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RIG-VEDA-SANHITA.

THE SACRED HYMNS OF THE BRAHMANS

TRANSLATED AND EXPLAINED

BY

F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., LL.D.
FELLOW OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE;
PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY AT OXFORD;
FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, ETC., ETC.

VOL. I.

HYMNS TO THE MARUTS OR THE STORM-GODS.

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To the Memory

of

COLEBROOKE, ROSEN, BURNOUF,

THE THREE FOUNDERS

OF VEDIC SCHOLARSHIP IN EUROPE.
WHEN some twenty years ago I decided on undertaking the first edition of the two texts and the commentary of the Rig-veda, I little expected that it would fall to my lot to publish also what may, without presumption, be called the first translation of the ancient sacred hymns of the Brahmans. Such is the charm of deciphering step by step the dark and helpless utterances of the early poets of India, and discovering from time to time behind words that for years seemed unintelligible, the simple though strange expressions of primitive thought and primitive faith, that it required no small amount of self-denial to decide in favour of devoting a life to the publishing of the materials rather than to the drawing of the results which those materials supply to the student of ancient language and ancient religion. Even five and twenty years ago, and without waiting for the publication of Śāyana's commentary, much might have been achieved in the interpretation of the hymns of the Rig-veda. With the MSS. then
accessible in the principal libraries of Europe, a tolerably correct text of the Sanhitā might have been published, and these ancient relics of a primitive religion might have been at least partially deciphered and translated in the same way in which ancient inscriptions are deciphered and translated, viz. by a careful collection of all grammatical forms, and by a complete intercomparison of all passages in which the same words and the same phrases occur. When I resolved to devote my leisure to a critical edition of the text and commentary of the Rigveda rather than to an independent study of that text, it was chiefly from a conviction that the traditional interpretation of the Rigveda, as embodied in the commentary of Sāyana and other works of a similar character, could not be neglected with impunity, and that sooner or later a complete edition of these works would be recognized as a necessity. It was better therefore to begin with the beginning, though it seemed hard sometimes to spend forty years in the wilderness instead of rushing straight into the promised land.

It is well known to those who have followed my literary publications that I never entertained any exaggerated opinion as to the value of the traditional interpretation of the Veda, handed down in the theological schools of India, and preserved to us in the great commentary of Sāyana. More than twenty years ago, when it required more courage to speak out than now, I expressed my
opinion on that subject in no ambiguous language, and was blamed for it by some of those who now speak of Sāyana as a mere drag in the progress of Vedic scholarship. A drag, however, is sometimes more conducive to the safe advancement of learning than a whip; and those who recollect the history of Vedic scholarship during the last five and twenty years, know best that, with all its faults and weaknesses, Sāyana's commentary was a sine qua non for a scholarlike study of the Rigveda. I do not wonder that others who have more recently entered on that study are inclined to speak disparagingly of the scholastic interpretations of Sāyana. They hardly know how much we all owe to his guidance in effecting our first entrance into this fortress of Vedic language and Vedic religion, and how much even they, without being aware of it, are indebted to that Indian Eustathius. I do not withdraw an opinion which I expressed many years ago, and for which I was much blamed at the time, that Sāyana in many cases teaches us how the Veda ought not to be, rather than how it ought to be understood. But for all that, who does not know how much assistance may be derived from a first translation, even though it is imperfect, nay, how often the very mistakes of our predecessors help us in finding the right track? If we can now walk without Sāyana, we ought to bear in mind that five and twenty years ago we could not have made even our first steps, we could never,
at least, have gained a firm footing, without his leading strings. If therefore we can now see further than he could, let us not forget that we are standing on his shoulders.

I do not regret in the least the time which I have devoted to the somewhat tedious work of editing the commentary of Sâyana, and editing it according to the strictest rules of critical scholarship. The Veda, I feel convinced, will occupy scholars for centuries to come, and will take and maintain for ever its position as the most ancient of books in the library of mankind. Such a book, and the commentary of such a book, should be edited once for all; and unless some unexpected discovery is made of more ancient MSS., I do not anticipate that any future Bekker or Dindorf will find much to glean for a new edition of Sâyana, or that the text, as restored by me from a collocation of the best MSS. accessible in Europe, will ever be materially shaken*. It has taken

* Since the publication of the first volume of the Rig-veda, many new MSS. have come before me, partly copied for me, partly lent to me for a time by scholars in India, but every one of them belonged clearly to one of the three families which I have described in my introduction to the first volume of the Rig-veda. In the beginning of the first Ashtaka, and occasionally at the beginning of other Ashtakas, likewise in the commentary on hymns which were studied by native scholars with particular interest, various readings occur in some MSS., which seem at first to betoken an independent source, but which are in reality mere marginal notes, due to more or less learned students of
a long time, I know; but those who find fault with me for the delay, should remember that few scholars, if any, have worked for others more than I have done in copying and editing Sanskrit texts, these MSS. Thus after verse 3 of the introduction one MS. reads: sa prāha vripatim rāgan, sāyaṇāryo mamānugah, sarvam vetty esha vedānām vyākhyātritvena yuyyatam. The same MS., after verse 4, adds: ityukto mādhatvāryena virabukkamahipatiḥ, anvasāt sāyaṇākāryam vedārthasya prakāsane.

I had for a time some hope that MSS. written in Grantha or other South-Indian alphabets might have preserved an independent text of Sāyana, but from some specimens of a Grantha MS. collated for me by Mr. Eggeling, I do not think that even this hope is meant to be realised. The MS. in question contains a few independent various readings, such as are found in all MSS., and owe their origin clearly to the jottings of individual students. When at the end of verse 6, I found the independent reading, vyutpannas tāvatā sarvā rīko vyākhyātum arhati, I expected that other various readings of the same character might follow. But after a few additions in the beginning, and those clearly taken from other parts of Sāyana's commentary, nothing of real importance could be gleaned from that MS. I may mention as more important specimens of marginal notes that, before the first punah kidrisam, on page 44, line 24, this MS. reads: athavā yaṃāsya devam iti sambandhaḥ, yaṃāsya prakāsakam ityarthaḥ, purohitam iti prthagviseshanam. And again, page 44, line 26, before punah kidrisam, this MS. adds: athavā ritviṃgam ritvigvid (vad) yaṃā nirvāhakam hotāram devānāṃ āhvātāram; tathā ratnadhātamanam. In the same line, after ratnānām, we read ramaniyadhanānām vā, taken from page 46, line 2. Various readings like these, however, occur on the first sheets only, soon after the MS. follows the usual and recognized text. For the later Ashākas, where all the MSS. are very deficient, and where an independent authority would be of real use, no Grantha MS. has as yet been discovered.
and that after all one cannot give up the whole of one's life to the collation of Oriental MSS. and the correction of proof-sheets. The two concluding volumes have long been ready for Press, and as soon as I can find leisure, they too shall be printed and published.

In now venturing to publish the first volume of my translation of the Rig-veda, I am fully aware that the fate which awaits it will be very different from that of my edition of the text and commentary. It is a mere contribution towards a better understanding of the Vedic hymns, and though I hope it may give in the main a right rendering of the sense of the Vedic poets, I feel convinced that on many points my translation is liable to correction, and will sooner or later be replaced by a more satisfactory one. It is difficult to explain to those who have not themselves worked at the Veda, how it is that, though we may understand almost every word, yet we find it so difficult to lay hold of a whole chain of connected thought, and to discover expressions that will not throw a wrong shade on the original features of the ancient words of the Veda. We have, on the one hand, to avoid giving to our translations too modern a character, or paraphrasing instead of translating; while, on the other, we cannot retain expressions which, if literally rendered in English or any modern tongue, would have an air of quaintness or absurdity totally foreign to the intention of the ancient poets. There
are, as all Vedic scholars know, whole verses which, as yet, yield no sense whatever. There are words the meaning of which we can only guess. Here, no doubt, a continued study will remove some of our difficulties, and many a passage that is now dark, will receive light hereafter from a happy combination. Much has already been achieved by the efforts of European scholars, but much more remains to be done; and our only chance of seeing any rapid progress made lies, I believe, in communicating freely what every one has found out by himself, and not minding if others point out to us that we have overlooked the very passage that would at once have solved our difficulties, that our conjectures were unnecessary, and our emendations wrong. True and honest scholars whose conscience tells them that they have done their best, and who care for the subject on which they are engaged more than for the praise of benevolent or the blame of malignant critics, ought not to take any notice of merely frivolous censure. There are mistakes, no doubt, of which we ought to be ashamed, and for which the only amende honorable we can make is to openly confess and retract them. But there are others, particularly in a subject like Vedic interpretation, which we should forgive, as we wish to be forgiven. This can be done without lowering the standard of true scholarship or vitiating the healthy tone of scientific morality. Kindness and gentleness are not
incompatible with earnestness,—far from it!—and where these elements are wanting, not only is the joy embittered which is the inherent reward of all bonâ fide work, but selfishness, malignity, aye, even untruthfulness, gain the upper hand, and the healthy growth of science is stunted. While in my translation of the Veda and in the remarks that I have to make in the course of my commentary, I shall frequently differ from other scholars, I hope I shall never say an unkind word of men who have done their best, and who have done what they have done in a truly scholarlike, that is, in a humble spirit. It would be unpleasant, even were it possible within the limits assigned, to criticise every opinion that has been put forward on the meaning of certain words or on the construction of certain verses of the Veda. I prefer, as much as possible, to vindicate my own translation, instead of examining the translations of other scholars, whether Indian or European. Sāyana's translation, as rendered into English by Professor Wilson, is before the world. Let those who take an interest in these matters compare it with the translation here proposed. In order to give readers who do not possess that translation, an opportunity of comparing it with my own, I have for a few hymns printed that as well as the translations of Langlois and Benfey on the same page with my own. Everybody will thus be enabled to judge of the peculiar character of each of these transla-
tions. That of Sāyana represents the tradition of India; that of Langlois is the ingenious, but thoroughly uncritical, guess-work of a man of taste; that of Benfey is the rendering of a scholar, who has carefully worked out the history of some words, but who assigns to other words either the traditional meaning recorded by Sāyana, or a conjectural meaning which, however, would not always stand the test of an intercomparison of all passages in which these words occur. I may say, in general, that Sāyana's translation was of great use to me in the beginning, though it seldom afforded help for the really difficult passages. Langlois' translation has hardly ever yielded real assistance, while I sincerely regret that Benfey's rendering does not extend beyond the first Mandala.

It may sound self-contradictory, if, after confessing the help which I derived from these translations, I venture to call my own the first translation of the Rig-veda. The word translation, however, has many meanings. I mean by translation, not a mere rendering of the hymns of the Rig-veda into English, French, or German, but a full account of the reasons which justify the translator in assigning such a power to such a word, and such a meaning to such a sentence. I mean by translation a real deciphering, a work like that which Burnouf performed in his first attempts at a translation of the Avesta,—a traduction raisonnée, if such an expression may be used. Without such a process,
without a running commentary, a mere translation of the ancient hymns of the Brahmans will never lead to any solid results. Even if the translator has discovered the right meaning of a word or of a whole sentence, his mere translation does not help us much, unless he shows us the process by which he has arrived at it, unless he places before us the pièces justificatives of his final judgment. The Veda teems with words that require a justification; not so much the words which occur but once or twice, though many of these are difficult enough, but rather the common words and particles, which occur again and again, which we understand to a certain point, and can render in a vague way, but which must be defined before they can be translated, and before they can convey to us any real and tangible meaning. It was out of the question in a translation of this character to attempt either an imitation of the original rhythm or metre, or to introduce the totally foreign element of rhyming. Such translations may follow by and by: at present a metrical translation would only be an excuse for an inaccurate translation.

While engaged in collecting the evidence on which the meaning of every word and every sentence must be founded, I have derived the most important assistance from the Sanskrit Dictionary of Professors Boehtlingk and Roth, which has been in course of publication during the last sixteen years. The Vedic portion of that Dictionary may,
I believe, be taken as the almost exclusive work of Professor Roth, and as such, for the sake of brevity, I shall treat it in my notes. It would be ungrateful were I not to acknowledge most fully the real benefit which this publication has conferred on every student of Sanskrit, and my only regret is that its publication has not proceeded more rapidly, so that even now years will elapse before we can hope to see it finished. But my sincere admiration for the work performed by the compilers of that Dictionary does not prevent me from differing, in many cases, from the explanations of Vedic words given by Professor Roth. If I do not always criticize Professor Roth's explanations when I differ from him, the reason is obvious. A dictionary without a full translation of each passage, or without a justification of the meanings assigned to each word, is only a preliminary step to a translation. It represents a first classification of the meanings of the same word in different passages, but it gives us no means of judging how, according to the opinion of the compiler; the meaning of each single word should be made to fit the general sense of a whole sentence. I do not say this in disparagement, for, in a dictionary, it can hardly be otherwise; I only refer to it in order to explain the difficulty I felt whenever I differed from Professor Roth, and was yet unable to tell how the meaning assigned by him to certain words would be justified by the author of the Dictionary himself. On this ground
I have throughout preferred to explain every step by which I arrived at my own renderings, rather than to write a running criticism of Professor Roth's Dictionary. My obligations to him I like to express thus once for all, by stating that whenever I found that I agreed with him, I felt greatly assured as to the soundness of my own rendering, while whenever I differed from him, I never did so without careful consideration.

The works, however, which I have hitherto mentioned, though the most important, are by no means the only ones that have been of use to me in preparing my translation of the Rig-veda. The numerous articles on certain hymns, verses, or single words occurring in the Rig-veda, published by Vedic scholars in Europe and India during the last thirty years, were read by me at the time of their publication, and have helped me to overcome difficulties, the very existence of which is now forgotten. If I go back still further, I feel that in grappling with the first and the greatest of difficulties in the study of the Veda, I and many others are more deeply indebted than it is possible to say, to one whose early loss has been one of the greatest misfortunes to Sanskrit scholarship. It was in Burnouf's lectures that we first learnt what the Veda was, and how it should form the foundation of all our studies. Not only did he most liberally communicate to his pupils his valuable MSS., and teach us how to use these tools, but the results of his own
experience were freely placed at our service, we were warned against researches which he knew to be useless, we were encouraged in undertakings which he knew to be full of promise. His minute analysis of long passages of Sâyana, his independent interpretations of the text of the hymns, his comparisons between the words and grammatical forms, the thoughts and legends of the Veda and Avesta, his brilliant divination checked by an inexorable sense of truth, and his dry logical method enlivened by sallies of humour and sparks of imaginative genius, though not easily forgotten and always remembered with gratitude, are now beyond the reach of praise or blame. Were I to criticise what he or other scholars have said and written many years ago, they might justly complain of such criticism. It is no longer necessary to prove that Nâbhânedishtha cannot mean 'new relatives,' or that there never was a race of Etendhras, or that the angels of the Bible are in no way connected with the Aṅgiras of the Vedic hymns; and it would, on the other hand, be a mere waste of time, were I to attempt to find out who first discovered that in the Veda deva does not always mean divine, but sometimes means brilliant. In fact, it could not be done. In a new subject like that of the interpretation of the Veda, there are certain things which everybody discovers who has eyes to see. Their discovery requires so little research that it seems almost an insult to say that they were dis-
covered by this or that scholar. Take, for instance, the peculiar pronunciation of certain words, rendered necessary by the requirements of Vedic metres. I believe that my learned friend Professor Kuhn was one of the first to call general attention to the fact that semivowels must frequently be changed into their corresponding vowels, and that long vowels must sometimes be pronounced as two syllables. It is clear, however, from Rosen's notes to the first Ashtaka (i. 1, 8), that he, too, was perfectly aware of this fact, and that he recognized the prevalence of this rule, not only with regard to semivowels (see his note to Rv. i. 2, 9) and long vowels which are the result of Sandhi, but likewise with regard to others that occur in the body of a word. 'Animadverte,' he writes, 'tres syllabas postremas vocis adhvarânam dipodiæ iambicæ munus sustinentes, penultima syllaba præter iambi prioris arsin, thesin quoque sequentis pedis ferente. Satis frequentia sunt, in hac præsertim dipodiæ iambicæ sede, exempla syllabæ natura longæ in tres moras productæ. De qua re nihil quidem memoratum invenio apud Pingalam aliosque qui de arte metrica scripserunt: sed numeros ita, ut modo dictum est, computandos esse, taciti agnoscre videntur, quum versus una syllaba mancus non eos offendat.'

Now this is exactly the case. The ancient grammarians, as we shall see, teach distinctly that where two vowels have coalesced into one according to
the rules of Sandhi, they may be pronounced as two syllables; and though they do not teach the same with regard to semivowels and long vowels occurring in the body of the word, yet they tacitly recognize that rule, by frequently taking its effects for granted. Thus in Sûtra 950 of the Prâtisâkhya, verse ix. iii, i, is called an Atyashti, and the first páda is said to consist of twelve syllables. In order to get this number, the author must have read,

āyā rūkā hārînyā pûnānaḥ.

Immediately after, verse iv. i, 3, is called a Dhriti, and the first páda must again have twelve syllables. Here therefore the author takes it for granted that we should read,

sâkhê sâkhâyam ābhî ā vâvritesvâ *.

No one, in fact, with any ear for rhythm, whether Saunaka and Pingala, or Rosen and Kuhn, could have helped observing these rules when reading the Veda. But it is quite a different case when we come to the question as to which words admit of such protracted pronunciation, and which do not. Here one scholar may differ from another according to the view he takes of the character of Vedic

* See also Sûtra 937 seq. I cannot find any authority for the statement of Professor Kuhn (Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 114) that according to the Rik-prâtisâkhya it is the first semivowel that must be dissolved, unless he referred to the remarks of the commentator to Sûtra 973.
metres, and here one has to take careful account of the minute and ingenious observations contained in numerous articles by Professors Kuhn, Bollensen, Grassmann, and others. With regard to the interpretation of certain words and sentences, too, it may happen that explanations which have taxed the ingenuity of some scholars to the utmost, seem to others so self-evident that they would hardly think of quoting anybody's name in support of them, to say nothing of the endless and useless work it would entail, were we obliged always to find out who was the first to propose this or that interpretation. It is impossible here to lay down general rules: — each scholar must be guided by his own sense of justice to others and by self-respect. Let us take one instance. From the first time that I read the fourth hymn of the Rig-veda, I translated the fifth and sixth verses:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{utā bruvantu nah nǐdaḥ nīḥ anyātah kit ārata,} \\
\text{dādhānāḥ índre īt dúvah,} \\
\text{utā nah su-bhāgān arīḥ vokēyuh dasma krishtāyah,} \\
\text{syāma īt índrasya sārmanī.}
\end{align*}
\]

1. Whether our enemies say, 'Move away elsewhere, you who offer worship to Indra only,' —

2. Or whether, O mighty one, all people call us blessed: may we always remain in the keeping of Indra.

About the general sense of this passage I imagined there could be no doubt, although one word in it, viz. arīḥ, required an explanation. Yet the variety
of interpretations proposed by different scholars is extraordinary. First, if we look to Sâyana, he translates:

1. May our priests praise Indra! O enemies, go away from this place, and also from another place! Our priests (may praise Indra), they who are always performing worship for Indra.

2. O destroyer of enemies! may the enemy call us possessed of wealth; how much more, friendly people! May we be in the happiness of Indra!

Professor Wilson did not follow Sâyana closely, but translated:

1. Let our ministers, earnestly performing his worship, exclaim: Depart, ye revilers, from hence and every other place (where he is adored).

2. Destroyer of foes, let our enemies say we are prosperous: let men (congratulate us). May we ever abide in the felicity (derived from the favour) of Indra.

Langlois translated:

1. Que (ces amis), en fêtant Indra, puissent dire: Vous, qui êtes nos adversaires, retirez-vous loin d’ici.

2. Que nos ennemis nous appellent des hommes fortunés, placés que nous sommes sous la protection d’Indra.

Stevenson translated:

1. Let all men again join in praising Indra. Avaunt ye profane scoffers, remove from hence, and from every other place, while we perform the rites of Indra.
2. O foe-destroyer, (through thy favour) even our enemies speak peaceably to us, the possessors of wealth; what wonder then if other men do so. Let us ever enjoy the happiness which springs from Indra's blessing.

Professor Benfey translated:

1. And let the scoffers say, They are rejected by every one else, therefore they celebrate Indra alone.

2. And may the enemy and the country proclaim us as happy, O destroyer, if we are only in Indra's keeping.

Professor Roth, s. v. anyátaḥ, took this word rightly in the sense of 'to a different place,' and must therefore have taken that sentence 'move away elsewhere' in the same sense in which I take it. Later, however, s. v. ar, he corrected himself, and proposed to translate the same words by 'you neglect something else.'

Professor Bollensen (Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 462), adopting to a certain extent the second rendering of Professor Roth in preference to that of Professor Benfey, endeavoured to show that the 'something else which is neglected,' is not something indefinite, but the worship of all the other gods, except Indra.

It might, no doubt, be said that every one of these translations contains something that is right, though mixed up with a great deal that is wrong; but to attempt for every verse of the Veda to quote and to criticise every previous translation, would
be an invidious and useless task. In the case just quoted, it might seem right to state that Professor Bollensen was the first to see that arīh should be joined with krishtāyah, and that he therefore proposed to alter it to arīḥ, as a nom. plur. But on referring to Rosen, I find that, to a certain extent, he had anticipated Professor Bollensen’s remark, for though, in his cautious way, he abstained from altering the text, yet he remarked: Possitne arīḥ pluralis esse, contracta terminatione, pro arayāḥ?

After these preliminary remarks I have to say a few words on the general plan of my translation. I do not attempt as yet a translation of the whole of the Rig-veda, and I therefore considered myself at liberty to group the hymns according to the deities to which they are addressed. By this process, I believe, a great advantage is gained. We see at one glance all that has been said of a certain god, and we gain a more complete insight into his nature and character. Something of the same kind had been attempted by the original collectors of the ten books, for it can hardly be by accident that each of them begins with hymns addressed to Agni, and that these are followed by hymns addressed to Indra. The only exception to this rule is the eighth Mandala, for the ninth being devoted to one deity, to Soma, can hardly be accounted an exception. But if we take the Rig-veda as a whole, we find hymns, addressed to the
same deities, not only scattered about in different books, but not even grouped together when they occur in one and the same book. Here, as we lose nothing by giving up the old arrangement, we are surely at liberty, for our own purposes, to put together such hymns as have a common object, and to place before the reader as much material as possible for an exhaustive study of each individual deity.

I give for each hymn the Sanskrit original in what is known as the Pada text, i.e. the text in which all words (pada) stand by themselves, as they do in Greek or Latin, without being joined together according to the rules of Sandhi. The text in which the words are thus joined, as they are in all other Sanskrit texts, is called the Sanhitā text. Whether the Pada or the Sanhitā text be the more ancient, may seem difficult to settle. As far as I can judge, they seem to me, in their present form, the product of the same period of Vedic scholarship. The Prātisākhyas, it is true, start from the Pada text, take it, as it were, for granted, and devote their rules to the explanation of those changes which that text undergoes in being changed into the Sanhitā text. But, on the other hand, the Pada text in some cases clearly presupposes the Sanhitā text. It leaves out passages which are repeated more than once, while the Sanhitā text always repeats these passages; it abstains from dividing the termination of the loca-
tive plural su, whenever in the Sanhitâ text, i.e. according to the rules of Sandhi, it becomes shu; hence nadîshu, aqishu, but ap-su; and it gives short vowels instead of the long ones of the Sanhitâ, even in cases where the long vowels are justified by the rules of the Vedic language. It is certain, in fact, that neither the Pada nor the Sanhitâ text, as we now possess them, represent the original text of the Veda. Both show clear traces of scholastic influences. But if we try to restore the original form of the Vedic hymns, we shall certainly arrive at some kind of Pada text rather than at a Sanhitâ text; nay, even in their present form, the original metre and rhythm of the ancient hymns of the Rishis are far more perceptible when the words are divided, than when we join them together throughout according to the rules of Sandhi. Lastly, for practical purposes, the Pada text is far superior to the Sanhitâ text in which the final and initial letters, that is, the most important letters of words, are constantly disguised, and liable therefore to different interpretations. Although in some passages we may differ from the interpretation adopted by the Pada text, and although certain Vedic words have, no doubt, been wrongly analysed and divided by Sâkalya, yet such cases are comparatively few, and where they occur, they are interesting as carrying us back to the earliest attempts of Vedic scholarship. In the vast majority of cases the divided
text, with a few such rules as we have to observe in reading Latin, nay, even in reading Pali verses, brings us certainly much nearer to the original utterance of the ancient Rishis than the amalgamated text.

The critical principles by which I have been guided in editing for the first time the text of the Rig-veda, require a few words of explanation, as they have lately been challenged on grounds which, I think, rest on a complete misapprehension of my previous statements on this subject.

As far as we are able to judge at present, we can hardly speak of various readings in the Vedic hymns, in the usual sense of that word. Various readings to be gathered from a collation of different MSS., now accessible to us, there are none. After collating a considerable number of MSS., I have succeeded, I believe, in fixing on three representative MSS., as described in the preface to the first volume of my edition of the Rig-veda. Even these MSS. are not free from blunders,—for what MS. is?—but these blunders have no claim to the title of various readings. They are lapsus calami, and no more; and, what is important, they have not become traditional*.

* Thus x. 101, 2, one of the Pada MSS. (P. 2) reads distinctly yāgñām prā kriñuta sakhāyah, but all the other MSS. have nayata, and there can be little doubt that it was the frequent repetition of the verb kri in this verse which led the writer to substitute kriñuta for nayata. No other MS., as far as I
The text, as deduced from the best MSS. of the Sanhitâ text, can be controlled by four independent checks. The first is, of course, a collation of the best MSS. of the Sanhitâ text.

The second check to be applied to the Sanhitâ text is a comparison with the Pada text, of which, again, I possessed at least one excellent MS., and several more modern copies.

am aware, repeats this blunder. In ix. 86, 34, the writer of the same MS. puts râgasi instead of dhâvasi, because his eye was caught by râgâ in the preceding line. x. 16, 5, the same MS. reads sâm gakkhasva instead of gakkhatâm, which is supported by S. 1, S. 2, P. 1, while S. 3. has a peculiar and more important reading, gakkhatât. x. 67, 6, the same MS. P. 2. has ví kakarthâ instead of ví kakarta.

A number of various readings which have been gleaned from Pandit Târânâtha’s Tulâdânâdipaddhati (see Trübner’s American and Oriental Literary Record, July 31, 1868) belong to the same class. They may be due either to the copyists of the MSS. which Pandit Târânâtha used while compiling his work, or they may by accident have crept into his own MS. Anyhow, not one of them is supported either by the best MSS. accessible in Europe, or by any passage in the Prâtisâkhya.

Rv. ix. 11, 2, read devayu instead of devayuh †.
   ix. 11, 4, " arkata " arkate †.
   ix. 14, 2, " yadī sabandhavah " yaddîptabandhavah †.
   ix. 16, 3, " anaptam " anuptam †.
   ix. 17, 2, " suvânâsa " stuvânâsa †.
   ix. 21, 2, " pravrinvanto " pravrinvato †.
   ix. 48, 2, " samvriktâ " samyukta †.
   ix. 49, 1, " no ’pâm " no yâm †.
   ix. 54, 3, " sûryâh " sûryam †.
   ix. 59, 3, " sîda ni " sîdati †.

† As printed by Pandit Târânâtha.
The third check was a comparison of this text with Śāyana's commentary, or rather with the text which is presupposed by that commentary. In the few cases where the Pada text seemed to differ from the Sanhitā text, a note was added to that effect, in the various readings of my edition; and the same was done, at least in all important cases, where Śāyana clearly followed a text at variance with our own.

The fourth check was a comparison of any doubtful passage with the numerous passages quoted in the Prātisākhya.

These were the principles by which I was guided in the critical restoration of the text of the Rigveda, and I believe I may say that the text as printed by me is more correct than any MS. now accessible, more trustworthy than the text followed by Śāyana, and in all important points identically the same with that text which the authors of the Prātisākhya followed in their critical researches in the fifth or sixth century before our era. I believe that starting from that date our text of the Veda is better authenticated, and supported by a more perfect *apparatus criticus*, than the text of any Greek or Latin author, and I do not think that diplomatic criticism can ever go beyond what has been achieved in the constitution of the text of the Vedic hymns.

Far be it from me to say that the *editio princeps* of the text thus constituted was printed without mistakes. But most of these mistakes are mistakes
which no attentive reader could fail to detect. Cases like ii. 35, 1, where gógishat instead of góshishat was printed three times, so as to perplex even Professor Roth, or ii. 12, 14, where sasamânám occurs three times instead of sasamânám, are, I believe, of rare occurrence. Nor do I think that, unless some quite unexpected discoveries are made, there ever will be a new critical edition, or, as we call it in Germany, a new recension of the hymns of the Rig-veda. If by collating new MSS., or by a careful study of the Prâtisâkhya, or by conjectural emendations, a more correct text could have been produced, we may be certain that a critical scholar like Professor Aufrecht would have given us such a text. But after carefully collating several MSS. of Professor Wilson's collection, and after enjoying the advantage of Professor Weber's assistance in collating the MSS. of the Royal Library at Berlin, and after a minute study of the Prâtisâkhya, he frankly states that in the text of the Rig-veda, transcribed in Roman letters, which he printed at Berlin, he followed my edition, and that he had to correct but a small number of misprints. For the two Mandalas which I had not yet published, I lent him the very MSS. on which my edition is founded; and there will be accordingly but few passages in these two concluding Mandalas, which I have still to publish, where the text will materially differ from that of his Romanised transcript.
No one, I should think, who is at all acquainted with the rules of diplomatic criticism, would easily bring himself to touch a text resting on such authorities as the text of the Rig-veda. What would a Greek scholar give, if he could say of Homer that his text was in every word, in every syllable, in every vowel, in every accent, the same as the text used by Peisistratos in the sixth century B.C. ! A text thus preserved in its integrity for so many centuries, must remain for ever the authoritative text of the Veda.

To remove, for instance, the hymns 49–59 in the eighth Mandala from their proper place, or count them by themselves as Vâlakhilya* hymns, seems to me little short of a critical sacrilege. Why Sâyana does not explain these hymns, I con-

* The earliest interpretation of the name Vâlakhilya is found in the Taittiriya-âranyaka i. 23. We are told that Prapâpati created the world, and in the process of creation the following interlude occurs:

sa tapo 'tapyata. sa tapas taptvā sarīram adhûnuta. tasya yan māmsam āsīt tato 'rūnāḥ ketavo vātaraśanā rishaya udatishtahan. ye nakhāḥ, te vaikhānasāḥ. ye bālāḥ, te bālakhilyāḥ.

He burned with emotion. Having burnt with emotion, he shook his body. From what was his flesh, the Rishis, called Arunas, Ketus, and Vātaraśanas, sprang forth. His nails became the Vaikhānasas, his hairs the Bālakhilyas.

The author of this allegory therefore took bāla or vāla in vālakhilya, not in the sense of child, but identified it with bāla, hair.

The commentator remarks with regard to tapas: nātra tapa upavāsādirūpam, kimtu srashtavyam vastu kidrisam iti paryā-lokanarūpam.
fess I do not know*; but whatever the reason was, it was not because they did not exist at his time, or because he thought them spurious. They are regularly counted in Kātyāyana's Sarvānukrama, though here the same accident has happened. One commentator, Shadgurusishya, the one most commonly used, does not explain them; but another commentator, Gagannātha, does explain them, exactly as they occur in the Sarvānukrama, only leaving out hymn 58. That these hymns had something peculiar in the eyes of native scholars, is clear enough. They may for a time have formed a separate collection, they may have been considered of more modern origin. I shall go even further than those who remove these hymns from the place which they have occupied for more than two thousand years. I admit they disturb the regularity both of the Mandala and the Ashtaka divisions, and I have pointed out myself that they are not counted in the ancient Anukramanīs ascribed to Saunaka; (History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 220.) But, on the other hand, verses taken from these hymns occur in all the other Vedas†; the hymns

*A similar omission was pointed out by Professor Roth. Verses 21–24 of the 53rd hymn of the third Mandala, which contain imprecations against Vasishtha, are left out by the writer of a Pada MS., and by a copyist of Sāyana's commentary, probably because they both belonged to the family of Vasishtha. See my edition of the Rig-veda, vol. ii. p. lvi, Notes.

† This is a criterion of some importance, and it might have
themselves are never included in the collections of Parisishtas or Khilas or apocryphal hymns, nor does Kâtyâyana ever mention mere Khilas in his Sarvâ- nukrâma. Eight of them are mentioned in the Brihadevatâ, without any allusion to their apocryphal character:

Parâny ashtau tu sûktâny rishinâm tigmategasâm,  
Aindrâny atra tu shadvimsah pragâtho bahudaivatah.  
Rig antyâgner akety agnih sûryam antyapado gagau.  
Praskanvas ka prishadhras ka prâdâd yad vastu kimkana  
Bhûrid iti tu sûktâbhyâm akhilam parikirtitam.  
Aindrâny ubhayam ity atra shal âgneyât parâni tu.  

*The next eight hymns belong to Rishis of keen intellect*; they are addressed to Indra, but the 26th Pragâtha (viii. 54, 3–4, which verses form the 26th couplet, if counting from viii. 49, 1) is addressed to many gods. The last verse (of these eight hymns), viii. 56, 5, beginning with the words akety agnih, is addressed to Agni, and the last

been mentioned, for instance, by Professor Bollensen in his interesting article on the Dvipadâ Virâg hymns ascribed to Parâsara (i. 65–70) that not a single verse of them occurs in any of the other Vedas.

* Lest Saunaka be suspected of having applied this epithet, tigmategas, to the Vâlakhilyas in order to fill the verse (pâda- pûraânârtham), I may point out that the same epithet is applied to the Vâlakhilyas in the Maitry-upanishad 2, 3. The nom. plur. which occurs there is tigmategasâh, and the commentator remarks: tigmategasas tivrategaso 'tyûrgitaprabhâvâh; tegasâ ityevamvidha etakkhâkhâsanketapâthas khândasah sarvatra.
foot celebrates Sûrya. Whatsoever Praskanva and Prishadhra gave (or, if we read prishadhhrâya, whatever Praskanva gave to Prishadhra), all that is celebrated in the two hymns beginning with bhûrît. After the hymn addressed to Agni (viii. 60, 1), there follow six hymns addressed to Indra, beginning with ubhayaṃ.

But the most important point of all is this, that these hymns, which exist both in the Pada and Sanhitâ texts, are quoted by the Prâtisâkhya, not only for general purposes, but for special passages occurring in them, and nowhere else. Thus in Sûtra 154, hetâyaḥ is quoted as one of the few words which does not require the elision of a following short a. In order to appreciate what is implied by this special quotation, it is necessary to have a clear insight into the mechanism of the Prâtisâkhya. Its chief object is to bring under general categories the changes which the separate words of the Pada text undergo when joined together in the Ārshî Sanhitâ, and to do this with the utmost brevity possible. Now the Sandhi rules, as observed in the Sanhitâ of the Rig-veda, are by no means so uniform and regular as they are in later Sanskrit, and hence it is sometimes extremely difficult to bring all the exceptional cases under more or less general rules. In our passage the author of the Prâtisâkhya endeavours to comprehend all the passages where an initial a in the Veda is not elided after a final e or o. In ordinary
Sanskrit it would be always elided, in the Sanhitā it is sometimes elided, and sometimes not. Thus the Prātisākhyā begins in Sūtra 139 by stating that if the short a stands at the beginning of a pāda or foot, it is always elided. Why it should be always elided in the very place where the metre most strongly requires that it should be pronounced, does not concern the author of the Prātisākhyā. He is a statistician, not a grammarian, and he therefore simply adds in Sūtra 153 the only three exceptional passages where the a, under these very circumstances, happens to be not elided. He then proceeds in Sūtra 139 to state that a is elided even in the middle of a pāda, provided it be light, followed by y or v, and these, y or v, again followed by a light vowel. Hence the Sanhitā writes tē ’vādan, so ’yām, but not sikshanto ’vratam, for here the a of avratam is heavy; nor mitramaho ’vadyāt, for here the a following the v is heavy.

Then follows again an extension of this rule, viz. in the case of words ending in āvo. After these, a short a, even if followed by other consonants besides y or v, may be elided, but the other conditions must be fulfilled, i.e. the short a must be light, and the vowel of the next syllable must again be light. Thus the Sanhitā writes indeed gāvo ’bhītaḥ, but not gāvo ’gman, because here the a is heavy, being followed by two consonants.

After this, a more general rule, or, more correctly, a more comprehensive observation is made,
viz. that under all circumstances initial a is elided, if the preceding word ends in aye, ayah, ave, or avah. As might be expected, however, so large a class must have numerous exceptions, and these can only be collected by quoting every word ending in these syllables, or every passage in which the exceptions occur. Before these exceptions are enumerated, some other more or less general observations are made, providing for the elision of initial a. Initial a, according to Sûtra 142, is to be elided if the preceding word is vah, and if this vah is preceded by â, na, pra, kva, kitrah, savitâ, eva, or kah. There is, of course, no intelligible reason why, if these words precede vah, the next a should be elided. It is a mere statement of facts, and, generally speaking, these statements are minutely accurate. There is probably no verse in the whole of the Rig-veda where an initial a after vah is elided, unless these very words precede, or unless some other observation has been made to provide for the elision of the a. For instance, in v. 25, 1, we find vah preceded by akkha, which is not among the words just mentioned, and here the Sanhitâ does not elide the a of agnim, which follows after vah. After all these more or less general observations as to the elision of an initial a are thus exhausted, the author of the Prâtisâkhya descends into particulars, and gives lists, first, of words the initial a of which is always elided; secondly, of words which, if preceding, require under
all circumstances the elision of the initial a of the next word, whatever may have been said to the contrary in the preceding Sûtras. Afterwards, he gives a number of passages which defy all rules, and must be given on their own merits, and as they stand in the Sanhitâ. Lastly, follow special exceptions to the more or less general rules given before. And here, among these special exceptions, we see that the author of the Prâtisâkhya finds it necessary to quote a passage from a Válakhilya hymn in which hetáyah occurs, i.e. a word ending in ayah, and where, in defiance of Sûtra 149, which required the elision of a following initial a under all circumstances (sarvathâ), the initial a of asya is not elided; viii. 50, 2, Sanhitâ, satânikâ hetáyo asya. It might be objected that the Prâtisâkhya only quotes hetáyah as an exceptional word, and does not refer directly to the verse in the Válakhilya hymn. But fortunately hetáyah occurs but twice in the whole of the Rig-veda; and in the other passage where it occurs, i. 190, 4, neither the rule nor the exception as to the elision of an initial a, could apply. The author of the Prâtisâkhya therefore makes no distinction between the Válakhilya and any other hymns of the Rig-veda, and he would have considered his phonetic statistics equally at fault, if it had been possible to quote one single passage from the hymns viii. 49 to 59, as contravening his observations, as if such passages had been alleged from the hymns of Vasishtha or Visvâmitra.
It would lead me too far, were I to enter here into similar cases in support of the fact that the Prâtiśâkhya makes no distinction between the Vâlakhilya and any other hymns of the Rig-veda-sanhitâ*. But I doubt whether the bearing of this fact has ever been fully realised. Here we see that the absence of the elision of a short a which follows after a word ending in ayah, was considered of sufficient importance to be recorded in a special rule, because in most cases the Sanhitâ elides an initial a, if preceded by a word ending in ayah. What does this prove? It proves, unless all our views on the chronology of Vedic literature are wrong, that in the fifth century B.C. at least, or previously rather to the time when the Prâtiśâkhya was composed, both the Pada and the Sanhitâ texts were so firmly settled that it was impossible, for the sake of uniformity or regularity, to omit one single short a; and it proves à fortiori, that the hymn in which that irregular short a occurs, formed at that time part of the Vedic canon. I confess I feel sometimes frightened by the stringency of this argument, and I should like to see a possibility by which we could explain the addition, not of the Vâlakhilya hymns only, but of other much more modern sounding hymns, at a later time than the period of the Prâtiśâkhyas. But until that possi-

* The Prâtiśâkhya takes into account both the Sâkala and Bâshkala sâkhâs, as may be seen from Sûtra 1057.
bility is shown, we must abide by our own conclusions; and then I ask, who is the critic who would dare to tamper with a canon of scripture of which every iota was settled before the time of Cyrus, and which we possess in exactly that form in which it is described to us by the authors of the Prâtisâkhya? I say again, that I am not free from misgivings on the subject, and my critical conscience would be far better satisfied if we could ascribe the Prâtisâkhya and all it presupposes to a much later date. But until that is done, the fact remains that the two divergent texts, the Pada and Sanhitâ, which we now possess, existed, as we now possess them, previous to the time of the Prâtisâkhya: they have not diverged nor varied since, and the vertex to which they point, starting from the distance of the two texts as measured by the Prâtisâkhya, carries us back far beyond the time of Saunaka, if we wish to determine the date of the first authorised collection of the hymns, both in their Pada and in their Sanhitâ form.

Instances abound, if we compare the Pada and Sanhitâ texts, where, if uniformity between the two texts had been the object of the scholars of the ancient Parishads, the lengthening or shortening of a vowel would at once have removed the apparent discordance between the two traditional texts. Nor should it be supposed that such minute discordances between the two, as the length or shortness of a vowel, were always rendered necessary by the
requirements of the metre, and that for that reason
the ancient students or the later copyists of the
Veda abstained from altering the peculiar spelling
of words, which seemed required by the exigencies
of the metre in the Sanhitâ text, but not in the Pada
text. Though this may be true in some cases, it is
not so in all. There are short vowels in the Sanhitâ
where, according to grammar, we expect long vowels,
and where, according to metre, there was no necessity
for shortening them. Yet in these very places all the
MSS. of the Sanhitâ text give the irregular short,
and all the MSS. of the Pada text the regular long
vowel, and the authors of the Prâtisâkhya bear
witness that the same minute difference existed at
their own time, nay, previous to their own time. In
vii. 60, 12, the Sanhitâ text gives:

iyám deva puróhitir yuvábhyâm yagnûshu mitrâ-
varunâv akâri.

This primacy, O (two) gods, was made for you
two, O Mitra and Varuna, at the sacrifices!

Here it is quite clear that deva is meant for a
dual, and ought not to have been devâ or devau. The
metre does not require a short syllable, and yet
all the Sanhitâ MSS. read devâ, and all the Pada
MSS. read devâ; and what is more important, the
authors of the Prâtisâkhya had to register this small
divergence of the two texts, which existed in their
time as it exists in our own*.

* See Prâtisâkhya, Sûtra 309 seq., where several more instances
of the same kind are given.
Nor let it be supposed, that the writers of our MSS. were so careful and so conscientious that they would, when copying MSS., regulate every consonant or vowel according to the rules of the Prātisākhya. This is by no means the case. The writers of Vedic MSS. are on the whole more accurate than the writers of other MSS., but their learning does not seem to extend to a knowledge of the minute rules of the Prātisākhya, and they will commit occasionally the very mistakes against which they are warned by the Prātisākhya. Thus the Prātisākhya (Sūtra 799) warns the students against a common mistake of changing vaiyasva into vayyasva, i.e. by changing ai to a, and doubling the semivowel y. But this very mistake occurs in S. 2, and another MS. gives vaiyyasva. See p. xlvii.

If these arguments are sound, if nothing can be said against the critical principles by which I have been guided in editing the text of the Rig-veda, if the fourfold check, described above, fulfils every requirement that could be made for restoring that text which was known to Sāyana, and which was known, probably 2000 years earlier, to the authors of the Prātisākhyas, what can be the motives, it may fairly be asked, of those who clamour for a new and more critical edition, and who imagine that the editio princeps of the Rig-veda will share the fate of most of the editiones principes of the Greek and Roman classics, and be supplanted by new editions founded on the col-
lation of other MSS.? No one could have rejoiced more sincerely than I did at the publication of the Romanised transliteration of the Rig-veda, carried out with so much patience and accuracy by Professor Aufrecht. It showed that there was a growing interest in this, the only true Veda; it showed that even those who could not read Sanskrit in the original Devanāgarī, wished to have access to the original text of these ancient hymns; it showed that the study of the Veda had a future before it like no other book of Sanskrit literature. My learned friend Professor Aufrecht has been most unfairly charged with having printed this Romanised text *me insciente vel invito*. My edition of the Rig-veda is *publici juris*, like any edition of Homer or Plato, and anybody might have reprinted it either in Roman or Devanāgarī letters. But far from keeping me in ignorance of his useful enterprise, Professor Aufrecht applied to me for the loan of the MSS. of the two Mandalas which I had not yet published, and I lent them to him most gladly because, by seeing them printed at once, I felt far less guilty in delaying the publication of the last volumes of my edition of the text and commentary. Nor could anything have been more honourable than the way in which Professor Aufrecht speaks of the true relation of his Romanised text to my edition. That there are misprints, and I, speaking for myself, ought to say mistakes also, in my edition of the Rig-veda, I
know but too well; and if Professor Aufrecht, after carefully transcribing every word, could honestly say that their number is small, I doubt whether other scholars will be able to prove that their number is large. I believe I may with the same honesty return Professor Aufrecht's compliment, and considering the great difficulty of avoiding misprints in Romanised transcripts, I have always thought and I have always said that his reprint of the hymns of the Veda is remarkably correct and accurate. What, however, I must protest against, and what, I feel sure, Professor Aufrecht himself would equally protest against, is the supposition, and more than supposition of certain scholars, that wherever his Latin transcript varies from my own Devanâgari text, Professor Aufrecht is right, and I am wrong, that his various readings rest on the authority of new MSS., and constitute in fact a new recension of the Vedic hymns. Against this supposition I must protest most strongly, not for my own sake, but for the sake of the old book, and, still more, for the sake of the truth. No doubt it is natural to suppose that where a later edition differs from a former edition, it does so intentionally; and I do not complain of those who, without being able to have recourse to MSS. in order to test the authority of various readings, concluded that wherever the new text differed from the old, it was because the old text was at fault. In order to satisfy my own conscience on this point, I have collated a
number of passages where Professor Aufrecht's text differs from my own, and I feel satisfied that in the vast majority of cases, I am right and he is wrong, and that his variations do not rest on the authority of MSS. I must not shrink from the duty of making good this assertion, and I therefore proceed to an examination of such passages as have occurred to me on occasionally referring to his text, pointing out the readings both where he is right, and where he is wrong. The differences between the two texts may appear trifling, but I shall not avail myself of that plea. On the contrary, I quite agree with those scholars who hold that in truly critical scholarship there is nothing trifling. Besides, it is in the nature of the case that what may, by a stretch of the word, be called various readings in the Veda, must be confined to single letters or accents, and can but seldom extend to whole words, and never to whole sentences. I must therefore beg my readers to have patience while I endeavour to show that the text of the Rig-veda, as first published by me, though by no means faultless, was nevertheless not edited in so perfunctory a manner as some learned critics seem to suppose, and that it will not be easy to supplant it either by a collation of new MSS., such as are accessible at present, or by occasional references to the Prātisākhya.

I begin with some mistakes of my own, mistakes which I might have avoided, if I had always consulted the Prātisākhya, where single words or whole
passages of the Veda are quoted. Some of these mistakes have been removed by Professor Aufrecht, others appear in his transcript as they appear in my own edition.

I need hardly point out passages where palpable misprints in my edition have been repeated in Professor Aufrecht's text. I mean by palpable misprints, cases where a glance at the Pada text or at the Sanhitâ text or a reference to Sâyana's commentary would show at once what was intended. Thus, for instance, in vi. 15, 3, vridhé, as I had printed in the Sanhitâ, was clearly a misprint for vridhó, as may be seen from the Pada, which gives vridháh, and from Sâyana. Here, though Professor Aufrecht repeats vridhé, I think it hardly necessary to show that the authority of the best MSS. (S. 2. alone contains a correction of vridhó to vridhé) is in favour of vridháh, whatever we may think of the relative value of these two readings. One must be careful, however, in a text like that of the Vedic hymns, where the presence or absence of a single letter or accent begins to become the object of the most learned and painstaking discussions, not to claim too large an indulgence for misprints. A misprint in the Sanhitâ, if repeated in the Pada, or if admitted even in the commentary of Sâyana, though it need not be put down to the editor's deplorable ignorance, becomes yet a serious matter, and I willingly take all the blame which is justly due for occasional accidents of this
character. Such are, for instance, ii. 12, 14, sasamānām instead of sasamānām; i. 124, 4, sudhyūvah, in the Pada, instead of sundhyūvah; and the substitution in several places of a short u instead of a long ū in such forms as sūsāvāma, when occurring in the Pada; cf. i. 166, 14; 167, 9.

It is clear from Sūtra 819 and 163, 5, that the two words úṭī īndra in iv. 29, 1, should not be joined together, but that in the Sanhitā the hiatus should remain. Hence úṭīndra, as printed in my edition and repeated in Professor Aufrecht's, should be corrected, and the hiatus be preserved, as it is in the fourth verse of the same hymn, úṭī itthā. MSS. S. 1, S. 3. are right; in S. 2. the words are joined.

It follows from Sūtra 799 that to double the y in vaiyasva is a mistake, but a mistake which had to be pointed out and guarded against as early as the time of the Prātisākhya. In viii. 26, 11, therefore, vaiyyasvāsa, as printed in my edition and repeated in Professor Aufrecht's, should be changed to vaiyasvāsa. MSS. S. 1, S. 3. are right, likewise P. 1, P. 2; but S. 2. has the double mistake vayyasvāsa, as described in the Prātisākhya; another MS. of Wilson's has vaiyy. The same applies to viii. 23, 24, and viii. 24, 23. P. 1. admits the mistaken spelling vayyasva:

Some corrections that ought to be made in the Padapātha only, as printed in my edition, are pointed out in a note to Sūtra 738 of the Prātisākhya. Thus,
according to Sūtra 583, 6, sr̥yāḥ in the Pada text of ii. 10, 2, should be changed to sr̥uyāḥ. MSS. P. 1, P. 2. have the short u.

In v. 7, 8, I had printed sūkīh shma, leaving the a of shma short in accordance with the Prātisākhya, Sūtra 514, where a string of words is given before which sma must not be lengthened, and where under No. II. we find yāsmai. Professor Aufrecht has altered this, and gives the a as long, which is wrong. The MSS. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have the short a.

Another word before which sma ought not to be lengthened is māvate. Hence, according to Sūtra 514, 14, I ought not to have printed in vi. 65, 4, shmā māvate, but shma māvate. Here Professor Aufrecht has retained the long â, which is wrong. MSS. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have the short a.

It follows from Sūtra 499 that in i. 138, 4, we should not lengthen the vowel of sū. Hence, instead of asyā ̀u shū na úpa sātāye, as printed in my edition and repeated by Professor Aufrecht, we should read asyā ̀u shū na úpa sātāye. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have short u.

In vii. 31, 4, I had by mistake printed viddhī instead of viddhī. The same reading is adopted by Professor Aufrecht (ii. p. 24), but the authority of the Prātisākhya, Sūtra 445, can hardly be overruled. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have viddhī.

While in cases like these, the Prātisākhya is an authority which, as far as I can judge, ought to overrule the authority of every MS., however ancient,
we must in other cases depend either on the testimony of the best MSS. or be guided, in fixing on the right reading, by Sāyana and the rules of grammar. I shall therefore, in cases where I cannot consider Professor Aufrecht's readings as authoritative improvements, have to give my reasons why I adhere to the readings which I had originally adopted.

In v. 9, 4, I had printed by mistake purú yó instead of purú yó. I had, however, corrected this misprint in my edition of the Prātisākhya, 393, 532. Professor Aufrecht decides in favour of purú with a short u, but against the authority of the MSS., S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, which have purú.

It was certainly a great mistake of mine, though it may seem more excusable in a Romanised transcript, that I did not follow the writers of the best MSS. in their use of the Avagraha, or, I should rather say, of that sign which, as far as the Veda is concerned, is very wrongly designated by the name of Avagraha. Avagraha, according to the Prātisākhya, never occurs in the Sanhitā text, but is the name given to that halt, stoppage, or pause which in the Pada text separates the component parts of compound words. That pause has the length of one short vowel, i. e. one mātrā. Of course, nothing is said by the Prātisākhya as to how the pause should be represented graphically, but it is several times alluded to as of importance in the recitation and accentuation of the Veda. What we have been
in the habit of calling Avagraha is by the writers of certain MSS. of the Sanhîta text used as the sign of the Vivritti or hiatus. This hiatus, however, is very different from the Avagraha, for while the Avagraha has the length of one mâtâ, the Vivritti or hiatus has the length of \( \frac{1}{4} \) mâtâ, if the two vowels are short; of \( \frac{1}{2} \) mâtâ, if either vowel is long; of \( \frac{3}{4} \) mâtâ, if both vowels are long. Now I have several times called attention to the fact that though this hiatus is marked in certain MSS. by the sign s, I have in my edition omitted it, because I thought that the hiatus spoke for itself and did not require a sign to attract the attention of European readers; while, on the contrary, I have inserted that sign where MSS. hardly ever use it, viz. when a short initial a is elided after a final e or o; (see my re-
marks on pp. 36, 39, of my edition of the Prâtisâkhya.) Although I thought, and still think, that this use of the sign s is more useful for practical purposes, yet I regret that, in this one particular, I should have deviated from the authority of the best MSS., and caused some misunderstandings on the part of those who have made use of my edition. If, for instance, I had placed the sign of the Vivritti, the s, in its proper place, or if, at least, I had not inserted it where, as we say, the initial a has been elided after e or o, Professor Bollensen would have seen at once that the authors of the Prâtisâkhyas fully agree with him in looking on this change, not as an elision, but as a contraction. If, as sometimes
happens, final o or e remain unchanged before initial short a, this is called the Pañkâla and Prâkya padavritti (Sûtra ii.37). If, on the contrary, final o or e become one (ekâbhavati) with the initial short a, this is called the Abhinihita sandhi (Sûtra ii.38). While the former, the hiatus of the Pañkâla and Eastern schools, is marked by the writers of several MSS. by the sign s, the Abhinihita sandhi, being a sandhi, is not marked by any sign*.

i. 3, 12. râgati (Aufr. p. 2) instead of râgati (M. M. vol. i. p. 75) is wrong.

i. 7, 9. ya ékah (Aufr. p. 5) should be yâ ékah (M. M. vol. i. p. 110), because the relative pronoun is never without an accent. The relative particle yathâ may be without an accent, if it stands at the end of a páda; and though there are exceptions to this rule, yet in viii. 21, 5, where Professor Aufrecht gives yathâ, the MSS. are unanimous in favour of yathâ (M. M. vol. iv. p. 480). See Phit-sûtra, ed. Kielhorn, P. 54.

i. 10, 11. â tû (Aufr. p. 7) should be â tû (M. M. vol. i. p. 139), because â is never without the accent.

i. 10, 12. jûśhtâh, which Professor Aufrecht specially mentions as having no final Visarga in the Pada, has the Visarga in all the MSS., (Aufr. p. 7, M. M. vol. i. p. 140.)

* As to the system or want of system, according to which the Abhinihita sandhi take place in the Sanhitâ, see p. xxxv seq.
i. 11, 4. kávir (Aufr. p. 7) should be kavír (M. M. vol. i. p. 143).

i. 22, 8. read rādhāmsī.

i. 40, 1 and 6. There is no excuse for the accent either on tvémahe or on vókema, while sákāñ in i. 51, 11, ought to have the accent on the first syllable.

i. 49, 3. Rosen was right in not eliding the a in divó ántebhyah. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. preserve the initial a, nor does the Prātisākhya anywhere provide for its suppression.

i. 54, 8. kshātram (Aufr. p. 46) is a mere misprint for kshatrám.

i. 55, 7. vandanāsrūd (Aufr. p. 47) instead of vandanāsrud (M. M. vol. i. p. 514) is wrong.


i. 61, 7. read víshnuh; i. 64, 2. read súkayah; i. 64, 5. read dhūtayah.

i. 61, 16. Rosen had rightly printed hāriyoganá with a long ā both in the Sanhitā and Pada texts, and I ought not to have given the short ā instead. All the MSS., S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, P. 1, and P. 2, give the long ā. Professor Aufrecht gives the short ā in the Pada, which is wrong.

i. 67, 2 (4). vidántim (M. M. vol. i. p. 594) is perfectly right, as far as the authority of the MSS. and of Sāyana is concerned, and should not have been altered to vindántim (Aufr. p. 57).
i. 72, 2. read vatsám; i. 72, 6. read pasūñ; i. 76, 3. read dhákshy; i. 82, i. read yadā.

i. 83, 3. Rosen was right in giving ásamyattah. I gave ásamyatal on the authority of P. i, but all the other MSS. have tt.

i. 84, i. indra (Aufr. p. 68) cannot have the accent on the first syllable, because it does not stand at the beginning of a pāda (M. M. vol. i. p. 677). The same applies to índra, vi. 41, 4, (Aufr. p. 429) instead of indra (M. M. vol. iii. p. 734); to ágne, i. 140, 12, (Aufr. p. 130) instead of agne (M. M. vol. ii. p. 133). In iii. 36, 3, on the contrary, indra, being at the head of a pāda, ought to have the accent on the first syllable, índra (M. M. vol. ii. p. 855), not indra (Aufr. p. 249). The same mistake occurs again, iii. 36, 10, (Aufr. p. 250); iv. 32, 7, (Aufr. p. 305); iv. 32, 12, (Aufr. p. 305); viii. 3, 12, (Aufr. ii. p. 86). In v. 61, i, naraḥ should have no accent; whereas in vii. 91, 3, it should have the accent on the first syllable. In viii. 8, 19, vipanyú should have no accent, and Professor Aufrecht gives it correctly in the notes, where he has likewise very properly removed the Avagraha which I had inserted.

i. 88, i. read yāta (M. M. vol. i. p. 708), not yātha (Aufr. p. 72).

i. 90, i. read rīgunitī; i. 94, ii. read yavasādo (M. M. vol. i. p. 766), not yayasādo (Aufr. p. 80).

i. 118, 9. abhibhūtim (Aufr. p. 105) instead of abhibhūtim (M. M. vol. i. p. 957) cannot be right, considering that in all other passages abhibhūti has the
accent on the second syllable. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have the accent on the i.

i. 128, 4. ghritasrûr (Aaufr. p. 117) instead of ghritasrûr (M. M. vol. ii. p. 52) is wrong.

i. 144, 2. read párîvritâh (M. M. vol. ii. p. 155) instead of párîvritâh (Aaufr. p. 133).

i. 145, 5. Professor Aufrecht (p. 134) gives upamsyâm, both in the Sanhitâ and Pada texts, as having the accent on the last syllable. I had placed the accent on the penultimate, (Pada, upa-másyâm, vol. ii. p. 161,) and whatever may be the reading of other MSS., this is the only possible accentuation. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have the right accent.

i. 148, 4. pûrûni (Aaufr. p. 136) instead of purûni (M. M. vol. ii. p. 170) does not rest, as far as I know, on the authority of any MSS. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have purûni.

i. 151, 7. gakkhat or (Aaufr. p. 137) should be gâkkhat or (M. M. vol. ii. p. 181).

i. 161, 12. All the Pada MSS. read prâ ábravit, separating the two words and accentuating each. Though the accent is irregular, yet, considering the peculiar construction of the verse, in which prâ and prô are used as adverbs rather than as prepositions, I should not venture with Professor Aufrecht (p. 144) to write prá abravit.

i. 163, 11. dhrâgîman (Aaufr. p. 147) instead of dhrâgîmân (M. M. vol. ii. p. 245) is wrong.

i. 163, 13. gamyâ (Aaufr. p. 148) instead of gamyâ (M. M. vol. ii. p. 246) is wrong.

i. 164, 38. The first kikyúḥ ought to have the accent, and has it in all the MSS., (Aufr. p. 151, M. M. vol. ii. p. 278.)

i. 165, 5. A mere change of accent may seem a small matter, yet it is frequently of the highest importance in the interpretation of the Veda. Thus in i. 165, 5, I had, in accordance with the MSS. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, printed étān (vol. ii. p. 293) with the accent on the first syllable. Professor Aufrecht alters this into étān (p. 153), which, no doubt, would be the right form, if it were intended for the accusative plural of the pronoun, but not if it is meant, as it is here, for the accusative plural of ēta, the speckled deer of the Maruts.

i. 165, 15. yāsishta (Aufr. p. 154) instead of yāsīshta (M. M. vol. ii. p. 298) is not supported by any MSS.


i. 177, 1. yuktā, which I had adopted from MS. S. 3 (prima manu), is not supported by other MSS., though P. 2. reads yuttkā. Professor Aufrecht, who had retained yuktā in the text, has afterwards corrected it to yuktvā, and in this he was right. In i. 177, 2, gāhi for yāhi is wrong.

i. 188, 4. astrīnān (Aufr. p. 171) instead of astrīnan (M. M. vol. ii. p. 395) can only be a misprint.
ii. 29, 6. kártaśd (Aufr. p. 203) instead of kartād (M. M. vol. ii. p. 560) is wrong.


iii. 17, 1. igyate (Aufr. p. 232) instead of agyate (M. M. vol. ii. p. 722) is impossible.

iii. 47, 1. Professor Aufrecht (p. 256) puts the nominative īndro instead of the vocative indra, which I had given (vol. ii. p. 902). I doubt whether any MSS. support that change (S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have indra), but it is clear that Sāyana takes indra as a vocative, and likewise the Nirukta.

iii. 50, 2. Professor Aufrecht (p. 258) gives asya, both in the Sanhitā and Pada, without the accent on the last syllable. But all the MSS. that I know (S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, P. 1, P. 2), give it with the accent on the last syllable (M. M. vol. ii. p. 912), and this no doubt is right. The same mistake occurs again in iii. 51, 10, (Aufr. p. 259); iv. 5, 11, (Aufr. p. 281); iv. 36, 2, (Aufr. p. 309); v. 12, 3, (Aufr. p. 337); while in viii. 103, 9, (Aufr. ii. p. 195) the MSS. consistently give asya as unaccented, whereas Professor Aufrecht, in this very passage, places the accent on the last syllable. On the same page (p. 259) amandan, in the Pada, is a misprint for ámandan.

iii. 53, 18. asi (Aufr. p. 262) instead of ási (M. M. vol. ii. p. 934) is wrong, because hi requires that the
accent should remain on ási. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, P. 1, P. 2. have ási.

iv. 4, 7. svá áyushe (Aufr. p. 279) instead of svá áyushi (M. M. vol. iii. p. 37) is not supported by any good MSS., nor required by the sense of the passage. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, P. 1, P. 2. have áyushi.

iv. 5, 7. árupitam, in the Pada, (Aufr. p. 280) instead of árupitam (M. M. vol. iii. p. 45) is right, as had been shown in the Prátišákhya, Sútra 179, though by a misprint the long á of the Sanhítā had been put in the place of the short a of the Pada.


iv. 15, 2. yáti, with the accent on the first syllable, is supported by all MSS. against yáti (Aufr. p. 287). The same applies to yáti in iv. 29, 2, and to várante in iv. 31, 9.

iv. 18, 11. amî, without any accent (Aufr. p. 293), instead of amî (M. M. vol. iii. p. 105) is wrong, because amî is never unaccented.

iv. 21, 9. no, without an accent (Aufr. p. 296), instead of nó (M. M. vol. iii. p. 120) is wrong.

iv. 26, 3. átithigvam (Aufr. p. 300) instead of atithigvám (M. M. vol. iii. p. 140) and vi. 47, 22. átithigvasya (Aufr. p. 437) instead of atithigvásyā (M. M. vol. iii. p. 776) are wrong, for atithigvá never occurs again except with the accent on the last syllable. The MSS. do not vary. Nor do they vary in the accentuation of kútsa: hence kutsám (Aufr. p. 300) should be kútsam (M. M. vol. iii. p. 139).
iv. 36, 6. Professor Aufrecht (p. 309) has altered the accent of āvishuh into āvishūh, but the MSS. are unanimous in favour of āvishuh (M. M. vol. iii. p. 181).

Again in iv. 41, 9, the MSS. support the accentuation of āgman (M. M. vol. iii. p. 200), while Professor Aufrecht (p. 313) has altered it to agman.

iv. 42, 9. ādāsat, being preceded by hī, ought to have the accent; (Aufrecht, p. 314, has adāsat without the accent.) For the same reason, v. 29, 3, āvindat (M. M. vol. iii. p. 342) ought not to have been altered to avindat (Aufr. p. 344).

iv. 50, 4. vyóman is a misprint for vyòman.

v. 15, 5. Professor Aufrecht (p. 338) writes dirghām instead of dōgham (M. M. vol. iii. p. 314). This, no doubt, was done intentionally, and not by accident, as we see from the change of accent. But dōgham, though it occurs but once, is supported in this place by all the best MSS., and has been accepted by Professor Roth in his Dictionary.

v. 34, 4. prāyato (Aufr. p. 351) instead of prāyatā (M. M. vol. iii. p. 371) is wrong.

v. 42, 9. visārmānam (Aufr. p. 358) instead of visar-mānam (M. M. vol. iii. p. 402) is wrong.

v. 44, 4. parvanē (Aufr. p. 360) instead of pravanē (M. M. vol. iii. p. 415) is wrong.

v. 83, 4. vānti (Aufr. p. 389) instead of vānti (M. M. vol. iii. p. 554) is supported by no MSS.

v. 85, 6. āsiṅlāntih (Aufr. p. 391) instead of āsiṅlāntih (M. M. vol. iii. p. 560) is not supported
either by MSS. or by grammar, as sīṅk belongs to the Tud-class. On the same grounds isháyantah, vi. 16, 27 (M. M. vol. iii. p. 638), ought not to have been changed to ishayantah (Aufr. p. 408), nor vi. 24, 7, avakarsáyanti (M. M. vol. iii. p. 687) into avakársa-yanti (Aufr. p. 418).

vi. 46, 10. read girvanas (M. M. vol. iii. p. 763) instead of girvanas (Aufr. p. 435).

vi. 60, 10. krvóti (Aufr. p. 450) instead of krvóti (M. M. vol. iii. p. 839) is wrong.

vii. 40, 4. aryamá ápah (Aufr. ii. p. 35), in the Pada, instead of aryamá ápah (M. M. vol. iv. p. 81) is wrong.

vii. 51, 1. ádityánám (Aufr. ii. p. 40) instead of ádityánám (M. M. vol. iv. p. 103) is wrong.

vii. 64, 2. ilám (Aufr. ii. p. 50) instead of ilám (M. M. vol. iv. p. 146) is wrong. In the same verse gopáh in the Pada should be changed in my edition to gopá.

vii. 66, 5. yó (Aufr. ii. p. 51) instead of yé (M. M. vol. iv. p. 151) is indeed supported by S. 3, but evidently untenable on account of atipíprati.

vii. 72, 3. In abudhran Professor Aufrecht has properly altered the wrong spelling abudhnan; and, as far as the authority of the best MSS. is concerned (S. 1, S. 2, S. 3), he is also right in putting a final n, although Professor Bollensen prefers the dental n; (Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. xxii. p. 599.) The fact is that Vedic MSS. use the Anusvāra dot for final nasals before all class-letters, and leave it to us to interpret that dot according to the letter which
follows. Before I felt quite certain on this point, I have in several cases retained the dot, as given by the MSS., instead of changing it, as I ought to have done according to my system of writing Devanâgarî, into the corresponding nasal, provided it represents an original n. In i. 71, 1, S. 2, S. 3 have the dot in agushran, but S. 1 has dental n. In ix. 87, 5, asvigran has the dot; i.e. S. 1 has the dot, and nkh, dental n joined to kh; S. 2 has nkh without the dot before the n; S. 3 has the dot, and then kh. In iv. 24, 6, the spelling of the Sanhitâ ávivenam tám would leave it doubtful whether we ought to read ávivenan tám or ávivenam tám; S. 1 and S. 3 read ávivenam tám, but S. 2 has ávivenan tám; P. 2 has ávi-venan tám, and P. 1 had the same originally, though a later hand changed it to ávi-venam tám. In iv. 25, 3, on the contrary, S. 1 and S. 3 write ávivenam; S. 2. ávivenam; P. 1. and P. 2. ávi-venam. What is intended is clear enough, viz. ávi-venan in iv. 24, 6; ávi-venam in iv. 25, 3.

vii. 73, 1. asvinâ (Aufr. ii. p. 56) instead of asvínâ (M. M. vol. iv. p. 176) is wrong. On the same page, dhishnye, vii. 72, 3, should have the accent on the first syllable.

vii. 77, 1. In this verse, which has been so often discussed (see Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 472; Boehtlingk and Roth, Dictionary, vol. ii. p. 968; Bollensen, Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 463), all the MSS. which I know, read karâyai, and not either karâthaï nor garâyai.
viii. 2, 29. kārīnam (Aufr. ii. p. 84) instead of kārīnam (M. M. vol. iv. p. 308) does not rest on the authority of any MSS., nor is it supported by Sāyana.

viii. 9, 9. Professor Aufrecht has altered the very important form ākukyuvimāhi (M. M. vol. iv. p. 389) to ākukyavimāhi (ii. p. 98). The question is whether this was done intentionally and on the authority of any MSS. My own MSS. support the form ākukyuvimāhi, and I see that Professor Roth accepts this form.


viii. 47, 15. dushvāpnyam (Aufr. ii. p. 150) is not so correct as duhshvāpnyam (M. M. vol. iv. p. 660), or, better, dushshvāpnyam (Prātisākhya, Sūtras 255 and 364), though it is perfectly true that the MSS. write dushvāpnyam.

In the ninth and tenth Mandalas I have not to defend myself, and I need not therefore give a list of the passages where I think that Professor Aufrecht's text is not supported by the best MSS. My own edition of these Mandalas will soon be published, and I need hardly say that where it differs from Professor Aufrecht's text, I am prepared to show that I had the best authorities on my side.

Having said so much in vindication of the text of the Rig-veda as published by me, and in defence of my principles of criticism which seem to me so self-evident as hardly to deserve the name of canones critici, I feel bound at the same time both to
acknowledge some inaccuracies that have occurred in the index at the end of each volume, and to defend some entries in that index which have been challenged without sufficient cause.

It has been supposed that in the index at the end of my fourth volume, the seventeenth verse of the 34th hymn in the seventh Mandala has been wrongly assigned to Ahi Budhnya, and that one half only of that verse should have been reserved for that deity. I do not deny that we should be justified in deriving that sense from the words of the Anukramanikâ, but I cannot admit that my own interpretation is untenable. As Sâyana does not speak authoritatively on the subject, I followed the authority of Shadgurusishya. This commentator of the Anukramanikâ says: atra ka abgâm ukthair ahim grinîsha ity ardharâko 'bganâmno devasya stutih; mā no 'hir budhnya ity ardharâko 'hirbudhnyanâmno devasya*. Another commentator says: abgâm ukthair ardharâko 'hih; uttaro mā no 'hir ity ahir budhnyaḥ. From this we learn that both commentators looked upon the Dvipadâs as ardharâkas or half-verses, and ascribed the whole of verse 16 to Ahir abgâh, the whole of verse 17 to Ahir budhnyaḥ. It will be seen from an accurate examination of Sâyana's commentary on verse 17, that in the second interpretation of the second half of verse 17, he

* MS. Wilson 379 has, ardharâko nâmamo daivatasya, and in the margin 'hi. Ahirbudhnya seems to have been taken as one word.
labours to show that in this portion, too, Ahir budhnyaḥ may be considered as the deity.

It is perfectly right to say that the words of the Anukramaniṅkā, abgāṃ aheḥ, signify that the verse beginning with abgāṃ, belongs to Ahi. But there was no misprint in my index. It will be seen that Shadgurusishya goes even beyond me, and calls that deity simply Abga, leaving out Ahi altogether, as understood. I was anxious to show the distinction between Abga Ahih and Ahir Budhnyaḥ, as the deities of the two successive verses, and I did not expect that any reader could possibly misinterpret my entry.

With regard to hymns 91 and 92 of the seventh Mandala, it is true, that in the index I did not mention that certain verses in which two deities are mentioned (91, 2; 4–7; 92, 2), must be considered as addressed not to Vāyu alone, but to Vāyu and Indra. It will be seen from Śāyana's introduction to hymn 90, that he, too, wrongly limits the sentence of the Anukramaniṅkā, aindryas ka yā dvivaduktāḥ, to the fifth and following verses of hymn 90, and that he never alludes to this proviso again in his introductory remarks to hymns 91 and 92, though, of course, he explains the verses, in which a dual occurs, as addressed to two deities, viz. Indra and Vāyu. The same omission, whether intentional or unintentional, occurs in Shadgurusishya's commentary. The other commentary, however, assigns the verses of the three hymns rightly. The subject has evidently been one
that excited attention in very early days, for in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, v. 20, we actually find that the word vām which occurs in hymn 90, 1, and which might be taken as a dual, though Sāyana explains it as a singular, is changed into te*.

In hymn vii. 104, rakshohanau might certainly be added as an epithet of Indrā-Somau, and Shadgurusishya clearly takes it in that sense. The Anukramanikā says: indrāsomā paṁdādhikaindrāsomam rākshoghnam sāpābhisāpaprāyam.

In hymn viii. 67, it has been supposed that the readings Samada and Sāmada instead of Sammada and Sāmmada were due to a misprint. This is not the case. That I was aware of the other spelling of this name, viz. Sammada and Sāmmada, I had shown in my History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (2nd ed.), p. 39, where I had translated the passage of the Sāṅkhâyana-sūtras in which Matsya Sāmmada occurs, and had also called attention to the Āsvalāyana-sūtras x. 7, and the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa xiii. 3, 1, 1, where the same passage is found. I there spelt the

* The interpunction of Dr. Haug’s edition (p. 128) should be after te. Shadgurusishya says: ata eva brāhmaṇasūtrayoh praūge vāyavatvāya pra viraya sukayo dadrire vām iti dvivakanasthāne ta ity ekavakanapāthah kritah, vām ity uktam ked aindratvam ka syād iti. Possibly the same change should be made in Āsvalāyana’s Sūtras, viii. 11, and it has been made by the Rāma Nārāyaṇa Vidyāratna. The remark of the commentator, however, dadrire ta iti prayogapāthah, looks as if vām might have been retained in the text. The MSS. I have collated are in favour of te.
name Sâmmada, because the majority of the MSS. were in favour of that spelling. In the edition of the Āsvalâyana-sûtras, which has since been published by Râma Nârâyana Vidyârânya, the name is spelt Sâmada. My own opinion is that Sâmmada is the right spelling, but that does not prove that Sâyana thought so; and unless I deviated from the principles which I had adopted for a critical restoration of Sâyana's text, I could not but write Sâmada in our passage. B 1. and B 4. omit sâmada, but both give samadâkhyasya; Ca. gives likewise samadâkhyasya, and A. semadâkhyasya. This, I believe, was meant by the writer for sammadâkhyasya, for in the passage from the Anukramani both A. and Ca. give sâmmado. I then consulted the commentary of Shadgurusishya, and there again the same MS. gave twice sâmmada, once sâmada, which is explained by samadâkhyamahâmînarâgaputraḥ. A better MS. of Shadgurusishya, MS. Wilson 379, gives the readings sâmmado, sâmmada, and sammadâkhyasya. The other commentary gives distinctly sâmanda.

It will be seen from these remarks that many things have to be considered before one can form an independent judgment as to the exact view adopted by Sâyana in places where he differs from other authorities, or as to the exact words in which he clothed his meaning. Such cases occur again and again. Thus in ix. 86, I find that Professor Aufrecht ascribes the first ten verses to the Akârishtas, whereas Sâyana calls them Akârishtas.
It is perfectly true that the best MSS. of the Anukramanikā have Akṛishta, it is equally true that the name of these Akṛishtas is spelt with a short a in the Harivamsa, 11,533, but an editor of Sāyana’s work is not to alter the occasional mistakes of that learned commentator, and he certainly called these poets Akṛishtas.

Verses 21–30 of the same hymn are ascribed by Professor Aufrecht to the Prisnīyah. Here, again, several MSS. support that reading; and in Shad-gurusishya’s commentary, the correction of prisnīyah into prisnayah is made by a later hand. But Sāyana clearly took prisnayah for a nominative plural of prśni, and in this case he certainly was right. The Dictionary of Boehtlingk and Roth quotes the Mahābhārata, vii. 8728, in support of the peculiar reading of prisnīyah, but the published text gives prisnayah. Professor Benfey, in his list of poets (Ind. Stud. vol. iii. p. 223), gives prisniyogā as one word, not prisniyogā, as stated in the Dictionary of Boehtlingk and Roth, but this is evidently meant for two words, viz. prisnayo ’gāḥ. However, whether prisnīyah or prisnayah be the real name of these poets, an editor of Sāyana is bound to give that reading of the name which Sāyana believed to be the right one, i.e. prisnayah.

Again, in the same hymn, Professor Aufreucht ascribes verses 31–40 to the Atris. He evidently read tritiye ’trayaḥ. But Sāyana read tritiye trayaḥ, and ascribes verses 31–40 to the three com-
panies together of the Rishis mentioned before. On this point the MSS. admit of no doubt, for we read: katurthasya ka dasarkasya ākrishtā māshā ityādī-dvināmānas trayo ganaḥ drashaḥāraḥ. I do not say that the other explanation is wrong; I only say that, whether right or wrong, Sāyana certainly read trayah, not atrayah, and that an editor has no more right to correct the text, supported by the best MSS., in the first and second, than in the third of these passages, all taken from one and the same hymn.

But though I insist so strongly on a strict observance of the rules of diplomatic criticism with regard to the text of the Rig-veda, nay, even of Sāyana, I insist equally strongly on the right of independent criticism, which ought to begin where diplomatic criticism ends. Considering the startling antiquity which we can claim for every letter and accent of our MSS. so far as they are authenticated by the Prātisākhya, to say nothing of the passages of the hymns which are quoted verbatim in the Brāhmaṇas, the Kalpa-sūtras, the Nirukta, the Brihaddevatā, and the Anukramanās, I should deem it reckless to alter one single letter or one single accent in an edition of the hymns of the Rig-veda. As the text has been handed down to us, so it should remain; and whatever alterations and corrections we, the critical Maṭhkhas of the nineteenth century, have to propose, should be kept distinct from that time-hallowed inheritance. Unlikely as it may sound, it is true never-
theless that we, the scholars of the nineteenth century, are able to point out mistakes in the text of the Rig-veda which escaped the attention of the most learned among the native scholars of the sixth century B.C. No doubt, these scholars, even if they had perceived such mistakes, would hardly have ventured to correct the text of their sacred writings. The authors of the Prātisākhya had before their eyes a text ready made, of which they registered every peculiarity, nay, in which they would note and preserve every single irregularity, even though it stood alone amidst hundreds of analogous cases. With us the case is different. Where we see a rule observed in 99 cases, we feel strongly tempted and sometimes justified in altering the 100th case in accordance with what we consider to be a general rule. Yet even then I feel convinced we ought not to do more than place our conjectural readings below the textus receptus of the Veda,—a text so ancient and venerable that no scholar of any historical tact or critical taste would venture to foist into it a conjectural reading, however plausible, nay, however undeniable.

There can be no clearer case of corruption in the traditional text of the Rig-veda than if in i. 70, 4, the Pada text reads:

vārdhān yām pūrvīḥ kshapāḥ ví-rūpāḥ sthátāḥ ka rátham vítā-pravitam.

All scholars who have touched on this verse, Professors Benfey, Bollensen, Roth, and others, have
pointed out that instead of ka rátham, the original poet must have said karátham. The phrase sthâtúḥ karátham, what stands and moves, occurs several times. It is evidently an ancient phrase, and hence we can account for the preservation in it of the old termination of the nom. sing. of neuters in ri, which here, as in the Greek μάρ-τυρ or μάρ-τυς, masc., appears as ur or us, while in the ordinary Sanskrit we find ri only. This nom. sing. neut. in us, explains also the common genitives and ablatives, pituh, mâtuh, &c., which stand for pitur-s, mâtur-s. This phrase sthâtúḥ karátham occurs:

i. 58, 5. sthâtúḥ karátham bhayate patatrínah.

What stands and what moves is afraid of Agni.

i. 68, 1. sthâtúḥ karátham aktûn ví úrnot.

He lighted up what stands and what moves during every night.

i. 72, 6. pasûn ka sthâtrín karátham ka pâhi.

Protect the cattle, and what stands and moves!

Here it has been proposed to read sthâtúḥ instead of sthâtrín, and I confess that this emendation is very plausible. One does not see how pasú, cattle, could be called immobilia or fixtures, unless the poet wished to make a distinction between cattle that are kept fastened in stables, and cattle that are allowed to roam about freely in the homestead. This distinction is alluded to, for instance, in the Satapatha-brāhmana, xi. 8, 3, 2. saurya evaisha pasûh syâd iti, tasmâd etasmimm astamite pasavo badhyante; badhnanty ekân yathágoshtham, eka upasamâyanti.
Ixx

PREFACE.

i. 70, 2. gár江淮 ka sthátám gár江淮 karáthâm, (read sthátrâm, and see Bollensen, Orient und Occi-
dent, vol. ii. p. 462.)

He who is within all that stands and all that
moves.

The word karátha, if it occurs by itself, means
flock, movable property:

iii. 31, 15. āt āt sákhi-bhyâh karátham sâm airat.

He brought together, for his friends, the flocks.

viii. 33, 8. puru-trâ karátham dadhe.

He bestowed flocks on many people.

x. 92, 13. prâ nah pûshâ karátham—avatu.

May Pûshan protect our flock!

