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The Rigveda

Adolf Kaegi,
Robert Arrowsmith

Harvard Divinity School



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THE RIGVEDA:

THE OLDEST LITERATURE OF THE INDIANS.

BY

ADOLF KAEGLI,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ZÜRICH.

*AUTHORIZED TRANSLATION WITH ADDITIONS
TO THE NOTES*

BY

R. ARROWSMITH, PH.D.,

INSTRUCTOR IN SANSKRIT, RACINE COLLEGE, RACINE, WIS.



BOSTON:

GINN AND COMPANY.

1886.

THE RIGVEDA

THE OLDEST LITERATURE OF INDIA

BY

ADOLF KAEGI

PROFESSOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BASEL

WITH A FREE TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH
AND THE NOTES

BY

H. ARROWSMITH, PRINTER

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R. A.

1895, Jan. 17.
Trinity School.

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

THE translation of the present work was undertaken in order to place at the command of English readers interested in the study of the Veda a comprehensive and, at the same time, condensed manual of Vedic research. It has been the aim to make the translation as close as possible; especially in the metrical quotations the author's renderings have nearly always been adhered to, though with continual reference to the text of the hymns.

Since the second German edition appeared, in 1880, much work has been done in the study of the Veda, and many additions made to the literature. These PROFESSOR KÆGI kindly offered to incorporate in the Notes, and, to some extent, to remodel the latter, but was prevented from doing as much as he had intended by stress of work and ill-health. The translator has endeavored to complete the references to the literature to date, and has extended a number of the Notes in some particulars. All such additions are designated by brackets []. The only addition to the text is the Frog Song on p. 81 f.

The thanks of the translator are due to DR. KÆGI for his ready consent and interest in the undertaking, to PROFESSORS WHITNEY and LANMAN for suggestions and material, and to DR. A. V. W. JACKSON, of Columbia College, for revising the portions of the Notes pertaining to the Avesta.

The references have been verified as far as practicable, and it is believed that a reasonable degree of accuracy has been attained. It is requested that the translator be notified of the discovery of any mistakes which may have been overlooked.

R. A.

RACINE COLLEGE,
RACINE, WIS., February, 1886.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE invitation of my publishers to have my treatise on the Rigveda (Two Parts, Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm der Kantonsschule in Zürich, 1878 and 1879) published in a somewhat revised and extended form, seemed to me the more to be accepted, since I had repeatedly been urged to do so from the most varied sources, and the article was frequently inquired for in the trade. It is plain that to specialists in the subject, to investigators in the field of the Veda, it cannot offer anything really new; its aim is to embrace the results of Vedic investigation, as well for beginners in the study as for all those who have a more special interest in this literature, the importance of which is perceived and admitted in ever-widening circles, especially for theologians, philologists and historians. That, however, it is founded throughout on personal investigation of the sources and examination of the investigations of others will be easily perceived by every one who takes the trouble to subject the text and notes to a more minute survey.

Here let me once more call attention to the fact that, in the sections upon the Vedic Belief and the Divinities, I have confined myself as closely as possible to the language of the hymns, so that almost the whole of this text (pp. 28–32, 34–71) is made up of the words of the poets. The quotations from the *Siebenzig Lieder* (cf. pp. 34 and 92) being given throughout in Italics, make it possible even for the non-Sanskritist to prove the method by which this is accomplished, at least in some short portions.

If, especially in the treatment of Varuṇa, I have somewhat more fully followed out the similarities of the Vedic and the Biblical language (*cf.* now A. Holzman in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, 1880, p. 251 f.), I shall now hardly have to meet the criticism that in so doing non-Indian, or even Christian, conceptions are put into the Veda; translation stands beside translation; it is left to the reader to prove similarity, as well as difference.

The great extent of the notes is explained by the fact that they are intended not only to prove, sustain and amplify the material presented in the text, but also to facilitate for others the survey of Vedic literature, and to point out the historical significance of the Rig. If some may criticise here too much or too little, others perhaps will be glad to utilize what is presented, even if only the references to the literature, for which the Indices may be welcome. On the letter, as well as on the correction, much care has been expended; if, notwithstanding, mistakes are discovered, it will surely be pardoned, especially in the very large quantity of numbers, by those who are experienced in such matters.

May the work in its new form serve to carry the knowledge of this ancient and highly important poetry and the interest in our studies into further circles.

DR. ADOLF KAEGLI.

ZÜRICH, November, 1880.

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Sanskrit c is pronounced like *ch*;

“ ṭ, ḍ, ṅ like *t, d, n*;

“ ç and ş like *sh*;

“ ṛ like *r̄*.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is well known with what enthusiasm Voltaire, in his writings, especially in the *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*, repeatedly praised the ancient wisdom of the Brâhmans which he thought to have discovered in the *Ezour-Veidam*, brought to his notice from India about the middle of the last century.¹ But even Voltaire's eloquence persuaded but few of his contemporaries of the authenticity of the book. Although scholars were not in a position to disprove its genuineness,² they preserved a suspicious and skeptical attitude toward it. Soon after Voltaire's death, J. G. Herder, in the tenth book of his *Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit*, unhesitatingly expressed his opinion that whatever knowledge Europeans had hitherto gained of the mysteries of the Indians, was plainly only modern tradition; "for the real Weda of the Indians," he adds, "as well as for the real Sanskrit language, we shall probably have long to wait."³ Although, happily, Herder's prophecy as to the language itself was not fulfilled,⁴ yet in fact a number of decades passed before more trustworthy and detailed information was gained of these oldest literary memorials of the Indians. Colebrooke's celebrated *Essays On the Vedas*⁵ did indeed (in 1805) give a valuable survey of the whole territory of Vedic literature, with some scattered quotations from various Vedic books; but it was not possible for Colebrooke to examine all the extraordinarily extensive works which are embraced in India under the name *Veda*, to distinguish properly the individual writings, or to determine their mutual relations.

About twenty years later a German, Friedrich Rosen, recognized in the rich collection of Vedic manuscripts

which had come to London, in great part through the efforts of Colebrooke, the true worth of this literature, and the need of making it accessible to European scholarship. He undertook with zeal the editing of the oldest portion, the Rigveda, but died in 1837, before the first eighth was published.⁶

The first enduring impulse was given by the small but epoch-making *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, Drei Abhandlungen* von Rudolph Roth, Stuttgart, 1846.⁷ It inaugurated a movement which since then has irresistibly led all Sanskritists to the study of the Veda. As early as 1852, aided by the recent purchase of a rich collection of Sanskrit manuscripts by the Royal Library of Berlin, A. Weber was enabled to give, in his *Academische Vorlesungen über indische Literaturgeschichte*, a very detailed and valuable survey of the Vedic books, which was afterwards supplemented in many points, especially for the later periods, by Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1859. During the last twenty years, through the efforts of Benfey, Weber, Roth and Whitney, and Aufrecht, the most important texts, since followed by many more, have been accessible in printed form; and this investigation opens to the historical sciences, in the broadest sense of the word, sources of unexpected wealth.

VEDIC LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.

Veda is primarily 'knowledge' in general, and among the Indians designates knowledge *κατ' ἐξοχήν* — the sacred knowledge, — the sacred writings, of which a brief survey follows.

The oldest division, the **Mantra** (saying, song), is distributed in four Sanhitâs (collections), — the Rig-, Sâma-, Yajur-, and Atharva-Sanhitâs. The oldest and most valuable portion of these collections, the foundation of the whole Vedic literature, is composed of songs, in which, in

primeval times, at the first stage of their history as an independent nationality, still at the threshold of the land which they afterward filled with their culture, — more than 1000 years before the expedition of Alexander the Great in the same regions, centuries before the production of the Indian Pantheism or of the gods Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, — in which that people in childlike simplicity praised and entreated their gods, with which they accompanied their sacrifices and strove to propitiate the revered ruler of their destiny, to gain for themselves and their flocks prosperity and secure habitations. From the whole treasury of song which, as its best possession, the Indian race had brought with it from earlier homes to the land of the Ganges, learned men and teachers in later centuries made a selection of the hymns, which had already become partially unintelligible; these they divided, arranged, and used in their schools (*carāṇa*). Such a selection (*śākhā*, recension), has been preserved to us, viz.:

The Rigveda; the knowledge of the hymns, which will be considered more at length below.⁸ It was made with the intention of protecting this heritage of ancestral times from further corruption, and from destruction; and is therefore, to an extent, a scientific, historical collection, while the two following sanhitās had their origin in practical, liturgical uses.

The Sāmaveda, the knowledge of the songs, contains about 1800 separate verses, for the greater part taken from the hymns of the Rig, but here torn out of their original relation and put together almost without any internal connection. Remodeled with certain musical modifications, they are called *sāman*, songs, in which form they were recited at the Soma sacrifice* by a special priest-class, whose song-book therefore this Veda is. By the musical modification of single verses, the whole number of Sāman could naturally be greatly increased.⁹

* This is the favorite sacrifice of the Vedic period, at which the sap of the Soma plant, mixed with milk or barley, was offered; of which more below.

The Yajurveda contains the knowledge of the prayers. When in time the sacrifice became no longer a simple act of divine worship and offering, left to the free-will and impulse of the individual, but when more and more in every detail an established ritual was set up, the exact observance of which fell to various priest-classes, not only the verses to be recited during the ceremony, but also a quantity of formulas and phrases of explanation, of excuse, blessing, etc., for practical use, began to be put together. Such words, formulas, and passages, partly in connected, partly in unconnected form, among them, too, not a few verses from the Rig, were called yajus; and the books containing the yajus for the whole sacrificial ceremony, Yajurveda. We hear of a considerable number of such prayer-books; two of them, related in contents, but differing in arrangement, have already been edited; a third, in all probability the oldest of the existing ones, has been disclosed only within the last few years.¹⁰ The composition of all these books belongs to a period when the priest-class had already gained a decided ascendancy over the other classes.

It was only at a time considerably later than these collections (*trayî vidyâ*, threefold knowledge), that a fourth attained to canonical recognition, the Atharva- or Brahma veda, knowledge of incantations. This probably contained originally the poetry more properly belonging to the people and current among them, which only secondarily was admitted into the circle of the priests, and distributed among their productions.¹¹ As a historical collection of songs it has most similarity to the Rigveda, though the spirit of the two collections is quite different. 'The Rig is permeated by a lively sympathy and love of nature; in the Atharvan rule only shrinking dread of its evil spirits and their magic powers.' The word bráhma (whence Brahmaveda), here means no longer, as in the Rig, 'devotion, prayer,' but 'charm, spell, enchantment (carmen, incantamen, devotio).' By the use of such

a formula the skilled priest is enabled to attain everything, and to force even the gods to the fulfillment of his will. Side by side with later passages are found here many formulas, whose perfect agreement with Old-Germanic spells reveals their origin from the ancient Indo-Germanic period.¹² Of this Veda too a new recension has lately become known, and with it a considerable quantity of new Vedic texts.¹³

The second grand division of Vedic literature is formed by the **Brâhmaṇa**, *i.e.*, writings relating to brâhman, to prayer and sacrificial ceremony.¹⁴ These clearly belong to a much later period, when the old hymns were regarded as ancient and sacred revelation, acquaintance with which was confined to a small number of wise priestly teachers, among whom, however, even at this period, its interpretation was a matter of strife, because the language had meantime become a different one. The Brâhmaṇas, all of them marvelous products of priestly knowledge and perverted imagination, are throughout in prose, and for the greater part, like the Sanhitâs, furnished with accents. They develop the theories of celebrated teachers concerning the sense of the old hymns, their relation to the sacrifices, the symbolic meaning of the latter, etc. Dogma, mythology, legend, philosophy, exegesis, etymology, are here interwoven in reckless confusion. Since these works furnish the oldest prescriptions for the ritual and explanation of the language, as well as the oldest traditions and philosophical speculations, they are not without value for the history of language and civilization; but the gold is largely hidden under a mass of dross.

The Brâhmaṇas themselves, of which a considerable number are preserved,^{14a} are in later times looked upon as inspired, and united with the hymns as *gruti*, revelation, excepting only the youngest portions, the **Âraṇyaka**s, writings for the wood-dwellers (*ύλδβιοι*),¹⁵ and the **Upaniṣads**, instructions. Both classes of works show a method of thought totally different from that of the old Vedic

books; and with their speculations on cosmogony and eschatology lead into the midst of the system of the Vedânta ('aim or end of Veda').¹⁶

The third and youngest stage of Vedic literature is the **Vedânga** ('members of the Veda'), also called **Sûtra**. The more Vedic study gained in extent, the more difficult it became to master it. 'The mass of material became too large; the fullness of description in details had to yield to a short survey of the sum of these details, in which the greatest brevity was necessary.' Therefore the most concise rules were invented with a conventional system for the designation of termini technici, expressed in algebraic formula. These rules, as well as the books embracing them in almost unbroken succession, are called **Sûtra** (thread, guide, rule); they do not confine themselves to one school or recension, and, especially in later times, attain the last imaginable degree of brevity. How far this principle was pushed may be seen from the saying of the Indian scholars, that "an author should rejoice as much over the saving of half a long vowel as over the birth of a son"; in which it must be remembered that without a son to perform the death rites, a Brâhman was not thought capable of gaining heaven.¹⁷ We must confine ourselves to mentioning the six Vedânga- or Sûtra-groups in the traditional order, and to pointing out briefly their signification. They are:

1. Çikṣâ: pronunciation.
2. Chandas: metre.
3. Vyâkaraṇa, (lit. 'analysis'): grammar.
4. Nirukta (word-explanation): etymology.
5. Kalpa: ritual.
6. Jyotiṣa: astronomy.

