza suggests the first solution. As pointed out by LUBOTSKY 2013: 1, udakā- “usually has a different shade of meaning [compared to udān-], viz. ‘a limited amount of water (esp. for drinking)’ (…) This means that the suffix -ka- does not have the collective meaning here (as assumed by AiGr. II/2, p. 529), but rather diminutive”. My translation is rather artificial, but since the diminutive meaning of udakā- is particularly evident in this passage, it should be somehow expressed. For a parallel passage, in which the diminutive meaning of udakā- is very clear, cf. ŠŚ 4.16.3cd utÓ samudrāu vārunasya kūkṣi utāśmīṁ ālpa udakē nīlīnāḥ ‘Also the two oceans are Varuṇa’s paunches; also in this petty water is he hidden’ (Whitney).

Is here for udakā- a meaning ‘brine’ = ‘water tasting extremely salty’ conceivable (see SŁAJE 2001: 40-42)?

c. Cf. my comment at 11.9d.

15.23.10 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only
syanā bhava śivā bhava
śivāc chivatarā bhava |
phenān mṛdiyasī bhūtvā-
-idaṁ "sasyam upā cara || A

Become gentle, become propitious, become more propitious than propitious. Having become softer than foam, come near this crop.


b. Cf. my comment at 11.9d.

c. The wish that hail becomes softer than foam, before falling on the crops, is expressed with an amazing realism. For the image of foam as something flimsy and harmless, cf. RV 1.104.3ab āva tmānā bharate kētvedā āva tmānā bharate phēnam udān ‘Sie führt selbst den Schaum mit sich, die Absicht erratend, sie führt selbst den Schaum auf ihrem Wasser mit sich’ (Geldner) and PS 2.2.3cd = PS 9.10.1cd rasaṁ viśasya nāvidam udnaṁ phenam adann iva ‘I have not
found the essence of the venom, like one who eats the foam of water’ (ZEHNDER 1999: 25 comments, “Gemeint ist ’du bist so wenig vergiftet wie einer, der… isst’”).

15.23.11 [N.N.] PS only, ab: cf. ŚS 11.13.ab = PS 15.20.8ab, 19.3.9ab, VSM 36.21ab; a: PS 16.21.2c, b: PS 16.21.2b

namas te astu vidyute
namas te stanayitnave |
namas te agne dūrehete kṛṇmo
mā no hiṁsīr dvipado mā catuṣpadaḥ ||

Homage be to your lightning, to your thunder! We pay homage to you, O Agni, whose arrows fly to a distance. Do not harm our bipeds, do not [harm] our quadrupeds.

| rc | c | The compound dūreheti- ‘whose arrows fly to a distance’ is attested twice in the PS; besides this passage, it occurs at at PS 4.37.5b, where it is used as an epithet of Bhava and Śarva. It is attested also later in PārGS 3.14 dūrehetir indriyavān patatryte no ’gnayah paprayah pārayantu ‘The one whose arrows fly to a distance, the mighty one, the winged one; let these fires, the promoters, promote us’.
| d | Cf. ŚS 11.2.1d = PS 16.104.1d mā no hiṁsiṣṭaṁ dvipādaṁ mā catuspadāṁ ‘Do not harm our bipeds, do not [harm] our quadrupeds’.

15.23.12 [Mahāpañkti] PS only; f: PS 15.22.9c

prati tvā sahasā sahaḥ
sahasā prati rudhmasi |
aindram idaṁ saho mahad
bhūmīyās *tavo divi śrītam |
apālaṅkṛṣṭam ā kṛāma
mā na indra yavaṁ vadhīḥ ||

With power we ward you off, with power, O power. This is the great power coming from Indra, the strength of the earth, lying in heaven. Step to [the field] tilled without a plough. O Indra, do not destroy our barley.


d. The emendation to *tavo it is far from being certain. At the end of the line K reads śrutam, which could be in accord with the reading of Ku śrtaṁ (the Oriya vowel sign -r- is pronounced [ru]), but probably the latter is to be considered a graphic mistake due to the confusion r :: ri, which is common in the Orissa manuscripts (cf. PS 15.10.9b). On the expression divī śrītā-, see Griffiths 2009: 82.

15.23.13 [Anuṣṭubh] PS only, a: PS 7.13.13a, 15.19.11a, 19.20.14a, 19.33.15a ≈ RV 7.55.7b = PS 4.6.1b

| yaḥ samudrād uccearanty | *+A |
| utsebhyo yaḥ nadibhuyaḥ | *A |
| atyanṭaḥ sarpo vaidyuto | #A |
| *aśaṇiṁ yāvayād itaḥ | A |

Whatever [waters] rise from the ocean, from the springs, from the rivers: the endless, flashing snake will keep the thunderbolt away from here.

b. The word utsa- ‘spring’, ‘fountain’ is often metaphorically applied to the clouds (e.g. RV 1.64.6d, 5.57.1d, SS 4.15.7.9, etc.).

cd. The connection between pādās ab and cd is unclear to me, and maybe they did not belong together originally. Could the phrase atyanṭaḥ sarpo vaidyuto be interpreted as a description of the knife with which the hail is averted?

The text of kāṇḍa 15 here comes to an end. The manuscripts give the following colophons:

Ku: aśṭādaśarccakāṇḍa samāptah || * || śṛī || *
JM: hariḥ oṁ utsara || śṛīḥ || aśṭādaśarccakāṇḍa samāptah || śṛī oṁ ||
RM: || * || aśṭādaśarccakāṇḍaḥ samāptah || * || bhīmasyāpi raṇe bhaṅgo munerapi matibhraṁah || yadi śuddhamaśuddhaṁ vā mama doṣo na vidyate || *
Mā: aśṭādaśarccakāṇḍaḥ samāptah || bhīmasyāpi raṇe bhaṅgo munerapi matibhraṁah || yadi śuddhamaśuddhaṁ vā mama doṣo na vidyate || 1 ||
[Ma]: aśṭādaśarccakāṇḍaḥ samāptah ||
Pa: aśṭādaśarccakāṇḍaḥ samāptah || * ||
K: Z ity atharvaṅkapaippalādayaś sākhāyāṁ paṅcadaśaś kāṇḍāś samāptah ZZZ kāṇḍaḥ 15 ZZ ZZ

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