Another idiomatic phrase in which sthátúh occurs
is sthátúh gágatah, and here sthátúh is really a
genitive:

iv. 53, 6. gágatah sthátúh ubhâyasya yâh vasî.

He who is lord of both, of what is movable and
what is immovable.

vi. 50, 7. vîsvasya sthátúh gágatah gânitrîh.

They who created all that stands and moves.

vii. 60, 2. vîsvasya sthátúh gágatah ka gopâh.

The guardians of all that stands and moves. Cf.

x. 63, 8.

i. 159, 3. sthátúh ka satyâm gágatah ka dhármanî
putrâsya páthâh padám ãdvâyâvinah.

Truly while you uphold all that stands and moves,
you protect the home of the guileless son. Cf. ii.

3r, 5.

But although I have no doubt that in i. 70, 4,
the original poet said sthātūḥ karātham, I should be
loath to suppress the evidence of the mistake and
alter the Pada text from ka rátham to karātham.
The very mistake is instructive, as showing us the
kind of misapprehension to which the collectors of
the Vedic text were liable, and enabling us to judge
how far the limits of conjectural criticism may safely
be extended.

A still more extraordinary case of misunder-
standing on the part of the original compilers of
the Vedic texts, and likewise of the authors of the
Prātisākhyas, the Niruktas, and other Vedic trea-
tises, has been pointed out by Professor Kuhn. In
an article of his, ‘Zur ältesten Geschichte der Indo-
germanischen Völker’ (Indische Studien, vol. i. p. 351),
he made the following observation: ‘The Lithuanian
laukas, Lett. lauks, Pruss. laukas, all meaning field,
agree exactly with the Sk. lokas, world, Lat. locus,
Low Germ. (in East-Frisia and Oldenburg) louch,
lōch, village. All these words are to be traced
back to the Sk. uru, Gr. ἑῖψ, broad, wide. The
initial u is lost, as in Goth. rāms, O. H. G. rāmi,
rāmin (Low Germ. rāme, an open uncultivated field
in a forest), and the r changed into l. In support
of this derivation it should be observed that in
the Veda loka is frequently preceded by the par-
ticle u, which probably was only separated from
it by the Diaskeuastæ, and that the meaning is
that of open space.’ Although this derivation has
met with little favour, I confess that I look upon
this remark, excepting only the Latin *locus*, i.e. *sitlocus*, as one of the most ingenious of this eminent scholar. The fact is that this particle *u* before *loka* is one of the most puzzling occurrences in the Veda. Professor Bollensen says that *loka* never occurs without a preceding *u* in the first eight Mandalas, and this is perfectly true with the exception of one passage which he has overlooked, viii. 100, 12. dyauḥ dehi lokām vágrāya vi-skābhe, Dyu! give room for the lightning to step forth! Professor Bollensen (ib. p. 603) reads *vrītrāya* instead of *vágrāya*, without authority. He is right in objecting to *dyaus* as a vocative, but *dyauḥ* may be a genitive belonging to *vágrāya*, in which case we should translate, Make room for the lightning of Dyu to step forth!

But what is even more important, is the fact that the occurrence of this unaccented *u* at the beginning of a *pāda* is against the very rules, or, at least, runs counter to the very observations which the authors of the Prātisākhya have made on the inadmissibility of an unaccented word in such a place, so that they had to insert a special provision exempting the unaccented *u* from this general observation: ‘anudāttam tu pāḍādau na-uvargam vidyate padam,’ ‘no unaccented word is found at the beginning of a *pāda* except *u*!’ Although I have frequently insisted on the fact that such statements of the Prātisākhya are not to be considered as rules, but simply as more or
less general statistical accumulations of facts actually occurring in the Veda, I have also pointed out that we are at liberty to found on these collected facts inductive observations which may assume the character of real rules. Thus, in our case, we can well understand why there should be none, or, at least, very few instances, where an unaccented word begins a páda. We should not begin a verse with an enclitic particle in any other language either; and as in Sanskrit a verb at the beginning of a páda receives ipso facto the accent, and as the same applies to vocatives, no chance is left for an unaccented word in that place except it be a particle. But the one particle that offends against this general observation is u, and the very word before which this u causes this metrical offence is loka. Can any argument be more tempting in favour of admitting an old form uloka instead of u loka? Lokám is preceded by u in i. 93, 6; ii. 30, 6; (asmín bhayá-sthe kвинутam u лokáм, make room for us, grant an escape to us, in this danger!) iv. 17, 17; vi. 23, 3; 7 (with urúм); 47, 8 (urúм nak lokám, or ulokám?); 73, 2; vii. 20, 2; 33, 5 (with urúм); 60, 9 (with urúм); 84, 2 (with urúм); 99, 4 (with urúм); ix. 92, 5; x. 13, 2; 16, 4 (sukrítám u lokám); 30, 7; 104, 10; 180, 3 (with urúм). Loké is preceded by u in iii. 29, 8; v. 1, 6; loka-krít, ix. 86, 21; x. 133, 1. In all remaining passages u loká is found at the beginning of a páda: lokáh, iii. 37, 11; lokám, iii. 2, 9 (u lokám u dvé (iti) úpa gámím ñyatuhe); v. 4, 11;
loka-kṛitnūm, viii. 15, 4; ix. 2, 8. The only passages in which loka occurs without being preceded by u, are lokām, vi. 47, 8 (see above); viii. 100, 12; x. 14, 9; 85, 20 (amrītasya); lokāh, ix. 113, 9; lokān, x. 90, 14; loké, ix. 113, 7; x. 85, 24.

Considering all this, I feel as convinced as it is possible to be in such matters, that in all the passages where u lokā occurs and where it means space, carrière ouverte, freedom, we ought to read urokā; but in spite of this I could never bring myself to insert this word, of which neither the authors of the Brāhmanas nor the writers of the Prātisākhya or even later grammarians had any idea, into the text. On the contrary, I should here, too, consider it most useful to leave the traditional reading, and to add the corrections in the margin, in order that, if these conjectural emendations are in time considered as beyond the reach of doubt, they may be used as evidence in support of conjectures which, without such evidence, might seem intolerable in the eyes of timid critics.

There remains one difficulty about this hypothetical word ulokā, which it is but fair to mention. If it is derived from uru, or, as Professor Bollensen suggests, from urvak or urvak, the change of va into o would require further support. Neither maghon for maghavan, nor durona for dura-vana are strictly analogous cases, because in each we have an a preceding the va or u. Strictly speaking, uroka presupposes uravaka, as slōka presupposes
sravaka, or óka, house, avaka (from av, not from uk). That, on the other hand, the u of uru is liable to disappear, is shown by passages such as i. 138, 3; vii. 39, 3, where the metre requires uru to be treated as one syllable; and possibly by ix. 96, 15, if the original reading was urur iva instead of urviva.

The most powerful instrument that has hitherto been applied to the emendation of Vedic texts, is the metre. Metre means measure, and uniform measure, and hence its importance for critical purposes, as second only to that of grammar. If our knowledge of the metrical system of the Vedic poets rests on a sound basis, any deviations from the general rule are rightly objected to; and if by a slight alteration they can be removed, and the metre be restored, we naturally feel inclined to adopt such emendations. Two safeguards, however, are needed in this kind of conjectural criticism. We ought to be quite certain that the anomaly is impossible, and we ought to be able to explain to a certain extent how the deviation from the original correct text could have occurred. As this subject has of late years received considerable attention, and as emendations of the Vedic texts, supported by metrical arguments, have been carried on on a very large scale, it becomes absolutely necessary to re-examine the grounds on which these emendations are supposed to rest. There are, in fact, but few hymns in which some verses or some words have not been challenged for metrical reasons, and I feel
bound, therefore, at the very beginning of my translation of the Rig-veda, to express my own opinion on this subject, and to give my reasons why in so many cases I allow metrical anomalies to remain which by some of the most learned and ingenious among Vedic scholars would be pronounced intolerable.

Even if the theory of the ancient metres had not been so carefully worked out by the authors of the Prâtiúsâkhya and the Anukramaṇi, an independent study of the Veda would have enabled us to discover the general rules by which the Vedic poets were guided in the composition of their works. Nor would it have been difficult to show how constantly these general principles are violated by the introduction of phonetic changes which in the later Sanskrit are called the euphonic changes of Sandhi, and according to which final vowels must be joined with initial vowels, and final consonants adapted to initial consonants, until at last each sentence becomes a continuous chain of closely linked syllables. It is far easier, as I remarked before, to discover the original and natural rhythm of the Vedic hymns by reading them in the Pada than in the Sanhitâ text, and after some practice our ear becomes sufficiently schooled to tell us at once how each line ought to be pronounced. We find, on the one hand, that the rules of Sandhi, instead of being generally binding, were treated by the Vedic poets as poetical licences only; and, on the other, that a greater
freedom of pronunciation was allowed even in the body of words than would be tolerated in the later Sanskrit. If a syllable was wanted to complete the metre, a semivowel might be pronounced as a vowel, many a long vowel might be protracted so as to count for two syllables, and short vowels might be inserted between certain consonants, of which no trace exists in the ordinary Sanskrit. If, on the contrary, there were too many syllables, then the rules of Sandhi were observed, or two short syllables contracted by rapid pronunciation into one; nay, in a few cases, a final m or s, it seems, might be omitted. It would be a mistake to suppose that the authors of the Prâtisâkhya were not aware of this freedom allowed or required in the pronunciation of the Vedic hymns. Though they abstained from introducing into the text changes of pronunciation which even we ourselves would never tolerate, if inserted in the texts of Homer and Plautus, in the Pali verses of Buddha, or even in modern English poetry, the authors of the Prâtisâkhya were clearly aware that in many places one syllable had to be pronounced as two, or two as one. They were clearly aware that certain vowels, generally considered as long, had to be pronounced as short, but they did not change the text. They were clearly aware that in order to satisfy the demands of the metre, certain changes of pronunciation were indispensable. They knew it, but they did not change the text. And this shows that the text, as they
describe it, enjoyed even in their time a high authority, that they did not make it, but that, such as it is, with all its incongruities, it had been made before their time. In many cases, no doubt, certain syllables in the hymns of the Veda had been actually lengthened or shortened in the Sanhitâ text in accordance with the metre in which they are composed. But this was done by the poets themselves, or, at all events, it was not done by the authors of the Prâtisâkhya. They simply register such changes, but they do not enjoin them, and in this we, too, should follow their example. It is, therefore, a point of some importance in the critical restoration and proper pronunciation of Vedic texts, that in the rules which we have to follow in order to satisfy the demands of the metre, we should carefully distinguish between what is sanctioned by ancient authority, and what is the result of our own observations. This I shall now proceed to do.

First, then, the authors of the Prâtisâkhya distinctly admit that, in order to uphold the rules they have themselves laid down, certain syllables are to be pronounced as two syllables. We read in Sûtra 527: 'In a deficient pada the right number is to be provided for by protraction of semivowels (which were originally vowels), and of contracted vowels (which were originally two independent vowels).’ It is only by this process that the short syllable which has been lengthened in the Sanhitâ, viz. the sixth, or the eighth, or the tenth, can be shown
to have occupied and to occupy that place where alone, according to a former rule, a short syllable is liable to be lengthened. Thus we read:

i. 161, 11. ūdvatsvasmā ākrīnōtānā tvīnām.

This would seem to be a verse of eleven syllables, in which the ninth syllable na has been lengthened. This, however, is against the system of the Prātisākhya. But if we protract the semivowel v in udvatsv, and change it back into u, which it was originally, then we gain one syllable, the whole verse has twelve syllables, na occupies the tenth place, and it now belongs to that class of cases which is included in a former Sūtra, 523.

The same applies to x. 103, 13, where we read:

pretā gayātā nārāh.

This is a verse of seven syllables, in which the fifth syllable is lengthened, without any authority. Let us protract pretā by bringing it back to its original component elements pra itā, and we get a verse of eight syllables, the sixth syllable now falls under the general observation, and is lengthened in the Sanhitā accordingly.

The same rules are repeated in a later portion of the Prātisākhya. Here rules had been given as to the number of syllables of which certain metres consist, and it is added (Sūtras 972, 973) that where that number is deficient, it should be completed by protracting contracted vowels, and by separating consonantal groups in which semivowels
(originally vowels) occur, by means of their corresponding vowel.

The rules in both places are given in almost identically the same words, and the only difference between the two passages is this, that, according to the former, semivowels are simply changed back into their vowels, while, according to the latter, the semivowel remains, but is separated from the preceding consonant by its corresponding vowel.

These rules therefore show clearly that the authors of the Prātisākhya, though they would have shrunk from altering one single letter of the authorised Sanhitā, recognized the fact that where two vowels had been contracted into one, they might yet be pronounced as two; and where a vowel before another vowel had been changed into a semivowel, it might either be pronounced as a vowel, or as a semivowel preceded by its corresponding vowel. More than these two modifications, however, the Prātisākhya does not allow, or, at least, does not distinctly sanction. The commentator indeed tries to show that by the wording of the Sūtras in both places, a third modification is sanctioned, viz. the vocalisation, in the body of a word, of semivowels which do not owe their origin to an original vowel. But in both places this interpretation is purely artificial. Some such rule ought to have been given, but it was not given by the authors of the Prātisākhya. It ought to have been given, for it is only by observing such a rule that in i. 61, 12, gor na parva vi radā tirāskā, we get
a verse of eleven syllables, and thus secure for día in radá the eighth place, where alone the short a could be lengthened. Yet we look in vain for a rule sanctioning the change of semivowels into vowels, except where the semivowels can rightly be called kshaipra-varna (Sûtra 974), i.e. semivowels that were originally vowels. The independent (svâbhâvika) semivowels, as e.g. the v in parva, are not included; and to suppose that in Sûtra 527 these semivowels were indicated by varna is impossible, particularly if we compare the similar wording of Sûtra 973*.

We look in vain, too, in the Prâtisâkhya for another rule according to which long vowels, even if they do not owe their origin to the coalescence of two vowels, are liable to be protracted. However, this rule, too, though never distinctly sanctioned, is observed in the Prâtisâkhya, for unless its author observed it, he could not have obtained in the verses quoted by the Prâtisâkhya the number of syllables which he ascribes to them. According to Sûtra 937, the verse, Rv. x. 134, i, is a Mahâpañkti, and consists of six

* It will be seen from my edition of the Prâtisâkhya, particularly from the extracts from Uvata, given after Sûtra 973, that the idea of making two syllables out of goh, never entered Uvata's mind. M. Regnier was right, Professor Kuhn (Beitrâge, vol. iv. p. 187) was wrong. Uvata, no doubt, wishes to show that original (svâbhâvika) semivowels are liable to vyûha, or at least to vyavâya; but though this is true in fact, Uvata does not succeed in his attempt to prove that the rules of the Prâtisâkhya sanction it.
pádas, of eight syllables each. In order to obtain that number, we must read:

śamrāqām kārshānīnāṃ.

We may therefore say that, without allowing any actual change in the received text of the Sanhitā, the Prātisākhya distinctly allows a lengthened pronunciation of certain syllables, which in the Pada text form two syllables; and we may add that, by implication, it allows the same even in cases where the Pada text also gives but one instead of two syllables. Having this authority in our favour, I do not think that we use too much liberty if we extend this modified pronunciation, recognized in so many cases by the ancient scholars of India themselves, to other cases where it seems to us required as well, in order to satisfy the metrical rules of the Veda.

Secondly, I believe it can be proved that, if not the authors of the Prātisākhya, those at least who constituted the Vedic text which was current in the ancient schools and which we now have before us, were fully aware that certain long vowels and diphthongs could be used as short. The authors of the Prātisākhya remark that certain changes which can take place before a short syllable only, take place likewise before the word no, although the vowel of this ‘no’ is by them supposed to be long. After having stated in Sûtra 523 that the eighth syllable of hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, if short, is lengthened, provided a short syllable follows, they
remark that for this purpose nah or no is treated as a short syllable:

x. 59, 4. dyū-bhīḥ hitāh gārīmā sū nah āstū, (Sanh. sū no āstū.)

Again, in stating that the tenth syllable of hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, if short, is lengthened, provided a short syllable follows, the same exception is understood to be made in favour of nah or no, as a short syllable:

vii. 48, 4. nū devāsāḥ vārīvāḥ kārtaṇā nāḥ, (Sanh. kārtaṇā nō, bhūta nah, &c.)

With regard to e being shortened before a short a, where, according to rule, the a should be elided, we actually find that the Sanhitā gives a instead of e in Rv. viii. 72, 5. vēti stōtave ambyām, Sanh. vēti stōtava ambyām. (Prātis. 177, 5.)

I do not ascribe very much weight to the authority which we may derive from these observations with regard to our own treatment of the diphthongs e and o as either long or short in the Veda, yet in answer to those who are incredulous as to the fact that the vowels e and o could ever be short in Sanskrit, an appeal to the authority of those who constituted our text, and in constituting it clearly treated o as a short vowel, may not be without weight. We may also appeal to the fact that in Pāli and Prākrit every final o and e can be treated as either long or short*. Starting from

this we may certainly extend this observation, as it has been extended by Professor Kuhn, but we must not extend it too far. It is quite clear that in the same verse e and o can be used both as long and short. I give the Sanhitā text:

i. 84, 17. kā īshāte tūgyāte kō bībhāya
kō māmsāte sāntām īndrām kō āntī,
kās tōkāya kā (ibhāyotā rāye
ādhi brāvāt tānve kō gānāya.

But although there can be no doubt that e and o, when final, or at the end of the first member of a compound, may be treated in the Veda as anceps, there is no evidence, I believe, to show that the same licence applies to a medial or initial e or o. In iv. 45, 5, we must scan

ūsrāh gārānte prāti vāstōh āsvīnā,
ending the verse with an epitritus tertius instead of the usual dijambus *.

* See Professor Weber’s pertinent remarks in Kuhn’s Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 394. I do not think that in the verses adduced by Professor Kuhn, in which final o is considered by him as an iambus or trochee, this scanning is inevitable. Thus we may scan the Sanhitā text:

i. 88, 2. rūkmō nā ēitrāh svadhitīvān.
i. 141, 8. rāthō nā yātaḥ sīkṛabhāḥ krītō.
i. 174, 3. śimhō nā dame apāmsī vāstōh.
vi. 24, 3. ākshō nā kakṛyōh śūra brīhan.
x. 3, 1. śno ērāgān arātīk śaṁiddhō.

This leaves but one of Professor Kuhn’s examples (Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 192) unexplained: i. 191, i. kaṅkato na kaṅkato, where iva for na would remove the difficulty.
Thirdly, the fact that the initial short a, if following upon a word ending in o or e, is frequently not to be elided, is clearly recognized by the authors of the Prātisākhya (see p. xxxv). Nay, that they wished it to be pronounced even in passages where, in accordance with the requirements of the Prātisākhya, it had to disappear in the Sanhitā text, we may conclude from Sūtra 978. It is there stated that no pāda should ever begin with a word that has no accent. The exceptions to this rule are few, and they are discussed in Sūtras 978-987. But if the initial a were not pronounced in i. 1, 9, sāh nah pitā-iva sūnāve ágne su-upāyanāh bhava, the second pāda would begin with 'gne, a word which, after the elision of the initial a, would be a word without an accent.

Fourthly, the fact that other long vowels, besides e and o, may under certain circumstances be used as short in the Veda, is not merely a modern theory, but rests on no less an authority than Pānini.

Pānini says, vi. 1, 127, that i, u, ri (see Rv. Bh. iv. 1, 12) at the end of a pāda (but not in a compound*)

* There are certain compounds in which, according to Professor Kuhn, two vowels have been contracted into one short vowel. This is certainly the opinion of Hindu grammarians, also of the compiler of the Pada text. But most of them would admit of another explanation. Thus dhánvarṇasaḥ, which is divided into dhānva-arṇasaḥ, may be dhānu-arṇasaḥ (Rv. v. 45, 2). Dhánarkam, divided into dhána-arkam, may have been dhána-rikam (Rv. x. 46, 5). Satárkasam (Rv. vii. 100, 3) may be taken as satá-rikasam instead of satá-arkasam.
may remain unchanged, if a different vowel follows, and that, if long, they may be shortened. He ascribes this rule, or, more correctly, the first portion of it only, to Sākalya, Prātisākhya 155 seq.* Thus kākri atra may become kākri atra or kākry atra. Madhū atra may become madhū atra or madhv atra. In vi. 1, 128, Pāṇini adds that a, i, u, ri may remain unchanged before ri, and, if long, may be shortened, and this again according to the teaching of Sākalya, i.e. Prātisākhya 136. Hence brahmā rishiḥ becomes brahmā rishiḥ or brahmarshiḥ; kumāri risyah becomes kumāri risyah or kumāry risyah. This rule enables us to explain a number of passages in which the Sanhitā text either changes the final long vowel into a semi-vowel, or leaves it unchanged, when the vowel is a pragriḥya vowel. To the first class belong such passages as i. 163, 12; iv. 38, 10. vāgī árvā, Sanh. vāgīyārvā; vi. 7, 3. vāgī agne, Sanh. vāgīyāgne; vi. 20, 13. pakthī arkaīḥ, Sanh. pakthiyārkaīḥ; iv. 22, 4. sūshmī ū gōḥ, Sanh. sūshmyā gōḥ. In these passages i is the termination of a nom. masc. of a stem ending in in. Secondly, iv. 24, 8. pātnī ākkha, Sanh. pātnyākkha; iv. 34, 1. devī āhnām, Sanh. devyāhnām; v. 75, 4. vānīkī ā-hitā, Sanh. vānīkyāhitā; vi. 61, 4. avitṛī avatu, Sanh. avitryāvatu. In these

* In the Prātisākhya the rule which allows vowel before vowel to remain unchanged, is restricted to special passages, and in some of them the two vowels are savarna; cf. Sūtra 163.
passages the ï is the termination of feminines. In x. 15, 4. úṭi arvāk, Sanh. útyārvāk, the final ï of the instrumental úti ought not to have been changed into a semivowel, for, though not followed by ìti, it is to be treated as pragrihya; (Prâtis. 163, 5.) It is, however, mentioned as an exception in Sûtra 174, 9. The same applies to ii. 3, 4. vêdî ìti asyām, Sanh. vêdyasyām. The pragrihya ï ought not to have been changed into a semivowel, but the fact that it had been changed irregularly, was again duly registered in Sûtra 174, 5. These two pragrihya ï therefore, which have really to be pronounced short, were irregularly changed in the Sanhitâ into the semivowel; and as this semivowel, like all semivowels, may take vyavāya, the same object was attained as if it had been written by a short vowel.

With regard to pragrihya û, no such indication is given by the Sanhitâ text; but in such passages as i. 46, 13. sambhû ìti sam-bhû ã gatam, Sanh. sambhû ã gatam; v. 43, 4. bâhû ìti ádrim, Sanh. bâhû ádrim, the pragrihya û of the dual can be used as short, like the û of madhû atra, given as an example by the commentators of Pâṇini.

To Professor Kuhn, I believe, belongs the merit of having extended this rule to final ã. That the ã of the dual may become short, was mentioned in the Prâtisâkhya, Sûtra 309, though in none of the passages there mentioned is there any metrical necessity for this shortening (see p. xli). This being the case, it is impossible to deny that where this ã
is followed by a vowel, and where Sandhi between the two vowels is impossible, the final ā may be treated as short. Whether it must be so treated, depends on the view which we take of the Vedic metres, and will have to be discussed hereafter. I agree with Professor Kuhn when he scans:

vi. 63, 1. kūṭā tūrā valgamū purū-hūtā ādyā, (Sanh. puruḥūtāḍya); and not kūṭā tūrā valgamū puruḥūtāḍyā, although we might quote other verses as ending with an epitritus primus.

iv. 3, 13. mā vēsāya prā-nūnatāḥ mā āpeḥ, (Sanh. māpeḥ), although the dispondeus is possible.

i. 77, 1. kāthā dāsemā ṣāṅgāyē kā āsmāi, (Sanh. kāṣmāi.)

vi. 24, 5. āryāḥ vēsāya ṣāṅgātā ṣāṅgā asti.

Even in a compound like tvā-ūta, I should shorten the first vowel, e. g.

x. 148, 1. tmanā tánā sānūyāmā tvā-ūtāḥ, although the passage is not mentioned by the Prāti-sākhyā among those where a short final vowel in the eighth place is not lengthened when a short syllable follows*.

But when we come to the second pada of a Gāyatri, and find there a long ā, and that long ā not followed by a vowel, I cannot agree with Professor Kuhn, that the long ā, even under such

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* I see that Professor Kuhn, vol. iv. p. 186, has anticipated this observation in eshtau, to be read ā-īshān.
circumstances, ought to be shortened. We may scan:

v. 5, 7. vātasya pātmān īśā ādvīyā hōtaī ā mānūshāh.

The same choriambic ending occurs even in the last pāda of a Gāyatrī, and is perfectly free from objection at the end of the other pādas.

So, again, we may admit the shortening of au to o in sāno avye and sāno avyaye, as quoted in the Prātisākhya, 174 and 177, but this would not justify the shortening of au to av in Anushtubh verses, such as

v. 86, 5. mārtāyā dēvāu ādābhā,
   āmsā-ivā dēvāu ārvāte,

while, with regard to the Trishtubh and Gagati verses, our views on these metres must naturally depend on the difficulties we meet with in carrying them out. On this more by and by.

There is no reason for shortening ā in

v. 5, 10. dēvānām gūhya nâmānī.

It is the second pāda of a Gāyatrī here; and we shall see that, even in the third pāda, four long syllables occur again and again.

For the same reason I cannot follow Dr. Kuhn in a number of other passages where, for the sake of the metre, he proposes to change a long ā into a short one. Such passages are in the Pada text:

vi. 46, 11. dīdyāvāh tīgmā-mūrdhānāh, not mūrdhānāh.
i. 15, 6. ṛītuṇā yaṅṇāṃ āsāṭhē, not āsāṭhē.

v. 66, 2. sāmyāk āsūryāṃ āsāṭe, not āsāṭe.

v. 67, 1. varṣiṣṭhāṃ kṣatram āsāṭhē, not āsāṭhē.

See Beitrag, vol. iii. p. 122.

i. 46, 6. tāṃ āsmē rāsāṭhāṃ āśūṃ, not rāsāṭhāṃ āśūṃ.

iv. 32, 23. bābhrū yāmēshū sōbhetē, not sōbhetē.

iv. 45, 3. ātā priyāṃ mādhūne yūṅgāṭhāṃ rāthāṃ, not yūṅgāṭhāṃ rāthāṃ.

v. 74, 3. kām ākkhā yūṅgāṭhē rāthāṃ, not yūṅgāṭhē rāthāṃ.

iv. 55, 1. dyāvābhūmī (īti) ādīte trāsīṭhāṃ nāḥ, not trāsīṭhāṃ nāḥ.

v. 41, 1. rītāsyā vā sādāṣi trāsīṭhāṃ nāḥ, not trāsīṭhāṃ nāḥ.

I must enter the same protest against shortening other long vowels in the following verses which Professor Kuhn proposes to make metrically correct by this remedy:

i. 42, 6. hārānyāvāsīmāt-tāmā, not vāsīmāt-tāmā.

Here the short syllable of ganasrī-bliṅ in v. 60, 8, cannot be quoted as a precedent, for the i in ganasrī, walking in companies, was never long, and could therefore not be shortened. Still less can we quote nārī-bhyāh as an instance of a long ī being shortened, for nārī-bhyāh is derived from nārīḥ, not from nārī, and occurs with a short i even when the metre requires a long syllable; i. 43, 6. nṛī-bhyāh nārī-
bhṛyāḥ gāvē. The fact is, that in the Rig-veda the forms nārīshu and nārī-bhyaḥ never occur, but always nārīshu, nārī-bhyaḥ; while from vāṣī we never find any forms with short i, but always vāṣīshu, vāṣī-bhiḥ.

Nor is there any justification for change in i. 25, 16. gāvāḥ nā gāvyūṭīḥ ānū, the second pada of a Gāyatrī. Nor in v. 56, 3. rīkṣāḥ nā vāḥ mārūtāḥ śīmī-vān āmāḥ. In most of the passages mentioned by Professor Kuhn on p. 122, this peculiarity may be observed, that the eighth syllable is short, or, at all events, may be short, when the ninth is long:

vi. 44, 21. vrīṁshē te 'ṁduḥ vrīṁshābhā '.plistāyā.
i. 73, 1. syōnā-sīḥ ātīthīḥ nā 'prīnānāḥ.
vii. 13, 1. bhārē hāvīḥ nā bārhīshiḥ 'prīnānāḥ.
ii. 28, 7. ēnāḥ krīṅvāntam āsūrā 'bhrīṅnānti.

Before, however, we can settle the question whether in these and other places certain vowels should be pronounced as either long or short, we must settle the more general question, what authority we have for requiring a long or a short syllable in certain places of the Vedic metres. Now it has generally been supposed that the Prātipākhya teaches that there must be a long syllable in the eighth or tenth place of Traishtubha and Gāgata, and in the sixth place of Ānushubha pādās. This is not the case. The Prātipākhya, no doubt, says, that a short final vowel, but not any short syllable, occupying the eighth or tenth place in a Traishtubha and Gāgata pāda, or the sixth
place in a Gâyatra pada, is lengthened, but it never says that it must be lengthened; on the contrary, it gives itself a number of cases where it is not so lengthened. But, what is even more important, the Prâtisâkhya distinctly adds a proviso which shows that the ancient critics of the Veda did not consider the trochee as the only possible foot for the sixth and seventh syllables of Gâyatra, or for the eighth and ninth, or tenth and eleventh syllables of Traishtubha and Gâgata pâdas. They distinctly admit that the seventh and the ninth and the eleventh syllables in such pâdas may be long, and that in that case the preceding short vowel is not lengthened. We thus get the iambus in the very place which is generally occupied by the trochee. According to the Prâtisâkhya, the general scheme for the Gâyatra would be, not only

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
7 & 6 \\
\end{array}
\text{+} + + + | + - o + ,
\]

but also

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
7 & 6 \\
\end{array}
\text{+} + + + | + + o - + ;
\]

and for the Traishtubha and Gâgata, not only

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
9 & 8 \\
\end{array}
\text{+} + + + | + + + - | + o + (+),
\]

but also

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
9 & 8 \\
\end{array}
\text{+} + + + | + + + o | - + + (+).
\]

And again, for the same pâdas, not only

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
(+) & 10 & 11 \\
\end{array}
\text{+} + + + | + + + + | + - o (+),
\]

but also

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
(+) & 10 & 11 \\
\end{array}
\text{+} + + + | + + + + | + o - (+).
Before appealing, however, to the Prâtisâkhya for the establishment of such a rule as that the sixth syllable of Ānushtubha and the eighth or tenth syllable of Traishtubha and Gâgata pâdas must be lengthened, provided a short syllable follows, it is indispensable that we should have a clear appreciation of the real character of the Prâtisâkhya. If we carefully follow the thread which runs through these books, we shall soon perceive that, even with the proviso that a short syllable follows, the Prâtisâkhya never teaches that certain final vowels must be lengthened. The object of the Prâtisâkhya is, as I pointed out on a former occasion, to register all the facts which possess a phonetic interest. In doing this, all kinds of plans are adopted in order to bring as large a number of cases as possible under general categories. These categories are purely technical and external, and they never assume, with the authors of the Prâtisâkhya, the character of general rules. Let us now, after these preliminary remarks, return to the Sûtras 523 to 535, which we discussed before. The Prâtisâkhya simply says that certain syllables which are short in the Pada, if occupying a certain place in a verse, are lengthened in the Sanhitâ, provided a short syllable follows. This looks, no doubt, like a general rule which should be carried out under all circumstances. But this idea never entered the minds of the authors of the Prâtisâkhya. They only give this rule as the most convenient way of registering the lengthening of
certain syllables which have actually been lengthened in the text of the Sanhitâ, while they remain short in the Pada; and after having done this, they proceed to give a number of verses where the same rule might be supposed to apply, but where in the text of the Sanhitâ the short syllable has not been lengthened. After having given a long string of words which are short in the Pada and long in the Sanhitâ, and where no intelligible reason of their lengthening can be given, at least not by the authors of the Prâtisâkhya, the Prâtisâkhya adds in Sûtra 523, 'The final vowel of the eighth syllable is lengthened in pâdas of eleven and twelve syllables, provided a syllable follows which is short in the Sanhitâ.' As instances the commentator gives (Sanhitâ text):

i. 32, 4. tâdâtna sátrum nã kîlã vivîtse.

i. 94, 1. ágne sâkhyê mã rîshâmâ vâyám tûvâ.

Then follows another rule (Sûtra 525) that 'The final vowel of the tenth syllable in pâdas of eleven and twelve syllables is lengthened, provided a syllable follows which is short in the Sanhitâ.' As instances the commentator gives:

iii. 54, 22. āhâ vîsvâ 'sûmânâ dîdîhî nãh.

ii. 34, 9. âvâ rûdrâ 'sûsâ so hantânâ vâdhâh.

Lastly, a rule is given (Sûtra 526) that 'The final vowel of the sixth syllable is lengthened in a pâda
of eight syllables, provided a syllable follows which is short:

i. 5, 10. इसानो यावया वाधाम.

If the seventh syllable is long no change takes place:

ix. 67, 30. अ पावास्वादेवा सोमा.

While we ourselves should look upon these rules as founded in the nature of the metre, which, no doubt, to a certain extent they are, the authors of the Prātisākhya use them simply as convenient nets for catching as many cases as possible of lengthened syllables actually occurring in the text of the Sanhitā. For this purpose, and in order to avoid giving a number of special rules, they add in this place an observation, very important to us as throwing light on the real pronunciation of the Vedic hymns at the time when our Sanhitā text was finally settled, but with them again a mere expedient for enlarging the preceding rules, and thus catching more cases of lengthening at one haul. They say in Sūtra 527, that in order to get the right number of syllables in such verses, we must pronounce sometimes one syllable as two. Thus only can the lengthened syllable be got into one of the places required by the preceding Sūtra, viz. the sixth, the eighth, or the tenth place, and thus only can a large number of lengthened syllables be comprehended under the same general rule of the Prātisākhya. In all this we ourselves can easily
recognize a principle which guided the compilers of the Sanhitâ text, or the very authors of the hymns, in lengthening syllables which in the Pada text are short, and which were liable to be lengthened because they occupied certain places on which the stress of the metre would naturally fall. We also see quite clearly that these compilers, or those whose pronunciation they tried to perpetuate, must have pronounced certain syllables as two syllables, and we naturally consider that we have a right to try the same expedient in other cases where to us, though not to them, the metre seems deficient, and where it could be rendered perfect by pronouncing one syllable as two. Such thoughts, however, never entered the minds of the authors of the Prâtisâkhyas, who are satisfied with explaining what is, according to the authority of the Sanhitâ, and who never attempt to say what ought to be, even against the authority of the Sanhitâ. While in some cases they have ears to hear and to appreciate the natural flow of the poetical language of the Rishis, they seem at other times as deaf as the adder to the voice of the charmer.

A general rule, therefore, in our sense of the word, that the eighth syllable in hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, the tenth syllable in hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, and the sixth syllable in octosyllabics should be lengthened, rests in no sense on the authority of ancient grammarians. Even as a mere observation, they restrict it by the condition
that the next syllable must be short, in order to provoke the lengthening of the preceding syllable, thereby sanctioning, of course, many exceptions; and they then proceed to quote a number of cases where, in spite of all, the short syllable remains short*. In some of these quotations they are no doubt wrong, but in most of them their statement cannot be disputed.

As to the eighth syllable being short in hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, they quote such verses as,

vi. 66, 4. āntār (īti) sāntāḥ āvādyānī pūnānāḥ.

Thus we see that in vi. 44, 9, vārṣhīyāḥ vāyāḥ krīnūḥi sāḷībhīḥ, hi remains short; while in vi. 25, 3, gāhī vṛīshnyānī krīnūḥi pārācāḥ, it is lengthened in the Sanhitā, the only difference being that in the second passage the accent is on hi.

As to the tenth syllable being short in a dodecasyllabic, they quote

ii. 27, 14. ādītē mītrā vārūṇa uṭā mrīlā.

* 'Wo die achtsilbigen Reihen mit herbeigezogen sind, ist es in der Regel bei solchen Liedern geschehen, die im Ganzen von der regelmässigen Form weniger abweichen, und für solche Fälle, wo auch das Prātisākhya die Längung der sechsten Silbe in achtsilbigen Reihen vorschreibt, nämlich wo die siebente von Natur kurz ist. Die achtsilbigen Reihen bedürfen einer erneuten Durchforschung, da es mehrfach schwer fällt, den Sanhitātext mit der Vorschrift der Prātisākhya in Übereinstimmung zu bringen.' Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 450; and still more strongly, p. 458.
As to the tenth syllable being short in a hendeca-syllabic, they quote

ii. 20, i. ṣāyaṁ te ṣāyaḥ īndra ṛiddhi sū naḥ.

As to the sixth syllable being short in an octosyllabic, they quote

viii. 23, 26. māhāḥ viśvān ābhī sātāḥ.

A large number of similar exceptions are collected from 528, 3 to 534, 94, and this does not include any cases where the ninth, the eleventh, or the seventh syllable is long, instead of being short, while it does include cases where the eighth syllable is long, though the ninth is not short, or, at least, is not short according to the views of the collectors of these passages. See Sūtra 522, 6.

Besides the cases mentioned by the Prātisākhya itself, where a short syllable, though occupying a place which would seem to require lengthening, remains short, there are many others which the Prātisākhya does not mention, because, from its point of view, there was no necessity for doing so. The Prātisākhya has been blamed* for omitting such cases as i. 93, 6. urum yajñāya kākrathūr u lokam; or i. 96, i. devā agnim dhārayan drāvinodām. But though occupying the eighth place, and though followed by a short syllable, these syllables could

* 'Dazu kommt, dass der uns vorliegende Sanhitatext vielfältig gar nicht mit Saunaka’s allgemeinen Regel übereinstimmt, in dem die Verlängerung kurzer Silben nicht unter den Bedingungen eingetreten ist, die er vorschreibt.' Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 459.
never fall under the general observation of the Prātisākhya, because that general observation refers to final vowels only, but not to short syllables in general. Similar cases are i. 107, 1a; 122, 9; 130, 10; 152, 6; 154, 1; 158, 5a; 163, 2; 167, 10a; 171, 4; 173, 6; 179, 1a; 182, 8a; 186, 6, &c.

If, therefore, we say that, happen what may, these metrical rules must be observed, and the text of the Veda altered in order to satisfy the requirements of these rules, we ought to know at all events that we do this on our own responsibility, and that we cannot shield ourselves behind the authority of Saunaka or Kātyāyana. Now it is well known that Professor Kuhn* has laid down the rule that the Traishtubha pādas must end in a bacchius or amphibrachys \( \circ \_ \varpi \), and the Gāgata pādas in a dijambus or pæon secundus \( \circ \_ \_ \varpi \). With regard to Ānushṭubha pādas, he requires the dijambus or pæon secundus \( \circ \_ \_ \varpi \) at the end of a whole verse only, allowing greater freedom in the formation of the preceding pādas. In a later article, however, the final pāda, too, in Ānushtubha metre is allowed greater freedom, and the rule, as above given, is strictly maintained with regard to the Traishtubha and Gāgata pādas only.

This subject is so important, and affects so large a number of passages in the Veda, that it requires the most careful examination. The Vedic metres,

* Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. iii. p. 118.
though at first sight very perplexing, are very simple, if reduced to their primary elements. The authors of the Prātisākhyaas have elaborated a most complicated system. Counting the syllables in the most mechanical manner, they have assigned nearly a hundred names to every variety which they discovered in the hymns of the Rig-veda*. But they also observed that the constituent elements of all these metres were really but four, (Sūtras 988, 989):

1. The Gāyatra pāda, of eight syllables, ending in ā-.
2. The Vairāga pāda, of ten syllables, ending in ā-.
3. The Traishtubha pāda, of eleven syllables, ending in ā-.
4. The Gāgata pāda, of twelve syllables, ending in ā-.

Then follows an important rule, Sūtra 990: 'The penultimate syllable,' he says, 'in a Gāyatra and Gāgata pāda is light (laghu), in a Vairāga and Traishtubha pāda heavy (guru).'' This is called their vṛitta.

This word vṛitta, which is generally translated by metre, had evidently originally a more special meaning. It meant the final rhythm, or if we take it literally, the turn of a line, for it is derived from vṛit, to turn. Hence vṛitta is the same word as the Latin versus, verse; but I do not wish to decide whether the connection between the two words is historical, or simply etymological. In Latin, versus is always supposed to have meant

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* See Appendix to my edition of the Prātisākhya, p. cccvii.
originally a furrow, then a line, then a verse. In Sanskrit the metaphor that led to the formation of vr̥itta, in the sense of final rhythm, has nothing to do with ploughing. If, as I have tried to prove (Chips from a German Workshop, vol. i. p. 84), the names assigned to metres and metrical language were derived from words originally referring to choreic movements, vr̥itta must have meant the turn, i.e. the last step of any given movement; and this turn, as determining the general character of the whole movement, would naturally be regulated by more severe rules, while greater freedom would be allowed for the rest.

Having touched on this subject, I may add another fact in support of my view. The words Trishtubh and Anushtubh, names for the most common metres, are generally derived from a root stubh, to praise. I believe they should be derived from a root stubh, which is preserved in Greek, not only in στυφελός, hard, στυφελιζω, to strike hard, but in the root στεµφ, from which στεµφυλων, stamped or pressed olives or grapes, and ἀστεµφῆς, untrodden (grapes), then unshaken; and in στεµβω, to shake, στοβεω, to scold, &c. In Sanskrit this root exists in a parallel form as stambh, lit. to stamp down, then to fix, to make firm, with which Bopp has compared the German stampfen, to stamp; (Glossarium, s. v. stambh.) I therefore look upon Trishtubh as meaning originally tripudium, (supposing this word to be derived from tri and pes, according to
the expression in Horace, pepulisse ter pede terram, Hor. Od. iii. 18,) and I explain its name ‘Three-step,’ by the fact that the three last syllables o - o, which form the characteristic feature of that metre, and may be called its real vritta or turn, were audibly stamped at the end of each turn or strophe. I explain Anushtubh, which consists of four equal pādas, each of eight syllables, as the ‘After-step,’ because each line was stamped regularly after the other, possibly by two choruses, each side taking its turn. There is one passage in the Veda where Anushtubh seems to have preserved this meaning:

x. 124, 9. anu-stūbham ānu karkūryāmānam īndram nī kikyuh kavāyah manishā.

Poets by their wisdom discovered Indra dancing to an Anushtubh.

Other names of metres which point to a similar origin, i.e. to their original connection with dances, are Padapaṅkti, ‘Step-row,’ Nyaṅku-sārini, ‘Roe-step,’ Abhisārini, ‘Contre-danse,’ &c.

If now we return to the statement of the Prātisākhya in reference to the vrittas, we should observe how careful its author is in his language. He does not say that the penultimate is long or short, but he simply states, that, from a metrical point of view, it must be considered as light or heavy, which need not mean more than that it must be pronounced with or without stress. The fact that the author of the Prātisākhya uses these terms, laghu and guru, instead of hrasva, short, and dirgha, long,
shows in fact that he was aware that the penultimate in these pádas is not invariably long or short, though, from a metrical point of view, it is always heavy or light.

It is perfectly true that if we keep to these four pádas, (to which one more páda, viz. the half Vairâga, consisting of five syllables, might be added,) we can reduce nearly all the hymns of the Rig-veda to their simple elements which the ancient poets combined together, in general in a very simple way, but occasionally with greater freedom. The most important strophes, formed out of these pádas, are,

1. Three Gâyatra pádas = the Gâyatî, (24 syllables.)
2. Four Gâyatra pádas = the Anushtubh, (32 syllables.)
3. Four Vairâga pádas = the Virâg, (40 syllables.)
4. Four Traishtubha pádas = the Trishtubh, (44 syllables.)
5. Four Gâgata pádas = the Gagatî, (48 syllables.)

Between the Gâyatî and Anushtubh strophes, another strophe may be formed, by mixture of Gâyatra and Gâgata pádas, consisting of 28 syllables, and commonly called Ushnîh; likewise between the Anushtubh and the Virâg, a strophe may be formed, consisting of 36 syllables, and commonly called Brihatî.

In a collection of hymns, however, like that of the Rig-veda, where poems of different ages, different places, and different families have been put together, we must be prepared for exceptions to many rules. Thus, although the final turn of the
hendecasyllabic Traishtubha is, as a rule, the bacchius, \(\circ - -\), yet if we take, for instance, the 77th hymn of the tenth Mandala, we clearly perceive another hendecasyllabic pada of a totally different structure, and worked up into one of the most beautiful strophes by an ancient poet. Each line is divided into two halves, the first consisting of seven syllables, being an exact counterpart of the first member of a Saturnian verse (fato Romæ Metelli); the second a dijambus, answering boldly to the broken rhythm of the first member*. We have, in fact, a Trishtubh where the turn or the three-step, \(\circ - -\), instead of being at the end, stands in the middle of the line.

x. 77, 1-5, in the Pada text:

1. ābhṛā-pruśāh nā vālā । pruśa vasū,
    hāvishmāntāh nā yāgṇāh । vi-gānūshāh ।

* Professor Kuhn (vol. iii. p. 450) is inclined to admit the same metre as varying in certain hymns with ordinary Traishtubha pādas, but the evidence he brings forward is hardly sufficient. Even if we object to the endings \(\circ - \circ\) and \(--\circ--\), v. 33, 4, may be a Gāgata, with vyūha of dāsa, the remark quoted from the Prātisākhya being of no consequence on such points; and the same remedy would apply to v. 41, 5, with vyūha of eshe. In vi. 47, 31, vyūha of asvaparnaiḥ; in i. 33, 9, vyūha of indra and rodasī; in ii. 24, 5, vyūha of mādbhiḥ would produce the same effect; while in i. 121, 8, we must either admit the Traishtubha vṛtta \(-\circ-\) or scan dhūksāna. In iii. 58, 6, I should admit vyūha for nārā; in iv. 26, 6, for māndrām; in i. 100, 8, for gṛoṭīḥ, always supposing that we consider the ending \(--\circ--\) incompatible with a Trishtubh verse.
sū-ṁārūtām nā brāhmānām ārhasē, gaṇām āstōshi ēshām nā sōbhāsē
dvāh ākṛśina ṣvāhāta, sū-ṁārūtām nā pūrvīḥ āti kshāpāh

2. śrīye māryāsah āṅgīṁ ākrīnvatā,

ādityāsah te ākrāh nā vaṃrīdhūḥ
dvāh ākṛśina ṣvāhāta, sū-ṁārūtām nā pūrvīḥ āti kshāpāh

3. prā yē dvāh prīthīvyāh nā bārhānā,

pāgasvāntah nā vīrāh pānasyāvāh,

4. yūshmākām būdhē āpām nā yāmānī,

vīthūryātī nā māhī śrāthāryātī
cōrīsūvāntah nā vīrāh pānasyāvāh,

5. yūyām dhūḥ-sū prā-yūgāh nā rāsmī-bhīh,

gyōtīshmantāh nā bhāsā vē-ūshēśēh
vyēnāsam nā svā-yasāsah rīsādasah,

pravāsah nā prā-sītīsah pārī-prūshah

Another strophe, the nature of which has been totally misapprehended by native metricians, occurs in iv. 10. It is there called Padapāŋkti and Mahāpadapāŋkti; nay, attempts have been made to treat it even as an Ushnīh, or as a kind of Gāyatrī. The real character of that strophe is so palpable that it is difficult to understand how it could have been mistaken. It consists of two lines, the first
embracing three or four feet of five syllables each, having the ictus on the first and the fourth syllables, and resembling the last line of a Sapphic verse. The second line is simply a Trishtubh. It is what we should call an asynartete strophe, and the contrast of the rhythm in the first and second lines is very effective. I am not certain whether Professor Bollensen, who has touched on this metre in an article just published (Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. xxii. p. 572), shares this opinion. He has clearly seen that the division of the lines, as given in the MSS. of the Sanhitâ text, is wrong; but he seems inclined to admit the same rhythm throughout, and to treat the strophe as consisting of four lines of five syllables each, and one of six syllables, which last line is to submit to the prevailing rhythm of the preceding lines. If we differ, however, as to the internal architecture of this strophe, we agree in condemning the interpretation proposed by the Prâtisâkhya; and I should, in connection with this, like to call attention to two important facts: first, that the Sanhitâ text, in not changing, for instance, the final t of martât, betrays itself as clearly later than the elaboration of the ancient theory of metres, later than the invention of such a metre as the Padapâṅkti; and secondly, that the accentuation, too, of the Sanhitâ is thus proved to be posterior to the establishment of these fanciful metrical divisions, and hence cannot throughout claim so irrefragable an authority as
certainly belongs to it in many cases. I give the Sanhitā text:

1. Āgne tām ādyaśasvām nā stōmāh krātūm nā bhādrām,
   hṛdīśprīśām rīdhyāmā tē ōhaḥ.

2. Ādhā hē āgne krātor bhādrasyā dākshāsyā sādhōh,
   rāthīr rītāsyā brīhato bābhūthā.

3. Ēbhīr nō ārkāir bhāvā nō ārvān śvār nā gyotiḥ,
   āgne visvēbhīḥ sūmanā ānīkaīḥ.

4. Ābhīsh te ādya ēgīr bhīr grīnanto āgne dāsema,
   pra te dīvō nā stānāyanti sūsmāḥ.

5. Tāvā svādīshṭā āgne āsmīrīshūrīr,
   īdā kīd āhṇā īdā kīd āktōḥ,
   sriye rūkmo nā rōkātā ūpāke.

6. Ghritām nā pūtam tānūr ārepāḥ sūkī hīranyām,
   tāt te rūkmo nā rōkātā svādhāvāḥ.

7. Krītām kīd dīhī shmā śānēmī dvēshō āgnā īnōshī,
   mārtād ītthā yāgāmānād rītāvāḥ.

8. Śīvā nāḥ sākhyā śāntū bhrātrāgnē dēvēshū yūshmē,
   sā nō nābhīḥ sādānē sāsmīn ūdhan.

Now it is perfectly true that, as a general rule, the syllables composing the vṛtta or turn of the different metres, and described by the Prātisākhya as heavy or light, are in reality long or short. The question, however, is this, have we a right, or are we obliged, in cases where that syllable is not either long or short, as it ought to be, so to alter the text, or so to change the rules of pro-
nunciation, that the penultimate may again be what we wish it to be?

If we begin with the Gâyatra páda, we have not to read long before we find that it would be hopeless to try to crush the Gâyatrî verses of the Vedic Rishis on this Procrustean bed. Even Professor Kuhn very soon perceived that this was impossible. He had to admit that in the Gâyatrî the two first pádas, at all events, were free from this rule, and though he tried to retain it for the third or final páda, he was obliged after a time to give it up even there. Again, it is perfectly true, that in the third páda of the Gâyatrî, and in the second and fourth pádas of the Anushtubh strophe, greater care is taken by the poets to secure a short syllable for the penultimate, but here, too, exceptions cannot be entirely removed. We have only to take such a single hymn as i. 27, and we shall see that it would be impossible to reduce it to the uniform standard of Gâyatrî pádas, all ending in a dijambus. But what confirms me even more in my view that such strict uniformity must not be looked for in the ancient hymns of the Rishis, is the fact that in many cases it would be so very easy to replace the irregular by a regular dipodia. Supposing that the original poets had restricted themselves to the dijambus, who could have put in the place of that regular dijambus an irregular dipodia? Certainly not the authors of the Prâti-sâkhya, for their ears had clearly discovered the
general rhythm of the ancient metres; nor their predecessors, for they had in many instances preserved the tradition of syllables lengthened in accordance with the requirements of the metre.

I do not mean to insist too strongly on this argument, or to represent those who handed down the tradition of the Veda as endowed with anything like apaurusheya. Strange accidents have happened in the text of the Veda, but they have generally happened when the sense of the hymns had ceased to be understood; and if anything helped to preserve the Veda from greater accidents, it was due, I believe, to the very fact that the metre continued to be understood, and that oral tradition, however much it might fail in other respects, had at all events to satisfy the ears of the hearers. I should have been much less surprised if all irregularities in the metre had been smoothed down by the flux and reflux of oral tradition, a fact which is so apparent in the text of Homer, where the gaps occasioned by the loss of the digamma, were made good by the insertion of meaningless particles; but I find it difficult to imagine by what class of men, who must have lived between the original poets and the age of the Pratisākhyas, the simple rhythm of the Vedic metres should have been disregarded, and the sense of rhythm, which ancient people possess in a far higher degree than we ourselves, been violated through crude and purposeless alterations. I shall give a few specimens only. What
but a regard for real antiquity could have induced people in viii. 2, 8, to preserve the defective foot of a Gâyatrî verse, sâmâne ādhī bhârmān? Any one acquainted with Sanskrit would naturally read sâmâne ādhī bhârmānī. But who would have changed bhârmānī, if that had been there originally, to bhârmān? I believe we must scan sâmâne ādhī bhârmān, or sâmāne ādhī bhârmān, the paen ter-tius being a perfectly legitimate foot at the end of a Gâyatrî verse. In x. 158, i, we can understand how an accident happened. The original poet may have said: Śûryō nō dīvās pātū pātū vātō āntārikshāt, āgnir nāh pārthīvēbhỹāh. Here one of the two pātū was lost. But if in the same hymn we find in the second verse two feet of nine instead of eight syllables each, I should not venture to alter this except in pronunciation, because no reason can be imagined why any one should have put these irregular lines in the place of regular ones.

In v. 41, 10, grīṇīte āgnīr ētārī nā sūṣhāh, sōkīshkēsō nī rīnātū vānā, every modern Pandit would naturally read vanāṇi instead of vanā, in order to get the regular Trishtubh metre. But this being the case, how can we imagine that even the most ignorant member of an ancient Parishad should wilfully have altered vanāṇi into vanā? What surprises one is, that vanā should have been spared, in spite of every temptation to change it into vanāṇi: for I cannot doubt for one moment that
vanâ is the right reading, only that the ancient poets pronounced it vānā. Wherever we alter the text of the Rig-veda by conjecture, we ought to be able, if possible, to give some explanation how the mistake which we wish to remove came to be committed. If a passage is obscure, difficult to construe, if it contains words which occur in no other place, then we can understand how, during a long process of oral tradition, accidents may have happened. But when everything is smooth and easy, when the intention of the poet is not to be mistaken, when the same phrase has occurred many times before, then to suppose that a simple and perspicuous sentence was changed into a complicated and obscure string of words is more difficult to understand. I know there are passages where we cannot as yet account for the manner in which an evidently faulty reading found its way into both the Pada and Sanhitâ texts, but in those very passages we cannot be too circumspect. If we read viii. 40, 9, pûrvâsh tā īndrōpāmātayâḥ pûrvâr ūtā prâsâstâyâḥ, nothing seems more tempting than to omit indra, and to read pûrvâsh tā ūpāmātayâḥ. Nor would it be difficult to account for the insertion of indra; for though one would hardly venture to call it a marginal gloss that crept into the text—a case which, as far as I can see, has never happened in the hymns of the Rig-veda—it might be taken for an explanation given by an Ākârya to his pupils, in order to inform them that the ninth verse,
different from the eighth, was addressed to Indra.

But however plausible this may sound, the question remains whether the traditional reading could not be maintained, by admitting synizesis of opa, and reading pūrvīṣḥ ā śindropamātāyāh. For a similar synizesis of – ā, see iii. 6, 10. prālī ādhvāreva taśthātūḥ, unless we read pṛāly ādhvāreva.

Another and more difficult case of synizesis occurs in

vii. 86, 4. āvā tvānēnā nāmāsā tūrah īyām.

It would be easy to conjecture tvareyām instead of tūr īyām, but tvareyām, in the sense of ‘let me hasten,’ is not Vedic. The choriambic ending, however, of Trishūbha can be proved to be legitimate, and if that is the case, then even the synizesis of tūr, though hard, ought not to be regarded as impossible.

In ii. 18, 5. ā vīṁsātyā trīṁsātā yāhī ārvān,

ā kātvārisāṁtā hāriṁ hīr yūgānāḥ,

ā pāṅkāsātā sūrāthebhīṁ īndrā,

ā shāshtyā sāptātyā sōmāpēyām,

Professor Kuhn proposes to omit the ā at the beginning of the second line, in order to have eleven instead of twelve syllables. By doing so he loses the uniformity of the four pādās, which all begin with ā, while by admitting synizesis of haribhīḥ all necessity for conjectural emendation disappears.

If the poets of the Veda had objected to a pæon
quartus (☉☉☉-) at the end of a Gāyatrī, what could have been easier than to change iv. 52, i, divo adarsi dūhītā, into adarsi dūhītā divāh? or x. 118, 6, ādā-bhīyām grīhāpātīm, into grīhāpātīm ādābhīyām?

If an epitritus secundus (☉☉☉-) had been objectionable in the same place, why not say vi. 61, 10, stomyā bhūt sarasvātī, instead of sarasvātī stomyā bhūt? Why not viii. 2, 11, rēvāntām hī svīnōmī tvā, instead of rēvāntām hī tvā svīnōmī?

If an ionicus a minore (☉☉☉-) had been excluded from that place, why not say i. 30, 10, gārītrībhīyāh sakhē vāsō, instead of sakhē vāsō gārītrībhīyāh? or i. 41, 7, vārūnāsya māhī pśarāh, instead of māhī pśarō vārūnāsya?

If a dispondeus (☉☉☉-) was to be avoided, then v. 68, 3, māhī vām kshātrām dēveshū, might easily have been replaced by deveshu vām kshātrām māhī, and viii. 2, 10, sukra āsirām yākānte, by sukra yā-kāntā āsirām.

If no epitritus primus (☉☉☉-) was allowed, why not say vi. 61, 11, nīdās pātū sarasvātī, instead of sarasvātī nīdās pātū, or viii. 79, 4, dvēshō yāvīr āghāsyā kīt, instead of yāvīr āghāsyā kīd dvēshāḥ?

Even the epitritus tertius (☉☉☉-) might easily have been avoided by dropping the augment of apām in x. 119, 1–13, kuvit somasyāpām ītī. It is, in fact, a variety of less frequent occurrence than the rest, and might possibly be eliminated with some chance of success.

Lastly, the choriambus (☉☉☉-) could have been

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removed in iii. 24, 5, sīśīhī nāḥ sūnūmatāḥ, by reading sūnūmatāḥ sīśīhī nāḥ, and in viii. 2, 31, ṣānād āmrīktō dāyatē, by reading āmrīktō dāyatē sānāt.

But I am afraid the idea that regularity is better than irregularity, and that in the Veda, where there is a possibility, the regular metre is to be restored by means of conjectural emendations, has been so ably advocated by some of the most eminent scholars, that a merely general argument would now be of no avail. I must therefore give as much evidence as I can bring together in support of the contrary opinion; and though the process is a tedious one, the importance of the consequences with regard to Vedic criticism leaves me no alternative. With regard, then, to the final dipodia of Gāyatrī verses, I still hold and maintain, that, although the dijambus is by far the most general metre, the following seven varieties have to be recognized in the poetry of the Veda:

1. oo, 2. ooo, 3. o, 4. oo, 5. ----, 6. o ----, 7. ----, 8. o oo.

I do not pretend to give every passage in which these varieties occur, but I hope I shall give a sufficient number in support of every one of them. I have confined myself almost entirely to the final dipodia of Gāyatrī verses, as the Ānushtubha verses would have swelled the lists too much; and in order to avoid every possible objection, I have given the verses, not in their Pada, but in their Sanhitā form.
§ 2. 

i. 12, 9. tasmai pāvakā mṛilāyā. (Instead of mṛilaya, it has been proposed to read mardaya.)

i. 18, 9. divo na sadmāmākhaśām.

i. 42, 4. padābhi tishthā tāpūshīm.

i. 46, 2. dhiyā devā vāsūvidā. (It would have been easy to read vasūvidā.)

i. 97, 1–8. apa nah sosūkāt āghām.

iii. 11, 3. artham hy asyā tārānī.

iii. 27, 10. agne suditīṁūsigām.

iv. 15, 7. akkhā na hūtā ūḍ āram.

iv. 32, 4. asmāṁ-asmāṁ id ūḍ āvā.

iv. 52, 1. divo adarsī duḥhitā.

v. 5, 9. yagyē-yagyē na ūḍ āvā.

v. 7, 4. pra små minātī ṣagarāḥ.

v. 7, 5. bhūmā prishthevā rūrūhūḥ.

v. 7, 7. anibhrishtātāvishīḥ.

v. 9, 4. agne pasur na yavāsē.

v. 53, 12. enā yāmenā māruitāḥ.

v. 61, 3. putrakrithe na jānayāḥ.

v. 61, 11. atra sravāmsī dādhīrē.

v. 64, 5. sakhīnāṁ kā vrīdhāsē.

v. 65, 4. sumatir astī vīdhātāḥ.

v. 82, 9. pra ka suvāṭī sāvītā.

vi. 16, 17. tatrā sadāh krīnakvāsē.

vi. 16, 18. athā duvo vanavāsē.
vi. 16, 45. sokā vi bhāḥy āgarā.
vi. 45, 17. sa tvam na indrā mṛilāyā.
vi. 61, 4. dhīnām āvītrīḥ āvātū.
vii. 15, 14. pūr bhāvā sātbhūgīḥ.
vii. 66, 2. asuryāya prāmāhaśā.
viii. 6, 35. anuttamanyum āgarām.
viii. 6, 42. satam vahantu hārayāḥ.
viii. 32, 10. sādhu krinvantam āvāse.
viii. 44, 28. tasmai pāvakā mṛilāyā.
viii. 45, 31. mā tat kar indrā mṛilāyā.
viii. 72, 6. dāmā rathasyā dādṛṣe.
viii. 72, 13. rasā dadhīta vrīshābhām.
viii. 80, 1 and 2. tvam na indrā mṛilāyā.
viii. 83, 3. yūyam rītasya rāthyāḥ.
viii. 93, 27. stotribhya indrā mṛilāyā.
ix. 61, 5. tebhīr nāh somā mṛilāyā.
ix. 64, 1. vrīshā dharmāṇi ādahīṣhē.
x. 118, 6. adābhyam grīhāpaṭīm.

§ 3. — — — — —
i. 22, 11. akkinnapatrāḥ sakāntām.
i. 30, 13. kshumanto yābhīr madēmā.
i. 41, 8. sumnair id va ā vīvāsē.
i. 90, 1. aryamā devāḥ sāgoshaḥ.
i. 90, 4. pūṣhā bhago vāndyāsaḥ.
i. 120, 1. kathā vidhāty āprākeṭāḥ.
v. 19, 1. upasthe mātūr vī kāshṭē.
v. 70, 3. turyâma dasyûn tânûbhîh.
vi. 61, 10. sarasvati stômyâ bhût.
viii. 2, 2. asvo na nikto nàdîshû.
viii. 2, 4. antar devân mûrtiâms ka.`
viii. 2, 5. apasprinvatê sûhârdâm.
viii. 2, 11. revantam hi tvâ srînâmi.
viii. 2, 12. údhar na nagnâ gûrânte.
viii. 2, 13. pred u harivâh srûtâsya.
viii. 2, 14. na gûyatram gîyâmânâm.
viii. 2, 15. sikshâ sakivâh sàlîbhîh.
viii. 2, 16. kanvâ ukthebhîr gûrânte.
viii. 2, 17. taved u stomâm kîkêtâ.
viii. 2, 29. indra kârinâm vriîdhântâh.
viii. 2, 30. satrâ dadhirê sàvâmsi.
viii. 2, 32. mahân mahîbhîh sàlîbhîh.
viii. 2, 33. anu ghen mandî mûghônâh.
viii. 2, 36. satyô yûtâ vîdhântam.
viii. 2, 37. yo bhût somaih sàtyâmâdvâ.
viii. 7, 30. mûrdîkebhîr nàdhamânâm.
viii. 7, 33. vâvrîtãm kîtravàgân.
viii. 11, 2. agne rathîr âdhvârânâm.
viii. 11, 3. adevir agnî ārâtîh (or § 4).
viii. 11, 4. nopa veshi gûtâvedâh.
viii. 16, 3. maho vâginâm sàniîbhîyâh.
viii. 16, 4. harshumantah sûrásâtâu.
viii. 16, 5. yeshâm indras tê gûyântî.
viii. 16, 7. mahân mahîbhîh sàlîbhîh. Cf. viii. 2, 32.
viii. 46, 2. vidma dātārām rāyīnām.
viii. 71, 2. tvām īd āśi kshāpāvān (or § 4).
viii. 81, 1. mahāhastī dākshinēnā.
viii. 81, 3. bhīmam na gām vārayānte.
viii. 81, 4. na rādhasā mārdhīshān nāh.
viii. 81, 7. adāsūshṭarāsyā vēdāh.
viii. 81, 9. vasais ka makshū gārānte.
viii. 94, 2. śūryāmāsā drīse kām.
ix. 62, 5. svadanti gāvah pāyōbhīh.
x. 20, 4. kavir abhrām dīdyānāh.
x. 20, 7. adreḥ sūnum āyūm āhūh.

§ 4. o o -- o.
i. 3, 8. usrā iva svāsārānī.
i. 27, 4. agne deveshū pra vōkāh.
i. 30, 10. sakhe vaso gārītrībhīyāh.
i. 30, 15. vīnor aksham nā sākibhīh.
i. 38, 7. miham krvinvantī āvātām.
i. 38, 8. yad eshām vṛishtīr āsāṛgī.
i. 41, 7. mahī psaro varaṇāsyaā.
i. 43, 7. mahī sravas tuvinrīmannām.
ii. 6, 2. enā sūktenā sūgāṭa.
iii. 27, 3. ati dveshāmsī tāreṃā.
v. 82, 7. satyasavaṃ sāvītārām.
vi. 16, 25. ūrgo napād āmrītāsyā.
vi. 16, 26. marta ānāsa sūvīrīktīm.
vi. 61, 12. vāge-vāge hāvyā bhūt.
viii. 2, 1. anābhayin rārīmā te.
viii. 2, 3. indra tvāsmint sādhāmādē.
viii. 2, 8. sāmānē ādhī bhārmān (see page cx).
viii. 2, 18. yanti pramādāṁ ātāndrāḥ.
viii. 2, 19. mahāṁ iva yūvā française.
viii. 2, 21. trishu gātasyā mānāmsi.
viii. 2, 22. yasastaram sātamūteḥ.
viii. 2, 23. bharā piban nāryāyā.
viii. 2, 26. ni yamate sātamūtiḥ.
viii. 2, 35. ino vasu sā hī vōlhā.
viii. 16, 2. apām avo nā samūdrey.
viii. 16, 6. esha indro vārīvāskrit.
viii. 16, 8. ekas hiti sam ābhībhūtiḥ.
viii. 71, 9. sakhe vaso gārītvibhyāḥ. Cf. i. 30, 10.
viii. 79, 3. uru yantāśi vārūthām.
ix. 21, 5. yo asmahyām ārāvā (or ārāvā).
ix. 62, 6. madhvo rasam sādhāmādē.
ix. 66, 21. dadhad rayim māyī pōshām.
x. 20, 5. minvant sadma pūrā ēti.
x. 185, 1. durādharṣham varūnāsya.
x. 185, 2. īse ripur āghāsāmsāh.
x. 185, 3. gyoṭir yakkhanṭy āgāsrām.

§ 5. — — — — .
i. 2, 7. dhiyam ghritākīm sādhāṁta.
i. 3, 4. anvībhīs tanā pūtāsāh.
i. 27, 3. pāhi sadam īd vīsvāyūḥ.
i. 90, 2. vratâ rakshantē visvãhâ (or § 6).
ii. 6, 4. yuyodhy asmâd dvêshâmsi.
iii. 41, 8. indra svadhâvô matsvêhâ (or § 6).
v. 68, 3. mahi vâm kshatrâm devêshû.
v. 68, 4. adruhâ devâu vârdhête.
viii. 2, 10. sukrâ âsirâm yâkântê.
viii. 2, 24. vâgam stotribhyo gómântâm (or § 6).
viii. 16, 1. naram nrishâhâm mâmhiśthêm.
viii. 16, 12. akkhâ ka nah sùmnâm nêshi.
viii. 79, 2. prem andhaḥ khyan nîh srôno bhût.
ix. 66, 17. bhûridâbhyaś kûn mâmhiyân.
x. 20, 6. agnim devâ vâsimântâm.
x. 20, 8. agnim havishâ vârdhântâh.

§ 6. — — — —.

i. 15, 6. ritunâ yagñâm âsâthê.
i. 38, 2. kva vo gâvo nâ rânyânti (see page 70).
i. 38, 9. yat prithivim yûundânti.
i. 86, 9. vidhyatâ vidyûtâ râkshâh.
iii. 27, 2. srushtivânâm dhûtavânâm.
iii. 41, 3. vihi sûra pûrodpâm.
iv. 32, 23. babhrû yâmeshû sôbhête.
v. 68, 5. brihantam gartâm âsâte.
v. 70, 2. vayam te rudrâ syâma.
vi. 61, 11. sarasvatî nûdâs pâtû.
viii. 2, 20. asrîra ivâ gâmâtâ.
viii. 2, 25. somam virâyâ sûrâyâ.
viii. 7, 32. stushe hiranyāvāsībhīh.
viii. 26, 19. vahete subhrāyāvānā.
viii. 79, 4. yāvir aghasya kid dvēshāh.
viii. 79, 5. vavrigyus trishyātāh kāmām.
viii. 81, 6. indra mā no vāsor nīr bhāk.
x. 158, 4. sam kedaṁ vi kā pāsyēmā.

§ 7. — — — .
i. 10, 8. saṁ gā asmābhyaṁ dhūnūhī.
i. 12, 5. āgne tvām rākshasvināh.
i. 37, 15. visvam kid āyūr gīvase.
i. 43, 8. ā na indo vāge bhāga.
i. 46, 6. tām asme rāsāthām iśhām.
iii. 62, 7. asmābhis tubhyaṁ sāsyāte.
iv. 30, 21. dāsānām indrō māyāyā.
v. 86, 5. amseva devāv ārvāte.
viii. 5, 32. pūrūskaṇḍāra nāsatyā (or nāsatyā, § 8).
viii. 5, 35. dhīgāvānā nāsatyā.
x. 119, 1-13. kuvit somasyāpāṁ īti.
x. 144, 4. satakākrama yō 'hyo vārtāṇīh.

§ 8. — — — .
i. 2, 9. daksham dadhāte āpasām (or § 2).
i. 6, 10. indram maho vā rāgāsāh.
i. 27, 6. sadyo dāsushē kshāraṣi.
i. 30, 21. asve na kitṛē ārūshī (or § 2).
i. 41, 9. na duruktāyāḥ sprīhāyēt (or § 2).
i. 90, 5. kārtā nāḥ svāstimātaḥ.
But although with regard to the Gāyatra, and I may add, the Ânushṭubha pādās, the evidence as to the variety of their vṛttas is such that it can hardly be resisted, a much more determined stand has been made in defence of the vṛtta of the Traishtubha and Gāgata pādās. Here Professor Kuhn and those who follow him maintain that the rule is absolute, that the former must end in \( u \), the latter in \( uu \), and that the eighth syllable, immediately preceding these syllables, ought, if possible, to be long. Nor can I deny that Professor Kuhn has brought forward powerful arguments in support of his theory, and that his emendations of the Vedic text recommend themselves by their great ingenuity and simplicity. If his theory could be
carried out, I should readily admit that we should gain something. We should have throughout the Veda a perfectly uniform metre, and wherever we found any violation of it, we should be justified in resorting to conjectural criticism.

The only question is at what price this strict uniformity can be obtained. If, for instance, in order to have the regular vrittas at the end of Traishtubha and Gâgata lines, we were obliged to repeal all rules of prosody, to allow almost every short vowel to be used as long, and every long vowel to be used as short, whether long by nature or by position, we should have gained very little, we should have robbed Peter to pay Paul, we should have removed no difficulty, but only ignored the causes which created it. Now, if we examine the process by which Professor Kuhn establishes the regularity of the vrittas or final syllables of Traishtubha and Gâgata pâdas, we find, in addition to the rules laid down before, and in which he is supported, as we saw, to a great extent by the Prâtisâkhya and Pânini, viz. the anepts nature of e and o, and of a long final vowel before a vowel, the following exceptions or metrical licences, without which that metrical uniformity at which he aims, could not be obtained:

1. The vowel o in the body of a word is to be treated as optionally short:

ii. 39, 3. prâṭi vâstôr āsrâ (see Trisht. § 5).

Here the o of vastôh is supposed to be short, although it is the Guna of u, and therefore very
different from the final e of sarve or âste, or the final o of sarvo for sarvas or mano for manas*. It should be remarked that in Greek, too, the final diphthongs corresponding to the e of sarve and âste are treated as short, as far as the accent is concerned. Hence ἀποικοι, τοῦπτεται, and even γνώμαι, nom. plur. In Latin, too, the old terminations of the nom. sing. o and u, instead of the later us, are short. (Neue, Formenlehre, § 23 seq.)

vi. 51, 15. gopā āmā.

Here the o of gopā is treated as short, in order to get ō-ū- instead of ō-ū-, which is perfectly legitimate at the end of an Uṣṇīḥ.

2. The long ī and ū are treated as short, not only before vowels, which is legitimate, but also before consonants:

vii. 62, 4. dyāvābhūmī ādīte trāśīthām nāḥ (see Trisht. § 5).

The forms īśīyā and rāśīyā in vii. 32, 18, occur at the end of octosyllabic or Gāyattra pādās, and are therefore perfectly legitimate, yet Professor Kuhn would change them too, into īśīyā and rāśīyā. In vii. 28, 4, even māyī is treated as māyī (see Trisht. § 5); and in vii. 68, 1, vītām as vītām. If, in explanation

* A very strong divergence of opinion is expressed on this point by Professor Bollensen. He says: 'O und E erst später in die Schrifttafel aufgenommen, bewahren ihre Länge durch das ganze indische Schriftenthum bis ins Apabhramsa hinab. Selbstverständlich kann kurz o und e im Veda erst recht nicht zugelassen werden.' Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. xxii. p. 574.
of this shortening of vitam, vihi is quoted, which is identified with vihi, this can hardly be considered as an argument, for vihi occurs where no short syllable is required, iv. 48, 1; ii. 26, 2; and where, therefore, the shortening of the vowel cannot be attributed to metrical reasons.

3. Final n followed by an initial consonant is allowed to make no position, and even in the middle of a word a nasal followed by a liquid is supposed to make positio debilis. Several of the instances, however, given in support, are from Gāyatra pādas, where Professor Kuhn, in some of his later articles, has himself allowed greater latitude; others admit of different scanning, as for instance,

i. 117, 8. māhāḥ kshōnasyā ṣvīnā kānvāyā.

Here, even if we considered the dispondeus as illegitimate, we might scan kānvāyā, for this scanning occurs in other places, while to treat the first a as short before no seems tantamount to surrendering all rules of prosody.

4. Final n before semivowels, mutes, and double n before vowels make no position*. Ex. iii. 49, 1. yāsmīṁ vīsvā (Trisht. § 5); i. 174, 5. yāsmīṁ kākān; i. 186, 4. sāsmīṅ(n) ūdhān†.

* Professor Kuhn has afterwards (Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 207) modified this view, and instead of allowing a final nasal followed by a mute to make positio debilis, he thinks that the nasal should in most cases be omitted altogether.

† Here a distinction should be made, I think, between an n before a consonant, and a final n following a short vowel, which,
5. Final Visarga before sibilants makes no position*. Ex. iv. 21, 10. sātyāḥ śāmrāt (Trisht. § 5). Even in i. 63, 4. kōḍīḥ sākhā (probably a Gāgata), and v. 82, 4. sāvīḥ sāubhāgām (a Gāy. § 7), the long ī is treated as short, and the short a of sakhā is lengthened, because an aspirate follows.


7. S before k makes no position. Ex. vīsvā- skāndrāh, &c.

8. Mutes before s make no position. Ex. rakṣās, according to Professor Kuhn, in the seventh Mandala only, but see i. 12, 5; kutsa, &c.

9. Mutes before r or v make no position. Ex. sūṣiprā, dīrghaśrūt.

10. Sibilants before y make no position. Ex. dāsyūn.

11. R followed by mutes or sibilants makes no position. Ex. āyūṛ gīvāsē, khaḍīḥ, vaśrīśṭhām.

12. Words like småddīśhām &c. retain their vowel short before two following consonants.

We now proceed to consider a number of pro-

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* Here, too, according to later researches, Professor Kuhn would rather omit the final sibilant altogether, loc. cit. vol. iv. p. 207.
sodial rules which Professor Kuhn proposes to repeal in order to have a long syllable where the MSS. supply a short:

1. The vowel ri is to be pronounced as long, or rather as ar. Ex. i. 12, 9. tasmāī pāvakā mṛīlayā is to be read mārdāyā; v. 33, 10. śāṃvārānāasyā rīsheh is to be read arsheh. But why not śāṃvārānāasyā rīsheh (i.e. siarsheh) ?

2. The a privativum may be lengthened. Ex. āgarāh, āmrītāh.

3. Short vowels before liquids may be long. Ex. narah, tarutā, taratī, marutām, hārivaḥ, ārushi, dadhūriha, suvītā (p. 471).

4. Short vowels before nasals may be lengthened. Ex. ganān, sanitār, tanūḥ, upā nāh.

5. Short vowels before the ma of the superlative may be lengthened. Ex. nritāma.

6. The short a in the roots sam and yam, and in am (the termination of the accusative) may be lengthened.

7. The group āvā is to be pronounced āua. Ex. āvasē becomes āuase; śavītā becomes saūitā; nava becomes naūa.

8. The group āya is to be changed into aīā or ēa. Ex. nayāśi becomes naiāsi.

9. The group va is to be changed into ua, and this ua to be treated as a kind of diphthong and therefore long. Ex. kānvātāmāh becomes kānuātāmāh; varūnāh becomes ārūnāh.

10. The short vowel in the reduplicated syllable of perfects is to be lengthened. Ex. tātānāh, dadhīre.
11. Short vowels before all aspirates may be lengthened. Ex. ṛathāḥ becomes ṛathāḥ; sākhā becomes sākhā.

12. Short vowels before h and all sibilants may be lengthened. Ex. māhīni becomes māhīni; ŭśīgām becomes ŭśīgām; rīṣhātē becomes rīṣhātē; dāsāt becomes dāsāt.

13. The short vowel before t may be lengthened. Ex. vāgavātāḥ becomes vāgavātāḥ; ātithiḥ becomes ātithiḥ.

14. The short vowel before d may be lengthened. Ex. ādaram becomes ādaram; ŭd ava becomes ŭd ava.

15. The short vowel before p may be lengthened. Ex. āpām becomes āpām; tāpūshim becomes tāpūshim; grihāpatim becomes grihāpatim.

16. The short vowel before g and g may be lengthened. Ex. sānushāg asat becomes sānushāg asat; yunāgan becomes yunāgan.

Let us now turn back for one moment to look at the slaughter which has been committed! Is there one single rule that has been spared? Is there one single short syllable that must always remain short, or a long syllable that must always remain long? If all restrictions of prosody are thus removed, our metres, no doubt, become perfectly regular. But it should be remembered that these metrical rules, for which all this carnage has been committed, are not founded upon any à priori principles, but deduced by ancient or modern metricians from those very hymns which seem
so constantly to violate them. Neither ancient nor modern metricians had, as far as we know, any evidence to go upon besides the hymns of the Rig-veda; and the philosophical speculations as to the origin of metres in which some of them indulge, and from which they would fain derive some of their unbending rules, are, as need hardly be said, of no consequence whatever. I cannot understand what definite idea even modern writers connect with such statements as that, for instance, the Trishtubh metre sprang from the Gagati metre, that the eleven syllables of the former are an abbreviation of the twelve syllables of the latter. Surely, metres are not made artificially, and by addition or subtraction. Metres have a natural origin in the rhythmic sentiment of different people, and they become artificial and arithmetical in the same way as language with its innate principles of law and analogy becomes in course of time grammatical and artificial. To derive one metre from another is like deriving a genitive from a nominative, which we may do indeed for grammatical purposes, but which no one would venture to do who is at all acquainted with the natural and independent production of grammatical forms. Were we to arrange the Trishtubh and Gagati metres in chronological order, I should decidedly place the Trishtubh first, for we see, as it were before our eyes, how sometimes one foot, sometimes two and three feet in a Trishtubh verse admit an additional syllable at the end, particularly in set phrases which would not
submit to a Trishtubh ending. The phrase sam no bhava dvipade sam katushpade is evidently a solemn phrase, and we see it brought in without hesitation, even though every other line of the same strophe or hymn is Trishtubh, i.e. hendecasyllabic, not dodeca-syllabic. See, for instance, vi. 74, 1; vii. 54, 1; x. 85, 44; 165, 1. However, I maintain by no means that this was the actual origin of Gagati metres; I only refer to it in order to show the groundlessness of metrical theories which represent the component elements, a foot of one or two or four syllables as given first, and as afterwards compounded into systems of two, three or four such feet, and who therefore would wish us to look upon the hendecasyllabic Trishtubh as originally a dodeca-syllabic Gagati, only deprived of its tail. If my explanation of the name of Trishtubh, i.e. Three-step, is right, its origin must be ascribed to a far more natural process than that of artificial amputation. It was to accompany a choros, i.e. a dance, which after advancing freely for eight steps in one direction, turned back (vritta) with three steps, the second of which was strongly marked, and would therefore, whether in song or recitation, be naturally accompanied by a long syllable. It certainly is so in the vast majority of Trishtubhs which have been handed down to us. But if among these verses we find a small number in which this simple and palpable rhythm is violated, and which nevertheless were preserved from the first in that imperfect form, although the temptation
to set them right must have been as great to the ancient as it has proved to be to the modern students of the Veda, are we to say that nearly all, if not all, the rules that determine the length and shortness of syllables, and which alone give character to every verse, are to be suspended? Or, ought we not rather to consider, whether the ancient choretic poets may not have indulged occasionally in an irregular movement? We see that this was so with regard to Gāyatrī verses. We see the greater freedom of the first and second pādās occasionally extend to the third; and it will be impossible, without intolerable violence, to remove all the varieties of the last pāda of a Gāyatrī of which I have given examples above, pages cxv seq.