The first four are chiefly occupied with the reading and understanding of the sacred texts; the last two principally with the sacrifice and its seasons.¹⁸

As from the study of Homer the Greek grammar rose, so from the study of the Veda grew the Indian; but the investigations of the Indians, favored by the constitution of

their language, were incomparably deeper and more lasting than those of the Greek grammarians. Prominent among the grammatical writings are the Nirukta, a collection of strange or obscure words (*γλωσσαι*) of the Veda, together with the interpretation of the Vedic investigator Yâska (about 500 B.C.),¹⁹ and the Prâtiçâkhyas, each of which contains, for the various recensions of a single Veda, the most precise statements of phonetic changes, pronunciation, accentuation, metre, etc.²⁰ In connection, they display a number of delicate observations in phonetics, such as only the science of our own day has begun to institute and turn to account.* The above named works therefore do not treat of grammatical forms; of older works on this subject little has been left us, clearly because a later work, in its comprehensive and practical presentation surpassed all earlier ones and made them superfluous; namely, the grammar of Pânini, who probably lived in the third century B.C.²¹ "In them is presented the scientific treatment of a single tongue in a perfection which arouses the wonder and admiration of all those who are more thoroughly acquainted with it; which even now stands, not only unsurpassed, but not even attained, and which in many respects may be looked upon as the model for similar work. In this presentation of the Sanskrit the method of the Indian grammarians was displayed; and it found so much the more speedy acceptance, since it is nearly allied to the tendency which since the beginning of this century has made itself felt with ever increasing power in other sciences. This is the method applied to the natural sciences; the method which seeks to gain knowledge of a subject from itself, by analysis into its elements. It views language as a natural phenomenon, the character of which it strives to determine by analysis into

* I believe I shall not be contradicted by Helmholtz, or Ellis, or other representatives of phonetic science, if I say that, to the present day, the phoneticians of India of the fifth century B.C. are unsurpassed in their analysis of the elements of language. — *Max Müller*, OGR. 150.

its component parts and investigation of their functions; by this method and its wonderful results the linguistic labors of the Indians have pre-eminently, — indeed, almost alone, — made it possible for modern philology to take up its problem and work it out to its end with the success which is universally conceded to it.” — (*Benfey.*)²²

The treatises on Ritual, the Kalpasûtras, specially called Sûtra,²³ are either:

1. Çrautasûtra (pertaining to *çruti*, revelation); *i.e.*, they contain the prescriptions for the solemn ceremonies to be performed with the assistance of the priests and with exact observance of the ritual^{23 a}; or

2. Smârtasûtra (pertaining to *smṛti*, tradition); *i.e.*, they teach the observances prescribed by tradition, and are divided into *a*) Gṛhyasûtra, giving the models for acts of domestic piety which must accompany the individual and his family in all special circumstances of life from the cradle to the grave; these books, though made later, preserve many ancient characteristics;²⁴ and into *b*) Dhârmāsûtra, which fix the rules of daily life in act and attitude toward others;²⁵ from these last arose later the metrical law-books (Dharmaçâstra) of Manu, Yâjñavalkya, and others.^{25 a}

There are, finally, a number of additions (Pariçîṣṭa, *i.e.*, *παραλιπόμενα*), among which I mention the Purâṇas ('old tales'), which in their present form date at the earliest from the eighth century A.D., only because, up to the fourth decade of the present century, — (with some "historians" even later!) — they ranked with the Upaniṣads as the most important source of 'Indian' and 'Vedic' religious conceptions.²⁶

Upon the whole of this rich literature, which in extent at least equals all the preserved monuments of the Greek literature, essentially rest the commentaries of Mâdhava and Sâyaṇa, still preserved and highly regarded in India, which however were only composed in the fourteenth century A.D. About 1350, in the middle of the

Dekkhan, in the Karnâta territory, a man of humble, non-Aryan descent succeeded in throwing off the Mohammedan yoke and in setting up in those regions once more and for the last time a magnificent Indian nation, by founding the dynasty of Vijayanagara (city of Victory). At the court of the third king of this dynasty, Bukka, the prime minister, Mâdhava, and his brother Sâyaṇa instituted an intense and widespread scientific activity, to which we owe, among many other works, these Vedic commentaries or paraphrases.²⁷

What then is more natural than, at the time when the Veda was beginning to be understood, when a wholly new world was here unfolding to view, the understanding of which however presented at the outset the very greatest difficulties, — what more natural than that aid should eagerly be sought, which might serve for the interpretation of this unknown material! It was a matter of rejoicing that works were at once found explaining or paraphrasing every word of the foundation text; and as they appeal at every step to old authorities, it was believed that in them lay not *a* tradition or traditional explanation, but *the* tradition, — the true interpretation from ancient times. The problem of Vedic investigation was considered to be the search for and discovery of that interpretation which was current in India a few centuries ago, *i.e.*, the interpretation presented in the Commentaries.²⁸ On the other hand, Roth insisted from the beginning that these commentaries could by no means be taken as the chief guides, for we have to seek not the sense which these books attribute to the hymns, but that which the composers themselves intended; that these works might indeed be excellent guides to the understanding of the theological books and the ritual, but altogether insufficient in the far older and entirely different territory of the hymns; that concerning the latter there was nowhere a trace of views handed down by tradition, *i.e.*, of continuity in the interpretation, but only a tradition among investi-

gators. But that any other tradition was not imaginable; for it only began to be asked how one point or another in the old hymns was to be interpreted, when they were no longer, or at least no longer clearly, understood; * that we have in the so-called tradition only attempts at a solution, not the solution itself; that in discovering the latter, European scholars would succeed much better than Indian theologians, having the advantage in freedom of judgment, as well as in a larger range of view and historical faculty. However, Roth expressed himself thus only on occasion,²⁹ but boldly and independently began to build anew. By the aid of grammatical and etymological comparison, by confronting all passages related in sense and form, he endeavored, keeping in view the tradition, to evolve the meaning of single words, and so created a broad and firm foundation for Vedic exegesis;³⁰ while others, partly in more negative manner proved the impracticability of the native interpretation, partly went forward on the road newly pointed out.³¹ The correctness of the method is to-day no longer challenged by any non-Indian scholar;³² even in India itself within a few years the publication of an edition of the Rigveda has been undertaken which more and more makes independent use of the results and methods of European scholarship.³³ But no one disputes that we have not yet by far reached the foundation; and none better know this than those who are zealously striving, on the path pointed out and with continual observance of the native tradition, to further, by minute investigation of particulars, the understanding of these ancient hymns. All these corrections will in no measure detract from the services of the founder of Vedic exegesis. 'That Roth has cut his way through the fog of Indian misinterpreta-

* The degree to which the understanding of these texts had been lost may be illustrated by a literary strife between Yâska and another Vedic scholar, Kautsa. The latter insisted that explanation of the words was useless, since the hymns had no meaning at all; to which Yâska responded, that it was not the fault of the rafter that the blind man did not see it; that was the fault of the blind man.

tion straight to the kernel of the Veda, that he has seized with sure historical sense the spirit of Indian antiquity, that he has taught us to recognize the power and freshness of expression, of which the Indians knew little more, — this is one of the most brilliant achievements of modern philology.’ — (*Delbrück.*)³⁴

THE VEDIC PEOPLE AND ITS CIVILIZATION.

After this general literary and historical introduction, we must preface our special subject, the examination of the Rigveda, with some account of the people among whom the book arose, of its life and occupation, its manner of action and thought. In this we may throughout rely on Zimmer’s excellent work, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, which presents a masterly picture of the culture of the Vedic Aryans, drawn from all the Sanhitās.³⁵

To comparative philology we owe the indisputable proof of the fact that the ancestors of Indians and Iranians and Greeks, of Slavs and Lithuanians and Germans, of Italians and Celts, in far distant ages spoke one language, and as a single people held dwelling-places in common, wherever that home may have been situated;³⁶ and further, that for a considerable period after their separation from their brothers living further to the west, the Indians and Iranians lived together, and distinguished themselves from other tribes by the common name of Aryan.³⁷ After their separation from the Iranians, the Eastern Aryans, the later Indians, wandered from the west into the land afterward called *India*, descending from the heights of Iran, probably over the western passes of the Hindukush. As to their place of abode at the time of composition of most of the hymns of the Rig—about 2000–1500 B. C.³⁸—the names of rivers mentioned in the hymns give definite information. According to these, the chief settlement of the Vedic people was then in the territory of the Sindh (to-day *Indus*, *Sindh*), the banks of the mighty stream itself being probably most thickly populated, the river,

after receiving all its tributaries, reaching so great a width that boats midway between its shores are invisible from either. The singers in inspired strains sing its greatness: "With nourishing waves it rushed forth, a firm stronghold and brazen fortress for us; like a fighter in his chariot, the stream flows on, overtaking all others. It alone among the rivers flows with pure water from the mountains to the sea; with regard for riches, for many men, it brings fatness and a refreshing draught to the dwellers on the shore."

Simple tribes, like the Gandhâri (Γανδάριοι) still remained in the valley of the Kubhâ (*Kabul*) and the Suvâstu (*Swat*), a northern tributary; to the south the settlements had been pushed beyond the mouths of the Krumu (*Kurum*) and Gomatî (*Gomal*), but not far beyond the union of the Sindhu with the *Pancanada*,* though they knew of the Sindhu's emptying into the ocean. In the north, the western and middle Himâlaya formed an impassable wall; to the east the Çutudrî (*Satlej*) must for a long time have formed the boundary, across which from time to time they moved forward to the Yamunâ (*Jumna*) and Gangâ (*Ganges*), enticed by the beauty of the land and pressed on by advancing tribes behind.³⁹

In East Kabulistan and the Panjab, therefore, where the condition of climate and soil was about the same as now,⁴⁰ the Aryan colonists lived in their houses; for they had already changed the movable tent of the shepherd and nomad for a more fixed shelter. "Columns were set up on firm ground, with supporting beams leaning obliquely against them, and connected by rafters on which long bamboo rods were laid, forming the high roof. Between the corner-posts other beams were set up, according to the size of the house. The crevices in the walls were filled in with straw or reeds, tied in bundles, and the whole

* *Pancanada*, the five rivers, signified primarily the union of the five rivers, Vitastâ, Asikni, Parusni or Irâvati, Vipâç, and Çutudri; then the whole region, as to-day, the *Panjab*. See Note 39.

was to some extent covered with the same material. The various parts were fastened together with bars, pegs, ropes and thongs." The house could be shut in by a door, which, as in the Homeric houses, was fastened with a strap.⁴¹ A number of such dwellings form the village; fenced and enclosed settlements give protection against wild animals; against the attacks of enemies and against inundations large tracts were arranged on higher ground, protected by earthworks and ditches. But of cities, *i.e.*, of collections of adjoining houses, surrounded by wall and moat, there is no mention.⁴²

The principal means of sustenance was cattle-keeping. Repeatedly in the hymns we meet with the prayer for whole herds of cows and horses, sheep and goats, heifers and buffaloes, but especially of milch-cows, which are to more than one singer the sum of 'all good which Indra has created for our enjoyment.' By divine power the red cow yields the white milk, from which is prepared mead and butter, 'the favorite food of gods and men,' and perhaps also cheese.⁴³ After the cattle, the most important interest is the cultivation of the soil. The ground is worked with plough and harrow, mattock and hoe, and when necessary watered by means of artificial canals. Twice in the year the products of the field, especially barley, ripen; the grain is threshed on the floor, the corn, separated from husk and chaff by the winnowing, is ground in the mill and made into bread. Men still engage in hunting game with bow and arrow, snares and traps, but this occupation has no importance as a means of livelihood, and fishing still less.⁴⁴ The chief food consists, together with bread, of various preparations of milk, cakes of flour and butter, many sorts of vegetables and fruits; meat, cooked on the spit or in pots, is little used, and was probably eaten only at the great feasts and family gatherings. Drinking plays throughout a much more prominent part than eating. "The waters are indeed pre-eminently praised; in them lie all healing properties, and they secure to the body health,

protection and long-continued sight of the sun;— but it no more occurred to the Vedic people to quench their thirst with water than to the ancient Germans. They bathed in it, and the cattle drank it; man had other beverages,” — surâ, a brandy made from corn or barley, and above all, the sorrow-dispelling Soma, which, on account of its inspiring power, was raised to the position of a god, and will therefore be considered below.⁴⁵

Among occupations that of the wood-worker is most frequently mentioned; he is still carpenter, wheelwright and joiner in one, and is skilled not only in building war-chariots and wagons with all their parts, but also in more delicate carved work, such as artistic cups, etc. The tanner prepares leather from the hide of the slaughtered cattle, and uses it for water-bottles, bow-strings, slings and other articles. Metal-workers, smiths and potters ply their craft for the purposes of common life. Navigation, being confined to the streams of the Panjab, could not be very important, and trade exists only as barter, the foundation of which, as well as the money unit, is the cow, in reference to which all things are valued. But the transition to the use of coined money was being prepared by the various golden ornaments and jewelry; active tradesmen and usurers come to view; while the occurrence of the Babylonian mina as an accepted gold standard proves, in connection with other facts, a very early intercourse between India and the western Semitic colonies.

The women understood the plaiting of mats, weaving and sewing; they manufactured the wool of the sheep into clothing for men and covering for animals, and were especially occupied with their many ornaments and decorations.⁴⁶

The foundation of the state was formed by the Family, at the head of which stood the father as lord of the house. The foundation of a family proceeded from the man. At festal gatherings and similar occasions there were often opportunities for forming acquaintance between youth and

maiden, and even then careful mothers did not neglect, at such times, to come to their daughters' assistance with advice and action. If such an acquaintance proved lasting, permission for the marriage had to be sought from the father or, after his death, from the eldest brother. This office was assumed by a friend of the suitor, who is always the oldest unmarried son of a family, for it was a settled custom for the children of a family to marry in order of age. If the suitor was acceptable, he had to purchase his bride by rich gifts to his future father-in-law. Thereupon the marriage was celebrated in traditional form in the presence of both families and their friends in the house of the bride's parents. Further on we shall have opportunity for a fuller description of the ceremony. That a marriage portion was given with the young wife is not distinctly stated but is yet indicated, as also that a rich inheritance helped many a girl to gain a husband, who otherwise would have remained in her father's house. In the new home the young wife is subject to her husband, but at the same time mistress of the farm-laborers and slaves, and of parents- and brothers-in-law. The Vedic singers know no more tender relation than that between the husband and his willing, loving wife, who is praised as "his home, the darling abode and bliss in his house." The high position of the wife is above all shown by the fact that she participates in the sacrifice with her husband; with harmonious mind at the early dawn both, in fitting words, send up their prayers to the Eternals.⁴⁷ These relations are comprehensible only if monogamy was the rule; and to this the texts point directly. Though there were instances of polygamy, especially among kings and nobles, yet the ordinary condition was "a united pair, with one heart and one mind, free from discord." Marriage was looked upon as an arrangement founded by the gods, the aim of which was the mutual support of man and wife and the propagation of their race; therefore it is the often-repeated wish of the Vedic singer to beget a son of his own flesh, whose

place could never be filled by adoption; while the birth of a daughter is nowhere distinctly desired, but is even plainly asked to be averted.⁴⁸ That exposure of new-born children⁴⁹ and of old people enfeebled by age⁵⁰ occurs offends our feelings no more than the well-known custom of burning the widows, for thousands of years demanded by the Brâhmins. The latter, it is true, is nowhere evidenced in the Rigveda; only by palpable falsification of a hymn, which will be examined later, has the existence of the custom been forcibly put into the texts, which, on the contrary, prove directly the opposite, — the return of the widow from her husband's corpse into a happy life, and her re-marriage. Yet from other indications we have to accept the probability that the custom, which in the oldest times was wide-spread, of causing the widow to follow her husband to death, was also observed now and then in the Vedic period.⁵¹ Such features might easily modify our general verdict regarding the stage of morality and culture of the Vedic Aryans; but we must not forget that "people in a condition of nature are not sentimental, as to-day peasants are not; and that the death of a relative, or the thought of their own, leaves them indifferent."⁵² When, in addition to what has been said above of the tender relation between husband and wife, we learn that violence to defenceless maidens and unfaithfulness on the part of a married woman belong to the heaviest offences, we must infer that true womanliness and morality generally prevailed. It is a matter of course that the picture had its shadows. Even at that time the woman was charged with fickleness, light-mindedness, and lack of judgment; mention is here and there made of the sons of unmarried women; fallen ones tried to free themselves from the consequences of their misdeeds in criminal manner, and even prostitutes were not wanting.⁵³