It is, of course, impossible to give here all the evidence that might be brought forward in support of similar freedom in Trishtubh verses, and I admit that the number of real varieties with them is smaller than with the Gāyatris. In order to make the evidence which I have to bring forward in support of these varieties as unassailable as possible, I have excluded nearly every pāda that occurs only in the first, second, or third line of a strophe, and have restricted myself, with few exceptions, and those chiefly referring to pādās that had been quoted by other scholars in support of their own theories, to the final pādās of Trishtubh verses. Yet even with this limited evidence, I think I shall be able to establish at least three varieties of Trishtubh.
Preserving the same classification which I adopted before for the Gâyatrîs, so as to include the important eighth syllable of the Trishtubh, which does not properly belong to the vṛttta, I maintain that class 4. ꝡꝡ ꝡ, class 5. ꝡ ꝡ ꝡ, and class 8. ꝡ ꝡ ꝡ ꝡ must be recognized as legitimate endings in the hymns of the Veda, and that by recognizing them we are relieved from nearly all, if not all, the most violent prosodical licences which Professor Kuhn felt himself obliged to admit in his theory of Vedic metres.

§ 4. ꝡ ꝡ ꝡ ꝡ.

The verses which fall under § 4 are so numerous that after those of the first Mandala, mentioned above, they need not be given here in full. They are simply cases where the eighth syllable is not lengthened, and they cannot be supposed to run counter to any rule of the Prâtisâkhya, for the simple reason that the Prâtisâkhya never gave such a rule as that the eighth syllable must be lengthened if the ninth is short. Examples will be found in the final pada of Trishtubhs: ii. 30, 6; iii. 36, 4; 53, 15; 54, 12; iv. 1, 16; 2, 7; 9; 11; 4, 12; 6, 1; 2; 4; 7, 7; 11, 5; 17, 3; 23, 6; 24, 2; 27, 1; 28, 5; 55, 5; 57, 2; v. 1, 2; vi. 17, 10; 21, 8; 23, 7; 25, 5; 29, 6; 33, 1; 62, 1; 63, 7; vii. 21, 5; 28, 3; 42, 4; 56, 15; 60, 10; 84, 2; 92, 4; viii. 1, 33; 96, 9; ix. 92, 5; x. 61, 12; 13; 74, 3; 117, 7.

In support of § 5. ꝡ ꝡ ꝡ ꝡ, the number of cases is smaller, but it should be remembered that it might
be considerably increased if I had not restricted myself to the final pada of each Trishtubh, while the first, second, and third padas would have yielded a much larger harvest:

§ 5. — — — —

i. 89, 9. mā no madhyā rīrishatāyur gāntōh.
i. 92, 6. supratikā saumanasaśāyāgīgaḥ.
i. 114, 5. sarma varma khardir asmābhyaṁ yāmsāt.
i. 117, 2. tena narā vartir asmābhyaṁ yātām.
i. 122, 1. ṣhūḍhīyeva mārūto rōdāsyōh (or rōḍāsyōh).
i. 122, 8. asvāvato rathino māhyaṁ sūrīh.
i. 186, 3. ishas ka parshad arigūrtāh sūrīh.
ii. 4, 2. devānām agnir aratīr gīrāsvāh.
iii. 49, 2. prithugrayā aminād āyūr dāsyōh.
iv. 3, 9. gāmaryena payasā pīpāyā.
iv. 26, 6. divo amushimaḥ uttarād ādāya.
v. 41, 14. udā vardhantām abhishātā(h) ārnāh.
vi. 25, 2. āryāya viso (a)va tārīr dāsīḥ.
vi. 66, 11. girayo nāpa ugrā āspṛīdhrān.
vii. 8, 6. dyumad amīvalātānām rākshōhā.
vii. 28, 4. ava dvītā varuno māyī nāḥ sāt.
vii. 68, 1. havyāni ka pratibhritā vītām nāḥ.
vii. 71, 2. divā naktam mādhwī trāśīthāṁ nāḥ.
vii. 78, 1. gyotishmatā vāmam asmābhyaṁ vākshi.
vii. 93, 7b. akkhā mitram varunam īndrām vōkēḥ.
ix. 90, 4. sam kikrado maho asmābhyaṁ vājān.
x. 11, 8. bhāgam no atra vasumāntāṁ vītāt.
I do not wish to deny that in several of these lines it would be possible to remove the long syllable from the ninth place by conjectural emendation. Instead of āyur in i. 89, 9, we might read āyu; in i. 92, 6, we might drop the augment of agīgar; in ii. 4, 2, we might admit synizesis in aratir, and then read ḍīrā-āsvāḥ, as in i. 141, 12. In vi. 25, 2, after eliding the a of ava, we might read ḍāśīḥ. But even if, in addition to all this, we were to admit the possible suppression of final m in asmabhyam, mahyam, and in the accusative singular, or the suppression of s in the nominative singular, both of which would be extreme measures, we should still have a number of cases which could not be righted without even more violent remedies. Why then should we not rather admit the occasional appearance of a metrical variation which certainly has a powerful precedent in the dispondeus of Gāyatris? I am not now acquainted with the last results of metrical criticism in Virgil, but, unless some new theories now prevail, I well recollect that spondaic hexameters, though small in number, much smaller than in the Veda, were recognized by the best scholars, and no emendations attempted to remove them. If then in Virgil we read, 'Cum patribus populoque, penatibusque et magnis dis,' why not follow the authority of the best MSS. and the tradition of the Prātisākhyaś and admit a dispondeus at the end of a Trishtubh rather than suspend, in order to meet this single
difficulty, some of the most fundamental rules of 

prosody?

I now proceed to give a more numerous list of 

Traishtubha pādās ending in a choriambus, −−−−−−−, 

again confining myself, with few exceptions, to final 
pādās:

§ 8. −−−−−−−.

i. 62, 3. sam usriyābhīr vāvasāntā nārāh.
i. 103, 4. yad dha sūnuh sravase nāmā dādhē.
i. 121, 9. sushnam anantaih pariyaśi vadhahīh.
i. 122, 10b. sārdhastarō nārām gūrtasravāh.
i. 173, 8. sūrīms kid yadi dhishā vēshī gānāh.
i. 186, 2. karant sushāhā vithurām nā sāvāh.
ii. 4, 3. dakshāyyo yo dāsvate dāmā ā (not dāmē ā).
ii. 19, 1. oko dadhe brāhmanyantarā kā nārāh.
ii. 33, 14. mādhvas tokāya tanayāyā mṛīlā.
iv. 1, 19c. sūkṣy ūdhō atrīnān nā gavām*.
iv. 25, 4. nare naryāya nritamāyā nṛnām.
iv. 39, 2. dadathur mitrāvarunā tatūrīm.
v. 30, 12. prāty āgrabhīshmā nṛtamāsyā nṛnām.
v. 41, 4. āgim nā gāgmūr āśvasvatamāh.
v. 41, 15. smāt sūrībhīr riḍūhastā riḍūvānīh.
vi. 4, 7. vāyuṃ prīnānti rādhāsā nṛtāmāh.
vi. 10, 5. sūvīryēbhīs kābhi sānti gānān.

vi. 11, 4. aṅganti suprayasam pañka ganaḥ.
vi. 13, 1b. agne vi yanti vaninā nā vayāḥ.
vi. 13, 1d. dīvo vṛishtir idyo ṛitūr āpām.
vi. 20, 1b. tasthau rayīḥ savasā prītsū ganaḥ.
vi. 20, 1d. daddhi sūno sahaso vṛītrāturām.
vi. 29, 4. ukthā samsanto devavatātāmāḥ.
vi. 33, 3. ā prītsu dārshī nṛṇām nṛtāmā.
vi. 33, 5. dīvī shyāmā pārye goshatāmāḥ.
vi. 44, 11. gahī āśūshvin prā vṛilāprīnātāḥ.
vi. 49, 12. strībhīr nā nākām vakānāsyā vīpāḥ.
vi. 68, 5. vamsad rayim rayivātas kā ganaḥ.
vi. 68, 7. pra sadyo dyumā tīrāte tāturīḥ.
vii. 19, 10. sakhā kā sūro ṛitā kā nṛṇām.
vii. 62, 4. mā mītrāsyā priyatāmāsyā nṛṇām.
ix. 97, 26. hotāro nā divīyāgō māndrātāmāḥ (?)
x. 55, 8. sūro nīr yuddhādhmād dāsyūn (?)
x. 99, 9. atkam yo asya sanītōtā nṛṇām.
x. 108, 6. brihaspatir va ubhayā nā mṛūlāt.
x. 169, 1. āvasāyā pādvāte rūdra mṛūlā.

It is perfectly true that this sudden change in the rhythm of Trishtubh verses, making their ending iambic instead of trochaic, grates on our ears. But, I believe, that if we admit a short stop after the seventh syllable, the intended rhythm of these verses will become intelligible. We remarked a similar break in the verses of hymn x. 77, where the sudden transition to an iambic metre was used with great
effect, and the choriambic ending, though less effective, is by no means offensive. It should be remarked also, that in many, though not in all cases, a caesura takes place after the seventh syllable, and this is, no doubt, a great help towards a better delivery of these choriambic Trishtubhs.

While, however, I contend for the recognition of these three varieties of the normal Trishtubh metre, I am quite willing to admit that other variations besides these, which occur from time to time in the Veda, form a legitimate subject of critical discussion.

§ 2.  O  O  O  —  

Trishtubh verses the final pāda of which ends in  O  O  O  —, I should generally prefer to treat as ending in a Gāgata pāda, in which this ending is more legitimate. Thus I should propose to scan:

i. 122, ii. prāṣastaye māhinā rathavate.

iii. 20, 5. vāsūn rūdrāṇ ādityān ḫa ḫuve.

v. 2, i. pūrāḥ pāsyantī niḥitām (tam) ārātāu.

vi. 13, 5. vāyō vṛikāyārāyē gāsūrayē.

§ 1.  O  —  O  —  

I should propose the same medela for some final pādas of Trishtubhs apparently ending in  O  —  O  —. We might indeed, as has been suggested, treat these verses as single instances of that peculiar
metre which we saw carried out in the whole of hymn x. 77, but at the end of a verse the admission of an occasional Gâgata pâda is more in accordance with the habit of the Vedic poets. Thus I should scan:

v. 33, 4. vrîshâ samatsu dâsasyâ nâmâ kît *.

v. 41, 5b. râya ēsē ṭvase 'dâdhîta dhih.

After what I have said before on the real character of the teaching of the Prâtisâkhya, I need not show again that the fact of Uvata’s counting of dadhitâ as the tenth syllable is of no importance in determining the real nature of these hymns, though it is of importance, as Professor Kuhn remarks (Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 451), in showing that Uvata considered himself at perfect liberty in counting or not counting, for his own purposes, the elided syllable of avase.

vii. 4, 6. mâpsavâḥ pâri shâdâmâ mâdûvâḥ.

§ 6. ○ — — —.

Final pâdas of Trishtubhs ending in ○ — — — are very scarce. In vi. 1, 4,

bhdrâyâm te ranayantâ saṁdrishtâu,

it would be very easy to read bhdrâyâm te sam-

drishtau raṇayântâ; and in x. 74, 2,

* Professor Kuhn has finally adopted the same scanning, Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 184.
dyāur nā vārebhīh krīnāvāntā svāih,
we may either recognize a Gāgata pāda, or read
dyāur nā vārebhīh krīnāvāntā svāih,
which would agree with the metre of hymn x. 77.

§ 7. — — O —

Pādas ending in — — O — do not occur as final in any Traishtubha hymn, but as many Gāgata pādas occur in the body of Traishtubha hymns, we have to scan them as dodecasyllabic:

i. 63, 4<sup>a</sup>. tvāṁ ha tyād āndrā kodiḥ sākhā.
iv. 26, 6<sup>b</sup>. pārāvatah sākūno māndrām mādām.

The adjective pāvaka which frequently occurs at the end of final and internal pādas of Trishtubh hymns has always to be scanned pāvākā. Cf. iv. 51, 2; vi. 5, 2; 10, 4; 51, 3; vii. 3, 1; 9; 9, 1<sup>b</sup>; 56, 12; x. 46, 7<sup>b</sup>.

I must reserve what I have to say about other metres of the Veda for another opportunity, but I cannot leave this subject without referring once more to a metrical licence which has been strongly advocated by Professor Kuhn and others, and by the admission of which there is no doubt that many difficulties might be removed, I mean the occasional omission of a final m and s, and the subsequent contraction of the final and initial vowels. The arguments that have been brought forward in support of this are very powerful. There is the general argument that final s and m
are liable to be dropped in other Aryan languages, and particularly for metrical purposes. There is the stronger argument that in some cases final s and m in Sanskrit may or may not be omitted, even apart from any metrical stress. In Sanskrit we find that the demonstrative pronoun sas appears most frequently as sa (sa dadâti), and if followed by liquid vowels, it may coalesce with them even in later Sanskrit. Thus we see saisha for sa esha, sendraḥ for sa indraḥ sanctioned for metrical purposes even by Pâñini, vi. i, 134. We might refer also to feminines which have s in the nominative singular after bases in ā, but drop it after bases in ā. We find in the Sanhitā text, v. 7, 8, svádhitīva, instead of svádhitih-iva in the Pada text, sanctioned by the Prātisākhya 259; likewise ix. 61, 10, Sanhitā, bhūmy ā dade, instead of Pada, bhūmiḥ ā dade. But before we draw any general conclusions from such instances, we should consider whether they do not admit of a grammatical instead of a metrical explanation. The nominative singular of the demonstrative pronoun was sa before it was sas; by the side of bhūmiḥ we have a secondary form bhūmī; and we may conclude from svádhitī-vān, i. 88, 2, that the Vedic poets knew of a form svádhitī, by the side of svádhitih.

As to the suppression of final m, however, we see it admitted by the best authorities, or we see at least alternate forms with or without m, in tūbhya, which occurs frequently instead of tū-
bhyam*, and twice, at least, without apparently any metrical reason†. We find asmāka instead of asmākam (i. 173, 10), yushmāka instead of yushmākam (vii. 59, 9–10), yāgadhva instead of yāgadhvam (viii. 2, 37) sanctioned both by the Sanhitā and Pada texts‡.

If then we have such precedents, it may well be asked why we should hesitate to adopt the same expedient, the omission of final m and s, whenever the Vedic metres seem to require it. Professor Bollensen’s remark, that Vedic verses cannot be treated to all the licences of Latin scanning§, is hardly a sufficient answer; and he himself, though under a slightly different form, would admit as much, if not more, than has been admitted on this point by Professors Kuhn and Roth. On à priori grounds I should by no means feel opposed to the admission of a possible elision of final s or m, or even n; and my only doubt is whether it is really necessary for the proper scanning of Vedic metres. My own opinion has always been, that if we admit on a larger scale what in single words can hardly be doubted by anybody, viz. the pronunciation of two syllables as one, we need

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* i. 54, 9; 135, 2; iii. 42, 8; v. 11, 5; vii. 22, 7; viii. 51, 9; 76, 8; 82, 5; ix. 62, 27; 86, 30; x. 167, i.
† ii. 11, 3; v. 30, 6.
not fall back on the elision of final consonants in order to arrive at a proper scanning of Vedic metres. On this point I shall have to say a few words in conclusion, because I shall frequently avail myself of this licence, for the purpose of righting apparently corrupt verses in the hymns of the Rig-veda; and I feel bound to explain, once for all, why I avail myself of it in preference to other emendations which have been proposed by scholars such as Professors Benfey, Kuhn, Roth, Bollensen, and others.

The merit of having first pointed out some cases where two syllables must be treated as one, belongs, I believe, to Professor Bollensen in his article, 'Zur Herstellung des Veda,' published in Benfey's Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 461. He proposed, for instance, to write hyānā instead of hiyānā, ix. 13, 6; dhyānō instead of dhiyānō, viii. 49, 5; sāhyase instead of sāhīyase, i. 71, 4; yānō instead of iyānō, viii. 50, 5, &c. The actual alteration of these words seems to me unnecessary; nor should we think of resorting to such violent measures in Greek where, as far as metrical purposes are concerned, two vowels have not unfrequently to be treated as one.

That iva counts in many passages as one syllable is admitted by everybody. The only point on which I differ is that I do not see why iva, when mono-syllabic, should be changed to va, instead of being pronounced quickly, or, to adopt the terminology
of Greek grammarians, by synizesis*. Synizesis is well explained by Greek scholars as a quick pronunciation of two vowels so that neither should be lost, and as different thereby from synaloepe, which means the contraction of two vowels into one†. This synizesis is by no means restricted to iva and a few other words, but seems to me a very frequent expedient resorted to by the ancient Rishis.

Originally it may have arisen from the fact that language allows in many cases alternate forms of one or two syllables. As in Greek we have double forms like ἀλέγεινός and ἀλγεινός, γαλακτοφάγος and γαλακτοφάγος, πετηνός and πτηνός, πυκινός and πυκνός‡, and as in Latin we have the shortening or suppression of vowels carried out on the largest scale.§

* Synizesis in Greek applies only to the quick pronunciation of two vowels, if in immediate contact; and not, if separated by consonants. Samprasārana might seem a more appropriate term, but though the grammatical process designated in Sanskrit by Samprasārana offers some analogies, it could only by a new definition be applied to the metrical process here intended.

† A. B. p. 835, 30. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς μέτροις καὶ ἡ καλούμενη συνεκφώνησις ἢ καὶ συνίζησις λέγεται. Ὑπό γὰρ φωνητῶν ἐπαλληλος γένηται ἢ προφορά, τότε γίνεται ἡ συνίζησις εἰς μίαν συλλαβήν. Διαφέρει δὲ συναλοφής ἢ μὲν γὰρ γραμμάτων ἐστὶ κλοπή, ἢ δὲ χρόνων καὶ ἢ μὲν συναλοφή, ὡς λέγεται, φαίνεται, ἢ δὲ οὖ. Melhlhorn, Griechische Grammatik, § 101. Thus in Νεοπτόλεμος we have synizesis, in Νουπτόλεμος synæresis.

‡ Cf. Melhlhorn, Griechische Grammatik, § 57.

§ See the important chapters on 'Kürzung der Vokale' and
we find in Sanskrit, too, such double forms as prithvi or prithivi, adhi and dhi, api and pi, ava and va. The occurrence of such forms which have nothing to do with metrical considerations, but are perfectly legitimate from a grammatical point of view, would encourage a tendency to treat two syllables—and particularly two short syllables—as one, whenever an occasion arose. There are, besides, in the Vedic Sanskrit a number of forms where, as we saw, long syllables have to be pronounced as two. In some of these cases this pronunciation is legitimate, i.e. it preserves an original dissyllabic form which in course of time had become monosyllabic. In other cases the same process takes place through a mistaken sense of analogy, where we cannot prove that an original dissyllabic form had any existence even in a prehistoric state of language. The occurrence of a number of such alternate forms would naturally leave a general impression in the mind of poets that two short syllables and one long syllable were under certain circumstances interchangeable. So considerable a number of words in which a long syllable has to be pronounced as two syllables has been collected by Professors Kuhn, Bollensen, and

‘Tilgung der Vokale’ in Corssen’s ‘Aussprache des Lateinischen;’ and more especially his remarks on the so-called irrational vowels in Plautus, ibid. vol. ii. p. 70.
others, that no doubt can remain on this subject. Vedic poets, being allowed to change a semivowel into a vowel, were free to say nāsatya and nāsatyā, viii. 5, 32; prīthīvyās and prīthīvyāh; pīrōh and pīrōh, i. 31, 4. They could separate compound words, and pronounce ghrītānnah or ghrītā-annah, vii. 3, i. They could insert a kind of shewa or svarabhakti in words like sāmne or sāmne, viii. 6, 47; dhāmne or dhāmne, viii. 92, 25; ārāvnaḥ and ārāvnaḥ, ix. 63, 5. They might vary between pānti and pānti, i. 41, 2; yāthanā and yāthanā, i. 39, 3; nī-dhātōh and nīdḥātoḥ, i. 41, 9; tredhā and tredhā, i. 34, 8; dēvāḥ and dēvāḥ (besides devāsah), i. 23, 24; rōdāsī and rōdāsī, i. 33, 9; 59, 4; 64, 9; and rōdasyōh, i. 33, 5; 59, 2; 117, 10; vi. 24, 3; vii. 6, 2; x. 74, 1*. Need we wonder then if we find that, on the other hand, they allowed themselves to pronounce prīthīvi as prīthīvī, i. 191, 6; vii. 34, 7; 99, 3; dhrīshnāvā as dhrīshnāvā, v. 52, 14; sūvānā as sūvānā? There is no reason why we should change the spelling of sūvānā into svānā. The metre itself tells us at once where sūvānā is to be pronounced as two or as three syllables. Nor is it possible to believe that those who first handed down and afterwards wrote down the text of the Vedic hymns, should

* Professor Bollensen in some of these passages proposes to read rodāsīs. In i. 96, 4, no change is necessary if we read viśām. Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. xxii. p. 587.
have been ignorant of that freedom of pronunciation. Why, there is not one single passage in the whole of the ninth Mandala, where, as far as I know, suvâna should not be pronounced as dissyllabic, i.e. as suvâna; and to suppose that the scholars of India did not know how that superfluous syllable should be removed, is really taking too low an estimate of men like Vyâli or Saunaka.

But if we once admit that in these cases two syllables separated by a single consonant were pronounced as one and were metrically counted as one, we can hardly resist the evidence in favour of a similar pronunciation in a large number of other words, and we shall find that by the admission of this rapid pronunciation, or of what in Plautus we should call irrational vowels, many verses assume at once their regular form without the necessity of admitting the suppression of final s, m, n, or the introduction of other prosodical licences. To my mind the most convincing passages are those where, as in the Atyashâ and similar hymns, a poet repeats the same phrase twice, altering only one or two words, but without endeavouring to avoid an excess of syllables which, to our mind, unless we resort to synizesis, would completely destroy the uniformity of the metre. Thus we read:

i. 133, 6. अपूर्वशाख्नो ‘प्रतिता सुरा सतवाम्हि, त्रिन्यापताल सुरा सतवाम्हि.

Here no 'pra must be pronounced with one ictus
only, in order to get a complete agreement between the two iambic diameters.

i. 134, 5. upatenā iṣṭānta bhūrvāni,

āpām iṣṭānta bhūrvāni.

As iṣṭanta never occurs again, I suspect that the original reading was iṣṭānta in both lines, and that in the second line iṣṭānta, pronounced rapidly, was mistaken for iṣṭanta. Is not bhūrvāni a locative, corresponding to the datives in vāne which are so frequently used in the sense of infinitives? See note to i. 6, 8, page 34. In i. 138, 3, we must read:

āhōlamānā urusāmsā sārī bhāvā,

vāge-vāge sārī bhāvā.

In i. 129, 11,

ādhaḥ hi tvā gānitā gīgānād vāsō,

rākshōhanām tvā gīgānād vāsō,

we might try to remove the difficulty by omitting vāsō at the end of the refrain, but this would be against the general character of these hymns. We want the last word vāsō, if possible, at the end of both lines. But, if so, we must admit two cases of synizesis, or, if this seems too clumsy, we must omit tvā.

I shall now proceed to give a number of other examples in which the same consonantal synizesis seems necessary in order to make the rhythm of the verses perceptible to our ears as it was to the ears of the ancient Rishis.
The preposition anu takes synizesis in
i. 127, 1. ghṛtasya vibhrāśhīṁ anu vāshīḥ sōkīṣhā.
Cf. x. 14, 1.

The preposition abhi:
i. 91, 23. rāyō bhāgām sahasāvānm abhi yūdhyā.

Here Professor Kuhn changes sahasāvan into sahasvaḥ, which, no doubt, is a very simple and very plausible emendation. But in altering the text of the Veda many things have to be considered, and in our case it might be objected that sahasvaḥ never occurs again as an epithet of Soma. As an invocation sahasvaḥ refers to no deity but Agni, and even in its other cases it is applied to Agni and Indra only. However, I do not by any means maintain that sahasvaḥ could not be applied to Soma, for nearly the same arguments could be used against sahasāvan, if conjecturally put in the place of sahasvaḥ; I only wish to point out how everything ought to be tried first, before we resort in the Veda to conjectural emendations. Therefore, if in our passage there should be any objection to admitting the synizesis in abhi, I should much rather propose synizesis of sahasāvan, than change it into sahasvaḥ. There is synizesis in maha, e.g.
i. 133, 6. āvar maha īndrā dādṛhī śrudhī nahi.

Although this verse is quoted by the Prātisākhya, Sūtra 522, as one in which the lengthened syllable dhi of śrudhī does not occupy the tenth place, and which therefore required special mention, the original poet evidently thought otherwise, and lengthened
the syllable, being a syllable liable to be lengthened, because it occupied the tenth place, and therefore received a peculiar stress.

The preposition pari:

vi. 52, 14. mā vō vakāmsī pariśkākshyāṇī vōkām,
       sumāneshv īd vō antāmā mādemā.

Here Professor Kuhn (Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 197) begins the last páda with vōkām, but this is impossible unless we change the accent of vōkām, though even then the separation of the verb from mā and the accumulation of two verbs in the last line would be objectionable.

Hārī is pronounced as hari:

vii. 32, 12. yā īndrō harivān nā dabhānti tam riṃpāh.
ii. 18, 5. ā kātvārīmsātā haribhir yūgānāh.

Hence I propose to scan the difficult verse i. 167, 1, as follows:

sahasrām tā īndrā-ūtayō nāh,
sahasrām īshō harivō gūrtatāmāh*,
sahasrām rāyō mádayādhyai,
sahasrīnā ūpa nō yāntū vāgāh.

That the final o instead of as is treated as a short syllable we saw before, and in i. 133, 6, we observed that it was liable to synizesis. We see the same in

i. 175, 6. māyā īvāpo nā trīshyātē bābhūthā.
v. 61, 16. ā yāgnīyāso vavrīttānā.

* As to the scanning of the second line see page cxxxv.
The pragrihyā i of the dual is known in the Veda to be liable in certain cases to Sandhi. If we extend this licence beyond the limits recognized by the Prātisākhya, we might scan

vi. 52, 14. ūbhe ṛōdasy āpāṁ nāpāk kā mānmā, or we might shorten the i before the a, and admitting synizesis, scan:

ūbhe ṛōdasi āpāṁ nāpāk kā mānma.

In iii. 6, 10, we must either admit Sandhi between prākī and adhvarēva, or contract the first two syllables of adhvarēva.

The o and e of vocatives before vowels, when changed into av or a(y), are liable to synizesis:

iv. 48, 1. vāyav ā kāndrēṇā rāthēṇā (Anushtubh, c.)

iv. 1, 2. sā bhrātārām varūnām āgna ā vāvṛītsvā.

The termination avah also, before vowels, seems to count as one syllable in v. 52, 14, dīvō vā dhvīshnāvā ōgaśā, which would render Professor Bollensen’s correction (Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 48c), dhvīshnūo-gasā, unnecessary.

Like ava and iva, we find aya and iya, too, in several words liable to be contracted in pronunciation; e. g. vayam, vi. 23, 5; ayam, i. 177, 4; iyam, vii. 66, 8²; i. 186, 11 (unless we read vo ’sme); x. 129, 6. Professor Bollensen’s proposal to change iyam to īm, and ayam to ām (Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 461), would only cause obscurity, without any adequate gain, while other words would by a similar suppression of vowels or consonants become simply
irrecognizable. In i. 169, 6, for instance, ádha has to be pronounced with one ictus; in vi. 26, 7, sadhavīrā is trisyllabic. In vi. 10, 1, we must admit synizesis in adhvaré; in i. 161, 8, either in udakām or in abravitāna; i. 110, 9, in ribhumān; viii. 79, 4, in divāh; v. 4, 6, in nritama (unless we read so 'gnē); i. 164, 17, in parāh; vi. 15, 14, in pāvaka; i. 191, 6; vii. 34, 7; 99, 3, in prithivy; ii. 20, 8, in pūrah; vi. 10, 1, in prayatī; vi. 17, 7, in brihāt; ix. 19, 6, in bhīyāsam; i. 133, 6, in mahāh; ii. 28, 6; iv. 1, 2; vi. 75, 18, in varuna; iii. 30, 21, in vrishabha; vii. 41, 6, in vāgīnak; ii. 43, 2, in sīsumatiḥ; vi. 51, 2, in sanutār; vi. 18, 12, in sthāvirasya, &c.

These remarks will, I hope, suffice in order to justify the principles by which I have been guided in my treatment of the text and in my translation of the Rig-veda. I know I shall seem to some to have been too timid in retaining whatever can possibly be retained in the traditional text of these ancient hymns, while others will look upon the emendations which I have suggested as unpardonable temerity. Let everything be weighed in the just scales of argument. Those who argue for victory, and not for truth, can have no hearing in our court. There is too much serious work to be done to allow time for wrangling or abuse. Any dictionary will supply strong words to those who condescend to such warfare, but strong argu-
ments require honest labour, sound judgment, and, above all, a genuine love of truth.

The second volume, which I am now preparing for Press, will contain the remaining hymns addressed to the Maruts. The notes will necessarily have to be reduced to smaller dimensions, but they must always constitute the more important part in a translation or, more truly, in a deciphering of Vedic hymns.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

PARKS END, OXFORD:
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FIRST BOOK.

HYMNS TO THE MARUTS.
Mandala I, Sūkta 6.  
Ashtaka I, Adhyāya 1, Varga 11–12.

1. Yuṅgánti bradhnám arushám kárantam pāri tasthúshah, rókante rókanā diví.

2. Yuṅgánti asya kāmyā hārī (íti) ví-pakshasā ráthe, sónā dhrishnū (íti) nri-vāhasā.


4. Āt áha svadhām ánu púnah garbha-tvám ā-āhiré, dádhānāh nāma yagñíyam.

1. Wilson: The circumstationed (inhabitants of the three worlds) associate with (Indra), the mighty (Sun), the destructive (fire), the moving (wind), and the lights that shine in the sky.

   Benfey: Die rothe Sonne schirr’n sie an, die wandelt um die stehenden, Strahlen strahlen am Himmel auf.

   Langlois: Placés autour du (foyer, les hommes) préparent le char (du dieu) brillant, pur et rapide; (cependant) brillent dans le ciel les feux (du matin).

2. Wilson: They (the charioteers) harness to his car his two desirable coursers, placed on either hand, bay-coloured, high-spirited, chief-bearing.

   Benfey: Die lieben Falben schirren sie zu beiden Seiten des Wagens an, braune, kühne, held-tragende.

   Langlois: A ce char sont attelés ses deux coursiers, beaux, brillants, impétueux, rougeâtres, et dignes de porter un héros.

3. Wilson: Mortals, you owe your (daily) birth (to such
Hymn to Indra and the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. Those who stand around him while he moves on, harness the bright red steed;¹ the lights in heaven shine forth.²

2. They harness to the chariot on each side his (Indra’s)¹ two favourite bays, the brown, the bold, who can carry the hero.

3. Thou who createst light where there was no light, and form, O men!¹ where there was no form, hast been born together with the dawns.²

4. Thereafter¹ they (the Maruts), according to their wont,² assumed again the form of new-born babes,³ taking their sacred name.

an Indra), who with the rays of the morning, gives sense to the senseless, and to the formless, form.

Benfey: Licht machend—Männer!—das Dunkele und kenntlich das Unkenntliche, entsprangst du mit dem Mor-genroth.


4. Wilson: Thereafter, verily, those who bear names invoked in holy rites, (the Maruts,) having seen the rain about to be engendered, instigated him to resume his embryo condition (in the clouds).

Benfey: Sodann von freien Stücken gleich erregen wieder Schwangerschaft die heilgen Namen tragenden.

Langlois: A peine la formule de l’offrande a-t-elle été prononcée, que les (Marouts), dont le nom mérite d’être invoqué dans les sacrifices, viennent exciter (de leur souffle) le feu à peine sorti du sein (de l’Arunî).
5. Vilú kít árugatnu-bhih gúhā kít indra váhni-bhih, ávindah usriyáh ánu.

6. Deva-yántah yáthá matím ákkuha vidát-vasum gírah, mahám anúshata srutám.

7. Índrená sám hí dríkshase sam-gagmánáh ábi-bhyushá, mandú (íti) samáná-varakasá.

8. Anavadyaíh abhídyu-bhih makháh sáhasvat ar-kati, ganaíh índrasya kámyaíh.

9. Átah pari-gman ā gahi diváh và rokanát ádhi, sám asmin riṅgate gírah.

5. Wilson: Associated with the conveying Maruts, the traversers of places difficult of access, thou, Indra, hast discovered the cows hidden in the cave.

Benfey: Mit den die Festen brechenden, den Stürmenden fandst, Indra, du die Kühe in der Grotte gar.

Langlois: Avec ces (Marouts), qui brisent tout rempart et supportent (la nue) Indra, tu vas, du sein de la caverne, délivrer les vaches (célestes).

6. Wilson: The reciters of praises praise the mighty (troop of Maruts), who are celebrated, and conscious of the power of bestowing wealth in like manner as they (glorify) the counsellor (Indra).

Benfey: Nach ihrer Einsicht verherrlichend besingen Sänger den Schätzherrn, den berühmten, gewaltigen.

Langlois: Voilà pourquoi l’hymne qui chante les dieux célèbre aussi le grand (dieu des vents), qui assiste (Indra) de ses conseils, et découvre les heureux trésors.

7. Wilson: May you be seen, Maruts, accompanied by the undaunted (Indra); both rejoicing, and of equal splendour.
5. Thou, O Indra, with the swift Maruts\textsuperscript{1} who break even through the stronghold,\textsuperscript{2} hast found even in their hiding-place the bright cows\textsuperscript{3} (the days).

6. The pious singers\textsuperscript{1} (the Maruts) have, after their own mind,\textsuperscript{2} shouted towards the giver of wealth, the great, the glorious (Indra).

7. Mayest thou\textsuperscript{1} (host of the Maruts) be verily seen\textsuperscript{2} coming together with Indra, the fearless: you are both happy-making, and of equal splendour.

8. With the beloved hosts of Indra, with the blameless, heavenward-tending (Maruts), the sacrificer\textsuperscript{1} cries aloud.

9. From yonder, O traveller (Indra), come hither, or down from the light of heaven;\textsuperscript{1} the singers all yearn for it;—

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**Benfey**: So lass mit Indra denn vereint, dem furchtlosen, erblicken dich, beide erfreu'nd und glanzesgleich.

**Langlois**: Avec l'intrépide Indra, (ô dieu,) on te voit accourir; tous deux pleins de bonheur, tous deux également resplendissants.

**Wilson**: This rite is performed in adoration of the powerful Indra, along with the irreproachable, heavenward-tending, and amiable bands (of the Maruts).

**Benfey**: Durch Indra's liebe Schaaren, die untadligen, himmelstürmenden, strahlet das Opfer mächtiglich.

**Langlois**: Notre sacrifice confond, dans un hommage aussi empressé, Indra et la troupe (des Marouts) bienfaisante, irréprochable, et brillante des feux (du matin).

**Wilson**: Therefore circumambient (troop of Maruts), come hither, whether from the region of the sky, or from the solar sphere; for, in this rite, (the priest) fully recites your praises.

**Benfey**: Von hier, oder vom Himmel komm ob dem Æther, Umkreisender! zu dir streben die Lieder all.
10. Itáh và sâtím ōmahe diváh và pârthivát ádhi, 
indram maháh và rágasah.

Langlois: (Dieu des vents), qui parcours le monde, viens 
vers nous, ou de ton séjour habituel, ou de la demeure céleste 
de la lumière; notre voix aujourd’hui t’appelle.

10. Wilson: We invoke Indra,—whether he come from 
this earthly region, or from the heaven above, or from the 
vast firmament,—that he may give (us) wealth.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Kanva, the son of Ghora. The 
metre is Gâyatri throughout.

Verse 1, note 1. The poet begins with a somewhat abrupt 
description of a sunrise. Indra is taken as the god of the 
bright day, whose steed is the sun, and whose companions 
the Maruts, or the storm-gods. Arushá, meaning originally 
red, is used as a proper name of the horse or of the rising 
sun, though it occurs more frequently as the name of the 
red horses or flames of Agni, the god of fire, and also of 
the morning light. In our passage, Arushá, a substantive, 
meaning the red of the morning, has taken bradhna as an 
adjective,—bradhna meaning, as far as can be made out, 
bright in general, though, as it is especially applied to the 
Soma-juice, perhaps bright-brown or yellow. Names of 
colour are difficult to translate from one language into 
another, for their shades vary, and withdraw themselves 
from sharp definition. We shall meet with this difficulty 
again and again in the Veda.

The following passages will illustrate the principal mean-
ing of arushá, and justify the translation here adopted.

Arushá as an Adjective.

Arushá is used as an adjective in the sense of red:

vii. 97, 6. tám sagmáśah arushásah ásvâh břihaspátim 
saha-váhah vahanti,—nábhaḥ ná rúcām arushám vásānāḥ.
10. Or we ask Indra for help from here, or from heaven, above the earth, or from the great sky.

Benfey: Von hier, oder vom Himmel ob der Erde begehren Spende wir, oder, Indra! aus weiter Luft.

Langlois: Nous invoquons aussi la libéralité d'Indra; (qu'il nous entende), soit d'ici-bas, soit de l'air qui enveloppe la terre, soit du vaste séjour de la lumière.

Powerful red horses, drawing together draw him, Brihaspati: horses clothed in red colour like the sky.

iii. 1, 4. svetām gagñānām arushām mahi-tvā.
Agni, the white, when born, the red, by growth.

iii. 15, 3. krishnāsū agne arushāḥ ví bhāhi.
Shine, O Agni, red among the dark ones.

iii. 31, 21. antār (īti) krishnān arushāḥ dhāma-bhiḥ gāt.
He (Indra) went among the dark ones with his red companions.

vi. 27, 7. yāsya gāvau arushā.
He (Indra) whose two cows are red.

vii. 75, 6. prāti dyutānām arushāsah āsvāḥ kitrāḥ adrisrān ushāsam vāhantāḥ.
The red horses, the beautiful, were seen bringing to us the bright dawn.

v. 43, 12. hiranya-varnam arushām sapema.
Let us worship the gold-coloured, the red, i.e. Brihaspati (the fire).

i. 118, 5. pári vām āsvāḥ vápushah pataṅgāḥ váyah va-
hantu arushāḥ abhīke.
May the winged beautiful horses, may the red birds bring you (the Asvins) back near to us.

iv. 43, 6. ghrinā váyah arushāsah pári gman.
The red birds (of the Asvins) came back by day.

v. 73, 5. pári vām arushāḥ váyah ghrinā varante ā-tápah.
The red birds shield you (the Asvins) around by day from the heat.
i. 36, 9. ví dhûmám agne arusháh miyedhya srígá.
Send off, O Agni, the red smoke, thou who art worthy of sacrificial food.

vii. 3, 3. àkkha dyām arusháh dhûmáh eti.
The red smoke goes up to the sky.

vii. 16, 3. út dhûmásah arushásah divi-spríshah.
The clouds of red smoke went up touching the sky.

x. 45, 7. íyarti dhûmám arusháh.
He (Agni) rouses the red smoke.

i. 141, 8. dyām ángebhiḥ arushébhiḥ íyate.
He (Agni) goes to the sky with his red limbs.

ii. 2, 8. sáh idhánáh ushásah råmyáh ánu sváh ná dīdet arushéna bhânúnáh.
He (Agni), lit after the lovely days, shone like the sky with his red splendour.

iii. 29, 6. ásvah ná vâgí arusháh váneshu ā.
Like a stallion, the red one (Agni) appears in the wood.

iv. 58, 7. arusháh ná vâgí kâshṭháh bhindán.
Like a red stallion, breaking the bounds.

i. 114, 5. diváh varáhám arusháh.
Him (Rudra), the boar of the sky, the red.

v. 59, 5. ásváh-iva ít arushásah.
Like red horses, (O Maruts.)

v. 12, 2. ritám sapámi arushásyà vríshnah.
I follow the rite of the red hero (Agni). The meaning here assigned to vríshan will be explained hereafter, see note to i. 85, 12.

v. 12, 6. ritám sáh páti arushásyà vríshnah.
He observes the rite of the red hero (Agni).

vi. 8, 1. prikshásyà vríshnah arushásyà nú sáhah prá nú vokam.
I celebrate the power of the quick red hero (Agni Vaisvánara).

vi. 48, 6. syávásu arusháh vrísháh.
In the dark (nights) the red hero (Agni).

iii. 7, 5. gânánti vríshnah arushásyà sévam.
They know the treasure of the red hero (of Agni).

vi. 48, 6. syávásu arusháh vrísháh.
In the dark (nights) the red hero (Agni).

iii. 7, 5. gânánti vríshnah arushásyà sévam.
They know the treasure of the red hero (of Agni).

vi. 48, 6. syávásu arusháh vrísháh.
In the dark (nights) the red hero (Agni).
x. 89, 9. ni amitireshu vadhām indra tūrmram vrishan vrishānam arushām sisīhi.

Whet, O strong Indra, the heavy strong red weapon, against the enemies.

x. 43, 9. út gāyatām parasūḥ gyōtishā sahā—vī rokatām arushāḥ bhānūnā sukīḥ.

May the axe (the thunderbolt) appear with the light—may the red one blaze forth, bright with splendour.

x. 1, 6. arushāḥ gātāḥ padē īlāyāḥ.

Agni, born red in the place of the altar.

vi. 3, 6. nāktam yāh īm arushāḥ yāh divā.

He (Agni) being red by night and by day.

x. 20, 9. krishnāḥ svetāḥ arushāḥ yāmāh asya bradhnaḥ rigrāḥ utā sōnah.

His (Agni's) path is black, white, red, bright, reddish, and yellow.

Here it is extremely difficult to keep all the colours distinct.

Arushā is frequently applied to Soma, particularly in the 9th Mandala. There we read:

ix. 8, 6. arushāḥ háriḥ.

ix. 71, 7. arushāḥ divāḥ kavīḥ vrishāḥ.

ix. 74, 1. vāgiḥ arushāḥ.

ix. 82, 1. arushāḥ vrishāḥ háriḥ.

ix. 89, 3. hárim arushām.

ix. 111, 1. arushāḥ háriḥ. See also ix. 25, 5; 61, 21.

In ix. 72, 1, arushā seems used as a substantive in the sense of red-horse.

Arushā as an Appellative.

Arushā is used as an appellative, and in the following senses:

1. The one red-horse of the Sun, the two or more red-horses of Agni.

i. 6, 1. yuṅgānti bradhnaṁ arushām.

They yoke the bright red-horse (the Sun).

i. 94, 10. yāt āyukthāḥ arushā rōhitā ráthe.

When thou (Agni) hast yoked the two red-horses and the two ruddy horses to the chariot.
i. 146, 2. rihánti údhah arushásah asya.
His (Agni's) red-horses lick the udder.

ii. 10, 2. sruyáh agníh—hávam me—syâvá rátham vahatah róhitá và utá arushá.
Mayest thou, Agni, hear my call, whether the two black, or the two ruddy, or the two red-horses carry you.

Here three kinds of colours are clearly distinguished, and an intentional difference is made between róhita and arushá.

iv. 2, 3. arushá yugánáh.
Agni having yoked the two red-horses.

iv. 6, 9. táva tyé agne harítah—róhitásah—arushásah vríshanañah.
To thee (Agni) belong these bays, these ruddy, these red-horses, the stallions.

Here, again, three kinds of horses are distinguished—Haríts, Róhitás, and Arushás.

viii. 34, 17. yé rigráh vátá-ramhañah arushásah raghu-syádah.
Here arushá may be the subject and the rest adjectives; but it is also possible to take all the words as adjectives, referring them to ású in the next verse. The fact that rigrá likewise expresses a peculiar red colour is no objection, as may be seen from i. 6, 1; 94, 10.

vii. 16, 2. sáḥ yogate arushá visvá-bhojasá.
May he (Agni) yoke the two all-nourishing red-horses.

vii. 42, 2. yünkshvá—harítah rohítah ka yé và sádman arusháh.
Yoke (O Agni) the bays, and the ruddy horses, or the red-horses which are in thy stable.

2. The cloud, represented as the enemy of Indra, as retaining, like Vrítra, the waters which Indra and the Maruts wish to liberate.

i. 85, 5. utá arushásya ví syanti dháráh.
(When you go to the battle, O Maruts), the streams of the red enemy flow off.

v. 56, 7. utá syáh vágí arusháh.
This strong red-horse,—meant for the cloud, as it would seem; but possibly, too, for one of the horses of the Maruts.
Arushá as the Proper Name of a Solar Deity.

Besides the passages in which arushá is used either as an adjective, in the sense of red, or as an appellative, meaning some kind of horse, there are others in which, as I pointed out in my Essay on Comparative Mythology*, Arushá occurs as a proper name, as the name of a solar deity, as the bright deity of the morning (Morgenroth). My interpretation of some of these passages has been contested, nor shall I deny that in some of them a different interpretation is possible, and that in looking for traces of Arushá, as a Vedic deity, representing the morning or the rising sun, and containing, as I endeavoured to show, the first germs of the Greek name of Eros, I may have seen more indications of the presence of that deity in the Veda than others would feel inclined to acknowledge. Yet in going over the same evidence again, I think that even verses which for a time I felt inclined to surrender, yield a better sense if we take the word arushá which occurs in them as a substantive, as the name of a matutinal deity, than if we look upon it as an adjective or a mere appellative. It might be said that wherever this arushá occurs, apparently as the name of a deity, we ought to supply Agni or Indra or Súrya. This is true to a certain extent, for the sun, or the light of the morning, or the bright sky are no doubt the substance and subject-matter of this deity. But the same applies to many other names originally intended for these conceptions, but which, nevertheless, in the course of time, became independent names of independent deities. In our passage i. 6, 1, yuñgánti bradhnám arushám, we may retain for arushá the appellative power of steed or red-steed, but if we could ask the poet what he meant by this red-steed, or if we ask ourselves what we can possibly understand by it, the answer would be, the morning sun, or the light of the morning. In other passages, however, this meaning of red-steed is no longer applicable, and we can only translate Arushá by the Red, understanding by this name the deity of the morning or of the morning sun.

* Chips from a German Workshop, 2nd ed., vol. ii. p. 137 seq.
vii. 71, 1. ápa svásuh ushásah nák jihüte rinákти krishnuḥ arushāya pánthám.

The Night retires from her sister, the Dawn; the Dark one yields the path to the Red one, i.e. the red morning.

Here Arushá shares the same half-mythological character as Ushas, and where we should speak of dawn and morning as mere periods of time, the Vedic poet speaks of them as living and intelligent beings, half human, half divine, as powers of nature capable of understanding his prayers, and powerful enough to reward his praises. I do not think therefore that we need hesitate to take Arushá in this passage as a proper name of the morning, or of the morning sun, to whom the dark goddess, the Night, yields the path when he rises in the East.

vi. 49, 2. divāḥ sisum sáhasah sünúm agním yaqūásya ketúm arushám yágadhyai.

To worship the child of Dyu, the son of strength, Agni, the light of the sacrifice, the Red one (Arushá).

In this verse, where the name of Agni actually occurs, it would be easier than in the preceding verse to translate arushá as an adjective, referring it either to Agni, the god of fire, or to yaqūásya ketúm, the light of the sacrifice. I had myself yielded* so far to these considerations that I gave up my former translation, and rendered this verse by 'to worship Agni, the child of the sky, the son of strength, the red light of the sacrifice†.' But I return to my original translation, and I see in Arushá an independent name, intended, no doubt, for Agni, as the representative of the rising sun and, at the same time, of the sacrificial fire of the morning, but nevertheless as having in the mind of the poet a personality of its own. He is the child of Dyu, originally the offspring of heaven. He is the son of strength; originally generated by the strong rubbing of the araṇis, i.e. the wood for kindling fire. He is the light of the sacrifice, whether as reminding man that the time for the morning sacrifice has come, or as himself lighting the sacrifice on the Eastern altar of the sky. He is Arushá, originally as

* Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. p. 139.
† Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1867, p. 204.
clothed in bright red colour, but gradually changed into the representative of the morning. We see at once, if examining these various expressions, how some of them, like the child of Dyu, are easily carried away into mythology, while others, such as the son of strength, or the light of the sacrifice, resist that unconscious metamorphosis. That Arushá was infected by mythology, that it had approached at least that point where *nomina* become changed into *numina*, we see by the verse immediately following:

vi. 49, 3. arushásya duhitārā vírūpe (iti ví-rūpe) strí-bhīḥ anyā pipisē sūrah anyā.

There are two different daughters of Arushá; the one is clad in stars, the other belongs to the sun, or is the wife of Svar.

Here Arushá is clearly a mythological being, like Agni or Savitar or Vaisvânara; and if Day and Night are called his daughters, he, too, can hardly have been conceived otherwise than as endowed with human attributes, as the child of Dyu, as the father of Day and Night, and not as a mere period of time, not as a mere cause or effect.

iv. 15, 6. tām árvantam ná sānasim arushám ná divāḥ sīsum marmrigyānte divé-dive.

They trim the fire day by day, like a strong horse, like Arushá, the child of Dyu.

Here, too, Arushá, the child of Dyu, has to be taken as a personal character, and, if the ná after arushám is right, a distinction is clearly made between Agni, the sacrificial fire, to whom the hymn is addressed, and Arushá, the child of heaven, the pure and bright morning, here used as a simile for the cleaning or trimming of the fire on the altar.

v. 47, 3. arusháḥ su-parnáḥ.

Arushá, the morning sun, with beautiful wings.

*The feminine Arushá as an Adjective.*

Arushá, like arushá, is used as an adjective, in the same sense as arushá, i.e. red:

iii. 55, 11. syāvī ka yāt árushá ka svásárau.

As the dark and the red are sisters.

i. 92, 1 and 2. gāvah árusháḥ and árusháḥ gāḥ.

The red cows of the dawn.
HYMNS TO THE MARUTS.

i. 92, 2. rū̄santam bhānūm ārūshīh asisrayuh. The red dawns obtained brightsplendour.

Here ushāsah, the dawns, occur in the same line, so that we may take ārūshīh either as an adjective, referring to the dawns, or as a substantive, as a name of the dawn or of her cows.

i. 30, 21. āsvye nā kitre arushi.
Thou bright, red dawn, thou, like a mare.

Here, too, the vocative arushi is probably to be taken as an adjective, particularly if we consider the next following verse:

iii. 52, 2. āsvā-iva kitrā ārūshī mātā gāvām ritā-varī sākhā abhūt asvīnōh ushāh.
The dawn, bright and red, like a mare, the mother of the cows (days), the never-failing, she became the friend of the Aśvins.

x. 5, 5. sapta svāsṛīh ārūshīh.
The seven red sisters.

The feminine Ārūshī as a Substantive.

If used as a substantive, ārūshī seems to mean the dawn. It is likewise used as a name of the horses of Agni, Indra, and Soma; also as a name for mare in general.

It means dawn in x. 8, 3, though the text points here so clearly to the dawn, and the very name of dawn is mentioned so immediately after, that this one passage seems hardly sufficient to establish the use of ārūshī as a recognized name of the dawn. Other passages, however, would likewise gain in perspicuity, if we took ārūshī by itself as a name of the dawn, just as we had to admit in several passages arushā by itself as a name of the morning. Cf. i. 71, 1.

Ārūshī means the horses of Agni, in i. 14, 12:
yukṣhvā hi ārūshīh rāthe harītah deva rohitah.
Yoke, O god (Agni), the red-horses to the chariot, the bays, the ruddy.

i. 72, 10. prā niśkīh agne ārūshīh agānan.
They knew the red-horses, Agni, coming down.

In viii. 69, 5, ārūshī refers to the horses of Indra, whether as a noun or an adjective, is somewhat doubtful:
ā hārayaḥ sasrigīre ārushiḥ.
The bay horses were let loose, the red-horses; or, possibly, thy bright red-horses were let loose.

Soma, as we saw, was frequently spoken of as arushāḥ háriḥ.

In ix. 111, 2, tridhātu-bhīḥ ārushimaḥ seems to refer to the same red-horses of Soma, though this is not quite clear.

The passages where ārushiḥ means simply a mare, without any reference to colour, are viii. 68, 18, and viii. 55, 3.

It is curious that Arushā, which in the Veda means red, should in its Zendīc form aurusha, mean white. That in the Veda it means red and not white is shown, for instance, by x. 20, 9, where svetāḥ, the name for white, is mentioned by the side of arushā. Most likely arushā meant originally brilliant, and became fixed with different shades of brilliancy in Sanskrit and Persian. Arushā presupposes a form ar-vas, and is derived from a root ar in the sense of running or rushing. See Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. pp. 135, 137.

Having thus explained the different meanings of arushā and ārushiḥ in the Rig-veda, I feel it incumbent, at least for once, to explain the reasons why I differ from the classification of Vedic passages as given in the Dictionary published by Messrs. Boehtlingk and Roth. Here, too, the passages in which arushā is used as an adjective are very properly separated from those in which it appears as a substantive. To begin with the first, it is said that 'arushā means ruddy, the colour of Agni and his horses; he (Agni) himself appears as a red-horse.' In support of this, the following passages are quoted:

iii. 1, 4. āvardhayan su-bhāgam saptā yahvih svetāṁ gangānām arushām mahi-tvā, sīsum nā gātāṁ abhī āruḥ ásvāḥ. Here, however, it is only said that Agni was born brilliant-white*, and grew red, that the horses came to him as they come to a new-born foal. Agni himself is not called a red-horse.

iii. 7, 5. Here, again, vrūshaha arushāṣya is no doubt

* See v. 1, 4. svetāḥ vāgī gāye āgre āhnām. x. 1, 6. arushāḥ gātāḥ padē ṛṣyāḥ.
meant for Agni. But vrīshan by itself does not mean horse, though it is added to different names of horses to qualify them as male horses; cf. vii. 69, 1. ā vām rāthah vrīsha-bhīḥ yātu āsvaiḥ, may your chariot come near with powerful horses, i.e. with stallions. See note to i. 85, 12. We are therefore not justified in translating arushā vrīshan by red-horse, but only by the red male, or the red hero.

In iii. 31, 3, agnīḥ gayāye guhvaḥ régamānahaḥ mahāḥ putrān arushāsyā pra-yākshe, I do not venture to say who is meant by the mahāḥ putrān arushāsyā, whether Ādityas or Maruts, but hardly the sons of Agni, as Agni himself is mentioned as only born. But, even if it were so, the father of these sons (putra) could hardly be intended here for a horse.

iv. 6, 9. táva tyē agne harītaḥ ghrita-snāḥ rōhitāsah rigu-āṅkah su-āṅkah, arushāsah vrīshanah rigu-mushkāḥ. Here, so far from Agni being represented as a red-horse, his different horses, the Harits or bays, the Rōhitas or ruddy, and the arushāsah vrīshanah, the red stallions, are distinctly mentioned. Here vrīshan may be translated by stallion, instead of simply by male, because arushā is here a substantive, the name of a horse.

v. 1, 5. gānishta hī gényah ágre áhnām hitāḥ hitéshu arushāḥ váneshu. Here arushāḥ is simply an adjective, red, referring to Agni who is understood throughout the hymn to be the object of praise. He is said to be kind to those who are kind to him, and to be red in the woods, i.e. brilliant in the wood which he consumes; cf. iii. 29, 6. Nothing is said about his equine nature.

In v. 12, 2 and 6, vi. 48, 6, we have again simply arushā vrīshan, which does not mean the red-horse, but the red male, the red hero, i.e. Agni.

In vi. 49, 2, divāḥ sísum sáhasah sūnūm agnīṁ yanujący ketūm arushām yāgadhyai, there is no trace of Agni being conceived as a horse. He is called the child of the sky or of Dyu, the son of strength (who is produced by strong rubbing of wood), the light or the beacon of the sacrifice, and lastly Arushā, which, for reasons stated above, I take to be used here as a name.

Next follow the passages in which, according to Professor
Roth, arushá is an adjective, is said to be applied to the horses, cows, and other teams of the gods, particularly of the dawn, the Asvins, and Brihaspati.

i. 118, 5. pári vám āsvāh vápushah pataṅgāh, váyah vahantu arushāh abhiṅke. Here we find the váyah arushāh of the Asvins, which it is better to translate by red birds, as immediately before the winged horses are mentioned. In fact, whenever arushá is applied to the vehicle of the Asvins, it is to be understood of these red birds, iv. 43, 6.

In i. 92, 1 and 2 (not 20), árushá occurs three times, referring twice to the cows of the dawn, once to the dawn herself.

In iv. 15, 6, tán árvantam ná sánasim arushám ná divāh sīsam mármarīgyánte, arushá does not refer to the horse or any other animal of Agni. The verse speaks of a horse by way of comparison only, and says that the sacrificers clean or trim Agni, the fire, as people clean a horse. We cannot join arushá in the next páda with árvantam in the preceding páda, for the second ná would then be without any construction. The construction is certainly not easy, but I think it is safer to translate: they trim him (Agni), day by day, as they clean a strong horse, as they clean Arushá, the child of Dyu. In fact, as far as I know, arushá is never used as the name of the one single horse belonging to Agni, but always of two or more.

In iii. 31, 21, antár (īti) krishnān arushāh dhamā-bhīkh gāt, dhamā-bhīkh is said to mean flames of lightning. But dhamān in the Rig-veda does not mean flames, and it seems better to translate, with thy red companions, scil. the Maruts.

That arushá in one or two passages means the red cloud, is true. But in x. 43, 9, arushá refers to the thunderbolt mentioned in the same verse; and in i. 114, 5, everything refers to Rudra, and not to a red cloud, in the proper sense of the word.

Further on, where the meanings attributable to árushá in the Veda are collected, it is said that árushá means a red mare, also the teams of Agni and Ushas. Now, here, surely, a distinction should have been made between those
passages in which árūshā means a real horse, and those where it expresses the imaginary steeds of Agni. The former, it should be observed, occur in one Mandala only, and in places of somewhat doubtful authority, in viii. 55, 3, a Vālakhilya hymn, and in viii. 68, 18, a dāna-stuti or panegyric. Besides, no passage is given where árūshā means the horses of the dawn, and I doubt whether such a passage exists, while the verse where árūshā is really used for the horses of Indra, is not mentioned at all. Lastly, two passages are set apart where árūshā is supposed to mean flames. Now, it may be perfectly true that the red-horses of Agni are meant for flames, just as the red-horses of Indra may be the rays of the sun. But, in that case, the red-horses of Agni should always have been thus translated, or rather interpreted, and not in one passage only. In ix. 111, 2, árūshā is said to mean flames, but no further light is thrown upon that very difficult passage.

Verse 1, note ². A similar expression occurs iii. 61, 5, where it is said of Ushas, the dawn, that she lighted the lights in the sky, prá rokanā ruruke ranvá-sandrik.

Verse 2, note ¹. Although no name is given, the pronoun asya clearly refers to Indra, for it is he to whom the two bays belong. The next verse, therefore, must likewise be taken as addressed to Indra, and not to the sun or the morning-red, spoken of as a horse in the first verse.

Verse 3, note ¹. The vocative maryād, which I have translated by O men, had evidently become a mere exclamation at a very early time. Even in our passage it is clear that the poet does not address any men in particular, for he addresses Indra, nor is marya used in the general sense of men. It means males, or male offspring. It sounds more like some kind of asseveration or oath, like the Latin meherecle, or like the English O ye powers, and it is therefore quoted as a nipāta or particle in the Vāgasan. Prātis. ii. 16. It certainly cannot be taken as addressed to the Maruts, though the Maruts are the subject of the next verse.
Verse 3, note 2. Ushádbhiḥ, an instrumental plural which attracted the attention of the author of the Vârttika to Pân. vii. 4, 48. It occurs but once, but the regular form, ushobhiḥ, does not occur at all in the Rig-veda. The same grammarian mentions mās, month, as changing the final s of its base into d before bhis. This, too, is confirmed by Rv. ii. 24, 5, where mādbhīḥ occurs. Two other words, svavas, offering good protection, and svatavas, of independent strength, mentioned together as liable to the same change, do not occur with bhiḥ in the Rig-veda, but the forms svavadbhiḥ and svatavadbhiḥ probably occurred in some other Vedic writings. Svatavadbhyāḥ has been pointed out by Professor Aufrecht in the Vâgasaṇ. Sanhîṭā xxiv. 16, and svatavobhyāḥ in Satap. Br. ii. 5, i, 14. That the nom. svavān, which is always trisyllabic, is not to be divided into sva-vān, as proposed by Sākalya, but into su-avān, is implied by Vârttika to Pân. viii. 4, 48, and distinctly stated in the Siddhânta-Kaumudī. That the final n of the nom. su-avān disappeared before semi-vowels is confirmed by the Sākala-prâtiśākhya, Sûtra 287; see also Vâgasaṇ. Prâtiś. iii. Sûtra 135 (Weber, Ind. Stud. vol. iv. p. 206). On the proper division of su-avas, see Aufrecht, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. xiii. p. 499.

Verse 4, note 1. Āt must here take vyūha and be pronounced as an iambus. This is exceptional with āt, but there are at least two other passages where the same pronunciation is necessary. i. 148, 4. āt rokate váne ā vi-bhā-vā, though in the line immediately following it is monosyllabic. Also in v. 7, 10. āt agne āpînataḥ.

Verse 4, note 2. Svadhā, literally one’s own place, afterwards, one’s own nature. It was a great triumph for the science of Comparative Philology that, long before the existence of such a word as svadhā in Sanskrit was known, it should have been postulated by Professor Benfey in his Griechische Wurzel-lexicon, published in 1839, and in the appendix of 1842. Svadhā was known, it is true, in the ordinary Sanskrit, but there it only occurred as an exclamation used on presenting an oblation to the manes. It
was also explained to mean food offered to deceased ancestors, or to be the name of a personification of Mâyâ or worldly illusion, or of a nymph. But Professor Benfey, with great ingenuity, postulated for Sanskrit a noun svadhā, as corresponding to the Greek ἐθσι and the German sit-te, O. H. G. sit-ũ, Gothic sid-ũ. The noun svadhā has since been discovered in the Veda, where it occurs very frequently; and its true meaning in many passages where native tradition had entirely misunderstood it, has really been restored by means of its etymological identification with the Greek ἐθσι or Ἰθσι. See Kuhn’s Zeitschrift, vol. ii. p. 134, vol. xii. p. 158.

The expressions ánu svadhām and svadhām ánu are of frequent occurrence. They mean, according to the nature or character of the persons spoken of, and may be translated by as usual, or according to a person’s wont. Thus in our passage we may translate, The Maruts are born again, i. e. as soon as Indra appeared with the dawn, according to their wont; they are always born as soon as Indra appears, for such is their nature.

i. 165, 5. índra svadhām ánu hí nák babhůtha.
For, Indra, according to thy wont, thou art ours.

viii. 20, 7. svadhām ánu sriyam náraḥ—váhante.
According to their wont, the men (the Maruts) carry splendour.

viii. 88, 5. ánu svadhām vavakshitha.
Thou hast grown (Indra) according to thy nature.

iv. 33, 6. ánu svadhām ribhávah gagmuḥ etáṃ.
According to their nature, the Ribhus went to her, scil. the cow; or, according to this their nature, they came.

iv. 52, 6. úshah ánu svadhām ava.
Dawn, help! as thou art wont.

i. 33, 11. ánu svadhām aksharan āpak asya.
As usual, or according to his nature, i. e. his strength, the waters flowed.

i. 88, 6. ásāṃ ánu svadhām.
According to the nature of these libations.

vii. 56, 13. ánu svadhām áyudhaiḥ yákkhamānāḥ.
According to their nature, stretching forth with their weapons.
iii. 51, 11. yāh te ānu svadhām āsat sutē ni yakkha
tanvām.

Direct thy body to that libation which is according to thy
nature, or better, according to thy taste.

In all these passages svadhā may be rendered by manner,
habit, usage, and ānu svadhām would seem to correspond to
the Greek ἐξ ἑθος. Yet the history of these words in
Sanskrit and Greek has not been exactly the same. First
of all we observe in Greek a division between ἑθος and
Ἠθος, and whereas the former comes very near in meaning
to the Sanskrit svadhā, the latter shows in Homer a much
more primitive and material sense. It means in Homer,
not a person’s own nature, but the own place, for instance,
of animals, the haunts of horses, lions, fish; in Hesiod, also
of men. Svadhā in the Veda does not occur in that sense,
although etymologically it might take the meaning of one’s
own place: cf. dhā-man, familia, etc. Whether in Greek
Ἠθος, from meaning lair, haunt, home, came, like νομός and
νόμος, to mean habit, manner, character, which would be
quite possible, or whether Ὑθος in that meaning represents
a second start from the same point, which in Sanskrit was
fixed in svadhā, is impossible to determine. In Sanskrit
svadhā clearly shows the meaning of one’s own nature,
power, disposition. It does not mean power or nature in
general, but always the power of some one, the peculiarity,
the individuality of a person. This will appear from the
following passages:

ii. 3, 8. tisrāḥ devīḥ svadhāyā barhīḥ ā idām ákkhidram
pāntu.

May the three goddesses protect by their power the
sacred pile unbroken.

iv. 13, 5. kāyā yāti svadhāyā.

By what inherent power does he (the Sun) move on?

iv. 26, 4. akakráyā svadhāyā.

By a power which requires no chariot, i.e. by himself
without a chariot.

The same expression occurs again x. 27, 19.

In some places ‘mad,’ to delight, joined with svadhāyā,
seems to mean to revel in his strength, proud of his
might.
v. 32, 4. svadháyā mádantam.
Vritra who delights in his strength.
vii. 47, 3. svadháyā mádantih.
The waters who delight in their strength. See x. 124, 8.
In other passages, however, as we shall see, the same phrase (and this is rather unusual) requires to be taken in a different sense, so as to mean to rejoice in food.
i. 164, 38. svadháyā gṛihátāḥ.
Held or grasped by his own strength.
iii. 17, 5. svadháyā ka sambhúḥ.
He who blesses by his own strength.
iii. 35, 10. índra píba svadháyā kit sutásya agnéḥ vā pāhi gihváyā yagatra.
Indra drink of the libation by thyself (by thy own power), or with the tongue of Agni, O worshipful.
To drink with the tongue of Agni is a bold but not unusual expression. v. 51, 2. agnéḥ pibata gihváyā.
x. 15, 3. yé svadháyā sutásya bháganta pitváḥ.
Those who by themselves share in the offered draught.
i. 165, 6. kvā syā vah marutah svadhā āsít yát mām ēkam sam-ādhatta ahi-hátye.
Where was that custom of yours, O Maruts, that ye should have joined me who stand alone in the fight with Ahi?
vii. 8, 3. káyā nah agne ví vasah su-vṛiktím kām ūm (īti) svadhām rinavah sasyámānah.
In what character dost thou light up our altar, and what character dost thou assume when thou art praised?
iv. 58, 4. venāt ēkam svadháyā nīḥ tatakshuh.
They (the gods) made one out of the sun, by their own power.
iv. 45, 6. víśvān ānu svadháyā ketathaḥ patháḥ.
You (Aśvins) look after all the paths by your own strength.
i. 64, 4. sākām gagñire svadháyā.
They (the Maruts) were born together according to their nature; very much like ānu svadhām, i. 6, 4. One can hardly render it here by ‘they were born by their own strength,’ or ‘by spontaneous generation.’
In other passages, however, svadháyā, meaning originally by its own power, or nature, comes to mean, by itself, sponte suā.
vii. 78, 4. "& asthát rátham svadháyá yugyámánam.

She, the dawn, mounted the chariot which was harnessed by itself, by its own power, without requiring the assistance of people to put the horses to.

x. 129, 2. ánít avátám svadháyá tát ékam.

That only One breathed breathlessly, by its own strength, i. e. by itself.

In the same sense svadhábhík is used in several passages:

i. 113, 13. amrítá karati svadhábhík.
The immortal Dawn moves along by her own strength, i. e. by herself.

viii. 10, 6. yát vá svadhábhík adhi-úshiplhathah rátham.

Or whether ye mount your chariot by your own strength, ye Asvins.

i. 164, 30. gíváh mritásya karati svadhábhík ámartyah márttyena sá-yonih.
The living moves by the powers of the dead, the immortal is the brother of the mortal.

iii. 26, 8. várshishtham rátnam akrita svadhábhík.

He (Agni) made the best jewel by his own powers, i. e. by himself.

v. 60, 4. varáh-íva ít raivatásah híranyaih abhí svadhábhíh tavih pipísre.

Like rich suitors, they (the Maruts) by their own strength, i. e. themselves, adorn their bodies with gold ornaments.

There are doubtful passages in which the meaning of svadhábhík, too, is doubtful. Thus, i. 180, 6. In vi. 2, 8, svadhá looks like an adverb, instead of svadháyá, and would then refer to párimå. The same applies to viii. 32, 6.

But svadhá means also food, lit. one’s own portion, the sacrificial offering due to each god, and lastly, food in general.

i. 108, 12. yát indrágní (íti) út-itá súryasya mádhye diváh svadháyá mádáyethe (íti).

Whether you, Indra and Agni, delight in your food at the rising of the sun or at midday.

x. 15, 12. tvám agne íítáh gáta-vedah ávát havyáni su-rabhámi kritvá, prá adáh pitrí-bhyah svadháyá té akshan adhí tvám deva prá-yatá havímshi. 13. yé ka ihá pitárah yé ka ná ihá yán ka vidmá yán úm (íti) ka ná pra-vidmá, tvám vettha
yāti té gāta-vedah svadhābhīḥ yagñāṁ sū-kritam gushasva.  
14. yē agni-dagdhāḥ yē ānagni-dagdhāḥ mādyhe divāḥ svadhāyāḥ mādāyante, tēbhīḥ sva-rāt āsu-nītim etām yathā-vasāṁ tanyāṁ kalpayasva.

12. Thou, O Agni Gātavedas, hast carried, when implored, the offerings which thou hast rendered sweet: thou hast given them to the fathers, they fed on their share. Eat thou, O god, the proffered oblations. 13. Our fathers who are here, and those who are not here, our fathers whom we know and those whom we do not know, thou knowest how many they are, O Gātavedas, accept the well-made sacrifice with the sacrificial portions. 14. They who, whether burnt by fire or not burnt by fire, rejoice in their offering in the midst of heaven, give to them, O king, that life, and thy (their) own body, according to thy will.

iii. 4, 7. sapta prikṣāsah svadhāyā madanti.  
The seven horses delight in their food.  
x. 14, 7. ubhā rāgānā svadhāyā mādantā.  
The two kings delighting in their food.  
ix. 113, 10. yātra kāmāḥ ni-kāmāḥ ka, yātra bradhnāsyā vishtāpam, svadhāḥ ka yātra trīptih ka tātra mām amṛtam kṛidhī.

Where wishes and desires are, where the cup of the bright Soma is, where there is food and rejoicing, there make me immortal.

i. 154, 4. yāsyā trī pūrnā mádhunā padāni ākṣhīyamānā svadhāyā mādanti.  
He (Vishnu) whose three places, full of sweet, imperishable, delight or abound in food.

v. 34, 1. svadhā āmitā.  
His unlimited portion or offering.

ii. 35, 7. dhenūḥ svadhām pīpāya.  
The cow yields her food, her portion, her milk.

i. 168, 9. āt īt svadhām ishirāṁ pári apasyan.  
Thereafter (the Maruts) saw the vigorous food.

i. 176, 2. ānu svadhā yāṁ upyāte.  
After whom, or for whom, his food is scattered.

In the tenth book svadhā is used very much as it occurs in the later Sanskrit, as the name of a peculiar sacrificial rite.
Those whom the gods cherish, and those who cherish the gods, the one delight in Svāhā, the others in Svadhā; or, in praise and food.

Verse 4, note 3. The expression garbha-tvām ā-īrirē is matched by that of iii. 60, 3. saudhanvanāsah amrita-tvām ā īrire, the Saudhanvanas (the Ribhus) obtained immortality. The idea that the Maruts assumed the form of a garbha, lit. of an embryo or a new-born child, is only meant to express that the storms burst forth from the womb of the sky as soon as Indra arises to do battle against the demon of darkness. As assisting Indra in this battle, the Maruts, whose name retained for a long time its purely appellative meaning of storms, attained their rank as deities by the side of Indra, or, as the poet expresses it, they assumed their sacred name. This seems to be the whole meaning of the later legend that the Maruts, like the Ribhus, were not originally gods, but became deified for their works.

Vāhni.

Verse 5, note 1. Sāyana explains vāhnibhiḥ in the sense of Marūdbhīḥ, and he tells the oft-repeated story how the cows were carried off by the Pānis from the world of the gods, and thrown into darkness, and how Indra with the Maruts conquered them and brought them back. Everybody seems to have accepted this explanation of Sāyana, and I myself do not venture to depart from it. Yet it should be stated that the use of vāhni as a name of the Maruts is by no means well established. Vāhni is in fact a most difficult word in the Veda. In later Sanskrit it means fire, and is quoted also as a name of Agni, the god of fire, but we do not learn why a word which etymologically means carrier, from vah, to carry, should have assumed the meaning of fire. It may be that vah, which in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin means chiefly to carry, expressed originally the idea of moving about (the German be-wegen), in which case vāh-ni, fire, would have been formed with the same purpose as
ag-ní, *ig-nis*, fire, from Sk. *ag*, ᵇγ-, *ag-o*. But in Sanskrit Agni is so constantly represented as the carrier of the sacrificial oblation, that something may be said in favour of the Indian scholastic interpreters who take váhni, as applied to Agni, in the sense of carrier. However that may be, it admits of no doubt that váhni, in the Veda also, is distinctly applied to the bright fire or light. In some passages it looks very much like a proper name of Agni, in his various characters of terrestrial and celestial light. It is used for the sacrificial fire:

v. 50, 4. *yātra váhniḥ abhí-hitah*.
Where the sacrificial fire is placed.

It is applied to Agni:

vii. 7, 5. ásádi vritāk váhniḥ ā-gaganvān agnīḥ brahma.
The chosen light came nigh, and sat down, Agni, the priest.

Here Agni is, as usual, represented as a priest, chosen like a priest, for the performance of the sacrifice. But, for that very reason, váhni may here have the meaning of priest, which, as we shall see, it has in many places, and the translation would then be more natural: He, the chosen minister, came near and sat down, Agni, the priest.

viii. 23, 3. váhniḥ vindate vāsu.
Agni finds wealth (for those who offer sacrifices?).

More frequently váhni is applied to the celestial Agni, or other solar deities, where it is difficult to translate it in English except by an adjective:

iii. 5, 1. ápa dvārā támasah váhniḥ āvar (ítv āvah).
Agni opened the two doors of darkness.

i. 160, 3. sáh váhniḥ putrāḥ pitrōḥ pavītra-vān punāti dhūrah bhúvanāni máyāyā.
That light, the son of the two parents, full of brightness, the wise, brightens the world by his power.

Agni is even called váhni-tama (iv. 1, 4), which hardly means more than the brightest.

ii. 17, 4. āt ródasī (ítv) *gyótishā* váhniḥ ā atanot.
Then the luminous (Indra) stretched out or filled heaven and earth with his light.

ii. 38, 1. út úm (ítv) syāh devāḥ savitā—váhniḥ asthāt.
The bright Savitar, the luminous, arose.

Besides this meaning of light or fire, however, there are
clearly two other meanings of vāhni which must be admitted in the Veda, first that of a carrier, vehicle, and, it may be, horse; secondly that of minister or priest.

vi. 57, 3. agāh anyāsyā vāhnayāh hārī (iti) anyāsyā sām-bhritā.

The bearers of the one (Pūshan) are goats, the bays are yoked for the other (Indra).

i. 14, 6. ghritā-prishthāh manah-yūgah yē tvā vāhanti vāhnayāh.

The horses with shining backs, obedient to thy will, which carry thee (Agni).

viii. 3, 23. yāsmai anyé dása prāti dhúram vāhanti vāhnayāh.

A horse against whom other ten horses carry a weight; i.e. it requires ten horses to carry the weight which this one horse carries. (See x. 11, 7. vāhamānah āsvaiḥ.)

ii. 37, 3. médyantu te vāhnayāh yēbhīh īyase.

May thy horses be fat on which thou goest.

ii. 24, 13. utā āsishthāh ānū srinvanti vāhnayāh.

The very quick horses (of Brahmānāspati) listen. These may be the flames, but they are conceived as carriers or horses.

i. 44, 13. srudhī srut-karna vāhni-bhīh.

Agni, who hast ears to hear, hear, on thy horses. Unless vāhni-bhīh is joined with the words that follow, devaḥ sayāva-bhīh.

iii. 6, 2. vakyántām te vāhnayāh saptā-gihvāh*.

May thy seven-tongued horses be called. Here vāhnayāh is clearly meant for the flames of Agni, yet I doubt whether we should be justified in dropping the simile, as the plural of vāhni is nowhere used in the bald sense of flames.

In one passage vāhni is used as a feminine, or at all events applied to a feminine subject:

viii. 94, 1. yuktā vāhnih ráthānām.

She is yoked as the drawer of the chariots.

The passages in which vāhni is applied to Soma in the 9th and 10th Mandalas throw little light on the subject.

(ix. 9, 6; 20, 5; 6; 36, 2; 64, 19; 89, 1; x. 101, 10.)

Instead of visām vispātih, lord of men (vii. 7, 4), we find

* Cf. i. 58, 7. saptā guhvāh.
ix. 108, 10. visām váhniḥ ná vispátih. One feels inclined to translate here váhniḥ by leader, but it is more likely that váhni is here again the common name of Soma, and that it is inserted between visām ná vispátih, which is meant to form one phrase.

In ix. 97, 34, tisráh vākah īrayati prā váhniḥ, we may take váhni as the common appellation of Soma. But it may also mean minister or priest, as in the passages which we have now to examine. Cf. x. 11, 6.

For besides these passages in which váhni clearly means vector, carrier, drawer, horse, there is a large class of verses in which it can only be translated by minister, i.e. officiating minister, and, as it would seem, chiefly singer or reciter.

The verb vah was used in Sanskrit in the sense of carrying out (ud-vah, ausführen), or performing a rite, particularly as applied to the reciting of hymns. Hence such compounds as ukthā-vāhas or stóża-vāhas, offering hymns of praise. Thus we read:

v. 79, 4. abhí yé tvā vibhā-vari stōmaiḥ grinánti váhnayaḥ.

The ministers who praise thee, splendid Dawn, with hymns.

i. 48, 11. yé tvā grinánti váhnayaḥ.
The ministers who praise thee.

vii. 75, 5. ushāḥ ukkhati váhni-bhiḥ grinānā.
The dawn lights up, praised by the ministers.

vi. 39, 1. mandrāsyā kavēḥ divyāsyā váhneh.
Of the sweet poet, of the heavenly priest . . . .

vii. 82, 4. yuvām ít yut-sú prītanāsū váhnayaḥ yuvām kshēmasya pra-savē mitā-gñavah īsānā vásvah ubhāyasya kārūvah īndrāvarunā su-hávā havāmahe.

We, as ministers, invoke you only in fights and battles; we, as supplicants, (invoke) you for the granting of treasure; we, as poets, (invoke) you, the lords of twofold wealth, you, Indra and Varuna, who listen to our call.

vi. 32, 3. sāh váhni-bhiḥ rīkva-bhiḥ gōshu sásvat mitāgñu-bhiḥ puru-krītvā gigāya.

He (Indra) was victorious often among the cows, always with celebrating and suppliant ministers.

I have placed these two passages together because they
seem to me to illustrate each other, and to show that although in the second passage the celebrating and suppliant ministers may be intended for the Maruts, yet no argument could be drawn from this verse in favour of váhni by itself meaning the Maruts. See also viii. 6, 2; 12, 15; x. 114, 2.

iv. 21, 6. hóta yáh nah mahán sam-váraneshu váhniḥ.
The Hotar who is our great priest in the sanctuaries.
i. 128, 4. váhniḥ vedhāḥ ágāyata.
Because the wise priest (Agni) was born.
The same name which in these passages is applied to Agni, is in others, and, as it will be seen, in the same sense, applied to Indra.

ii. 21, 2. tuvi-gráye váhnaye.
To the strong-voiced priest or leader.
The fact that váhni is followed in several passages by ukthaíḥ would seem to show that the office of the váhni was chiefly that of recitation or of addressing prayers to the gods.

iii. 20, 1. agním ushásam asvínâ dadhi-krām ví-usháśishu havate váhniḥ ukthaíḥ.
The priest at the break of day calls with his hymns Agni, Ushas, the Ásvins, and Dadhikrâ.
i. 184, 1. tá vám adyá taú aparám huvema ukkhántyâm ushásí váhniḥ ukthaíḥ.
Let us invoke the two Ásvins to-day and to-morrow, the priest with his hymns is there when the dawn appears.