On the foundation of the family rests the State, the organization of which in the Vedic period is very near that of the primitive times. For protection against threatened

attacks and for the purpose of marauding incursions into the territory of other peoples, coalitions were formed between tribes; but having returned home after a victory, in times of peace the individual people or tribe formed the highest political unit, which was divided into districts, which in turn were composed of single clans or hamlets. The latter were originally, as the expressions in the texts make evident, each a single kindred, a number of families more nearly connected among themselves. This tribe division was applied not only in time of peace but also, as among the Afghans to-day, in battle; warriors of the same families, localities, districts, and tribes fought side by side, in the manner which Tacitus describes as characteristic of the Germans, and as Nestor advises Agamemnon to make his arrangement.⁵⁴

The government of the Aryan states thus organized was naturally, in consequence of their origin in the family, a monarchical, at the head of which the king stands as leader, his dignity being in many instances hereditary. In other cases, he was elected by all the districts in assemblies of the tribe, or in times of peace several members of the royal family exercised the power in common. At all events the kingship was nowhere absolute, but everywhere limited by the will of the people, which made its power felt in assemblies of the nation, the district, and the tribe. In peace the king was "judge and protector" of his people, who owed him lasting obedience but no settled tribute; only voluntary gifts were brought to him. In war he held the chief command and it was his duty, at serious junctures, *e.g.*, before a battle, to prepare a sacrifice for the tribe, either performing it himself or causing a priestly singer to perform it.⁵⁵ In this custom of the kings to be represented by a priestly substitute, is to be recognized the beginning of the historically unique Indian hierarchy and the origin of the castes, the existence of which in the oldest Vedic times, in spite of all assertions to the contrary, must be denied.⁵⁶

That developed ideas of Law were present in the oldest period is taught by the common legal terms existing in the various languages of our family. The Vedic texts present a further list of such terms, and the hymns strongly prove how deeply the prominent minds in the people were persuaded that the eternal ordinances of the rulers of the world were as inviolable in mental and moral matters as in the realm of nature, and that every wrong act, even the unconscious, was punished and the sin expiated. But the same hymns also show that the relations of the various members of the community among themselves were not always the best. Deceitful men strove to injure in every way, by slander, lying, and fraud; thieves plied their vocation under the concealing shadow of night; daring swindlers, highwaymen, and robbers terrorized the peaceable and embittered the life of the upright. In cases of doubt as to guilt or the guilty one, recourse was had to oath, on more serious occasions to the decision of the gods in various forms; unworthy men were expelled from the clan and became fugitives.⁵⁷ But there are also more pleasing features. Praise is given to those who from their abundance willingly dispense to the needy, to those who do not turn away from the hungry, but who by deeds of kindness to the poor increase their own possessions, and who in change of fortune never swerve from their faithfulness to old friends.⁵⁸

When business is despatched in the assembly, the shrewd men gather together; "they sift their words like corn in a sieve and remember their friendship." Others engage in sport and joking over their drinking, and pour forth irony and boasts or indulge in play with dice, which was passionately loved, and at which many a man gambled away his possessions, and finally even his own person. "Of no effect is the father's punishment of the dissolute son; the player is unmoved by the destruction of his home; he remains indifferent though his wife become the property of others; he rises early and indulges in the pas-

sion of play till evening; defeat in play is equivalent to starvation and thirst.”⁵⁹ Wives and maidens attire themselves in gay robes and set forth to the joyful feast; youths and girls hasten to the meadow when forest and field are clothed in fresh verdure, to take part in the dance. Cymbals sound, and seizing each other lads and damsels whirl about until the ground vibrates and clouds of dust envelop the gaily moving throng.⁶⁰

A more earnest trait appears in the favorite contests in the chariot race,⁶¹ for it is the peaceful preparation for the decisive struggle on the battle-field, for the joyous war in which they delighted, and which plays so large a part in the songs as well as the life of the people. In the battle Indra seeks his friend, battle and struggle give the hero experience and renown, when with his fellow-warriors he helps to conquer new homes or to protect those already won, whether against other Aryans or the hosts of aborigines (*dasyu*), from whom the colonists were sharply separated by different color, different customs, and above all, by different religion.⁶² When an enemy approaches the Aryan boundaries, earthworks are thrown up, a barricade of timbers erected, impassable bulwarks of bronze made, and sacrifices offered to the gods to secure their help. Then the army advances with loud battle-songs, with the sound of drums and trumpets, with waving banners, against the opposing force. The warrior stands at the left of the chariot, and beside him the charioteer, and the foot-soldiers fight in close lines, village beside village, tribe beside tribe (cf. page 17). The warrior is protected by brazen coat of mail and helmet; with the bow he hurls against the enemy feathered arrows with poisoned tips of horn or metal, or presses on with spear and axe, lance and sling. And when the enemy is conquered, loud rejoicing resounds with the beat of drums, like the noise of the rising storm; the sacred fire is kindled to offer to the gods a song and sacrifice of thanksgiving, and then to divide the spoil.⁶³

In arts and sciences the race still stood on the lowest stage. The art of writing it did not possess (and even for a long time afterward),⁶⁴ and little was known of the ideas of number or of measure.⁶⁵ The theories of cosmogony are altogether childish.⁶⁶ Among the countless stars certain ones had already been observed and named, before all, the Bear, followed by Sirius and the five planets.⁶⁷ The lunar year of 354 days was in various ways brought into harmony with the solar year; either the twelve extra days were added yearly (cf. below, p. 37*), or they were allowed to accumulate, and a thirteenth month from time to time was added to the twelve.⁶⁸ — Their medical art distinguished quite a number of diseases, but almost the sole curatives and preventives known were charms and the use of amulets and healing herbs, whose power was brought forth and made effectual only by the sacred formula.⁶⁹ Deeper natures indeed only hoped to be freed from their ills by repentance and reformation; for sickness was to them “divinely sent chains” with which Varuna, the world’s ruler, bound those who transgressed his eternal laws.⁷⁰

Only one art had long been in full bloom, that of poetry; of this we have the most convincing evidence in that collection of songs, to the more detailed examination of which we now proceed.

THE RIGVEDA.

THE COLLECTION. — FORM AND CONTENTS OF THE HYMNS.

THE recension which has come down to us, the received text of the Çâkâla school (Çâkâlaçâkha), contains in ten books (Maṇḍala)⁷¹ 1017 (or 1028) hymns,⁷² the extent of which about equals that of the Homeric poems. As a rule, the oldest hymns are contained in Books 2–7; these show only portions, each assigned by tradition to a single family,⁷³ in which they were long preserved as a family inheritance. These are in order the hymns of Ṛtsamada, Viçvâmitra, Vâmadeva, Atri, Bharadvâja, Vasiṣṭha and their descendants. The internal arrangement of these Maṇḍalas bears distinct traces of the work of a single school; the hymns in each are arranged in groups according to the gods addressed; and these groups always follow the same order, — first the hymns to Agni, then those to Indra, etc. Inside the groups the position of the hymns is determined by the number of verses in diminishing order; where this principle seems violated, the hymns are either to be separated into shorter ones or they found a place in the collection only at a later date.⁷⁴ The eighth book contains chiefly hymns of the Kaṇva gens, but shows no prevailing principle in their arrangement. Book 9 seems to betray a different origin, all its hymns being addressed to one divinity, the inspiring Soma, honored as a god, and being arranged with reference to the metres. The youngest portion is Books 1 and 10, which, with beautiful examples of Vedic lyrical poetry, also show productions of the latest period of Vedic time, and even of the time of

compilation. The fourteen groups of the first book, each hymns of one family, show the same principle in their arrangement as the family books; the tenth shows smaller collections (*e.g.*, liturgical); the whole Maṇḍala gives the impression of a subsequent compilation of religious and secular pieces not collected before.

Since the time at which our collection was closed, about the year 1500 B.C.,⁷⁵ the text has been handed down, though for centuries orally,⁷⁶ with the most painstaking care, so that since that time, nearly 3000 years ago, it has suffered no changes whatever; — with a care such that the history of other literatures has nothing similar to compare with it. The Indians were not satisfied with one form of the text, but made several;⁷⁷ grammatical treatises were written upon the mutual relations of the various forms⁷⁸ and other like precautions taken. But it is true that at the period of compilation much had become unintelligible; a method of exposition had gained currency which to a certain extent replaced the text, and it is probable that only few hymns then preserved exactly the same form in which they were composed. For example, it is easy to show that in many hymns the order of the verses is changed and that in others verses not belonging to the hymn have been interpolated. Many such erratic portions were collected by the scholiasts in places where from the occurrence of the same or similar words they inferred a similar sense (*cf.* p. 10*); others show themselves to be modern, and in part very senseless, variations of old hymns or additions made by the priests for the support of their doctrine.⁷⁹

Little need be said of the **external form of the hymns**; this language is an exceedingly ancient popular dialect,⁸⁰ which differs, in all grammatical points (accentuation, phonetics, word-formation, declension, conjugation, syntax) and in its vocabulary, from the later artificial Indian language, the Sanskrit* of the law-books, epics, dramas, etc.,

* Sanskrit is the *artificial, adorned speech* of the three higher castes and the learned literary language in distinction to the *popular dialect, Prākṛit*.

in a much greater degree than, *e.g.*, the language of Homer from the Attic. Here the wonderful imagery of the language shines out in transparent clearness and exuberance of sparkling brilliancy; its forms of expression are poured forth as from an inexhaustible spring; we meet everywhere originality, richness of diction, pushing growth and buoyant life, which, not yet fettered as in later Sanskrit by the iron-bound canons of a learned grammar, give us glimpses of the development and history of the language, in the laboratory of that immense intellectual product, through which the languages of our family have become the most cultivated of all tongues.⁸¹ In a certain sense this dialect too is artistic; it is, like the language of Homer, though to a smaller degree, a popular artistic or poetic speech developed in the guilds of singers, and the many conventional turns of expression in it plainly prove that the art of song had long been fostered and practised among the people.⁸² Here, as in Homer, we often find fixed epithets, formulaic expressions confined to certain connections, rhetorical adornments, idioms and whole passages which repeatedly re-occur unchanged or with slight variations. Assonance, Homoioteleuta, Parachesis and other rhetorical figures, and especially the most varied play upon words, are of frequent application; the refrain, repeating some principal thought, is used with great freedom.⁸³

The syntactical relations are usually clear; in the use of case and mode much more of the original fullness of the language is preserved than in Sanskrit or the classical tongues. But since pure Syntax, the developed structure of periods, was not yet matured, it is sometimes impossible to fix upon one or another translation and explanation of a verse as the sole possible and only correct one, even in passages where every individual word is fully clear.⁸⁴

It is used in the Indian drama only by gods and male members of the first two castes, priests and warriors, while all females (including goddesses), children, and people of lower class speak Prākṛit.

The metrical laws are simple; the stanzas consist throughout of three or more, generally of three or four verses; the latter contain eight, eleven, or twelve syllables, seldom five, more seldom four or more than twelve, and are therefore usually dimeter, trimeter, or trimeter catalectic; the cæsura occurs after the fourth or fifth syllable. The first syllables of the verse are not fixed in regard to quantity (*incipites*), while the last four are in general strictly measured, iambic in verses of twelve syllables (∪ - ∪ ∪), trochaic in those of eleven (- ∪ - ∪); only a few older hymns with verses of eight syllables show a trochaic cadence.⁸⁵

In many hymns two or three stanzas are more closely connected, and thus form a *strophe*; in others a kind of chain-structure is noticeable, in which the beginning of a stanza or strophe takes up the closing thought of the last stanza or strophe. There are, even at this early date, isolated instances of *lyrical dialogue*; of which there are also forms which picture the progress of the action and describe past events, and which therefore correspond in nature to the *ballad*.⁸⁶

As to the *contents*, it has already been pointed out above (page 3), that the far greater proportion of hymns belongs to the religious lyric; a small number only of secular songs is preserved in the tenth book. The great majority of the hymns are invocations and adoration of the gods respectively addressed; their keynote is a simple outpouring of the heart, a prayer to the eternals, an invitation to them to accept favorably the gift reverently consecrated. Of the later theory of inspiration the hymns recognize nothing. The singer's wish is to give eloquent expression to the sentiments which a god has placed in his soul, — to give vent to the crowding emotions of his heart. "As a skilled workman builds the wagon, like well-adorned and fitted garments he forms his song as best he can according to his knowledge and ability."⁸⁷

Therefore the hymns vary greatly in value; by the side

of the splendid productions of divinely inspired poets we find a large number of unimportant, tiresome, and overburdened compositions. But this does not appear strange, when we remember that the Rigveda furnishes us the works of the most various poets of a whole people, some of whom are separated by a period of at least 1000 years; that individual genius is confined neither to locality nor age, and that these productions at the time of compilation, even then partially unintelligible, were looked upon as ancient, divinely inspired wisdom, and therefore protected against all human criticism. Even the flower of the Vedic lyric suffers from monotony and endless repetition, since almost all the hymns are variations of the same theme; but through them all we feel the fresh breath of a vigorous poetry of Nature. If one will only take the trouble to project himself into the life and thought, the poetry and action of a people and age, which best display the first development of intellectual activity in our own race,* he will find himself attracted by these hymns on many sides, now by their childlike simplicity, now by the freshness or delicacy of their imagery, and again by the boldness of their painting and their scope of fancy. And most certainly these truly unique literary remains, which throw the strongest light on the most varied conditions of life, of classical as well as present peoples, will remain sealed for all who do not take that trouble,— who are used to recognize a common humanity and pure beauty only when clothed in the most modern forms. They will be closed for all who have never experienced the delight of following back to its distant mountain-sources the mighty river of human thought, on whose surface we ourselves are hastening toward the Future, who no longer have any soul for that which has freed the minds of millions of human beings with their noblest hopes, fears, and endeavors; who lack the sense for the History of Humanity.⁸⁸

Turning now to the

* "In so far as we are Aryans in speech, that is, in thought, so far the Rigveda is our own oldest book."— *Max Müller*.