In a similar sense, it would seem, as váhniḥ ukthaíḥ, the Vedic poets frequently use the words váhniḥ āsā. This āsā is the instrumental singular of ás, mouth, and it is used in other phrases also of the mouth as the instrument of praise.

vi. 32, 1. vágříne sám-tamâni vákâmsi āsā sthávîrâya taksham.
I have shaped with my mouth blessed words to the wielder of the thunderbolt, the strong Indra.

x. 115, 3. āsā váhnim ná sokíshâ vi-rapśinam.
He who sings with his flame as the poet with his mouth. See also i. 38, 14. mimíhí slókam ásyē, make a song in thy mouth.
Thus we find váhniḥ āsā in the same place in the sixth
HYMNS TO THE MARUTS.

and seventh Mandalas (vi. 16, 9; vii. 16, 9), in the phrase vâhniḥ āsā vidūḥ-taraha, applied to Agni in the sense of the priest wise with his mouth, or taking vâhniḥ āsā as it were one word, the wise poet.

i. 129, 5. vāhniḥ āsā, vāhniḥ nah ākkha.

Indra, as a priest by his lips, as a priest coming towards us.

From the parallelism of this passage it would seem that Professor Roth concluded the meaning of āsā* to be near, or coram.

i. 76, 4. prajā-vatā vákasā váhniḥ āsā ā ka huvé ní ka satsi ihá deváḥ.

With words in which my people join, I, the poet, invoke, and thou (Agni) sittest down with the gods.

vi. 11, 2. pávakāyā guhvā váhniḥ āsā.

Thou, a poet with a bright tongue, O Agni!

The question now arises in what sense vâhni is used when applied without further definition to certain deities. Most deities in the Veda are represented as driving or driven, and many as poets or priests. When the Āsvins are called vâhni, viii. 8, 12; vii. 73, 4, it may mean riders. But when the Visve Devas are so called, i. 3, 9, or the Ribhus, the exact

* Ās, mouth, the Latin os, oriš, has been derived from a root as, to breathe, preserved in the Sanskrit as-u, spirit, asu-ra, endowed with spirit, living, the living god. Though I agree with Curtius in admitting a primitive root as, to breathe, from which as-u, breath, must have sprung, I have always hesitated about the derivation of ās and āsyā, mouth, from the same root. I do not think, however, that the lengthening of the vowel in ās is so great a difficulty as has been supposed (Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. xvii. p. 145). Several roots lengthen their vowel a, when used as substantives without derivative suffixes. In some cases this lengthening is restricted to the Anga base, as in anadvāḥ; in others to the Anga and Pada base, as in visvavat, visvavādhiḥ, &c.; in others again it pervades the whole declension, as in turāshāt: (see Sanskrit Grammar, §§ 210, 208, 175.) Among ordinary words vâk offers a clear instance of a lengthened vowel. In the Veda we find rîtshāham, vi. 14. 4, and rîtshāham (Sanhitā), i. 64, 15. We find vâh in apsu-vâh (Sām. Ved.), indra-vâh, havya-vâh. Sah at the end of compounds, such as nri-sah, prîtānâ-sah, bhûri-sah, satrâ-sah, vîbhâ-sah, sadâ-sah, varies between a long and short ā: (see Regnier, Étude sur l'idiole du Védas, p. 111.) At all events no instance has yet been pointed out in Sanskrit, showing the same contraction which we should have to admit if, as has been proposed, we derived ās from av-as, or from an-as. From an we have in the Veda ānâ, mouth or face, i. 52, 15. From as, to breathe, the Latin omen, originally os-men, a whisper, might likewise be derived.
meaning is more doubtful. The Maruts are certainly riders, and we can even prove that they were supposed to sit on horseback and to have the bridle through the horse’s nostrils (v. 61, 2). But if in our verse i. 6, 5, we translate váhni as an epithet, rider, and not only as an epithet, but as a name of the Maruts, we cannot support our translation by independent evidence, but must rely partly on the authority of Sāyana, partly on the general tenour of the text before us, where the Maruts are mentioned in the preceding verse, and, if I am right, in the verse following also. On the other hand, if váhni can thus be used as a name of the Maruts, there is at least one other passage which would gain in clearness by the admission of that meaning, viz.

x. 138, i. táva tyé indra sakhyéshu váhnayáḥ—ví adar-
diruḥ valám.

In thy friendship, Indra, these Maruts tore asunder the cloud.

Verse 5, note 2. I have translated vílú by stronghold, though it is only an adjective meaning firm. Dr. Oscar Meyer, in his very able essay Quæstiones Homericae, specimen prius, Bonnæ, 1867, has tried to show that this vílú is the original form of ἴλιος, and he has brought some further evidence to show that the siege and conquest of Troy, as I pointed out in my Lectures on the Science of Language, vol. ii. p. 470, was originally described in language borrowed from the siege and conquest of the dark night by the powers of light, or from the destruction of the cloud by the weapons of Indra. It ought to be considered, however, that vílú in the Veda has not dwindled down as yet to a mere name, and that therefore it may have originally retained its purely appellative power in Greek as well as in Sanskrit, and from meaning a stronghold in general, have come to mean the stronghold of Troy.

Verse 5, note 3. The bright cows are here the cows of the morning, the dawns, or the days themselves, which are represented as rescued at the end of each night by the power of Indra, or similar solar gods. Indra’s companions in that daily rescue are the Maruts, the storms, or the
breezes of the morning, the same companions who act even a more prominent part in the battle of Indra against the dark clouds; two battles often mixed up together.

Verse 6, note 1. The reasons why I take girah as a masculine in the sense of singer or praiser, may be seen in a note to i. 37, 10.

Verse 6, note 2. yāthā matīm, lit. according to their mind, according to their heart's desire. Cf. ii. 24, 13.

Verse 7, note 1. The sudden transition from the plural to the singular is strange, but the host of the Maruts is frequently spoken of in the singular, and nothing else can here be intended. It may be true, as Professor Benfey suggests, that the verses here put together stood originally in a different order, or that they were taken from different sources. Yet though the Sāma-veda would seem to sanction a small alteration in the order of the verses, the alteration of verses 7, 4, 5, as following each other, would not help us much. The Atharva-veda sanctions no change in the order of these verses.

The transition to the dual at the end of the verse is likewise abrupt, not more so, however, than we are prepared for in the Veda. The suggestion of the Nirukta (iv. 12) that these duals might be taken as instrumentals of the singular, is of no real value.

Verse 7, note 2. Drikshase, a very valuable form, a second person singular conjunctive of the First Aorist Ātmanepada, the termination ' sase' corresponding to Greek ση, as the conjunctive takes the personal terminations of the present in both languages. Similar forms, viz. prikshase, x. 22, 7, mamsase, x. 27, 10; Ath. Veda vii. 20, 2–6, and possibly vivakshase, x. 21, 1–8, 24, 1–3, 25, 1–11, will have to be considered hereafter. (Nirukta, ed. Roth, p. 30, Notes.)

Verse 8, note 1. Arkati, which I have here translated by he cries aloud, means literally, he celebrates. I do not know of any passage where arkati, when used, as here,
without an object, means to shine, as Professor Benfey translates it. The real difficulty, however, lies in makhá, which Sâyana explains by sacrifice, and which I have ventured to translate by priest or sacrificer. Makhá, as an adjective, means, as far as we can judge, strong or vigorous, and is applied to various deities, such as Pûshan i. 138, 1, Savitar vi. 71, 1, Soma xi. 20, 7, Indra iii. 34, 2, the Maruts i. 64, 11; vi. 66, 9. By itself, makhá is never used as the name of any deity, and it cannot therefore, as Professor Roth proposes, be used in our passage as a name of Indra, or be referred to Indra as a significant adjective. In i. 119, 3, makhá is applied to men or warriors, but it does not follow that makhá by itself means warrior, though it may be connected with the Greek μαχος in σύμμαχος.


There are two passages where makhá refers to an enemy of the gods, ix. 101, 13; x. 171, 2.

Among the remaining passages there is one where makhá is used in parallelism with váhni, x. 11, 6. vívaktí váhniḥ, su-apasyáte makháḥ. Here I propose to translate The poet speaks out, the priest works well. The same meaning seems to me applicable likewise to the phrase makháśya dáváne, to the offering of the priest.

i. 134, 1. ā yāhi dáváne, váyo (iți), makháśya dáváne.

Come, Váyu, to the offering, to the offering of the priest.

viii. 7, 27. ā naḥ makháśya dáváne—dévásah úpa gantana.

Come, gods, to the offering of our priest.

Professor Roth proposes to render makhá in these passages by ‘attestation of joy, celebration, praise,’ and he takes dáváne, as I have done, as a dative of dáván, a nomen actionis, meaning, the giving. There are some passages where one feels inclined to admit a noun dávána, and to take dáváne as a locative sing.

vi. 71, 2. devásyā vayām savitúḥ sávīmanī

sréshíthe syáma vásunah ̣ kā dáváne.

May we be in the favour of the god Savitar, and in the best award of his treasure.

In ii. 11, 1, and ii. 11, 12, the locative would likewise be preferable; but there is a decided majority of passages
in which dåváne occurs and where it is to be taken as a dative*, nor is there any other instance in the Veda of a nomen actionis being formed by vana. It is better, therefore, in vi. 71, 2, to refer sréshthe to sávîmâni, and to make allowance in the other passages for the idiomatic use of such phrases as dåváne vásúnâm or râyâh dåváne.

The termination vàne explains, as has been shown by Professor Benfey, Greek infinitives such as δούναι, i.e. δοεναι or δο[ε]ναι = Sanskrit då-váne. The termination mane in dá-mane, for the purpose of giving, explains, as the same scholar has proved, the ancient infinitives in Greek, such as δο-μεναι. It may be added that the regular infinitives in Greek, ending in εναί, as λελοιπ-έναι, are likewise matched by Vedic forms such as ix. 61, 30. dhūrv-ane, or vi. 61, 13. vibhv-âne. In the termination εν, which stands for en, like εις for στ, we have, on the contrary, not a dative, but a locative of an abstract noun in an, both cases, as we see from their juxta-position in vi. 71, 2, being equally applicable to express the relation which we are accustomed to call infinitive.

Verses 9 and 10, note 1. Although the names for earth, sky, and heaven vary in different parts of the Veda, yet the expression divâh rokanám occurs so frequently that we can hardly take it in this place in a sense different from its ordinary meaning. Professor Benfey thinks that rokaná may here mean ether, and he translates 'come from heaven above the ether;' and in the next verse, 'come from heaven above the earth.' At first, every reader would feel inclined to take the two phrases, divâh vā rokanât ádhi, and divâh vā pârthivât ádhi, as parallel; yet I believe they are not quite so.

The following passages will show that the two words rokanám divâh belong together, and that they signify the light of heaven, or the bright place of heaven.

viii. 98, 3. āgakkhah rokanám divâh.

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* Rv. i. 61, 10; 122, 5; 134, 2; 139, 6; ii. 1, 10; iv. 29, 5; 32, 9; v. 59, 1; 4; 65, 3; vii. 25, 20; 45, 10; (92, 26); 46, 25; 27; 63, 5; 69, 17; 70, 12; ix. 93, 4; x. 32, 5; 44, 7; 50, 7.
Thou (Indra) wentest to the light of heaven.
i. 155, 3. ádhi rokané diváh.
In the light of heaven.
iii. 6, 8. urau vá yé antárikshae—diváh vá yé rokané.
In the wide sky, or in the light of heaven.
vi. 82, 4. upámé rokané diváh.
In the highest light of heaven.
ix. 86, 27. tritiye prishthe ádhi rokané diváh.
On the third ridge, in the light of heaven. See also i.

The very phrase which we find in our verse, only with kit instead of vá, occurs again, i. 49, 1; viii. 8, 7; and the same sense must probably be assigned to viii. 1, 18, ádha gmáh ádha vá diváh brihatáh rokanát ádhi.

Either from the earth, or from the light of the great heaven, increase, O Indra!

Rokaná also occurs in the plural:
i. 146, 1. vísvá diváh rokaná.
All the bright regions of heaven.
Sâyana: 'All the bright palaces of the gods.' See iii. 12, 9.
The same word rokaná, and in the same sense, is also joined with súrya and náka.

Thus, i. 14, 9. súryasya rokanát vísván deván—hótâ ihá vakshati.

May the Hotar bring the Visve Devas hither from the light of the sun, or from the bright realm of the sun.

iii. 22, 3. yáh rokané parástât súryasya.
The waters which are above, in the bright realm of the sun, and those which are below.
i. 19, 6. yé nákasya ádhi rokané, diví devásah ásate.
They who in the light of the firmament, in heaven, are enthroned as gods.

Here diví, in heaven, seems to be the same as the light of the firmament, nákasya rokané.

Thus rokaná occurs also frequently by itself, when it clearly has the meaning of heaven.

It is said of the dawn, i. 49, 4; of the sun, i. 50, 4; and of Indra, iii. 44, 4.

vísvam á bháti rokanám, they light up the whole sky.

We also read of three rokanás, where, though it is difficult
to say what is really meant, we must translate, the three skies. The cosmography of the Veda is, as I said before, somewhat vague and varying. There is, of course, the natural division of the world into heaven and earth (dyú and bhūmi), and the threefold division into earth, sky, and heaven, where sky is meant for the region intermediate between heaven and earth (prithivī, antáriksha, dyú). There is also a fourfold division, for instance,

vi. 97, 5. yát vá ási rokané diváh
samudrásyã ádhi vishtápi,
yát párthive sádane vritrahan-tama,
yát antárikhe á gahi.

Whether thou, O greatest killer of Vritra, art in the light of heaven, or in the basin of the sea, or in the place of the earth, or in the sky, come hither!

v. 52, 7. yé vavridhánta párthiváh yé uráu antárikshe á,
vrígáne và nadínám sadhá-sthe vá maháh diváh.

The Maruts who grew, being on the earth, those who are in the wide sky, or in the compass of the rivers, or in the abode of the great heaven.

But very soon these three or more regions are each spoken of as threefold. Thus,

i. 102, 8. tisráh bhúmih tríni rokaná.
The three earths, the three skies.

ii. 27, 9. trí rokaná divyá dhárayanta.
The Adityas support the three heavenly skies.

v. 69, 1. trí rokaná varuna tríni utá dyún tríni mitra
dhárayathah rágâmsi.

Mitra and Varuna, you support the three lights, and the three heavens, and the three skies.

Here there seems some confusion, which Sáyana’s commentary makes even worse confounded. What can rokaná mean as distinct from dyú and rágas? The fourth verse of the same hymn throws no light on the subject, and I should feel inclined to take divyā-párthivasya as one word, though even then the cosmic division here adopted is by no means clear. However, there is a still more complicated division alluded to in iv. 53, 5:

tríh antáriksham savitā mahi-tvaná trí rágâmsi pari-bhúh
tríni rokaná, tisráh dívah prithivíḥ tisráh invati.
Here we have the sky thrice, three welkins, three lights, three heavens, three earths.

A careful consideration of all these passages will show, I think, that in our passage we must take diváh và rokanât ádhi in its usual sense, and that we cannot separate the two words.

In the next verse, on the contrary, it seems equally clear that diváh and pârthivât must be separated. At all events there is no passage in the Rig-veda where pârthiva is joined as an adjective with dyú. Pârthiva as an adjective is frequently joined with rágas, never with dyú. See i. 81, 5; 90, 7; vii. 88, 5; ix. 72, 8: in the plural, i. 154, 1; v. 81, 3; vi. 31, 2; 49, 3.

Pârthivâni also occurs by itself, when it means the earth, as opposed to the sky and heaven.

x. 32, 2. ví indra yâsi divyâni rokanâ ví pârthivâni rágasâ.
Indra thou goest in the sky between the heavenly lights and the earthly.

viii. 94, 9. ā yé vísvâ pârthivâni papráthan rokanâ diváh.
The Maruts who stretched out all the earthly lights, and the lights of heaven.

vi. 61, 11. ā-paprushi pârthivâni urú râgaḥ antáriksham.
Sarasvatî filling the earthly places, the wide welkin, the sky. This is a doubtful passage.

Lastly, pârthivâni by itself seems to signify earth, sky, and heaven, if those are the three regions which Vishnû measured with his three steps; or east, the zenith, and west, if these were intended as the three steps of that deity. For we read:

i. 155, 4. yâh pârthivâni tri-bhiḥ ít vígâma-bhiḥ urú krâ-mishta.

He (Vishnû) who strode wide with his three strides across the regions of the earth.

These two concluding verses might also be taken as containing the actual invocation of the sacrificer, which is mentioned in verse 8. In that case the full stop at the end of verse 8 should be removed.
HYMNS TO THE MARUTS.

MANDALA I, SŪKTA 19.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 1, VARGA 36–37.

1. Práti tyám kārum adhvarám go-pithāya prá hūyase, marút-bhīḥ agne ā gahi.

2. Nahí devāḥ ná mártyah mahāḥ táva krátum parāḥ, marút-bhīḥ agne ā gahi.

3. Yé mahāḥ rágasah vidúḥ visve devāsah adrūhah, marút-bhīḥ agne ā gahi.

4. Yé ugrāḥ arkám ânvikūḥ ánādhrishtāsah ógasā, marút-bhīḥ agne ā gahi.

1. WILSON: Earnestly art thou invoked to this perfect rite, to drink the Soma juice: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

BENFEY: Zu diesem schönen Opfer wirst du gerufen, zum Trank der Milch!—Mit diesen Marut’s, Agni! komm!

LANGLOIS: Le sacrifice est préparé avec soin; nous t’appelons à venir goûter des nos libations: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

2. WILSON: No god nor man has power over a rite (dedicated) to thee, who art mighty: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

BENFEY: Denn nicht ein Gott, kein Sterblicher ragt über dein, des Grossen, Macht—Mit diesen Marut’s, Agni! komm!

LANGLOIS: Aucun dieu, aucun mortel n’est assez fort pour lutter contre un être aussi grand que toi: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.
Hymn to Agni (the god of Fire) and the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. Thou art called forth to this fair sacrifice for a draught of milk;¹ with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

2. No god indeed, no mortal, is beyond the might¹ of thee, the mighty one; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

3. They who know of the great sky,¹ the Visve Devas² without guile;³ with those Maruts come hither, O Agni!

4. The wild ones who sing their song,¹ un conquerable by force; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

3. Wilson: Who all are divine, and devoid of malignity, and who know (how to cause the descent) of great waters: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

Benfey: Die guten Götter, welche all bestehen in dem weiten Raum—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

Langlois: Tous ces dieux bienfaisants (des hommes) connaissent ce vaste monde (où règne la lumière): Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

4. Wilson: Who are fierce, and send down rain, and are unsurpassed in strength: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

Benfey: Die schrecklich-unbesiegbaren, die mächtiglich Licht angefacht—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

Langlois: Menaçants, doués d'une force invincible, ils peuvent obscurcir la lumière du soleil: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.
5. Wilson: Who are brilliant, of terrific forms, who are possessors of great wealth, and are devourers of the malevolent: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

Benfey: Die glänzend-grau’ngestaltigen, hochherrschen- feindvernichtenden—Mit diesen Marut’s, Agni! komm!

Langlois: Resplendissants, revêtus d’une forme terrible, ils peuvent donner les richesses, comme ils peuvent aussi détruire leurs ennemis: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

6. Wilson: Who are divinities abiding in the radiant heaven above the sun: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

Benfey: Die Götter die im Himmel sind ob dem Lichtkreis des Göttersitz’s—Mit diesen Marut’s, Agni! komm!

Langlois: Sous la voute brillante du ciel, ces dieux s’élèvent et vont s’asseoir: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

7. Wilson: Who scatter the clouds, and agitate the sea (with waves): come, Agni, with the Maruts.

Benfey: Welche über das wogende Meer hinjagen die Wolkenschaar—Mit diesen Marut’s, Agni! komm!
5. They who are brilliant, of awful shape, powerful, and devourers of foes; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

6. They who in heaven are enthroned as gods, in the light of the firmament; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

7. They who toss the clouds across the surging sea; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

8. They who shoot with their darts across the sea with might; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

9. I pour out to thee for the early draught the sweet (juice) of Soma; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

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**Langlois:** Ils soulèvent et poussent les montagnes (de nuages) au-dessus de l'abîme des mers: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

8. **Wilson:** Who spread (through the firmament), along with the rays (of the sun), and, with their strength, agitate the ocean: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

**Benfey:** Die mit Blitzen schleuderen mächtig über das Meer hinaus—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

**Langlois:** Ils étendent avec force les rayons à travers l'Océan (céleste): Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

9. **Wilson:** I pour out the sweet Soma juice for thy drinking, (as) of old: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

**Benfey:** Ich giesse zu dem ersten Trank für dich des Soma Honig aus—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

**Langlois:** A toi cette première libation; je t'offre la douce boisson du soma: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.
COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Medhâtithi, of the family of Kanva. The metre is Gâyatři throughout.

Verse 1, note 1. Gopithá is explained by Yâska and Sâyana as drinking of Soma. I have kept to the literal signification of the word, a draught of milk. In the last verse of our hymn the libation offered to Agni and the Maruts is said to consist of Soma, but Soma was commonly mixed with milk. The other meaning assigned to gopithá, protection, would give the sense: ‘Thou art called for the sake of protection.’ But pitha has clearly the sense of drinking in soma-pitha, Rv. i. 51, 7, and must therefore be taken in the same sense in gopithá.

Verse 2, note 1. The Sanskrit kratu expresses power both of body and mind.

Verse 3, note 1. The sky or welkin (rågas) is the proper abode of the Maruts, and ‘they who know of’ means simply ‘they who dwell’ in the great sky. The Vedie poets distinguish commonly between the three worlds, the earth, prithivi, f., or pärthiva, n.; the sky, rågas; and the heaven, dyú: see i. 6, 9, note 1. The phrase mahâh rågasah occurs i. 6, 10; 168, 6, &c. Sâyana takes rågas for water or rain: see on this my article in Kuhn’s Zeitschrift, vol. xii. p. 28. The identification of rågas with ἐρέβος (Leo Meyer, in Kuhn’s Zeitschrift, vol. vi. p. 19) must remain doubtful until stronger evidence has been brought forward in support of a Greek β representing a Sanskrit g, even in the middle of a word. See my article in Kuhn’s Zeitschrift, vol. xv. p. 215; Curtius, Grundzüge, p. 421.

Verse 3, note 2. The appellation Vîsve devâh, all gods together, or, more properly, host-gods, is often applied to the Maruts; cf. i. 23, 8; 10. Benfey connects this line with the preceding verse, considering Vîsve devâh, it seems, inappropriate as an epithet of the Maruts.

Verse 3, note 3. On adrîh, without guile or deceit,
without hatred, see Kuhn's excellent article, Zeitschrift für die Vergleichende Sprachforschung, vol. i. pp. 179, 193. Adrúh is applied to the Maruts again in viii. 46, 4, though in connection with other gods. It is applied to the Visve Devas, Rv. i. 3, 9; ix. 102, 5: the Ádityas, Rv. viii. 19, 34; 67, 13: the Rudras, Rv. ix. 73, 7: to Heaven and Earth, Rv. ii. 41, 21; iii. 56, 1; iv. 56, 2; vii. 66, 18: to Mitra and Varuna, Rv. v. 68, 4: to Agni, Rv. vi. 15, 7; viii. 44, 10. The form adhrúk occurs in the sixth Mandala only.

Verse 4, note 1. Sáyana explains arká by water. Hence Wilson: 'Who are fierce and send down rain.' But arká has only received this meaning of water in the artificial system of interpretation first started by the authors of the Bráhmanas, who had lost all knowledge of the natural sense of the ancient hymns. The passages in which arká is explained as water in the Bráhmanas are quoted by Sáyana, but they require no refutation. On the singing of the Maruts see note to i. 38, 15. The perfect in the Veda, like the perfect in Homer, has frequently to be rendered in English by the present.

Verse 6, note 1. Náka must be translated by firmament, as there is no other word in English besides heaven, and this is wanted to render dyú. Like the Jewish firmament, the Indian náka, too, is adorned with stars; cf. i. 68, 10. pipéśa nákaṃ stribhih. Dyú, heaven, is supposed to be above the rágas, sky or welkin. Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xii. p. 28.

Sáyana: 'In the radiant heaven above the sun.' See note 1 to i. 6, 9; p. 34.

Verse 7, note 1. That párvata (mountain) is used in the sense of cloud, without any further explanation, is clear from many passages:

i. 57, 6. tvám tám indra párvatam mahām urūm vágreṇa vāgrin parva-sāh kakartitha.

Thou, Indra, hast cut this great broad cloud to pieces with thy lightning. Cf. i. 85, 10.

We actually find two similes mixed up together, such
as v. 32, 2. ūdhah párvatasya, the udder of the cloud. In the Edda, too, the rocks, said to have been fashioned out of Ymir's bones, are supposed to be intended for clouds. In Old Norse klakkr means both cloud and rock; nay, the English word cloud itself has been identified with the Anglo-Saxon clúd, rock. See Justi, Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 62.

Verse 7, note 2. Whether the surging sea is to be taken for the sea or for the air, depends on the view which we take of the earliest cosmography of the Vedic Rishis. Sâyana explains: 'They who make the clouds go, and stir the watery sea.' Wilson remarks that the influence of the winds upon the sea, alluded to in this and the following verse, indicates more familiarity with the ocean than we should have expected from the traditional inland position of the early Hindus, and it has therefore been supposed that, even in passages like our own, samudrá was meant for the sky, the waters above the firmament. But although there are passages in the Rig-veda where samudrá may be taken to mean the welkin, this word shows in by far the larger number of passages the clear meaning of ocean. There is one famous passage, vii. 95, 2, which proves that the Vedic poets, who were supposed to have known the upper courses only of the rivers of the Penjáb, had followed the greatest and most sacred of their rivers, the Sarasvatî, as far as the Indian ocean. It is well known that, as early as the composition of the laws of the Mânavas, and possibly as early as the composition of the Sûtras on which these metrical laws are based, the river Sarasvatî had changed its course, and that the place where that river disappeared under ground was called Vinasana, the loss. This Vinasana forms, according to the laws of the Mânavas, the western frontier of Madhyadesa, the eastern frontier being formed by the confluence of the Gangâ and Yamunâ. Madhyadesa is a section of Âryâvarta, the abode of the Âryas in the widest sense. Âryâvarta shares with Madhyadesa the same frontiers in the north and the south, viz. the Himâlaya and Vindhya mountains, but it extends beyond Madhyadesa to the west and east as far as the western and eastern seas. A section of Madhyadesa, again, is the
country described as that of the Brahmarshis, which comprises only Kurukshetra, the countries of the Masyas, Pañkálas (Kanyákubya, according to Kullûka), and Sûrasenas (Mathurâ, according to Kullûka). The most sacred spot of all, however, is that section of the Brahmarshi country which lies between the rivers Drishadvatî and Sarasvatî, and which in the laws of the Mânava is called Bhrahmâvarta. I have not found any mention of the Vinasana of the Sarasvatî in any of those works which the author of the laws of the Mânava may be supposed to have consulted. Madhyadesa is indeed mentioned in one of the Parisishas (MS. 510, Wilson) as a kind of model country, but it is there described as lying east of Dasârña*, west of Kâmpilya†, north of Pâriyâtra ‡, and south of the Himavat, or again, in a more general way, as the Duâb of the Gangâ and Yamunâ.§

It is very curious that while in the later Sanskrit literature the disappearance of the Sarasvatî in the desert is a fact familiar to every writer, no mention of it should occur during the whole of the Vedic period, and it is still more curious that in one of the hymns of the Rig-veda we should have a distinct statement that the Sarasvatî fell into the sea:

vii. 95, 1–2. prá kshôdaså dhåyaså sarasvati dharūnam āyasi pûh, pra-bâbadhânañâ rathya-iva yâti vîsvâh apâh mahinâ sindhuḥ anyâh. Ékå aketat sárasvati nadînâm sûkîh yatâ girî-bhyah â samudrât, râyâh kétantî bhûvanasya bhûreḥ ghritám páyah duduhe náhushâya.

1. With her fertilizing stream this Sarasvatî comes forth—(she is to us) a stronghold, an iron gate. Moving along as on a chariot, this river surpasses in greatness all other waters.

2. Alone among all rivers Sarasvatî listened, she who goes

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* See Wilson’s Vishnu-purâna, ed. Hall, pp. 154, 155, 159, 160.
‡ l. c. pp. 123, 127.
§ Prâg dasärñat pratyak kâmpilyâd udak pâriyâtrâd, dakshinena himavatah. Ganâyamunayor antaram eke madhyadasam ity âkâshate. Medhâtithi says that Madhyadesa, the middle country, was not called so because it was in the middle of the earth, but because it was neither too high nor too low. Albiruny, too, remarks that Madhyadesa was between the sea and the northern mountains, between the hot and the cold countries, equally distant from the eastern and western frontiers. See Reinaud, Mémoire sur l’Inde, p. 46.
pure from the mountains as far as the sea. She who knows of the manifold wealth of the world, has poured out to man her fat milk.

Here we see samudrá used clearly in the sense of sea, the Indian sea, and we have at the same time a new indication of the distance which separates the Vedic age from that of the later Sanskrit literature. Though it may not be possible to determine by geological evidence the time of the changes which modified the southern area of the Penjâb and caused the Sarasvatî to disappear in the desert, still the fact remains that the loss of the Sarasvatî is later than the Vedic age, and that at that time the waters of the Sarasvatî reached the sea. Professor Wilson had observed long ago in reference to the rivers of that part of India, that there have been, no doubt, considerable changes here, both in the nomenclature and in the courses of the rivers, and this remark has been fully confirmed by later observations. I believe it can be proved that in the Vedic age the Sarasvatî was a river as large as the Sutlej, that it was the last of the rivers of the Penjâb, and therefore the iron gate, or the real frontier against the rest of India. At present the Sarasvatî is so small a river that the epithets applied to the Sarasvatî in the Veda have become quite inapplicable to it. The Vedic Rishis, though acquainted with numerous rivers, including the Indus and Ganges, call the Sarasvatî the mother of rivers (vii. 36, 6. sárasvatî saptáthi síndhu-mâtā), the strongest of rivers (vi. 61, 13. apásâm apāh-tanâ), and in our passage, vii. 95, 2, we have, as far as I can judge, conclusive evidence that the old Sarasvatî reached in its course the Indian sea, either by itself, or united with the Indus.

But this passage, though important as showing the application of samudrá, i. e. confluences, to the Indian sea, and proving the acquaintance of the Vedic Rishis with the southern coast of India, is by no means the only one in which samudrá must be translated by sea. Thus we read, vii. 49, 2:

yah āpah divyāh utá vā srávanti khanítrimāh utá vā yah svayam-gāh, samudrá-arthāh yah súkayāh pāvakāh tūh āpah devīḥ ihā mām avantu.

The waters which are from heaven, or those which flow
after being dug, or those which spring up by themselves, the bright, pure waters that tend to the sea, may those divine waters protect me here!

i. 71, 7. āgnum vīsvāh abhī prīkshah sakante samudráh nā sravātaḥ saptā yahvīḥ.

All kinds of food go to Agni, as the seven rivers go to the sea.

Cf. i. 190, 7. samudrám nā sravātaḥ ródha- kakraḥ.

v. 78, 8. yāthā vātaḥ yāthā vānam yāthā samudráḥ ēgati.

As the wind moves, as the forest moves, as the sea moves (or the sky).

In hymn x. 58, the same expression occurs which we have in our hymn, and samudrám arnavām there as here admits but of one explanation, the surging sea.

Samudrá in many passages of the Rig-veda has to be taken as an adjective, in the sense of watery or flowing:

vi. 58, 3. yās te pūshan nāvah antāh samudre hiranyāyīḥ antārikshā kāranti.

Thy golden ships, O Pūshan, which move within the watery sky.

vii. 70, 2. yāḥ vām samudrān sarītaḥ pīparti.

He who carries you across the watery rivers.

i. 161, 14. at-bhīḥ yāti vārunah samudraīḥ.

Varuṇa moves in the flowing waters.

In both these passages samudrá, as an adjective, does not conform to the gender of the noun. See Bollensen, Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 467.

ii. 16, 3. nā samudraíḥ pārvataiḥ indra te ráthah (nā pari-bhvē).

Thy chariot, O Indra, is not to be overcome by the watery clouds.
1. Krılám vah sárdhah märutam anarvānam rathe-sūbham, kánvāh abhí prá gāyata.


3. Ihá-iva srinve ēshām kásāh hāsteshu yāt vādān, nī yāman kitrām riṅgate.

4. Prá vah sārdhāya ghrīshvaye tveshā-dyumnāya sushmīne, devāttam brāhma gāyata.

1. Wilson: Celebrate, Kaṅwas, the aggregate strength of the Maruts, sportive, without horses, but shining in their car.

Benfey: Kanviden, auf! begrüsst mit Sang, die muntere Heerschar der Marut's, die rasch' ste, wagenglänzende.

Langlois: Enfants de Canwa, célèbrez la puissance des Marouts que transporte un char brillant, (puissance) rapide et inattaquable dont vous ressentez les effets.

2. Wilson: Who, borne by spotted deer, were born self-radiant, with weapons, war-cries, and decorations.

Benfey: Die mit Hirschen und Speeren gleich mit Donnern und mit Blitzen auch—selbststrahlende—geboren sind.

Langlois: Ils viennent de naître, brillants de leur propre éclat. (Voyez-vous) leurs armes, leurs parures, leur char trainé par les daims? (entendez-vous) leurs clameurs?
Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. Sing forth, O Kanvas, to the sportive host of your Maruts, brilliant on their chariots, and unscathed,—

2. They who were born together, self-luminous, with the spotted deer (the clouds), the spears, the daggers, the glittering ornaments.

3. I hear their whips, almost close by, as they crack them in their hands; they gain splendour on their way.

4. Sing forth your god-given prayer to the exultant host of your Maruts, the furiously vigorous, the powerful.

3. Wilson: I hear the cracking of the whips in their hands, wonderfully inspiring (courage) in the fight.

Benfey: Schier hier erschallt der Peitsche Knall, wenn sie in ihrer Hand erklingt; leuchtend fahr'n sie im Sturm herab.

Langlois: Écoutez, c'est le bruit du fouet qu'ils tiennent dans leurs mains; c'est le bruit qui, dans le combat, anime le courage.

4. Wilson: Address the god-given prayer to those who are your strength, the destroyers of foes, the powerful, possessed of brilliant reputation.

Benfey: Singt eurer Schaar, der wühlenden, der strahlenden, kräftigen ein gotterfülltes Gebet!

Langlois: A cette troupe (divine), qui détruit vos ennemis, noble, forte et glorieuse, offrez la part d'hymnes et de sacrifices que lui donnent les Dévas.
5. Prá samsa góshu ághnyam krílam yát sárdhah márutam, gámbhe rásasya vavridhe.


7. Ní vah yámáya mánushah dadhré ugráya man-yáve, gíhíta párvatah giríh.

8. Yéshám ágmeshu prithiví gugurván-iva vispátih, bhiyá yámeshu régate.


5. Wilson: Praise the sportive and resistless might of the Maruts, who were born amongst kine, and whose strength has been nourished by (the enjoyment of) the milk.

Benfey: Preist hoch die muntre Marutschaar die unbe-siegbar in den Küh’n, im Schlund des Safts wuchs sie heran.

Langlois: Loue donc cette puissance des Marouts, invul-nérable et rapide, qui règne au milieu des vaches (célestes), et ouvre avec force (leurs mamelles pour en faire couler) le lait.

6. Wilson: Which is chief leader among you, agitators of heaven and earth, who shake all around, like the top (of a tree)?

Benfey: Wer, Helden! ist der erste euch—ihr Erd- und Himmel-schütterer!—wenn ihr sie schütelt Wipfeln gleich?

Langlois: Parmi vous qui remuez si puissamment le ciel et la terre, qui agitez celle-ci comme la cime (d’un arbre), quel est le plus vigoureux?

7. Wilson: The householder, in dread of your fierce and violent approach, has planted a firm (buttress); for the many-ridged mountain is shattered (before you).
5. Celebrate the bull among the cows (the storm among the clouds),\(^1\) for it is the sportive host of the Maruts; he grew as he tasted the rain.\(^2\)

6. Who, O ye men, is the oldest among you here, ye shakers of heaven and earth, when you shake them like the hem of a garment?\(^1\)

7. At your approach the son of man holds himself down; the gnarled cloud\(^1\) fled at your fierce anger.

8. They at whose racings\(^1\) the earth, like a hoary king, trembles for fear on their ways,

9. Their birth is strong indeed: there is strength to come forth from their mother, nay, there is vigour twice enough for it.\(^1\)

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**Benfey:** Vor eurem Gange beuget sich, vor eurem wilden Zorn der Mann; der Hügel weicht und der Berg;

**Langlois:** Contre votre marche impétueuse et terrible, l'homme ne peut résister; les collines et les montagnes s'abaissent devant vous.

8. **Wilson:** At whose impetuous approach earth trembles; like an enfeebled monarch, through dread (of his enemies).

**Benfey:** Bei deren Lauf bei deren Sturm die Erde zittert voller Furcht, wie ein altergebeugter Mann.

**Langlois:** Sous vos pas redoutables, la terre tremble de crainte, telle qu'un roi accablé par l'âge.

9. **Wilson:** Stable is their birthplace, (the sky); yet the birds (are able) to issue from (the sphere of) their parent: for your strength is everywhere (divided) between two (regions, —or, heaven and earth).

**Benfey:** Kaum geboren sind sie so stark, dass ihrer Mutter sie entfliehn: ist ja doch zwiefach ihre Kraft.

**Langlois:** Le lieu de votre naissance est ferme et stable; vous pouvez, du sein de votre mère, vous élanter, tels que des oiseaux; car, des deux côtés, est un élément solide.
10. Ut ūm (īti) tyē sūnāvah īraḥ kāśthāḥ āgme-shu atnata, vāsrāḥ abhi-gnū yātave.

11. Tyām kit gha dīrghām prithūm mīhāḥ nāpātam āmrīdhram, pra kyavyanti yāma-bhīḥ.

12. Mārutah yāt ha vah bālam gānān akukyavītana, girīṁ akukyavītana.


14. Prā yāta śībham āśū-bhīḥ sānti kānveshu vah dúvah, tātro (īti) sū mādayādhwai.

10. **Wilson**: They are the generators of speech: they spread out the waters in their courses: they urge the lowing (cattle) to enter (the water), up to their knees, (to drink.)

**Benfey**: In ihrem Lauf erheben dann diese Söhne Getös und Fluth, die bis zum Knie den Kühen geht.

**Langlois**: Ces (dieux) répandent le son comme on répand la libation. Leur souffle étend les voies du ciel; (l’eau tombe) et la vache (en s’y désaltérant), y entre jusqu’aux genoux.

11. **Wilson**: They drive before them, in their course, the long, vast, uninjurable, rain-retaining cloud.

**Benfey**: Dann treiben sie im Sturm heran jenen langen und breiten Spross der Wolke unerschöpflichen.

**Langlois**: (Voyez-vous) ce long et large (nuage), fils de l’onde (qui s’y amoncelle)? (Il semble) invulnérable. (Les Marouts) savent le chemin par lequel on arrive jusqu’à lui pour l’ébranler.

12. **Wilson**: Maruts, as you have vigour, invigorate mankind: give animation to the clouds.
10. And these sons, the singers,\(^1\) enlarged the fences in their coursings;\(^2\) the cows had to walk knee-deep.

11. They cause this long and broad unceasing rain\(^1\) to fall on their ways.

12. O Maruts, with such strength as yours, you have caused men to fall,\(^1\) you have caused the mountains to fall.

13. As the Maruts pass\(^1\) along, they talk together on the way: does any one hear them?

14. Come fast on your quick steeds! there are worshippers\(^1\) for you among the Kanvas: may you well rejoice among them.

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**Benfey** : O Marut's! mit der Kraft, die ihr besitzt, werft ihr Geschöpfe um, die Berge werft ihr um sogar.

**Langlois** : O Marouts, puisque vous avez la force, faites-la sentir aux hommes, faites-la sentir aux collines.

13. **Wilson** : Wherever the Maruts pass, they fill the way with clamour: every one hears their (noise).

**Benfey** : Wenn die Marut's des Weges ziehn, dann sprechen mit einander sie und mancher mag sie hören.

**Langlois** : Quand les Marouts sont en marche, le chemin retentit de leur voix: chacun les entend.

14. **Wilson** : Come quickly, with your swift (vehicles). The offerings of the Kañwas are prepared. Be pleased with them.

**Benfey** : Auf schnellen kommest schnell herbei, bei Kañva's Spross sind Feste euch: da wollt euch schön ergötzen.

**Langlois** : Accourez, portez ici vos pas rapides. Les enfants de Canwa vous attendent avec leurs offrandes; ici vous serez satisfaits.
15. Ásti hí smá mádâya vah smá smá vayám eshâm, vísvam kit áyuḥ gîváse.

15. Wilson: The offering is prepared for your gratification: we are your (worshippers), that we may live all our life.

Benfey: Gerüstet ist für euren Rausch und wir gehören,

**COMMENTARY.**

This hymn is ascribed to Kauva, the son of Ghora. The metre is Gāyatrī.

Verse 1, note 1. Wilson translates anarvâzam by without horses, though the commentator distinctly explains the word by without an enemy. Wilson considers it doubtful whether árvan can ever mean enemy. The fact is, that in the Rig-veda an-arván never means without horses, but always without hurt or free from enemies; and the commentator is perfectly right, as far as the sense is concerned, in rendering the word by without an enemy, or unopposed (apraty-rita). An-arván is not formed from árvat, horse, racer, but from árvan; and this is derived from the same root which yields árus, n. a wound. The accusative of anarvát, without a horse, would be anarvantam, not anarvâzam.

The root ar, in the sense of hurting, is distantly connected with the root mar: see Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series, p. 323. It exists in the Greek ὀλλυμι, corresponding to Sanskrit rinomi, i.e. arnomi, I hurt, likewise in ὀυλι, wound, which cannot be derived from ὀλη; in ὀυλος, ὀυλιος, hurtful, and ὀλος, destructive: see Curtius, Grundzüge der Griechischen Etymologie (zweite Ausgabe), pp. 59, 505. In the Veda ar has the sense of offending or injuring, particularly if preceded by upa.

x. 164, 3. yát á-sásâ nih-sásâ abhi-sásâ upa-ârimá gâ-gratah yát svapántah, agníh vísváni ápa duh-kritâni águshtâni áré asmát dadhâtu.
15. Truly there is enough for your rejoicing. We always are their servants, that we may live even the whole of life.

traun! euch an für unser ganzes Lebelang.

LANGLOIS: Agréez notre sacrifice, car nous vous sommes dévoués. Daignez nous assurer une longue existence.

If we have offended, or whatever fault we have committed, by bidding, blaming, or forbidding, while waking or while sleeping, may Agni remove all wicked misdeeds far from us.

Hence upârá, injury, vii. 86, 6. ásti gyáyân kánîyasah upa-aré, the older man is there to injure, to offend, to mislead, the young: (History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, second edition, p. 541.) Roth translates upârá by Verfehlung, missing. Ari, enemy, too, is best derived from this root, and not from râ, to give, with the negative particle, as if meaning originally, as Sāyana supposes, a man who does not give. In árarivân, gen. árarushah, hostile, Rosen recognized many years ago a participle of a really reduplicated perfect of ar, and he likewise traced arâru, enemy, back to the same root: see his note to i. 18, 3.

From this root ar, to hurt, árvan, hurting, as well as árus, wound, are derived in the same manner as both dhánvan and dhánus, bow, are formed from dhan; yágyvan and yágus from yang, párvan and párus from par. See Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. ii. p. 233.

Anarván, then, is the same as ánarus, Sat. P. Brâhmaṇa iii. 1, 3, 7; and from meaning originally without a wound or without one who can wound, it takes the more general sense of uninjured, invulnerable, perfect, strong, (cf. integer, intact, and entire.) This meaning is applicable to i. 94, 2; 136, 5; ii. 6, 5; v. 49, 4; vii. 20, 3; 97, 5; x. 6, 13; 65, 3. In i. 116, 16, anarván seems to be used as an adverb; in i. 51, 12, as applied to slóka, it may have the more general meaning of irresistibile, powerful.
HYMNS TO THE MARUTS.

There are two passages in which the nom. sing. árvân, and one in which the acc. sing. árvānam, occur, apparently meaning horse. But in i. 163, 13, and ix. 97, 25, árvân stands in the Pada text only, the Sanhitā has árvā ákkha and árvā iva. In x. 46, 5, the text híri-smasrum ná árvānam dhána-arkam is too doubtful to allow of any safe induction, particularly as the Sāma-veda gives a totally different reading. I do not think therefore that árvat, horse, admits in the nom. and acc. sing. of any forms but árvā and árvantam. Pāṇini (vi. 4, 127) allows the forms arvān and arvānam, but in anarvan only, which, as we saw, has nothing in common with árvat, horse. Benfey: 'die rascheste (keinen Renner habend, uneinholbar),' the quickest (having no racer, hence not to be reached).

The masculine anarvānam after the neuter sárdhas is curious; sárdhas means might, but it is here used to express a might or an aggregate of strong men or gods, and the nom. plur. yé, who, in the next verse, shows the same transition of thought, not only from the singular to the plural, but also from the neuter to the masculine, which must be admitted in anarvānam. It would be possible, if necessary, to explain away the irregularity of anarvānam by admitting a rapid transition from the Maruts to Indra, the eldest among the Maruts (cf. i. 23, 8. índra-gyeshtāh márut-ganāḥ), and it would be easier still to alter sárdhas into sárdham, as an accusative singular of the masculine noun sárdha, which has the same meaning as the neuter sárdhas. There is one passage, v. 56, 9, which would seem to give ample countenance to such a conjecture:

tám vah sárdham rathe-sūbham—ā huve.
I call hither this your host, brilliant on chariots.

Again, ii. 30, 11, we read:

tám vah sárdham mārutam—girā úpa bruve.
I call with my voice on this your host of Maruts.

viii. 93, 16. srutām vah vritrahān-tamam prā sárdham karshaṇānām, ā sushe.
I pant for the glorious, victorious, host of the quick Maruts.

From this sárdha we have also the genitive sárdhasya,
vii. 56, 8 (4):
subhrāḥ vah sūshmah krūdhwī mānāmsi dhūnīh mūnih-
iva sārdhasya dhrishnōh.

Your strength is brilliant, your minds furious; the shout
of the daring host is like one possessed.

We have likewise the dative sārdhāya, the instrumental
sārdhena, and the acc. plur. sārdhān; and in most cases,
except in two or three where sārdha seems to be used as
an adjective, meaning strong, these words are applied to the
host of the Maruts.

But the other word sārdhas is equally well authenti-
cated, and we find of it, not only the nominative, accu-
sative, and vocative sing. sārdhas, but likewise the nom.
plur. sārdhāmsi.

The nominative singular occurs in our very hymn:
i. 37, 5. krīlāṁ yāt sārdhah mārutam.
Which is the sportive host of the Maruts.
i. 127, 6. săḥ hī sārdhah nā mārutam tuvi-svāniḥ.
For he (Agni) is strong-voiced like the host of the Maruts.
iv. 6, 10. tuvi-svānāsah mārutam nā sārdhah.
Thy flames (Agni) are strong-voiced like the host of the
Maruts.
v. 46, 5. utā tyāt nāh mārutam sārdhah ā gamat.
May also that host of the Maruts come to us.
ii. 1, 5. tvām narāṁ sārdhah asi puru-vāsuh.
Thou (Agni), full of riches, art the host of the men.
This host of men seems to me intended again for the
Maruts, although it is true that in thus identifying Agni
with different gods, the poet repeats himself in the next
verse:

ii. 1, 6. tvām sārdhah mārutam.
Thou art the host of the Maruts.
If this repetition seems offensive, the first narāṁ sārdhas
might be taken for some other company of gods. Thus
we find:

vii. 44, 5. sринōtu nah daivyaṁ sārdhah agnīh srinvāntu
visve mahishāḥ āmūrāḥ.
May the divine host, may Agni, hear us, may the Visve
hear us, the strong, the wise.
Or iii. 19, 4. sāḥ ā vaha deva-tātim yavishtha sārdhah
yāt adyā divyām yāgāsi.
Bring thou hither, O Agni, the gods, that you may sacrifice to-day to the divine host.

Or i. 139, 1. आ नु तात सार्धह दिव्याम व्रिनुमाहे.
We chose for us now that divine host.

As in these last, so in many other passages, सार्ध्दह is used as a neuter in the accusative. For instance,

i. 106, 1; ii. 11, 14. मरुतम सार्धह.

ii. 3, 3; vi. 3, 8. सार्धह मरुताम.

The vocative occurs,

v. 46, 2. अग्ने इंद्रा वारुना मित्रा देवाः सार्धह प्रायंता मारुताम उता विश्वो (िती).

Agni, Indra, Varuna, Mitra, gods, host of the Maruts, come forth, and Vishnu!

We see how throughout all these passages those in which सार्ध्द has and सार्ध्दह are applied to the Maruts, or to some other company of gods, preponderate most decidedly. Yet passages occur in the Rig-veda where both सार्ध्द and सार्ध्दह are applied to other hosts or companies. Thus v. 53, 10, सार्ध्द has refers to chariots, while in i. 133, 3, सार्ध्द is applied to evil spirits.

If the passages hitherto examined were all that occur in the Rig-veda, we might still feel startled at the construction of our verse, where सार्ध्द has is not only followed by masculine adjectives in the singular, but, in the next verse, by a pronoun in the plural. But if we take the last irregularity first, we find the same construction, viz. सार्ध्दह follows by ये, in iii. 32, 4:

इंद्राय सार्धह मारुताः ये आसन.

The host of Indra, that was the Maruts.

As to the change of genders, we find adjectives in the masculine after सार्ध्द, in

v. 52, 8. सार्धह मारुताम उ t samsa satyā-savasam rībh-vasam.

Celebrate the host of the Maruts, the truly vigorous, the brilliant.

Here, too, the poet afterwards continues in the plural, though as he uses the demonstrative, and not, as in our passage, the relative pronoun, we cannot quote this in support of the irregularity which has here to be explained. Anyhow the construction of our verse, though bold and
unusual, is not so unusual as to force us to adopt conjectural remedies, and in v. 58, 2, we find ye after ganāḥ. On the Umbrian Čerfo Martio, as possibly the same as sārdha-s māruta-s, see Grassman, Kuhn’s Zeitschrift, vol. xvi. p. 190.

Verse 2, note 1. The spotted deer (prīshati) are the recognized animals of the Maruts, and were originally, as it would seem, intended for the rain-clouds. Sāyana is perfectly aware of the original meaning of prīshati, as clouds. The legendary school, he says, takes them for deer with white spots, the etymological school for the many-coloured lines of clouds: (Rv. Bh. i. 64, 8.) This passage shows that although prīshati, as Roth observes, may mean a spotted cow or a spotted horse,—the Maruts, in fact, are called sometimes prīshat-asvāḥ, having piebald horses, vii. 40, 3,—yet the later tradition in India had distinctly declared in favour of spotted deer. The Vedic poets, however, admitted both ideas, and they speak in the same hymn, nay, in the same verse, of the fallow deer and of the horses of the Maruts. Thus v. 58, 1, the Maruts are called āsū-asvāḥ, possessed of quick horses; and in v. 58, 6, we read yāt prā āyāsishta prīshatibhīḥ āsvaiḥ—rāthebhīḥ, where the gender of prīshatibhīḥ would hardly allow us to join it with āsvaiḥ, but where we must translate: When you come with the deer, the horses, the chariots.

Verse 2, note 2. The spears and daggers of the Maruts are meant for the thunderbolts, and the glittering ornaments for the lightning. Sāyana takes vāśi in this passage for war-cries on the authority of the Nirukta, where vāśi is given among the names of the voice. From other passages, however, it becomes clear that vāśi is a weapon of the Maruts; and Sāyana, too, explains it sometimes in that sense: cf. v. 53, 4; 57, 2. Thus i. 88, 3, the vāśis are spoken of as being on the bodies of the Maruts. In v. 53, 4, the Maruts are said to shine in their ornaments and their vāśis. Here Sāyana, too, translates vāśi rightly by weapon; and in his remarks on i. 88, 3, he says that vāśi was a weapon commonly called ārā, which is a shoe-maker’s awl. This reminds one of framea which at one time
was supposed to be connected with the German *pfrieme.* See, however, Grimm (Deutsche Grammatik, vol. i. p. 128) and Leo Meyer (Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. vi. p. 424). In viii. 29, 3, the god Tvashtar is said to carry an iron vāśī in his hand. Grassman (Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xvi. p. 163) translates vāśī by axe. That aṅgī is to be taken in the sense of ornament, and not in the sense of ointment, is shown by passages like viii. 29, 1, where a golden ornament is mentioned, aṅgī aṅkte hiranyāyam. Sākām, together, is used with reference to the birth of the Maruts, i. 64, 4. It should not be connected with vāśībhiḥ.

Verse 3, note 1. Eshām should be pronounced as a crotalus; also in verses 9, 13, 15. This is a very common vyūha.

Verse 3, note 2. I should have taken kītrāṁ as an adverb, like Benfey, if ni riṅg were not usually construed with an accusative. Riṅg in the 3rd pers. plur. pres. Ātm. is treated like a verb of the Ad-class.

Verse 3, note 3. The locative yāman is frequently used of the path on which the gods move and approach the sacrifice; hence it sometimes means, as in our passage, in the sky. Yāmam in B. R., s. v. arg, is wrong.

Verse 4, note 1. Benfey translates ghrīshvi by burrowing, and refers it to the thunderbolt that uproots the earth. He points out that ghrīshvi means also, for the same reason, the boar, as proved by Kuhn (Die Herabkunft des Feuers, S. 202). I prefer, however, the general sense assigned to the adjective ghrīshu and ghrīshvi, exuberant, brisk, wild. See Kuhn in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xi. p. 385. Wilson, after Sāyāna, translates destroyers of foes. On the representation of the clouds as boars, see Nir. v. 4.

Verse 4, note 2. Tveshā-dyumna is difficult to render. Both tveshā and dyumna are derived from roots that mean to shine, to be bright, to glow. Derivatives from tvish express the idea of fieriness, fierceness, and fury. In iv. 17, 2, tvish is used correlatively with manyū, wrath.
Derivatives from dyu convey the idea of brightness and briskness. Both qualities are frequently applied to the Maruts.

Verse 5, note ¹. This translation is merely conjectural. I suppose that the wind driving the clouds before him, is here compared to a bull among cows, cf. v. 52, 3:

té syandrasah ná ukshánah áti skandanti sárvaríh.

They, the Maruts, like rushing oxen, mount on the dark cows.

The last sentence states that the wind grows even stronger after it has tasted the rain (i.e. 85, 2. té ukshiṭásah mahimā-nam āsata).

Verse 5, note ². I take gámbhe in the sense of gámbhane. (On the root gabh and its derivatives, see Kuhn, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, vol. i. p. 123 seq.) It would be better to read mukhe, instead of sukhe, in the commentary. The Maruts were not born of milk for Prisni, as Wilson says in a note, but from the milk of Prisni. Prisni is called their mother, Rudra their father: (v. 52, 16; 60, 5.)

Benfey takes the cows for clouds in which the lightnings dwell; and the abyss of the sap is by him supposed to be again the clouds.

Verse 6, note ¹. Āntam ná, literally, like an end, is explained by Sáyana as the top of a tree. Wilson, Langlois, and Benfey accept that interpretation. Roth proposes, like the hem of a garment, which I prefer; for vastránta, the end of a garment, is a common expression in later Sanskrit, while anta is never applied to a tree in the sense of the top of a tree. Here agra would be more appropriate.

Verse 7, note ¹. Sáyana translates: 'Man has planted a firm buttress to give stability to his dwelling.' Nidadhré is the perfect Ātmanepada, and expresses the holding down of the head or the cowering attitude of man. I have taken ugrāya manyāve over to gihāta, because these words could hardly form an apposition to yāmāya. As the Vedic poets speak of the very mountains as shaken by the
storms, we might translate pārvata-girīḥ by the gnarled or rocky mount; but there is no authority for translating gīhīta by it is shattered, and we should have to translate, the mountain yielded or bent before your anger. Cf. v. 57, 3:

nī vah vānā gihate yāmanah bhiyā.

The forests get out of your way from fear.

v. 60, 2. vānā kit ugrāh gihate nī vah bhiyā prithivī kit regate pārvataḥ kit.

Even the forests, ye fearful Maruts, yield from fear of you; even the earth trembles, even the mountains.

Verse 8, note 1. Aγma seems to express the act of racing or running (like ἄγι, race, battle), while yāma is the road itself where the racing takes place. A very similar passage occurs in i. 87, 3. The comparison of the earth (fem.) to a king (masc.) would be considered a grave offence in the later Sanskrit literature. In i. 87, 3, vithurā takes the place of vispāti.

Verse 9, note 1. A very difficult verse. The birth of the Maruts is frequently alluded to, as well as their surpassing strength, as soon as born. Hence the first sentence admits of little doubt. But what follows is very abrupt. Vāyas may be the plural of vi, bird, or it may be váyas, the neuter, meaning vital strength: see Kuhn’s Zeitschrift, vol. xv. p. 217. The Maruts are frequently compared to birds (cf. i. 87, 2; 88, 1), but it is usual to indicate the comparison by nā or iva. I therefore take váyas as a nom. sing. neut., in the sense of vigour, life. Nir-i is used with particular reference to the birth of a child (cf. v. 78, 7; 9).

Verse 10, note 1. If we take sūnāvo gīraḥ in the sense of the sons of voice, i.e. of thunder, the accent of gīraḥ will have to be changed. Gīraḥ, however, occurs, at least once more, in the sense of singers or poets, ix. 63, 10, where gīraḥ can only be a vocative, O ye singers! In i. 6, 6, the translation of gīraḥ by singers, i.e. the Maruts, may be contested, but if we consider that gīraḥ, in the sense of hymns, is feminine, and is followed by the very word which is here used, viz. devayántah, as a feminine, viz. devayāntāḥ,
vii. 18, 3, we can hardly doubt that in i. 6, 6, ġirah is a masculine and means singers. The same applies to vi. 63, 10. In vi. 52, 9, the construction is, of course, quite different.

Verse 10, note 2. The expression that the Maruts enlarged or extended the fences of their race-course, can only mean that they swept over the whole sky, and drove the clouds away from all the corners. Kāshṭhā may mean the wooden enclosures (carceres) or the wooden poles that served as turning and winning-posts (metæ). The last sentence expresses the result of this race, viz. the falling of so much rain that the cows had to walk up to their knees in water. This becomes still clearer from the next verse.

Sāyana: ‘These, the producers of speech, have spread water in their courses, they cause the cows to walk up to their knees in order to drink the water.’

Verse 11, note 1. Rain is called the offspring of the cloud, mihó nápât, and is then treated as a masculine.

Verse 12, note 1. In viii. 72, 8, akukyavit is explained by vyadārayat, he tore open. Akukyavitana is the Vedic form of the 2nd pers. plur. of the reduplicated aorist.

Verse 13, note 1. Yânti has to be pronounced as an amphibrachys.

Verse 14, note 1. Benfey supposes that dúvāh stands in the singular instead of the plural. But why should the plural have been used, as the singular (asti) would have created no kind of difficulty? It is better to take dúvāh as a nominative plural of a noun dú, worshipper, derived from the same root which yielded dúvah, worship. We certainly find á-duvah in the sense of not-worshipping:

vii. 4, 6. mā tvā vayám sahasā-vañ avirāh mā āpsavah pāри sadāma mā áduvah.

May we not, O hero, sit round thee like men without strength, without beauty (cf. viii. 7, 7), without worship.

Here Sāyana explains áduvah very well by parikarana-hināh, which seems better than Roth’s explanation ‘zögernd, ohne Eifer.’
Mandala I, Sûkta 38.

1. Kåt ha nûnám kadha-priyâḥ* pitā putram ná hâstayoh, dadhidhvē vrikta-barhishah.

2. Kvâ nûnám kåt vah ártham gântâ divâh ná prithivyâh, kvâ vah gâvah ná† rânyanti.

3. Kvâ vah sumnâ návyâmsi márutah kvâ suvîtâ, kvô (ïti) vísvâni saúbhagâ.

4. Yåt yúyâm prishni-mâtāraḥ mártâsah syâtana, stotâ vah amrîtah syât.

5. Må vah mrigâḥ ná yâvase garîta bhût âgoshyah, pathâ yamâsya gât úpa.


7. Satyåm tvesâh âma-vantah dhânyâvan kit ā rudriyâsah, míham krînvanti avâtâm‡.

8. Våsrå-iva vi-dyût mimâti vatsâm ná mâtâ sisakti, yåt eshâm vraîtîh âsargi.


10. Ádha svanât marútâm vísvam â sâdma pârthi-vam, âreganta prá mânuśhâḥ.

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* kádhâ priyâh † Omit nâ ‡ âvâtam
Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. What then now? When will you take (us) as a dear father takes his son by both hands, O ye gods, for whom the sacred grass has been trimmed?

2. Whither now? On what errand of yours are you going, in heaven, not on earth? Where are your cows sporting?

3. Where are your newest favours, O Maruts? Where the blessings? Where all delights?

4. If you, sons of Prisni, were mortals, and your worshipper an immortal,—

5. Then never should your praiser be unwelcome, like a deer in pasture grass, nor should he go on the path of Yama.

6. Let not one sin after another, difficult to be conquered, overcome us; may it depart together with lust.

7. Truly they are furious and powerful; even to the desert the Rudriyas bring rain that is never dried up.

8. The lightning lows like a cow, it follows as a mother follows after her young, that the shower (of the Maruts) may be let loose.

9. Even by day the Maruts create darkness with the water-bearing cloud, when they drench the earth.

10. From the shout of the Maruts over the whole space of the earth, men reeled forward.

VOL. I.
11. Márutah víłápáñi-bhih * kitrāh ródhasvatiḥ ánu, yáta îm ákhidrayāma-bhih.

12. Sthirāh vah santu nemáyah ráthāh ásvásah eshām, sú-samskritāh abhūsavah.
13. Ákkha vada tánâ girā garāyai brāhmanah pātim, agním mitrām ná darsatām.

15. Vándasva márutam ganám tveshām panasyūm arkínam, asmé (íti) vriddhāh asan ihā.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Káňva, the son of Ghora. The metre is Gâyatrī throughout. Several verses, however, end in a spondee instead of the usual iambus. No attempt should be made to improve such verses by conjecture, for they are clearly meant to end in spondees. Thus in verses 2, 7, 8, and 9, all the three pādas alike have their final spondee. In verse 7, the ionicus a minore is with an evident intention repeated thrice.

Verse 1, note 1. Kadha-priyah is taken in the Padapâtha as one word, and Sâyana explains it by delighted by or delighting in praise, a nominative plural. A similar compound, kadha-priya, occurs in i. 30, 20, and there too the vocative sing. fem., kadhapriye, is explained by Sâyana as fond of praise. In order to obtain this meaning, kadha has to be identified with kathâ, story, which is simply impossible. There is another compound, adha-priyâ, nom. dual,

* vílápáñi-bhih?
11. Maruts on your strong-hoofed steeds go on easy roads after those bright ones (the clouds), which are still locked up.

12. May your felloes be strong, the chariots, and their horses, may your reins be well-fashioned.

13. Speak out for ever with thy voice to praise the Lord of prayer, Agni, who is like a friend, the bright one.

14. Fashion a hymn in thy mouth! Expand like a cloud! Sing a song of praise.

15. Worship the host of the Maruts, the brisk, the praiseworthy, the singers. May the strong ones stay here among us.

which occurs viii. 8, 4, and which Sāyana explains either as delighted here below, or as a corruption of kadha-priyā.

In Boehtlingk and Roth’s Dictionary, kadha-priya and kadha-prī are both explained as compounds of kadha, an interrogative adverb, and priya or prī, to love or delight, and they are explained as meaning kind or loving to whom? In the same manner adha-priya is explained as kind then and there.

It must be confessed, however, that a compound like kadha-prī, kind to whom?, is somewhat strange, and it seems preferable to separate the words, and to write kādha priyā and ádha priyā.

It should be observed that the compounds kadha-prī and kadha-priya occur always in sentences where there is another interrogative pronoun. The two interrogatives kāt—kādha, what—where, and kās—kādha, who—where, occurring in the same sentence, an idiom so common in Greek, may have puzzled the author of the Pada text, and the compound once sanctioned by the authority of Sākalya, Sāyana would explain it as best he could. But if we admit the double use of the interrogative in Sanskrit, as in Greek,
then, in our passage, priyāḥ would be an adjective belonging to pitā, and we might translate: 'What then now? When will you take (us), as a dear father takes his son by both hands, O ye Maruts?' In the same manner we ought to translate i. 30, 20:

kāḥ te usahāḥ kādha priye bhugē mártah amartye.

Who and where was there a mortal to be loved by thee, O beloved, immortal Dawn?

In viii. 7, 31, where the same words are repeated as in our passage, it is likewise better to write:

kāt ha nūnām kādha priyāḥ yāt īndram āgahātana, kāḥ vaḥ sakhi-tvē ohate.

What then now? Where is there a friend, now that you have forsaken Indra? Who cares for your friendship?

Why in viii. 8, 4, adha priyā should have been joined into one word is more difficult to say, yet here, too, the compound might easily be separated.

Kādha does not occur again, but would be formed in analogy with ádha. It occurs in Zend as kadha.

The words kāt ha nūnām commonly introduce an interrogative sentence, literally, What then now? cf. x. 10, 4.

Verse 1, note 2. Vrikta-barhis is generally a name of the priest, so called because he has to trim the sacrificial grass. 'The sacred Kusa grass (Poa cynosuroides), after having had the roots cut off, is spread on the Vedi or altar, and upon it the libation of Soma-juice, or oblation of clarified butter, is poured out. In other places, a tuft of it in a similar position is supposed to form a fitting seat for the deity or deities invoked to the sacrifice. According to Mr. Stevenson, it is also strewn over the floor of the chamber in which the worship is performed.'

Cf. vi. 11, 5. vriṅgé ha yāt nāmasā barhīḥ āgnaū, áyāmi srūk ghritā-vatī su-vriktīḥ.

When I reverentially trim the truss for Agni, when the well-trimmed ladle, full of butter, is stretched forth.

In our passage, unless we change the accent, it must be taken as an epithet of the Maruts, they for whom the grass-altar has been prepared. They are again invoked by the same name, viii. 7, 20:
kvā nānām su-dānavaḥ mádatha vrikta-barhishah.
Where do ye rejoice now, you gods for whom the altar is trimmed?

Otherwise, vrikta-barhishah might, with a change of accent, supply an accusative to dadhidhve: 'Will you take the worshippers in your arms?' This, however, is not necessary, as to take by the hand may be used as a neuter verb.

Benfey: 'Wo weilt ihr gern? was habt ihr jetzt—gleichwie ein Vater seinen Sohn—in Händen, da das Opfer harrt?'

Wilson: 'Maruts, who are fond of praise, and for whom the sacred grass is trimmed, when will you take us by both hands as a father does his son?'

Verse 2, note ¹. The idea of the first verse, that the Maruts should not be detained by other pursuits, is carried on in the second. The poet asks, what they have to do in the sky, instead of coming down to the earth. The last sentence seems to mean 'where tarry your herds?' viz. the clouds. Sāyana translates: 'Where do worshippers, like lowing cows, praise you?' Wilson: 'Where do they who worship you cry to you like cattle.' Benfey: 'Wo jauchzt man euch, gleich wie Stiere? (Ihre Verehrer brüllen vor Freude über ihre Gegenwart, wie Stiere.)' The verb ranyati, however, when followed by an accusative, means to love, to accept with pleasure. The gods accept the offerings and the prayers:

v. 18, 1. vīśvāni yāḥ āmartyaḥ havyā márteshu rānyati.
The immortal who deigns to accept all offerings among mortals.

v. 74, 3. kāasya brāhmāni ranyathah.
Whose prayers do ye accept?

Followed by a locative ranyati means to delight in. Both the gods are said to delight in prayers (viii. 12, 18; 33, 16), and prayers are said to delight in the gods (viii. 16, 2). I therefore take ranyanti in the sense of tarrying, disporting, and nā, if it is to be retained, in the sense of not; where do they not sport? meaning that they are to be found everywhere, except where the poet desires them to be. We thus get rid of the simile of singing poets and lowing cows, which,
though not too bold for Vedic bards, would here come in too abruptly. It would be much better, however, if the negative particle could be omitted altogether. If we retain it, we must read: kvā váh | gâvāh | na rān | yantī |. But the fact is that through the whole of the Rig-veda kvā has always to be pronounced as two syllables, kuva. There is only one passage, v. 61, 2, where, before a vowel, we have to read kva: kuva vo 'svâh, kvâbhâsavah. In other passages, even before vowels, we always have to read kuva, e. g. i. 161, 4. kuvet = kva it; i. 105, 4. kuvartam = kva ritam. In i. 35, 7, we must read either kuvedânîm sûryâh, making sûrya trisyllabic, or kuva idânîm, leaving a hiatus. In i. 168, 6, kvâvaram is kuvâvaram: Sâkalya, forgetting this, and wishing to improve the metre, added na, thereby, in reality, destroying both the metre and the sense. Kva occurs as dissyllabic in the Rig-veda at least forty-one times.

Verse 3, note 1. The meanings of sumnâ in the first five Mandalas are well explained by Professor Aufrecht in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. iv. p. 274. As to suvitâ in the plural, see x. 86, 21, and viii. 93, 29, where Indra is said to bring all suvita's. It frequently occurs in the singular:

x. 148, 1. ā nah bhara suvitām yāsya kâkân.

Verse 4, note 1. One might translate: 'If you, sons of Prisni, were mortals, the immortal would be your worshipper.' But this seems almost too deep and elaborate a compliment for a primitive age. Langlois translates: 'Quand vous ne seriez pas immortels, (faites toutefois) que votre panégyriste jouisse d'une longue vie.' Wilson's translation is obscure: 'That you, sons of Prisni, may become mortals, and your panegyrist become immortal.' Sayana translates: 'Though you, sons of Prisni, were mortal, yet your worshipper would be immortal.' I think it best to connect the fourth and fifth verses, and I feel justified in so doing by other passages where the same or a similar idea is expressed, viz. that if the god were the poet and the poet the god, then the poet would be more liberal to the god than the god is to him. Thus I translated a passage,
vii. 32, 18, in my History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 545: 'If I were lord of as much as thou, I should support the sacred bard, thou scatterer of wealth, I should not abandon him to misery. I should award wealth day by day to him who magnifies, I should award it to whosoever it be.' Another parallel passage is pointed out by Mr. J. Muir. (On the Interpretation of the Veda, p. 79.) viii. 19, 25: 'If, Agni, thou wert a mortal, and I were an immortal, I should not abandon thee to malediction or to wretchedness; my worshipper should not be miserable or distressed.' Still more to the point is another passage, viii. 44, 23: *If I were thou, and thou wert I, then thy wishes should be fulfilled.* See also viii. 14, 1, 2.

As to the metre it is clear that we ought to read martāśaḥ syātana.

Verse 5, note 1. Mà, though it seems to stand for ná, retains its prohibitive sense.

Verse 5, note 2. Yāvasa is explained by Sāyana as grass, and Wilson's Dictionary, too, gives to it the meaning of meadow or pasture grass, whereas yava is barley. The Greek ζεά or ζειά is likewise explained as barley or rye, fodder for horses. See i. 91, 13. gāvah ná yāvaseshu, like cows in meadows.

Verse 5, note 3. The path of Yama can only be the path that leads to Yama, as the ruler of the departed.

x. 14, 8. sám gakkhasva pitrī-bhīh sám yamēna.
Meet with the fathers, meet with Yama, (x. 14, 10; 15, 8.)
x. 14, 7. yamām pasyāsi vārūnam ka devām.
Thou wilt see (there) Yama and the divine Varuṇa.
x. 165, 4. tāsmai yamāya nāmaḥ astu mrityāve.
Adoration to that Yama, to Death!

Wilson: 'Never may your worshipper be indifferent to you, as a deer (is never indifferent) to pasture, so that he may not tread the path of Yama.' Benfey: 'Wer euch besingt, der sei euch nicht gleichgültig, wie das Wild im Gras, nicht wandl' er auf des Yama Pfad.' Agoshya is translated insatiable by Professor Goldstücker.
Verse 6, note 1. One of the meanings of nirriti is sin. It is derived from the same root which yielded rítá, in the sense of right. Nirriti was conceived, it would seem, as going away from the path of right, the German Vergehen. Nirriti was personified as a power of evil and destruction.


May Soma hand them over to Ahi, or place them in the lap of Nirriti.

i. 117, 5. susupvāmsam ná níh-riteh upá-sthe.

Like one who sleeps in the lap of Nirriti.

Here Sāyana explains Nirriti as earth, and he attaches the same meaning to the word in other places which will have to be considered hereafter. Cf. Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series, pp. 515, 516.

Wilson treats Nirriti as a male deity, and translates the last words, 'let him perish with our evil desires.'

Verse 6, note 2. Padāshťá is formed as an optative of the Ātmanepada, but with the additional s before the t, which, in the ordinary Sanskrit, is restricted to the so-called benefactive (Grammar, § 385; Bopp, Kritische Grammatik, ed. 1834, § 329, note). Pad means originally to go, but in certain constructions it gradually assumed the meaning of to perish, and native commentators are inclined to explain it by pat, to fall. One can watch the transition of meaning from going into perishing in such phrases as V. S. xi. 46. mā pady āyushaḥ purāḥ, literally, 'may he not go before the time,' but really intended for 'may he not die before the time.' In the Rig-veda padāshťa is generally qualified by some words to show that it is to be taken in malam partem. Thus in our passage, and in iii. 53, 21; vii. 104, 16; 17. In i. 79, 11, however, padāshťa sāh is by itself used in a maledictory sense, percat, may he perish! In another, vi. 20, 5, pādi by itself conveys the idea of perishing. This may have some weight in determining the origin of the Latin pestis (Corssen, Kritische Beiträge, p. 396), for it shows that, even without prepositions, such as ā or vi, pad may have an ill-omened meaning. In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa vii. 14 (History of
Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 471), pad, as applied to a child’s teeth, means to go, to fall out. With sam, however, pad has always a good meaning, and this shows that originally its meaning was neutral.

Verse 7, note 1. The only difficult word is avátaṁ. Sāyana explains it, ‘without wind.’ But it is hardly possible to understand how the Maruts, themselves the gods of the storm, the sons of Rudra, could be said to bring clouds without wind. Langlois, it is true, translates without any misgivings: ‘Ces dieux peuvent sur un sol desséché faire tomber la pluie sans l’accompagner de vent.’ Wilson: ‘They send down rain without wind upon the desert.’ Benfey saw the incongruous character of the epithet, and explained it away by saying that the winds bring rain, and after they have brought it, they moderate their violence in order not to drive it away again; hence rain without wind. Yet even this explanation, though ingenious, and, as I am told, particularly truthful in an Eastern climate, is somewhat too artificial. If we changed the accent, ávátaṁ, unchecked, unconquered, would be better than avátaṁ, windless. But ávātā, unconquered, does not occur in the Rig-veda, except as applied to persons. It occurs most frequently in the phrase vanván ávātāḥ, which Sāyana explains well by himsan ahimsitah, hurting, but not hurt: (vi. 16, 20; 18, 1; ix. 89, 7.) In ix. 96, 8, we read prit-su vanván ávātāḥ, in battles attacking, but not attacked, which renders the meaning of ávāta perfectly clear. In vi. 64, 5, where it is applied to Ushas, it may be translated by unconquerable, intact.

There are several passages, however, where avātā occurs with the accent on the last syllable, and where it is accordingly explained as a Bahuvrīhi, meaning either windless or motionless, from vāta, wind, or from vāta, going, (i. 62, 10.) In some of these passages we can hardly doubt that the accent ought to be changed, and that we ought to read ávātā. Thus in vi. 64, 4, avāte is clearly a vocative applied to Ushas, who is called ávātā, unconquerable, in the verse immediately following. In i. 52, 4, the Maruts are called avātāḥ, which can only be ávātāḥ, unconquerable; nor can we hesitate in viii. 79, 7, to change avātāḥ into ávātāḥ, as an
epithet applied to Soma, and preceded by ádriptakratah, of unimpaired strength, unconquerable.

But even then we find no evidence that ávâta, unconquered, could be applied to rain or to a cloud, and I therefore propose another explanation, though equally founded on the supposition that the accent of avâtâm in our passage should be on the first syllable.

I take vâta as a Vedic form instead of the later vâna, the past participle of vai, to wither. Similarly we find in the Veda gíta, instead of gína, the latter form being sanctioned by Pâñini. Vâ means to get dry, to flag, to get exhausted; ávâta therefore, as applied to a cloud, would mean not dry, not withered, as applied to rain, not dried up, but remaining on the ground. It is important to remark that in one passage, vi. 67, 7, Sāyana, too, explains ávâta, as applied to rivers, by asushka, not dry; and the same meaning would be applicable to avâtâh in i. 62, 10. In this sense of not withered, not dry, ávâtâm in our passage would form a perfectly appropriate epithet of the rain, while neither windless nor unconquered would yield an appropriate sense. In the famous passage x. 129, 2, ānit avâtám svadhâyâ tát ēkam, that only One breathed breathless by itself, avâtám might be taken, in accordance with its accent, as windless or breathless, and the poet may have wished to give this antithetical point to his verse. But ávâtam, as an adverb, would here be equally appropriate, and we should then have to translate, 'that only One breathed freely by itself.'

Verse 8, note 1. The peculiar structure of the metre in the seventh and eighth verses should be noted. Though we may scan

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--- O O- | --- O O- | O --- O O--
--- O O- | --- O O- | O --- O O--
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by throwing the accent on the short antepenultimate, yet the movement of the metre becomes far more natural by throwing the accent on the long penultimate, thus reading

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--- O O- | --- O O- | O --- O O--
--- O O- | --- O O- | O --- O O--
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Sāyana: 'Like a cow the lightning roars, (the lightning)
attends (on the Maruts) as the mother cow on her calf, because their rain is let loose at the time of lightning and thunder.'

Wilson: 'The lightning roars like a parent cow that bellows for its calf, and hence the rain is set free by the Maruts.'

Benfey: 'Es blitzt—wie eine Kuh brüllt es—die Mutter folgt dem Kalb gleichsam—wenn ihr Regen losgelassen.
(Der Donner folgt dem Blitz, wie eine Kuh ihrem Kalbe.)'

Vāsrá as a masculine means a bull, and it is used as a name of the Maruts in some passages, viii. 7, 3; 7. As a feminine it means a cow, particularly a cow with a calf, a milch cow. Hence also a mother, x. 119, 4. The lowing of the lightning must be intended for the distant thunder, and the idea that the lightning goes near or looks for the rain is not foreign to the Vedic poets. See i. 39, 9: 'Come to us, Maruts, with your entire help, as lightnings (come to, i. e. seek for) the rain!'

Verse 9, note 1. That pargánya here and in other places means cloud has been well illustrated by Dr. Bühler, Orient und Occident, vol. i. p. 221. It is interesting to watch the personifying process which is very palpable in this word, and by which Parganya becomes at last a friend and companion of Indra.

Verse 10, note 1. Sádma, as a neuter, means originally a seat, and is frequently used in the sense of altar: iv. 9, 3. sáh sádma pāri niyate hótā; vii. 18, 22. hótā-īva sádma pāri emi rébhan. It soon, however, assumed the more general meaning of place, as

x. 1, 1. agníḥ bhānúnā rūsatā vísvā sádmáni aprāḥ.
Agni with brilliant light thou filledst all places.

It is lastly used with special reference to heaven and earth, the two sádmáni, i. 185, 6; iii. 55, 2. In our passage sádma pārthivam is the same as pārthive sádane in viii. 97, 5. Here the earth is mentioned together with heaven, the sea, and the sky. Sāyana takes sádma as 'dwelling;' so do Wilson and Langlois. Benfey translates 'der Erde Sitz,' and makes it the subject of the sentence: 'From the roaring of the Maruts the seat of the earth trembles, and all men tremble.' Sadman,
with the accent on the last syllable, is also used as a masculine in the Rig-veda, i. 173, 1; vi. 51, 12. sadmānām divyām.

Verse 11, note 1. I have translated viḷu-pāṇībhiḥ, as if it were viḷūpāṇībhiḥ, for this is the right accent of a Bahuvrihi compound. Thus the first member retains its own accent in prithū-pāṇi, bhūri-pāṇi, vrīsha-pāṇi, &c. It is possible that the accent may have been changed in our passage, because the compound is used, not as an adjective, but as a kind of substantive, as the name of a horse. Pāṇi, hand, means, as applied to horses, hoof:

ii. 31, 2. prithivyāḥ sānau gāṅghananta pāṇi-bhiḥ.

When they strike with their hoofs on the summit of the earth.

This meaning appears still more clearly in such compounds as dravāt-pāṇi:

viii. 5, 35. hiranyāyena rāthena dravātpāṇi-bhiḥ āsvaiḥ.

On a golden chariot, on quick-hoofed horses.

The horses of the Maruts, which in our verse are called viḷu-pāṇi, strong-hoofed, are called vii. 7, 27. hiranya-pāṇi, golden-hoofed:

āsvaiḥ hiranyapāṇi-bhiḥ dévāsaḥ úpa gantana.

On your golden-hoofed horses come hither, O gods.

Those who retain the accent of the MSS. ought to translate, 'Maruts, with your strong hands go after the clouds.'

Verse 11, note 2. Ródhasvatī is explained by Sāyana as river. It does not occur again in the Rig-veda. Ródhas is enclosure or fence, the bank of a river; but it does not follow that ródhasvat, having enclosures or banks, is applicable to rivers only. ii. 15, 8, it is said that he emptied or opened the artificial enclosures of Bala, these being the clouds conquered by Indra. Hence I take ródhasvatī in the sense of a cloud yet unopened, which is followed or driven on by the Maruts.

Kitrā, bright or many-coloured, is applied to the clouds, v. 63, 3. kitrēbhiḥ abhrāiḥ.

Verse 11, note 3. Roth takes ākhidrayāman for a name of horse. The word does not occur again in the Rig-veda,
but the idea that the roads of the gods are easy (sugāh ádhvā) is of frequent occurrence.

Wilson: 'Maruts, with strong hands, come along the beautifully-embanked rivers with unobstructed progress.'

Benfey: 'Mit euren starken Händen folgt den hehren eingeschlossnen nach in unermüd'tem Gang, Maruts.'

Verse 12, note 1. Abhīśu does not mean finger in the Rig-veda, though Sāyana frequently explains it so, misled by Yāska who gives abhīśu among the names of finger. Wilson: 'May your fingers be well skilled (to hold the reins).'

Verse 13, note 1. Agni is frequently invoked together with the Maruts, and is even called marút-sakhā, the friend of the Maruts, viii. 92, 14. It seems better, therefore, to refer brāhmaṇas pātim to Agni, than, with Sāyana, to the host of the Maruts (marudgazam). Brāhmaṇaspáti and Brīhaspáti are both varieties of Agni, the priest and purohita of gods and men, and as such he is invoked together with the Maruts in other passages, i. 40, 1. Tānā is an adverb, meaning constantly, always, for ever. Cf. ii. 2, 1; viii. 40, 7.

Wilson: 'Declare in our presence (priests), with voice attuned to praise Brahmaṇaspati, Agni, and the beautiful Mitra.'

Benfey: 'Lass schallen immerfort das Lied zu grüssen Brahmaṇaspati, Agni, Mitra, den herrlichen.'

Verse 13, note 2. Mitra is never, as far as I know, invoked together with the Maruts, and it is better to take mitrām as friend. Besides nā cannot be left here untranslated.

Verse 14, note 1. The second sentence is obscure. Sāyana translates: 'Let the choir of priests make a hymn of praise, let them utter or expand it, like as a cloud sends forth rain.' Wilson similarly: 'Utter the verse that is in your mouth, spread it out like a cloud spreading rain.' Benfey: 'Ein Preislied schaffe in dem Mund, ertöne dem Parganya gleich.' He takes Parganya for the god of thunder, and supposes the hymn of praise to be compared to it on
account of its loudness. Tatana\textit{h} can only be the second person singular of the conjunctive of the reduplicated perfect, of which we have also tatānat, tatānâma, tatānan, and tatānanta. Tatana\textit{h} can be addressed either to the host of the Maruts, or to the poet. I take it in the latter sense, for a similar verse occurs viii. 21, 18. It is said there of a patron that he alone is a king; that all others about the river Sarasvatī are only small kings, and the poet adds: ‘May he spread like a cloud with the rain,’ giving hundreds and thousands, (parg\textit{y}āny\textit{a}-iva tatānat hī vrish\textit{t}yā.)

Verse 15, note 1. It is difficult to find an appropriate rendering for ar\textit{kin}. It means praising, celebrating, singing, and it is in the last sense only that it is applicable to the Maruts. Wilson translates, ‘entitled to adoration;’ Benfey, ‘flaming.’ Boehtlingk and Roth admit the sense of flaming in one passage, but give to ar\textit{kin} in this place the meaning of praising. If it simply meant, possessed of ar\textit{kā}, i.e. songs of praise, it would be a very lame epithet after panasyu. But other passages, like i. 19, 4; 52, 15, show that the conception of the Maruts as singers was most familiar to the Vedic Rishis (i. 64, 10; Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. i. p. 521, note); and ar\textit{kā} is the very name applied to their songs (i. 19, 4). In the Edda, too, ‘storm and thunder are represented as a lay, as the wondrous music of the wild hunt. The dwarfs and Elbs sing the so-called Alb-leich which carries off everything, trees and mountains.’ See Justi in Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 62. There is no doubt therefore that ar\textit{kin} here means musician, and that the ar\textit{kā} of the Maruts is the music of the winds.

Verse 15, note 2. Vriddhā, literally grown, is used in the Veda as an honorific epithet, with the meaning of mighty or great:

iii. 32, 7. yāg\textit{ā}mah īt nāmasā vriddhām īndram
brih\textit{ā}ntam rishvām ag\textit{ā}ram yùvānām.

We worship with praise the mighty Indra, the great, the exalted, the immortal, the vigorous.

Here neither is vriddhā intended to express old age, nor yùvan young age, but both are meant as laudatory epithets.
Asan is the so-called Let of as, to be. This Let is properly an imperative, which gradually sinks down to a mere subjunctive. Of as, we find the following Let forms: belonging to the present, we have ásasi, ii. 26, 2; ásati, vi. 23, 9; ásathah, vi. 63, 1; and ásatha, v. 61, 4: belonging to the imperfect, ásah, viii. 100, 2; ásat, i. 9, 5; ásâma, i. 173, 9; ásan, i. 89, 1. Ásam, a form quoted by Roth from Rig-veda x. 27, 4, is really āsam.

We find, for instance, ásah, with an imperative or optative meaning, in

viii. 100, 2. ásah ka tvám daksinatáh sákhâ me ádha vritráni gaṅghanáva bhûri.

And be thou my friend on my right hand, and we shall kill many enemies.

Here we see the transition of meaning from an imperative to the conditional. In English, too, we may say, ‘Do this and you shall live,’ which means nearly the same as, ‘If you do this, you will live.’ Thus we may translate this passage: ‘And if thou be my friend on my right side, then we shall kill many enemies.’

x. 124, 1. imám nah agne úpa yaqñáám ā ihi—
ásaḥ havya-vât utá nah purah-gâh.

Here we have the imperative ihi and the Let ásah used in the same sense.

Far more frequently, however, ásah is used in relative sentences, such as,

vi. 36, 5. ásah yáthâ nah sávasá kakânáh.
That thou mayest be ours, delighting in strength.

vii. 24, 1. ásah yáthâ nah avitā vridhè ka.
That thou mayest be our helper and for our increase.

See also x. 44, 4; 85, 26; 36.

Wilson: ‘May they be exalted by this our worship.’
Benfey: ‘Mögen die Hohen hier bei uns sein.’
HYMNS TO THE MARUTS.

MANDALA I, SÛKTA 39.
ASHTAKA I, ADHYÄYA 3, VARGA 18–19.

1. Prá yát ıtha parâ-vátaḥ sokih ná mãnam ásyatha, kásya krátvá marutaḥ kásya várpasā káṃ yátha káṃ ha dhútayah.

2. Sthiriḥ vah sántu áyudhá parâ-núde vilú utá prati-skábhe, yushmanákam astu távishí pániyasí má mártyasya máyínah.

3. Párá ha yát sthírám hathá nárah vartáyatha gurú, ví yáthana van ínah príthivyāḥ ví ăsāḥ párvatánám.

4. Nahí vah sátruḥ vividé ádhi dyávi ná bhúmyām risádasah, yushmanákam astu távishí táná yugā rúdrá-sah nū kit ā-dhrishe.

5. Prá vepayanti párvatán vi viňkanti vánaspátin, pró (íti) ārata marutaḥ durmádáh-iva dévásah sárvyá visā.

6. Úpo (íti) rátheshu príshatih ayugdhwam prásh-tih vahati róhitah, ā vah yá mâya príthiví kit asrot ábíbhayanta mãnusháh.

7. Ā vah makshú tánāya káṃ rúdráḥ ávah vriní- mahe, gánta númer náh ávasá yáthá purá itthá kán- váya bibhyúshe.

8. Yushmaná-ishitah marutaḥ mártya-ishitah ā yáh nah áhvah śhate, ví táṃ yuyota sóvasá ví ógasá ví yushmanákábbieḥ úté-bhīḥ.

Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. When you thus from afar cast forwards your measure\(^1\) like a blast of fire, through whose wisdom is it, through whose design?\(^2\) To whom do you go, to whom, ye shakers (of the earth)?

2. May your weapons be firm to attack, strong also to withstand. May yours be the more glorious strength, not that of the deceitful mortal.

3. When you overthrow what is firm, O ye men, and whirl about what is heavy, you pass\(^1\) through the trees of the earth, through the clefts of the rocks.\(^2\)

4. No real foe of yours is known in heaven, nor on earth, ye devourers of enemies! May strength be yours, together with your race,\(^1\) O Rudras, to defy even now.\(^2\)

5. They make the rocks to tremble, they tear asunder the kings of the forest.\(^1\) Come on, Maruts, like madmen, ye gods with your whole tribe.

6. You have harnessed the spotted deer to your chariots, a red one draws as leader;\(^1\) even the earth listened at your coming, and men were frightened.

7. O Rudras, we quickly desire your help for our race. Come now to us with help, as of yore; thus now also, for the sake of the frightened Kaṇva.\(^1\)

8. Whatever fiend, roused by you or roused by men, attacks us, tear him (from us) by your power, by your strength, by your aid.\(^1\)

9. For you, worshipful and wise, have wholly protected\(^1\) Kaṇva. Come to us, Maruts, with your entire help, as lightnings\(^2\) (go in quest of) the rain.
10. Ásâmi ógah bibhrîtha su-dânavaḥ ásâmi dhû-tayah sávah, rishi-dvîshe marutah pari-manyâve īshum ná srîgata dvîsham.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Kanva, the son of Ghora. The metre varies between Brihati and Satobrihati, the odd verses being composed in the former, the even verses in the latter metre. Each couple of such verses is called a Bârhata Pragâtha. The Brihati consists of $8 + 8 + 12 + 8$, the Satobrihati of $12 + 8 + 12 + 8$ syllables.

Verse 1, note 1. Mâna, which I translate by measure, is explained by Sâyana as meaning strength. Wilson: 'When you direct your awful vigour downwards from afar, as light (descends from heaven).’ Benfey: ‘Wenn ihr aus weiter Ferne so wie Strahlen schleudert euren Stolz (das worauf ihr stolz seid: euren Blitz).’ Langlois: 'Lorsque vous lancez votre souffle puissant.' I doubt whether mâna is ever used in the Rig-veda in the sense of pride, which no doubt it has, as a masculine, in later Sanskrit: cf. Halâ-yudha, ed. Aufrecht, iv. 37. Mâna, as a masculine, means frequently a poet in the Rig-veda, viz. a measurer, a thinker or maker; as a neuter it means a measure, or what is measured or made. Thus v. 85, 5, we read:

mânena-iva tasthi-vân antârikshe ví yâh mamé prithivîm sûryena.

He (Varuna) who standing in the welkin 'has measured the earth with the sun, as with a measure.

In this passage, as well as in ours, we must take measure, not in the abstract sense, but as a measuring line, which is cast forward to measure the distance of an object, an image, perfectly applicable to the Maruts, who seem with their weapons to strike the trees and mountains when they themselves are still far off. Another explanation might be given,
10. Bounteous givers, you possess whole strength, whole power, ye shakers (of the world). Send, O Maruts, against the wrathful enemy of the poets an enemy, like an arrow.¹

if māna could be taken in the sense of measure, i.e. shape or form, but this is doubtful.

Verse 1, note ². Vārpaś, which generally means body or form, is here explained by praise. Benfey puts Werk (i.e. Gesang, Gebet); Langlois, maison. Vārpaś, which, without much reason, has been compared to Latin corpus, must here be taken in a more general sense. Thus vi. 44, 14, asyā madé purū vaṛpāmsi vidvān, is applied to Indra as knowing many schemes, many thoughts, many things, when he is inspired by the Soma-juice.

Verse 3, note ¹. Benfey takes vi yāthana in a causative sense, you destroy, you cause the trees to go asunder. But even without assigning to yā a causative meaning, to go through, to pierce, would convey the idea of destruction. In some passages vi-yā is certainly used in the simple sense of passing through, without involving the idea of destruction:

verse viii. 73, 13. ráthah viyāti rōdasī (ītī).
Your chariot which passes through or between heaven and earth.

In other passages the mere passing across implies conquest and destruction:

i. 116, 20. vi-bhindūnā....rāthena vi pārvatān....ayātam.
On your dissevering chariot you went across the mountains (the clouds).

In other passages, however, a causative meaning seems equally, and even more applicable:

vi. 7, 23. vi vṛitraṁ parva-sāḥ yayuh vi pārvatān.
They passed through Vṛitra piecemeal, they passed through the mountains (the clouds); or, they destroyed Vṛitra, cutting him to pieces, they destroyed the clouds.
Likewise i. 86, 10. ví yāta vîsvam atrīnām.
Walk athwart every evil spirit, or destroy every evil spirit!
We must scan ví yāthānā vanināh prīthīvīyāh.

Verse 3, note ². It might seem preferable to translate āsāh pārvatānām by the spaces of the clouds, for pārvata means cloud in many places. Yet here, and still more clearly in verse 5, where pārvata occurs again, the object of the poet is to show the strength of the Maruts. In that case the mere shaking or bursting of the clouds would sound very tame by the side of the shaking and breaking of the forest trees. Vedic poets do not shrink from the conception that the Maruts shake even mountains, and Indra is even said to have cut off the mountain tops: iv. 19, 4. āva abhinat kakū-bhaḥ pārvatānām. In the later literature, too, the same idea occurs: Mahābh. Vana-parva, v. 10974, dyauḥ svit patati kim bhūmir āryate parvato nu kim, does the sky fall? is the earth torn asunder, or the mountain?

Verse 4, note ¹. Sāyana was evidently without an authoritative explanation of tánā yugā. He tries to explain it by 'through the union of you may strength to resist be quickly extended.' Wilson: 'May your collective strength be quickly exerted.' Benfey takes tánā as adverb and leaves out yugā: 'Zu allen Zeiten, O Furchtbarn!—sei im Nu zu überwält'gen euch die Macht.' Yugā, an instrumental, if used together with another instrumental, becomes in the Veda a mere preposition: cf. vii. 43, 5; 95, 4. rāyā yugā; x. 83, 3. tápasā yugā; x. 102, 12. vādhrīnā yugā; vii. 32, 20. pūram-dhyā yugā; vi. 56, 2. sākhyā yugā; viii. 68, 9. tvā yugā. As to the meaning of tán, see B. R. s. v., where tán in our passage is explained as continuation. The offspring or race of the Maruts is mentioned again in the next verse.

Verse 4, note ². Nú kit ā-dhrīshe might possibly be taken as an abrupt interrogative sentence, viz. Can it be defied? Can it be resisted? See v. 87, 2:
tāt-vaḥ marutaḥ nā ā-dhrīshe sāvah.
Your strength, O Maruts, is not to be defied.
Verse 5, note 1. Large trees of the forest are called the kings or lords of the forest.

Verse 6, note 1. Práśhti is explained by Sāyana as a sort of yoke in the middle of three horses or other animals, harnessed in a car; róhitá as a kind of red deer. Hence Wilson remarks that the sense may be, 'The red deer yoked between them aids to drag the car.' But he adds that the construction of the original is obscure, and apparently rude and ungrammatical. Benfey translates, 'Sie führt ein flammenrothes Joch,' and remarks against Wilson that Sāyana's definition of práśhti as yoke is right, but that of róhitá as deer, wrong. If Sāyana's authority is to be invoked at all, one might appeal from Sāyana in this place to Sāyana viii. 7, 28, where práśhti is explained by him either by quick or by pramukhe yugyamānah, harnessed in front. The verse is

yat eshām prishatih ráthe práshthih váhati róhitah.

When the red leader draws or leads their spotted deer in the chariot.

vi. 47, 24. práśthiḥ is explained as tripada ádhārah; tad-vad vahantīti prashtayo 'svāh. In i. 100, 17, práśthibhiḥ, as applied to men, means friends or supporters, or, as Sāyana explains, pársvasthair anyair rishibhiḥ.

Verse 7, note 1. Kanva, the author of the hymn.

Verse 8, note 1. A very weak verse, particularly the second line, which Wilson renders by, 'Withhold from him food and strength and your assistance.' Benfey translates ábhva very happily by Ungethüm.

Verse 9, note 1. The verb dada is the second pers. plur. of the perfect of dā, and is used here in the sense of to keep, to protect, as is well shown by B. and R. s. v. dā 4, base dad. Sāyana did not understand the word, and took it for an irregular imperative; yet he assigned to the verb the proper sense of to keep, instead of to give. Hence Wilson: 'Uphold the sacrificer Kaṇva.' Benfey, less correctly, 'Den Kanva gabt ihr,' as if Kanva had been the highest gift of the Maruts.
Verse 9, note 2. The simile, as lightnings go to the rain, is not very telling. It may have been suggested by the idea that the lightnings run about to find the rain, or the tertium comparationis may simply be the quickness of lightning. Wilson: 'As the lightnings bring the rain.' Benfey: '(So schnell) gleichwie der Blitz zum Regen kommt.' Lightning precedes the rain, and may therefore be represented as looking about for the rain.

Verse 10, note 1. Wilson: 'Let loose your anger.' Sāyana: 'Let loose a murderer who hates.'

Pari-manyū, which occurs but once in the Rig-veda, corresponds as nearly as possible to the Greek περιθυμος. Manyū, like θυμός, means courage, spirit, anger; and in the compound parimanyū, as in περιθυμος, the preposition pari seems to strengthen the simple notion of the word. That pari is used in that sense in later Sanskrit is well known; for instance, in parilaghu, perlevis, parikshama, withered away: see Pott, Etymologische Forschungen, second edition, vol. i. p. 487. How pari, originally meaning round about, came to mean excessive, is difficult to explain with certainty. It may have been, because what surrounds exceeds, but it may also have been because what is done all around a thing is done thoroughly. Thus we find in the Veda, viii. 75, 9, pari-dveshas, lit. one who hates all around, then a great hater:

mā nah pari-dveshasah amhatih, ūrmih nā nāvam ā vadhīt.

May the grasp of the violent hater strike us not, as the wave strikes a ship.

Again, pari-spridh means literally one who strives round about, then an eager enemy, a rival (fem.):

ix. 53, 1. nudāsva yāh pari-spridhah.

Drive away those who are rivals.

Pari-krosā means originally one who shouts at one from every side, who abuses one roundly, then an angry reviler. This word, though not mentioned in B. R.'s Dictionary, occurs in

i. 29, 7. sārvam pari-krosām gahi.

Kill every reviler!

The same idea which is here expressed by pari-krosā, is
in other places expressed by pari-ráp, lit. one who shouts round about, who defies on every side, a calumniator, an enemy.

ii. 23, 3. ā vi-bādhya pari-rápaḥ.

Having struck down the enemies.

ii. 23, 14. ví pari-rápaḥ ardaya.

Destroy the enemies.

In the same way as words meaning to hate, to oppose, to attack, are strengthened by this preposition, which conveys the idea of round about, we also find words expressive of love strengthened by the same preposition. Thus from prítāḥ, loved, we have pári-prítāḥ, lit. loved all round, then loved very much: i. 190, 6. pári-prítāḥ ná mitrāḥ; cf. x. 27, 12. We also find ix. 72, 1. pari-priyāḥ, those who love fully or all around, which may mean great lovers, or surrounding friends.

In all these cases the intensifying power of pári arises from representing the action of the verb as taking place on every side, thoroughly, excessively; but in other cases, mentioned by Professor Pott, particularly where this preposition is joined to a noun which implies some definite limit, its magnifying power is no doubt due to the fact that what is around, is outside, and therefore beyond. Thus in Greek περίμετρος expresses the same idea as ἐπίμετρος (loc. cit. p. 488), but I doubt whether pári ever occurs in that sense in Sanskrit compounds.
Mandala I, Sûkta 64.
Ashtaka I, Adhyâya 5, Varga 6-8.

1. Vrîshne sârdhâya sú-makhâya vedhâse nódhah su-vriktîm prá bhara marút-bhyah, apâh* ná dhî-rah mánasâ su-hâstyâh gîrah sám aûge vidâtheshu â-bhûvah.

2. Té gagnîre divâh rishvâsah ukshânah rudrâsya máryâh ásuraâh arepásah, pâvakâsah súkayâh súryâh-iva sâtvânah ná drapsînah ghorâ-varpasah.


4. Kitrâh aûgî-bhih vápushe ví aûgate vákshah-su rukmân ádhi yetire subhé, ámseshu eshm nî mi-mrikshuh rishtâyah sâkâm gagnîre svadhâyâ divâh nárah.

5. Ísâna-krîtah dhúnayah risâdasah vâtân vi-dyútah távishibhih akrata, duhânti ūdhâh divyâni dhûtayâh bhûmim pinvanti páyasâ pári-grayah.

6. Pinvanti apâh marútah su-dânavah páyah ghritá- vat vidâtheshu â-bhûvah, átyam ná mihé ví nayanti vâgînam útsam duhânti stanâyantam ákshitam.

7. Mahishâsah mâyínah kitrá-bhânavaâh girâyah ná

* apâh?
Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. For the manly host, the majestic, the wise, for the Maruts bring thou, O Nodhas,\(^1\) a pure offering.\(^2\) Like a workman,\(^3\) wise in his mind and handy, I join together words which are useful at sacrifices.

2. They are born, the tall bulls of Dyu\(^1\) (heaven), the boys\(^2\) of Rudra, the divine, the blameless, pure, and bright like suns; scattering rain-drops, of awful shape, like giants.\(^3\)

3. The youthful Rudras, they who never grow old, the slayers of the demon,\(^1\) have grown irresistible like mountains. They shake with their strength all beings, even the strongest, on earth and in heaven.

4. They deck themselves with glittering ornaments\(^1\) for show; on their chests they fix gold (chains) for beauty;\(^2\) the spears on their shoulders pound to pieces;\(^3\) they were born together by themselves,\(^4\) the men of Dyu.

5. They who confer power,\(^1\) the roarers,\(^2\) the devourers of foes, they made winds and lightnings by their powers. The shakers milk the heavenly udders (clouds), roaming around they fill the earth with milk (rain).

6. The bounteous\(^1\) Maruts fill\(^2\) (with) the fat milk (of the clouds) the waters, which are useful at sacrifices. They seem to lead\(^3\) about the powerful horse, the cloud, to make it rain; they milk the thundering, unceasing spring.\(^4\)

7. Mighty you are, powerful, of wonderful splendour, firmly rooted\(^1\) like mountains, (yet) lightly
svá-tavasah raghu-syádah, mrigāh-iva hastínah khá-datha vánã yát āruníshu távishíh áyugdhvam.


10. Visvá-vedasah rayí-bhíh sám-okasah sám-míslásaḥ távishíbhíh vi-rapsínah, ástárah íshum dadhíre gábhastyoh anantá-sushmáh vrísha-khádayah nárañ
dhá,


gliding along;—you chew up forests, like elephants, when you have assumed vigour among the red flames.

8. Like lions they roar, the far-sighted Maruts, they are handsome like gazelles, the all-knowing. By night with their spotted deer (rain-clouds) and with their spears (lightnings) they rouse the companions together, they whose ire through strength is like the ire of serpents.

9. You who march in companies, the friends of man, heroes, whose ire through strength is like the ire of serpents, salute heaven and earth! On the seats on your chariots, O Maruts, the lightning stands, visible like light.

10. All-knowing, surrounded with wealth, endowed with vigour, singers, men of endless prowess, armed with strong rings, they, the archers, have placed the arrow on their arms.

11. The Maruts, who with their golden fellies, increase the rain, stir up the clouds like wanderers on the road. They are brisk, indefatigable, they move by themselves; they throw down what is firm, the Maruts with their brilliant spears make (everything) to reel.

12. We invoke with prayer the offspring of Rudra, the brisk, the bright, the worshipful, the active. Cling for happiness-sake to the strong host of the Maruts, the chasers of the sky, the vigorous, the impetuous.

13. The mortal whom ye, Maruts, protected with your protection, he indeed surpasses people in strength. He carries off food with his horses, treasures with his men; he acquires honourable strength, and he prospers.


COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Nodhas, of the family of Gtama. The metre from verse 1–14 is Gagatī, verse 15 is Trishtubh.

Verse 1, note 1. The first line is addressed by the poet to himself.

Verse 1, note 2. Suvrīktī is generally explained by a hymn of praise, and it cannot be denied that in this place, as in most others, that meaning would be quite satisfactory. Etymologically, however, suvrikta means the cleaning and trimming of the grass on which, as on a small altar, the oblation is offered: cf. vriktabarhis, i. 38, 1, note 2, page 68. Hence, although the same word might be metaphorically applied to a carefully composed, pure and holy hymn of praise, yet wherever the primary meaning is applicable it seems safer to retain it: cf. iii. 61, 5; vi. 11, 5.

Verse 1, note 3. Apās, with the accent on the last syllable, is the accusative plural of ap, water, and it is so explained by Sāyana. He translates: 'I show forth these hymns of praise, like water, i.e. everywhere, as Parganya sends down rain at once in every place.' Benfey explains: 'I make these hymns smooth like water, i.e. so that they run smooth
14. Give, O Maruts, to the worshippers strength glorious, invincible in battle, brilliant, wealth-confering, praiseworthy, known to all men.¹ Let us foster our kith and kin during a hundred winters.

15. Will¹ you then, O Maruts, grant unto us wealth, durable, rich in men, defying all onslaughts?²—wealth a hundred and a thousand-fold, always increasing?—May he who is rich in prayers³ (the host of the Maruts) come early and soon!

like water.' He compares ρυθμόσ, as derived from ρέω. Another explanation might be, that the hymns are powerful like water, when it has been banked up. Yet all these similes seem very lame, and I feel convinced that we ought either to change the accent, and read ἀπάθ, or the last vowel, and read ἀπάθ. In the former case the meaning would be, 'As one wise in mind and clever performs his work, so do I compose these hymns.' In the second case, which seems to me preferable, we should translate: 'Like a workman, wise in mind and handy, I put together these hymns.'

Verse 2, note ¹. It is difficult to say in passages like this, whether Dyu should be taken as heaven or as a personified deity. When the Maruts are called Rudrásyá máryāh, the boys of Rudra (vii. 56, 1), the personification is always preserved. Hence if the same beings are called Diváh máryāh, this too, I think, should be translated the boys of Dyu (iii. 54, 13; v. 59, 6), not the sons of heaven. The bulls of Dyu is a more primitive and more vigorous expression for what we should call the fertilising winds of heaven.

Verse 2, note ². Márya is a male, particularly a young male, a boy, a young man (i. 115, 2; iii. 33, 10; iv. 20, 5; v. 61, 4, with vira):

v. 59. 5. máryāh-iva su-vridhah vavridhuh nárah.
Like boys that grow well they have grown men.
When joined with nárah (v. 53, 3), nárah máryáh are-pásah, it may be taken as an adjective, manly, strong. At last márya assumes the general meaning of man:
i. 91, 13. máryāh-iva své okyē.
Like a man in his own house.

Verse 2, note 3. The simile, like giants, is not quite clear. Sátvan means a strong man, but it seems intended here to convey the idea of supernatural strength. Benfey translates, 'like brave warriors;' Wilson, 'like evil spirits.' Ghorávarpas is an adjective belonging to the Maruts rather than to the giants, and may mean of awful aspect, i. 19, 5, or of cruel mind; cf. i. 39, 1, note 2.

Verse 3, note 1. Abhog-ghánah, the slayers of the demon, are the slayers of the clouds, viz. of such clouds as do not yield rain. Abhog, not nurturing, is a name of the rainless cloud, like Námuki (na-muk, not delivering rain), the name of another demon killed by Indra; see Benfey, Glossar, s.v.
The cloud which sends rain is called bhugmán:
viii. 50, 2. giríh ná bhugmā mağhāvat-su pinvate.
Like a feeding cloud he showers his gifts on the worshippers.

Verse 4, note 1. The ornaments of the Maruts are best described v. 54, 11:
ámseshu vah rishtáyah pat-sú khâdáyah vákshah-su ruk-māh.

On your shoulders are the spears, on your feet rings, on your chests gold ornaments.
Rukmá as a masc. plur. is frequently used for ornaments which are worn on the breast by the Maruts, but no hint is given as to the exact nature of the ornaments. The Maruts are actually called rukmávakshasah, gold-breasted, (ii. 34, 2; v. 55, 1; 57, 5.)

Verse 4, note 2. Vápushe and subhé, as parallel expressions, occur also vi. 63, 6.

Verse 4, note 3. Ní mimrikshur does not occur again in the Rig-veda, and Roth has suggested to read ní mimikshur instead; see ni + marg. He does not, however, give our
passage under myak, but under mraksh, and this seems indeed preferable. No doubt, there is ample analogy for mimikshuh, and the meaning would be, their spears stick firm to their shoulders. But as the MSS. give mimrikshuh, and as it is possible to find a meaning for this, I do not propose to alter the text. The question is only, what does mimrikshuh mean? Mraksh means to grind, to rub, and Roth proposes to render our passage by 'the spears rub together on their shoulders.' The objections to this translation are the preposition ni, and the active voice of the verb. I take mraksh in the sense of grinding, pounding, destroying, which is likewise appropriate to mraksha-krītvan (viii. 61, 10), and tuvi-mrakshā (vi. 18, 2), and I translate, 'the spears on their shoulders pound to pieces.'

Verse 4, note 4. The idea that the Maruts owe everything, if not their birth, at least their strength (svā-tavaśaḥ, svā-bhānavaḥ, sva-srītaḥ), to themselves is of frequent occurrence in these hymns.

Verse 5, note 1. They are themselves compared to kings (i. 85, 8), and called īsānā, lords (i. 87, 4).

Verse 5, note 2. Dhūni is connected with root dhvan, to dun or to din. Sāyana explains it by bending or shaking, and Benfey, too, translates it by Erschütterer. Roth gives the right meaning.

Verse 6, note 1. I translate sudānavaḥ by bounteous, or good givers, for, if we have to choose between the two meanings of bounteous or endowed with liquid drops or dew, the former is the more appropriate in most passages. We might, of course, admit two words, one meaning, possessed of good water, the other, bounteous; the former derived from dānu, neuter, water, or rain, the other from dānū, giving. It cannot be denied, for instance, that whenever the Maruts are called sudānavaḥ, the meaning, possessed of good rain, would be applicable: i. 40, 1; 44, 14; 64, 6; 85, 10; ii. 34, 8; iii. 26, 5; v. 52, 5; 53, 6; 57, 5; viii. 20, 18; x. 78, 5; i. 15, 2; 23, 9; 39, 10. Yet, even in these passages, while sudānavaḥ in the sense of possessed
of good rain is possible throughout, that of good gaver would sometimes be preferable, for instance, i. 15, 2, as compared with i. 15, 3.

When the same word is applied to Indra, vii. 31, 2; x. 23, 6; to Vishnu, viii. 25, 12; to the Asvins, i. 112, 11; to Mitra and Varuna, v. 62, 9; to Indra and Varuna, iv. 41, 8, the meaning of giver of good rain might still seem more natural. But with Agni, vi. 2, 4; the Adityas, v. 67, 4; viii. 18, 12; 19, 34; 67, 16; the Vasus, i. 106, 1; x. 66, 12; the Visve, x. 65, 11, such an epithet would not be appropriate, while sudánavah, in the sense of bounteous givers, is applicable to all. The objection that dánu, giver, does not occur in the Veda, is of no force, for many words occur at the end of compounds only, and we shall see passages where sudánu must be translated by good giver. Nor would the accent of dánu, giver, be an obstacle, considering that the author of the Unádi-sūtras had no Vedic authority to guide him in the determination of the accent of dánu. Several words in nu have the accent on the first syllable. But one might go even a step further, and find a more appropriate meaning for sudánu by identifying it with the Zend húdánú, which means, not a good giver, but a good knower, wise. True, this root dá, to know, does not occur in the ordinary Sanskrit, but as it exists both in Zend and in Greek (δάμω, δέως), it may have left this one trace in the Vedic word sudánu. This, however, is only a conjecture; what is certain is this, that apart from the passages where sudánu is thus applied to various deities, in the sense of bounteous or wise, it also occurs as applied to the sacrificer, where it can only mean giver. This is clear from the following passages:

i. 47, 8. ísham príňántâ su-kríte su-dánave.
Bringing food to him who acts well and gives well.

vii. 96, 4. gani-yántah nú ágravah putri-yántah su-dánava/ah, sárasvantam havámahe.
We, being unmarried, and wishing for wives and wishing for sons, offering sacrifices, call now upon Sarasvat.

viii. 103, 7. su-dánavah deva-yávah.
Offering sacrifices, and longing for the gods. Cf. x. 172, 2; 3; vi. 16, 8.
iv. 4, 7. sāh īt agne astu su-bhāgaḥ su-dānuḥ yāh tvā nityena havishā yāh ukthāh pīprishatī.

O Agni, let the liberal sacrificer be happy, who wishes to please thee by perpetual offerings and hymns. See also vi. 16, 8; 68, 5; x. 172, 2, 3.

It must be confessed that even the meaning of dānu is by no means quite clear. It is clear enough where it means demon, ii. 11, 18; 12, 11; iv. 30, 7; x. 120, 6, the seven demons. In i. 32, 9; iii. 30, 8, dānu, demon, is applied to the mother of Vritra. From this dānu we have the derivative dānavā, meaning again demon. Why the demons, conquered by Indra, were called dānu, is not clear. It may be in the sense of wise, or in the sense of powerful, for this meaning is ascribed to dānū by the author of the Unādi-sūtras. If the latter meaning is authentic, and not only deduced ex post from the name of Dānu and Dānava, it might throw light on the Celtic dána, fortis, from which Zeuss derives the name of the Danube.

But the sense of the neuter dānu is by no means settled. Sometimes it means Soma:

x. 43, 7. āpah nā śindhum abhī yāt sam-āksharan sōmāsah īndram kulyāh-iva hradām, várdhanti víprāh máhah asya sādane yāvam nā vrishṭih divyēna dānunā.

When the Somas run together to Indra, like water to the river, like channels to the lake, then the priests increase his greatness in the sanctuary, as rain the corn, by the heavenly Soma-juice.

In the next verse gārādānu means the sacrificer whose Soma is always alive, always ready.

In vi. 50, 13, however, dānu páprih is doubtful. As an epithet to Āpām nāpāt, it may mean he who wishes for Soma, or he who grants Soma; but in neither case is there any tangible sense. Again, viii. 25, 5, Mitra and Varuna are called sripād-dānū, which may mean possessed of flowing rain. And in the next verse, sām yā dānūni yemāthuh may be rendered by Mitra and Varuna, who brought together rain.

The fact that Mitra-Varunau and the Asvins are called dānunaspātī does not throw much more light on the subject, and the one passage where dānu occurs as a feminine,
i. 54, 7, dānuḥ asmai úparā pinvate divāḥ, may be translated by rain pours forth for him, below the sky, but the translation is by no means certain.

Dānuḥítra, applied to the dawn, the water of the clouds, and the three worlds (v. 59, 8; 31, 6; i. 174, 7), means most likely bright with dew or rain; and dānumat vásu, the treasure conquered by Indra from the clouds, can be translated by the treasure of rain. Taking all the evidence together, we can hardly doubt that dānu existed in the sense of liquid, rain, or Soma; yet it is equally certain that dānu existed in the sense of giver, if not of gift, and that from this, in certain passages, at all events, sudānu must be derived, as a synonym of sudāvan, sudāman, &c.

Verse 6, note 2. Cf. vii. 50, 4, (nadyāḥ) pāyasā pinvamānāḥ, the rivers swelling with milk. Pinvatī is here construed with two accusatives, the conception being that they fill or feed the waters, and that the waters take the food, viz. the rain. The construction is not to be compared with the Greek τρέφειν τροφήν τίνα τοιήνδε (Herod. ii. 2), but rather with διδάσκειν τινά τί.

Cf. vi. 63, 8. dhenúm nah īsham pinvatam āsakrām.
You filled our cow (with) constant food.

Similarly duh, to milk, to extract, is construed with two accusatives: Pāṇi. i. 4, 51. gām dogdhi payah, he milks the cow milk.
Rv. ix. 107, 5. duhānāḥ ēdhaḥ divyām mádhu priyām.
Milking the heavenly udder (and extracting from it) the precious sweet, i.e. the rain.

Verse 6, note 3. The leading about of the clouds is intended, like the leading about of horses, to tame them, and make them obedient to the wishes of their riders, the Maruts. Ātyah váśi is a strong horse, possibly a stallion; but this horse is here meant to signify the cloud. Thus we read:

v. 83, 6. divāḥ nah vrishāṁ marutāḥ rarādhvam prā pinvata vrishnāḥ āsvasya dhārāḥ.
Give us, O Maruts, the rain of heaven, pour forth the streams of the stallion (the cloud).
In the original the simile is quite clear, and no one required to be told that the átyah vāgī was meant for the cloud. Vāgīn by itself means a horse, as i. 66, 2; 69, 3. vāgī ná prītáḥ, like a favourite horse: i. 116, 6. paidvāḥ vāgī, the horse of Pedu. But being derived from vāga, strength, vāgīn retained always something of its etymological meaning, and was therefore easily and naturally transferred to the cloud, the giver of strength, the source of food. Even without the ná, i.e. as if, the simile would have been understood in Sanskrit, while in English it is hardly intelligible without a commentary. Benfey discovers some additional idea in support of the poet’s comparison: ‘Ich bin kein Pferdekenner,’ he says, ‘aber ich glaube bemerkt zu haben, dass man Pferde, welche rasch gelaufen sind, zum Urinieren zu bewegen sucht. So lassen hier die Maruts die durch ihren Sturm rasch fortgetriebenen Wolken Wasser herab strömen.’

Verse 6, note 4. U’tsa, well, is meant again for cloud, though we should hardly be justified in classing it as a name of cloud, because the original meaning of útsa, spring, is really retained, as much as that of avatá, well, in i. 85, 10–11. The adjectives stanáyantam and ákshitam seem more applicable to cloud, yet they may be applied also to a spring. Yāska derives utsa from ut-sar, to go forth; ut-sad, to go out; ut-syand, to well out; or from ud, to wet. In v. 32, 2, the wells shut up by the seasons are identified with the udder of the cloud.

Verse 7, note 1. Svátavas means really having their own independent strength, a strength not derived from the support of others. The yet which I have added in brackets seems to have been in the poet’s mind, though it is not expressed. In i. 87, 4, the Maruts are called sva-svāt, going by themselves, i.e. moving freely, independently, wherever they list. See i. 64, 4, note 4.

Verse 7, note 2. Mrigāḥ hastīnah, wild animals with a hand or a trunk, must be meant for elephants, although it has been doubted whether the poets of the Veda were
acquainted with that animal. Hastin is the received name for elephant in the later Sanskrit, and it is hardly applicable to any other animal. If they are said to eat the forests, this may be understood in the sense of crushing or chewing, as well as of eating.

Verse 7, note 3. The chief difficulty of the last sentence has been pointed out in B. and R.'s Dictionary, s. v. ārunī. Ārunī does not occur again in the whole of the Rig-veda. If we take it with Sāyana as a various reading of arunī, then the Arunīs could only be the ruddy cows of the dawn or of Indra, with whom the Maruts, in this passage, can have no concern. Nor would it be intelligible why they should be called ārunī in this one place only. If, as suggested by B. and R., the original text had been yadā ārunīshu, it would be difficult to understand how so simple a reading could have been corrupted.

Another difficulty is the verb āyugdhvam, which is not found again in the Rig-veda together with tāvishā. Tāvishā, vigour, is construed with dha, to take strength, v. 32, 2. adhatthaḥ; v. 55, 2. dadhidhve; x. 102, 8. adhatta; also with vas, iv. 16, 14; with pat, x. 113, 5, &c. But it is not likely that to put vigour into the cows could be expressed in Sanskrit by 'you gain vigour in the cows.' If tāvishā must be taken in the sense which it seems always to possess, viz. vigour, it would be least objectionable to translate, 'when you joined vigour, i.e. when you assumed vigour, while being among the Ārunīs.' The Ārunīs being the cows of the dawn, ārunīshu might simply mean in the morning. Considering, however, that the Maruts are said to eat up forests, ārunī, in this place, is best taken in the sense of red flames, viz. of fire or forest-fire (dāvāgni), so that the sense would be, 'When you, Storms, assume vigour among the flames, you eat up forests, like elephants.' Benfey: 'Wenn mit den rothen eure Kraft ihr angeschirrt. Die rothen sind die Antilopen, das Vehikel der Maruts, wegen der Schnelligkeit derselben.'

Verse 8, note 1. As pisā does not occur again in the Rig-veda, and as Sāyana, without attempting any etymological
arguments, simply gives it as a name of deer, it seems best to adopt that sense till something better can be discovered. Supís, too, does not occur again. In vii. 18, 2, pís is explained by gold, &c.; vii. 57, 3, the Maruts are called visvapís.

Verse 8, note 2. Kshápah can only be the accusative plural, used in a temporal sense. It is so used in the expression kshápah usráh ka, by night and by day, lit. nights and days (vii. 15, 8). In vi. 52, 15, we find kshápah usráh in the same sense. iv. 53, 7. kshapābhīh áha-bhīh, by night and by day. i. 44, 8, the loc. plur. vyúshíshu, in the mornings, is followed by kshápah, the acc. plur., by night, and here the genitive kshapáh would certainly be preferable, in the sense of at the brightening up of the night. The acc. plur. occurs again in i. 116, 4, where tisráh is used as an accusative (ii. 2, 2; viii. 41, 3). Kshapáh, with the accent on the last, must be taken as a *genitivus temporalis*, like the German *Nachts* (i. 79, 6). In viii. 19, 31, kshapáh vástushu means at the brightening up of the night, i. e. in the morning. Thus, in iii. 50, 4, Indra is called kshapām vastā ganiítā sūryasya, the lighter up of nights, the parent of the sun. In viii. 26, 3, áti kshapáh, the genitive may be governed by áti. In iv. 16, 19, however, the accusative kshápah would be more natural, nor do I see how a genitive could here be accounted for:

dyávah ná dyumnaíh abhi sántah aryáh kshapáh madema sarádah ka púrvih.

May we rejoice many years, overcoming our enemies as the days overcome the nights by splendour.

The same applies to i. 70, 4, where kshapáh occurs with the accent on the last syllable, whereas we expect kshápah as nom. or acc. plural. Here B. and R. in the Sanskrit Dictionary, *s. v.* kshap, rightly, I believe, suppose it to be a nom. plur. in spite of the accent.

Verse 9, note 1. Ródasí, a dual, though frequently followed by ubhé (i. 10, 8; 33, 9; 54, 2), means heaven and earth, excluding the antáriksha or the air between the two. Hence, if this is to be included, it has to be added:
HYMNS TO THE MARUTS.

Verse 9, note 2. The comparison is not quite distinct. Amáti means originally impetus, then power, e.g. v. 69, 1: vavridhánau amátim kshatriyasya. Increasing the might of the warrior.

But it is most frequently used of the effulgence of the sun, (iii. 38, 8; v. 45, 2; 62, 5; vii. 38, 1; 2; 45, 3.) See also v. 56, 8, where the same companion of the Maruts is called Rodasi. The comparative particle ná is used twice.

Verse 10, note 1. See i. 38, 14, p. 78.

Verse 10, note 2. In vrísha-khádi the meaning of khádi is by no means clear. Sáyana evidently guesses, and proposes two meanings, weapon or food. In several passages where khádi occurs, it seems to be an ornament rather than a weapon, yet if derived from khad, to bite, it may originally have signified some kind of weapon. Roth translates it by ring, and it is certain that these khádis were to be seen not only on the arms and shoulders, but likewise on the feet of the Maruts. There is a famous weapon in India, the ákra or quoit, a ring with sharp edges, which is thrown from a great distance with fatal effect. Bollensen (Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 46) suggests for vríshan the meaning of hole in the ear, and then translates the compound as having earrings in the hole of the ear. But vríshan does not mean the hole in the lap of the ear, nor has vrishabhá that meaning either in the Veda or elsewhere. Wilson gives for vrishabha, not for vrishan, the meaning of orifice of the ear, but this is very different from the hole in the lap of the ear. Benfey suggests that the khádis were made of the teeth of wild animals, and hence their name of biters. Vríshan conveys the meaning of strong, though possibly with the implied idea of rain-producing, fertilising. See p. 121.


Verse 11, note 2. Wilson: ‘Augmenters of rain, they
drive, with golden wheels, the clouds asunder; as elephants (in a herd, break down the trees in their way). They are honoured with sacrifices, visitants of the hall of offering, spontaneous assailers (of their foes), subverters of what are stable, immovable themselves, and wearers of shining weapons.’

Benfey: ‘Weghemmnissen gleich schleudern die Fluthmehrer mit den goldnen Felgen das Gewölk empor, die nie müden Kämpfer, frei schreitend-festesstürzenden, die schweres thur’nden, lanzenstrahlenden Maruts.’

Verse 12, note 1. Havásâ, instead of what one should expect, hávasâ, occurs but once more in another Marut hymn, vi. 66, i1.

Verse 12, note 2. Vanín does not occur again as an epithet of the Maruts. It is explained by Sāyana as a possessive adjective derived from vana, water, and Benfey accordingly translates it by fluthversehn. This, however, is not confirmed by any authoritative passages. Vanín, unless it means connected with the forest, a tree, in which sense it occurs frequently, is only applied to the worshippers or priests in the sense of venerating or adoring (cf. venero, venustus, &c.):

iii. 40, 7. abhí dyumnānī vanínah īndram sakante ākshitâ.

The inexhaustible treasures of the worshipper go towards Indra.

viii. 3, 5. īndram vanínah havámahe.

We, the worshippers, call Indra.

Unless it can be proved by independent evidence that vanín means possessed of water, we must restrict vanín to its two meanings, of which the only one here applicable, though weak, is adoring. The Maruts are frequently represented as singers and priests, yet the epithets here applied to them stand much in need of some definite explanation, as the poet could hardly have meant to string a number of vague and ill-connected epithets together. If one might conjecture, svānínam instead of vaninam would be an improvement. It is a scarce word, and occurs but once more in the Veda, iii. 26, 5, where it is used of the Maruts, in the sense of noisy, turbulent.
Verse 12, note 3. Saskata, which I have here translated literally by to clinging, is often used in the sense of following or revering (colere):

ii. 1, 13. tvām rāti-sākah adhvaréshu saskire.
The gods who are fond of offerings clinging to thee, follow thee, at the sacrifices.

The Soma libation is said to reach the god:

ii. 22, 1. sāh enam saskat devāh devām. The gods too are said to clinging to their worshippers, i.e. to love and protect them: iii. 16, 2; vii. 18, 25. The horses are said to follow their drivers: vi. 36, 3; vii. 90, 3, &c. It is used very much like the Greek ὀπερύειν.

Verse 12, note 4. Ragastūḥ may mean rousing the dust of the earth, a very appropriate epithet of the Maruts. Sāyana explains it thus, and most translators have adopted his explanation. But as the epithets here are not simply descriptive, but laudatory, it seems preferable, in this place, to retain the usual meaning of rāgas, sky. When Soma is called ragastūḥ, ix. 108, 7, Sāyana too explains it by tegasām prerakam, and ix. 48, 4, by udakasya prerakam.

Verse 12, note 5. Rīgishān, derived from rīgāsha. Rīgāsha is what remains of the Soma-plant after it has once been squeezed, and what is used again for the third libation. Now as the Maruts are invoked at the third libation, they were called rīgishān, as drinking at their later libation the juice made of the rīgāsha. This, at least, is the opinion of the Indian commentators. But it is much more likely that the Maruts were invoked at the third libation, because originally they had been called rīgishān by the Vedic poets, this rīgishān being derived from rīgāsha, and rīgāsha from rīg, to strive, to yearn, like purīsha from prī, manīshā from man; (see Unādi-sūtras, p. 273.) This rīg is the same root which we have in ὀπερύειν, to reach, ὀπρύη, emotion, and ὀπρύια, furious transports of worshippers. Thus the Maruts from being called rīgishān, impetuous, came to be taken for drinkers of rīgāsha, the fermenting and overflowing Soma, and were assigned accordingly to the third libation at sacrifices. Rīgīshān, as an epithet, is not confined to the Maruts; it
is given to Indra, with whom it could not have had a purely ceremonial meaning (viii. 76, 5).

Verse 13, note 1. Āprékkhya, literally to be asked for, to be inquired for, to be greeted and honoured. A word of an apparently modern character, but occurring again in the Rig-veda as applied to a prince, and to the vessel containing the Soma.

Verse 13, note 2. Púshyati might be joined with krátu and taken in a transitive sense, he increases his strength. But púshyati is also used as an intransitive, and means he prospers:

i. 83, 3. ásam-yataḥ vraté te ksheti púshyati.
Without let he dwells in thy service and prospers.
Roth reads asamyattah, against the authority of the MSS.

Verse 14, note 1. The difficulty of this verse arises from the uncertainty whether the epithets dhanaspíritam, ukthyām, and visvákarsbam belong to súshma, strength, or to toká, kith and kin. Roth and Benfey connect them with toká. Now dhanaspírit is applicable to toká, yet it never occurs joined with toká again, while it is used with súshma, vi. 19, 8. Ukthyā, literally to be praised with hymns, is not used again as an epithet of toká, though it is quite appropriate to any gift of the gods. Lastly, visvákarsbam is never applied to toká, while it is an epithet used, if not exactly of the strength, súshma, given by the gods, yet of the fame given by them:

x. 93, 10. dhátam vîréshu visvā-karshâmî śrâvah.
Give to these men world-wide glory. Cf. iii. 2, 15.

The next difficulty is the exact meaning of visvā-karshâmî, and such cognate words as visvā-krishṭi, visvā-manusha. The only intelligible meaning I can suggest for these words is, known to all men; originally, belonging to, reaching to all men; as we say, world-wide or European fame, meaning by it fame extending over the whole of Europe, or over the whole world. If Indra, Agni, and the Maruts are called by these names, they mean, as far as I can judge, known, worshipped by all men. Benfey translates allverständig.
Verse 15, note 1. Riti, the first element of riti-sáham, never occurs by itself in the Rig-veda. It comes from the root ar, to hurt, which was mentioned before (p. 54) in connection with ár-van, hurting, árus, wound, and ári, enemy. Sám-riti occurs i. 32, 6. Riti therefore means hurting, and riti-sáh means one who can stand an attack. In our passage rayím vîrá-vantam riti-sáham means really wealth consisting in men who are able to withstand all onslaughts.

The word is used in a similar sense, vi. 14, 4:

agniḥ apratim riti-sáham vîrám dadâti sát-patim, yásya trásanti sávasah sam-kâkshi sátravâḥ bhîyā.

Agni gives a strong son who is able to withstand all onslaughts, from fear of whose strength the enemies tremble when they see him.

In other passages riti-sáh is applied to Indra:

vii. 45, 35. bibhâya hi tvā-vataḥ ugrāt abhi-prabhaṅgīnah dasmāt ahām riti-sáhah.

For I stand in fear of a powerful man like thee, of one who crushes his enemies, who is strong and withstands all onslaughts.

viii. 68, 1. tuvi-kûrmîṁ riti-sáham Índra sâvîṣṭhaṁ sát-pate.

Thee, O most powerful Indra, of mighty strength, able to withstand all onslaughts.

viii. 88, 1. tāṁ vâḥ dasmām riti-sáham—Índram gîḥ-bhîḥ navâmahe.

We call Indra the strong, the resisting, with our songs.

Verse 15, note 2. The last sentence finishes six of the hymns ascribed to Nodhas. It is more appropriate in a hymn addressed to single deities, such as Agni or Indra, than in a hymn to the Maruts. We must supply sardha, in order to get a collective word in the masculine singular.

Nú, as usual, should be scanned ū.

Verse 15, note 3. Dhiyā-vasu, as an epithet of the gods, means rich in prayers, i.e. invoked by many worshippers. It does not occur frequently. Besides the hymns of Nodhas, it only occurs independently in i. 3, 10 (Sarasvati), iii. 3, 2, iii. 28, 1 (Agni), these hymns being all ascribed to the
family of Visvamitra. In the last verse, which forms the burden of the hymns of Nodhas, it may have been intended to mean, he who is rich through the hymn just recited, he who rejoices in the hymn, the god to whom it is addressed.

Nodhas, the poet, belongs, according to the Anukramanâ, to the family of Gotama, and in the hymns which are ascribed to him, i. 58–64, the Gotamas are mentioned several times:

i. 60, 5. tám tvâ vayám pátim agne rayînâm prá samsâ- mah matî-bhih gôtamâsah.

We, the Gotamas, praise thee with hymns, Agni, the lord of treasures.

i. 61, 16. evâ te hari-yogana su-vriktî índra bráhmâni gôtamâsah akran.

Truly the Gotamas made holy prayers for thee, O Indra with brilliant horses! See also i. 63, 9.

In one passage Nodhas himself is called Gotama:

i. 62, 13. sanâ-yaté gôtamah índra návyam
   átakshat bráhma hari-yóganâya,
   su-nâthâya naḥ savasâna nodhâḥ—
   prâtâḥ makshú dhiyâ-vasuh gagamyât.

Gotama made a new song for the old (god) with brilliant horses, O Indra! May Nodhas be a good leader to us, O powerful Indra! May he who is rich in prayers (Indra) come early and soon!

I feel justified therefore in following the Anukramanâ and taking Nodhas as a proper name. It occurs so again in

i. 61, 14. sadyâḥ bhuvat víryâya nodhâḥ.

May Nodhas quickly attain to power!

In i. 124, 4, nodhâḥ-iva may mean like Nodhas, but more likely it may have the more general meaning of poet.
HYMNS TO THE MARUTS.

MANDALA I, SŪKTA 85.
ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 6, VARGA 9–10.

1. Prā yē sūmbhante gānayah nā sāptayah yāman rudrāsyā sūnāvah su-dāmsasah, rōdasī (īti) hī marūtah kakrīré vridhē mādantī virāh vidātheshu ghṛishvayah.

2. Tē ukshitāsah mahimānam āsata divī rudrāsah ādhi kakrire sādah, ārkantah arkām gānayantah indriyām ādhi sriyāh dadhīre prīṣni-mātārah.


4. Vī yē bhrāgante sū-makhāsah rishti-bhīḥ prakṛyavāyantah ākyutā kit ōgasā, manah-gūvah yāt marutah rātheshu ā vrīsha-vrātāsah prīṣhatīḥ āyugdhvam.

5. Prā yāt rātheshu prīṣhatīḥ āyugdhvam vāge ādrim marutah rāmhāyantah utā arushāsyā vī syanti dhārāḥ kārma-iva udā-bhīḥ vī undanti bhūma.

6. Ā vah vahantu sāptayah raghu-syādah raghu-pātvānaha prā gigāta bāhū-bhīḥ, sīdata ā barhīḥ urū vah sādah kritām mādāyadhvam marutah mādhyadhvah āndhasah.

7. Tē avardhanta svā-tavasaḥ mahi-tvanā ā nākam
Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. Those who glance forth like wives and yoke-fellows, they are the powerful sons of Rudra on their way. The Maruts have made heaven and earth to grow, they, the strong and wild, delight in the sacrifices.

2. When grown up, they attained to greatness; the Rudras have established their abode in the sky. While singing their song and increasing their vigour, the sons of Prisni have clothed themselves in beauty.

3. When these sons of the cow (Prisni) adorn themselves with glittering ornaments, the brilliant ones put bright weapons on their bodies. They hurl away every adversary; fatness (rain) runs along their paths;—

4. When you, the powerful, who glitter with your spears, shaking even what is unshakable by strength; when you, O Maruts, the manly hosts, had yoked the spotted deer, swift as thought, to your chariots;—

5. When you had yoked the spotted deer before your chariots, stirring the cloud to the battle, then the streams of the red enemy rush forth: like a skin with water they water the earth.

6. May the swift-gliding, swift-winged horses carry you hither! Come forth with your arms! Sit down on the grass-pile; a wide place has been made for you. Rejoice, O Maruts, in the sweet food.

7. They who have their own strength, grew with
tasthúh urú kākrire sādah, víshnuh yát ha āvat vrishanam mada-kyútam váyah ná sídan ádhi bārhíshi priyé.

8. Śūrāḥ-iva ít yúyudhayah ná gágmayah srawasyávah ná prítanāsu yetire, bháyante vísvá bhúvaná marút-bhyah rágânah-iva tvéshá-sandrisah náraḥ.


10. Úrdhvám nunudre avatám té ógasá dadrihánám kit bibhiduh ví párvatam, dhámantah vánam marútaḥ su-dánavaḥ máde sómasya rányáni kākrire.


12. Yá vah sárma sasamánáya sánti tri-dhátúni dásúshe yakkhata ádhi, asmábhyam táni marútaḥ ví yanta rayím nah dhatta vrishanah su-víram.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama. The metre is Gagati, except in verses 5 and 12, which are Trishtúbha.

Verse 1, note 1. The phrase gánayah ná sáptayah is obscure. As gáni has always the meaning of wife, and sápti in the singular, dual, and plural means horse, it might
might; they stepped to the firmament, they made their place wide. When Vishnu\(^2\) described the enrapturing Soma, the Maruts sat down like birds on their beloved altar.

8. Like heroes indeed thirsting for fight they rush about; like combatants eager for glory they have struggled in battles. All beings are afraid of the Maruts; they are men awful to behold, like kings.

9. When the clever Tvash\(t\)ar\(^1\) had turned the well-made, golden, thousand-edged thunderbolt, Indra took it to perform his manly deeds;\(^2\) he slew V\(r\)itra, he forced out the stream of water.

10. By their power they pushed the well\(^1\) aloft, they clove asunder the cloud, however strong. Sending forth their voice\(^2\) the beneficent Maruts performed, while drunk of Soma, their glorious deeds.

11. They drove the cloud athwart this way, they poured out the well to the thirsty Gotama. The bright-shining Maruts approach him with help, they with their clans fulfilled the desire of the sage.

12. The shelters which you have for him who praises you, grant them threefold to the man who gives! Extend the same to us, O Maruts! Give us, ye heroes,\(^1\) wealth with excellent offspring!

be supposed that g\(\text{nayah}\) could be connected with s\(\text{áptayah}\), so as to signify mares. But although g\(\text{náni}\) is coupled with pat\(\text{ñi}\), i. 62, 10, in the sense of mother-wife, and though s\(\text{ápti}\) is most commonly joined with some other name for horse, yet g\(\text{nayah}\) s\(\text{áptayah}\) never occurs, for the simple reason that it would be too elaborate and almost absurd an expression for va\(\text{davâh}\). We find s\(\text{ápti}\) joined with v\(\text{âgín}\),
i. 162, 1; with ráthya, ii. 31, 7; átyam ná sáptim, iii. 22, 1; sápti hári, iii. 35, 2; ásvá sápti-iva, vi. 59, 3.

We might then suppose the thought of the poet to have been this: What appears before us like race-horses, viz. the storms coursing through the sky, that is really the host of the Maruts. But then gánayah remains unexplained, and it is impossible to take gánayah ná sáptayah as two similes, like unto horses, like unto wives.

I believe, therefore, that we must here take sápti in its original etymological sense, which would be ju-mentum, a yoked animal, a beast of draught, or rather a follower, a horse that will follow. Sápti, therefore, could never be a wild horse, but always a tamed horse, a horse that will go in harness. Cf. ix. 21, 4. hitāḥ ná sáptayah ráthe, like horses put to the chariot; or in the singular, ix. 70, 10. hitāḥ ná sáptih, like a harnessed horse. The root is sap, which in the Veda means to follow, to attend on, to worship. But if sápti means originally animals that will go together, it may in our passage have retained the sense of yoke-fellow (συνγυγός), and be intended as an adjective to gánayah, wives. There is at least one other passage where this meaning would seem to be more appropriate, viz.

viii. 20, 23. yúyám sakhāyah saptayah.

You (Maruts), friends and followers! or you, friends and comrades!

Here it is hardly possible to assign to sápti the sense of horse, for the Maruts, though likened to horses, are never thus barely invoked as sáptayah!

If then we translate, ‘Those who glance forth like wives and yoke-fellows,’ i.e. like wives of the same husband, the question still recurs how the simile holds good, and how the Maruts rushing forth together in all their beauty can be compared to wives. In answer to this we have to bear in mind that the idea of many wives belonging to one husband (sapatnī) is familiar to the Vedic poet, and that their impetuously rushing into the arms of their husbands, and appearing before them in all their beauty, are frequent images in their poetry. Whether in the phrase pátim ná gánayah or gánayah ná gárdbhām, the ganis, the wives or
mothers, are represented as running together after their husbands or children. This impetuous approach the poet may have wished to allude to in our passage also, but though it might have been understood at once by his hearers, it is almost impossible to convey this implied idea in any other language.

Wilson translates: 'The Maruts, who are going forth, decorate themselves like females: they are gliders (through the air), the sons of Rudra, and the doers of good works, by which they promote the welfare of earth and heaven. Heroes, who grind (the solid rocks), they delight in sacrifices.'

Verse 1, note 2. The meaning of this phrase, which occurs very frequently, was originally that the storms by driving away the dark clouds, made the earth and the sky to appear larger and wider. It afterwards takes a more general sense of increasing, strengthening, blessing.

Verse 2, note 1. Ukshitā is here a participle of vaksh or uksh, to grow, to wax; not from uksh, to sprinkle, to anoint, to inaugurate, as explained by Sāyana. Thus it is said of the Maruts, v. 55, 3. sākām gātāḥ—sākām ukshitāḥ, born together, and grown up together.

Verse 2, note 2. The same expression occurs viii. 28, 5. saptō (īti) ādhi sriyāḥ dhire. See also i. 116, 17; ix. 68, 1.

Verse 3, note 1. Gō-mātri, like gō-gāta, a name of the Maruts.

Verse 3, note 2. Subhrā applied to the Maruts, i. 19, 5.

Verse 3, note 3. Virūkmataḥ must be an accusative plural. It occurs i. 127, 3, as an epithet of ṣyās; vi. 49, 5, as an epithet of the chariot of the Asvins. In our place, however, it must be taken as a substantive, signifying something which the Maruts wear, probably armour or weapons. This follows chiefly from x. 138, 4. sātrūn asrīnāt virūkmataḥ, Indra tore his enemies with the bright weapon.

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In viii. 20, 11, where rukmá occurs as a masculine plural, ví bhrāgante rukmāsah ádhi bāhūshu, their bright things shine on their arms, it seems likewise to be meant for weapons; according to Sāyana, for chains. In v. 55, 3; x. 78, 3, the Maruts are called vi-rokínah, bright like the rays of the sun or the tongues of fire.

Verse 3, note 4. Observe the short syllable in the tenth syllable of this Páda.

Verse 4, note 1. The sudden transition from the third to the second person is not unusual in the Vedic hymns, the fact being that where we in a relative sentence should use the same person as that of the principal verb, the Vedic poets frequently use the third.

Verse 4, note 2. Vrīsha-vrata is untranslatable for reasons stated p. 121 seq.; it means consisting of companies of vṛishan’s in whatever sense that word be taken. Wilson in his translation mistakes ākyutā for ākyutāh, and vrāta for vrata. He translates the former by ‘incapable of being overthrown,’ the latter by ‘entrusted with the duty of sending rain,’ both against the authority of Sāyana. Vrīsha-vrāta occurs twice in the Rig-veda as an epithet of Soma only, ix. 62, 11; 64, 1.

Verse 5, note 1. Ramh, to stir up, to urge, to make go:

v. 32, 2. tvām útsān ritú-bhiḥ badbadhānān áramhāh.

Thou madest the springs to run that had been shut up by the seasons.

viii. 19, 6. tásyā ít árvantah ramhayante ásávah.

His horses only run quick.

Adri, which I here preferred to translate by cloud, means originally stone, and it is used in adrivāh, wielder of the thunderbolt, a common vocative addressed to Indra, in the sense of a stone-weapon, or the thunderbolt. If we could ascribe to it the same meaning here, we might translate, ‘hurling the stone in battle.’ This is the meaning adopted by Benfey.

Verse 5, note 2. The red enemy is the dark red cloud, but arushā has almost become a proper name, and its
original meaning of redness is forgotten. Nay, it is possible that arushá, as applied to the same power of darkness which is best known by the names of Vritra, Dasyu, etc., may never have had the sense of redness, but been formed straight from ar, to hurt, from which arvan, arus, etc., (see p. 54.) It would then mean simply the hurter, the enemy, (see p. 17.)

Verse 5, note 3. Sāyana explains: 'They moisten the whole earth like a hide,' a hide representing a small surface which is watered without great effort. Wilson: 'They moisten the earth, like a hide, with water.' Langlois: 'Alors les gouttes d'eau, perçant comme la peau de ce (nuage) bienfaisant viennent inonder la terre.' Benfey: 'Dann stürzen reichlich aus der rothen (Gewitterwolke) Tropfen, mit Fluth wie eine Haut die Erde netzend. (Dass die Erde so durchnässt wird, wie durchregnetes Leder.)' If the poet had intended to compare the earth, before it is moistened by rain, to a hide, he might have had in his mind the dryness of a tanned skin, or, as Professor Benfey says, of leather. If, on the contrary, the simile refers to the streams of water, then kárma-iva, like a skin, might either be taken in the technical acceptation of the skin through which, at the preparation of the Soma, the streams (dhārāh) of that beverage are squeezed and distilled, or we may take the word in the more general sense of water-skin. In that case the comparison, though not very pointedly expressed, as it would have been by later Sanskrit poets, would still be complete. The streams of the red enemy, i.e. of the cloud, rush forth, and they, whether the streams liberated by the Maruts, or the Maruts themselves, moisten the earth with water, like a skin, i.e. like a skin in which water is kept and from which it is poured out. The cloud itself being called a skin by Vedic poets (i. 129, 3) makes the comparison still more natural.

One other explanation might suggest itself, if the singular of kárma should be considered objectionable on account of the plural of the verb. Vedic poets speak of the skin of the earth. Thus:

x. 68, 4. bhūmyāḥ udnā-iva ví tvákam bibheda.
He (Brihaspati) having driven the cows from the cave, cut the skin of the earth, as it were, with water, i.e. saturated it with rain.

The construction, however, if we took kárma in the sense of surface, would be very irregular, and we should have to translate: They moisten the earth with water like a skin, i.e. skin-deep.

We ought to scan kārnevo dābhiḥ vi śūndanti bhūma, for kārneva udābhiḥ vyūndanti bhūma would give an unusual caesura.

Verse 6, note 1. With your arms, i.e. according to Śāyana, with armfuls of gifts. Though this expression does not occur again so baldly, we read i. 166, 10, of the Maruts, that there are many gifts in their strong arms, bhūrini bhadrā nāryeshu bāhūshu; nor does bāhū, as used in the plural, as far as I am able to judge, ever convey any meaning but that of arms. The idea that the Maruts are carried along by their arms as by wings, does not rest on Vedic authority, otherwise we might join raghupātvaṇah with bāhūbhiḥ, come forth swiftly flying on your arms! As it is, and with the accent on the antepenultimate, we must refer raghupātvaṇah to sāptayaḥ, horses.

Verse 6, note 2. The sweet food is Soma.

Verse 7, note 1. The initial ‘a’ of avardhanta must be elided, or ‘té a’ be pronounced as two short syllables equal to one long.

Verse 7, note 2. Vishnu, whose character in the hymns of the Veda is very different from that assumed by him in later periods of Hindu religion, must here be taken as the friend and companion of Indra. Like the Maruts, he assisted Indra in his battle against Vritra and the conquest of the clouds. When 'Indra was forsaken by all the gods, Vishnu came to his help.

iv. 18, 11. utā mātā mahishám ānu avenat ami (iti) tvā gahati putra devāh,
átha abravit vṛitrām ēndraḥ hanishyān sākhe vishno (iti) vi-tarām vi kramasva.
The mother also called after the bull, these gods forsake thee, O son; then, when going to kill Vṛitra, Indra said, Friend, Vishnu, step forward!

This stepping of Vishnu is emblematic of the rising, the culminating, and setting of the sun; and in viii. 12, 27, Vishnu is said to perform it through the power of Indra. In vi. 20, 2, Indra is said to have killed Vṛitra, assisted by Vishnu (vīshnumā sakānāh). Vishnu is therefore invoked together with Indra, vi. 69, 8; vii. 99; with the Maruts, v. 87; vii. 36, 9. In vii. 93, 8, Indra, Vishnu, and the Maruts are called upon together. Nay, māruta, belonging to the Maruts, becomes actually an epithet of Vishnu, v. 46, 2. māruta utā vishno (īti); and in i. 156, 4, mārutasya vedhāsah has been pointed out by Roth as an appellation of Vishnu. The mention of Vishnu in our hymn is therefore by no means exceptional, but the whole purport of this verse is nevertheless very doubtful, chiefly owing to the fact that several of the words occurring in it lend themselves to different interpretations.

The translations of Wilson, Benfey, and others have not rendered the sense which the poet intends to describe at all clear. Wilson says: 'May they for whom Vishnu defends (the sacrifice), that bestows all desires and confers delight, come (quickly) like birds, and sit down upon the pleasant and sacred grass.' Benfey: 'Wenn Vishnu schützt den rauschtriefendén tropfenden (Soma), sitzen wie Vögel sie auf der geliebten Streu.' Langlois: 'Quand Vichnou vient prendre sa part de nos enivrantes libations, eux, comme des oiseaux, arrivent aussi sur le cousa qui leur est cher.'

Whence all these varieties? First, because āvat may mean, he defended or protected, but likewise he described, became aware. Secondly, because vṛishan is one of the most vague and hence most difficult words in the Veda, and may mean Indra, Soma, or the cloud: (see the note on Vṛishan, p. 121.) Thirdly, because the adjective belonging to vṛishan, which generally helps us to determine which vṛishan is meant, is here itself of doubtful import, and certainly applicable to Indra as well as to Soma and the Āsvins, possibly even to the cloud. Mada-kyūt is readily
exored by the commentators as bringing down pride, a meaning which the word might well have in modern Sanskrit, but which it clearly has not in the Veda. Even where the thunderbolt of Indra is called madakyút, and where the meaning of 'bringing down pride' would seem most appropriate, we ought to translate 'wildly rushing down.'

viii. 96, 5. ā yāt vágram bāhvóh indra dhátse madakyútam áhaye hántavaí ūm (ítī).

When thou tookest the wildly rushing thunderbolt in thy arms in order to slay Ahi.

When applied to the gods, the meaning of madakyút is by no means certain. It might mean rushing about fiercely, reeling with delight, this delight being produced by the Soma, but it may also mean sending down delight, i.e. rain or Soma. The root kyu is particularly applicable to the sending down of rain; cf. Taitt. Sanh. ii. 4, 9, 2; 10, 3; iii. 3, 4, 1; and Indra and his horses, to whom this epithet is chiefly applied, are frequently asked to send down rain. However, madakyút is also applied to real horses (i. 126, 4) where givers of rain would be an inappropriate epithet. I should therefore translate madakyút, when applied to Indra, to his horses, to the Ášvins, or to horses in general by furiously or wildly moving about, as if 'made kya vate,' he moves in a state of delight, or in a state of intoxication such as was not incompatible with the character of the ancient gods. Here again the difficulty of rendering Vedic thought in English, or any other modern language, becomes apparent, for we have no poetical word to express a high state of mental excitement produced by drinking the intoxicating juice of the Soma or other plants, which has not something opprobrious mixed up with it, while in ancient times that state of excitement was celebrated as a blessing of the gods, as not unworthy of the gods themselves, nay, as a state in which both the warrior and the poet would perform their highest achievements. The German Rausch is the nearest approach to the Sanskrit mada.

viii. 1, 21. vísveshám tarutáram mada-kyútam māde hí sma dádáti nah.

Indra, the conqueror of all, who rushes about in
rapture, for in rapture he bestows gifts upon us. Cf. i. 51, 2.

The horses of Indra are called madakyūt, i. 81, 3; viii. 33, 18; 34, 9. Ordinary horses, i. 126, 4.

It is more surprising to see this epithet applied to the Aśvins, who are generally represented as moving about with exemplary steadiness. However we read:

viii. 22, 16. mánah-gavasa võršhaṇā mada-kyutā.
Ye two Aśvins, quick as thought, powerful, wildly moving; or, as Sāyana proposes, liberal givers, humblers of your enemies. See also viii. 35, 19.

Most frequently madakyūt is applied to Soma, x. 30, 9; ix. 32, 1; 53, 4; 79, 2; 108, 11; where particularly the last passage deserves attention, in which Soma is called mada-kyūtam sahásra-dhāram vrishabhām.

Lastly, even the wealth itself which the Maruts are asked to send down from heaven, most likely rain, is called, viii. 7, 13, rayim mada-kyūtam puru-kshúm visvā-dhāyasam.

In all these passages we must translate mada-kyūt by bringing delight, showering down delight.

We have thus arrived at the conclusion that vrīshāṣam mada-kyutam, as used in our passage i. 85, 7, might be meant either for Indra or for Soma. If the Aśvins can be called vrīshāṣau mada-kyutā, the same expression would be even more applicable to Indra. On the other hand, if Soma is called vrīshabhāk mada-kyut, the same Soma may legitimately be called vrīshā mada-kyut. In deciding whether Indra or Soma be meant, we must now have recourse to other hymns, in which the relations of the Maruts with Vishnu, Soma, and Indra are alluded to.

If Indra were intended, and if the first words meant 'When Vishnu perceived the approach of Indra,' we should expect, not that the Maruts sat down on the sacrificial pile, but that they rushed to the battle. The idea that the Maruts come to the sacrifice, like birds, is common enough:

vii. 20, 10. vrīshāṣavēna marutarḥ vrīsha-psunā rāthena vrīsha-ṇābhiniḥ, ā syenāsah nā pakshinaḥ vrīthā narah havyā nah vītāye gata.

Come ye Maruts together, to eat our offerings, on your
strong-horsed, strong-shaped, strong-naved chariot, like winged hawks!

But when the Maruts thus come to a sacrifice it is to participate in it, and particularly in the Soma that is offered by the sacrificer. This Soma, it is said in other hymns, was prepared by Vishnu for Indra (ii. 22, 1), and Vishnu is said to have brought the Soma for Indra (x. 113, 2). If we keep these and similar passages in mind, and consider that in the preceding verse the Maruts have been invited to sit down on the sacrificial pile and to rejoice in the sweet food, we shall see that the same train of thought is carried on in our verse, the only new idea being that the keeping or desiring of the Soma is ascribed to Vishnu.

Verse 9, note 1. Tvāśhtar, the workman of the gods, frequently also the fashioner and creator.

Verse 9, note 2. Nāri, the loc. sing. of nṛi, but, if so, with a wrong accent, occurs only in this phrase as used here, and as repeated in viii. 96, 19. nāri āpāmsi kātā sāḥ vritra-hā. Its meaning is not clear. It can hardly mean 'on man,' without some more definite application. If nṛi could be used as a name of Vrītra or any other enemy, it would mean, to do his deeds against the man, on the enemy. Nṛi, however, is ordinarily an honorific term, chiefly applied to Indra, iv. 25, 4. nāre nāryāya nṛi-tamāya nrinām, and hence its application to Vṛitra would be objectionable. Sāyana explains it in the sense of battle. I believe that nāri stands for nāryā, the acc. plur. neut. of nārya, manly, and the frequent epithet of āpas, and I have translated accordingly. Indra is called nārya-āpas, viii. 93, 1.

Verse 10, note 1. Avatā, a well, here meant for cloud, like útsa, i. 64, 6.

Verse 10, note 2. Dhāmantah vānām is translated by Sāyana as playing on the lyre, by Benfey as blowing the flute. Such a rendering, particularly the latter, would be very appropriate, but there is no authority for vānā meaning either lyre or flute in the Veda. Vānā occurs
five times only. In one passage, viii. 20, 8, góbhiḥ vânāḥ agyate, it means arrow; the arrow is sent forth from the bow-strings. The same meaning seems applicable to ix. 50, 1. vânásya kodaya pavim. In another passage, ix. 97, 8, prá vadanti vânám, they send forth their voice, is applied to the Maruts, as in our passage; in iv. 24, 9, the sense is doubtful, but here too vânā clearly does not mean a musical instrument. See iii. 30, 10.

_Vrīshan._

Verse 12, note 1. In vrīshan we have one of those words which it is almost impossible to translate accurately. It occurs over and over again in the Vedic hymns, and if we once know the various ideas which it either expresses or implies, we have little difficulty in understanding its import in a vague and general way, though we look in vain for corresponding terms in any modern language. In the Veda, and in ancient languages generally, one and the same word is frequently made to do service for many. Words retain their general meaning, though at the same time they are evidently used with a definite purpose. This is not only a peculiar phase of language, but a peculiar phase of thought, and as to us this phase has become strange and unreal, it is very difficult to transport ourselves back into it, still more to translate the pregnant terms of the Vedic poets into the definite languages which we have to use. Let us imagine a state of thought and speech in which _virtus_ still meant manliness, though it might also be applied to the virtue of a woman; or let us try to speak and think a language which expressed the bright and the divine, the brilliant and the beautiful, the straight and the right, the bull and the hero, the shepherd and the king by the same terms, and we shall see how difficult it would be to translate such terms without losing either the key-note that was still sounding, or the harmonics which were set vibrating by it in the minds of the poets and their listeners.

_Vrīshan_, being derived from a root _vrish_, _spargere_, meant no doubt originally the male, whether applied to animals or men. In this sense _vrīshan_ occurs frequently.
in the Veda, either as determining the sex of the animal which is mentioned, or as standing by itself and meaning the male. In either case, however, it implies the idea of strength and eminence, which we lose whether we translate it by man or male.

Thus āsva is horse, but vii. 69, 1, we read:

ā vām ráthah—vrísha-bhiḥ yātu ásvaiḥ.

May your chariot come near with powerful horses, i.e. with stallions.

The Háris, the horses of Indra, are frequently called vríshanā:

i. 177, 1. yuktvā hárí (íti) vríshanā.

Having yoked the bay stallions.

Vrishabhá, though itself originally meaning the male animal, had become fixed as the name of the bull, and in this process it had lost so much of its etymological import that the Vedic poet did not hesitate to define vrishabhá itself by the addition of vríshan. Thus we find:

viii. 93, 7. sáḥ vríshá vrishabháḥ bhuvat.

May he (Indra) be a strong bull.

i. 54, 2. vríshá vrísha-tvā vrishabháḥ.

Indra by his strength a strong bull; but, literally, Indra by his manliness a male bull.

Even vrishabhá loses again its definite meaning; and as bull in bull-calf means simply male, or in bull-trout, large, so vrishabhá is added to átya, horse, to convey the meaning of large or powerful:

i. 177, 2. ye te vríshanah vrishabhásah indra—átyáḥ.

Thy strong and powerful horses; literally, thy male bull-horses.

When vríshan and vrishabhá are used as adjectives, for instance with súshma, strength, they hardly differ in meaning:

vi. 19, 8. á nah bhara vríshanam súshmam indra.

Bring us thy manly strength, O Indra.

And in the next verse:

vi. 19, 9. á te súshmah vrishabháḥ etu.

May thy manly strength come near.

Vámsaga, too, which is clearly the name for bull, is defined by vríshan, i. 7, 8:
vrīṣā yūthā-iva vāmsagah.
As the strong bull scares the herds.
The same applies to varāha, which, though by itself meaning boar, is determined again by vrīṣhan:
x. 67, 7. vrīsha-bhiḥ varāhāḥ.
With strong boars.
In iii. 2, 11, we read:
vrīṣā—nānadat nā simhāḥ.
Like a roaring lion.
If used by itself, vrīṣahan, at least in the Rig-veda, can hardly be said to be the name of any special animal, though in later Sanskrit it may mean bull or horse. Thus if we read, x. 43, 8, vrīṣā nā kruddhāḥ, we can only translate like an angry male, though, no doubt, like a wild bull, would seem more appropriate.
i. 186, 5. yena nāpātam apāṃ gunāma manah-gūvah vrīshanah yāṃ vāhanti.
That we may excite the son of the water (Agni), whom the males, quick as thought, carry along.
Here the males are no doubt the horses or stallions of Agni. But, though this follows from the context, it would be wrong to say that vrīṣahan by itself means horse.
If used by itself, vrīṣahan most frequently means man, and chiefly in his sexual character. Thus:
i. 140, 6. vrīṣa-iva pātnīḥ abhī eti rōruvat.
Agni comes roaring like a husband to his wives.
i. 179, 1. āpi ūm (īti) nū pātnīḥ vrīshavanah gagamyaḥ.
Will the husbands now come to their wives?
ii. 16, 8. sakrīt sū te sumatī-bhiḥ—sāṃ pātnībhiḥ nā vrīshanah nasīmaḥ.
May we for once cling firmly to thy blessings, as husbands cling to their wives.
v. 47, 6. upa-prakshē vrīshanah mōdamānāḥ divāḥ pathā vadhvāḥ yanti ākkha.
The exulting men come for the embrace on the path of heaven towards their wives.
In one or two passages vrīshan would seem to have a still more definite meaning, particularly in the formula sūrah drīśike vrīshanah ka paūmsye, which occurs iv. 41, 6; x. 92, 7. See also i. 179, 1.
In all the passages which we have hitherto examined vríshan clearly retained its etymological meaning, though even then it was not always possible to translate it by male.