RELIGIOUS POETRY,

we shall not, from what has preceded, expect to find any unified views or defined prevailing conceptions. Each one of the poets so far separated in time follows his own imagination, his individual feeling, his momentary perception, which may conform with those of most of his contemporaries, or may be centuries ahead of them. The whole significance of the Rigveda in reference to the general history of religion, as has repeatedly been pointed out in modern times, rests upon this, that it presents to us the development of religious conceptions from the earliest beginnings to the deepest apprehension of the godhead and its relations to man. "Very differently," says L. Geiger, "from all others of the oldest literatures known to us, which show new forms rising on the ruins of a past sunk in oblivion or produced by the contact and commingling of the spiritual characteristics of various peoples, we have in these hymns the picture of an original, primitive life of mankind, free from foreign influences, not restored in new forms from the destruction of the past, but springing forth new and young from the bosom of Nature,—a spiritual form still unspoiled in word and deed; and that which everywhere else we see only as complete and finished, is here presented in process of formation. Therefore in these hymns lies the key to understanding not only the subsequent development of the Indians, nor alone that of all peoples in part springing from the same root, but also, from the unity of nature recognized in the whole process of development of our race, the key to the productions of all speculative power on earth, or to the whole contents of mind, *i.e.*, its lasting acquisitions, from the period when convictions formed from impressions retained in memory first took shape among men, and manifold opinions, beliefs, or knowledge were at all possible."⁸⁹

THE RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

is here in greater part filled with the productions of sense. A maze of marvellous stories and myths reveals the mighty influence of the ever-changing phenomena of nature upon the son of earth. The forces of nature impress him now as friends, again as enemies, and he views the wonders of the great creation with the unaccustomed eyes of the child. As a German nursery rhyme asks: "Tell me how white milk can come from the red cow,"—so an Indian sage is struck with wonder that the rough red cow gives soft white milk, and this miracle is praised again and again as an evidence of divine power.⁹⁰ There is of course no recognition of the laws of nature, and science does not, as now, spring up at every step as an obstacle to imagination. Now we calculate at what moment a certain star will be visible at a certain spot on the earth, and the rising of the sun causes us no astonishment, — we know that it happens necessarily. Not so the man of that time; when he sees the sun moving freely through the heavens, so evidently producing all life upon the earth, seen and known by all, and yet to all a mystery from beginning to end, what it is, whence it comes, whither it goes, — then he asks :

"Unpropped beneath, not fastened firm, how comes it
That downward turned, he falls not downward?
The guide of his ascending path, — who saw it?"—4. 13. 5.

Full of wonder he begins to conjecture "whither the Pleiades, that show themselves in the night, go by day," and it seems a miracle to him that "the sparkling waters of all rivers flow into one ocean, without ever filling it."*⁹¹ Such expressions of wonder, if we try to place ourselves in sympathy with the childlike mental conditions of that primitive time, we shall not find childish; we shall rather wonder at the happy and graphic expressions with which man is able to clothe his thoughts when beginning

* Cf. Eccles. 1. 7: All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full.

for the first time to grope about him, to perceive, to observe, and from repeated observations to draw conclusions. In all the phenomena of nature he observes movement and action similar to his own or those of his immediate surroundings; but because he never sees movement or action here behind which a moving or acting person does not stand, he logically refers these occurrences in nature to acting persons, who for him coincide with the phenomena. The bright all-containing heaven is him the "Lightener" (*Dyaus*) or the "Surrounder" (*Varuṇa*); the moon is the "Measurer" (*Mās*, Gr. *μήν, μείς*); the sun, the "Illuminator" (*Sūrya*) or the "Enlivener" (*Savitar*) or the "Nourisher" (*Pāśan*), etc. This silent "wanderer" through space, — this majestic ruler of the firmament, — this friend, departing in the dark West and returning in the shining East, in its daily and yearly courses first showed men an unbroken rule, a strict, unchanging order (*ṛta*).⁹² And as the "thinking one" (*mānuṣa*, Mensch, man) looks further about him, he observes that, while his own plans are so often crossed and destroyed, while nothing in his daily life has permanency, throughout the whole realm of Nature order, unchangeable and "inimitable," prevails. "In ever-varying alternation with the day-star, the moon light-giving moves through the night; solitary it wanders through the gathering of many; it waxes and wanes; the breathing being of yesterday dies to-day and returns living to-morrow." "Every day, in unceasing interchange with night and her dark wonders, comes the dawn with her bright ones, to reanimate the worlds, never failing in her place, never in her time, — both ever entering on their paths with renewed youth." "Day and night know their seasons, when the dark sister must give place to the bright; they halt not, nor stand still; unlike in color but of like mind both pursue their endless way," and unchangingly the hot and cold seasons follow each other.⁹³

All these occurrences and the forces behind them, these natural phenomena conceived of as personal, are pictured

by man as being similar to himself ; human in their thinking, feeling, and acting ; but, since their order is never disturbed, their will never bent, and their power never broken, infinitely more powerful and exalted and wise ; to him they are creatures against whose will no one on earth can contend.⁹⁴ As light is to him the symbol of all happiness and blessings, he calls these wise powers, these infallible guardians of the eternal order of the worlds the Shining Ones (*devás, divi*), and he adores them as givers of good,⁹⁵ as *gods*. In pressing need there rises in his heart a yearning for a helper ; he looks about among his kinsmen and companions for aid, but in vain. “ Who will take pity, who will give us refreshment, who will come nigh with help ? The counsels counsel, the thoughts in the hearts, the wishes wish, they fly out into the worlds ; no other merciful one is found but them : therefore my longing lifts itself to the gods.”⁹⁶ Anxiously the hopeful ask :

“ Who is it knows, and who can tell us surely
Where lies the path that leads to the Eternals ?
Their deepest dwellings only we discover,
And hidden these in distant secret regions.”— 3. 54. 5.

That path the experienced singer has seen, “ who sees further than others ; he, who has learned to mark the Eternals and in the course of nature to perceive their might and wisdom.”⁹⁷ He says to mortals that not without effort can gods be gained for friends ; the idle and negligent are not pleasing to them ; they desire Soma-pressers, constant in prayer and zealous in sacrifice ; when the tribes meet in conflict over their possessions, they come as allies to those who offer sacrifices ; the Mighty Ones have no friendship for such as bring no gifts.⁹⁸ And so man gladly offers the sacrificial food and freely pours the Soma for their enjoyment, and the “ span ” of his pious songs, that perchance the god may heed and accomplish the singer’s wish. With the most pleasing hymns he lays hold on the hem of the Exalted’s garments, as a son touches the father’s ;

with loud rejoicing, as the streams rush from the heights, he sends up his devotion to heaven, that the god implored may take it up as the mother clasps the darling son; that he may bind the long rows of songs about him for adornment like the stars in heaven, and rejoice in them, as a bridegroom in his bride.⁹⁹ Superficial natures, indeed, naïvely think to talk the gods over: "If I possessed as much as you, O God, I would not give the singer over to poverty, and day by day would give my adorer rich possessions, wherever he might be." "If you were a mortal and I immortal, I would not abandon you to misfortune nor poverty; my singer would not be needy, not in evil case, not lacking his deserts."¹⁰⁰

Another, oppressed by heavy trouble, turns to the lord of the old home, to whom his father called, — to that god who has so often aided before, the support of the sacrificer and the friend of his ancestors, who rejoices in being implored, and who cares for him like a loving father; for he knows from experience: "If I asked again and again, the ever victorious Indra fulfilled all my prayers."¹⁰¹

And if unable to offer an ox or cow, he hopes that even small gifts from the heart, a fagot, a libation, a bundle of grass, offered with reverence, or a specially powerful verse, will be more acceptable to the god than butter or honey.¹⁰² Therefore men honor the gods as frequently as they can; to them, the mighty ones above, they pray at early morning, at midday, and at the setting of the sun, for wealth and happiness, for health and long life, for a hundred autumns without the burdens of old age, which causes the beauty of the form to disappear like mist;¹⁰³ for the blessing of offspring and an honorable position among friends and the whole people; for protection against all dangers and adversaries, at home and abroad; for victory and rich booty from every enemy, Aryan and barbarian.¹⁰⁴ "Grant me," cries Gr̥tsamada to Indra, —

“ Grant me, O God, the highest, best of treasures,
 A judging mind, prosperity abiding,
 Riches abundant, lasting health of body,
 The grace of eloquence, and days propitious.”¹⁰⁵— 2. 21. 6.

And others in the people pray to the Highest, to “ the gods, bright and clear as a spring, superior to blemish, deceit, and harm,” that to their former benefactions they may add the protection which frees even the guilt-laden from his guilt, like the captive from his bonds ; “ for every one,” cries a singer, “ returning from his sins, you, wisest gods, make live again.”¹⁰⁶ They are besought from guilt incurred or unaccomplished to guide to well-being and to protect from sins great and small. Man hopes that in the presence of these pure ones he shall again see his father and mother, and be united with his ancestors who have gone before.¹⁰⁷

Beside this purer conception, which regards the gifts of sacrifice as the free-will offerings of a heart filled with thankfulness, though perhaps hoping too for new aid, the calculating spirit, here as elsewhere, shows itself from the very beginning, which regards the god as under obligation for the gifts, and permits the sacrificer to expect, or almost to demand, a gift in return.¹⁰⁸ “ I give to thee, — do thou give to me,” is the keynote of many hymns ; and many a singer declares that only the songs and sacrifices, and above all the Soma, first gave the gods the courage and power for their saving deeds of might. But when once such results were confidently awaited from such gifts, it was only a step to the further conclusion that these deeds of the gods had been made possible only by the men’s gifts, and that the gods were therefore dependent upon the acts and will of men, especially of those men who were familiar with the ancient songs and the conduct of the sacrifice, — the priests. In their hands remained the knowledge of the hymns and the ritual connected with them, while the mass of the people had in general far too much to do in waging war against the aborigines to be

able to occupy themselves with other matters; all their energy was employed in maintaining their position and conquering new homes. In the strange land, where the customs of home are always invested with a sacred charm, the guardians of the old worship came more and more into the foreground.¹⁰⁹ A creation and at the same time a personification of priestly action is seen in Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati, *i.e.*, the Lord of Devotion. To him are ascribed by later singers the deeds for which formerly other gods, notably Indra, were celebrated, and in very many old hymns interpolations and additions are plainly recognizable for the purpose of confirming the superiority of the human lords of prayer, the priests, over all the other classes, because only they knew how to present the effectual song and sacrifice, and therefore alone could secure the aid of the gods. Even in the second period of Vedic literature, in the Brâhmaṇa, we read that "there are two kinds of gods, the *devas* and the *brâhmaṇas* (*i.e.*, the priests), who are to be held as gods among men." "The wise Brâhmaṇ has the gods in his power," etc.¹¹⁰ Such a conception is naturally foreign to the old hymns; on the other hand, even then success and a continuance of prosperity seem to have led to a denial of gods who ordered all things with strong hand. "The sun and moon in turn fulfill their course, that man may look and believe in God," but the people living in prosperity does not heed this. "Nowhere, Indra," cries a singer, "canst thou find a rich man for thy friend; men insolent from drinking hate thee; but when thou thunderest loud, thou bringest them together; then as a father thou art called upon." "When he hurls hither and thither his lightning, then they believe on the gleaming god."¹¹¹

THE VEDIC BELIEF.

The individual gods, corresponding to their origin from the personification of natural phenomena, are depicted as supreme in their own spheres, and in the Rigveda a

younger race of gods stands plainly in the foreground. The old Father of Heaven, Dyaus (Zeus, Diespiter, Tyr, Zio), the divine parents, Heaven and Earth (Dyāvâpṛthivî), Trita and others have almost entirely disappeared¹¹² and have been superseded by new forms, the representatives of those phenomena which in their new homes made a specially vivid impression on the minds of the Aryans, or exercised a special influence on their manner of life. Thus in one tribe we find one god pre-eminently revered, in another, another. And since there are many phenomena, and hence many gods, we are at first impelled to designate the Vedic religion as polytheism; it is not, however, polytheism in the usual sense, but it presents to us throughout a stage of religious thought which, elsewhere hardly observed, in India developed partly into monotheistic, partly into polytheistic conceptions, and which Max Müller has proposed to designate by the name Henotheism or Kathenotheism;—a belief in single gods, each in turn standing out as the highest. And since the gods are thought of as specially ruling in their own spheres, the singers, in their special concerns and desires, call most of all on that god to whom they ascribe the most power in the matter,—in whose department, if I may say so, their wish comes. This god alone is present to the mind of the suppliant; with him for the time being is associated everything that can be said of a divine being;—he is the highest, the only god, before whom all others disappear, there being in this, however, no offense or depreciation of any other god.¹¹³

Since that which was told of one god could so easily be spoken of others, it was natural to combine individual related gods, possessing certain qualities or rights in common, into dual divinities. Thus Indra (the conqueror of every enemy) and Agni (the conqueror of darkness and the dark hostile demons), the two lords, “Indra, the hero, and Varuṇa, the king,” Indra and Vâyu, Rudra and Soma, and others, are praised and revered together. Later on

the composers of a large number of hymns sought to win a unified expression for the numerous individual gods by grouping them together under the comprehensive name of *viṣve devās*, i.e., *all gods*. Others distinguish older and newer gods whom they try to systematize, or declare openly that a given god is identical with several others, and show in this an inclination toward a monotheistic conception, which will occupy us later on in the philosophical poetry.¹¹⁴

THE GODS.