The same meaning has been retained in other languages in which this word can be traced. Thus, in Zend, arshan is used to express the sex of animals in such expressions as aspahe arshnô, gen. a male horse; varázahe arshnô, gen. a male boar; géus arshnô, gen. a male ox; but likewise in the sense of man or hero, as arsha husrava, the hero Husrava. In Greek we find ἄρσην and ἄρφην used in the same way to distinguish the sex of animals, as ἄρσενες ἵπποι, βοῶν ἄρσενα. In Latin the same word may be recognized in the proper name Varro, and in váro and báro.

We now come to another class of passages in which vríshan is clearly intended to express more than merely the masculine gender. In some of them the etymological meaning of spargere, to pour forth, seems to come out again, and it is well known that Indian commentators are very fond of explaining vríshan by giver of rain, giver of good gifts, bounteous. The first of these meanings may indeed be admitted in certain passages, but in others it is more than doubtful.

i. 181, 8. vríshâ vám megháh may be translated, your raining cloud.

i. 129, 3. dasmáh hi sma vríshanam pínvasi tvákam.
Thou art strong, thou fillest the rainy skin, i.e. the cloud.

See also iv. 22, 6; and possibly v. 83, 6.

It may be that, when applied to Soma too, vríshan retained something of its etymological meaning, that it meant gushing forth, poured out, though in many places it is impossible to render vríshan, as applied to Soma, by anything but strong. All we can admit is that vríshan, if translated by strong, means also strengthening and invigorating, an idea not entirely absent even in our expression, a strong drink.

i. 80, 2. sáh tvá amadat vríshâ mádah, sómah—sutáh.
This strong draught inspirted thee, the poured out Soma-juice.
I, Sukta 85.

Thou, Soma, art strong by strength.

For thee, the strong one, there is strong drink, powerful, omnipotent.

In the ninth Mandala, specially dedicated to the praises of Soma, the inspiriting beverage of gods and men, the repetition of vrīshā, as applied to the juice and to the god who drinks it, is constant. Indo vrīshā or vrīshā indo are incessant invocations, and become at last perfectly meaningless.

There can be no doubt, in fact, that already in the hymns of the Veda, vrīshā had dwindled away to a mere epitheton ornans, and that in order to understand it correctly, we must, as much as possible, forget its etymological colouring, and render it by hero or strong. Indra, Agni, the Asvins, Vishnu, the Ribhus (iv. 35, 6), all are vrīshā, which means no longer male, but manly, strong.

In the following passages vrīshā is thus applied to Indra:

(Praise Indra) who by his daring strength conquers both heaven and earth, a bull, strong in strength.

He who is strong, wedded to strength, who is the king of the great sky and the earth, of mighty might, to be invoked in battles,—may Indra with the Maruts come to our help!

May the bays bring thee hither, the strong one, to the Soma-draught, may the sunny-eyed horses (bring) thee, O Indra!

Thus we have made a hymn for Indra, the strong bull, as the Bhrigus make a chariot.
x. 153, 2. tvám vrishan vrîshâ ít asi.
Thou, O hero, art indeed a hero; and not, Thou, O male, art indeed a male; still less, Thou, O bull, art indeed a bull.

i. 101, 1. avasyávah vrîshanam vágra-dakshinam marút-vantam sakhyāya havâmahe.
Longing for help we call as our friend the hero who wields the thunderbolt, who is accompanied by the Maruts.

viii. 6, 14. nî sûshne indra dharnasím vágram gaghantha dásyavi, vrîshâ hí ugra svînviśhê.
Thou, O Indra, hast struck the strong thunderbolt against Sushra, the fiend; for, terrible one, thou art called hero!

viii. 6, 40. vavridhânâk úpa dyávi vrîshâ vagrı' aroravít, vritis-hâ soma-pâtamah.
Growing up by day, the hero with the thunderbolt has roared, the Vritra-killer, the great Soma-drinker.

v. 35, 4. vrîshâ hí ási rádhase gagñishé vrîshâi te sávah.
Thou (Indra) art a hero, thou wast born to be bounteous; in thee, the hero, there is might.

It is curious to watch the last stage of the meaning of vrîshan in the comparative and superlative varshîyas and varshîshta. In the Veda, varshîshta still means excellent, but in later Sanskrit it is considered as the superlative of vriddha, old, so that we see vrîshan, from meaning originally manly, vigorous, young, assuming in the end the meaning of old. (M. M., Sanskrit Grammar, § 252.)

Yet even thus, when vrîshan means simply strong or hero, its sexual sense is not always forgotten, and it breaks out, for instance, in such passages as,

i. 32, 7. vrîshanah vádhrîh prati-mânam bûbhûshan puru-trâ vrîtrâh asayat ví-astâh.
Vritra, the eunuch, trying to be like unto a man (like unto Indra), was lying, broken to many pieces.

The next passages show vrîshan as applied to Agni:

iii. 27, 15. vrîshanam tvâ vayám vrîshan vrîshanah sám idhûmahî.
O, strong one, let us the strong ones kindle thee, the strong!
v. 1, 12. ávokáma kaváye médhyáya vákah vandáru vrishabháya vríshne.

We have spoken an adoring speech for the worshipful poet, for the strong bull (Agni).

Vishnu is called vríshan, i. 154, 3:
prá víshnave súshám etu mánma giri-kshité uru-gáyáya vríshne.

May this hymn go forth to Vishnu, he who dwells in the mountain (cloud), who strides wide, the hero!

Rudra is called vríshan:

ii. 34, 2. rudráḥ yát vah marutáḥ rukma-vakshasah vríshá ágani práshyáḥ sukrö ūdhani.

When Rudra, the strong man, begat you, O Maruts with brilliant chests, in the bright bosom of Príśni.

That the Maruts, the sons of Rudra, are called vríshan, we have seen before, and shall see frequently again, (i. 165, 1; ii. 33, 13; vii. 56, 20; 21; 58, 6.) The whole company of the Maruts is called vríshá ganáḥ, the strong or manly host, i.e. the host of the Maruts, without any further qualification.

Here lies, indeed, the chief difficulty which is raised by the common use of vríshan in the Veda, that when it occurs by itself, it often remains doubtful who is meant by it, Indra, or Soma, or the Maruts, or some other deity. We shall examine a few of these passages, and first some where vríshan refers to Indra:

iv. 30, 10. ápa usháḥ ánasaḥ sarat sám-pishítát áha bibhyúshí, ní yát sím śisnáthat vríshá.

Ushas went away from her broken chariot, fearing lest the hero should do her violence.

Here vríshan is clearly meant for Indra, who, as we learn from the preceding verse, was trying to conquer Ushas, as Apollo did Daphne; and it should be observed that the word itself, by which Indra is here designated, is particularly appropriate to the circumstances.

i. 103, 6. bhúrí-karme vrishabhabháya vríshne satyá-sushmáya sunaváma sómam, yáh á-drítya paripanthi-iva súrah áyagvanah vi-bhágan éti védak.

Let us pour out the Soma for the strong bull, the performer of many exploits, whose strength is true, the hero
who, watching like a footpad, comes to us dividing the wealth of the infidel.

Here it is clear again from the context that Indra only can be meant.

But in other passages this is more doubtful:

iii. 61, 7. *vītāsyā budhne uṣhāsām iṣhaṇyān vṛishā mahī (īti) rōdasī (īti) ā vivesa.

The hero in the depth of the heaven, yearning for the dawns, has entered the great sky and the earth.

The hero who yearns for the dawns, is generally Indra; here, however, considering that Agni is mentioned in the preceding verse, it is more likely that this god, as the light of the morning, may have been meant by the poet. That Agni, too, may be called vṛishan, without any other epithet to show that he is meant rather than any other god, is clear from such passages as,

vi. 3, 7. *vṛishā rukshāḥ ēshadhīshu nūnot.

He the wild hero shouted among the plants.

In vii. 60, 9, *vṛishavau, the dual, is meant for Mitra and Varuṇa; in the next verse, *vṛishanah, the plural, must mean the same gods and their companions.

That Soma is called simply vṛishan, not only in the ninth Mandala, but elsewhere, too, we see from such passages as,

iii. 43, 7. *indra pība vṛisha-dhūtasya vṛishnāh (ā yām te syenāh usatē gabhāra), yāsya máde kyavāyasi prā krishṭūḥ yāsya máde āpa gotrā vavārtha.

Indra drink of the male (the strong Soma), bruised by the males (the heavy stones), inspirted by whom thou makest the people fall down, inspirted by whom thou hast opened the stables.

Here Śaṇkara, too, sees rightly that 'the male bruised by the males' is the Soma-plant, which, in order to yield the intoxicating juice, has to be bruised by stones, which stones are again likened to two males. But unless the words, enclosed in brackets, had stood in the text, words which clearly point to Soma, I doubt whether Śaṇkara would have so readily admitted the definite meaning of vṛishan as Soma.

i. 109, 3. *mā khedma rasmīn īti nādhmanāh pitrīnām
saktiḥ anu-yākkhamānāḥ, indrāgñi-bhyām kām vrīshanāḥ
madanti tā hi ádri (ītī) dhishānāyāḥ upā-sthe.

We pray, let us not break the cords (which, by means of
the sacrifices offered by each generation of our forefathers,
unite us with the gods); we strive after the powers of our
fathers. The Somas rejoice for Indra and Agni; here are
the two stones in the lap of the vessel.

First, as to the construction, the fact that participles are
thus used as finite verbs, and particularly when the subject
changes in the next sentence, is proved by other passages,
such as ii. 11, 4. The sense is that the new generation
does not break the sacrificial succession, but offers Soma,
like their fathers. The Soma-plants are ready, and, when
pressed by two stones, their juice flows into the Soma-
vessel. There may be a double entendre in dhishānāyāḥ
upā-sthe, which Sanskrit scholars will easily perceive.

When vrīshan is thus used by itself, we must be chiefly
guided by the adjectives or other indications before we deter-
mine on the most plausible translation. Thus we read:

i. 55, 4. sāh īt vāne namasyū-bhiḥ vakasyate kāru gāneshu
pra-bruvānāḥ indriyām, vrīshā khānduh bhavati haryatāḥ
vrīshā kshēmena dhēnām maghā-vā yāt īnvati.

In the first verse the subject is clearly Indra: 'He alone
is praised by worshippers in the forest, he who shows forth
among men his fair power.' But who is meant to be the
subject of the next verse? Even Sāyāsa is doubtful. He
translates first: 'The bounteous excites the man who
wishes to sacrifice; when the sacrificer, the rich, by the
protection of Indra, stirs up his voice.' But he allows
an optional translation for the last sentences: 'when the
powerful male, Indra, by his enduring mind reaches the
praise offered by the sacrificer.'

According to these suggestions, Wilson translated: 'He
(Indra) is the granter of their wishes (to those who solicit
him); he is the encourager of those who desire to worship
(him), when the wealthy offerer of oblations, enjoying his
protection, recites his praise.'

Benfey: 'The bull becomes friendly, the bull becomes
desirable, when the sacrificer kindly advances praise.'

Langlois: 'When the noble Maghavan receives the
homage of our hymns, his heart is flattered, and he responds to the wishes of his servant by his gifts.'

As far as I know, the adjective khándu does not occur again, and can therefore give us no hint. But haryatá, which is applied to vríshan in our verse, is the standing epithet of Soma. It means delicious, and occurs very frequently in the ninth Mandala. It is likewise applied to Agni, Pùshan, the Haris, the thunderbolt, but wherever it occurs our first thought is of Soma. Thus, without quoting from the Soma-Mandala, we read, x. 96, 1, haryatám mádam, the delicious draught, i. e. Soma.

x. 96, 9. pîtvā mádasya haryatásya ándhasah, means having drunk of the draught of the delicious Soma.

viii. 72, 18. padám haryatásya ni-dhányām, means the place where the delicious Soma resides.

iii. 44, 1. haryatáh sómah.
Delicious Soma.

ii. 21, 1. bhara índráya sómam yagatáya haryatám.
Bring delicious Soma for the holy Indra.

i. 130, 2. mádāya haryatáya te tuvíh-tamáya dháyase.
That thou mayest drink the delicious and most powerful draught, i. e. the Soma.

If, then, we know that vríshan by itself is used in the sense of Soma, haryatá vríshan can hardly be anything else, and we may therefore translate the second line of i. 55, 4, 'the strong Soma is pleasing, the strong Soma is delicious, when the sacrificer safely brings the cow.'

That Indra was thirsting for Soma had been said in the second verse, and he is again called the Soma-drinker in the seventh verse. The bringing of the cow alludes to the often mentioned mixture with milk, which the Soma undergoes before it is offered.

That the Maruts are called vríshan, without further explanations, will appear from the following passages:

i. 85, 12. rayím nah dhatta vríshanah su-víram.
Give us wealth, ye heroes, consisting of good offspring.

viii. 96, 14. íshyámi vah vríshanah yúdhyaata ágaú.
I wish for you, heroes (Maruts), fight in the race!

In all the passages which we have hitherto examined, vríshan was always applied to living beings, whether
animals, men, or gods. But as, in Greek, ἄρρην means at last simply strong, and is applied, for instance, to the crash of the sea, κτύπος ἄρρην πόντου, so in the Veda vrīshan is applied to the roaring of the storms and similar objects.

v. 87, 5. svanāḥ vrīshā.

Your powerful sound (O Maruts).

x. 47, 1. gagrιbhma te dākshinam indra hāstam vasu-yāvah vasu-pate vāsūnām, vimdā hī tvā gó-patim sūra gónām asmābhyaṃ kitrām vrīshanam rayīm dāḥ.

We have taken thy right hand, O Indra, wishing for treasures, treasurer of treasures, for we know thee, O hero, to be the lord of cattle; give us bright and strong wealth.

Should kitrā here refer to treasures, and vrīshan to cattle?

x. 89, 9. nī amītreshu vadham indra tūmrāṃ, vrīshan vrīshānam arushām sisīhi.

Whet, O hero, the heavy strong red weapon, against the enemies.

The long ā in vrīshānam is certainly startling, but it occurs once more, ix. 34, 3, where there can be no doubt that it is the accusative of vrīshan. Professor Roth takes vrīshan here in the sense of bull (s. v. tumra), but he does not translate the whole passage.

iii. 29, 9. kriṅotā dhūmām vrīshanam sakhāyāḥ.

Make a mighty smoke, O friends!

Strength itself is called vrīshan, if I am right in translating the phrase vrīshanam sūshmam by manly strength. It occurs,

iv. 24, 7. tánmin dadhat vrīshanam sūshmam indraḥ.

May Indra give to him manly strength.

vi. 19, 8. ā nah bhara vrīshanam sūshmam indra.

Bring to us, O Indra, manly strength.

vii. 24, 4. asmé (īti) dādhat vrīshanam sūshmam indra.

Giving to us, O Indra, manly strength.

See also vi. 19, 9, sūshmaḥ vrīshabhāḥ, used in the same sense.

This constant play on the word vrīshan, which we have observed in the passages hitherto examined, and which give by no means a full idea of the real frequency of its
occurrence in the Veda, has evidently had its influence on the Vedic Rishis, who occasionally seem to delight in the most silly and unmeaning repetitions of this word, and its compounds and derivatives. Here no language can supply any adequate translation; for though we may translate words which express thoughts, it is useless to attempt to render mere idle play with words. I shall give a few instances:

i. 177, 3. ā tisṭha rátham vrīṣhāṁ vrīṣḥā te sutáḥ sómah pārī-siktā mádhūṇi, yuktā vrīṣha-bhyāṁ vrīṣhabha kṣiitínām hári-bhyāṁ yāhi pra-vátā úpa madrīk.

Mount the strong car, the strong Soma is poured out for thee, sweets are sprinkled round; come down towards us, thou bull of men, with the strong bays, having yoked them.

But this is nothing yet compared to other passages, when the poet cannot get enough of vrīṣhan and vrīṣhabhā.

ii. 16, 6. vrīṣḥā te vāgraḥ utá te vrīṣḥā ráthah vrīṣhanā hári (īti) vrīṣhabhāṇi áyudhā, vrīṣnāḥ mádaśya vrīṣhabha tvām īsishe índra sómasya vrīṣhabhāsyā triṇpuhi.

Thy thunderbolt is strong, and thy car is strong, strong are the bays, the weapons are powerful, thou, bull, art lord of the strong draught, Indra rejoice in the powerful Soma!

v. 36, 5. vrīṣḥā tvā vrīṣhanam vardhatu dyaúḥ vrīṣha vrīsha-bhyāṁ vahase hári-bhyām, sáh nah vrīṣḥā vrīsha-rathah su-sipra vrīsha-krato (īti) vrīṣhā vāgrin bhāre dhāḥ.

May the strong sky increase thee, the strong; a strong one thou art, carried by two strong bays; do thou who art strong, with a strong car, O thou of strong might, strong holder of the thunderbolt, keep us in battle!

v. 40, 2–3. vrīṣḥā grāvā vrīṣḥā mádaḥ vrīṣḥā sómah ayām sutāḥ, vrīṣhan indra vrīsha-bhīḥ vrītrahe-tama, vrīṣḥā tvā vrīṣhanam huve.

The stone is strong, the draught is strong, this Soma that has been poured out is strong, O thou strong Indra, who killest Vritra with the strong ones (the Maruts), I, the strong, call thee, the strong.

viii. 13, 31–33. vrīṣḥā ayām indra te ráthah utó (īti) te vrīṣhanā hári (īti), vrīṣḥā tvām sata-krato (īti) vrīṣḥā hávah. vrīṣḥā grāvā vrīṣḥā mádaḥ vrīṣḥā sómah ayām sutāḥ, vrīṣḥā yagñāḥ yāṁ invasi vrīṣḥā hávah. vrīṣḥā tvā vrīṣhanam
huve vágrin kitrabhih útí-bhih, vavánta hi práti-stutim vríshá hávah.

This thy car is strong, O Indra, and thy bays are strong; thou art strong, O omnipotent, our call is strong. The stone is strong, the draught is strong, the Soma is strong, which is here poured out; the sacrifice which thou orderest, is strong, our call is strong. I, the strong, call thee, the strong, thou holder of the thunderbolt, with manifold blessings; for thou hast desired our praise; our call is strong.

There are other passages of the same kind, but they are too tedious to be here repeated. The commentator, throughout, gives to each vríshan its full meaning either of showering down or bounteous, or male or bull; but a word which can thus be used at random has clearly lost its definite power, and cannot call forth any definite ideas in the mind of the listener. It cannot be denied that here and there the original meaning of vríshan would be appropriate even where the poet is only pouring out a stream of majestic sound, but we are not called upon to impart sense to what are verba et praeterquam nihil. When we read, i. 122, 3, vátah apám vríshan-ván, we are justified, no doubt, in translating, 'the wind who pours forth water;' and x. 93, 5, apám vríshan-vasú (iti) súryámāsá, means 'Sun and Moon, givers of water.' But even in passages where vríshan is followed by the verb vrish, it is curious to observe that vrish is not necessarily used in the sense of raining or pouring forth, but rather in the sense of drinking.

vi. 68, 11. Índrávaruná mádhumat-tamasya vríshnáh só-masya vríshaná * á vrishethám.

* The dual vríshanau occurs only when the next word begins with a vowel. Before an initial a, á, i, the au is always changed into áv in the Sanhítá (i. 108, 7–12; 116, 21; 117, 19; 153, 2; 157, 5; 158, 1; 180, 7; vii. 61, 5). Before u the preceding au becomes á in the Sanhítá, but the Pada gives au, in order to show that no Sandhi can take place between the two vowels (vii. 60, 9; x. 66, 7). Before consonants the dual always ends in á, both in the Sanhítá and Pada. But there are a few passages where the final á occurs before initial vowels, and where the two vowels are allowed to form one syllable. In four passages this happens before an initial á (i. 108, 3; vi. 68, 11; i. 177, 1; ii. 16, 5). Once, and once only, it happens before u, in viii. 22, 12.
Indra and Varuṇa, you strong ones, may you drink of the sweetest strong Soma.

That á-vrish means to drink or to eat, was known to Sāyana and to the author of the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa, who paraphrases á vrishāyadhvam by aśnīta, eat.

The same phrase occurs i. 108, 3.
   i. 104, 9. uru-vyākāḥ gathāre ā vrishasva.
Thou of vast extent, drink (the Soma) in thy stomach.

The same phrase occurs x. 96, 13.
   viii. 61, 3. ā vrishasva—sūtasya indra āndhasah.

Drink, Indra, of the Soma that is poured out.

In conclusion, a few passages may be pointed out in which vrishan seems to be the proper name of a pious worshipper:
   i. 36, 10. yām tvā devāsah mánave dadhūḥ ihā yāgishthah
   havya-vāhana, yām kānvah médhyā-atithiḥ dhana-sprītam
   yām vrīshā yām upa-stutāh.

Thee, O Agni, whom the gods placed here for man, the most worthy of worship, O carrier of oblations, thee whom Kanva, thee whom Medhyātithi placed, as the giver of wealth, thee whom Vrishan placed and Upastuta.

Here the commentator takes Vrishan as Indra, but this would break the symmetry of the sentence. That Upastutāḥ is here to be taken as a proper name, as Upastuta, the son of Vrishāhavya, is clear from verse 17:
   agnīḥ prá āvat mitrā utā médhyā-atithim agnīḥ sātā upa-
   stutām.

Agni protected also the two friends, Medhyātithi and Upastuta, in battle.

The fact is that whenever upastutā has the accent on the last syllable, it is intended as a proper name, while, if used as a participle, in the sense of praised, it has the accent on the first.

   viii. 5, 25. yāthā kit kānvam āvatam priyā-medham upa-
   stutām.

As you have protected Kanva, Priyamedha, Upastuta.

Cf. i. 112, 15.
   viii. 103, 8. prá máṁhishthāya gāyata—úpastutāsah ag-
   nāye.

Sing, O Upastutas, to the worthiest, to Agni!
x. 115, 9. iti tvá agne vrishi-hávyasya putrāh upastutásah ríshayah avokan.

By these names, O Agni, did the sons of Vrishíhavya, the Upastutas, the Rishis, speak to you.

Vrishan occurs once more as a proper name in vi. 16, 14 and 15:

tám úm (iti) tvá dadhyáín ríshih putráh ídhe átharvanah, vritra-hánam puram-darám.

tám úm (iti) tvá páthyáh vríshá sám ídhe dasyuhán-tamam, dhanam-gayám ránc-ranc.

Thee, O Agni, did Dadhyak kindle, the Rishi, the son of Atharvan, thee the killer of Vritra, the destroyer of towns.

Thee, O Agni, did Vrishan Páthyak kindle, thee the best killer of enemies, the conqueror of wealth in every battle.

Here the context can leave no doubt that Dadhyak as well as Vrishan were both intended as proper names. Yet as early as the composition of the Satapatha-bráhmaṇa, this was entirely misunderstood. Dadhyak, the son of Atharvan, is explained as speech, Vrishan Páthyak as mind (Sat. Br. vi. 3, 3, 4). On this Mahídhará, in his remarks on Vág. Sanh. xi. 34, improves still further. For though he allows his personality to Dadhyak, the son of Atharvan, he says that Páthyak comes from pathin, path, and means he who moves on the right path; or it comes from páthas, which means sky, and is here used in the sense of the sky of the heart. He then takes vrishan as mind, and translates the mind of the heart. Such is the history of the rise and fall of the Indian mind!
Mandala I, Sūkta 86.
Ashtaka I, Adhyāya 6, Varga 11–12.

1. Máruṭah yásya hi ksháye páthá diváḥ vi-maha-sah, sáḥ su-gopátamah gánah.

2. Yagñáih vá yagñá-váhasah víprasya vá matínām, máruṭah sринutá hávam.


4. Asyá vírásyā barhíshi sutáḥ sómah dúvishtishu, ukthám mádah ka sasyate.

5. Asyá sroshantu ā bhúvah* vísváḥ yáḥ karshaníḥ abhí, sūram kit sasrúshíḥ íshah.


7. Su-bhágah sáḥ pra-yagyavah máruṭah astu máryah, yásya práyâmsi párshatha.

8. Sasamánásya vá narah svédasya satya-savasah, vidá kāmasya vénataḥ.


10. Gûhata gúhyam támah ví yâta vísvam atrínam, gyótiḥ karta yát usmási.

* ā-bhúvah
Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. O Maruts, that man in whose dwelling you drink (the Soma), ye mighty (sons) of heaven, he indeed has the best guardians.¹

2. You who are propitiated¹ either by sacrifices or from the prayers of the sage, hear the call, O Maruts!

3. Aye, the strong man to whom you have granted a sage, he will live in a stable rich in cattle.¹

4. On the altar of that strong man Soma is poured out in daily sacrifices; praise and joy are sung.

5. To him let the strong¹ Maruts listen, to him who surpasses all men, as the flowing rain-clouds² pass over the sun.

6. For we, O Maruts, have sacrificed in many a harvest, through the mercies¹ of the swift gods (the storm-gods).

7. May that mortal be blessed, O worshipful Maruts, whose offerings you carry off.¹

8. You take notice either of the sweat of him who praises you, ye men of true strength, or of the desire of the suppliant.¹

9. O ye of true strength, make this manifest by your greatness! strike the fiend¹ with your thunderbolt!

10. Hide the hideous darkness, destroy¹ every tusky² spirit. Create the light which we long for!
COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama. The metre is Gāyatrī throughout.

Verse 1, note 1. Vīmahas occurs only once more as an epithet of the Maruts, v. 87, 4. Being an adjective derived from máhas, strength, it means very strong. The strong ones of heaven is an expression analogous to i. 64, 2. diváḥ rishvāsah ukshánah; i. 64, 4. diváḥ nárah.

Verse 2, note 1. The construction of this verse is not clear. Yāgni-vāhas has two meanings in the Veda. It is applied to the priest who carries or performs the sacrifice:

iii. 8, 3, and 24, 1. várkāh dhāh yāgni-vāhase.

Grant splendour to the sacrificer!
But it is also used of the gods who accept the sacrifice, and in that case it means hardly more than worshipped or propitiated; i. 15, 11 (Asvinau); iv. 47, 4 (Indra and Vāyu); viii. 12, 20 (Indra). In our verse it is used in the latter sense, and it is properly construed with the instrumental yāgniāh. The difficulty is the gen. plur. matí-nām, instead of matíbhiḥ. The sense, however, seems to allow of but one construction, and we may suppose that the genitive depends on the yāgni in yāgni-vāhas, 'accepting the worship of the prayers of the priest.'

Benfey refers yāgniāh to the preceding verse, and joins hávam to víprasya matí-nām: 'Durch Opfer—Opferfördrer ihr!—oder ihr hört—Maruts—den Ruf der Lieder die der Priester schuf.'

The Sanhitā text lengthens the last syllable of śrīnātā, as suggested by the metre.

Verse 3, note 1. The genitive yásya vígniḥ depends on vípra. Anu-taksh, like anu-grah, anu-gñā, seems to convey the meaning of doing in behalf or for the benefit of a person. Gántā might also be translated in a hostile sense, he will go into, he will conquer many a stable full of cows.

Verse 5, note 1. I have altered ā bhuvaḥ into ābhúvaḥ,
for I do not think that bhúvah, the second pers. sing.,

even if it were bhúvat, the third pers., could be joined with

the relative pronoun yáh in the second pada. The phrase vísváh yáh karshanáh abhí occurs more than once, and is never preceded by the verb bhuvah or bhuvat. Ábhúvah, on the contrary, is applied to the Maruts, i. 64, 6, vidá-theshu ábhúvah; and as there can be no doubt who are the deities invoked, abhúvah, the strong ones, is as appropriate an epithet as vímahas in the first verse.

Verse 5, note 2. Sasrúshíh íshah, as connected with súra, the sun, can only be meant for the flowing waters, the rain-clouds, the givers of ish or vigour. They are called divyáh íshah:

viii. 5, 21. utá nah divyáh íshah utá síndhun varshathathah.

You rain down on us the heavenly waters and the rivers. Wilson translates: 'May the Maruts, victorious over all men, hear (the praises) of this (their worshipper); and may (abundant) food be obtained by him who praises them.'

Benfey: 'Ihn, der ob alle Menschen ragt, sollen hören die Labungen, und nahn, die irgend Weisen nahn.'

Langlois: 'Que les Marouts écoulent favorablement la prière; qu’ils acceptent aussi les offrandes de ce (mortel) que sa position élève au-dessus de tous les autres, et même jusqu’au soleil.'

Sróshantu does not occur again; but we find sróshan, i. 68, 5; sróshamána, iii. 8, 10; vii. 51, 1; vii. 7, 6.

Verse 6, note 1. The expression ávobhih, with the help, the blessings, the mercies, is generally used with reference to divine assistance; (i. 117, 19; 167, 2; 185, 10; 11; iv. 22, 7; 41, 6; v. 74, 6; vi. 47, 12; vii. 20, 1; 35, 1, &c.) It seems best therefore to take karshaná as a name or epithet of the Maruts, although, after the invocation of the Maruts by name, this repetition is somewhat unusual. One might translate, 'with the help of our men, of our active and busy companions,' for karshaná is used in that sense also. Only ávobhih would not be in its right place then.

Verse 7, note 1. Par, with ati, means to carry over,
Verse 8, note 1. Vidá as second pers. plur. perf. is frequent, generally with the final ‘a’ long in the Sanhitâ, i. 156, 3; v. 41, 13; 55, 2.

Verse 9, note 1. Observe the long penultimate in rákshaḥ, instead of the usual short syllable. Cf. i. 12, 5, and see Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 456.

Verse 10, note 1. See note to i. 39, 3, note 1.

Verse 10, note 2. Atrín, which stands for attrín, is one of the many names assigned to the powers of darkness and mischief. It is derived from atrá, which means tooth or jaw, and therefore meant originally an ogre with large teeth or jaws, a devourer. Besides atrá, we also find in the Veda átra, with the accent on the first syllable, and meaning what serves for eating, or food:

x. 79, 2. átrāni asmai pat-bhîh sám bharanti.
They bring together food for him (Agni) with their feet.

With the accent on the last syllable, atrá in one passage means an eater or an ogre, like atrín:

v. 32, 8. apādām atrām—mridhrá-vâkam.
Indra killed the footless ogre, the babbler.

It means tooth or jaw:

i. 129, 8. svayám sā rishayádhyai yā naḥ upa-îshé atrāh.
May she herself go to destruction who attacks us with her teeth.

It is probably from atrá in the sense of tooth (cf. ὀδὸντες = ēdōντες) that atrín is derived, meaning ogre or a devouring devil. In the later Sanskrit, too, the Asuras are represented as having large tusks, Mahâbh. v. 3572, damshrīrino bhî-
mavegâs ka.

Thus we read i. 21, 5, that Indra and Agni destroy the Rakshas, and the poet continues:
ápragāh santu atrínah.
May the ogres be without offspring!
ix. 86, 48. gahī vīsvān rakshāsah indo (íti) atrínah.
Kill, O Soma, all the tusky Rakshas. Cf. ix. 104, 6; 105, 6.
vi. 51, 14. gahī nī atrínam panim.
Kill, O Soma, the tusky Pani.
i. 94, 9. vadhaih duh-sāmsān āpa duh-dhyāh gahi
dūré vā yē ānti vā ké kit atrínah.
Strike with thy blows, O Agni, the evil-spoken, evil-
minded (spirits), the ogres, those who are far or who are near.
See also i. 36, 14; 20; vi. 16, 28; vii. 104, 1; 5; viii. 12, 1; 19, 15; x. 36, 4; 118, 1.
Mandala I, Sūkta 87.
Ashtaka I, Adhyāya 6, Varga 13.


2. Upa-hvaréshu yát ákidhvm yayím váyah-iva marutah kena kit pathā, skótanti kósāh úpa vah rátheshu ā ghritám ukshata mádhu-varnam árkate.

3. Prá eshām ágmeshu vithurā-iva regate bhūmih yāmeshu yát ha yuṅgáte subhé, té krīláyah dhúna-yah bhrāgat-riśhtayah svayám mahi-tvám panayanta dhūtayah.

4. Sáh hi sva-srīt prīshat-asvah yúvā ganāḥ ayā āsānāḥ távishibhih ā-vritah, ási satyāh rina-yāvā ánedyah asyāḥ dhiyāḥ pra-avītā átha vrīshā ganāḥ.

5. Pitūḥ pratnāsy a gánmanā vadāmasi sómasya giḥvā prá gigāti lákhasā, yát īm īndram sómi r ikvānah āsata āt āt nāmānī yagūīyāni dadhire.

Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. The active, the strong, the singers, the never flinching, the immovable, the wild, the most beloved and most manly, they have shown themselves with their glittering ornaments, a few only,¹ like the heavens with the stars.

2. When you see your way through the clefts, you are like birds, O Maruts, on whatever road it be.¹ The clouds drop (rain) on your chariots everywhere; pour out the honey-like fat (the rain) for him who praises you.

3. At their ravings the earth shakes, as if broken,¹ when on the (heavenly) paths they harness (their deer) for victory.² They the sportive, the roaring, with bright spears, the shakers (of the clouds) have themselves praised their greatness.

4. That youthful company (of the Maruts), with their spotted horses,¹ moves by itself; hence² it exercises lordship, and is invested with powers. Thou art true, thou searchest out sin,³ thou art without blemish. Therefore thou, the strong host, thou wilt cherish this prayer.

5. We speak after the kind of our old father, our tongue goes forth at the sight¹ of the Soma: when the shouting Maruts had joined Indra in the work,² then only they received sacrificial honours;—

6. For their glory¹ these well-equipped Maruts obtained splendours, they obtained² rays, and men to praise them; nay, these well-armed, nimble, and fearless beings found the beloved home of the Maruts.³
COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama. The metre is Gagatī throughout.

Verse 1, note 1. Kē kit refers to the Maruts, who are represented as gradually rising or just showing themselves, as yet only few in number, like the first stars in the sky. Kē kit, some, is opposed to sarve, all. The same expression occurs again, v. 52, 12, where the Maruts are compared to a few thieves. B. and R. translate usrāḥ iva strī-bhīḥ by 'like cows marked with stars on their foreheads.' Such cows no doubt exist, but they can hardly be said to become visible by these frontal stars, as the Maruts by their ornaments. We must take usrāḥ here in the same sense as dyāvah; ii. 34, 2, it is said that the Maruts were perceived dyāvah nā strī-bhīḥ, like the heavens with the stars.

i. 166, 11. dūre-drīśaḥ yē divyāḥ-iva strī-bhīḥ.

Who are visible far away, like the heavens (or heavenly beings) by the stars.

And the same is said of Agni, ii. 2, 5. dyāvah nā strī-bhīḥ kitayat rōdasī (īti) ānu. Strībhiḥ occurs i. 68, 5; iv. 7, 3; vi. 49, 3; 12. It always means stars, and the meaning of rays (strahl) rests, as yet, on etymological authority only. The evening sky would, no doubt, be more appropriate than usrāḥ, which applies chiefly to the dawn. But in the Indian mind, the two dawns, i.e. the dawn and the gloaming, are so closely united and identified, that their names, too, are frequently interchangeable.

Verse 2, note 1. I translate yayī not by a goer, a traveller, i.e. the cloud, (this is the explanation proposed by Sāyana, and adopted by Professor Benfey,) but by path. Etymologically yayī may mean either. But in parallel passages yayī is clearly replaced by yāma. Thus:

viii. 7, 2. yāt—yāmam subhrāḥ ākidhvat.
When you, bright Maruts, have seen your way.

See also viii. 7, 4. yāt yāmam yānti vāyu-bhīḥ.
When they (the Maruts) go on their path with the winds.
When you, bright Maruts, had seen your way, as it were, along the mountains.

The same phrase occurs, even without yāma or yayī, in
v. 55, 7. nā pārватāḥ nā nadyāḥ varanta vah yātra ákīdhwam marutah gākkhata it u tāt:
Not mountains, not rivers, keep you back; where you have seen (your way), there you go.

Though yayī does not occur frequently in the Rig-veda, the meaning of path seems throughout more applicable than that of traveller.

v. 87, 5. tvēshāḥ yayīḥ.
Your path, O Maruts, is brilliant.

v. 73, 7. ugrāḥ vāṃ kakuhāḥ yayīḥ.
Fearful is your pass on high.
i. 51, 11. ugrāḥ yayīṁ nīḥ apāḥ srotasā asrigat.
The fearful Indra sent the waters forth on their way streaming.
x. 92, 5. prā—yayīnā yanti síndhavāḥ.
The waters go forth on their path.

Verse 3, note 1. Cf. i. 37, 8, page 51. There is no authority for Sāyana's explanation of vithurā-iva, the earth trembles like a widow. Vithurā occurs several times in the Rig-veda, but never in the sense of widow. Thus:
i. 168, 6. yāt kyavāyatvā vithurā-iva sām-hitam.
When you, Maruts, shake what is compact, like brittle things.
i. 186, 2; vi. 25, 3; 46, 6; viii. 96, 2; x. 77, 4 (vithuryāti). The Maruts themselves are called ávithura in verse i. As to áyma and yāma, see i. 37, 8, page 62.

Verse 3, note 2. Sūbh is one of those words to which it is very difficult always to assign a definite special meaning. Being derived from sūbh, to shine, the commentator has no difficulty in explaining it by splendour, beauty; sometimes by water. But although sūbh means originally splendour, and is used in that sense in many passages, yet there are others where so vague a meaning seems very inappropriate. In our verse Sāyana proposes two trans-
lations, either, 'When the Maruts harness the clouds,' or, 'When the Maruts harness their chariots, for the bright rain-water.' Now the idea that the Maruts harness their chariots in order to make the clouds yield their rain, can hardly be expressed by the simple word subhé, i.e. for brightness' sake. As the Maruts are frequently praised for their glittering ornaments, their splendour might be intended in this passage as it certainly is in others. Thus:

i. 85, 3. yát subháyante añgí-bhih tanúshu subhráh dadhire virúkmatah.

When the Maruts adorn themselves with glittering ornaments, the brilliant ones put bright weapons on their bodies.

vii. 56, 6. subhá sóbhishtháh, sriyá sám-misláh, ógah-bhih ugráh.

The most brilliant by their brilliancy, united with splendour, terrible by strength.

In i. 64, 4, I have translated vákshah-su rukmán ádhi yetire subhé by 'they fix gold (chains) on their chests for beauty.' And the same meaning is applicable to i. 117, 5, subhé rukmám ná darsatám ní-khátam, and other passages: iv. 51, 6; vi. 63, 6.

But in our verse and others which we shall examine, beauty and brilliancy would be very weak renderings for subhé. 'When they harnessed their chariots or their deer for the sake of beauty,' means nothing, or, at least, very little. I take, therefore, subhé in this and similar phrases in the sense of triumph or glory or victory. 'When they harness their chariots for to conquer,' implies brilliancy, glory, victory, but it conveys at the same time a tangible meaning. Let us now see whether the same meaning is appropriate in other passages:

i. 23, 11. gáyatám-iva tanyatúh marútám eti dhrishnu-yá yát súbham yáthána narah.

The thundering voice of the Maruts comes fiercely, like that of conquerors, when you go to conquer, O men!

Sáyana: 'When you go to the brilliant place of sacrifice.' Wilson: 'When you accept the auspicious (offering).'
Benfey: 'Wenn ihr euren Schmuck nehmt.'

v. 57, 2. yáthana súbham, you go to conquer. Cf. v. 55, 1. Sáyana: 'For the sake of water, or, in a chariot.'
v. 52, 8. sárdhah mārutam út samsa—utá sma té subhé náraḥ prá syandrāḥ yugata tmánā.

Praise the host of the Maruts, and they, the men, the quickly moving, will harness by themselves (the chariots) for conquest.

Sáyana: ‘For the sake of water.’ Cf. x. 105, 3.

v. 57, 3. subhé yát ugrāḥ prishatih áyugdhvam.
When you have harnessed the deer for conquest.
Sáyana: ‘For the sake of water.’

v. 63, 5. rātham yuṅgata marūtah subhé su-kháṃ sūraḥ ná—gó-ishūshu.

The Maruts harness the chariot meet for conquest, like a hero in battles.

Sáyana: ‘For the sake of water.’

i. 88, 2. subhé kám yânti—ásvaiḥ.

The Maruts go on their horses towards conquest.

Sáyana: ‘In order to brighten the worshipper, or, for the sake of water.’

i. 119, 3. sám yát mithāḥ paspridhānāsah ágmata subhé makhāḥ ámitāḥ gāyāvah ráne.

When striving with each other they came together, for the sake of glory, the brisk (Maruts), immeasurable (in strength), panting for victory in the fight.

Sáyana: ‘For the sake of brilliant wealth.’

vii. 82, 5. marūt-bhiḥ ugrāḥ sūbham anyāḥ ñyate.
The other, the fearful (Indra), goes with the Maruts to glory.

Sáyana: ‘He takes brilliant decoration.’

iii. 26, 4. subhé—prishatih ayukshata.
They had harnessed the deer for victory.

Sáyana: ‘They had harnessed in the water the deer together (with the fires).’

i. 167, 6. ā asthāpayanta yuvatim yuvānāḥ subhé nīmislām.

The Maruts, the youths, placed the maid (lightning on their chariot), their companion for victory, (subhé nīmislām).

Sáyana: ‘For the sake of water, or, on the brilliant chariot.’ Cf. i. 127, 6; 165, 1.

vi. 62, 4. sūbham pūrkham ñhām ūryam vāhantā.
The Asvins bringing glory, wealth, drink, and food.
viii. 26, 13. subhé kakrâte, you bring him to glory.
Subham-yâvan is an epithet of the Maruts, i. 89, 7;
v. 61, 13. Cf. subhra-yâvâna, viii. 26, 19 (Asvinau).
Subham-yâ, of the wind, iv. 3, 6.
Subham-yû, of the rays of the dawn, x. 78, 7.

Verse 4, note 1. Sâyâna: 'With spotted deer for their horses.' See i. 37, 2, note 1, page 59.

Verse 4, note 2. Ayâ is a word of very rare occurrence in the Rig-veda. It is the instrum. sing. of the feminine pronominal base â or î, and as a pronoun followed by a noun it is frequently to be met with; v. 45, ii. ayâ dhiyâ, &c. But in our verse it is irregular in form as not entering into Sandhi with îsânâh. This irregularity, however, which might have led us to suppose an original ayâh, indefatigable, corresponding with the following âsi, is vouched for by the Pada text, in such matters a better authority than the Sanshitâ text, and certainly in this case fully borne out by the Prâtisâkhya, i. 163, 10. We must therefore take ayâ as an adverb, in the sense of thus or hence. In some passages where ayâ seems thus to be used as an adverb, it would be better to supply a noun from the preceding verse. Thus in ii. 6, 2, ayâ refers to samîdhâm in ii. 6, 1. In vi. 17, 15, a similar noun, samîdhâ or girâ, should be supplied. But there are other passages where, unless we suppose that the verse was meant to illustrate a ceremonial act, such as the placing of a samîdh, and that ayâ pointed to it, we must take it as a simple adverb, like the Greek του: Rv. iii. 12, 2; ix. 53, 2; 106, 14. In x. 116, 9, the Pada reads ayâh-iva, not ayâ, as given by Roth; in vi. 66, 4, âyâ nú, the accent is likewise on the first.

Verse 4, note 3. Rîna-yâvan is well explained by B. and R. as going after debt, searching out sin. Sâyâna, though he explains rîna-yâvan by removing sin, derives it nevertheless correctly from rîna and yâ, and not from yu. The same formation is found in subham-yâvan, &c.; and as there is rîna-yâ besides rîna-yâvan, so we find subham-yâ besides subham-yâvan.
Verse 5, note 1. The Soma-juice inspires the poet with eloquence.

Verse 5, note 2. Sāmi occurs again in ii. 31, 6; iii. 55, 3; viii. 45, 27; x. 40, 1. In our passage it must be taken as a locative of sām, meaning work, but with special reference to the toil of the battle-field. It is used in the same sense in

viii. 45, 27. ví ânat turvâne sāmi.

He (Indra) was able to overcome in battle, lit. he reached to, or he arrived at the overcoming or the victory in battle.

But, like other words which have the general meaning of working or toiling, sām is likewise used in the sense of sacrifice. This meaning seems more applicable in x. 40, 1. vástoh-vástoh váhamânam dhiyā sāmi.

Your chariot, O Aśvins, which through prayer comes every morning to the sacrifice.

ii. 31, 6. apām nápāt āsu-hémā dhiyā sāmi.

Apām nápāt (Agni) who through prayer comes quickly to the sacrifice.

In these two passages one feels inclined, with a slight alteration of the accent, to read dhiyā-sāmi as one word. Dhiyā-sām would mean the sacrificer who is engaged in prayer; cf. dhiyā-gūr, v. 43, 15. Thus we read:

vi. 2, 4. yāḥ te su-dānave dhiyā mártah sasāmate.

The mortal who toils for thee, the liberal god, with prayer.

There is no necessity, however, for such a change, and the authority of the MSS. is certainly against it.

In iii. 55, 3, sāmi is an acc. plur. neut.:

sāmi ákkha didye pûrvyāni.

I glance back at the former sacrifices. See B. R. s. v. dī.

From the same root we have the feminine sāmâ, meaning work, sacrificial work, but, as far as we can see, not simply sacrifice. Thus the Ribhus and others are said to have acquired immortality by their work or works, sāmâ or sāmibhih, i. 20, 2; 110, 4; iii. 60, 3; iv. 33, 4. Cf. iv. 22, 8; 17, 18; v. 42, 10; 77, 4; vi. 52, 1; viii. 75, 14; ix. 74, 7; x. 28, 12. In vi. 3, 2, we read:

ígé yagñébhih sasamé sāmibhih.
I have sacrificed with sacrifices, I have worked with pious works.

Here the verb sam must be taken in the sense of working, or performing ceremonial worship, while in other places (iii. 29, 16; v. 2, 7) it takes the more special sense of singing songs of praise. The Greek κάμ-νω, to work, to labour, to tire (Sanskrit sâmyati), the Greek κομιδή and κομικω, to labour for or take care of a person, and possibly even the Greek κῶμος, a song or a festival (not a village song), may all find their explanation in the Sanskrit root sam.

The idea that the Maruts did not originally enjoy divine honours will occur again and again: cf. i. 6, 4; 72, 3. A similar expression is used of the Ṛibhús, i. 20, 8, &c. Yagyáya, properly 'worthy of sacrifice,' has the meaning of divine or sacred. The Greek μυος has been compared with yâgya, sacrificio colendus, not a Vedic word.

Verse 6, note 1. Śriyáse kám seems to be the same as the more frequent śriyé kám. Śriyáse only occurs twice more, v. 59, 3. The chief irregularity consists in the absence of Guna, which is provided for by Pâṇini's kasen (iii. 4, 9). Similar infinitives, if they may so be called, are bhiyáse, v. 29, 4; vridháse, v. 64, 5; dhruváse, vii. 70, 1; tugáse, iv. 23, 7; ríngáse, viii. 4, 17; vríngáse, viii. 76, 1; rikáse, vii. 61, 6. In vi. 39, 5, rikáse may be a dat. sing. of the masculine, to the praiser.

Verse 6, note 2. Mimikshire from myaksh, to be united with. Rasmí, rays, after bhánú, splendour, may seem weak, but it is impossible to assign to rasmí any other meaning, such as reins, or strings of a musical instrument. In v. 79, 8, rasmí is used in juxta-position with arki.

Verse 6, note 3. The bearing of this concluding verse is not quite clear, unless we take it as a continuation of the preceding verse. It was there said that the Maruts (the rikvânah) obtained their sacrificial honours, after having joined Indra in his work. Having thus obtained a place
in the sacrifice, they may be said to have won at the same
time splendour and worshippers to sing their praises, and
to have established themselves in what became afterwards
known as their own abode, their own place among the gods
who are invoked at the sacrifice.

The metre requires that we should read dhāmanah.

Benfey translates: 'Gedeih’n zu spenden woll’n die schöngeschmücketen mit Lichtern, Strahlen mit Lobsängern reien; die brüllenden, furchtlosen stürmischen, sie sind bekannt als Glieder des geliebten Marutstamms.'

Wilson: 'Combining with the solar rays, they have willingly poured down (rain) for the welfare (of mankind), and, hymned by the priests, have been pleased partakers of the (sacrificial food). Addressed with praises, moving swiftly, and exempt from fear, they have become possessed of a station agreeable and suitable to the Maruts.'
Mandala I, Sūkta 88.
Ashtaka I, Adhyāya 6, Varga 14.

1. Ā vidyūnmat-bhiḥ marutah su-arkaḥ rathēbhīḥ yāta rishtimāt-bhiḥ * āsva-parṇaḥ, ā vārshishṭhayā nah ishā vāyah nā paptata su-māyāḥ.

2. Tē arunēbhīḥ vāram ā pisāṅgaiḥ subhē kāṁ yānti rathatāḥ-bhiḥ āsvaiḥ, rukmāḥ nā kitrāḥ † svādhitī-vān pavyā ráthasya gaṅghananta bhūma.

3. Śriyē kāṁ vah ādhi tanūshu vāsiḥ medhā ‡ vānā nā krinavante ūrdhvā, yushmābhyyam kāṁ marutah su-gātāḥ tuvi-dyumānasah dhanayante ādriṃ.

4. Āhāni grīdhrāḥ pāri ā vah ā aguh imāṁ dhīyam vārkāryāṃ ka devīṁ, brāhma krinvanṭaḥ gōtamāsaḥ arkaḥ ūrdhvām nunudre utsa-dhīṁ pībadhyai.

5. Etāt tyāt nā yōganam aketi sasvāḥ ha yāt marutah gōtamaḥ vah, pāsyān hiranya-kakrān āyah-damsprān vi-dhāvataḥ varāhūn.

6. Eshā syā vah marutah anu-bhātrī práti sto-bhāti vāghātah nā vānā, āstobhayat vrīthā āsām ānu svadhām gābhastyoḥ.

* rishī-mantak? † kitrāḥ eshām? ‡ medhāḥ
Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. Come hither, Maruts, on your chariots charged with lightning, resounding with beautiful songs, stored with spears, and winged with horses! Fly to us like birds, with your best food, you mighty ones!

2. They come gloriously on their red, or, it may be, on their tawny horses which hasten their chariots. He who holds the axe is brilliant like gold; with the felly of the chariot they have struck the earth.

3. On your bodies there are daggers for beauty; may they stir up our minds as they stir up the forests. For your sake, O well-born Maruts, you who are full of vigour, they (the priests) have shaken the stone (for distilling Soma).

4. Days went round you and came back, O hawks, back to this prayer, and to this sacred rite; the Gotamas making prayer with songs, have pushed up the lid of the well (the cloud) for to drink.

5. No such hymn was ever known as this which Gotama sounded for you, O Maruts, when he saw you on golden wheels, wild boars rushing about with iron tusks.

6. This refreshing draught of Soma rushes towards you, like the voice of a suppliant: it rushes freely from our hands as these libations are wont to do.
HYMNS TO THE MARUTS.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama, the son of Rahûgana. The metre varies. Verses 1 and 6 are put down as Prastâra-paîkti, i.e. as $12 + 12 + 8 + 8$. By merely counting the syllables, and dissolving semivowels, it is just possible to get twenty-four syllables in the first line of verses 1 and 6. The old metricians must have scanned verse 1:

$$
ā \text{vidyunmat-bhīḥ marutaḥ su-arkaiḥ}
\text{rathebhiḥ yāta-riṣhṭimat-bhīḥ asva-parṇaiḥ}.
$$

Again verse 6: esha syā vah marutaḥ anu-bhartrī
pratī stobhatī vāghatāḥ na vānī.

But the general character of these lines shows that they were intended for hendecasyllabics, each ending in a bacchius, though even then they are not free from irregularities. The first verse would scan:

$$
ā \text{vidyunmat-bhīḥ marutaḥ su-arkaiḥ}
\text{rathebhiḥ yāta-riṣhṭimat-(bhīḥ) asva-parṇaiḥ}.
$$

And verse 6: esha syā vah marutaḥ-anu-bhartrī
pratī stobhatī vāghatāḥ na vānī.

Our only difficulty would be the termination bhīḥ of riṣhṭimat-bhīḥ. I cannot adopt Professor Kuhn’s suggestion to drop the Visarga of bhīḥ and change i into y (Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 198), for this would be a license without any parallel. It is different with saḥ, originally sa, or with feminines in īḥ, where parallel forms in ļ are intelligible. The simplest correction would be to read rathēbhiḥ yāta-riṣhṭi-mantaḥ-asva-parṇaiḥ. One might urge in support of this reading that in all other passages where riṣhṭimat occurs, it refers to the Maruts themselves, and never to their chariots. Yet the difficulty remains, how could so simple a reading have been replaced by a more difficult one?

In the two Gāyatrī pādas which follow I feel equally reluctant to alter. I therefore scan

$$
ā \text{varśiṣhtḥayā nāḥ ishā vayaḥ na paptata su-māyaḥ},
$$
taking the dactyl of paptata as representing a spondee, and
admitting the exceptional bacchius instead of the amphimacer at the end of the line.

The last line of verse 6 should be scanned:

\[ \text{astobhayat vrīthā-āśāṃ anu svadhām gabhastyoḥ.} \]

There are two other verses in this hymn where the metre is difficult. In the last pāda of verse 5 we have seven syllables instead of eleven. Again, I say, it would be most easy to insert one of the many tetrasyllabic epithets of the Maruts. But this would have been equally easy for the collectors of the Veda. Now the authors of the Anukramanīs distinctly state that this fifth verse is virāḍrūpā, i.e. that one of its pādas consists of eight syllables. How they would have made eight syllables out of vi-dhāvataḥ varāhūn does not appear, but at all events they knew that last pāda to be imperfect. The rhythm does not suffer by this omission, as long as we scan vi-dhāvataḥ varāhūn.

Lastly, there is the third pāda of the second verse, rukmah na kitrah svadhīti-vān. It would not be possible to get eleven syllables out of this, unless we admitted vyūha not only in svadhīti-vān or svadhīti-vān, but also in kitrah. Nothing would be easier than to insert eshm after kitrah, but the question occurs again, how could eshm be lost, or why, if by some accident it had been lost, was not so obvious a correction made by Saunaka and Kātyāyana?

Verse 1, note 1. Alluding to the music of the Maruts, and not to the splendour of the lightning which is mentioned before. See Wolf, Beiträge zur Deutschen Mythologie, vol. ii. p. 137. ‘Das Ross und den Wagen des Gottes begleitet munterer Hörnerschall, entweder stösst er selbst ins Horn, oder sein Gefolge. Oft vernimmt man auch eine liebliche Musik, der keine auf Erden gleich kommt (Müllenhof, 582). Das wird das Pfeifen und Heulen des Sturmes sein, nur in idealisirter Art.’ Ibid. p. 158.

Verse 1, note 2. Vārshishtha, which is generally explained as the superlative of vṛiddha, old, (Pāṇ. vi. 4, 157,) has in most passages of the Rig-veda the more general meaning of strong or excellent: vi. 47, 9. ıśam ā vakshi ıśam vārshishthām; iii. 13, 7 (vāsu); iii. 26, 8 (rátna);
iii. 16, 3 (rai); iv. 31, 15; viii. 46, 24 (srávah); iv. 22, 9 (nirimná); v. 67, 1 (kshatrá); vi. 45, 31 (mûrdhán). In some passages, however, it may be taken in the sense of oldest (i. 37, 6; v. 7, 1), though by no means necessarily. Vârshishita is derived in reality from vrîshan, in the sense of strong, excellent. See note to i. 85, 12, page 126.

Verse 1, note 3. Paptata, the second person plural of the Let of the reduplicated base of pat. It is curiously like the Greek πιττητε, but it has the meaning of flying rather than falling: see Curtius, Grundzüge, p. 190. Two other forms formed on the same principle occur in the Rig-veda, paptah and paptan:

ii. 31, 1. prá yát váyah ná páptan.
That they may fly to us like birds.
vi. 63, 6. prá vám váyah—ánu paptan.
May your birds fly after you.
x. 95, 15. pûrûravah mâ mvîthâh mâ prá paptah.
Purûravas, do not die, do not fly away!

Verse 2, note 1. Though svadhiti-vân does not occur again, it can only mean he who holds the axe, or, it may be the sword or the thunderbolt, the latter particularly, if Indra is here intended. Svadhiti signifies axe:

iii. 10. svá-dhitim ná tégase.
They adorned Agni like an axe to shine or to cut.
The svádhití is used by the butcher, i. 162, 9; 18; 20; and by the wood-cutter or carpenter, iii. 8, 6; 11; x. 89, 7, &c. In v. 32, 10, a devâ svádhitih is mentioned, possibly the lightning, the companion of Indra and the Maruts.

Verse 2, note 2. The fell of the chariot of the Maruts is frequently mentioned. It was considered not only as an essential part of their chariot, but likewise as useful for crushing the enemy:

v. 52, 9. utá pavyâ ráthânám ádrim bhindanti ógasá.
They cut the mountain (cloud) with the fell of their chariot.
i. 166, 10. pavíshu kshuruḥ ádhi.
On their fellies are sharp edges.
In v. 31, 5, fellies are mentioned without horses and chariot, which were turned by Indra against the Dasyus, (i. 64, 11.) I doubt, however, whether in India or elsewhere the fellies or the wheels of chariots were ever used as weapons of attack, as detached from the chariot; (see M. M., On Pavirava, in Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. iii. p. 447.) If we translate the figurative language of the Vedic poets into matter-of-fact terms, the fellies of the chariots of the Maruts may be rendered by thunderbolts; yet by the poets of the Veda, as by the ancient people of Germany, thunder was really supposed to be the noise of the chariot of a god, and it was but a continuation of the same belief that the sharp wheels of that chariot were supposed to cut and crush the clouds; (see M. M., loc. cit. p. 444.)

Verse 3, note 1. That the vāṣīs are small weapons, knives or daggers, we saw before, p. 59. Sāyana here explains vāṣī by a weapon commonly called āra, or an awl. In x. 101, 10, vāṣīs are mentioned, made of stone, asman-māyī.

The difficulty begins with the second half. Medhā, as here written in the Pada text, could only be a plural of a neuter médhaṃ, but such a neuter does nowhere exist in the Veda. We only find the masculine médha, sacrifice, which is out of the question here, on account of its accent. Hence the passage iii. 58, 2, ārdhvaḥ bhavanti pitārā-iva médhaḥ, is of no assistance, unless we alter the accent. The feminine medhā means will, thought, prayer: i. 18, 6; ii. 34, 7; iv. 33, 10; v. 27, 4; 42, 13; vii. 104, 6; viii. 6, 10; 52, 9; ix. 9, 9; 26, 3; 32, 6; 65, 16; 107, 25; x. 91, 8. The construction does not allow us to take medhā as a Vedic instrumental instead of medhāyā, nor does such a form occur anywhere else in the Rig-veda. Nothing remains, I believe, than to have recourse to conjecture, and the addition of a single Visarga in the Pada would remove all difficulty. In the next line, if tuvi-dyumnāsāḥ be the subject, it would signify the priests. This, however, is again without any warrant from the Rig-veda, where tuvi-dyumnā is always used as an epithet of gods. I therefore take it as referring to the Maruts, as an
adjective in the nominative, following the vocatives marutaḥ su-gātāḥ. The conception that the Maruts stir up the forests is not of unfrequent occurrence in the Rig-veda: cf. i. 171, 3: v. 59, 6. That ārduhva is used of the mind, in the sense of roused, may be seen in i. 119, 2; 134, 1; 144, 1; vii. 64, 4. The idea in the poet's mind seems to have been that the thunderbolts of the Maruts rouse up men to prayer as they stir the tops of the forest trees.

Verse 3, note ². On dhan in the sense of to agitate, see B. and R. s. v.

Verse 4, note ¹. The first question is, which is the subject, āhāni or grīḍhrāḥ? If grīḍhrāḥ were the subject, then we should have to translate it by the eager poets, and take āhāni in the sense of visvā ahāni. The sense then might be: 'Day by day did the eager poets sing around you this prayer.' There would be several objections, however, to this rendering. First, grīḍhrāḥ never occurs again as signifying poets or priests. One passage only could be quoted in support, ix. 97, 57, kavāyāḥ nā grīḍhrāḥ (not grīḍhrāḥ), like greedy poets. But even here, if this translation is right, the adjective is explained by kavi, and does not stand by itself. Secondly, āhāni by itself is never used adverbially in the sense of day after day. The only similar passage that might be quoted is iii. 34, 10, and that is very doubtful. To take āhāni as a totally different word, viz. as ā+hāni, without ceasing, without wearying, would be too bold in the present state of Vedic interpretation. If then we take āhāni as the subject, grīḍhrāḥ would have to be taken as a vocative, and intended for the Maruts. Now, it is perfectly true, that by itself grīḍhra, hawk, does not occur again as a name of the Maruts, but syenā, hawk, and particularly a strong hawk (ix. 96, 6), is not only a common simile applied to the Maruts, but is actually used as one of their names: vii. 56, 3. abhī sva-pūbbhiḥ mithāḥ vapanta váta-svanasah syenāḥ asprīdhran.

They plucked each other with their beaks (?), the hawks, rushing like the wind, strove together.
Aguḥ might be the aorist of gai, to sing, or of gā, to go:

i. 174, 8. sānā tā te indra nāvyāḥ ā aguḥ.

New poets, O Indra, sang these thy old deeds.

iii. 56, 2. gāvah ā aguḥ.

The cows approached.

If then the sense of the first line is, 'Days went and came back to you,' the next question is whether we are to extend the construction to the next words, imām dhīyam vārkāryāṁ ka devīṁ, or whether these words are to be joined to kriṇvāntah, like brāhma. The meaning of vārkāryā is, of course, unknown. Sāyana's interpretation as 'what is to be made by means of water' is merely etymological, and does not help us much. It is true that the object of the hymn, which is addressed to the Maruts, is rain, and that literally vārkāryā might be explained as 'that the effect of which is rain.' But this is far too artificial a word for Vedic poets. Possibly there was some other word that had become unintelligible and which, by a slight change, was turned into vārkāryā, in order to give the meaning of rain-producing. It might have been karkārya, glorious, or the song of a poet called Vārkara. The most likely supposition is that vārkāryā was the name given to some famous hymn, some paean or song of triumph belonging to the Gotamas, possibly to some verses of the very hymn before us. In this case the epithet devī would be quite appropriate, for it is frequently used for a sacred or sacrificial song: iv. 43, 1. devīṁ su-stūtīṁ; iii. 18, 3. imām dhīyam sata-sēyāya devīṁ. See, however, the note to verse 6.

The purport of the whole line would then be that many days have gone for the Maruts as well as for the famous hymn once addressed to them by Gotama, or, in other words, that the Gotamas have long been devoted to the Maruts, an idea frequently recurring in the hymns of the Veda, and, in our case, carried on in the next verse, where it is said that the present hymn is like one that Gotama composed when he saw the Maruts or spoke of them as wild boars with iron tusks. The pushing up the lid of the well for to drink, means that they obtained rain from the
cloud, which is here, as before, represented as a covered well.

See another explanation in Haug, Über die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes Brahma, 1868, p. 5.

Verse 5, note ¹. Yógana commonly means a chariot:
vi. 62, 6. areṇū-bhiḥ yóganebhīḥ bhuṅgántā.
You who possess dustless chariots.
viii. 72, 6. āsva-vat yóganam bṛihāt.
The great chariot with horses.
It then became the name for a distance to be accomplished without unharnessing the horses, just as the Latin jugum, a yoke, then a juger of land, 'quod uno jugo boum uno die exarari posset,' Pliny xviii. 3, 3, 9.
In our passage, however, yógana means a hymn, lit. a composition, which is clearly its meaning in
viii. 90, 3. brāhma te īndra girvanah kriyānte ānatid-bhutā, imā gushasva hari-āsva yóganā īndra yā te āmanmahi.
Unequalled prayers are made for thee, praiseworthy Indra; accept these hymns which we have devised for thee, O Indra with bright horses!

Verse 5, note ². Varāhu has here the same meaning as varāhā, wild boar, (viii. 77, 10; x. 28, 4.) It occurs once more, i. 121, 11, as applied to Vritra, who is also called varāhā, i. 61, 7; x. 99, 6. In x. 67, 7, vrīsha-bhiḥ varāhaiḥ (with the accent on the penultimate) is intended for the Maruts*. Except in this passage, varāha has the accent on the last syllable: ix. 97, 7, varāhā is applied to Soma.

Verse 6. This last verse is almost unintelligible to me. I give, however, the various attempts that have been made to explain it.
Wilson: 'This is that praise, Maruts, which, suited (to your merits), glorifies every one of you. The speech of the

* See Genthe, Die Windgottheiten, 1861, p. 14; Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, p. 689. Grimm mentions ebūrdrung (boar-throng) as a name of Orion, the star that betokens storm.
priest has now glorified you, without difficulty, with sacred verses, since (you have placed) food in our hands.'

Benfey: 'Dies Lied—Maruts!—das hinter euch empor-strebte, es klingt zurück gleich eines Beters Stimme Mühlos schuf solche Lieder er, entsprechend eurer Arme Kraft. (Note: Der zum Himmel schallende Lobgesang findet seinen Widerhall (wirklich, "bebt zurück") in dem Sturmgeheul der Maruts, welches mit dem Geheul des Betenden verglichen wird.)'

Langlois: 'O Marouts, la voix qui s'élève aujourd'hui vers vous, vous chante avec non moins de raison que celle qui vous célèbra (jadis). Oui, c'est avec justice que nous vous exaltons dans ces (vers), tenant en nos mains les mets sacrés.'

My own translation is to a great extent conjectural. It seems to me from verse 3, that the poet offers both a hymn of praise and a libation of Soma. Possibly vârkâryâ in verse 4 might be taken in the sense of Soma-juice, and be derived from valkala, which in later Sanskrit means the bark of trees. In that case verse 5 would again refer to the hymn of Gotama, and verse 6 to the libation which is to accompany it. Anu-bhartri does not occur again, but it can only mean what supports or refreshes, and therefore would be applicable to a libation of Soma which supports the gods. The verb stobhati would well express the rushing sound of the Soma, as in i. 168, 8, it expresses the rushing noise of the waters against the fellies of the chariots. The next line adds little beyond stating that this libation of Soma rushes forth freely from the hands, the gabhastîs being specially mentioned in other passages where the crushing of the Soma-plant is described:

ix. 71, 3. ádri-bhih sutâh pavate gâbhastyoḥ.
The Soma squeezed by the stones runs from the hands.
On svadhâ see p. 19.
Mandala I, Sukta 165.  

Indrah.

Indrah.
2. Kāsyā brāhmāṇī jugushuh yūvānah kāḥ adhvarē marutāḥ ā vavarta, syenān-īva dhrāgataḥ antārikṣhe kéna mahā mānasā rīramāma.

Marutah.

1. Wilson: (Indra speaks): With what auspicious fortune have the Maruts, who are of one age, one residence, one dignity, watered (the earth) together: with what intention: whence have they come: Showerers of rain, they venerate, through desire of wealth, the energy (that is generated in the world by rain)?

Langlois: Quel éclat ces Marouts qui parcourent, qui habitent ensemble (les espaces de l’air) répandent par tout (le monde)! Que veulent-ils? d’où viennent-ils, généreux et riches, chercher les offrandes?

2. Wilson: Of whose oblations do the youthful (Maruts) approve: who attracts them to his (own) sacrifice (from the
Hymn to the Maruts and Indra.

The Prologue.

The sacrificer speaks:
1. With what splendour are the Maruts all equally\(^1\) endowed,\(^2\) they who are of the same age, and dwell in the same house? With what thoughts? From whence are they come?\(^3\) Do these heroes sing forth their (own) strength\(^4\) because they wish for wealth?

2. Whose prayers have the youths accepted? Who has turned the Maruts to his own sacrifice? By what strong devotion\(^1\) may we delight them, they who float through the air like hawks?

The Dialogue.

The Maruts speak:
3. From whence,\(^1\) O Indra, dost thou come alone, thou who art mighty? O lord of men,\(^2\) what has thus happened to thee? Thou greetest (us)\(^3\) when thou comest together with (us), the bright (Maruts).\(^4\) Tell us then, thou with thy bay horses, what thou hast against us!

rites of others): with what powerful praise may we propitiate (them), wandering like kites in the mid-air?

Langlois: Quel est celui qui, par ses hommages, plaît à ces jeunes (divinités)? qui, par son sacrifice, attire les Marouts? Par quelle prière parviendrons-nous à retenir ces (dieux qui) comme des éperviers, parcourent les airs?

3. Wilson: (The Maruts): Indra, lord of the good, whither dost thou, who art entitled to honour, proceed alone: what means this (absence of attendance): when followed (by us), thou requirest (what is right). Lord of fleet horses, say to us, with pleasant words, that which thou (hast to say) to us.

Langlois: (Les Marouts parlent): Indra, maître des
Indraḥ.

4. Brāhmāṇi me matāyah sām sutāsah sūshmah iyartī prá-bhrītaḥ me ādriḥ, ā sāsate práti haryanti ukthā imā hārī (īti) vahataḥ tā nah ākkha.

Marutaḥ.

5. Ātah vayām antamēbhīḥ yugānāḥ svā-kshatre-bhīḥ tanvāh sūmbhamānāḥ māhāḥ-bhīḥ ētān īpā yug-māhe nū ēndra svadhām ānu hī nah babhūtha.

Indraḥ.


hommes pieux, d'où viens-tu, grand et unique? Que veux-tu? Toi qui est notre compagnon, tu peux nous répondre avec bonté. O dieu, trainé par des coursiers azurés, dis-nous ce que tu nous veux.

4. Wilson: (Indra): Sacred rites are mine: (holy) praises give me pleasure: libations are for me: my vigorous thunder-bolt, hurled (against my foes), goes (to its mark): me, do (pious worshippers) propitiate: hymns are addressed to me; these horses bear us to the presence (of those worshippers, and worship).


5. Wilson: (The Maruts): Therefore we also, decorating our persons, are ready, with our docile and nigh-standing
Indra speaks:

4. The sacred songs are mine, (mine are) the prayers;¹ sweet² are the libations! My strength rises,³ my thunderbolt is hurled forth. They call for me, the prayers yearn for me. Here are my horses, they carry me towards them.

The Maruts speak:

5. Therefore, in company with our strong friends,¹ having adorned our bodies, we now harness our fallow deer² with all our might;³—for, Indra, according to thy custom, thou hast been with us.

Indra speaks:

6. Where, O Maruts, was that custom of yours, that you should join me who am alone in the killing of Ahi? I indeed am terrible, strong, powerful,—I escaped from the blows of every enemy.¹

steeds, (to attend thee) with all our splendour, to those rites; verily, Indra, thou appropriatest our (sacrificial) food.

LANGLOIS: (Les Marouts parlent): Et nous, sur les puissants coursiers que voici, plaçant nos corps légers et brillants, nous joignons nos splendeurs aux tiennes. Et tu veux, Indra, t'approprier notre offrande?

6. WILSON: (Indra): Where, Maruts, has that (sacrificial) food been assigned to you, which, for the destruction of Ahi, was appropriated to me alone; for I indeed am fierce and strong and mighty, and have bowed down all mine enemies with death-dealing shafts.

LANGLOIS: (Indra parle): Et comment cette offrande serait-elle pour vous, ô Marouts, quand vous reconnaîsez ma supériorité en réclamant mon secours pour la mort d'Ahi? Je suis grand, fort et redoutable, et de mes traits, funestes à tous mes ennemis, j'ai tué Ahi.
Marutaḥ.

7. Bhūtri kakartha yūgyebhiḥ asmē (īti) samāne-bhiḥ vrishabhaha paúmsyebhiḥ, bhūrini hī krīnāvāma savīṣṭha āṅdra kṛatva marutaḥ yāt vāsāma.

Indraḥ.

8. Vādhīṃ vṛtrāṃ marutaḥ āṅḍriyēṇa svēṇa bhāmena tavishēḥ babhūvān, ahāṃ etāh mānave vi-svā-kandṛāḥ su-gāh āpāh kakara vāgra-bāhuḥ.

Marutaḥ.

9. Āṇuttam ā te maγha-van nākiḥ nū nā tvā-vān asti devātā vidānaḥ, nā jāyamānāḥ nāsate nā gātāḥ yāni karishyāḥ krīnuḥī pra-vṛiddha.

Indraḥ.

10. Ėkasya kit me vi-bhū astu ógah yā nū

7. **Wilson**: (Maruts): Showerer (of benefits) thou hast done much; but it has been with our united equal energies; for we, too, most powerful Indra, have done many things, and by our deeds (we are, as) we desire to be, Maruts.

**Langlois**: (Les Marouts parlent): Tu as beaucoup fait, (dieu) généreux en venant nous seconder de ta force héroïque. Mais, ô puissant Indra, nous pouvons aussi beaucoup, quand, nous autres Marouts, nous voulons prouver notre vaillance.

8. **Wilson**: (Indra): By my own prowess (Maruts) I, mighty in my wrath, slew Vṛitra; armed with my thunder-bolt, I created all these pellucid, gently-flowing waters for (the good of) man.

* karishyāḥ?
The Maruts speak:
7. Thou hast achieved much with us as companions. With the same valour, O hero! let us achieve then many things, O thou most powerful, O Indra! whatever we, O Maruts, wish with our heart.

Indra speaks:
8. I slew Vritra, O Maruts, with (Indra's) might, having grown strong through my own vigour; I, who hold the thunderbolt in my arms, I have made these all-brilliant waters to flow freely for man.

The Maruts speak:
9. Nothing, O powerful lord, is strong before thee: no one is known among the gods like unto thee. No one who is now born will come near, no one who has been born. Do what has to be done, thou who art grown so strong.

Indra speaks:
10. Almighty power be mine alone, whatever I

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Langlois: (Indra parle): Marouts, j'ai tué Vritra, et je n'ai eu besoin que de ma colère et de ma force d'Indra. C'est moi, qui, la foudre à la main, ai ouvert un chemin à ces ondes qui font le bonheur de Manou.

9. Wilson: (Maruts): Verily, Maghavat, nothing (done) by thee is unavailing, there is no divinity as wise as thou; no one being born, or that has been born, ever surpasses the glorious deeds which thou, mighty (Indra), hast achieved.

Langlois: (Les Marouts parlent): O Maghavan, nous n'attaquons pas ta gloire. Personne, ô dieu, quand on connaît tes exploits, ne peut se croire ton égal. Aucun être, présent ou passé ne saurait te valoir. Tu es grand, fais ce que tu dois faire.

10. Wilson: (Indra): May the prowess of me alone be
dadhrishvān krināvai manīśaḥ, ahām hi ugrāḥ marutaḥ vidānāḥ yāṇi kyāvam īndraḥ it īse eshām.

Indrāh.

11. Āmandat mā marutaḥ stōmaḥ ātra yāt me naraḥ srūtyam brāhma kakra, īndrāya vrīshne sūmakhāya māhyam sākhye sākhāyāh tanvē tanu-bhīḥ.

Indrāh.

12. Evā īt ete prāti mā rōkamānāḥ ānedyahḥ svāraḥ ā īshah dādhānāḥ, sam-kākshya marutaḥ kandrā-varnāḥ ākhhānta me khadāyātha ka nūnām.

Agastyah.

13. Kāḥ nū ātra marutaḥ mamahe vah ēr yātana

irresistible, may I quickly accomplish whatever I contemplate in my mind, for verily, Maruts, I am fierce and sagacious, and to whatever (objects) I direct (my thoughts), of them I am the lord, and rule (over them).

LANGLOIS: (Indra parle): Ma force est assez grande, pour que, seul, je puisse exécuter ce que je veux tenter. Je suis redoutable, ô Marouts, je sais ce que j'ai à faire, moi, Indra, maître de vous tous.

11. WILSON: Maruts, on this occasion praise delights me; that praise which is to be heard (by all), which men have offered me. To Indra, the showerer (of benefits), the object of pious sacrifice; to me, (endowed) with many forms, (do you) my friends (offer sacrifices) for (the nourishment of my) person.

* ānedyah?
may do, daring in my heart;¹ for I indeed, O Maruts, am known as terrible: of all that I threw down, I, Indra, am the lord.

Indra speaks:

11. O Maruts, now your praise has pleased me, the glorious hymn which you have made for me, ye men!—for me, for Indra, for the powerful hero, as friends for a friend, for your own sake and by your own efforts.¹

Indra speaks:

12. Truly, there they are, shining towards me, assuming blameless glory, assuming vigour. O Maruts, wherever I have looked for you, you have appeared to me in bright splendour: appear to me also now!

The Epilogue.

The sacrificer speaks:

13. Who has magnified you here, O Maruts? Come

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LANGLOIS: O Marouts, l’éloge que vous avez fait de moi m’a flatté et surtout votre attention à me laisser votre part du sacrifice. Indra est généreux, et fêté par de nombreux hommages. Soyez mes amis, et développez vos corps (légers).

12. WILSON: Maruts, verily, glorifying me, and enjoying boundless fame and food (through my favour), do you, of golden colour, and invested with glory, cover me in requital, verily, (with renown.)

LANGLOIS: Ainsi brillant à mes côtés, prenez dans les offrandes et dans les hymnes la part conforme à votre rang, O Marouts, vos couleurs sont merveilleuses. Resplendissons ensemble, et couvrez-moi (de vos corps) comme vous l’avez fait jusqu’à présent.

13. WILSON: (Agastya): What mortal, Maruts, worships you in this world: hasten, friends, to the presence of your
sākhin ākha sakhāyah, mánmāni kitrāḥ api-vatā-
yantarā eshām bhūta nāvedāḥ me rītānāṁ.

Agastyaḥ.

14. Ā yāt duvasyāt duvāse nā kārūḥ asmān kakkā
mānyāsya medhā, ō (īti) sū varta marutah vípram
ākha imā brāhmāni gāritā vah arkat.

Agastyaḥ.

15. Eshāḥ vah stōmah marutah iyām gīh māndār-
yāsya mānyāsya kārōḥ, ā ishā yāsīshṭa tanvē vayāṁ
vidyāma ishām vṛigānam gīrā-dānum.

friends; wonderful (divinities), be to them the means of ac-
quiring riches; and be not uncognisant of my merits.

LANGLOIS: (Le poète parle): Quel est celui qui vous chante
en ce moment, ō Marouts? Soyez-nous agréables, et venez
vers des amis. D’un souffle propice favorisez nos voeux. Pos-
sesseurs de biens variés, daignez visiter notre sacrifice.

14. WILSON: Since the experienced intellect of a venerable
(sage), competent to bestow praise upon (you), who deserve
praise, has been exerted for us: do you, Maruts, come to the
presence of the devout (worshipper) who, glorifying (you),
worships you with these holy rites.

LANGLOIS: Si la science d’un sage nous a, comme un

COMMENTARY.

According to the Anukramanikā this hymn is a dialogue
between Agastya, the Maruts, and Indra. A careful consi-
deration of the hymn would probably have led us to a similar
conclusion, but I doubt whether it would have led us to
adopt the same distribution of the verses among the poet,
the Maruts, and Indra, as that adopted by the author of the
hither, O friends, towards your friends. Ye brilliant Maruts, cherish these prayers, and be mindful of these my rites.

14. The wisdom of Mânya has brought us to this, that he should help as the poet helps the performer of a sacrifice: bring (them) hither quickly! Maruts, on to the sage! these prayers the singer has recited for you.¹

15. This your praise, O Maruts, this your song comes from Mândârya, the son of Mâna,¹ the poet. Come hither with rain! May we find for ourselves offspring,² food, and a camp³ with running water.

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artiste habile, façonnés au culte pompeux que nous vous rendons, ô Marouts, traitez avec bonté l'homme qui, par ses prières et ses chants, vous a honorés.

15. WILSON: This praise, Maruts, is for you: this hymn is for you, (the work) of a venerable author, capable of conferring delight (by his laudations). May the praise reach you, for (the good of your) persons, so that we may (thence) obtain food, strength, and long life.

LANGLOIS: O Marouts, cet éloge et cet hymne d'un respectable poète s'adressent à vous. Il a voulu vous plaire. Venez avec l'abondance, en étendant vos réseaux. Que nous connaissions la prospérité, la force et l'heureuse vieillesse!

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Anukramanikâ. He assigns the first two verses to Indra, the third, fifth, seventh, and ninth to the Maruts, the fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth to Indra, and the three concluding verses to Agastya. I think that the two verses in the beginning, as well as the three concluding verses, belong certainly to Agastya or to whoever else the real performer of the sacrifice may have been. The two verses in the beginning cannot be ascribed to Indra,
who, to judge from his language, would never say: 'By what strong devotion may we delight the Maruts?' It might seem, in fact, as if the three following verses, too, should be ascribed to the sacrificer, so that the dialogue between Indra and the Maruts would begin only with the sixth verse. The third verse might well be addressed to Indra by the sacrificer, and in the fourth verse we might see a description of all that he had done for Indra. What is against this view, however, is the phrase prabhrita me adriḥ. If used by the sacrificer, it might seem to mean, 'my stone, i.e. the stone used for squeezing the Soma, has been brought forth.' But though Professor Roth assigns this meaning to prabhrita in our passage, I doubt whether, in connection with adri, or with vágrá, prabhrita can mean anything but hurled. Thus we read:

i. 61, 12. asmaí it ām (iti) prá bhara—vitrāya vágram.
    Hurl thou, Indra, the thunderbolt against this Vritra.

v. 32, 7. yát îm vágrasya prá-bhritau dadābha.
    When Indra conquered him in the hurling of the thunderbolt.

I therefore suppose the dialogue to begin with verse 3, and I find that Langlois, though it may be from different reasons, arrived at the same conclusion.

There can be little doubt that the other verses, to verse 12, are rightly apportioned between Indra and the Maruts. Verse 12 might perhaps be attributed again to the worshipper of the Maruts, but as there is no absolute necessity for assigning it to him, it is better to follow the tradition and to take it as the last verse of Indra's speech. It would seem, in fact, as if these ten verses, from 3 to 12, formed an independent poem, which was intended to show the divine power of the Maruts. That their divine power was sometimes denied, and that Indra's occasional contempt of them was well known to the Vedic poets, will become evident from other hymns. This dialogue seems therefore to have been distinctly intended to show that, in spite of occasional misunderstandings between the Maruts and the all-powerful Indra, Indra himself had fully recognized their power and accepted their friendship. If we suppose that this dialogue was repeated at sacrifices in honour of the
Maruts, or that possibly it was acted by two parties, one representing Indra, the other the Maruts and their followers, then the two verses in the beginning and the three at the end ought to be placed in the mouth of the actual sacrificer, whoever he was. He begins by asking, who has attracted the Maruts to his sacrifice, and by what act of praise and worship they can be delighted. Then follows the dialogue in honour of the Maruts, and after it the sacrificer asks again, 'Who has magnified the Maruts, i.e. have not we magnified them?' and he implores them to grant him their friendship in recognition of his acts of worship. If then we suppose that the dialogue was the work of Mândârya Mânya, the fourteenth verse, too, would lose something of its obscurity. Coming from the mouth of the actual sacrificer, it would mean, 'the wisdom, or the poetical genius, of Mânya has brought us to this, has induced us to do this, i.e. to perform this dialogue of Mânya, so that he, Mânya, should assist, as a poet assists the priest at a sacrifice.' If Mânya himself was present, the words ó sú varta, 'bring hither quickly,' would have to be taken as addressed to him by the sacrificer; the next, 'Maruts, on to the sage!' would be addressed to the Maruts, the sage (vîpra) being meant for Mânya; and in the last words, too, 'these prayers the singer has recited for you,' the singer (garitâ) might again be Mânya, the powerful poet whose services the sacrificer had engaged, and whose famous dialogue between Indra and the Maruts was considered a safe means of winning their favour. It would be in keeping with all this, if in the last verse the sacrificer once more informed the Maruts that this hymn of praise was the work of the famous poet Mândârya, the son of Mâna, and if he then concluded with the usual prayer for safety, food, and progeny.

Verse 1, note 1. As samâni' occurs in the Veda as the feminine of samâna (cf. iv. 51, 9; x. 191, 3; 4), samânyä might, no doubt, be taken as an instrumental, belonging to subhâ. We should then have to translate: 'With what equal splendour are the Maruts endowed?' Sâyâsa adopts the same explanation, while Wilson, who seems to have
read samânyâh, translates 'of one dignity.' Professor Roth, s. v. myaksh, would seem to take samânyâ as some kind of substantive, and he refers to another passage, i. 167, 4, sâdhdâranyâ-iva marûth mimikshuh, without, however, detailing his interpretation of these passages.

It cannot be said that Sâyana's explanation is objectionable, yet there is something awkward in qualifying by an adjective, however indefinite, what forms the subject of an interrogative sentence, and it would be possible to avoid this, by taking samânyâ as an adverb. It is clearly used as an adverb in iii. 54, 7 ; viii. 83, 8.

Verse 1, note 2. Mimikshuh is the perfect of myaksh, in the sense of to be firmly joined with something. It has therefore a more definite meaning than the Latin miscere and the Greek μισσειν, which come from the same source, i. e. from a root mîk or mîg, in Sanskrit also mis in mis-ra; (see Curtius, Grundzüge, p. 300.) There may be indeed one or two passages in the Veda where myaksh seems to have the simple meaning of mixing, but it will be seen that they constitute a small minority compared with those where myaksh has the meaning of holding to, sticking to; I mean

x. 104, 2. mimikshuh yám ádrayaḥ indra túbhyam.

The Soma which the stones have mixed for thee.

This form cannot be derived from mimiksh, but is the 3rd pers. plur. perf. Parasm. of myaksh. It may, however, be translated, 'This Soma which the stones have grasped or squeezed for thee,' as may be seen from passages quoted hereafter, in which myaksh is construed with an accusative.

ii. 3, 11. ghritâm mimikshe.

The butter has been mixed.

This form cannot be derived from mimiksh, but is the 3rd pers. sing. perf. Âtm. of myaksh. If the meaning of mixing should be considered inadmissible, we might in this verse translate, 'The butter has become fixed, solid, or coagulated.'

Leaving out of consideration for the present the forms which are derived from mimiksh, we find the following passages in which myaksh occurs. Its original meaning
must have been to be mixed with, to be joined to, and in many passages that original sense is still to be recognized, only with the additional idea of being firmly joined, of sticking to, or, in an active sense, laying hold of, grasping firmly.

1. Without any case:
   i. 169, 3. ámyak sā te indra rishṭih asmē (iti).
   This thy spear, O Indra, sits firm for us.
   This would mean that Indra held his weapon well, as a soldier ought to hold his spear. Ámyak is the 3rd pers. sing. of a second aor. Parasm., ámyaksham, ámyak(sht); (Sāy. prāpnoti.) Cf. viii. 61, 18.

2. With locative:
   x. 44, 2. mimyāksha vágrah nri-pate gabhāstau.
   In thy fist, O king, the thunderbolt rests firmly.
   i. 167, 3. mimyāksha yēshu sū-dhītā—rishṭih.
   With whom the spear (lightning) rests well placed (gut eingelegt), i.e. the Maruts who hold the spear firmly, so that it seems to stick fast to them. (Sāy. samgatābhūt.)
   vi. 50, 5. mimyāksha yēshu rodasī nū devi'.
   To whom the goddess Rodasī clings. (Sāy. samgakkhate.)
   vi. 11, 5. ámyakshi sādma sādane prithivyāh.
   The seat was firmly set on the seat of the earth. (Sāy. gamyate, parigrihyate). It is the 3rd pers. sing. aor. pass.
   vi. 29, 2. ā yásmin háste náryāḥ mimikshūḥ ā ráthe hiranyāyē rathe-sthāḥ, ā rasmāyah gābhastyoh sthūrāyoh ā ádhvan āsvāsah vrīshanah yugānāh.
   To whose hand men cling, in whose golden chariot the drivers stand firm, in whose strong fists the reins are well held, on whose path the harnessed stallions hold together. (Sāy. āsikyante, āpūryante; or āsiṅkanti, pūrayanti.)
   x. 96, 3. índre nī rūpā háritā mimikshire.
   Bright colours stuck or clung or settled on Indra. (Sāy. nishiktāni babhūvuh; miheḥ sanantāt karmāṇi rūpam.)

3. With instrumental:
   i. 165, 1. kāyā subhā marūtah sām mimikshuh.
   To what splendour do the Maruts cling; or, what splendour clings to them?
   v. 58, 5. svāyā matyā marūtah sām mimikshuh. (See also i. 165, 1.)
The Maruts cling to their own thought or will. (Sây. vrishťyā samyak siṅkanti.)

i. 167, 4. yavyā (i.e. yavīyā) sādhāranyā-iva marūtah mimikshuh.

A difficult passage which receives little light from i. 173, 12; viii. 98, 8; or vi. 27, 6.

i. 87, 6. bhānū-bhih sām mimikshire.

The Maruts were joined with splendour. (Sây. medhum īkkanti.)

4. With accusative:

viii. 61, 18. nī yā vágram mimikshátuh.

Thy two arms which have firmly grasped the thunderbolt. (Sây. parigvihūtah.)

Here I should also prefer to place vii. 20, 4, if we might explain mīmikshan as a participle present of myaksh in the Hu-class:

nī vágram índraḥ mīmikshan.

Grasping firmly the thunderbolt. (Sây. satrshu pra-payan.)

vi. 29, 3. sriyé te pādā dúvah ā mimikshuh.

Thy servants embrace thy feet for their happiness. (Sây. āsiṅkanti, samarpayanti.)

Like other verbs which mean to join, myaksh, if accompanied by prepositions expressive of separation, means to separate. (Cf. vi-yukta, se-junctus.)

ii. 28, 6. āpo (iți) sū myaksha varuna bhiyāsам mát.

Remove well from me, O Varuna, terror. (Sây. apa-gamaya.)

Quite distinct from this is the desiderative or inchoative verb mīmiksh, from mih, in the sense of to sprinkle, or to shower, chiefly used with reference to the gods who are asked to sprinkle the sacrifice with rain. Thus we read:

i. 142, 3. mádhvā yagñām mimikshati.

(Narâsamsa) sprinkles the sacrifice with rain.

ix. 107, 6. mádhvā yagñām mimiksha nah.

Sprinkle (O Soma) our sacrifice with rain.

i. 34, 3. tríh adyā yagñām mádhunā mimikshatam.

O Asvins, sprinkle the sacrifice with rain thrice to-day!

i. 47, 4. mádhvā yagñām mimikshatam.

O Asvins, sprinkle the sacrifice with rain!
5. Without mádhu:
i. 22, 13. mahī dyaṁ prithivī ka naḥ imām yaṅām mimikṣhatām.
May the great heaven and earth sprinkle this our sacrifice.

6. With mádhu in the accusative:
vi. 70, 5. mádhu naḥ dyāvāprithivī (īti) mimikṣhatām.
May heaven and earth shower down rain for us.

Very frequently the Aśvins are asked to sprinkle the sacrifice with their whip. This whip seems originally, like the whip of the Maruts, to have been intended for the cracking noise of the storm, preceding the rain. Then as whips had probably some similarity to the instruments used for sprinkling butter on the sacrificial viands, the Aśvins are asked to sprinkle the sacrifice with their whip, i.e. to give rain:
i. 157, 4. mádhu-matyā naḥ kāsayaḥ mimikṣhatam.
O Aśvins, sprinkle us with your rain-giving whip.
i. 22, 3. tāya yaṅām mimikṣhatam.
O Aśvins, sprinkle the sacrifice with it (your whip).

7. Lastly, we find such phrases as,
i. 48, 16. sām naḥ rāyā—mimikṣvā.
Sprinkle us with wealth, i.e. shower wealth down upon us. Here mih is really treated as a Hu-verb in the Atmanepada.

As an adjective, mimikṣu is applied to Indra (iii. 50, 3), and mimikṣā to Soma (vi. 34, 4).

Verse 1, note 3. I do not see how étāsah can here be taken in any sense but that suggested by the Pada, ā-ítāsah, come near. Professor Roth thinks it not impossible that it may be meant for étāḥ, the fallow deer, the usual team of the Maruts. These Etas are mentioned in verse 5, but there the Pada gives quite correctly étān, not ā-ítān, and Sāyana explains it accordingly by gantūn.

Verse 1, note 4. The idea that the Maruts proclaim their own strength occurred before, i. 87, 3. It is a perfectly natural conception, for the louder the voice of the wind, the greater its strength.

VOL. I.
Verse 2, note 1. Manas here, as elsewhere, is used in the sense of thought preceding speech, devotion not yet expressed in prayer. See Taitt. Sanh. v. 1, 3, 3. yat purusho manasābhigakkhati tad vākā vadati, what a man grasps in his mind that he expresses by speech. Professor Roth suggests an emendation which is ingenious, but not necessary, viz. mahā nāmasā, with great adoration, an expression which occurs, if not in vi. 52, 17, at least in vii. 12, 1. We find, however, the phrase mahā mānasā in vi. 40, 4. ā yāhi sāsvat usatā yayātha īndra mahā mānasā soma-pēyam,

ūpa brāhmāni srinavāh imā nah átha te yagyāh tanvē vāyāh dhāt.

Come hither, thou hast always come, Indra, to our libation through our yearning great devotion. Mayest thou hear these our prayers, and may then the sacrifice place vigour in thy body.

It is curious to observe that throughout the Rigveda the instrumental singular mahā is always used as an adjective belonging to some term or other for praise and prayer. Besides the passages mentioned, we find:

ii. 24, 1. ayā vidhema nāvayā mahā girā.
Let us sacrifice with this new great song.

vi. 52, 17. su-ukténa mahā nāmasā ā vivāse.
I worship with a hymn with great adoration, or I worship with a great hymn in adoration.

viii. 46, 14. gāya girā mahā ví-ketasam.
Celebrate the wise Indra with a great song.

Verse 3, note 1. We ought to scan kūṭah tvam īndra māhinhāḥ san, because yāsi, being anudātta, could not begin a new páda. It would be more natural to translate kūtaḥ by why? for the Maruts evidently wish to express their surprise at Indra’s going to do battle alone and without their assistance. I do not think, however, that in the Rigveda, even in the latest hymns, kūtaḥ has ever a causal meaning, and I have therefore translated it in the same sense in which it occurs before in the poet’s address to the Maruts.
Verse 3, note 2. Sat-pati, lord of men, means lord of real men, of heroes, and should not be translated by good lord. Sat by itself is frequently used in the sense of heroes, of men physically rather than morally good:

ii. 1, 3. tvám agne īndraḥ vrishabhāḥ satām asi.

Thou, Agni, art Indra, the hero among heroes.

i. 173, 7. samāt-su tvā sūra satām urāṇām.

Thee, O hero, in battles the protector of (good and true) men.

Verse 3, note 3. The meaning of sām prikkhāse is very much the same as that of sām vadasva in i. 170, 5.

Verse 3, note 4. Subhānā evidently is meant as a name for the Maruts, who thus speak of themselves in the third person. This is by no means unusual in the Rig-veda; see, for instance,

i. 170, 2. tebhīḥ kalpasva sādhu-yā mā naḥ sam-ārane vadhīḥ.

Be thou good with these (with us, the Maruts), do not kill us in battle!

Verse 4. Indra certainly addresses his old friends, the Maruts, very unceremoniously, but this, though at first startling, was evidently the intention of the poet. He wished to represent a squabble between Indra and the Maruts, such as they were familiar with in their own village life, and this was to be followed by a reconciliation. The boorish rudeness, selfishness, and boastfulness here ascribed to Indra may seem offensive to those who cannot divest themselves of the modern meaning of deities, but looked upon from the right point of view, it is really full of interest.

Verse 4, note 1. Brāhmāṇi and matāyāḥ are here mentioned separately in the same way as a distinction is made between brāhmaṇ, stōma, and ukthā, iv. 22, 1; vi. 23, 1; between brāhmāṇi and girāḥ, iii. 51, 6; between brāhma, girāḥ, and stōmah, vi. 38, 3; between brāhma, girāḥ, ukthā, and mánma, vi. 38, 4, &c.
Verse 4, note 2. Sám, which I have here translated by sweet, is a difficult word to render. It is used as a substantive, as an adjective, and as an adverb; and in several instances it must remain doubtful whether it was meant for one or the other. The adverbial character is almost always, if not always, applicable, though in English there is no adverb of such general import as sám, and we must therefore render it differently, although we are able to perceive that in the mind of the poet it might still have been conceived as an adverb, in the sense of 'well.' I shall arrange the principal passages in which sám occurs according to the verbs with which it is construed.

1. With bhû:

   viii. 79, 7. bháva nah soma sám hridé.
   Be thou, Soma, well (pleasant) to our heart. Cf. viii. 82, 3.
   viii. 48, 4. sám nah bhava hridé ā pítáh indo (íti).
   Be thou well (sweet) to our heart, when drunk, O Soma!

   Cf. x. 9, 4.
   i. 90, 9. sám nah bhavatu aryamā.
   May Aryaman be well (kind) to us!
   vi. 74, 1. sám nah bhûtam dvi-páde sám kátuh-pade.
   May Soma and Rudra be well (kind) to our men and cattle.
   Here sám might be rendered as an adverb, or as an adjective, or even as a substantive, in the sense of health or blessing.

   Cf. vii. 54, 1; ix. 69, 7. The expression dvipád and kátuh-pad is curiously like what occurs in the prayers of the Eugubian tables, Fisovie Sansie, ditu ocre Fisi, tote Jovine, ocer Fisie, totar Jovinar dupursus, peturpursus fato fito, (Umbrische Sprachdenkmäler, von Aufrecht, p. 198.)
   ii. 38, 11. sám yát stotrí-bhyah ṛpáye bhávāti.
   What may be well (a pleasure) for the praisers, for the friend.

   x. 37, 10. sám nah bhava kákshasā.
   Be kind to us with thy light!

2. With as:

   viii. 17, 6. sómah sám astu te hridé.
   May the Soma be well (agreeable) to thy heart!
   i. 5, 7. sám te santu prá-ketase.
   May the Somas be well (pleasing) to thee, the wise!
v. 11, 5. tūbhyam manîshâ iyám astu sám hridé.  
May this prayer be well (acceptable) to thy heart!  
i. 114, 1. yáthâ sám ásat dvi-páde kátuh-pade.  
That it may be well for our men and cattle. Cf. x.  
165, 1; 3.  
vii. 86, 8. sám nah kshéme sám úm (íti) yóge nah astu.  
May it be well with us in keeping and acquiring!  
v. 7, 9. a yáh te—agne sám ásti dhâyase.  
He who is lief to thee to support, i.e. he whom thou  
likest to support.  
v. 74, 9. sám úm (íti) sú vám—asmákam astu karkritih.  
Let there be happiness to you—glory to us!  

3. With as or bhû understood:  
vi. 45, 22. sám yát gáve ná sâkíne.  
A song which is pleasant to the mighty Indra, as food  
to an ox.  

vii. 13, 11. sám ÍÓ hí te.  
For it is well for thee.  
x. 86, 15. mantháh te indra sám hridé.  
The mixture is pleasant to thy heart, O Indra!  
x. 97, 18. áram kâmâya, sám hridé.  
Enough for love, pleasant to the heart.  

vi. 34, 3. sám tát asmai.  
That is pleasant to him.  

vi. 21, 4. káh te yagñáh mánase sám várâya.  
What sacrifice seems to thy mind pleasant to select?  

4. With kar:  
i. 43, 6. sám nah karati árvate.  
May he do well to our horse, i.e. may he benefit our horses.  
iv. 1, 3. tokāya tugé—sám kridhi.  
Do good to our children and progeny, or bless us for  
the procreation of children.  

viii. 18, 8. sám nah karatah asvínâ.  
May the two Asvins do us good!  

5. With vah:  
i. 157, 3. sám nah Ívakshat dvi-páde kátuh-pade.  
May he bring blessing to us for man and cattle.  

viii. 5, 20. téna nah—pásve tokāya sám gáve, váhatam  
pivarih íshah.
Bring to us rich food, a blessing to cattle, to children, and to the ox.

6. With other verbs, such as pû, vâ, and others, where it is clearly used as an adverb:
ix. ii, 3. sâh nabh pavasva sám gâve sám gânâya sám árvate, sám râgan óshadhîbhyah.

Do thou, king Soma, stream upon us, a blessing for the ox, a blessing for man, a blessing for the horse, a blessing for the plants. Cf. ix. ii, 7; 60, 4; 61, 15; 109, 5.

vii. 35, 4. sám nabh ishirâh abhî vâtu vâtaḥ.

May the brisk wind blow kindly upon us, or blow a blessing upon us.

vii. 35, 6. sám nabh tvâshtâ gnâbhih ihá srinotu.

May Tvâshfâr with the goddesses hear us here well, i.e. auspiciously!

vii. 35, 8. sám nabh sûryah—út etu.

May the sun rise auspiciously for us!

viii. 18, 9. sám nabh tapatu sûryah.

May the sun warm us well!

iii. 13, 6. sám nabh soka—ágne.

Shine well for us, O Agni!

Sám also occurs in a phrase that has puzzled the interpreters of the Veda very much, viz. sám yoḥ. These are two words, and must both be taken as substantives, though originally they may have been adverbs. Their meaning seems to have been much the same, and in English they may safely be rendered by health and wealth, in the old acceptance of these words:

i. 93, 7. dhattam yâgamânâya sám yoḥ.

Give, Agni and Soma, to the sacrificer health and wealth.

i. 106, 5. sám yoḥ yât te mânûh-hitam tât îmahe.

Bṛihaspati, we ask for health and wealth which thou gavest to Manu.

i. 114, 2. yât sám ka yoḥ ka mânûh â-yegê pitâ tât asyâma táva rudra prá-nîtishu.

Rudra, the health and wealth which Manu, the father, obtained, may we reach it under thy guidance.

ii. 33, 13. yâni mânûh ávrinta pitâ nah tâ sám ka yoḥ ka rudrâsyâ vasmī.
The medicines which our father Manu chose, those I desire, the health and wealth of Rudra.

i. 189, 2. bháva tokāya tánayāya sáṃ yóḥ.
Be to our offspring health and wealth!

iv. 12, 5. yákkha tokāya tánayāya sáṃ yóḥ.
Give to our offspring health and wealth!

v. 69, 3. ōle tokāya tánayāya sáṃ yóḥ.
I ask for our offspring health and wealth.

vi. 50, 7. dháta tokāya tánayāya sáṃ yóḥ.
Give to our offspring health and wealth!

x. 182, 1. átha karat yágamânāya sáṃ yóḥ.
May he then produce for the sacrificer health and wealth.

vii. 69, 5. téna nah sáṃ yóḥ—ní asvinâ vahatam.
On that chariot bring to us, Asvins, health and wealth.

iii. 17, 3. átha bhava yágamânāya sáṃ yóḥ.
Then, Agni, be health and wealth to the sacrificer.

iii. 18, 4. brihát váyah sasamánéshu dhehi, revát agne visvámítreshu sáṃ yóḥ.
Give, Agni, much food to those who praise thee, give to the Visvámíttras richly health and wealth.

x. 15, 4. átha nah sáṃ yóḥ arapáḥ dadháta.
And give us health and wealth without a flaw! Cf. x. 59, 8.

x. 37, 11. tát asmé sáṃ yóḥ arapáḥ dadhátana.
And give to us health and wealth without a flaw!

v. 47, 7. tát astu mitra-varunâ tát agne sáṃ yóḥ asmá-bhyam idám astu sastám.
Let this, O Mitra-Varuna, let this, O Agni, be health and wealth to us; may this be auspicious!

v. 53, 14. vrishtvī sáṃ yóḥ āpah usrí bhesagám syáma marutāḥ sahá.
Let us be together, O Maruts, after health, wealth, water, and medicine have been showered down in the morning.

viii. 39, 4. sáṃ ka yóḥ ka máyah dadhe.
He gave health, wealth, and happiness.

viii. 71, 15. agním sáṃ yóḥ ka dátave.
We ask Agni to give us health and wealth.

x. 9, 4. sáṃ yóḥ abhí sravantu nah.
May the waters bring to us health and wealth, or may they run towards us auspiciously.
Verse 4, note 3. If we retain the reading of the MSS. sūṣhmaḥ iyarti, we must take it as an independent phrase, and translate it by 'my strength rises.' For sūṣhma, though in this and other places it is frequently explained as an adjective, meaning powerful, is, as far as I can see, always a substantive, and means power, strength. There may be a few passages in which, as there occur several words for strength, it might be possible to translate sūṣhma by strong. But even there it is better to keep to the general meaning of sūṣhma, and translate it as a substantive.

Iyarti means to rise and to raise. It is particularly applied to prayers raised by the poet in honour of the gods, and the similes used in connection with this, show clearly what the action implied by iyarti really is. For instance,
i. 116, 1. stōmān iyarmi abhriyā-iva vātah.
I stir up hymns as the wind stirs the clouds.
x. 116, 9. su-vakasyām iyarmi sindhau-iva prá īrayam nāvam.
I stir up sweet praise, as if rowing a ship on the river.
In the sense of rising it occurs,
x. 140, 2. pāvakā-varkāh sukrā-varkāh ánūna-varkāh út iyarshi bhāmūnā.
Thou risest up with splendour, Agni, thou of bright, resplendent, undiminished majesty.

We might therefore safely translate in our verse 'my strength rises,' although it is true that such a phrase does not occur again, and that in other passages where iyarti and sūṣhma occur together, the former governs the latter in the accusative. Cf. iv. 17, 12; x. 75, 3.

Verse 5, note 1. If, as we can hardly avoid, we ascribe this verse to the Maruts, we must recognize in it the usual offer of help to Indra on the part of the Maruts. The question then only is, who are the strong friends in whose company they appear? It would be well if one could render antamebhiḥ by horses, as Sāyana does, but there is no authority for it. Svā-kshatra is an adjective, meaning endowed with independent strength, synonymous with svā-tavas, i. 166, 2. It is applied to the mind of Indra, i. 54, 3; v. 35, 4; to the Maruts, v. 48, 1, but never to
horses. As it stands, we can only suppose that a distinction is made between the Maruts and their followers, and that after calling together their followers, and adorning themselves for battle, they proceed to harness their chariots. Cf. i. 107, 2.

Verse 5, note 2. Étân, in all MSS. which I consulted, has here the accent on the first syllable, and Professor Aufrecht ought not to have altered the word into étâh. If the accent had not been preserved by the tradition of the schools, the later interpreters would certainly have taken étâh for the demonstrative pronoun. As it is, in spite of accent and termination, Sâyana in i. 166, 10, seems to take étâh for été. In other passages, however, Sâyana, too, has perceived the difference, and in i. 169, 6, he explains the word very fully as prishadvaranâ gantâro vâ asvâ vâ. In this passage the Etas are clearly the deer of the Maruts, the Prishatis:

i. 169, 6. ádha yat eshâm prithu-budhnâsah étâh.

In the next verse, however, éta seems applied to the Maruts themselves:

i. 169, 7. prâti ghorânâm étânâm ayâsâm marútâm srinve â-yatãm upabdih.

The shout of the terrible, speckled, indefatigable Maruts is heard, as they approach; unless we translate:

The noise of the terrible deer of the indefatigable Maruts is heard, as they approach.

In i. 166, 10, âmseshu étâh, I adopt Professor Roth’s conjecture, that étâh means the skins of the fallow deer, so that we should have to translate: On their shoulders are the deer-skins.

In the other passages where étâ occurs, it is used as a simile only, and therefore throws no light on the relation of the Etas to the Maruts. In both passages, however (v. 54, 5; x. 77, 2), the simile refers to the Maruts, though to their speed only, and not to their colour.

Verse 5, note 3. Mâha-k-bhîh, which I have translated 'with all our might,' seems to be used almost as an adverb, mightily or quickly (makshu), although the original meaning, with our powers, through our might, is likewise applicable. The original meaning is quite perceptible in passages like
v. 62, 3. ádhârayatam prithivîm utá dyâm mîtra-râgânâ varunâ mâha-\-bhi\-h.

Kings Mitra and Varuṇa, you have supported heaven and earth by your powers.

vii. 3, 7. tébhih nah agne ámitaih mâha-\-bhi\-h satám pûr-bhi\-h áyasibhih nî pâhi.

With those immeasurable powers, O Agni, protect us, with a hundred iron strongholds.

i. 90, 2. té—mâha-\-bhi\-h, vratâ rakshante visvâhâ. They always protect the laws by their powers.

vii. 71, 1. tvam nah agne mâha-\-bhi\-h pâhi. Protect us, Agni, with thy power.

In other passages, however, we see mâha-\-bhi\-h used of the light or of the flames of Agni and of the dawn:

iv. 14, 1. devâh rôkamânâh mâha-\-bhi\-h. Agni, the god, brilliant with his powers.

vi. 64, 2. devi rôkamânâ mâha-\-bhi\-h. O goddess, brilliant with thy powers.

The powers of the Maruts are referred to by the same name in the following passages:

v. 58, 5. prá-prâ \-gâyante—mâha-\-bhi\-h. The Maruts are born with their powers.

vii. 58, 2. prá yé mâha-\-bhi\-h ògasâ utá sánti. The Maruts who excel in power and strength. Cf. iii. 4, 6.

Verse 6, note 1. Indra in this dialogue is evidently represented as claiming everything for himself alone. He affects contempt for the help proffered by the Maruts, and seems to deny that he was at any time beholden to their assistance.

By asking, Where was that custom of yours that you should join me in battle? he implies that it never was their custom before, and that he can dispense with their succour now. He wants to be alone in his battle with Ahi, and does not wish that they should join him: (cf. i. 33, 4.) Professor Roth takes sam-\-ádhatta in the sense of implicating, but it can hardly be said that the Maruts ever implicated Indra in his fight against Ahi. Certainly this is not in keeping with the general tenor of this dialogue, where, on the contrary, Indra shuns the company of the Maruts. But while on
this point I differ from Professor Roth, I think he has rightly interpreted the meaning of ánāmam. Out of the four passages in which badha-snaíḥ occurs, it is three times joined with nam, and every time has the sense of to bend away from, to escape from. See also Sonne, in Kuhn’s Zeitschrift, vol. xii. p. 348.


Verse 7, note 2. The last words leave no doubt as to their meaning, for the phrase is one of frequent occurrence. The only difficulty is the vocative marutaḥ, where we should expect the nominative. It is quite possible, however, that the Maruts should here address themselves, though, no doubt, it would be easy to alter the accent. As to the phrase itself, see

viii. 61, 4. táthā ít asat índra krátvá yáthá váśah.
May it be so, O Indra, as thou desirest by thy mind.

viii. 66, 4. vagaṝ—ít karat índraḥ krátvá yáthá váśat.
May Indra with the thunderbolt act as he desires in his mind. Cf. viii. 20, 17; 28, 4, &c.

Verse 8, note 1. Here again Indra claims everything for himself, denying that the Maruts in any way assisted him while performing his great deeds. These deeds are the killing of Vritra, who withholds the waters, i.e. the rain from the earth, and the consequent liberation of the waters so that they flow down freely for the benefit of Manu, that is, of man.

When Indra says that he slew Vritra indriyéna, he evidently chooses that word with a purpose, and we must therefore translate it, not only by might, but by Indra’s peculiar might. Indriyá, as derived from índra, means originally Indra-hood, then power in general, just as vere-thraghna in Zend means victory in general, though originally it meant the slaying of Vritra.

Verse 9, note 1. Devátā in the ordinary sense of a deity never occurs in the Rig-veda. The word, in fact, as a
feminine substantive occurs but twice, and in the tenth Mandala only. But even there it does not mean deity. In x. 24, 6, devāh devātayā means, O gods, by your godhead, i.e. by your divine power. In x. 98, i, brihaspate prāti me devātām ihi, I take devātā in the same sense as devātāti, and translate, O Brihaspati, come to my sacrifice.

In all other places where devātā occurs in the Rig-veda it is a local adverb, and means among the gods. I shall only quote those passages in which Professor Roth assigns to devātā a different meaning:

i. 55, 3. prā víryēna devātā āti kekeite.
He is pre-eminent among the gods by his strength.
i. 22, 5. sāh kēttā devātā padām.
He knows the place among the gods.
i. 100, 15. nā yāsya devāh devātā nā mártāh āpah kanā sāvasah āntam āpūh.
He, the end of whose power neither the gods among the gods, nor mortals, nor even the waters have reached. Here the translation of devātā in the sense of 'by their godhead,' would be equally applicable, yet nothing would be gained as, in either case, devātā is a weak repetition.

vi. 4, 7. índram nā tvā sāvasā devātā vāyūm priṇanti rādhasā nri-tamālō. The best among men celebrate thee, O Agni, as like unto Indra in strength among the gods, as like unto Vāyu in liberality.

Verse 9, note 2. The juxta-position of gāyamānāh and gātāh would seem to show that, if the latter had a past, the former had a future meaning. To us, 'No one who will be born and no one who has been born,' would certainly sound more natural. The Hindu, however, is familiar with the idea as here expressed, and in order to comprehend all beings, he speaks of those who are born and those who are being born. Thus in a Padasishta of the Pāvamānīś (ix. 67) we read:

yan me garbhe vasatah pāpam ugram,
yag gāyamānasya ka kimkid anyat,
gātasya ka yak kāpi vardhato me,
tat pāvamānībhir aham punāmi.
Verse 9, note 3. Karishyaā is written in all the MSS. without a Visarga, and unless we add the Visarga on our own authority, we should have to take it as an accusative plur. neut. of a passive participle of the future, karishyāṁ standing for kåryāṁ, faciendum. It would be much easier, however, to explain this form if we added the Visarga, and read karishyaāḥ, which would then be a second person singular of a Vedic conjunctive of the future. This form occurs at least once more in the Veda:

iv. 30, 23. utā nūnāṁ yāt indriyāṁ karishyaāḥ indra paṁsyam, adyā nākiḥ tāt ā minat.

O Indra, let no man destroy to-day whatever manly feat thou art now going to achieve.

Verse 10, note 1. As I have translated these words, they sound rather abrupt. The meaning, however, would be clear enough, viz. almighty power belongs to me, therefore I can dare and do. If this abrupt expression should offend, it may be avoided, by taking the participle dadhrishvaṁ as a finite verb, and translating, Whatever I have been daring, I shall do according to my will.

Verse 11, note 1. In this verse Indra, after having declined with no uncertain sound the friendship of the Maruts, repents himself of his unkindness towards his old friends. The words of praise which they addressed to him in verse 9, in spite of the rebuff they had received from Indra, have touched his heart, and we may suppose that after this, their reconciliation was complete. The words of Indra are clear enough, the only difficulty occurs in the last words, which are so idiomatic that it is impossible to render them in English. In tanvē tanūbhiḥ, literally for the body by the bodies, tanū is used like the pronoun self. Both must therefore refer to the same subject. We cannot translate ‘for myself made by yourselves,’ but must take the two words together, so that they should mean, ‘the hymn which you have made for your own sake, freely, and by your own exertions, honestly.’

Verse 13, note 1. I translate api-vatāyantaḥ by cherishing, a meaning equally applicable to i. 128, 2, and x. 25, 1.
I suppose the original meaning was really to blow upon a person, to cool or refresh a person by a draught of air, which, in countries like India, was and is the office of the attendants of a prince. It would then take the meaning of honouring, worshipping or cherishing, though I confess the hymns of the Veda seem almost too early for such a courtly metaphor.

Verse 14, note 1. This is a verse which, without some conjectural alterations, it seems impossible to translate. Sâyana, of course, has a translation ready for it, so has M. Langlois, but both of them offend against the simplest rules of grammar and logic. The first question is, who is meant by asmān (which is here used as an amphimacer), the sacrificers or the Maruts? The verb ā kakre would well apply to the medhā mányāsya, the hymn of Mānya, which is intended to bring the Maruts to the sacrifice, this bringing to the sacrifice being the very meaning of ā kar. But then we have the vocative marutah in the next line, and even if we changed the vocative into the accusative, we should not gain much, as the Maruts could hardly call upon anybody to turn them towards the sage.

If, on the contrary, we admit that asmān refers to those who offer the sacrifice, then we must make a distinction, which, it is true, is not an unusual one, between those who here speak of themselves in the first person, and who provide the sacrifice, and the poet Mândārya Mānya, who was employed by them to compose or to recite this hymn.

But even if we adopt this alternative, many difficulties still remain. First of all, we have to change the accent of kakre into kakre, which may seem a slight change, but is not the less objectionable when we consider that in our emendations of the Vedic hymns we must think rather of accidents that might happen in oral traditions than of the lapsus calami of later scribes. Secondly, we must suppose that the hymn of Mândārya Mānya ends with verse 13, and that the last verses were supplied by the sacrificers themselves. Possibly the dialogue only, from verse 3 to verse 12, was the work of Mānya, and the rest added at some solemn occasion.
Other difficulties, however, remain. Duvasyāt is taken by Sāyana as an ablative of duvasyā, worthy of dúvas, i.e. of worship, of sacrifice. Unfortunately this duvasyā does not occur again, though it would be formed quite regularly, like namasyā, worthy of worship, from nāmas, worship.

If we take duvasyāt as the 3rd pers. sing. of the present in the Vedic conjunctive, we must also confess that this conjunctive does not occur again. But the verb duvasyati occurs frequently. It seems to have two meanings. It is derived from dúvas, which in the Vedic language means worship or sacrifice, just as karma, work, has assumed the special sense of sacrifice. Derived from dúvas in this sense, duvasyati means to worship. But dúvas meant originally any *opus operatum*. The root from which dúvas is derived, is lost in Sanskrit, but it exists in other languages. It must have been *du* or *dū* in the sense of acting, or sedulously working. It exists in Zend as *du*, to do, in Gothic as *tāvanjan*, *gatanjan*, Old High German *zaujan*, Modern German *zauen* (Grimm, Gram. i. p. 1041). The Gothic *tavi*, opus, Old High German *zouvi*, Middle High German *gezōuwe* (Grimm, Gram. iii. p. 499), come from the same source; and it is possible, too, that the Old Norse *tufrar*, incantamenta, the Old High German *zoupar*, Middle High German *zouber*, both neuter, and the modern Zaubur, may find their explanation in the Sanskrit dúvas. Derived from dúvas, in the sense of work, we have duvasyati in the sense of helping, providing, the German *schaffen* and *verschaffen*.

In the sense of worshipping, duvasyati occurs, iii. 2, 8. duvasyāta—*gātā*-vedasam.

Worship Gātavedas.

v. 28, 6. ā *guhota* duvasyāta agnīṃ.

Invoke, worship Agni. Cf. iii. 13, 3; i, 13.

iii. 3, i. agnīḥ hī devān—duvasyāti.

Agni performs the worship of the gods. Cf. vii. 82, 5.

i. 167, 6. sutā-somatu duvasyān.

He who has poured out Soma and worships.

In many passages duvasyati is joined with an instrumental:
v. 42, 11. námah-bhīḥ devām—duvasya.
Worship the god with praises.
i. 78, 2. tām u tvā gótamah girā—duvasyati.
Gotama worships thee with a song.
v. 49, 2. su-uktaḥ devām—duvasya.
Worship the god with hymns.
vi. 16, 46. vātī yāḥ devām—duvasyēt.
He who worships the god with food.
x. 14, 1. yamām—havīshā duvasya.
Worship Yama with an oblation.
vi. 15, 6. agnīm-agnīm vah samīdhā duvasyata.
Worship Agni with your log of wood. Cf. viii. 44, 1.
iii. 1, 2. samīt-bhīḥ agnīm nāmasā duvasyan.
They worshipped Agni with logs of wood, with praise.
In the more general and, I suppose, more original sense
of caring for, attending, we find duvasyati:
iii. 51, 3. anēchāsah stūbḥaḥ īndraḥ duvasyati.
Indra provides for the matchless worshippers.
i. 112, 15. kalīm yābhiḥ—duvasyāthaḥ.
By the succours with which you help Kali. Cf. i. 112, 21.
i. 62, 10. duvasyānti svāsāraḥ āhrayānam.
The sisters attend the proud (Agni).
i. 119, 10. yuvām pedāve—svetām—duvasyathaḥ.
You provide for Pedu the white horse.
If, then, we take duvasyati in the sense of working for,
assisting, it may be with the special sense of assisting at a
sacred act, like διακόνειν; and if we take duvās, as it has
the accent on the last syllable, as the performer of sacrifice,
we may venture to translate, 'that he should help, as the
singer helps the performer of the sacrifice*.' The singer
or the poet may be called the assistant at a sacrifice, for
his presence was not necessary at all sacrifices, the songs
constituting an ornament rather than an essential in most
sacred acts. But though I think it right to offer this
conjectural interpretation, I am far from supposing that it
gives us the real sense of this difficult verse. Duvasyāt
may be, as Sāyava suggests, an ablative of duvasyā; and

* Kar in the sense of officiating at a sacrifice is equally construed with a
dative, x. 97, 22. yāsmai krīṇōti brāhmaṇāḥ, he for whom a Brāhmaṇa
performs a sacrifice.
duvasyá, like namasyá, if we change the accent, may mean he who is to be worshipped, or worshipping. In this way a different interpretation might suggest itself, in which the words duvasyāt duváse could be taken to mean ‘from one worshipper to another.’ Some happy thought may some day or other clear up this difficulty, when those who have toiled, but toiled in a wrong direction, will receive scant thanks for the trouble they have taken.

In the second line, the words ó sú varta remind one of similar phrases in the Veda, but we want an accusative, governed by varta; whereas marutah, to judge from its accent, can only be a vocative. Thus we read:

i. 138, 4. ó (ítī) sú tvá vavritàmahì stómebhìh.
May we turn thee quickly hither by our praises!
viii. 7, 33. ó (ítī) sú vrishnàh—vavritàm.
May I turn the heroes quickly hither!

Compare also passages like iii. 33, 8:
o (ítī) sú svasárah káráve srinota.
Listen quickly, O sisters, to the poet.
i. 139, 7. ó (ítī) sú nàh agne srinuhi.
Hear us quickly, O Agni.

Cf. i. 182, 1; ii. 34, 15; vii. 59, 5; viii. 2, 19; x. 179, 2.

Unless we change the accent, we must translate, ‘Bring hither quickly!’ and we must take these words as addressed to the kárú, the poet, whose hymn is supposed to attract the gods to the sacrifice. By a quick transition, the next words, marutah vípram ákkha, would then have to be taken as addressed to the gods, ‘Maruts, on to the sage!’ and the last words would become intelligible by laying stress on the vaḥ, ‘for you, and not for Indra or any other god, has the singer recited these hymns.’

Verse 15, note 1. I translate Mānya, the son of Māna, because the poet, so called in i. 189, 8, is in all probability the same as our Mándárya Mānya.

Verse 15, note 2. The second line is difficult, owing to the uncertain meaning of vayām. First of all, it might seem as if the two hemistichs must be kept distinct, because the second is so often used independently of the first.
There are passages, however, where this very hemistich carries on the sentence of a preceding hemistich, as, for instance, i. 177, 5; 182, 8. We may therefore join tanvē vayām with the following words, and it certainly seems more difficult to elicit any sense if we join them with the preceding words.

A ḍhā́ * yāśishṭa might be rendered, 'Come hither with water or drink or rain,' yāśishṭa being the aorist without the augment and with the intermediate vowel lengthened. The indicative occurs in

v. 58, 6. yāt prā āyāśishṭa prīṣhatibhiḥ āsvaiḥ.

When you Maruts come forth with your fallow deer and your horses.

But what is the meaning of vayām? Vayā means a germ, a sprout, an offshoot, a branch, as may be seen from the following passages:

i. 5, 4. vidvān asya vratā dhruvā vayāḥ-iva ānu rohate.
He who knows his eternal laws, springs up like young sprouts.

vi. 7, 6. tāsyā īt ūm (īti) vīsvā bhūvānā ādhi mūrdhāni vayāḥ-iva ruruḥuḥ.
From above the head of Vaisvanara all worlds have grown, like young sprouts.

viii. 13, 6. stotā—vayāḥ-iva ānu rohate.
The worshipper grows up like young sprouts.

viii. 13, 17. īndram kshoṁuḥ avardhayan vayāḥ-iva.
The people made Indra to grow like young sprouts.

viii. 19, 33. yāsyā te agne anyē agnāyāh upa-kshītah vayāḥ-iva. Agni, of whom the other fires are like parasitical shoots.
i. 59, 1. vayāḥ īt agne agnāyāh te anyē.
O Agni, the other fires are indeed offshoots of thee.

ii. 35, 8. vayāḥ īt anyā bhūvanāni asya.
The other worlds are indeed his (the rising sun's) offshoots.

vi. 13, 1. tvāt vīsvā—saʿūbhagāni āgne vī yanti vanīnāh nā vayāḥ.
From thee, O Agni, spring all happinesses, as the sprouts of a tree.

* There was a misprint in the Sanhitā text, eshā instead of ēshā, which was afterwards repeated whenever the same verse occurred again.
vi. 24, 3. vrikshasya nú (ná?) te—vayāḥ ví útāyah ruruhuh. Succours sprang from thee, like the branches of a tree. v. 1, 1. yahvāḥ-iva prá vayām ut-gīhānāḥ prá bhānāvah sisrate nākam ākkāh.

Like birds (?) flying up to a branch, the flames of Agni went up to heaven.

vi. 57, 5. tām pūshnāḥ su-matīm vayām vrikshasya prá vayām-iva īndrasya ka ā rabhāmahe.

Let us reach this favour of Pūshan and of Indra, as one reaches forth to the branch of a tree.

There remain some doubtful passages in which vaya occurs, vii. 40, 5, and x. 92, 3; 134, 6. In the first passage, as in our own, vayāḥ is trisyllabic.

If vaya can be used in the sense of offshoot or sprout, we may conclude that the same word, used in the singular, might mean offspring, particularly when joined with tanvē. 'Give a branch to our body,' would be understood even in languages less metaphorical than that of the Vedas; and as the prayer for 'olive branches' is a constant theme of the Vedic poets, the very absence of that prayer here, might justify us in assigning this sense to vayām. In vi. 2, 5, the expression vayāvantam kshāyam, a house with branches, means the same as nrivāntam, a house with children and men. See M. M., On Ὁῖς and vāyas, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xv. p. 215.

If the third pada is to be kept as an independent sentence, we must take yāsīshta as the third pers. sing. of the benedictive, and refer it to stōmah or gīh. Grammatically this may seem preferable, and I have given this alternative translation in the next hymn, where the same verse occurs again.

Verse 15, note 3. Vriyānā means an enclosure, a νομός, whether it be derived from vriy, to ward off, like arcē from arcerē, or from vriy, in the sense of clearing, as in vrikta-barhis, barhīḥ prá vriṅge, i. 116, 1. In either case the meaning remains much the same, viz. a field, cleared for pasture or agriculture,—a clearing, as it is called in America, or a camp,—enclosed with hurdles or walls, so as to be capable of defence against wild animals or against enemies. Other meanings of vriyānā will be discussed in other places.
1. Tāt nū volāma rabhasāya gānmane pūrvam mahī-tvāṃ vrishabhāṣya ketāve, aidhā-iva yāman marutah tuvi-svanah yudhā-iva sakrāḥ tavishāṇī kartana.


3. Yāsmai ūmāsah anmītāḥ ārāsata rāyāḥ pōsham ka havīshā dadāsūshe, ukshānti asmai marutah hitāḥ-iva purū rāgāmsi pāyasā mayaḥ-bhūvah.

4. Ā yē rāgāmsi tavishibhiḥ āvyata pra vah évāsah svā-yatāśah adhragan, bhāyante vīśvā bhūvanāni harmyā kitrāḥ vah yāmah pra-yatāsu rishtīshu.

5. Yāt tvēshāyāṃ marutah nadāyanta pārvatān divāḥ vā prishthām nāryāḥ * ákukyavuh, vīśvā vah āgman bhayate vānaspatiḥ rathiyānti-iva pra gihite ōsha-dhiḥ.


* nāryāḥ
Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. Let us now proclaim for the robust host, for the herald of the powerful (Indra), their ancient greatness! O ye strong-voiced Maruts, you heroes, show your powers on your way as with a torch, as with a sword!

2. Like parents bringing sweet to their own son, the wild (Maruts) play playfully at the sacrifices. The Rudras reach the worshipper with their protection, powerful by themselves, they do not hurt the sacrificer.

3. For the giver of oblations, for him to whom the immortal guardians, too, have given plenty of riches, the Maruts, who gladden men with the milk (of rain), pour out, like friends, many clouds.

4. You who have stirred up the clouds with might, your horses rushed forth, self-guided. All beings who dwell in houses are afraid of you, your coming is brilliant with your spears thrust forth.

5. When they whose path is fiery have caused the rocks to tremble, or when the manly Maruts have shaken the back of the sky, then every lord of the forest fears at your racing, the shrubs get out of your way, quick like chariots.

6. You, O terrible Maruts, whose ranks are never broken, favourably fulfil our prayer! Wherever your gory-toothed lightning bites, it crunches all living beings, like a well-aimed bolt.


10. Bhúrini bhadrá náryeshu báhúshu vákshah-su rukmáh rabhasásah añgáyah, ámseshu étáh pavíshu kshuráh ádhi váyah ná pakshán ví ánú sríyah dhire.


12. Tát vah su-gátáh marutah mahi-tvanám dirghám vah dátrám áditeh-iva vratám, índrah kaná tyágasá ví hrunáti tát gánáya yásmai su-krite árádhvam.

13. Tát vah gámi-tvám marutah páre yugé purú yát sámsam amritásah ávata, ayá dhiyá
7. The Maruts whose gifts are firm, whose bounties are never ceasing, who do not revile, and who are highly praised at the sacrifices, they sing forth their song for to drink the sweet juice: they know the first manly deeds of the hero (Indra).

8. The man whom you guarded, O Maruts, shield him with hundredfold strongholds from injury and mischief,—the man whom you, O fearful, powerful singers, protect from reproach in the prosperity of his children.

9. On your chariots, O Maruts, there are all good things, strong weapons are piled up clashing against each other. When you are on your journeys, you carry the rings on your shoulders, and your axle turns the two wheels at once.

10. In your manly arms there are many good things, on your chests golden chains, flaring ornaments, on your shoulders speckled deer-skins, on your fellies sharp edges; as birds spread their wings, you spread out your splendour behind you.

11. They, mighty by might, all pervading, powerful, visible from afar like the heavens with the stars, sweet-toned, soft-tongued singers with their mouths, the Maruts, united with Indra, shout all around.

12. This is your greatness, O well-born Maruts!—your bounty extends as far as the sway of Aditi. Not even Indra in his scorn can injure that bounty, on whatever man you have bestowed it for his good deeds.

13. This is your kinship (with us), O Maruts, that you, immortals, in former years have often regarded
mánave srushitám ávya sákám nárah damsánaih ā kikitire.

14. Yéna dirghám marutaḥ susáváma yushmákena párìnasà turásah, ā yát tatánan vrigáne gánásah ebhíh yagñébhih tát abhí ishtim asyám.

15. Esháh vah stómah marutaḥ iyám gīh mândár-yásya mánýasya káróh, ā ishá yásishta tanvē vayám vidyāma ishám vrigánam girá-dānum.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Agastya, the reputed son of Mitrâvarunau, and brother of Vasishtha. The metre in verses 1–13 is Gagatī, in 14, 15 Trishtubh.

Verse 1, note 1. Rabhasā, an adjective of rābhas, and this again from the root rabh, to rush upon a thing, ā-rabh, to begin a thing. From this root rabh we have the Latin robur, in the general sense of strength, while in rabies the original meaning of impetuous motion has been more clearly preserved. In the Vedic Sanskrit, derivatives from the root rabh convey the meaning both of quickness and of strength. Quickness in ancient language frequently implies strength, and strength implies quickness, as we see, for instance, from the German snël, which, from meaning originally strong, comes to mean in modern German quick, and quick only. Thus we read:

i. 145, 3. sísuh ā adatta sám rābhah.

The child (Agni) acquired vigour.

Indra is called rabhah-dāh, giver of strength; and rabhasā, vigorous, is applied not only to the Maruts, who
our call.\(^1\) Having through this prayer granted a hearing to man, these heroes become well known by their valiant deeds.

14. That we may long flourish, O Maruts, with your wealth, O ye racers, that our men may spread in the camp, therefore let me achieve the rite with these offerings.

15. May this praise, O Maruts, may this song of Mândârya, the son of Mâna, the poet, approach you (asking) for offspring to our body together with food! May we find food, and a camp with running water!

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in v. 58, 5, are called rábhishthâh, the most vigorous, but also to Agni, ii. 10, 4, and to Indra, iii. 31, 12.

In the sense of rabid, furious, it occurs in x. 95, 14. ádha enam vrîkâh rabhasãsah adyúh.

May rabid wolves eat him!

In the next verse rabhasá, the epithet of the wolves, is replaced by ásiva, which means unlucky, uncanny.

In our hymn rabhasá occurs once more, and is applied there, in verse 10, to the aûgí or glittering ornaments of the Maruts. Here Sâyana translates it by lovely, and it was most likely intended to convey the idea of lively or brilliant splendour. See also ix. 96, 1.

Verse 1, note \(^2\). Ketú, derived from an old root ki, in Sanskrit ki, to perceive, means originally that by which a thing is perceived or known, whether a sign, or a flag, or a herald. It then takes the more general sense of light and splendour. In our passage, herald seems to me the most appropriate rendering, though B. and R. prefer the sense of banner. The Maruts come before Indra, they announce the arrival of Indra, they are the first of his army.
Verse 1, note 3. The real difficulty of our verse lies in the two comparisons aidhā-iva and yudhā-iva. Neither of them occurs again in the Rig-veda. B. and R. explain aidhā as an instrumental of aih, flaming, or flame, and derive it from the root idh, to kindle, with the preposition ā. Professor Bollenszen in his excellent article Zur Herstellung des Veda (Orient und Occident, vol. iii. p. 473) says: "The analysis of the text given in the Pada, viz. aidhā-iva and yudhā-iva, is contrary to all sense. The common predicate is tavIshaV2i kartana, exercise your power, you roarers, i.e. blow as if you meant to kindle the fire on the altar, show your power as if you went to battle. We ought therefore to read aidhe|va and yudhe|va. Both are infinitives, aidh is nothing but the root idh + ā, to kindle, to light." Now this is certainly a very ingenious explanation, but it rests on a supposition which I cannot consider as proved, viz. that in the Veda, as in Pali, the comparative particle iva may be abbreviated to va. It must be admitted, I believe, that the two short syllables of iva are occasionally counted in the Veda as one, but yudhē-iva, though it might become yudhā iva, would never in the Veda become yudhēva.

As yudhā occurs frequently in the Veda, we may begin by admitting that the parallel form aidhā must be explained in analogy to yudhā. Now yūdh is a verbal noun and means fighting. We have the accusative yūdhäm, i. 53, 7; the genitive yudhāḥ, viii. 27, 17; the dative yudhē, i. 61, 13; the locative yudhī, i. 8, 3; the instrumental yudhā, i. 53, 7, &c.; loc. plur. yut-sū, i. 91, 21. As long as yūdh retains the general predicative meaning of fighting, some of these cases may be called infinitives. But yūdh soon assumes not only the meaning of battle, battle-ground, but also of instrument of fighting, weapon. In another passage, x. 103, 2, yūdhaḥ may be taken as a vocative plural, meaning fighters. Passages in which yūdh means clearly weapon, are, for instance,

v. 52, 6. ā rukmaṁ ā yudhā nāraḥ rishvāh rishtāḥ avrikshata.

With your gold chains, with your weapon, you have stretched forth the uplifted spears.
x. 55, 8. pītvī sōmasya divāh ā vṛdhānāh sūrah nīh yudhāh adhamat dāsyūn.

The hero, growing, after drinking the Soma, blew away from the sky the enemies with his weapon. See also x. 103, 4.

I therefore take yūdh in our passage also in the sense of weapon or sword, and, in accordance with this, I assign to aīdhd the meaning of torch. Whether aīdh comes from idh with the preposition ā, which after all, would only give edh, or whether we have in the Sanskrit aīdh the same peculiar strengthening which this very root shows in Greek and Latin*, would be difficult to decide. The torch of the Maruts is the lightning, the weapon the thunderbolt, and by both they manifest their strength.

Wilson: 'We proclaim eagerly, Maruts, your ancient greatness, for (the sake of inducing) your prompt appearance, as the indication of (the approach of) the showerer (of benefits). Loud-roaring and mighty Maruts, you exert your vigorous energies for the advance (to the sacrifice), as if it was to battle.'

Langlois: 'Le généreux (Agni) a donné le signal; chantons l'hymne du matin en l'honneur d'une race impétueuse. O puissants et rapides Marouts, que la marche accroisse votre éclat; que l'élan du combat augmente vos forces!'

Verse 2, note ¹. That úpa can be construed with the accusative is clear from many passages:

iii. 35, 2. úpa imām yaṇām ā vahātaḥ índram.
Bring Indra to this sacrifice!
i. 25, 4. váyah ná vasaṭḥ úpa.
As birds (fly) to their nests.

Verse 2, note ². Nītya, from ni + tya, means originally what is inside, internus, then what is one's own; and is opposed to nīṣṭya, from nis + tya, what is outside, strange, or hostile. Nītya has been well compared with nigā, literally

* Schleicher, Compendium, § 36, aīdā, aīθρ, aīdousa; and § 49, aīdēs, aīdilis, aētos.
eingeboren, then, like nítya, one's own. What is inside, or in a thing or place, is its own, is peculiar to it, does not move or change, and hence the secondary meanings of nítya, one's own, unchanging, eternal. Thus we find nítya used in the sense of internal or domestic:

i. 73, 4. tám tvā náraḥ dáme ā nítyam iddhám ágne sákanta kshitíshu dhruvásu.

Our men worshipped thee, O Agni, lighted within the house in safe places.

This I believe to be a more appropriate rendering than if we take nítya in the sense of always, continuously lighted, or, as some propose, in the sense of eternal, everlasting.

vii. 1, 2. dakshāyāyah yāḥ dáme āṣa nítyah.

Agni who is to be pleased within the house, i.e. as belonging to the house, and, in that sense, who is to be pleased always. Cf. i. 140, 7; 141, 2; x. 12, 2, and iii. 25, 5, where nítyah, however, may have been intended as an adjective belonging to the vocative sūno.

Most frequently nítya occurs with sūnū, i. 66, 1; 185, 2; tánaya, iii. 15, 2; x. 39, 14; toká, ii. 2, 11; āpī, vii. 88, 6; páti, i. 71, 1, and has always the meaning of one's own, very much like the later Sanskrit niṅga, which never occurs in the Rig-veda, though it makes its appearance in the Ātharvāna.

Níshṭya, extraneus, occurs three times in the Rig-veda:

vi. 75, 19. yāḥ nah svāḥ āraṇah yāḥ ka níshtyah gīghāmsati.

Whoever wishes to hurt us, our own friend or a stranger from without.

x. 133, 5. yāḥ nah indra abhi-dāsati sā-nābhiḥ yāḥ ka níshtyah.

He who infests us, O Indra, whether a relative or a stranger.

viii. 1, 13. mā bhūma níshtyāḥ-iva īndra tvād āraṇah-iva.

Let us not be like outsiders, O Indra, not like strangers to thee.

Wilson: 'Ever accepting the sweet (libation), as (they would) a son, they sport playfully at sacrifices, demolishing (all intruders).'

Langlois: 'Acceptant la douce libation sans cesse renou-
velée, comme (un père adopte) un nouveau-né, ils se livrent à leurs jeux au milieu des sacrifices, terribles (pour leurs ennemis).'

Verse 4, note 1. ैवयता, a Vedic second aorist of ै (a), to stir up, to excite. From it pra-vayazon, a goad, pra-vetar, a driver. The Greek ै-ै-र, gad-fly, has been referred to the same root. See Fick, Wörterbuch, p. 170.

Verse 4, note 2. अध्राग, from ध्राग, a root which, by metathesis of aspiration, would assume the form of द्राग or द्राग. In Greek, the final medial aspirate being hardened, reacts on the initial media, and changes it to t, as बाहु becomes न्याच, बुध, बाँध न्य, This would give us रेख, the Greek root for running, Goth. थ्राज-जान.

Verse 4, note 3. हर्म्यां is used here as an adjective to भुवन, and can only mean living in houses. It does not, however, occur again in the same sense, though it occurs several times as a substantive, meaning house. Its original meaning is fire-pit, then hearth, then house, a transition of meaning analogous to that of ैदेस. Most of the ancient nations begin their kitchen with a fire-pit. ‘They dig a hole in the ground, take a piece of the animal’s raw hide, and press it down with their hands close to the sides of the hole, which thus becomes a sort of pot or basin. This they fill with water, and they make a number of stones red-hot in a fire close by. The meat is put into the water, and the stones dropped in till the meat is boiled. Catlin describes the process as awkward and tedious, and says that since the Assinaboins had learnt from the Mandans to make pottery, and had been supplied with vessels by the traders, they had entirely done away the custom, “excepting at public festivals; where they seem, like all others of the human family, to take pleasure in cherishing and perpetuating their ancient customs” ’. This pit was

* Tylor, Early History of Mankind, p. 262.
called harmya, which is the Zend zairimya*, or gharmá, which is the Latin *formus*. Thus we read:

vii. 56, 16. té harmye-stháh sisavah ná subhráh.

The Maruts bright like boys standing by the hearth.

From meaning fire-pit, or hearth, harmya afterwards takes the more general sense of house:

vii. 55, 6. tészám sám hanmah aksháni yáthá idám harmyám táthá.

We shut their eyes as we shut this house, (possibly, this oven.)

vii. 76, 2. pratiká́ a agát ádhi harmyébhyah.

The dawn comes near, over the house-tops.

x. 46, 3. gátáh a harmyéshu.

Agni, born in the houses.

x. 73, 10. manyóh iyâya harmyéshu tasthau.

He came from Manyu, he remained in the houses.

In some of these passages harmya might be taken in the sense of householder; but as harmya in vii. 55, 6, has clearly the meaning of a building, it seems better not to assign to it unnecessarily any new significations.

But there is one other meaning which harmya has clearly assumed in the Veda, and that is pit, or the region of darkness, the abode of evil spirits, lastly the abode of the departed. The transition of meaning is intelligible enough, the fiery oven becoming naturally the symbol of any other place of torment:

v. 32, 5. yúyutsantam támasi harmyé dháh.

When thou, Indra, hadst placed Sushína, who was anxious to fight, in the darkness of the pit.

In the next verse we find

ásúryé támasi, in the ghastly darkness.

viii. 5, 23. yuvám kánváya násatyá ápi-riptáya harmyé sásvat ú́th dasaśyáthah.

You, Násatyas, always grant your aid to Kauva when thrown into the pit.

* Justi, Handbuch, p. 119, zairimyànura, adj. in der Tiefe essend, Name eines Daéva oder, da er dem Hund gegenüber genannt wird, eines ahri-
manischen Thieres, Spiegel (Av. übers. vol. i. p. 190) vermuthet des Hamsters.
This fiery pit into which Atri is thrown, and where he, too, was saved by the Asvins, is likewise called gharmá, i. 112, 7; 119, 6; viii. 73, 3; x. 80, 3.

Lastly we find:

x. 114, 10. yadā yamāḥ bhāvati harmye hitāḥ.

When Yama is seated in his house, or in the nether world.

The Pitars, too, the spirits of the departed, the Manes, are called gharma-sád, dwelling in the abode of Yama, x. 15, 9, and 10.

Wilson: 'Those, your coursers, which traverse the regions in their speed, proceed, self-guided: all worlds, all dwellings are alarmed, for marvellous is your coming: (such fear as is felt) when spears are thrust forth (in battle).'


Verse 5, note 1. Nad certainly means to sound, and the causative might be translated by 'to make cry or shriek.' If we took párvata in the sense of cloud, we might translate, 'When you make the clouds roar;' if we took párvata for mountain, we might, with Professor Wilson, render the passage by 'When your brilliant coursers make the mountains echo.' But nad, like other roots which afterwards take the meaning of sounding, means originally to vibrate, to shake; and if we compare analogous passages where nad occurs, we shall see that in our verse, too, the Vedic poet undoubtedly meant nad to be taken in that sense:

viii. 20, 5. ákyutá kit vaḥ ágman ā nānadati párvatásah vánaspátiḥ, bhúmiḥ yámeshu regate.

At your racing even things that are immovable shake, the rocks, the lord of the forest; the earth trembles on your ways. (See i. 37, 7, note 1, page 62.)

Verse 5, note 2. See i. 37, 7, note 1, page 62.

Verse 5, note 3. Rathiyánti-iva does not occur again.
Sāyana explains it, like a woman who wishes for a chariot, or who rides in a chariot. I join it with ōshadhi, and take it in the sense of upamānād akāre (Pān. iii. 1, 10), i.e. to behave like or to be like a chariot, whether the comparison is meant to express simply the quickness of chariots or the whirling of their wheels. The Pāda has rathiyaṁti, whereas the more regular form is that of the Sanhitā, rathiyaṁti. Cf. Prātiśākhya, 587.

Verse 6, note 1. Su-ketúnā, the instrumental of su-ketu, kindness, good-mindedness, favour. This word occurs in the instrumental only, and always refers to the kindness of the gods; not, like sumatī, to the kindness of the worshipper also:

i. 79, 9. ā naḥ agne su-ketūnā rayīm visvāyu-poshasam, mārdikām dhelih gīvāse.

Give us, O Agni, through thy favour wealth which supports our whole life, give us grace to live.

i. 127, 11. sāḥ naḥ nēdisitham dádvisānah ā bhara ágne devēbhīh sá-kanāh su-ketūnā mahāh rāyāh su-ketūnā.

Thou, O Agni, seen close to us, bring to us, in company with the gods, by thy favour, great riches, by thy favour!

i. 159, 5. asmābhyam dyāvāprithivī (īti) su-ketūnā rayīm dhattam vāsu-mantam sata-gvinam.

Give to us, O Dyāvāprithivī, by your favour, wealth, consisting of treasures and many flocks.

v. 51, 11. svastī dyāvāprithivī (īti) su-ketūnā.

Give us, O Dyāvāprithivī, happiness through your favour!

v. 64, 2. tā bahāvā su-ketuṇā pra yantam asmai ārkate.

Stretch out your arms with kindness to this worshipper!

In one passage of the ninth Mandala (ix. 65, 30) we meet with su-ketunam, as an accusative, referring to Soma, the gracious, and this would pre-suppose a substantive ketūna, which, however, does not exist.

Verse 6, note 2. Sumatī has, no doubt, in most passages in the Rig-veda, the meaning of favour, the favour of the gods. 'Let us obtain your favour, let us be in your favour,' are familiar expressions of the Vedic poets. But there are also numerous passages where that meaning is
inapplicable, and where, as in our passage, we must translate sumatí by prayer or desire.

In the following passages sumatí is clearly used in its original sense of favour, blessing, or even gift:

i. 73, 6 (7). su-matím bhíkshamānāḥ.

Begging for thy favour.

i. 171, 1. su-ukténa bhikshe su-matím turānām.

With a hymn I beg for the favour of the quick Maruts.

i. 114, 3. asyāma te su-matím.

May we obtain thy favour! Cf. i. 114, 9.

We choose his favour. Cf. iii. 33, 11.

i. 117, 23. sādā kavī (íti) su-matím ā kake vām.

I always desire your favour, O ye wise Asvins.

i. 156, 3. mahāḥ te vishno (íti) su-matím bhagāmahe.

May we, O Vishnu, enjoy the favour of thee, the mighty!

Bhiksh, to beg, used above, is an old desiderative form of bhag, and means to wish to enjoy.

iii. 4, 1. su-matím rāsi vāsvaḥ.

Thou grantest the favour of wealth.

vii. 39, 1. ūrdhvāḥ agnīḥ su-matím vāsvaḥ asret.

The lighted fire went up for the favour of wealth. Cf. vii. 60, 11; ix. 97, 26.

iii. 57, 6. vāso (íti) rāsva su-matím visvā-ganyām.

Grant us, O Vasu, thy favour, which is glorious among men!

vii. 100, 2. tvām vishno (íti) su-matím visvā-ganyām—

dāḥ.

Mayest thou, Vishnu, give thy favour, which is glorious among men!

x. 11, 7. yāḥ te agne su-matím mártah ākshat.

The mortal who obtained thy favour, O Agni.

ii. 34, 15. arvākī śā marutah yā vāḥ ātih ó (íti) sú vāsrā-iva su-matih gigātu.

Your help, O Maruts, which is to usward, your favour may it come near, like a cow!

viii. 22, 4. asmān ākkha su-matih vām subhāh pati (íti) ā dhenūh-iva dhāvatu.

May your favour, O Asvins, hasten towards us, like a cow!

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But this meaning is by no means the invariable meaning of sumati, and it will easily be seen that, in the following passages, the word must be translated by prayer. Thus when Sarasvatī is called (i. 3, 11) kētanti su-matīnām, this can only mean she who knows of the prayers, as before she is called kodayitrī sūnrītānām, she who excites songs of praise:

i. 151, 7. ākha girah su-matīm gantam asma-yū (ītī). Come towards the songs, towards the prayer, you who are longing for us. Cf. x. 20, 10.

ii. 43, 3. tūshnīm āśīnāh su-matīm kikiddhi nah. Sitting quiet, listen, O Sakuni (bird), to our prayer! v. 1, 10. ā bhānḍishtasaya su-matīm kikiddhi. Take notice of the prayer of thy best praiser! Cf. v. 33, i. vii. 18, 4. ā nah índrah su-matīm gantu ākha. May Indra come to our prayer!

vii. 31, 10. prá-ketase prá su-matīm kriṇudhvam. Make a prayer for the wise god!

ix. 96, 2. su-matīm yāti ākha. He (Soma) goes near to the prayer.

x. 148, 3. rīshīnām vīprah su-matīm kakānāh. Thou, the wise, desiring the prayer of the Rishis.

viii. 22, 6. tā vām adyā sumatī-bhih subhah patī (ītī) āsvinā prá stuvimahi. Let us praise to-day the glorious Asvins with our prayers.

ix. 74, 1. tām īmahe su-matī. We implore him with prayer.

In our passage the verb pipartana, fill or fulfil, indicates in what sense sumatī ought to be taken. Su-matīm pipartana is no more than kāmam pipartana, fulfil our desire! See vii. 62, 3. ā nah kāmam pūpurantu; i. 158, 2. kāma-prēṇa-iva mānasā. On sumnā, see Aufrecht, in Kuhn’s Zeitschrift, vol. iv. p. 274.

Verse 6, note 3. Krīvīh-datā has been a crux to ancient and modern interpreters. It is mentioned as a difficult word in the Nighantu, and all that Yāska has to say is that it means possessed of cutting teeth; (Nir. vi. 30. krivīdatā vikartanadantī.) Professor Roth, in his note to this passage, says that krivi can never have the meaning
of well, which is ascribed to it in the Nighantu iii. 23, but seems rather to mean an animal, perhaps the wild boar, κάπρος, with metathesis of v and r. He translates our passage: 'Where your lightning with boar-teeth tears.' In his Dictionary, however, he only says, 'krivis, perhaps the name of an animal, and danī, tooth.' Sāyana contents himself with explaining krivirdatī by vikshepanaśīladantī, having teeth that scatter about.

My own translation is founded on the supposition that krivis, the first portion of krivirdatī, has nothing to do with krivi, but is a dialectic variety of kravis, raw flesh, the Greek κρασί, Latin caro, crūs. It means what is raw, bloody, or gory. From it the adjective krūra, horrible, cruentus; (Curtius, Grundzüge, p. 142; Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. ii. p. 235.) A name of the goddess Durgā in later Sanskrit is krūradantī, and with a similar conception the lightning, I believe, is here called krivirdatī, with gory teeth.

Verse 6, note 4. It should be observed that in rādatī the simile of the teeth of the lightning is carried on. For rādatī may be supposed to have had in the Veda, too, the original meaning of rādere and rōdere, to scratch, to gnaw. Rada and radana in the later Sanskrit mean tooth. It is curious, however, that there is no other passage in the Rigveda where rad clearly means to bite. It means to cut, in i. 61, 12. gōh nā pārva vī rada tīraskā.
Cut his joint through, as the joint of an ox.

But in most passages where rad occurs in the Veda, it has the meaning of giving, and is in fact a different root, but hardly the same which we have in the Zend rād, to give, and which Justi rightly identifies with the root rādh.

This meaning is evident in the following passages:
vi. 79, 4. tāvat usahā rādhat asmābhyan rāsva yāvat stotrī-bhyah āradah grinānā.
Grant us, Ushas, so much wealth as thou hast given to the singers.
i. 116, 7. kakshāvate aradatam pūram-dhim.
You gave wisdom to Kakshīvat.
i. 169, 8. ráda marūt-bhiḥ surūdhah gō-agrāḥ.
Give to the Maruts gifts, rich in cattle.
vii. 62, 3. ví nah sahásram surúdhah radantu.
May they (the gods) give to us a thousand gifts.
i. 117, 11. vágam vípráya—rádantā.
Giving sustenance to the sage!
vi. 61, 6. ráda pūshā-iva nah saním.
Give us, Sarasvatī, wealth, like Pūshan!
ix. 93, 4. rada índō (íti) rayím.
Give us, O Indra, wealth!
vii. 32, 18. rada-vaso (íti).
Indra, thou who givest wealth!
In many passages, however, this verb rad is connected with words meaning way•or path, and it then becomes a question whether it simply means to grant a way, or to cut a way open for some one. In Zend, too, the same idiom occurs, and Professor Justi explains it by 'prepare a way.'
I subjoin the principal passages:

vi. 30, 3. yá̄t ábyyā́h áradáh gátüm indra.
That thou hast cut a way for them (the rivers).
iv. 19, 2. prá vartanā́h aradáh visvā-dhenāh.
Thou (Indra) hast cut open the paths for all the cows.
vii. 47, 4. yá̄bhyā́h índráh áradát gátüm.
The rivers for which Indra cut a way.
x. 75, 2. prá te aradát várunah yá̄tave pathā́h.
Varuna cut the paths for thee to go.
vii. 87, 1. rádát pathā́h várunah súryáya.
Varuna cut paths for Súrya.
v. 80, 3. pathā́h rádantī suvitāya devī.
She, the dawn, cutting open the paths for wealth.
vii. 60, 4. yá̄smai ādityá́h ádhyanāh rádanti.
For whom the Ādityas cut roads.
ii. 30, 2. pathā́h rádantīḥ—dhúnayah yanti ártham.
Cutting their paths, the rivers go to their goal.
This last verse seems to show that the cutting open of a road is really the idea expressed by rad in all these passages. And thus we find the rivers themselves saying that Indra cut them out or delivered them:

iii. 33, 6. índráh asmā́n aradát vágra-báhuḥ. Cf. x. 89, 7.

Verse 6, note 5. Rivaṭī, like the preceding expressions krivirdati and rádati, is not chosen at random, for though
it has the general meaning of crushing or destroying, it is used by the Vedic poets with special reference to the chewing or crunching by means of the teeth. For instance,

i. 148, 4. purúni dasmák ni rinâti gámbháiḥ.
Agni crunches many things with his jaws.

i. 127, 4. sthirâ kit ánâ ni rinâti ógasâ.
Even tough morsels he (Agni) crunches fiercely.

In a more general sense we find it used,

v. 41, 10. sokíh-kesah ni rinâti vánâ.
Agni with flaming hair swallows or destroys the forests.

Verse 6, note 6. Súdhitá-iva barháná. I think the explanation of this phrase given by Sáyana may be retained. He explains súdhitá by suhitá, i.e. sushtu preritá, well thrown, well levelled, and barháná by hatis, tatasådhaná hetir vá, a blow or its instrument, a weapon. Professor Roth takes barháná as an instrumental, used abverbially, in the sense of powerfully, but he does not explain in what sense súdhitá-iva ought then to be taken. We cannot well refer it to didyút, lightning, on account of the iva, which requires something that can form a simile of the lightning. Nor is su-dhitá ever used as a substantive so as to take the place of svádhitíva. Sú-dhita has apparently many meanings, but they all centre in one common conception. Sú-dhita means well placed, of a thing which is at rest, well arranged, well ordered, secure; or it means well sent, well thrown, of a thing which has been in motion. Applied to human beings, it means well disposed or kind.

iii. 23, 1. níh-mathitah suú-dhitah á sadhá-sthe.
Agni produced by rubbing, and well placed in his abode.

vii. 42, 4. suú-prítah agníh suú-dhitah dáme ā.
Agni, who is cherished and well placed in the house.

iii. 29, 2. arányoh ní-hitah gát-vedáḥ gárbháh-iva suú-dhitah garbhíníshu.
Agni placed in the two fire-sticks, well placed like an embryo in the mothers. Cf. x. 27, 16.

viii. 60, 4. abhi práyāmsi sú-dhitā ā vasō (íti) gahi.

Come, O Vasu, to these well-placed offerings. Cf. i. 135, 4; vi. 15, 15; x. 53, 2.

The well-placed offerings.

iv. 2, 10 (adhvarám). vii. 7, 3 (barhíh).

As applied to áyus, life, súdhita may be translated by well established, safe:

ii. 27, 10. asyáma áyûmshi sú-dhitáni pûrvá.

May we obtain the happy long lives of our forefathers.

iv. 50, 8. sáh ít kshetí sú-dhitah ókasi své.

That man dwells secure in his own house.

Applied to a missile weapon, súdhita may mean well placed, as it were, well shouldered, well held, before it is thrown; or well levelled, well aimed, when it is thrown:

i. 167, 3. mimyáksha yéshu sú-dhitá—rishíh.

To whom the well held spear sticks fast.

vi. 33, 3. tvám tán indra ubháyán amítrán dásá vritráni áryá ka súra, vádhíh vánah-iva sú-dhitebhih átkaih.

Thou, Indra, O hero, strikest both enemies, the barbarous and the Aryan fiends, like forests with well-aimed weapons.

Applied to a poem, súdhita means well arranged or perfect:

i. 140, 11. idám agne sú-dhitam dúh-dhitáát ádhí priyáat úm (íti) kit mímananah préyah astu te.

May this perfect prayer be more agreeable to thee than an imperfect one, though thou likest it.

vii. 32, 13. mímanram ákharvam sú-dhitam.

A poem, not mean, well contrived.

As applied to men, súdhita means very much the same as hitá, well disposed, kind:

iv. 6, 7. ádha mitráh ná sú-dhitah pāvakáh agníh dídáya mánushíshu vikshú.

Then, like a kind friend, Agni shone among the children of man.

v. 3, 2. mitrám sú-dhitam.

vi. 15, 2. mitrám ná yám sú-dhitam.

viii. 23, 8. mitrám ná gáne sú-dhitam ritá-vani.
At last su-dhita, without reference to human beings, takes the general sense of kind, good:

iii. 11, 8. pári vîsvâni su-dhîta agnêh asyâma mãnma-bhih.

May we obtain through our prayers all the goods of Agni.

Here, however, пра́йấmsи may have to be supplied, and in that case this passage, too, should be classed with those mentioned above, viii. 60, 4, &c.

If then we consider that su-dhita, as applied to weapons, means well held or well aimed, we can hardly doubt that barhâña is here, as Sâyana says, some kind of weapon. I should derive it from barhayati, to crush, which we have, for instance,

i. 133, 5. pisânga-bhriśhtîm ambhrînâm pisâkîm indra sám mrîna, sârvam râkshah nî barhayâ.

Pound together the fearful Pisâki with his fiery weapons, strike down every Rakshas.

ii. 23, 8. brîhaspate deva-nîdāh nî barhayâ.

Brihaspati strike down the scoffers of the gods. Cf. vi. 61, 3.

Barhâna would therefore mean a weapon intended to crush an enemy, a block of stone, it may be, or some other missile, and in that sense barhâna occurs at least once more:

viii. 63, 7. yât pâṅka-ganyayâ visâ indre ghîshâh ásrikshata, ástrînât barhâna vipâh.

When shouts have been sent up to Indra by the people of the five clans, then the weapon scattered the enemies; or, then he scattered the enemies with his weapon.

In other passages Professor Roth is no doubt right when he assigns to barhâna an adverbial meaning, but I do not think that this meaning would be appropriate in our verse.

Verse 7, note 1. Alâtrinâsah, a word which occurs but once more, and which had evidently become unintelligible even at the time of Yâska. He (Nir. vi. 2) explains it by alamâtardano meghâh, the cloud which opens easily. This, at least, is the translation given by Professor Roth, though not without hesitation. Alamâtardanâh, as a compound, is
explained by the commentator as ātardanaparyâptah, alam ātardayitum udakam, i.e. capable of letting off the water. But Devarâgayagvan explains it differently. He says: alam paryâptam ātardanam himsâ yasya, bahûdakatvât sabalo megho viseshyate, i.e. whose injuring is great; the dark cloud is so called because it contains much water. Sâyâsa, too, attempts several explanations. In iii. 30, 10, he seems to derive it from trih, to kill, not, like Yâska, from trid, and he explains its meaning as the cloud which is exceedingly hurt by reason of its holding so much water. Sayawa, too, attempts several explanations. In iii. 30, 10, he seems to derive it from trih, to kill, not, like Yaska, from trid, and he explains its meaning as the cloud which is exceedingly hurt by reason of its holding so much water. In our passage he explains it either as anâtrina, free from injury, or good hurters of enemies, or good givers of rewards.

From all this I am afraid we gain nothing. Let us now see what modern commentators have proposed in order to discover an appropriate meaning in this word. Professor Roth suggests that the word may be derived from râ, to give, and the suffix trina, and the negative particle, thus meaning, one who does not give or yield anything. But, if so, how is this adjective applicable to the Maruts, who in this very verse are praised for their generosity? Langlois in our passage translates, 'heureux de nos louanges;' in iii. 30, 10, 'qui laissait flétrir les plantes.' Wilson in our passage translates, 'devoid of malevolence;' but in iii. 30, 10, 'heavy.'

I do not pretend to solve all these difficulties, but I may say this in defence of my own explanation that it fulfils the condition of being applicable both to the Maruts and to the demon Bala. The suffix trina is certainly irregular, and I should much prefer to write alâtrina, for in that case we might derive lâtrin from lâtra, and to this lâtra, i.e. râtra, I should ascribe the sense of barking. The root rai or râ means to bark, and has been connected by Professor Aufrecht with Latin rire, inrire, and possibly inritare*, thus showing a transition of meaning from barking, to provoking or attacking. The same root râ explains also the Latin lâtrare, to bark, allatrare, to assail; and, whatever ancient etymologists may say to the contrary, the Latin latro, an assailer. The old derivation 'latrones eos

antiqui dicebant, qui conducti militabant, ἀπὸ τῆς λατρείας; seems to me one of those etymologies in which the scholars of Rome, who had learnt a little Greek, delighted as much as scholars who know a little Sanskrit delight in finding some plausible derivation for any Greek or Latin word in Sanskrit. I know that Curtius (Grundzüge, p. 326) and Corssen (Kritische Nachträge, p. 239) take a different view; but a foreign word, derived from λατρεύω, pay, hire, would never have proved so fertile as latro has been in Latin.