Passing on to the consideration of the individual gods, I remark that I do not propose to give a complete Vedic mythology, examining all the mythological representations contained in the Veda with respect to their origin, history, chronology and order; ¹¹⁵ but on the other hand, I have been careful to collect all the essential characteristics given in the hymns into a general view of each divinity. In this I have confined myself as closely as possible to the words of the hymns, so that the whole work is, so to speak, made up of the words of the poets themselves. The metrical citations are for the greater part taken from *Siebenzig Hymnen des Rigveda*, übersetzt von Karl Geldner und Adolf Kaegi. Mit Beiträgen von R. Roth, Tübingen 1875, which give the reader a general view of the poetry of the Rigveda.¹¹⁶

In the classification of gods I follow a very old division of the universe, contained in the hymns themselves, into the three realms of the Earth, the Air and the bright Heaven.¹¹⁷ The basis of this threefold division is the separation of air and light. The realm of light is not in the air-region, but beyond it, in the infinite space of the heaven; it is not confined to the shining mass of the sun, but is an independent, eternal force. Between this world of light and the earth lies the region of the air, which is under the control of gods, in order to keep the path of the light to earth unobstructed, to give passage to its enlivening force, and at the same time to allow the heavenly

waters, whose home is also in the light region, to fall on the fields of the earth.¹¹⁸

The **Earth** was given by the gods to men for a dwelling-place. But aside from the fact that all the gods, in heaven and on earth, everywhere reveal their power in the waters, herbs and trees, and have implanted Will in man's body, they have chosen a representative from their midst to dwell here, among mortals immortal. Like a loving friend they have placed in the dwellings of men **Agni**, the god of fire.¹¹⁹ Born from the floods of heaven (the clouds), he first came down to earth as lightning, and when he had disappeared and remained hidden, **Mâtariçvan**, a demi-god, another Prometheus, brought him back again from afar from the gods to men, to the tribe of **Bhrgus**.¹²⁰ From that time the latter have been able to create him anew for themselves; in a multitude of hymns and innumerable images is sung his production from two sticks rubbed together, — his "parents." He lies concealed in the softer wood, as in a chamber, until, called forth by the rubbing in the early morning hour, he suddenly springs forth in gleaming brightness. The sacrificer takes and lays him on the wood; greedily he stretches out his sharp tongue and melts the wood. When the priests pour melted butter upon him, he leaps up crackling and neighing like a horse, — he whom men love to see increasing like their own prosperity.¹²¹ They wonder at him, when, decking himself with changing colors like a suitor, equally beautiful on all sides, he presents to all sides his front.

"All-searching is his beam, the gleaming of his light,
His, the all-beautiful, of beauteous face and glance,
The changing shimmer like that floats upon the stream,
So Agni's rays gleam ever bright and never cease." — 1. 143. 3.

Although the first of the gods, he is yet, because every morning kindled anew, the youngest; gleaming with brightness he whirls upward the sacred, light-red smoke; growing from his flames, which never age, from himself, he

mounts on high, sweeps the heavenly vault with his flowing locks, and mingles himself with the sunbeams. Then they offer to him prayer and song, the devout sacrificial gift, that he may carry it on his gleaming chariot to the Immortals; or he can bring down the gods, ready to give aid, to the pious worship of men, to the drinking of the Soma at the sacred place of sacrifice; for gods and men have chosen him, who rules over heavenly as well as earthly things, for their messenger, the sacrificial carrier.¹²² Once, it is said, he was weary of the service, so that he refused longer to fulfill the office; from Varuṇa, who tries to persuade him, he demands remuneration for his labor:

“ Then give me all the first and last libation,
 And give the juiciest sacrificial portion, —
 The cream of water and the herbs' aroma,
 And long, O Gods, shall Agni's life continue.” — 10. 51. 8.

As Varuṇa grants all this, Agni yields and remains thereafter the High Priest of men, who above all knows the sacred institutions and times.¹²³ If at any time men unknowingly transgress the laws of the knowing (gods), or if in foolishness mortals, weak in discernment, neglect the sacrifice, he, the best sacrificer, makes everything right. And when the light of day, the sun, has departed, Agni is visible through the darkness of night, and by this divine power he proves himself the victorious conqueror of gloom and its evil spirits, the ghosts and goblins, the magicians and witches.¹²⁴ So the god becomes a visible savior, a strong fortress for the devout. He drives away the noxious tribes from their dwelling-places; he burns them down like dry bushes, and the Immortal, bringing joy to mortals, finds a home in their midst. He orders their hosts and protects their settlements; from fear of him, whom the gods placed as a light to the Aryans, the black tribes fled; scattering, they abandoned their possessions, and the god breaks their strongholds. He overthrows barbarian and Aryan enemies, and sweeps

away their wealth from field and mountain.¹²⁵ In him, the lord of riches, lies all wealth, as the rays lie hid in the sun; like a king he protects all treasures, whether they are contained in the mountains, in the plants, in the waters, or among men. From him proceed all gifts of fortune, as branches from the tree, and to him are directed the thoughts of the devout as man's eyes turn to the sun. He may be looked upon as father and relation, dear friend and brother; called upon and revered, he brings with bounteous hands rich wealth into the house of the highly-favored singer. Therefore he is a welcome guest to all men, and in every place a beloved family friend.¹²⁶

In the middle realm of the Air, various divinities of the wind and storm are supposed to live, as well as the genii of the seasons, the **R̥bhus**.¹²⁷ These three skillful men by their dexterity gained divine honors, a share in the sacrifice and immortality. Since they made the chariot of the Aṅvins, the daily course of these gods, bringing blessing to man, is their deed; by them too were formed Br̥haspati's miraculous cow and Indra's obedient team, which harness themselves at his command.¹²⁸ They cherished and cared for their parents, long since broken down by age, with miraculous powers, until their youthful vigor returned; ¹²⁹ and many other wonderful deeds they accomplished on their journey, until they were received as guests in Agohya's * house. Here they spend twelve days in enjoyment; then the course begins anew, and anew the earth brings forth fruit, the streams flow; plants cover the heights, and waters the depths.¹³⁰ Impressed by all these things, the gods wish to try their skill and send Agni as messenger to commission the R̥bhus to fashion, from the one cup of the gods, the masterpiece of the gods' work-

* *Agohya* is the "unconcealable" sun-god, with whom the R̥bhus rest after their year's course; *i.e.*, the year is at an end; the three seasons and the sun, which has reached its lowest point, apparently rest twelve days, — the twelve intercalary days of the winter solstice; *vid.* above, p. 20 and Note 68.

man Tvaṣṭar, four others like it. They at once accomplish the work and more, so that Tvaṣṭar, overcome by jealousy, hides himself. But the gods rejoice in the work, looking at it with understanding and appreciation; and they search everywhere for the R̥bhus and lead them to the company of the gods, where they find the reward of their zeal.¹³¹

Vâta (Vâyū), the wind, first arises in the early morning to drink the Soma and leads in the dawn. Then all the winds follow him like maidens to the feast. His approach is perceived by the waving of the flame; he is recognized hastening along the paths of the air in his swift car, never stopping; but each one asks:

“ In what place was he born, and from whence comes he ?

The vital breath of gods, the world's great offspring,

The God where'er he will moves at his pleasure :

His rushing sound we hear — what his appearance, no one.”¹³² * — 10. 168. 3. 4.

Rudra, the god of the destroying storm,¹³³ is loudly sung because he, most beautiful of those that were born, strongest of the strong, with the lightning in his hands from his high seat looks out upon the inhabitants of the earth and the heavenly race. Where he sees a wrong, there he casts his mighty spear or sends a swift arrow from his strong bow and strikes the evil-doer.¹³⁴ But he is glad to be called upon by the upright, who look for his coming as the child seeks his father's embrace. From them he wards off all affliction and hurt; purifying the air from all harmful miasmas, he furnishes to men and cattle the best nourishment; therefore he is called the very best of physicians.¹³⁵

“ Let me through thy best medicines, O Rudra,

My life on earth prolong a hundred winters ;

* The same Zeugma is in the text. St. John 3. 8: “The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth.” — Cf. Note 132.

From us dispel all hatred and oppression,
On every side calamity drive from us.

Where then, O Rudra, is thy hand of mercy,
The hand that healing brings and softens sorrow,
That takes away the ills even which the gods send?
Let me, O mighty one, feel thy forgiveness.

The hero gladdened me amid the tumult
With greater might when I his aid entreated.
Like some cool shade from the sun's heat protected,
May I attain to Rudra's grace and refuge."—2. 33. 2. 7. 6.

Rudra's sons and companions are the richly-adorned, well-armed **Maruts**, the gods of the thunder-storm, "the heavenly singers."¹³⁶ Loudly thundering, they are visible far off as the stars of heaven, and deck their forms like a prosperous wooer. On their heads golden helmets gleam, on their shoulders they carry gaily-colored skins and spears, on their breasts golden breast-plates, about their ankles golden bracelets and clasps, in their hands gleaming, fire-darting weapons, and in their strong arms rich wealth for the worshiper.¹³⁷ Now they set out with battle-axe and spear, with bow and arrow, as the active and daring allies of Indra; again, they equip themselves for battle alone, rushing forth in golden chariot borne through the air untiringly by golden-hoofed horses or dappled mares. When they approach roaring and throw out their lines to measure the sun's path, when the rivers reverberate with the rumbling of their wheels,—when they raise their song of the storm-clouds and down upon the earth the lightnings smite,—then both men and the mighty, lofty mountains are terrified; the heavenly canopy trembles at their raging, the immovable rocks quake, the earth is moved, and like elephants the heroes destroy the forests; the mountains yield to their coming and the streams to their command. Even in bright daytime they make darkness when they shake down the milk of the clouds,¹³⁸ or when they summon the

rain-god **Parjanya**.¹³⁹ Like as a driver whips and urges his horse, he rouses up his rain-messengers with wild uproar, deep as the distant roar of the lion. Swiftly Parjanya collects his clouds for rain; the winds rush, the lightnings fall stroke on stroke, with which the mighty one smites the blasphemer and terrifies even the pure; the heaven strains and swells; then at once the floods rush down,

“ And every creature then receives the quickening draught,
When o'er the land Parjanya's grateful stream descends.

The thirsty fields he covered with the waters
Of plenteous falling rains; but 'tis enough now.
He caused the herbs to spring for our refreshment,
And what his people sought of him has granted.”¹⁴⁰

5. 83. 4. 10.

But the chief figure in the air-space is **Indra**,¹⁴¹ the most celebrated god of the Vedic period. During this time he assumes a more and more dominating position, and becomes the real national god of the Indians.¹⁴² In numberless hymns his deeds are celebrated, above all his conquest of the demons, **Vṛtra** (“surrounder”), **Ahi** (“confiner”), **Çuṣṇa** (“parcher”) and others, who, in the form of mighty serpents or dragons, encompass the waters and shut off their path, as well as that of the light, from the heights of heaven to man's earth. The ever-recurring celebrations of this victory are often tiresome, but their explanation is found in the climatic conditions of the land. These descriptions and images, as, *e.g.*, John Muir, the accomplished investigator, assures us, are perfectly natural and easy of comprehension, especially for those who have lived in India and witnessed the phenomena of the various seasons there.¹⁴³

The heavens themselves, the songs say, shrink back at the roaring of the dragons; even the gods, all of them Indra's friends, at **Vṛtra**'s snorting leave their champion to his fate, and the young hero's mother is concerned for him. But he, inspired by the songs of his adorers, strength-

ened by deep draughts of Soma and rich sacrificial gifts, armed with the thunder-bolt, which Tvaṣṭar made for him, advances boldly with his companions, the warlike Maruts; ¹⁴⁴ he encompasses the Encompasser; him, relying on his wiles, fighting without hands or feet against Indra, he overpowers by his craft, striking him in the face and back with his swift lightning; he finds the vulnerable parts of him who thought himself invulnerable, and with mighty blows smites the lurking encompasser of the waters. Like the branch hewn off by the axe, Ahi lies prone on the earth; and over his body the mighty waves rush joyfully; while Indra's enemy sinks into lasting darkness, the god, the Thunderer, brings the sun to believing mortals. ¹⁴⁵

At another time the fight goes thus. The gods have all declined on account of old age and put him forward as the only strong one, giving over to him all their power and intelligence; even the Maruts, who on other occasions remain true, stay behind. ¹⁴⁶ The demon shatters the god's cheek; but he, though wounded, soon masters the enemy; as soon as Indra becomes really earnest in his wrath, he who believed himself alone unconquerable, who considered himself a little god and immortal, finds a mightier, who does not yield in defiance even to the Defiant, whose might no one has attained, now or formerly. He whets his thunderbolt like a sharp knife on the rock, and the weapon rings loud when man's friend strikes down man's enemy, like the oak struck by the lightning, 'on wide meadow shortening the demon's days.' ¹⁴⁷ The foaming of the waters rushing forth carries away the demon's head; then the god first holds the floods together, that they may not (unnecessarily) flow asunder, but afterward lets them run freely in streams and sets the sun in the heavens. The victor, into whose own heart fear has crept at the thought of the avenger of the evil, receives the god's jubilations; the wives of the gods bring him a song of praise; mortals praise him with music and song and at their feasts loudly celebrate the Mighty's mighty deeds. ¹⁴⁸

In another account the story tells that the *Paṇis* (the avaricious ones) have driven off the rainclouds, pictured as herds of cows, and are keeping them in the caves of the rocks. To them comes Indra's messenger *Saramâ*, to demand the return of the stolen herds. When they defiantly mocking ask :

“ Who is he? What does he look like, this Indra,
Whose herald you have hastened such a distance?
Let him come here, we'll strike a friendship with him;
He can become the herdsman of our cattle,”

Saramâ answers warningly :

“ Ye cannot injure him ; but he can injure,
Whose herald I have hastened such a distance.
Deep rivers cannot cover him nor hide him ;
Ye *Paṇis* soon shall lie cut down by Indra !” — 10. 108. 3. 4.

In vain ; — trusting in their sharp weapons they remain defiant : “ You have come to no purpose ; nothing is to be found here.” But now, united with the *Angiras*,* the mighty god draws near, at whose breath both worlds tremble. He drives asunder the mountain strongholds and sweeps away the cunningly built walls. Fearing his blow the cavern opens and from its depths Indra drives forth the herds on pleasant ways ; as the trees grieve over their plumage (foliage) stolen by the cold, so *Vala* (the cave-demon) laments the stolen cattle.¹⁴⁹

And in the mighty strife of the elements he is always victor :

“ When heaven and earth together join in battle,
Marshalled by thee, like men that call upon thee, —
For surely thou wert born to might and power, —
Thou active dost destroy the slothful demon.” — 7. 28. 3.

The immovable, too, he moves, and shakes everything that is to its deepest foundation ; even the mighty mountains from fear of him are moved like atoms :

* Demigods, mediators between gods and men (*ἄγγελοι*).

Through fear of thee upon the earth is shaken
 E'en the immovable, — the ether, — all things,
 The earth, the heavens, mountains, forests tremble ;
 The firm foundation trembles at thy going. — 6. 31. 2.

But he calms them all again ; he hews down the summits of the mountains ; demons stealthily climbing up, seeking to mount up to heaven, he shakes off and thrusts them back. He steadies the trembling earth and brings the staggering mountains to rest ; at his command they stand fast ; the great heaven bows in reverence to Indra and this earth to his might.¹⁵⁰

Indra is thus a god of battle, the ideal of an ever-fighting, never conquered hero, and, therefore, the favorite of the race fighting for new homes and rich herds ; for, as in the battle with Vṛtra all power was yielded to him, so in subduing men, lordship and victory were given him by the gods.

The man who trusts him in the decisive hour carries off the spoils of victory : in him the Aryan has found an ally able to contend with the barbarians, who overthrows fifty thousand of the dark race, and casts down their strongholds as the cloak slips from the shoulders of old age.¹⁵¹ Men seek to draw the "son of mighty deeds" near with the most pleasing song, the richest sacrifice, and the strongest draughts of Soma. For he is no friend or companion of the man who provides no Soma, and has no favor for the rich miser who grudges gifts ; but gladly he enters the house where the sacrificial straw is prepared for him, where songs rise to heaven, and the Soma is cheerfully pressed, and where the god is sought with the whole heart. Such a man's herds he never allows to perish ; for the sacrificing hero he secures freedom, and plenteous riches for the singer who praises him.¹⁵²

On him all men must call amid the battle ;
 He, high-adored, alone has power to succor.
 The man who offers him his prayers, libations,
 Him Indra's arm helps forward in his goings.

They cry aloud to him amid the contest,
 Rushing to deadly combat, to protect them,
 When friend and foe lay down their lives in warfare,
 In strife to conquer peace for child and grandchild.

They gird themselves, O Mighty, for the conflict,
 Provoking each the other to the quarrel;
 And when the hostile armies stand opposing,
 Then each would have great Indra for his ally.

Then their oblations all they bring to Indra,
 And freely then the meats and cakes are offered;
 Then they who grudged before come rich with Soma, —
 Yea, they resolve to sacrifice a bullock.

² Yet still the god gives him success who truly
 With willing mind pours out the draught he longs for,
 With his whole heart, nor feels regret in giving; —
 / To him great Indra joins himself in battle. — 4. 24. 2-6.

So he allied himself with the Indian race in their expedition and conquered their enemies; he alone subdued the nations under the Aryans and gave them the land; the barbarians he put aside to the left, gaining far-spread brightness (great happiness) for the Aryan, and increasing his power, so that he can lead his enemies hither and thither at pleasure. He turned the broad-spreading floods into an easily passable ford for Sudâs, the pious Tr̥tsu king, and, in the battle of the ten kings, rescued him from the onslaughts of innumerable enemies. With Suçravas, who was without allies, he crushed with fatal chariot wheel twice ten chieftains and their 60,099 warriors.¹⁵⁸

“The mighty stream, with flood o’erwhelming all things,
 Thou heldest back for Vâyva and Turvîti;
 Obedient stood the rapid flood, O Indra,
 And through its bed thou mad’st an easy pathway.”

4. 19. 6.

And Indra restrained the waters also for Yadu and Turvaça when they desired to cross the stream; * and even all the gods could not withstand Indra when he prolonged day into the night, and the sun unharnessed his chariot in the midst of heaven (day).†¹⁵⁴

From these acts men grew to see in him the creator and sustainer of the world, the leader of the races of men and gods, the mighty, unrestricted lord and master, the harsh punisher of the godless, and the unfailing shield of the righteous. He made the heaven, the sun and the dawn and the earth as a likeness of heaven; he placed bounds to the air and pillars to the heavens; like two wheels upon one axle he set heaven and earth apart, and fixed them both. He placed the moon in the sky, he bids the sun traverse the wide space, and brings it to rest when it has finished its course. He created the matchless lightning of heaven, and the cloudy vault around; on earth, he divided the brooks according to their order, and in the field the plants bearing flowers and those with fruits; relying on him, the farmer puts his hand to the sickle.¹⁵⁵ From him come right thoughts, and every good intention in man; he is the king of the worlds and peoples, seeing and hearing all; he leads the human and divine hosts, and none equals him; — how should any surpass him? ¹⁵⁶

The poets never tire of praising his greatness and might; one doubts whether before him wise men ever reached the whole of all Indra's greatness, and another, rescued from great need, declares that he does not know the whole greatness of the god, the might of the mighty one, and that no one comprehends the divine power of his present favor. He overtops both heaven and earth; both together cannot reach his greatness; the air, and the depths of the

* Exodus 14. 21. Ps. 78. 13: He divided the sea and caused them to pass through; and he made the waters to stand as a heap. Is. 63. 12.

† Joshua 10. 13. Lo, the sun stood still in the midst of heaven and hastened not to go down about a whole day. And there was no day like that, before it or after it.

sea, the winds and the ends of the earth cannot contain him. Indra rejoices far out beyond stream and land.¹⁵⁷ Both worlds (earth and heaven) form ideas of his sublimity, but they cannot comprehend it; his half equals both of them; when he grasps both these unbounded worlds together, they are but a handful; as a skin his power rolls heaven and earth together; they both roll after him (by the necessity of nature) as the wheel after the horse.¹⁵⁸ His days do not pass in human fashion; * neither years nor moons make him old; the course of days do not cause him to fade, and when he thinks, "I shall not die," with him even this remains true.¹⁵⁹ Not the heavens can restrain his, the Mighty's, might; not days, not years, not moons: the work the hero sets about he accomplishes, and no one is able to hinder him. To-day he performs one act, to-morrow another; he calls that which does not exist into being, and even through weakness accomplishes wonderful deeds.¹⁶⁰ In his two hands he holds the nations and their possessions; he causes their hosts to war and again leads them to peace; he animates the spirit of heroes in battle against their enemies, though unnoticed by the wise and by the hosts, numerous as the stars.¹⁶¹ He gives over the great into the hand of the small; those who think themselves great he entangles in battle, and is the subduer of the haughty. The powerful one hurls aside the proud fool; the Mighty overthrows him who decks his body, who joins himself to the niggardly, and trusts in his own arm. One he makes homeless, to another he gives a home; as a man puts his feet in turn one before the other, he makes the first last; he breaks friendship with the former, joins himself in turn to the latter, and shakes off those who are not devoted to him.¹⁶²

The hero — listen — overcomes the mighty,
Now to the front brings one and now another;

. * Job 10. 5. Are thy days as the days of man? Are thy years as man's days?

The lord of both the worlds hates all the haughty,
He cares for those who feel themselves but human.*

6. 47. 16.

All those who are guilty of great crime he strikes with his arrow when they least expect it, and smites down every one who does not keep his promise, who perverts the truth, the scheming, foolish mocker. The rich man, who presses no Soma for him, he drags forth from his concealment, unsummoned he destroys the haters of prayer; he disperses the assemblies of the unsacrificing on all sides; even in unapproachable strongholds those who have enkindled his wrath, all together cannot withstand his strength.¹⁶³ For them there is no help if they turn to the god in the day of need and promise him the richest gifts.

“I never knew a man to speak so to me,
When all the enemies are safely conquered;
Yea, when they see how fierce the battle rages,
They even promise me a pair of bullocks.

When I am absent far in distant places,
Then all with open hand their gifts would bring me;
I'll make the wealthy niggard needy,
Seize by the foot, and on the hard rock dash him.”¹⁶⁴

10. 27. 3. 4.

But to the upright man, whose strength rests on Indra, who has never led another aside to godlessness, and has never knowingly neglected the god's songs; whose hope ever seeks the god anew, calling to him at morning and evening, by day and night; who from love toward him relinquishes his desire,¹⁶⁵ — to him the world's lord offers riches with his left hand and is not doubtful with his right; to him he shows himself as his friend and savior and liberator, as his present and future protector by day and night, as the pitying supplier of his needs, who wards

* *i.e.*, who acknowledge their weakness in relation to the gods. Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas: *cf.* Note 162.

off want and hunger and frees even from great guilt.¹⁶⁵ The singer is dear to the god, who loves above all to listen to prayer; not the deep stream and not the lofty firm rock, no mortal and no god can hinder him when he desires to grant the upright man his desires, to give him protection and bestow rich herds upon him. Sometimes, indeed, he keeps his adorers in suspense, so that they anxiously ask when he will heed their words.

- “What now shall be with hymns thy fitting service?
 ✓ How shall we honor thee aright, O Indra?
 I bring in love to thee all my devotion;
 Hear therefore now, O Indra, this my crying.”¹⁶⁷ — 7. 29. 3.

Then the skeptic scoffingly seeks to undermine the faith of the believer when he exerts himself in holy acts, asking him if the god has ever stood by him.

- “How then can Indra hear when men entreat him?
 How, if he hears, could he find means of succor?
 And where is all his wondrous consolation?
 How can men call him generous to the singer?

How does the man who serves him, even zealous
 And full of piety, obtain his promised bounty?”

“*The god be witness of my deeds’ devotion,
 My prayer receiving and rejoicing in it.*”^{* 168} — 4. 23. 3. 4.

And when the man, now wavering in his trust, cries out:

- “Lift up loud songs of praise to gain his favor,
 Real praise to Indra, if there really be one.
 ‘There is no Indra,’ many men are saying;
 ‘Who ever saw him? Why should we adore him?’”

— then the god appears to him and speaks:

- † “I am, O singer, look on me, here am I,
 And I am greater than all living creatures.
 The service of the sacred rite delights me,
 Destroying, I creation hurl to ruin.” † — 8. 89. 3. 4.

* *i.e.*, let my devotion please the god, so that he may not let me come to shame before the mockers.

† He helps the devout, but destroys the godless.

So men seek more and more to win Indra for a friend, whether praising him in the dwelling of the singer or in the stillness with a song.¹⁶⁹ Whoever strives to gain anything chooses Indra for an ally :

The former, middle, latter call upon him,
On Indra, wanderers and the home-returning,
On Indra, those in peace and those in warfare,
On Indra, heroes striving after booty.¹⁷⁰ — 4. 25. 8.

The voice of all is :

“ Praise the great praiseworthy Indra,
Ruler of the world, with singing,
Him the richest man, the victor.

Him let every creature honor,
Him in works and him in action ;
Indra 'tis who brings us freedom.

All the mortals, all the peoples,
Ever in their hymns praise Indra,
Him in songs and him in measures.

Who to highest weal conducts us,
Lends success and fame in battle
And our foes subdues in conflict.

Carry us across as boatman,
Often praised, on ships to fortune,
Indra over every rival.

Help us, Indra, with refreshing
Paths prepare us through thy goodness
And to happiness conduct us.” — 8. 16. 1. 6. 9. 10-12.

Among the divinities of the **light heaven** we have first to mention the two **Açvins**, the “horse-guiders.”¹⁷¹ These Aryan Dioskuroi are the earliest light-bearers in the morning sky. As soon as the first beams shine in the east at break of day, the sacrifice is made ready for the two sons of heaven, two eternally young and beautiful heroes of miraculous power and deep wisdom.¹⁷² With uplifted hands

the singer sends up his devout song of praise as a messenger to the twins, who overcome all darkness; he calls to these two helpers as a son to his parents.¹⁷³ At their signal the golden sun-like chariot is harnessed, which stretches over all peoples, and with its wheels touches the ends of heaven and earth. The skillful Ṛbhus fashioned his chariot with three seats and three wheels; without horse and without bridle it glides sure and unwavering, as though on wings, to the house of the upright, bringing prosperity like a stream from the mountain; ¹⁷⁴ or, drawn by gold-winged steeds like eagles, it hastens daily with the speed of wind through all the regions of air, through sea and rivers, swift as thought, — swifter even than a mortal's thought, swifter than the twinkling of an eye.¹⁷⁵ Toward the end of the night, the noble drivers mount the chariot, and with them Sûryâ, the fair daughter of the Sun-god; she yielded herself to the beauteous heroes and chose both youths for husbands, — and all the gods assented from the heart. The journey begins; day and night divide; the limits of darkness gradually become visible; the Helpers approach from night and need, rich in joy and rich in wealth, the two guardians of treasure, with abundant, never-failing aid.¹⁷⁶ As divine physicians they drive away sickness, bring medicines from far and near, and heal all that is hurtful; they give sight to the blind and make the lame walk; they help onward the outcast and the slow, even though left far behind. Like rotten cords they snap asunder the net of calamity, and at the feasts their deeds of wonder in the fathers' times are loudly praised among the people.¹⁷⁷

Upon your chariot ye brought to Vimada
 The daughter fair of Purumitra for his wife.
 The eunuch's wife sent up her prayer to you, — ye came,
 And made Puramdhi happily bring forth a child.¹⁷⁸

Ye gave to Kali, when he had grown old in years,
 To him, the singer, all his youthful strength again;

And Vandana ye rescued from the deep abyss,¹⁷⁹
 And quickly Viçpalâ the maimed ye made to walk.¹⁸⁰

To Pedu ye, O Açvins, gave the snowy steed,
 The runner strong, whose ninety-nine fold wondrous strength
 Bears on his rider in his flight; they cry to him
 As to the goodness of a rich and kindly lord.¹⁸¹

10. 39. 7. 8. 10.

The wise A tri, through the wiles of a hostile monster, has fallen with all his host into a burning chasm; at his entreaty the Açvins approach with eagle's speed, bringing a cooling and quickening draught; they protect him from the glowing flames, and finally lead him and his followers out to the life-giving air in full youthful strength.¹⁸² The Helpers took the body of the aged C ya vâ na like a cloak, made it young and beautiful again, prolonged the life of the lonely one, and made him the husband of a young maiden.¹⁸³ Rogues had kept Rebha hidden like a horse in the water, bound, wounded, overwhelmed by the flood; ten nights and nine days he lay there, till the Açvins, with their wonder-working power, brought the dead forth and revived him.¹⁸⁴ To the Pajrid Kakşîvant they grant blessings in abundance; from the strong horse's hoof as from a sieve, they poured him forth a hundred jars of wine;¹⁸⁵ and to Ghoşâ, remaining in her father's house, they gave a husband in her old age.¹⁸⁶ The quail, seized by the wolf, they free from his jaws,¹⁸⁷ and bring the sweet honey to the bees.¹⁸⁸

But among the many wonders for which they are celebrated,—and there are very many,—none is sung so loud and so often as the rescue of Bhujyu, whom his father Tugra left behind, in the midst of the swelling waves, as a dead man abandons his possessions. Tossed about in the darkness he calls upon the youthful heroes, and they again are mindful of him, according to their wont, and hasten up with their red, flying steeds, self-harnessed, in their chariot, swift as thought. In the sea,

which is without support, unceasing and unresting, they accomplish their heroic work: the struggling man is drawn into the hundred-oared craft, and the heroes, with miraculous power, bear the exile in the ship floating in mid-air to his home on the other side of the rolling sea, journeying three nights, and thrice by day.¹⁸⁹ What wonder that every oppressed one longs for such helpers, who so often since the fathers' times, in every need, have stretched forth a saving hand, and that his desires look to them? As the wind drives the clouds, so the singer drives his songs of praise toward the lords of light; he calls upon them at home and on the journey; he seeks to attract them from far and near, from east and west, with the pleasing draught of milk;¹⁹⁰ like buffaloes panting for the water's gleam, they are besought at milking-time, early in the day, at noon and at sunset, by day and night, to draw near the devout with blessing and support in his necessity.¹⁹¹ Since their former deeds never flag, they are both, for all time, the helpers of all men; ever regarding ancient friendships and relations, they ward off evil from their adorers, chase away hate and envy, lengthen their life, and overthrow their contemners. The man who reverences and praises them they bring to old age with seeing eye; they reward him with riches and the blessing of children, song for song, so that he enters into old age as into his own house.¹⁹²

After these much-praised lords of light, the Aṅvins, in the far East, out of the darkness from the boundary of heaven and earth, rises the friendly Uṣas, Eos, Aurora,* the golden daughter of heaven, with kindly countenance, to show herself to the dwellings of men.¹⁹³ The two sisters, Night and Dawn, are unlike in color, but of harmonious mind; in fixed succession they follow each other in daily interchange; as soon as the dark sister descries the light, she willingly gives place to her.¹⁹⁴ Now, the fairest light of lights puts to flight the darkness of the night with

* The Dawn; v. Max Müller in Note 193.

its terrors; the pure goddess drives away haters and evil-doers.* ¹⁹⁵ She makes the undesired darkness give way to sight, she opens the gates of heaven for every creature, and begins then to fill the wide spaces.¹⁹⁶ White steeds, or bullocks, draw the well-adorned chariot of the goddess, self-yoking; in it she clears a goodly road and way first upon the mountains, then everywhere in the paths of men.¹⁹⁷ She awakens all creatures, — only the miser must sleep on in the midst of darkness, without waking, — she brings renewed life and impels all things that live to motion; the winged flocks of birds fly forth; two-footed and four-footed creatures arouse themselves at her light; men take their morning meal and all the five peoples,† whom daily she encircles, go forth to their occupations.¹⁹⁸

“The goddess radiant bringing every splendor
 Appeared in light, and threw the portals open;
 All life arousing, she has shown us treasures, —
 The Dawn has wakened every living creature.