If then we could write alâtrinâśah, we should have an appropriate epithet of the Maruts, in the sense of not assailing or not reviling, in fact, free from malevolence, as Wilson translated the word, or rather Sāyana’s explanation of it, âtardanaraha. What gives me some confidence in this explanation is this, that it is equally applicable to the other passage where alâtrina occurs, iii. 30, 10:

alâtrinâḥ valâḥ indra vragâḥ gôh purâ hántoh bhâyamânâh ví ára.

Without barking did Vala, the keeper of the cow, full of fear, open, before thou struckest him.

If it should be objected that vragâ means always stable, and is not used again in the sense of keeper, one might reply that vragâḥ, in the nom. sing., occurs in this one single passage only, and that bhâyamânâḥ, fearing, clearly implies a personification. Otherwise, one might translate: ‘Vala was quiet, O Indra, and the stable of the cow came open, full of fear, before thou struckest.’ The meaning of alâtrinâ would remain the same, the not-barking being here used as a sign that Indra’s enemy was cowed, and no longer inclined to revile or defy the power of Indra. Hom. hymn. in Merc. 145, οὐδὲ κύνες λελάκοντο.

Verse 7, note ². See i. 38, 15, note ¹, page 78.

Verse 8, note ¹. Abhí-hruti seems to have the meaning of assault, injury, insult. It occurs but once, but abhí-hrut, a feminine substantive with the same meaning, occurs several times. The verb hru, which is not mentioned in the Dhâtupâtha, but has been identified with hvar, occurs in our hymn, verse 12:
He protects us from evil, from assaults, from evil speaking, from assaults.

x. 63, 11. trāyadhvam naḥ duḥ-ēvāyāḥ abhi-hrūtah.

Protect us from mischievous injury!

i. 189, 6. abhi-hrutām āsī hi deva vishpāt.

For thou, god, art the deliverer from all assaults. Vishpāt, deliverer, from vi and spas, to bind.

Vi-hruta, which occurs twice, means evidently what has been injured or spoiled:

viii. 1, 12. īshkartā ví-hrūtam pūnar (īti).

He who sets right what has been injured. Cf. viii. 20, 26. Ávi-hruta again clearly means uninjured, intact, entire:

v. 66, 2. tā hī kshatrām ávi-hrūtam — āsāte.

For they both have obtained uninjured power.

x. 170, 1. āyuḥ dādhāt yagūś-patau ávi-hrūtam.

Giving uninjured life to the lord of the sacrifice.

Verse 9, note 1. Tavishá certainly means strength, and that it is used in the plural in the sense of acts of strength, we can see from the first verse of our hymn and other passages. But when we read that tavishāni are placed on the chariots of the Maruts, just as before bhadrā, good things, food, &c., are mentioned, it is clear that so abstract a meaning as strength or powers would not be applicable here. We might take it in the modern sense of forces, i.e. your armies, your companions are on your chariots, striving with each other; but as the word is a neuter, weapons, as the means of strength, seemed a preferable rendering.

Verse 9, note 2. The rendering of this passage must depend on the question whether the khādīs, whatever they are, can be carried on the shoulders or not. We saw before (p. 102) that khādīs were used both as ornaments and as weapons, and that, when used as weapons, they were most likely rings or quoits with sharp edges. There is at least one other passage where these khādīs are said to be worn on the shoulders:
vii. 56, 13. ámsesu ā marutah khâdâyâh vah vákshah-su rukmâh upa-sisriyânâh.

On your shoulders are the quoits, on your chests the golden chains are fastened.

In other places the khâdîs are said to be in the hands, hásteshu, but this would only show that they are there when actually used for fighting. Thus we read:

i. 168, 3. ā eshâm ámsesu rambhî-iva rarabhe, hásteshu khâdîh ka kritih ka sám dadhe.

To their shoulders (the spear) clings like a creeper, in their hands the quoit is held and the dagger.

In v. 58, 2, the Maruts are called khâdî-hasta, holding the quoits in their hands. There is one passage which was mentioned before (p. 94), where the khâdîs are said to be on the feet of the Maruts, and on the strength of this passage Professor Roth proposes to alter prá-patheshu to prá-padeshu, and to translate, ‘The khâdîs are on your forefeet.’ I do not think this emendation necessary. Though we do not know the exact shape and character of the khâdî, we know that it was a weapon, most likely a ring, occasionally used for ornament, and carried along either on the feet or on the shoulders, but in actual battle held in the hand. The weapon which Vishnu holds in one of his right hands, the so-called kakra, may be the modern representation of the ancient khâdî. What, however, is quite certain is this, that khâdî in the Veda never means food, as Sâyana optionally interprets it. This interpretation is accepted by Wilson, who translates, ‘At your resting-places on the road refreshments (are ready).’ Nay, he goes on in a note to use this passage as a proof of the advanced civilisation of India at the time of the Vedic Rishis. ‘The expression,’ he says, ‘is worthy of note, as indicating the existence of accommodations for the use of travellers: the Prapatha is the choltri of the south of India, the sarâî of the Mohammedans, a place by the road-side where the travellers may find shelter and provisions.’

Verse 9, note ³. This last passage shows that the poet is really representing to himself the Maruts as on their journey, and he therefore adds, ‘your axle turns the two
(iv. 30, 2) wheels together,' which probably means no more than, 'your chariot is going smoothly or quickly.' Though the expression seems to us hardly correct, yet one can well imagine how the axle was supposed to turn the wheels as the horses were drawing the axe, and the axle acted on the wheels. Anyhow, no other translation seems possible. Samáyə in the Veda means together, at once, and is the Greek ὀμῆ, generally ὀμῶ or ὀμῶς, the Latin simul. Cf. i. 56, 6; 73, 6; 113, 10; 163, 3; vii. 66, 15; ix. 75, 4; 85, 5; 97, 56.

Vrit means to turn, and is frequently used with reference to the wheels:

viii. 46, 23. dása syāvāḥ—nemīṁ ni vavrituh.
The ten black horses turn the felly or the wheel.

iv. 30, 2. satrā te ánu krishlāyah vísvāḥ kakrā-iva vavrituh.

All men turn always round thee, like wheels.

That the Ātmanepada of vrit may be used in an active sense we see from

i. 191, 15. tātah vishāṁ prá vavrite.

I turn the poison out from here.

All the words used in this sentence are very old words, and we can with few exceptions turn them into Greek or Latin. In Latin we should have axis vos(ter) circos simul divertit. In Greek άξων ὃ(μῶν) κύκλω ὀμῆ . . . .

Verse 10, note ¹. See i. 64, 4, note ¹, page 94. I ought to have mentioned there that in the Āsvalāyana Srutāsūtras ix. 4, rukma occurs as the fee to be given to the Hotar, and is explained by ābharavaivasesho vrīṭtākāraḥ, a round ornament.

Verse 10, note ². See i. 166, 1, note ¹, page 200.

Verse 10, note ³. On ēta in the sense of fallow deer, or, it may be, antelope, see i. 165, 5, note ², page 185.

Ēta originally means variegated, and thus becomes a name of any speckled deer, it being difficult to say what exact species is meant. Sāyāsa in our passage explains ētāḥ by suklavarnā mālāḥ, many-coloured wreaths or chains,
which may be right. Yet the suggestion of Professor Roth that étāh, deer, stands here for the skins of fallow deer, is certainly more poetical, and quite in accordance with the Vedic idiom, which uses, for instance, go, cow, not only in the sense of milk,—that is done even in more homely English,—but also for leather, and thong. It is likewise in accordance with what we know of the earliest dress of the Vedic Indians, that deer-skins should here be mentioned. We learn from Āsvalāyana’s Grihya-sūtras, of which we now possess an excellent edition by Professor Stenzler, and a reprint of the text and commentary by Rāma Nārāyana Vidyāratna, in the Bibliotheca Indica, that a boy when he was brought to his tutor, i.e. from the eighth to possibly the twenty-fourth year, had to be well combed, and attired in a new dress. A Brāhmaṇa should wear the skin of an antelope (aṅeyā), the Kshatriya the skin of a deer (raurava), the Vaisya the skin of a goat (āga). If they wore dresses, that of the Brāhmaṇa should be dark red (kāshāya), that of the Kshatriya bright red (māṅgishṭha), that of the Vaisya yellow (hāridra). The girdle of the Brāhmaṇa should be of Muṅga grass, that of the Kshatriya a bow-string, that of the Vaisya made of sheep’s wool. The same regulations occur in other Sūtras, as, for instance, the Dharma-sūtras of the Āpastambīyas and Gautamas, though there are certain characteristic differences in each, which may be due either to local or to chronological causes. Thus according to the Āpastambīya-sūtras, which have just been published by Professor Bühler, the Brāhmaṇa may wear the skin of the harīna deer, or that of the antelope (aṅeyam), but the latter must be from the black antelope (krishṇam), and, a proviso is added, that if a man wears the black antelope skin, he must never spread it out to sit or sleep on it. As materials for the dress, Āpastamba allows sana, hemp*, or kshumā,

* Sana is an old Aryan word, though its meanings differ. Hesychius and Eustathius mention kávna as being synonymous with ψάθος, reed. Pollux gives two forms, kάvna and kάνα, (Pollux x. 166. πτανόκα δὲ ἔστι ψάθος ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἄκατοις ἢν καὶ κάναν καλοῦσιν. vii. 176. κάναν δὲ τὸ ἐκ κανάβων πλέγμα.) This is important, because the same difference of spelling occurs also in
flax, and he adds that woollen dresses are allowed to all castes, as well as the kambala (masc.), which seems to be any cloth made of vegetable substances (darbhādinirmitam kīram kambalam). He then adds a curious remark, which would seem to show that the Brāhmaṇas preferred skins, and the Kshatriyas clothes, for he says that those who wish well to the Brāhmaṇas should wear agīna, skins, and those who wish well to the Kshatriyas should wear vastra, clothes, and those who wish well to both should wear both, but, in that case, the skin should always form the outer garment. The Dharma-sūtras of the Gautamas, which were published in India, prescribe likewise for the Brāhmaṇa the black antelope skin, and allow clothes of hemp or linen (sānakshaumākāra) as well as kutapas (woollen cloth) for all. What is new among the Gautamas is, that they add the kārpāsa, the cotton dress, which is important as showing κάναβις and κάναβος or κάναβος, a model, a lay figure, which Löbeck derives from κάνα. In Old Norse we have haunr, in A.S. heon, hemp, Old High Ger. hanaf.

The occurrence of the word sana is of importance as showing at how early a time the Aryans of India were acquainted with the uses and the name of hemp. Our word hemp, the A.S. heon, the Old Norse haunr, are all borrowed from Latin cannabis, which, like other borrowed words, has undergone the regular changes required by Grimm’s law in Low German, and also in High German, hanaf. The Slavonic nations seem to have borrowed their word for hemp (Lith. kanapē) from the Goths, the Celtic nations (Ir. canaib) from the Romans; (cf. Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. ii. p. 382.) The Latin cannabis is borrowed from Greek, and the Greeks, to judge from the account of Herodotus, most likely adopted the word from the Aryan Thracians and Scythians; (Her. iv. 74; Pictet, Les Aryens, vol. i. p. 314.) Kānas being a foreign word, it would be useless to attempt an explanation of the final element bē, which is added to sana, the Sanskrit word for hemp. It may be visa, fibre, or it may be anything else. Certain it is that the main element in the name of hemp was the same among the settlers in Northern India, and among the Thracians and Scythians through whom the Greeks first became acquainted with hemp.

The history of the word κάναβις must be kept distinct from that of the Greek κάνα or κάνα, reed. Both spellings occur, for Pollux, x. 166, writes πανάκεα δὲ ἐστὶ ψιαθὸς ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀκατίοις ἢ καὶ κάναν καλοῦσιν, but vii. 176, κάναν δὲ τὸ ἐκ κανάβων πλέγμα. This word κάνα may be the same as the Sanskrit sana, only with this difference, that it was retained as common property by Greeks and Indians before they separated, and was applied differently in later times by the one and the other.
an early knowledge of this manufacture. The kârpâsa dress occurs once more as a present to be given to the Potar priest (Âsv. Srauta-sûtras ix. 4), and evidently considered as a valuable present, taking precedence of the kshaumâ or linen dress. It is provided that the cotton dress should not be dyed, for this, I suppose, is the meaning of avikrita. Immediately after, however, it is said, that some authorities say the dress should be dyed red (kâshâyam apy eke), the very expression which occurred in Âpastamba, and that, in that case, the red for the Brâhmans’s dress should be taken from the bark of trees (vârksha). Manu, who here, as elsewhere, simply paraphrases the ancient Sûtras, says, ii. 41:

kârshnara ura vavâstâni karmâni brahmakârinah
vasîrann ânupûrvyena sânakshaumâvikâni ka.

'Let Brahmakârins wear (as outer garments) the skins of the black antelope, the deer, the goat, (as under garments) dresses of hemp, flax, and sheep’s wool, in the order of the three castes.'

The Sanskrit name for a dressed skin is aśina, a word which does not occur in the Rig-veda, but which, if Bopp is right in deriving it from aśá, goat, as aśís from aś́ξ, would have meant originally, not skin in general, but a goat-skin. The skins of the éta, here ascribed to the Maruts, would be identical with the aízeya, which Âśvalâyana ascribes to the Brâhmans, not, as we should expect, to the Kshatriya, if, as has been supposed, aízeya is derived from ena, which is a secondary form, particularly in the feminine enê, of eta. There is, however, another word, eda, a kind of sheep, which, but for Festus, might be hædus, and by its side ena, a kind of antelope. These two forms pre-suppose an earlier erna, and point therefore in a different direction.

Verse 10, note 4. I translate kshurá by sharp edges, but it might have been translated literally by razors, for, strange as it may sound, razors were known, not only during the Vedic period, but even previous to the Aryan separation. The Sanskrit kshurá is the Greek ξυρός or ξυρόν. In the Veda we have clear allusions to shaving:
x. 142, 4. yadā te vātah anu-vāti sokih, váptā-iva smāsrupapra bhūma.

When the wind blows after thy blast, then thou shavest the earth as a barber shaves the beard. Cf. i. 65, 4.

If, as B. and R. suggest, vaptar, barber, is connected with the more modern name for barber in Sanskrit, viz. nāpīta, we should have to admit a root svap, in the sense of tearing or pulling, vellere, from which we might derive the Vedic svapū (vii. 56, 3), beak. Corresponding to this we find in Old High German snabul, beak, (schneipfe, snipe,) and in Old Norse nef. The Anglo-Saxon neb means mouth and nose, while in modern English neb or nib is used for the bill or beak of a bird *. Another derivation of nāpīta, proposed by Professor Weber (Kuhn's Beiträge, vol. i. p. 505), who takes nāpīta as a dialectic form of snāpitar, balneator, or lavator, might be admitted if it could be proved that in India also the barber was at the same time a balneator.

Verse 11, note 1. Vī-bhūtayah is properly a substantive, meaning power, but, like other substantives†, and particularly substantives with prepositions, it can be used as an adjective, and is, in fact, more frequently used as an adjective than as a substantive. It is a substantive,

i. 8, 9. evā hi te vī-bhūtayah útáyah indra mā-vate sadyākh kit sánti dāsūshe.

For indeed thy powers, O Indra, are at once shelters for a sacrificer, like me.

But it is an adjective,
i. 30, 5. vī-bhūtih astu sūnítā.

May the prayer be powerful.

vi. 17, 4. mahām ánānam tavāsam vī-bhūtim matsarāsah garhrishanta pra-sāham.

* Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, vol. iii. pp. 400, 409. There is not yet sufficient evidence to show that Sanskrit sv, German sn, and Sanskrit n are interchangeable, but there is at least one case that may be analogous. Sanskrit svaŋg, to embrace, to twist round a person, German slango, Schlange, snake, and Sanskrit nāga, snake. Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, vol. iii. p. 364.

† See Benfey, Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. ii. p. 216.
The sweet draughts of Soma delighted the great, the perfect, the strong, the powerful, the unyielding Indra. Cf. viii. 49, 6; 50, 6.

Vibhavāḥ, with the Svarita on the last syllable, has to be pronounced vibhumāḥ. In iii. 6, 9, we find vi-bhāvah.

Verse 11, note 2. See i. 87, 1, note 1, page 144.

Verse 11, note 3. See i. 6, 5, note 1, page 29.

Verse 12, note 1. Mahi-tvanām, greatness, is formed by the suffix tvanā, which Professor Aufrecht has identified with the Greek συνή (suvn); see Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. i. p. 482. The origin of this suffix has been explained by Professor Benfey, ibid. vol. vii. p. 120, who traces it back to the suffix tvan, for instance, i-tvan, goer, in ārtaḥ-ītvā = ārtaḥ-yāvā.

Verse 12, notes 2 and 3. Vratā is one of those words which, though we may perceive their one central idea, and their original purport, we have to translate by various terms in order to make them intelligible in every passage where they occur. Vratā, I believe, meant originally what is enclosed, protected, set apart, the Greek νομός:

v. 46, 7. yāh pārthivāsah yāh apām āpi vratē tāh nah devīḥ su-havāḥ sārāma yakkhata.

O ye gracious goddesses, who are on the earth or in the realm of the waters, grant us your protection!

Here vratā is used like vṛigāṇa, see i. 165, 15, note 3, page 195.

x. 114, 2. tāsām nī kikyuḥ kavāyah ni-dānam pāreshu yāh gūhyeshu vratēshu.

The poets discovered their (the Nirritis') origin, who are in the far hidden chambers.

i. 163, 3. āsi tritāḥ gūhyena vratēṇa.

Thou art Trita within the hidden place, or with the secret work.

Secondly, vratā means what is fenced off, what is determined, what is settled, and hence, like dharman, law, ordinance. In this sense vratā occurs very frequently:

i. 25, 1. yat kit hi te vīśah yathā prá deva varuna vratām, minimāsi dyāvi-dyavi.

VOL. I.
Whatever law of thine we break, O Varuna, day by day, men as we are.

ii. 8, 3. yásya vratám ná miyate.
Whose law is not broken.

iii. 32, 8. índrasya kárma sú-kritā purúši vratāni devāh ná minanti víśve.
The deeds of Indra are well done and many, all the gods do not break his laws, or do not injure his ordinances.

ii. 24, 12. vísvam satyám maghavānā yuvóḥ ít āpah kanā prá minanti vratām vām.
All that is yours, O powerful gods, is true; even the waters do not break your law.

ii. 38, 7. nákiḥ asya tāni vratā devāsyā savitūḥ minanti.
No one breaks these laws of this god Savitar. Cf. ii. 38, 9.

i. 92, 12. āminatī daivyāṇi vratāṇi.
Not injuring the divine ordinances. Cf. i. 124, 2.

x. 12, 5. kāt asya áti vratām kakrīma.
Which of his laws have we overstepped?

viii. 25, 16. tásya vratāṇi ánu vaḥ karāmasi.
His ordinances we follow.

x. 33, 9. ná devānām áti vratām satá-âtmā kanā ṣivātati.
No one lives beyond the statute of the gods, even if he had a hundred lives.

vii. 5, 4. táva tri-dhātu prithivī utá dyaúḥ vaisvānāra vratām agne sakanta.
The earth and the sky followed thy threefold law, O Agni Vaisvānara.

vii. 87, 7. yāḥ mríláyāti kakrūshe kit āgah vayám syāma vārune ánâgâḥ, ánu vratāṇi áditeḥ ridhántah.
Let us be sinless before Varuṇa, who is gracious even to him who has committed sin, let us perform the laws of Aditi!

ii. 28, 8. námaḥ purā te varuṇa utá núnām utá aparām tuvi-gâta bravāma, tvē hí kam párve ná sritāni ápra-kyutâni duḥ-dabha vratāṇi.
Formerly, and now, and also in future let us give praise to thee, O Varuṇa; for in thee, O unconquerable, all laws are grounded, immovable as on a rock.

A very frequent expression is ánu vratām, according to
the command of a god, ii. 38, 3; viii. 40, 8; or simply ánu vratám, according to law and order:
i. 136, 5. tám aryamā abhí rakshati rigu-yántam ánu vratám.

Aryaman protects him who acts uprightly according to law.
Cf. iii. 61, 1; iv. 13, 2; v. 69, 1.
The laws or ordinances or institutions of the gods are sometimes taken for the sacrifices which are supposed to be enjoined by the gods, and the performance of which is, in a certain sense, the performance of the divine will.
i. 93, 8. yák agníshómá havíshá saparyá̄t devadríká mánasá̄ yáh ghrítená, tásya vratám rakshatam pátám áṁ-hasaḥ.

He who worships Agni and Soma with oblations, with a godly mind, or with an offering, protect his sacrifice, shield him from evil!
i. 31, 2. tvám agne prathamáḥ áṅgirah-tamah kavíḥ devānām pāri bhūshasi vratám.
Agni, the first and wisest of poets, thou performest the sacrifice of the gods.
iii. 3, 9. tásya vratáni bhūri-poshínaḥ vayám úpa bhūshema dáme ā suvrikti-bhīḥ.
Let us, who possess much wealth, perform with prayers the sacrifices of Agni within our house.
In another acceptation the vratas of the gods are what they perform and establish themselves, their own deeds:
iii. 6, 5. vratā te agne mahatāḥ mahānī táva krātvā ródasī (ītī) ā tatantha.
The deeds of thee, the great Agni, are great, by thy power thou hast stretched out heaven and earth.
viii. 42, 1. ástabhnāt dyām ásurāḥ visvā-vedāḥ ámimītā varimāvam prithivyāḥ, ā asīdat visvā bhúvanānī sam-rāṭ visvā īt táni vāruṇasya vratāni.
The wise spirit established the sky, and made the width of the earth, as king he approached all beings,—all these are the works of Varuna.
vi. 14, 3. tūrvamā yáyāvaḥ vrataih sīkshantah avratām.

Men fight the fiend, trying to overcome by their deeds him who performs no sacrifices; or, the lawless enemy.
Lastly, vratá comes to mean sway or power, and the expression vraté táva signifies, at thy command, under thy auspices:

i. 24, 15. átha vayám áditya vraté táva ánāgasah áditaye svāma.

Then, O Áditya, under thy auspices may we be guiltless before Aditi.

vi. 54, 9. pūshan táva vraté vayám ná rishyema kádâ kaná.

O Pūshan, may we never fail under thy protection.

x. 36, 13. yé savitúḥ satyá-savasya vísve mitrásya vraté várvasya devāḥ.

All the gods who are in the power of Savitar, Mītra, and Varuna.

v. 83, 5. yásya vraté prithivi namnamíti yásya vraté saphá-vat gárbhuríti, yásya vraté óshadhíh visvá-rúpáḥ sáḥ nah parganya máhi sárma yakkha.

At whose command the earth bows down, at whose command the earth is as lively as a hoof (?), at whose command the plants assume all shapes, mayest thou, O Parganya, yield us great protection!

In our passage I take vratá in this last sense.

Dáträ, if derived from dâ, would mean gift, and that meaning is certainly the most applicable in some passages where it occurs:

ix. 97, 55. áśi bhágah áśi dáträśya dátaḥ.

Thou art Bhaga, thou art the giver of the gift.

In other passages, too, particularly in those where the verb dâ or some similar verb occurs in the same verse, it can hardly be doubted that the poet took dáträ, like dátra or dátra, in the sense of gift, bounty, largess:

i. 116, 6. yám asviná dadáthuḥ svetám áśvam—tát vám dáträm máhi kírtényam bhút.

The white horse, O Asvins, which you gave, that your gift was great and to be praised.

i. 185, 3. ancháḥ dáträm áditeḥ anarvám huvé.

I call for the unrivalled, the uninjured bounty of Aditi.

vii. 56, 21. mā vah dáträt marutah nih arâma.

May we not fall away from your bounty, O Maruts!
iii. 54. 16. yuvám hi stháh rayi-daú nah rayínām dātrām rakshethe.

For you, Násatyas, are our givers of riches, you protect the gift.

vi. 20, 7. rigisvane dātrām dāsūshe dāh.
To Rigisvan, the giver, thou givest the gift.

vii. 43, 33. tát te sahasva imahe dātrām yát ná upadāyati, tvat agne váryam vásu.

We ask thee, strong hero, for the gift which does not perish; we ask from thee the precious wealth.

x. 69, 4. dātrām rakshasva yát idám te asmé (iti).
Protect this gift of thine which thou hast given to us.

viii. 44, 18. īsíshe váryasya hí dātrásyā agne svāh-patih.
For thou, O Agni, lord of heaven, art the master of the precious gift. Cf. iv. 38, 1.

Professor Roth considers that dātrā is derived rather from dā, to divide, and that it means share, lot, possession. But there is not a single passage where the meaning of gift or bounty does not answer all purposes. In vii. 56, 21, mà vaḥ dātrāt marutah níḥ arāma, is surely best translated by, 'let us not fall away from your bounty,' and in our own passage the same meaning should be assigned to dātrā. The idea of dātrā, bounty, is by no means incompatible with vratā, realm, dominion, sway, if we consider that the sphere within which the bounty of a king or a god is exercised and accepted, is in one sense his realm. What the poet therefore says in our passage is simply this, that the bounty of the Maruts extends as far as the realm of Aditi, i. e. is endless, or extends everywhere, Aditi being in its original conception the deity of the unbounded world beyond, the earliest attempt at expressing the Infinite.

As to dātrā occurring once with the accent on the first syllable in the sense of sickle, see M. M., 'Über eine Stelle in Yāśka's Commentar zum Naighantuka,' Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1853, vol. vii. P. 375.

viii. 78, 10. táva ít indra ahám á-sásā hāste dātram kaná ā dade.

Trusting in thee alone, O Indra, I take the sickle in my hand. This dātra, sickle, is derived from do, to cut.
Verse 12, note 4. Aditi, an ancient god or goddess, is in reality the earliest name invented to express the Infinite; not the Infinite as the result of a long process of abstract reasoning, but the visible Infinite, visible by the naked eye, the endless expanse beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky. That was called A-diti, the un-bound, the un-bounded; one might almost say, but for fear of misunderstandings, the Absolute, for it is derived from diti, bond, and the negative particle, and meant therefore originally what is free from bonds of any kind, whether of space or time, free from physical weakness, free from moral guilt. Such a conception became of necessity a being, a person, a god. To us such a name and such a conception seem decidedly modern, and to find in the Veda Aditi, the Infinite, as the mother of the principal gods, is certainly, at first sight, startling. But the fact is that the thoughts of primitive humanity were not only different from our thoughts, but different also from what we think their thoughts ought to have been. The poets of the Veda indulged freely in theogonic speculations without being frightened by any contradictions. They knew of Indra as the greatest of gods, they knew of Agni as the god of gods, they knew of Varuna as the ruler of all, but they were by no means startled at the idea that their Indra had a mother, or that their Agni was born like a babe from the friction of two fire-sticks, or that Varuṇa and his brother Mitra were nursed in the lap of Aditi. Some poet would take hold of the idea of an unbounded power, of Aditi, originally without any reference to other gods. Very soon these ideas met, and, without any misgivings, either the gods were made subordinate to, and represented as the sons of Aditi, or where Indra was to be praised as supreme, Aditi was represented as doing him homage.

viii. 12, 14. utá sva-rāge āditiḥ stóمام ēndrāya gīganat.

And Aditi produced a hymn for Indra, the king. Here Professor Roth takes Aditi as an epithet of Agni, not as the name of the goddess Aditi, while Dr. Muir rightly takes it in the latter sense, and retains stó mammals instead of sōmam, as printed by Professor Aufrecht. Cf. vii. 38, 4.
The idea of the Infinite, as I have tried to show elsewhere, was revealed, was most powerfully impressed on the awakening mind, by the East*. It is impossible to enter fully into all the thoughts and feelings that passed through the minds of the early poets when they formed names for that far, far East from whence even the early dawn, the sun, the day, their own life, seemed to spring. A new life flashed up every morning before their eyes, and the fresh breezes of the dawn reached them like greetings from the distant lands beyond the mountains, beyond the clouds, beyond the dawn, beyond "the immortal sea which brought us hither." The dawn seemed to them to open golden gates for the sun to pass in triumph, and while those gates were open, their eyes and their mind strove in their childish way to pierce beyond the limits of this finite world. That silent aspect awakened in the human mind the conception of the Infinite, the Immortal, the Divine.' Aditi is a name for that distant East, but Aditi is more than the dawn. Aditi is beyond the dawn, and in one place (i. 113, 19) the dawn is called ‘the face of Aditi,’ áditer ánîkam. Thus we read:

v. 62, 8. híranya-rúpam ushásah ví-ushtau áyah-sthûnam út-ítā súryasya, á rohathah varuna mitra gártam átah kaksháthe (itti) ádítim dítim ka.

Mitra and Varuna, you mount your chariot, which is golden, when the dawn bursts forth, and has iron poles at the setting of the sun: from thence you see Aditi and Diti, what is yonder and what is here.

If we keep this original conception of Aditi clearly before us, the various forms which Aditi assumes, even in the hymns of the Veda, will not seem incoherent. Aditi is not a prominent deity in the Veda, she is celebrated rather in her sons, the Âdityas, than in her own person. While there are so many hymns addressed to Ushas, the dawn, or Indra, or Agni, or Savitar, there is but one hymn, x. 72, which from our point of view, though not from that of Indian theologians, might be called a hymn to Aditi. Nevertheless Aditi is a familiar name; a name of the past,

whether in time or in thought only, and a name that lives on in the name of the Ādityas, the sons of Aditi, including the principal deities of the Veda.

Aditi and the Ādityas.

Thus we read:

i. 107, 2. úpa nah devāḥ āvasā ā gamantu āṅgirasām sāma-bhīh stūyāmānāh, īndraḥ indriyāḥ marūtaḥ marūt-bhīh ādityāiḥ nah āditīḥ sārma yamsat.

May the gods come to us with their help, praised by the songs of the Āṅgiras,—Indra with his forces, the Maruts with the storms, may Aditi with the Ādityas give us protection!

x. 66, 3. īndraḥ vāsu-bhīh pāri pātu nah gāyam ādityāiḥ nah āditīḥ sārma yakkhatu, rudrāḥ rudrēbhiḥ devāḥ mrilayāti nah tvāshtā nah gnābhīḥ suvitāya ginvatu.

May Indra with the Vasus watch our house, may Aditi with the Ādityas give us protection, may the divine Rudra with the Rudras have mercy upon us, may Tvashtar with the mothers bring us to happiness!

iii. 54, 20. ādityāiḥ nah āditīḥ srinotu yākkhantu nah marūtaḥ sārma bhadrām.

May Aditi with the Ādityas hear us, may the Maruts give us good protection!

In another passage Varuṇa takes the place of Aditi as the leader of the Ādityas:

vii. 35, 6. sām nah īndraḥ vāsu-bhīḥ devāḥ astu sām ādityēbhīḥ vārunah su-sāmsah, sām nah rudrāḥ rudrēbhīḥ gālāshah sām nah tvāshtā gnābhīḥ ihā srinotu.

May Indra bless us, the god with the Vasus! May Varuṇa, the glorious, bless us with the Ādityas! May the relieving Rudra with the Rudras bless us! May Tvashtar with the mothers kindly hear us here!

Even in passages where the poet seems to profess an exclusive worship of Aditi, as in

v. 69, 3. prātāḥ devīm ādītim gohavīmi madhyāndine út-itā sūryasya,

I invoke the divine Aditi early in the morning, at noon, and at the setting of the sun,
Mitra and Varuna, her principal sons, are mentioned immediately after, and implored, like her, to bestow blessings on their worshipper.

Her exclusive worship appears once, in viii. 19, 14.

A very frequent expression is that of ādityāh ādītiḥ without any copula, to signify the Ādityas and Aditi:

iv. 25, 3. kāh devānām āvah adyā vrinīte kāh ādityān ādītim gyoṭīḥ īte.

Who does choose now the protection of the gods? Who asks the Ādityas, Aditi, for their light?

vi. 51, 5. viśve ādityāh adite sa-gōshāh āsmābhyam sārma baḥulām vi yanta.

All ye Ādityas, Aditi together, grant to us your manifold protection!

x. 39, 11. nā tām rāgānau adite kūtaḥ kanā nā āmḥah asnoti duḥ-itām nākiḥ bhayām.

O ye two kings (the Āsvins), Aditi, no evil reaches him from anywhere, no misfortune, no fear (whom you protect). Cf. vii. 66, 6.

x. 63, 5. tān ā vivāsa nāmasā suvriktī-bhiḥ mahāḥ ādityān ādītim svastāye.

I cherish them with worship and with hymns, the great Ādityas, Aditi, for happiness’ sake.

x. 63, 17. evā platēḥ sūnūḥ avīvridhat vah viśve ādityāh adite maṇiśhī.

The wise son of Plati magnified you, all ye Ādityas, Aditi!

x. 65, 9. pargānyāvātā vrishabhā purīshīnā indravāyu (īti) vārūnaḥ mitrāḥ āryamaṅ, devān ādityān ādītim haṁmahe yē pārthivāsah divyāsah ap-sū yē.

There are Parganya and Vātā, the powerful, the givers of rain, Indra and Vāyu, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, we call the divine Ādityas, Aditi, those who dwell on the earth, in heaven, in the waters.

We are not justified in saying that there ever was a period in the history of the religious thought of India, a period preceding the worship of the Ādityas, when Aditi, the Infinite, was worshipped, though to the sage who first coined this name, it expressed, no doubt, for a time the principal, if not the only object of his faith and worship.
Aditi and Daksha.

Soon, however, the same mental process which led on later speculators from the earth to the elephant, and from the elephant to the tortoise, led the Vedic poets beyond Aditi, the Infinite. There was something beyond that Infinite which for a time they had grasped by the name of Aditi, and this, whether intentionally or by a mere accident of language, they called dáksha, literally power or the powerful. All this, no doubt, sounds strikingly modern, yet, though the passages in which this dáksha is mentioned are few in number, I should not venture to say that they are necessarily modern, even if by modern we mean only later than 1000 B.C. Nothing can bring the perplexity of the ancient mind, if once drawn into this vortex of speculation, more clearly before us than if we read:

x. 72, 4–5. āditeḥ dákshah agāyata dákṣhāt śuṁ (īti) āditiḥ pári,—āditeḥ hī áganishṭa dákṣha yā duhitā táva, tāṁ devāḥ ánu agāyanta bhadrāḥ amṛita-bandhavah.

Daksha was born of Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha. For Aditi was born, O Daksha, she who is thy daughter; after her the gods were born, the blessed, who share in immortality.

Or, in more mythological language:

x. 64, 5. dákshasya vā adite gánmani vraté rāgānā mitrā-várūnā ā vivāsasi.

Or thou, O Aditi, nursest in the birthplace of Daksha the two kings, Mitra and Varuna.

Nay, even this does not suffice. There is something again beyond Aditi and Daksha, and one poet says:

x. 5, 7. ásat ka sát ka paramé ví-oman dákshasya gánman áditeḥ upá-sthe.

Not-being and Being are in the highest heaven, in the birthplace of Daksha, in the lap of Aditi.

At last something like a theogony, though full of contradictions, was imagined, and in the same hymn from which we have already quoted, the poet says:

x. 72, 1–4. devānām nú vayám gānā prá vokāma vipanyāyā, ukthēshu sasyāmāneshu yāḥ (yāt?) pāsyāt út-tare yuge.
brāhmaṇaḥ pātih etā sām karmāraḥ-iva adhamat, devānām pūrvyē yugē āsataḥ sat āgāyata. 2.
devānām yugē prathamē āsataḥ sat āgāyata, tāt āsāh ānu āgāyanta tāt uttānā-padaḥ pāri. 3.
bhūk gagnē uttānā-padaḥ bhuvāh āsāh āgayanta, āditeh dákṣah āgāyata, dákṣhat ūm (iṭi) áditiḥ pāri. 4.
1. Let us now with praise proclaim the births of the gods, that a man may see them in a future age, whenever these hymns are sung.
2. Brahmaṇaspātī* blew them together like a smith (with his bellows); in a former age of the gods, Being was born from Not-being.
3. In the first age of the gods, Being was born from Not-being, after it were born the Regions, from them Uttānapada;
4. From Uttānapad the Earth was born, the Regions were born from the Earth. Daksha was born of Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha.

The ideas of Being and Not-being (τὸ ὁν and τὸ μὴ ὁν) are familiar to the Hindus from a very early time in their intellectual growth, and they can only have been the result of abstract speculation. Therefore dākṣa, too, in the sense of power or potentia, may have been a metaphysical conception. But it may also have been suggested by a mere accident of language, a never-failing source of ancient thoughts. The name dākṣa-pitarah, an epithet of the gods, has generally been translated by 'those who have Daksha for their father.' But it may have been used originally in a very different sense. Professor Roth has, I think, convincingly proved that this epithet dākṣa-pitar, as given to certain gods, does not mean, the gods who have Daksha for their father, but that it had originally the simpler meaning of fathers of strength, or, as he

* Brāhmaṇaspātī, literally the lord of prayer, or the lord of the sacrifice, sometimes a representative of Agni (i. 38, 13, note), but by no means identical with him (see vii. 41, 1); sometimes performing the deeds of Indra, but again by no means identical with him (see ii. 23, 18. indreṇa yugā —nīḥ apān aubgah arnavām; cf. viii. 96, 15). In ii. 26, 3, he is called father of the gods (devānām pitāram); in ii. 23, 2, the creator of all beings (visveshām ganiṭā).
translates it, 'preserving, possessing, granting faculties'.

This is particularly clear in one passage:

iii. 27, 9. bhútánām gārbham ā dadhe, dákshasya pitāram.

I place Agni, the source of all beings, the father of strength . . . .

After this we can hardly hesitate how to translate the next verse:

vi. 50, 2. su-gyótishāh—dáksha-pitrīn—devān.

The resplendent gods, the fathers of strength.

It may seem more doubtful when we come to gods like Mitra and Varuna, whom we are so much accustomed to regard as Ādityas, or sons of Aditi, and who therefore, according to the theogony mentioned before, would have the best claim to the name of sons of Daksha; yet here, too, the original and simple meaning is preferable; nay, it is most likely that from passages like this, the later explanation, which makes Mitra and Varuna the sons of Daksha, may have sprung.

vii. 66, 2. yā—su-dákshā dáksha-pitarā.

Mitra and Varuna, who are of good strength, the fathers of strength.

Lastly, even men may claim this name; for, unless we change the accent, we must translate:

viii. 63, 10. avasyāvah yushmābhīh dáksha-pitarah.

We suppliants, being, through your aid, fathers of strength.

But whatever view we take, whether we take dáksha in the sense of power, as a personification of a philosophical conception, or as the result of a mythological misunderstanding occasioned by the name of dáksha-pitar, the fact remains that in certain hymns of the Rig-veda (viii. 25, 5) Dáksha, like Aditi, has become a divine person, and has retained his place as one of the Ādityas to the very latest time of Puranic tradition.

* The accent in this case cannot help us in determining whether dáksha-pitar means having Daksha for their father (Δοκροπάτωρ), or father of strength. In the first case dáksha would rightly retain its accent (dáksha-pitar) as a Bahuvrīhi; in the second, the analogy of such Tatpurusha compounds as grihā-pati (Pān. vi, 2, 18) would be sufficient to justify the pūrva-padapradīṣṭaśvaraśvam.
Aditi in her Cosmic Character.

But to return to Aditi. Let us look upon her as the Infinite personified, and most passages, even those where she is presented as a subordinate deity, will become intelligible.

Aditi, in her cosmic character, is the beyond, the unbounded realm beyond earth, sky, and heaven, and originally she was distinct from the sky, the earth, and the ocean. Aditi is mentioned by the side of heaven and earth, which shows that, though in more general language she may be identified with heaven and earth in their unlimited character, her original conception was different. This we see in passages where different deities or powers are invoked together, particularly if they are invoked together in the same verse, and where Aditi holds a separate place by the side of heaven and earth:

1. 94, 16 (final). tát nah mitráh várunah mamahautám áditiḥ sindhuh prithivíḥ utá dyaúḥ.

May Mitra and Varuna grant us this, may Aditi, Sindhu (sea), the Earth, and the Sky!

In other passages, too, where Aditi has assumed a more personal character, she still holds her own by the side of heaven and earth; cf. ix. 97, 58 (final):

i. 191, 6. dyaúḥ vah pítá prithivíḥ mátā sómah bhrátā áditiḥ svásā.

The Sky is your father, the Earth your mother, Soma your brother, Aditi your sister.

viii. 101, 15. mátā rudránam duhitá vásūnām svásā ádityá-nám amrítasya nábhiḥ, prá nú vokam kikitúshe gánāya mā gām ánāgām ádimit vedhishā.

The mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Adityas, the source of immortality, I tell it forth to the man of understanding, may he not offend the cow, the guiltless Aditi! Cf. i. 153, 3; ix. 96, 15; Vágasan. Sanhitá xiii. 49.

vi. 51, 5. dyaúḥ pítar (iti) prithivi mátah ádhruk ágne bhrátaḥ vasavah mriláta nah, víśve ádityáḥ adite sa-gósháḥ asmábhym sárma bahulám vi yanta.

Sky, father, Earth, kind mother, Fire, brother, bright
gods, have mercy upon us! All Ádityas (and) Aditi together, grant us your manifold protection!

x. 63, 10. su-trāṁāṇam prithivīṁ dyāṁ anehāsam su-sārmanām áditim su-prānītim, daúvīm nāvam su-aritrām ánāgasam ásravantim ā ruhema svastāye.

We invoke the well-protecting Earth, the unrivalled Sky, the well-shielding Aditi, the good guide. Let us enter for safety into the divine boat, with good oars, faultless and leakless!

x. 66, 4. áditih dyāvāprithivī (íti).

Aditi, and Heaven and Earth.

Where two or more verses come together, the fact that Aditi is mentioned by the side of Heaven and Earth may seem less convincing, because in these Nivids or long strings of invocations different names or representatives of one and the same power are not uncommonly put together. For instance,

x. 36, 1–3. ushásānāktā brihatī (íti) su-péṣasā dyāvākshāmā váruṇaḥ mitráḥ aryamā, índram huve maṟutáh párvatān apāh ádityān dyāvāprithivī (íti) apāh svār (íti svāḥ).

dyaúḥ ka nah prithivī ka prá-ketasā ritávari (íty ritávari) rakshatām ámhasah rishāh, mā duh-vidátrā nih-ritih nah śata tát devānām ávah adyā vrinīmahe. 2.

vīṣvasmāt nah áditih pātu ámhasah mātā mitrāsyā váruṇasya revátah svāḥ-vat gyótih avrikám nasīmahi. 3.

1. There are the grand and beautiful Morning and Night, Heaven and Earth, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, I call Indra, the Maruts, the Waters, the Ádityas, Heaven and Earth, the Waters, the Heaven.

2. May Heaven and Earth, the provident, the righteous, preserve us from sin and mischief! May the malevolent Nirriti not rule over us! This blessing of the gods we ask for to-day.

3. May Aditi protect us from all sin, the mother of Mitra and of the rich Varuṇa! May we obtain heavenly light without enemies! This blessing of the gods we ask for to-day.

Here we cannot but admit that Dyāvākshāmā, heaven and earth, is meant for the same divine couple as
Dyāvāprithivī, heaven and earth, although under slightly differing names they are invoked separately. The waters are invoked twice in the same verse and under the same name; nor is there any indication that, as in other passages, the waters of the sky are meant as distinct from the waters of the sea. Nevertheless even here, Aditi, who in the third verse is called distinctly the mother of Mitra and Varuna, cannot well have been meant for the same deity as Heaven and Earth, mentioned in the second verse; and the author of these two verses, while asking the same blessing from both, must have been aware of the original independent character of Aditi.

*Aditi as Mother.*

In this character of a deity of the far East, of an Orient in the true sense of the word, Aditi was naturally thought of as the mother of certain gods, particularly of those that were connected with the daily rising and setting of the sun. If it was asked whence comes the dawn, or the sun, or whence come day and night, or Mitra and Varuna, or any of the bright, solar, eastern deities, the natural answer was that they come from the Orient, that they are the sons of Aditi. Thus we read in

ix. 74, 3. urvī gāvyūtiḥ áditeḥ ritám yatē.

Wide is the space for him who goes on the right path of Aditi.

In viii. 25, 3, we are told that Aditi bore Mitra and Varuna, and these in verse 5 are called the sons of Daksha (power), and the grandsons of Savas, which again means might: nápātā sāvasah mahāh sūṇā (īti) dákshasya su-krātū (īti). In x. 36, 3, Aditi is called the mother of Mitra and Varuna; likewise in x. 132, 6; see also vi. 67, 4. In viii. 47, 9, Aditi is called the mother of Mitra, Aryaman, Varuna, who in vii. 60, 5, are called her sons. In x. 11, 1, Varuna is called yahvāḥ áditeḥ, the son of Aditi (cf. viii. 19, 12); in vii. 41, 2, Bhaga is mentioned as her son. In x. 72, 8, we hear of eight sons of Aditi, but it is added that she approached the gods with seven sons only, and that the eighth (mārtāndā, addled egg) was thrown away: ashtaú
putrásah áditeh yé gátäh tanvāh pári, devān úpa prá ait saptá-bhih pára mártaṇḍām āsyat.

In X. 63, 2, the gods in general are represented as born from Aditi, the waters, and the earth: yé sthā gátäh áditeh at-bhyāh pári yé prithivyāh té me ihā sruta hávam.

You who are born of Aditi, from the water, you who are born of the earth, hear ye all my call!

The number seven, with regard to the Ádityas, occurs also in

ix. 114, 3. saptá dīṣah nānâ-sūryāh saptá hōtārah ritvīgah, devāh ádityāh yé saptá tébhih soma abhī raksha nah.

There are seven regions with their different suns, there are seven Hotars as priests, those who are the seven gods, the Ádityas, with them, O Soma, protect us!

The Seven Ádityas.

This number of seven Ádityas requires an explanation which, however, it is difficult to give. To say that seven is a solemn or sacred number is to say very little, for however solemn or sacred that number may be elsewhere, it is not more sacred than any other number in the Veda. The often-mentioned seven rivers have a real geographical foundation, like the seven hills of Rome. The seven flames or treasures of Agni (v. 1, 5) and of Soma and Rudra (vi. 74, 1), the seven paridhis or logs at certain sacrifices (x. 90, 15), the seven Harits or horses of the sun, the seven Hotar priests (iii. 7, 7; 10, 4), the seven cities of the enemy destroyed by Indra (i. 63, 7), and even the seven Rishis (x. 82, 2; 109, 4), all these do not prove that the number of seven was more sacred than the number of one or three or five or ten used in the Veda in a very similar way. With regard to the seven Ádityas, however, we are still able to see that their number of seven or eight had something to do with solar movements. If their number had always been eight, we should feel inclined to trace the number of the Ádityas back to the eight regions, or the eight cardinal points of the heaven. Thus we read:

i. 35, 8. ashtaú ví akhyat kakúbhah prithivyāh.
The god Savitar lighted up the eight points of the earth (not the eight hills).

But we have seen already that though the number of Ādityas was originally supposed to have been eight, it was reduced to seven, and this could hardly be said in any sense of the eight points of the compass. Cf. Taitt. Ār. i. 7, 6.

As we cannot think in ancient India of the seven planets, I can only suggest the seven days or tithis of the four parvans of the lunar month as a possible prototype of the Ādityas. This might even explain the destruction of the eighth Āditya, considering that the eighth day of each parvan, owing to its uncertainty, might be represented as exposed to decay and destruction. This would explain such passages as,

iv. 7, 5. yāgishthām saptā dhāma-bhīk.
Agni, most worthy of sacrifice in the seven stations.
ix. 102, 2. yaṅnāsya saptā dhāma-bhīk.
In the seven stations of the sacrifice.
The seven threads of the sacrifice may have the same origin:
ii. 5, 2. ā yāsmin saptā rasmāyah tataḥ yaṅnāsya netāri, manushvāt daivyaṃ aśṭamāṃ.
In whom, as the leader of the sacrifice, the seven threads are stretched out,—the eighth divine being is manlike (?).
The sacrifice itself is called, x. 124, 1, saptā-tantu, having seven threads.

x. 122, 3. saptā dhāmāni pari-yān āmartyah.
Agni, the immortal, who goes round the seven stations.
x. 8, 4. ushāh-ushah hi vaso (īti) āgram ēshi tvām yamā-yoḥ abhavaḥ vi-bhāvā, ritāya saptā dadhishe padāni ganāyan mitrām tanvē svāyai.

For thou, Vasu (Agni), comest first every morning, thou art the divider of the twins (day and night). Thou takest for the rite the seven names, creating Mitra (the sun) for thy own body.
x. 5, 6. saptā maryādāḥ kavāyah tatakshuh tāsām ēkām īt abhī amhurāḥ gāt.
The sages established the seven divisions, but mischief befel one of them.
i. 22, 16. átah devāh avantu nah yátah víshnuh vi-kakramé prithivyāh saptá dhāma-bhīh.

May the gods protect us from whence Víshnú strode forth, by the seven stations of the earth!

Even the names of the seven or eight Ādityas are not definitely known, at least not from the hymns of the Rigveda. In ii. 27, 1, we have a list of six names: Mitrā, Aryamān, Bhāga, Váruna, Dáksha, Amsāh. These with Āditi would give us seven. In vi. 50, 1, we have Āditi, Váruna, Mitrā, Agní, Aryamān, Savítár, and Bhāga. In i. 89, 3, Bhāga, Mitrā, Āditi, Dáksha, Aryamān, Váruna, Sóma, Ásvinā, and Sárasvatī are invoked together with an old invocation, pūrvayā ni-vídā. In the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka, i. 13, 3, we find the following list: 1. Mitrā, 2. Varunā, 3. Dhātar, 4. Aryamān, 5. Amsā, 6. Bhāga, 7. Indra, 8. Vivasvān, but there, too, the eighth son is said to be Mārtānda, or, according to the commentator, Āditya.

The character of Āditi as the mother of certain gods is also indicated by some of her epithets, such as rāga-putrā, having kings for her sons; su-putrā, having good sons; ugra-putrā, having terrible sons:

ii. 27, 7. piparti nah áditiḥ rāga-putrā āti dvēśhāmsi aryamā su-gēbhīh, brihāt mitrāsya várūnasya sārma úpa syāma puru-vīrāh árishtāh.

May Āditi with her royal sons, may Aryaman carry us on easy roads across the hatreds; may we with many sons and without hurt obtain the great protection of Mitrā and Varunā!

iii. 4, 11. barhīh nah āstām áditiḥ su-putrā.

May Āditi with her excellent sons sit on our sacred pile!

viii. 67, 11. pārshi dîné gabhîrē ā úgra-putre gīghāmsatah, mākiḥ tokāsya nah rishat.

Protect us, O goddess with terrible sons, from the enemy in shallow or deep water, and no one will hurt our offspring!

Aditi identified with other Deities.

Aditi, however, for the very reason that she was originally intended for the Infinite, for something beyond the visible world, was liable to be identified with a number of finite
deities which might all be represented as resting on Aditi, as participating in Aditi, as being Aditi. Thus we read:

i. 89, 10 (final). áditih dyaúh áditih antáriksham áditih mātā sāh pitā sāh putráh, víśve devāh áditih páñka gánāh áditih gātām áditih gáni-tvam.

Aditi is the heaven, Aditi the sky, Aditi the mother, the father, the son. All the gods are Aditi, the five clans, the past is Aditi, Aditi is the future.

But although Aditi may thus be said to be everything, heaven, sky, and all the gods, no passage occurs, in the Rig-veda at least, where the special meaning of heaven or earth is expressed by Aditi. In x. 63, 3, where Aditi seems to mean sky, we shall see that it ought to be taken as a masculine, either in the sense of Āditya, or as an epithet, unbounded, immortal. In i. 72, 9, we ought probably to read prithvī and pronounce prithuvī, and translate ‘the wide Aditi, the mother with her sons’; and not, as Benfey does, ‘the Earth, the eternal mother.’

It is more difficult to determine whether in one passage Aditi has not been used in the sense of earth after life, or as the name of the place whither people went after death, or of the deity presiding over that place. In a well-known hymn, supposed to have been uttered by Sunahsepa when on the point of being sacrificed by his own father, the following verse occurs:

i. 24, 1. kāh nah mahyāá áditaye púnah dāt, pitáram ka driséyam mātāram ka.

Who will give us back to the great Aditi, that I may see father and mother?

As the supposed utterer of this hymn is still among the living, Aditi can hardly be taken in the sense of earth, nor would the wish to see father and mother be intelligible in the mouth of one who is going to be sacrificed by his own father. If we discard the story of Sunahsepa, and take the hymn as uttered by any poet who craves for the protection of the gods in the presence of danger and death, then we may choose between the two meanings of earth or liberty, and translate, either, Who will give us back to the great earth? or, Who will restore us to the great Aditi, the goddess of freedom?
Aditi and Diti.

There is one other passage which might receive light if we could take Aditi in the sense of Hades, but I give this translation as a mere guess:

iv. 2, 11. rāyē ka nah su-apatyāya deva dītim ka rāsva ādītim urushya.

That we may enjoy our wealth and healthy offspring, give us this life on earth, keep off the life to come! Cf. i. 152, 6.

It should be borne in mind that Diti occurs in the Rigveda thrice only, and in one passage it should, I believe, be changed into Aditi. This passage occurs in vii. 15, 12. tvām agne vīrā-vat yāsah devāh ka savitā bhāgah, dītih ka dāti vāryam. Here the name of Diti is so unusual, and that of Aditi, on the contrary, so natural, that I have little doubt that the poet had put the name of Aditi; and that later reciters, not aware of the occasional license of putting two short syllables instead of one, changed it into Aditi. If we remove this passage, then Diti, in the Rigveda at least, occurs twice only, and each time together or in contrast with Aditi; cf. v. 62, 8, page 231. I have no doubt, therefore, that Professor Roth is right when he says that Diti is a being without any definite conception, a mere reflex of Aditi. We can clearly watch her first emergence into existence through what is hardly more than a play of words, whereas in the epic and pauranic literature this Diti has grown into a definite person, one of the daughters of Daksha, the wife of Kasyapa, the mother of the enemies of the gods, the Daityas. Such is the growth of legend, mythology, and religion!

Aditi in her Moral Character.

Besides the cosmical character of Aditi, which we have hitherto examined, this goddess has also assumed a very prominent moral character. Aditi, like Varuna, delivers from sin. Why this should be so, we can still understand if we watch the transition which led from a purely cosmical to a moral conception of Aditi. Sin in the Veda is frequently conceived as a bond or a chain from which the repentant sinner wishes to be freed:
vii. 86, 5. áva drugdhāni pítryā sriga nah áva yā vayám kakrimā tanūbhih, áva rágan pasu-tvāpam nā táyúm srigá vatsám ná dānnah vásishthām.

Absolve us from the sins of our fathers, and from those which we have committed with our own bodies. Release Vasishtha, O king, like a thief who has feasted on stolen cattle; release him like a calf from the rope*.

viii. 67, 14. té nah ásnáh vrícánām ādityásah mumókata stenám baddham-iva adite.

O Ādityas, deliver us from the mouth of the wolves, like a bound thief, O Aditi! Cf. vii. 67, 18.

Sunahsepa, who, as we saw before, wishes to be restored to the great Aditi, is represented as bound by ropes, and in v. 2, 7, we read:
súnah-sépam kit ní-ditam sahásrāt yúpát amuñkah ása-mishtha hí sáh, evá asmát agne ví mumugdhi pásān hótar (ít) kikitvah ihá tú ni-sádyā.

O Agni, thou hast released the bound Sunahsepa from the pale, for he had prayed; thus take from us, too, these ropes, O sagacious Hotar, after thou hast settled here.

Expressions like these, words like dáman, bond, ní-dita, bound, naturally suggested ā-diti, the un-bound or un-bounded, as one of those deities who could best remove the bonds of sin or misery. If we once realise this concatenation of thought and language, many passages of the Veda that seemed obscure, will become intelligible.

vii. 51, 1. ādityánām ávasā nūtanena sakshímāhi sármānā sám-tamena, anágāh-tvé aditi-tvé turāsah imám yagñám dadhatu srósahmānāh.

May we obtain the new favour of the Ādityas, their best protection; may the quick Maruts listen and place this sacrifice in guiltlessness and Aditi-hood.

I have translated the last words literally, in order to make their meaning quite clear. Āgas has the same meaning as the Greek āγος, guilt, abomination; an-āgās-tvā, therefore, as applied to a sacrifice or to the man who makes it, means guiltlessness, purity. Aditi-tvā, Aditi-hood, has a similar meaning; it means freedom from bonds, from

anything that hinders the proper performance of a religious act; it may come to mean perfection or holiness.

Aditi having once been conceived as granting this adititvā, soon assumed a very definite moral character, and hence the following invocations:

i. 24, 15. út ut-tamam varuna pāsam asmāt āva adhamām ví madhyamāṁ srathaya, átha vayām āditya vrātē táva ánâgasah áditaye syāma.

O Varuṇa, lift the highest rope, draw off the lowest, remove the middle; then, O Āditya, let us be in thy service free of guilt before Aditi.

v. 82, 6. ánâgasah áditaye devāsyā savitūḥ savē, vísvā vāmāni dhēmaḥi.

May we, guiltless before Aditi, and in the keeping of the god Savitar, obtain all goods! Professor Roth here translates Aditi by freedom or security.

i. 162, 22. anâgâḥ-tvām nah āditiḥ krīnotu.

May Aditi give us sinlessness! Cf. vii. 51, 1.

iv. 12, 4. yāt kit āṁ te purusha-trā yavishtha ākitti-bhih kakrimā kāt kit āgah, kridhi sū asmān āditeḥ ánâgān ví énâmsi sirsrathāḥ víśvāk agne.

Whatever, O youthful god, we have committed against thee, men as we are, whatever sin through thoughtlessness, make us guiltless of Aditi, loosen the sins on all sides, O Agni!

vii. 93, 7. sūḥ agne enā nāmasā sām-īddhāh ākha mitrām vārūnam Índram vokeḥ, yāt sām āgah kakrimā tāt sū mrīla tāt aryamā āditiḥ sirsrathantu.

O Agni, thou who hast been kindled with this adoration, greet Mitra, Varuṇa, and Indra. Whatever sin we have committed, do thou pardon it! May Aryaman, Aditi loose it!

Here the plural sirsrathantu should be observed, instead of the dual.

viii. 18, 6—7. āditiḥ nah dīvā pasūṁ āditiḥ nāktam ādva-yāḥ, āditiḥ pātu āṃhasah sadā-vridhā.

utā syā nah dīvā matīḥ āditiḥ ūtyā ᾱ gamat, sā sām-tātī māyāḥ karat āpa srūdhāḥ.

May Aditi by day protect our cattle, may she, who never deceives, protect by night; may she, with steady increase, protect us from evil!

And may she, the thoughtful Aditi, come with help to
us by day; may she kindly bring happiness to us, and carry away all enemies! Cf. x. 36, 3, page 239.

x. 87, 18.  "vriskyantâm âditaye duh-évâh.

May the evil-doers be cut off from Aditi! or literally, may they be rooted out before Aditi!

ii. 27, 14. âdite mitra váruna utâ mrîla yât vâh vayám kakrimâ kât kit āgah, urú asyám âbhayam gyótih indra mã nah dûrghâh abhí nasan támisrâh.

Aditi, Mitra, and also Varuna forgive, if we have committed any sin against you. May I obtain the wide and fearless light, O Indra! May not the long darkness reach us!

vi. 87, 7. yâh mrîláyâti kakrúshe kit āgah vayám syâma várune ânâgâh, ânu vratâni âditeh ridhântaḥ yuyâm pâta svastî-bhih sâdâ nah.

May we be sinless before Varuna, who is gracious even to him who has committed sin, and may we follow the laws of Aditi! Protect us always with your blessings!

Lastly, Aditi, like all other gods, is represented as a giver of worldly goods, and implored to bestow them on her worshippers, or to protect them by her power:

i. 43, 2. yâthâ nah âditiḥ kârat pásve nrí-bhyah yâthâ gâve, yâthâ tokâya rudrîyam.

That Aditi may bring Rudra’s favour to our cattle, our men, our cow, our offspring.

i. 153, 3. pipáya dhenúḥ âditiḥ ritâya gánâya mitrâvarunâ havih-dé.

Aditi, the cow, gives food to the righteous man, O Mitra and Varuna, who makes offerings to the gods. Cf. viii. 101, 15.

i. 185, 3. anehâh dâtrám âditeh anarvám huvé.

I call for the unrivalled, uninjured gift of Aditi. Here Professor Roth again assigns to Aditi the meaning of freedom or security.

vi. 40, 2. dîdeshtu devi âditiḥ réknah.

May the divine Aditi assign wealth!

x. 100, 1.  "sarvâ-tâtim âditim vrinîmahe.

We implore Aditi for health and wealth.

i. 94, 15. yásmai tvâm su-drâvinah dâdâsah anâgâh-tvâm âdite sarvâ-tâtâ, yám bhadrâna sâvasâ kodâyâsi pragâ-vatâ râdhasâ té syâma.
To whom thou, possessor of good treasures, grantest guiltlessness, O Aditi, in health and wealth*, whom thou quickenest with precious strength and with riches in progeny, may we be they! Cf. ii. 40, 6; iv. 25, 5; x. 11, 2.

The principal epithets of Aditi have been mentioned in the passages quoted above, and they throw no further light on the nature of the goddess. She was called devī, goddess, again and again; another frequent epithet is anarvan, uninjured, unscathed. Being invoked to grant light (vii. 82, 10), she is herself called luminous, gyōtishmatī, i. 136, 3; and svārvatī, heavenly. Being the goddess of the infinite expanse, she, even with greater right than the dawn, is called úrūkī, viii. 67, 12; uruvyākas, v. 46, 6; uruvragā, vii. 67, 12; and possibly prithvī in i. 72, 9. As supporting everything, she is called dhārayātkshiti, supporting the earth, i. 136, 3; and visvāganyā, vii. 10, 4. To her sons she owes the names of rāgaputrā, ii. 27, 7; suputra, iii. 4, 11; and ugraputrā, viii. 67, 11: to her wealth that of sudravinās, i. 94, 15, though others refer this epithet to Agni. There remains one name pastyā, iv. 55, 3; viii. 27, 5, meaning housewife, which again indicates her character as mother of the gods.

I have thus given all the evidence that can be collected from the Rig-veda as throwing light on the character of the goddess Aditi, and I have carefully excluded everything that rests only on the authority of the Yagur- or Atharva-vedas, or of the Brāhmanas and Āranyakas, because in all they give beyond the repetitions from the Rig-veda, they seem to me to represent a later phase of thought that ought not to be mixed up with the more primitive conceptions of the Rigveda. Much valuable material for an analytical study of Aditi may be found in B. and R.'s Dictionary, and in several of Dr. Muir's excellent contributions to a knowledge of Vedic theogony and mythology.

* On sarvātāti, salus, see Benfey's excellent remarks in Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 519. Professor Roth takes aditi here as an epithet of Agni.
Aditi as an Adjective.

But although the foregoing remarks give as complete a description of Aditi as can be gathered from the hymns of the Rig-veda, a few words have to be added on certain passages where the word áditi occurs, and where it clearly cannot mean the goddess Aditi, as a feminine, but must be taken either as the name of a corresponding masculine deity, or as an adjective in the sense of unrestrained, independent, free.

v. 59, 8. mímáátu dyaúh áditiḥ vítáye nah.
May the boundless Dyú (sky) help us to our repast!

Here áditi must either be taken in the sense of Áditya, or better in its original sense of unbounded, as an adjective belonging to Dyú, the masculine deity of the sky.

Dyú or the sky is called áditi or unbounded in another passage, x. 63, 3:

yébhyaḥ mátā mádhú-mát pínvate páyah piyúsham dyaúh áditiḥ ádri-barhāh.
The gods to whom their mother yields the sweet milk, and the unbounded sky, as firm as a rock, their food.

iv. 3, 8. kathā sárđhāya marútām ritāya kathā sūre brīhatē prikkhyámānah, práti bravaḥ áditaye turāya.
How wilt thou tell it to the host of the Maruts, how to the bright heaven, when thou art asked? How to the quick Aditi?

Here Aditi cannot be the goddess, partly on account of the masculine gender of turāya, partly because she is never called quick. Aditi must here be the name of one of the Ádityas, or it may refer back to sūre brīhatē. It can hardly be joined, as Professor Roth proposes, with sárđhāya marútām, owing to the intervening sūre brīhatē.

In several passages áditi, as an epithet, refers to Agni:
iv. 1, 20 (final). vísveshām áditiḥ yagūívānām vísveshām átithih mānuśhānām.
He, Agni, the Aditi, or the freest, among all the gods; he the guest among all men.
The same play on the words áditi and átithi occurs again:
vii. 9, 3. ámûrah kavîh áditih vivásvân su-samsát mitráh átithih siváh nah, kitrá-bhânuh ushásám bhâti ágre.

The wise poet, Aditi, Vivasvat, Mitra with his good company, our welcome guest, he (Agni) with brilliant light came at the head of the dawns.

Here, though I admit that several renderings are possible, Aditi is meant as a name of Agni, to whom the whole hymn is addressed; and who, as usual, is identified with other gods, or, at all events, invoked by their names. We may translate áditih vivásvân by 'the brilliant Aditi,' or 'the unchecked, the brilliant,' or by 'the boundless Vivasvat,' but on no account can we take áditi here as the female goddess. The same applies to viii. 19, 14, where Aditi, unless we suppose the goddess brought in in the most abrupt way, must be taken as a name of Agni; while in x. 92, 14, áditiim anarvânam, to judge from other epithets given in the same verse, has most likely to be taken again as an appellative of Agni. In some passages it would, no doubt, be possible to take Aditi as the name of a female deity, if it were certain that no other meaning could be assigned to this word. But if we once know that Aditi was the name of a male deity also, the structure of these passages becomes far more perfect if we take Aditi in that sense:

iv. 39, 3. ánâgasam tám áditih krinotu sáh mitrêna váruzena sa-góshâh.

May Aditi make him free from sin, he who is allied with Mitra and Varuna.

We have had several passages in which Aditi, the female deity, is represented as sa[góshâh or allied with other Ádityas, but if sáh is the right reading here, Aditi in this verse can only be the male deity. The pronoun sá cannot refer to tám.

With regard to other passages, such as ix. 81, 5; vi. 51, 3, and even some of those translated above in which Aditi has been taken as a female goddess, the question must be left open till further evidence can be obtained. There is only one more passage which has been often discussed, and where áditi was supposed to have the meaning of earth:
Professor Roth in one of his earliest essays translated this line, 'The evil-disposed wished to dry the earth, the fools split the Parushnā,' and he supposed its meaning to have been that the enemies of Sudās swam across the Parushnā in order to attack Sudās. We might accept this translation, if it could be explained how by throwing themselves into the river, the enemies made the earth dry, though even then there would remain this difficulty that, with the exception of one other doubtful passage, discussed before, ādīti never means earth. I should therefore propose to translate: 'The evil-disposed, the fools, laid dry and divided the resistless river Parushnā.' This would be a description of a strategem very common in ancient warfare, viz. diverting the course of a river and laying its original bed dry by digging a new channel, and thus dividing the old river. This is also the sense accepted by Sāyana, who does not say that vigraha means dividing the waves of a river, as Professor Roth renders kulabheda, but that it means dividing or cutting through its banks. In the Dictionary Professor Roth assigns to ādīti in this passage the meaning of endless, inexhaustible.

Verse 12, note 5. Nothing is more difficult in the interpretation of the Veda than to gain an accurate knowledge of the power of particles and conjunctions. The particle kanā, we are told, is used both affirmatively and negatively, a statement which shows better than anything else the uncertainty to which every translation is as yet exposed. It is perfectly true that in the text of the Rig-veda, as we now read it, kanā means both indeed and no. But this very fact shows that we ought to distinguish where the first collectors of the Vedic hymns have not distinguished, and that while in the former case we read kanā, we ought in the latter to read ka nā.

I begin with those passages in which kanā is used emphatically and as one word.

I a. In negative sentences:
i. 18, 7. yāsmāt rite nā sidhyati yagñāh vipah-kītah kanā.
Without whom the sacrifice does not succeed, not even that of the sage.

v. 34, 5. ná ásuvatā sakate púshyatā kaná.

He does not cling to a man who offers no libations, even though he be thriving.

i. 24, 6. nahí te kshatrám ná sáhah ná manyúm váyah kaná amí’ (íti) patáyangah ápúh.

For thy power, thy strength, thy anger even these birds which fly up, do not reach. Cf. i. 100, 15.

i. 155, 5. tritīyam asya nákih ā dadharshati váyah kaná patáyangah patatrínah.

This third step no one approaches, not even the winged birds which fly up.

i. 55, 1. diváh kit asya varímá ví papratha, índram ná maññá prithiví kaná práti.

The width of the heavens is stretched out, even the earth in her greatness is no match for Indra.

I b. In positive sentences:

vii. 32, 13. púrvih kaná prá-sitayah taranti tám yáh índre kármaná bhúvat.

Even many snares pass him who is with Indra in his work.

viii. 2, 14. ukthám kaná sasyámánam ágoh aríh ā kiketa, ná gáyatrám giyámánam.

A poor man may learn indeed a prayer that is recited, but not a hymn that is sung.

viii. 78, 10. táva ít indra ahám á-sásá háste dátram kaná ā dade.

Trusting in thee alone, O Indra, I take even this sickle in my hand.

i. 55, 5. ádha kaná srát dadhati tvíshi-mate índráya vágrem ni-ghánighnate vadham.

Then indeed they believe in Indra, the majestic, when he hurls the bolt to strike.

i. 152, 2. etát kaná tvah ví kiketat eshám.

Does one of them understand even this?

iv. 18, 9. mámat kaná used in the same sense as mámat kit.

i. 139, 2. dhībhih kaná mánasá svébhíh akshá-bhíh.

v. 41, 13. váyah kaná su-bhváh ā áva yanti.
vii. 18, 9. āsūḥ kaná īt abhi-pitvām gagāma.

viii. 91, 3. ā kaná tvā kikitsâmah ādhi kaná tvā nā imasi.

We wish to know thee, indeed, but we cannot understand thee.

x. 49, 5. ahām randhayam mṛgayam srutārvane yāt mā āgīhīta vayūnā kanā ānu-shāk.

vii. 26, 7. ahām kaná tāt sūrī-bhiḥ ānasyām.

May I also obtain this with my wise friends.

I c. Frequently kanā occurs after interrogative pronouns, to which it imparts an indefinite meaning, and principally in negative sentences:

i. 74, 7. nā yōḥ upabdūḥ āsvyah srinvé rāthasya kāt kanā, yāt agne yāsi dūtyām.

No sound of horses is heard, and no sound of the chariot, when thou, O Agni, goest on thy message.

i. 81, 5. nā tvā-vān indra kāh kanā nā gātāḥ nā gani-shyatē.

No one is like thee, O Indra, no one has been born, no one will be!

i. 84, 20. mā te rādhâmsi mā te útāyah vaso (īti) asmān kādā kanā dabhan.

May thy gifts, may thy help, O Vasu, never fail us!

Many more passages might be given to illustrate the use of kanā or kās kanā and its derivatives in negative sentences.

Cf. i. 105, 3; 136, 1; 139, 5; ii. 16, 3; 23, 5; 28, 6; iii. 36, 4; iv. 31, 9; v. 42, 6; 82, 2; vi. 3, 2; 20, 4; 47, 1; 3; 48, 17; 54, 9; 59, 4; 69, 8; 75, 16; vii. 32, 1; 19; 59, 3; 82, 7; 104, 3; viii. 19, 6; 23, 15; 24, 15; 28, 4; 47, 7; 64, 2; 66, 13; 68, 19; ix. 61, 27; 69, 6; 114, 4; x. 33, 9; 39, 11; 48, 5; 49, 10; 59, 8; 62, 9; 85, 3; 86, 11; 95, 1; 112, 9; 119, 6; 128, 4; 129, 2; 152, 1; 168, 3; 185, 2.

I d. In a few passages, however, we find the indefinite pronoun kās kanā used in sentences which are not negative:

i. 113, 8. ushāḥ mritām kām kanā bodhāyanti.

Ushas, who wakes even the dead, (or one who is as if dead.)
HYMNS TO THE MARUTS.

i. 191, 7. ádrishtáh kím kaná ihá vah sárve sákám ní gasyata.

Invisible ones, whatever you are, vanish all together!

II. We now come to passages in which kaná stands for ka ná, and therefore renders the sentence negative without any further negative particle:

ii. 16, 2. yásmát índrát brihatáh kím kaná ím rité.

Beside whom, (beside) the great Indra, there is not anything.

ii. 24, 12. vísvam satyám magha-váná yuvóh ít āpah kaná prá minanti vratám vám.

Everything, you mighty ones, belongs indeed to you; even the waters do not transgress your law.

iii. 30, 1. títkishante abhí-sastim gánánám índra tvát ā káh kaná hí pra-ketáh.

They bear the scoffing of men; for Indra, away from thee there is no wisdom.

iv. 30, 3. vísve kaná ít aná tvá devásah indra yuyudhuh.

Even all the gods together do not fight thee, O Indra.

v. 34, 7. duh-gé kaná dhriyate vísvah á purú gánah yáh asya távishím ákukrudhat.

Even in a stronghold many a man is not often preserved who has excited his anger.

vii. 83, 2. yásmin ágá bhávati kím kaná priyám.

In which struggle there is nothing good whatsoever.

vii. 86, 6. svápnah kaná ít ánritasya pra-yotá.

Even sleep does not remove all evil.

In this passage I formerly took kaná as affirmative, not as negative, and therefore assigned to prayotá the same meaning which Sāyana assigns to it, one who brings or mixes, whereas it ought to be, as rightly seen by Roth, one who removes.

viii. 1, 5. mahé kaná tvám adri-vah párâ sulkáya deyám, ná sahásráya ná ayútáya vagri-vah ná satáya sata-magha.

I should not give thee up, wielder of the thunderbolt, even for a great price, not for a thousand, not for ten thousand (?), not for a hundred, O Indra, thou who art possessed of a hundred powers!
viii. 51, 7. kadā kanā starīḥ asi.
The art never sterile.
viii. 52, 7. kadā kanā prá yukkhasi.
The art never weary.
viii. 55, 5. kākshushā kanā sam-nāse.
Even with my eye I cannot reach them.
x. 56, 4. mahimnāḥ ēshām pitārah kanā Ḍisire.

Verse 12, note 6. Considering the particular circumstances mentioned in this and the preceding hymn, of Indra's forsaking his companions, the Maruts, or even scorning their help, one feels strongly tempted to take tyāgas in its etymological sense of leaving or forsaking, and to translate, by his forsaking you, or if he should forsake you. The poet may have meant the word to convey that idea, which no doubt would be most appropriate here; but then it must be confessed, at the same time, that in other passages where tyāgas occurs, that meaning could hardly be ascribed to it. Strange as it may seem, no one who is acquainted with the general train of thought in the Vedic hymns can fail to see that tyāgas in most passages means attack, onslaught; it may be even the instrument of an attack, a weapon. How it should come to take this meaning is indeed difficult to explain, and I do not wonder that Professor Roth in his Dictionary simply renders the word by forlornness, need, danger, or by estrangement, unkindness, malignity. But let us look at the passages, and we shall see that these abstract conceptions are quite out of place:

viii. 47, 7. nā tám tigmām kanā tyāgah nā drāsad abhī tám gurū.
No sharp blow, no heavy one, shall come near him whom you protect.

Here the two adjectives tigmā, sharp, and gurū, heavy, point to something tangible, and I feel much inclined to take tyāgas in this passage as a weapon, as something that is let off with violence, rather than in the more abstract sense of onslaught.

i. 169, i. mahāḥ kit asi tyāgasah varūtā.
The art the shieder from a great attack.
iv. 43, 4. kāh vām mahāh kit tyāgasah abhiśke urushyātam mādhvī dasrā nah āti.

Who is against your great attack? Protect us with your help, ye givers of sweet drink, ye strong ones.

Here Professor Roth seems to join mahāh kit tyāgasah abhiśke urushyātam, but in that case it would be impossible to construe the first words, kāh vām.

i. 119, 8. āgakklatam krīpamānam para-vāti pitūh svāsyā tyāgasā nī-bādhitam.

You went from afar to the suppliant, who had been struck down by the violence of his own father.

According to Professor Roth tyāgas would here mean forlornness, need, or danger. But nībādhita is a strong verb, as we may see in

vi. 64, 2. padā panūn arādhāsah nī bādhasva mahān Asi.

Strike the useless Paṇis down with thy foot, for thou art great.

x. 18, 11. út svaṅkasva prithivi mā nī bādhathāh.

Open, O earth, do not press on him (i.e. the dead, who is to be buried; cf. M. M., Über Todtenbestattung, Zeit-schrift der D. M. G., vol. ix. p. xv).


When you protected Sudās with the Trītsus, when he was pressed or set upon by the ten kings.

Another passage in which tyāgas occurs is,

vi. 62, 10. sānutyena tyāgasā máṛtyasya vanushyatām ápi sūrshā vavriktaṃ.

By your covert attack turn back the heads of those even who harass the mortal.

Though this passage may seem less decisive, yet it is difficult to see how tyāgasā could here, according to Professor Roth, be rendered by forlornness or danger. Something is required by which enemies can be turned back. Nor can it be doubtful that sūrshā is governed by vavriktaṃ, meaning turn back their heads, for the same expression occurs again in i. 33, 5. pārā kit sūrshā vavriktaḥ té indra áyagvānah yāgva-bhiś spārdhamānāh.

Professor Benfey translates this verse by, 'Kopfüber flohn sie alle vor dir;' but it may be rendered more
literally, 'These lawless people fighting with the pious turned back their heads.'

x. 144, 6. evá tát índraḥ índunā devéshu kit dhárayâte máhi tyágyah.

Indeed through this draught Indra can hold out against that great attack even among the gods.

x. 79, 6. kím devéshu tyágyah énah kakarthâ. What insult, what sin hast thou committed among the gods?

In these two passages the meaning of tyágas as attack or assault is at least as appropriate as that proposed by Professor Roth, estrangement, malignity.

There remains one passage, vi. 3, 1. yám tvám mitréna vàrunah sa-góshâh déva pâsi tyágasâ mártam ámhah.

I confess that the construction of this verse is not clear to me, and I doubt whether it is possible to use tyágasâ as a verbal noun governing an accusative. If this were possible, one might translate, 'The mortal whom thou, O God (Agni), Varuṇa, together with Mitra, protectest by pushing back evil.' Anyhow, we gain nothing here, if we take tyágas in the sense of estrangement or malignity.

If it be asked how tyágas can possibly have the meaning which has been assigned to it in all the passages in which it occurs, viz. that of forcibly attacking or pushing away, we can only account for it by supposing that tyag, before it came to mean to leave, meant to push off, to drive away with violence, (verstossen instead of verlassen.) This meaning may still be perceived occasionally in the use of tyag; e.g. devâs tyagantu mâm, may the gods forsake me! i.e. may the gods drive me away! Even in the latest Sanskrit tyag is used with regard to an arrow that is let off. 'To expel' is expressed by nis-tyag. Those who believe in the production of new roots by the addition of prepositional prefixes might possibly see in tyag an original ati-ag, to drive off; but, however that may be, there is evidence enough to show that tyag expressed originally a more violent act of separation than it does in ordinary Sanskrit.

Verse 13, note 1. Sámsa, masc., means a spell whether for good or for evil, a blessing as well as a curse. It means a curse, or, at all events, a calumny:
i. 18, 3. mā nah sāmsah árarushah dhúrtíh prának mártyasya.
Let not the curse of the enemy, the onslaught of a mortal hurt us.

i. 94, 8. asmākam sāmsah abhí astu duḥ-dhyāḥ.
May our curse fall on the wicked!

ii. 26, 1. rīgāḥ īt sāmsah vanavat vanushyatāh.
May the straight curse strike the enemies! Cf. vii. 56, 19.

iii. 18, 2. tápa sāmsam árarushah.
Burn the curse of the enemy!

vii. 25, 2. árē tám sāmsam krinuhi ninitsoḥ.
Take far away the curse of the reviler! Cf. vii. 34, 12.

It means blessing:

ii. 31, 6. utā vah sāmsam usīgām-iva smasi.
We desire your blessing as a blessing for suppliants.

x. 31, 1. ā nah devānām úpa vetu sāmsah.
May the blessing of the gods come to us!

x. 7, 1. urushyā nah urú-bhīḥ deva sāmsaiḥ.
Protect us, god, with thy broad blessings!

ii. 23, 10. mā nah duḥ-sāmsah abhi-dipsūḥ īsata prá su-
 sāmsāḥ mati-bhīḥ tārīshīmahi.
Let not an evil-speaking enemy conquer us; may we, enjoying good report, increase by our prayers!

Lastly, sāmsa means praise, the spell addressed by men to the gods, or prayer:

i. 33, 7. prá sunvataḥ stuvatāh sāmsam āvah.
Thou hast regarded the prayer of him who offers libation and praise.

x. 42, 6. yāsmin vayām dadhimā sāmsam īndre.
Indra in whom we place our hope. Cf. āsams, Wester-
gaard, Radices Linguæ Sanscritæ, s. v. sams.
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BY T. COMBE, M.A., E. B. GARDNER, E. P. HALL, AND H. LATHAM, M.A.,

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