The sleeping man the goddess wakes to motion,
 One to enjoyment, one to gathering treasure,
 The dim in sight to gaze afar about them, —
 The Dawn has wakened every living creature.

To lordship one, to win renown another,
 One to get gain, one to his occupation,
 Through all the various paths of life to journey, —
 The Dawn has wakened every living creature.”

1. 113. 4–6.

Like a dancer the goddess puts on rich adornment; in all her form gleaming with fullness of beauty, like a maiden whom her mother has decked out, the radiant one with gracious smile displays her charms to the adorer, and brings rich treasure into the house of the man of upright mind; much life-sustaining wealth, in which the mortal rejoices, from which his fame grows wide among men.¹⁹⁹

* Job 38. 12 f. Hast thou commanded the morning since thy days, and caused the dayspring to know his place; that it might take hold of the ends of the earth, that the wicked might be shaken out of it?

† A frequent designation for “the whole world”; Note 198.

Through two things, especially, this much-sung goddess awakened the astonishment of the Vedic singers. Knowing precisely the first sign of day, daily she accomplishes faultlessly her long journey, never transgressing the ordinance of the right and of the gods; skillfully she follows straight the path laid down, never failing in the direction, but appears day by day at the place appointed by the gods' commands.*²⁰⁰ And when the singer sees these dawns come again and again, ever with the same beauty, old as time, yet eternally young, in appearance to-day alike, and alike to-morrow, following the path of those preceding, at the same time the first of all that shall come after,²⁰¹ — then, full of sadness, he reflects:

“ Vanished and gone long since are all the mortals
Who looked of old upon the dawn's bright radiance;
To-day she shows herself to us; and others
Shall come in future time to gaze upon her.

So oft before has goddess Uṣas risen,
And now the rich one clothes the world with glory,
And still in later days will gleam her brightness,
As pleases her, unaging, never-dying.” — 1. 113. 11. 13.

“ She comes in radiant colors, never fading,
And leads to age the life of every mortal;
Even as a gambler hides the dice with cunning,
So she removes the human generations.”²⁰² — 1. 92. 10. 11.

Then soon **Sûrya** himself follows the shining goddess of the morning, as the youth the maiden's footsteps; the God-born light visible from afar, the son of heaven with golden hair, the Sun.²⁰³ Streaming forth in beams from the bosom of the dawn, the arouser of all men rises, saluted by the joyful exultation of the singers; he throws off the black cloak, his beams shake the darkness from him like a skin, and the stars with their gleam slink away like thieves.²⁰⁴

* Hosea 6. 3. His going forth is prepared as the morning. Cf. Job 38. 12.

Whom they, whose home is fixed, their aim unwavering,*
 Have made to drive away the hostile darkness,
 The sun-god, all the ends of earth surveying,
 By seven steeds, all light and swift, is carried. — 4. 13. 3.

The light and bright and beauteous steeds of Sûrya,
 The gleaming steeds, by songs of joy saluted,
 They reverently climb the heights of heaven,
 In one day all the realm of light traversing.²⁰⁵ — 1. 115. 3.

The golden ornament of heaven far-seeing
 Mounts, pressing to his distant goal, bright gleaming.
 Impelled by Sûrya's power, let all the mortals
 Pursue their aims and carry on their labors.† — 7. 63. 4.

So Sûrya rises every morning, an all-seeing searcher, mounts the high plains, looks down on right and wrong among men, guards the path of the upright, observes at bidding the occupation of each, and when at evening, his journey accomplished, he unharnesses his mares from the chariot, he commands to lay aside the work assigned in the morning, even though it be uncompleted; then Night spreads her veil over all. Unceasingly Sûrya's steeds carry now the bright gleam, now the dark, over the dome of the sky.²⁰⁶

It is evident that the sun, this vital breath of animate and inanimate things, this bright divine countenance, imperishable in the heavens, prospering mankind without distinction, — this eye all-seen and all-seeing, which above all publishes the Immortals' might and wisdom, since it exalts them high in the heavens,²⁰⁷ — that the sun should be honored and sung in a very special manner; and we find its variously displayed activity praised under various names.²⁰⁸

In **Pûsan**, *i.e.*, the 'Nourisher,' the great bringer of sustenance and lord rich in treasure is praised. As be-

* The highest gods, the Âdityas: p. 58 f.

† Ps. 104. 22. The sun ariseth. . . . man goeth forth unto his work and to his labor until the evening.

stower of riches, making all men prosper, he also brings hidden treasure to light, compels the niggardly to give, and softens the heart of the miserly; he paves the way to gaining wealth, pierces the niggards' heart with his spear, and brings what was dear to them to his adorer.²⁰⁹ Filling both the broad spaces, the flame-radiating god sits in the midst of heaven, and as shepherd of the world overlooks all creatures, accurately distinguishing them and surveying them all; as guardian of the herd, who governs animate and inanimate life, he weaves the sheep's dress and smoothes her coat; he follows the cattle and guards the steeds, that none of them may be lost or come to harm, none be dashed to pieces in the ravine, and that all may return unharmed.²¹⁰ As guardian of every road he clears and makes level the paths, goes before, sends on the skillful man and protects on every journey.²¹¹ And since he knows the ways of heaven as well as earth and all the spaces, he goes before the souls of the dead on their journey to the abodes where the upright have gone, where they dwell.²¹²

The far-striding ruler of the heights, **Viṣṇu**, *i.e.*, the 'Worker,' is ever and anon praised for his great heroic deed, because he measured the whole wide earth in three strides, made supports for the kingdom on high and fastened the earth all about with pegs.²¹³ His footprints are full of sweetness, a never-ceasing source of joy; he gave the vast expanse of earth with rich pastures to man for a sure dwelling-place.²¹⁴ Two steps of the Sun-like we can recognize, though a mortal who would see them must diligently exert himself; but the third highest none dare approach, not even the winged birds in their flight; it is known only to the Savior full of mercy. Toward this highest footprint, placed like an eye in heaven, the wise ever look; there, at the spring of sweetness, the men devoted to the gods dwell in happiness.²¹⁵

Closely connected with **Sûrya** is **Savitar**, the 'Inciter, Inspirer, Enlivener'; the two words are, indeed, em-

ployed without distinction.²¹⁶ But with Savitar the etymological meaning especially stands out clearly²¹⁷; the difference in the use of the names is usually this, that Sûrya signifies more the sun-body, Savitar the divine power behind it; *e.g.*, when we read,

With golden hands comes hastening Savitar the god,
Pursuing busily his work twixt heaven and earth;
He drives away oppression, leads the sun-god forth;
Through the dark realm of air he hastens up to heaven.

1. 35. 9.

Or, in another passage,

The sun's uprising floods the air with brightness;
God Savitar sends all men forth to labor, etc.²¹⁸ — 1. 124. 1.

Of Savitar it is described, in even more glowing colors than of Sûrya, how he with care and ceaselessly conducts day and night, defining their limits. Cunningly enveloped in the brilliancy of every color, Savitar follows the path of Uṣas; first the beloved god passes through this lower realm of air; enlivening, he stretches aloft his beautiful, slender golden arms, and, as he yesterday laid them to rest, to-day he awakens all creatures, — whatever has two feet or four, whatever is mortal and immortal, — to new life; man and beast must move again.²¹⁹ With golden steeds in golden chariot he drives up the heights to the light world of the heavens and rests there, enjoying the brightness of the sun's beams. Wherever the faithful god appears with his golden radiance he drives away all oppression and brings contentment for man and beast.²²⁰ He sends infallible guardians about the house and home; he inspires courage, and with full hands brings rich store and comfort for man. Yet his best gift is that he awakens first immortality for the exalted gods, but for men, as their portion, life that follows life; he frees them from the guilt of sin and guides them to the resting-places of the blessed.²²¹ So he blesses daily; in the morning he brings

life and at evening rest; then he cloaks himself in brown-red mantle and hastens down the heights on well-paved, dustless paths; in the dark night, following his settled custom, Savitar guides the great host of stars.²²²

The god his mighty hand, his arm outstretches
In heaven above, and all things here obey him;
To his commands the waters are attentive,
And even the rushing wind subsides before him.*

Driving his steeds, now he removes the harness,
And bids the wanderer rest him from his journey.
He checks the serpent-smiter's eager onset;
At Savitar's command the kindly Night comes.

The weaver rolls her growing web together,
And in the midst the workman leaves his labor;
The god arises and divides the seasons,
God Savitar appears, the never resting.

In every place where mortals have their dwelling,
The house-fire far and wide sheds forth its radiance.
The mother gives her son the fairest portion,
Because the god has given desire of eating.

Now he returns who had gone forth for profit;
For home the longing wanderer's heart is yearning;
And each, his task half finished, homeward journeys.
This is the heavenly Inciter's ordinance.

The restless, darting fish, at fall of evening,
Seeks where he may his refuge in the waters,
His nest the egg-born seeks, their stall the cattle;
Each in his place, the god divides the creatures.

2. 38. 2-6. 8.

THE ÂDITYAS.

The personifications of light already named, the Açvins, Uşas, the Sun-gods, dwell in the highest realm, in the clear space of the heaven, but they are not the highest

* St. Matth. 8. 27: But the men marvelled, saying, What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him! Ps. 104. 7; 107. 29. Is. 50. 2.

gods. Almost always their activity is pictured as bound to special phenomena, therefore confined to a relatively narrow sphere and not at all independent and unlimited. When Uṣas each day intelligently appears at the right spot, she only follows higher laws, and when Savitar, like a spirited warrior swings high his banner, it is still Varuṇa and Mitra who, according to their decree, cause the sun to mount high in the heavens.²²³ While the poet praises Sûrya in inspired songs, he still knows that the divinity is only an instrument in the hands of higher powers, — that he is only the eye of Varuṇa and Mitra; like an eagle soaring Sûrya follows the path where these immortals laid out the road for him. Therefore the libation and songs at sunrise are homage to Varuṇa and Mitra and Aryaman,²²⁴ the most celebrated among the Âdityas, the sons of Aditi.

To Aditi, 'eternity,' no hymns are directed; but she is often praised as the friend of all men, the glorious, heavenly sustainer of the nations, the rich bestower of blessings, who gave life to Varuṇa and Mitra, the most mighty lords, as a revelation of the highest divine power. Men entreat her for sure protection and defense, and desire to be freed by her from the debt of sin.²²⁵ But her sons, the seven Âdityas, are the absolute, the highest.

"The gods, all light and clear as flowing fountains
Uplifted above harm, deceit and blemish."²²⁶ — 2. 27. 2.

From some of their names, in part of rare occurrence,²²⁷ one might be inclined to infer that, excepting Varuṇa, they had their origin not, as the other gods, in natural phenomena, but in moral ideas; but we have rather to see in them deep spiritual personifications of the heavenly light and its various developments. They, the righteous rulers, created the eternal order in the realm of nature as well as spirit, and they watch over it, that this their ancient ordinance of the world's government may ever have eternal continuance.²²⁸ In the hymns to these 'living spir-

its of the gods' the religious feeling finds expression in the greatest depth, fervency and purity.

All the gods together chose these pure-minded, wise sons of wise parents for the highest divine power, and gladly gave over the dominion to them, so that they embrace both the wide worlds.²²⁹

The Âdityas, through depth and breadth extending,
Unharméd by any, harming at their pleasure,
They, many-eyed, discern the straight and crooked ;
For them all things are near, the furthest even.²³⁰

Inanimate and animate sustaining,
The heavenly guardians of the whole creation²³¹
Watch over their divinity, far-seeing ;
Each evil deed with justice strict they punish.²³²

No right or left, no back or front, Âdityas,
By mortal eyes in you can be distinguished.*
No weariness can dim your eyes, nor slumber ;
Afar your guardianship protects the upright.†²³³

2. 27. (v. Note 229.)

Ever the pure ones, whose very breath suffices to hold the world in bounds, assert their dominion ; as the unharmed, infallible heads of the races of men, they guard everywhere their firm decrees which no god dares to disturb, and woe to the mortal who should attempt to violate them.²³⁴

They see into the hearts of men and their thoughts,‡ the false and those without deceit ; to him who, clean from any sin, never practises what the good ones punish, the spotless sons of Aditi bring freedom out of need and oppression.²³⁵ They are his providers and his strength ;

* *i.e.*, ye are not visible to human eyes. Cf. Note 233 and Job 9. 11: Lo, he goeth by me, and I see him not ; he passeth on also, but I perceive him not.

† *i.e.*, accompanies and protects him everywhere. Ps. 121. 4: Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep.

‡ 1 Samuel 16. 7: Man looketh on the outward appearance but the Lord looketh on the heart. Jer. 17. 10: I the Lord search the heart.

when he trembles at danger and death, he flees for refuge to their heart; in them he finds protection and defense and comfort, and he entreats the infallible for their alliance. When he turns back from his sin, then they put far away the evil done openly or in secret, and prolong the life of the penitent. Although as man he is subject to death, yet the arrow of the death-god shall not strike him before a ripe old age, shall not hurry him away before his time in the midst of his work.* ²³⁶

I pray for your protection, ye Âdityas,
I seek your strengthening power in hours of danger.
Led by your hand, Varuṇa-Mitra, may I
Escape from need as from a yawning chasm.²³⁷

Your path is easy, Aryaman and Mitra,
And thornless, Varuṇa, it leads straight onward.
On it, Âdityas, lead us with your blessing,
And cover us with a defence enduring.²³⁸

He dwells in peace in richly watered regions,
The pure one, rich in sons and armed with power. †
No hostile weapons, far or near, can reach him
Who dwells defended by the great Âdityas.²³⁹

Forgive, O Aditi, Varuṇa, Mitra,
If we in anything have sinned against you.²⁴⁰
Let me attain the realms of peace and brightness,
Led by your hand, in folly or in wisdom. ‡

2. 27 (v. Note 229).

The might and greatness of these eternal highest beings, their wisdom and justice, their sublimity and kindness are united in the chief Âditya, Varuṇa, originally the

* Psalm 102. 24: I said, O my God, take me not away in the midst of my days.

† Psalm 1. 3: And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper. Jerem. 17. 8.

‡ *i.e.*, let me enter the bright world of the blessed, who according to my powers now err, now do right.

personification of the all-embracing heaven.²⁴¹ In the preserved hymns he stands, compared with the national Indian god of battle, Indra, more in the background, and in many places the contrast appears prominently between the governing king of peace Varuṇa and the warlike martial hero Indra, loved and celebrated by the warlike nation;²⁴² but the relatively few hymns to Varuṇa belong to the most exalted portions of the Veda. They recall especially the tone of the Psalms and the language of the Bible in general; to this point more attention will be directed hereafter. They picture the god as the all-wise creator, preserver and regent of the worlds, the omniscient protector of the good and avenger of the evil, holy and just, yet full of pity.

Like a cunning artist * the all-wise god called all things, the heaven and the earth here, into existence.† Through his might the broad, deep, double realm of air stands fast; he propped the heavens and marked out the spaces of earth †; as the butcher stretches a hide, he spread out the earth as a carpet for the sun, ‡ which itself he created in the heavens, a golden swinging light.§ He fills both worlds with his greatness,|| and bestows on every mortal that which gives him his value and worth.²⁴³

His works bear witness to his might and wisdom,
 Who fashioned firm supports for earth and heaven,
 Who set on high the firmament uplifted,
 And fixed the stars and spread out earth's expanses.

7. 86. 1.

* Eccl. 11. 5: God who maketh all.

† Jerem. 10. 12; 51. 15: He hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by his discretion. — Is. 44. 24. That stretcheth forth the heavens alone; that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself. Job 9. 8. — Job 38. 4: Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? Declare if thou hast understanding. Ps. 104. 5; 89. 12; 102. 26.

‡ Cf. Ps. 104. 2: Who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain. Is. 40. 22.

§ Jerem. 31. 35: Which giveth the sun for a light by day. Ps. 136. 8.

|| Jerem. 23. 24: Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord. Job 38. 33.

He mingled with the clouds his cooling breezes,
 He gave the cow her milk, the horse his spirit,*
 Put wisdom in the heart, † in clouds the lightning, ‡
 The sun in heaven, on the rock the Soma. § ²⁴⁴ — 5. 85. 2.

The sun's sure courses Varuṇa appointed, ||
 He sent the streaming waters flowing onward, ¶
 The mighty path of days he first created,
 And rules them as the riders guide their horses. ²⁴⁵ — 7. 87. 1.

Enveloped in golden cloak, in robes of glory,** the lord of all stands in the air; with the cord he measured the ends of heaven and earth and with the sun as with a measuring staff he laid out the spaces of the earth, †† on which he places his mountains. ²⁴⁶

And the world which he created the lord of all life supports and carries; his breath blows as wind through the air; his eye, the sun, is the soul of the animate and inanimate; he gives drink to all creatures, as the rain to the fruits of the field. †† ²⁴⁷ Sitting in his house with

* Job 39. 19: Hast thou given the horse strength?

† Job 38. 36: Who hath put wisdom in the inward parts? or who hath given understanding to the heart?

‡ *i.e.*, the lightning in the clouds; above, p. 35. 64. Jerem. 10. 13; 51. 16: He causeth the vapors to ascend from the ends of the earth; he maketh lightning with rain.

§ Ps. 147. 8: Who maketh grass to grow upon the mountains; *cf.* Ps. 104. 13. 14.

|| Ps. 74. 16; 104. 19: Thou hast prepared the light and the sun; the sun knoweth his going down.

¶ *i.e.*, since Varuṇa showed them the path; Note 245. Ps. 104. 10: He sendeth the springs into the valleys, which run among the hills. Ps. 74. 15, etc. — Job 38. 25: Who hath divided a water-course for the overflowing of waters? Job 26. 10, etc.

** Ps. 104. 2: Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment; Note 246.

†† Job 38. 5: Who hath laid the measures of the earth, if thou knowest? or who hath stretched the line upon it? Verse 18: Hast thou perceived the breadth of the earth?

‡‡ Job 5. 10: Who giveth rain upon the earth and sendeth water upon the fields. — Ps. 72. 6: He shall come down like rain upon the mown grass; as showers that water the earth. Hosea 6. 3.

a thousand doors, he holds sway over the broad earth and high heaven,* over gods and mortals, as absolute, unrivalled prince; in the foundations of the earth as in the air his dominion extends to the boundaries of the world, and nothing can withdraw itself from his sway.²⁴⁸ Immovably he protects his ancient, inviolable laws, his infrangible decrees in nature as well as in the life of men; for firmly on him as on a rock the ordinances are fixed eternally; for he is the omniscient ruler of all.²⁴⁹ He knows where the Pleiades, which show at night, go by day; he knows the secret hidden names of the dawn,† the path of the birds that soar in the spaces of the air, the ships upon the sea,‡ the twelve moons rich in children and the moon born after. Even the path of the wind, the gloriously mighty,§ and those who dwell beyond,—in short, every wonder, complete or to be completed, past and future, is revealed before him.²⁵⁰ And among men he looks upon right and wrong; he watches over the thoughts of mortals || as the shepherd over his herds; yea, away from him and without him no one is master even of the winking of his eye.²⁵¹

It is admissible to insert here a fragment of the Atharvaveda, which gives expression to the divine omniscience more forcibly than any other hymn of the Vedic literature.²⁵²

* Ps. 89. 11: The heavens are thine, the world also is thine, the world and the fullness thereof, etc.

† Job 9. 7: Which sealeth up the stars.—Ps. 147. 4: He telleth the number of the stars; he calleth them all by their names.

‡ Ps. 50. 11: I know all the fowls of the mountains, and the wild beasts of the field are mine.—Prov. 30. 18: There be three things that are too wonderful for me: the way of an eagle in the air; the way of a serpent upon a rock; the way of a ship in the midst of the sea.

§ Cf. p. 38* with John 3. 8.—Ps. 104. 3: Who walketh upon the wings of the wind. Ps. 135. 7 = Jerem. 10. 13.

|| I. Kings 8. 39: Thou only knowest the hearts of all the children of men. Prov. 21. 2. Jerem. 17. 10.

“ As guardian, the Lord of worlds
Sees all things as if near at hand.
In secret what 'tis thought to do
That to the gods is all displayed.*

Whoever moves or stands, who glides in secret,
Who seeks a hiding-place, or hastens from it,
What thing two men may plan in secret council,
A third, King Varuṇa, perceives it also.†

And all this earth King Varuṇa possesses,
His the remotest ends of yon broad heaven ;‡
And both the seas in Varuṇa lie hidden,§
But yet the smallest water-drop contains him.

Although I climbed the furthest heaven, fleeing,
I should not there escape the monarch's power ; ||
From heaven his spies descending hasten hither,
With all their thousand eyes the world surveying.¶

Whate'er exists between the earth and heaven,
Or both beyond, to Varuṇa lies open.**

* Ps. 33. 13: The Lord looketh from heaven; he beholdeth all the children of men. — Ps. 113. 5. Jerem. 23. 23: Am I a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off? Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him? — Ps. 139. 2: Thou understandest my thoughts afar off. 138. 6, etc.

† Ps. 139. 3: Thou compassed my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways. For there is not a word in my tongue but lo, O Lord, thou knowest it altogether. Jerem. 32. 19. Job 34. 21; 31. 4: Doth not he see all my ways and count all my steps? — Matth. 18. 20: For where two or three are gathered together (in my name) there am I in the midst of them.

‡ Deut. 10. 14: Behold, the heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God, the earth also with all that therein is. Job 28. 24: For he looketh to the ends of the earth and seeth under the whole heaven. Ps. 24. 1; 89. 12.

§ The “two seas” are the sea in the air and that on earth; cf. Gen. 1. 7: And God made the firmament and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament.

|| Cf. the highly poetic description of Ps. 139. 7-12.

¶ For the sentries of Mitra-Varuṇa, Note 230; for the messengers of Varuṇa, p. 67.

** Cf., e.g., Amos 9. 1-3. Hebrews 4. 13.

The winkings of each mortal eye he numbers,*
He wields the universe, as dice a player."—**AV. 4. 16. 1-5.**

Whoever here upon earth honors Varuṇa and submits willingly to his commands and his eternal ordinances, from him he takes away all anxiety and fear and spreads over him a threefold protecting roof; † he is at hand with a hundred, a thousand remedies; he sharpens the courage and the understanding of the truly devoted, — the prayer which he himself inspired in his heart; even deep hidden secrets he imparts to the wise singer.²⁵³ With confidence the pious may look for his pity: the kind god gives him a hundred harvests and his desire, joyful and pleasant old age, ‡ — and after death a new and blessed life united with the gods and his own people in the highest heaven.²⁵⁴

But whoever through any error, or any sin, § even without intention, offends against these eternal ordinances of the All-knowing, he arouses the anger of the Sinless, him

* Matth. 10. 30. Luke 12. 7: But even the very hairs of your head are all numbered.

† Ps. 91. 1 ff. v. 14: Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him, I will set him on high because he hath known my name. Ps. 59. 16: For thou hast been my defence and refuge in the day of my trouble. Gen. 15. 1. Is. 41. 10.

‡ Ps. 91. 16: With long life will I satisfy him and show him my salvation.

§ "We must admit that in no other natural religion, with the single exception of the Iranian, which is only another branch of the same family, were the nature and the guilt of sin fixed more firmly and weighed more gravely. A religion which makes its highest divinity gaze into the deepest secrets of the human heart, — how could a recognition of the nature and guilt of sin escape it? Sin is a consequence of human weakness as well as of human wickedness, but as sin it is not less punishable in one case than in the other; and forgiveness is sought of Varuna even for sins which have been done in ignorance. And more than once we find in these old hymns penitent confessions of sin, united with prayer for forgiveness, expressed in the speech of simple faith. The guilt of sin is felt as a burdensome fetter, and freedom from its servitude is prayed for; here as elsewhere human power can accomplish nothing without divine assistance, for by himself man has not the power even to open or close his eyes." — *Roth.*

messengers at the command of the Just punish, and bind him with the bonds of the god,—with calamity, with sickness and death.* No deceivers' deceit, nor the wily plans of man dare to approach the pure one: ²⁵⁵ through reverence and prayer, through libation and sacrificial gifts every mortal seeks to allay the wrath of the Mighty. ²⁵⁶ And the rigorous one is yet a god who pities the sinner and who therefore is the chosen recipient of prayer. ²⁵⁷ To other gods men turn most for success and riches, for respect among the people and a numerous family, for victory and spoils; from Varuṇa is sought continually forgiveness of sin of every kind, since He has the power. ²⁵⁸

“If we to any dear and loved companion
Have evil done, to brother or to neighbor,
To our own countryman or to a stranger,
That sin do thou, O Varuṇa, forgive us.”—5. 85. 7.

“Forgive the wrongs committed by our fathers, †
What we ourselves have sinned in mercy pardon;
My own misdeeds do thou, O god, take from me,
And for another's sin let me not suffer.” ²⁵⁹—7. 86. 5 and 2. 28. 9.

“If ever we deceived like cheating players,
If consciously we've erred, or all unconscious, ²⁶⁰
According to our sin do not thou punish; ‡
Be thou the singer's guardian in thy wisdom.” §
5. 85. 8 and 7. 88. 6.

* “It is nowhere clearly and distinctly expressed as the teaching of this religion, that the wages of sin is death in the sense that men die only in consequence of their guilt, and that without it they would live eternally; but the thought is often very nearly touched. Immortality is the free gift of divine mercy to men.”—*Roth*.

† Ps. 79. 8: Remember not against us former iniquities. Exodus 20. 5. Ps. 109. 15. Jerem. 32. 18: cf. Ezek. 18. 20.

‡ Ps. 19. 13: Who can tell how oft he offendeth? Cleanse thou me from my secret faults. Job 13. 23. — Ps. 103. 10: He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities. Ezra 9. 13. Ps. 51. 3.

§ Ps. 31. 2: 71. 2: Deliver me in thy righteousness and cause me to escape. Ps. 143. 1. 11.

The singer Vasiṣṭha is filled with pious grief, because daily, against his will and without knowledge, just as it often happens to men in their actions, he offends the god and in ignorance violates his decree.²⁶¹ Full of woe, when the hand of the god lies heavy upon him, he recalls the time when, as his most intimate friend, he held close intercourse with the Lord,* and had free approach to his high stronghold, the house of a thousand doors.²⁶² Anxiously he searches after the heavy sin for which the just king now visits him, his constant, loving companion. Freed from sin he yearns to be permitted, full of reverence, to approach the merciful one, and he consults the wise men by day and in the night season.† But from others he hears only what he has already discovered; that Varuṇa does not refuse his pity to him who in dire need calls upon him.²⁶³

This thing by day, the same by night they tell me,
 And this my own heart's voice is ever saying:
 He, to whom cried the fettered Çunaḥçepa,
 Great Varuṇa the king shall give us freedom.

For Çunaḥçepa once, bound to three pillars,
 Called in his chains on Âditya for succor.
 Let Varuṇa the monarch free me also,
 He can, — and may the true one loose the fetters.

We turn aside thy anger with our offerings,
 O King, by our libations and devotion.
 Do thou, who hast the power, wise king eternal,
 Release us from the sins we have committed.

1. 24. 12-14.

And so the oppressed man calls and cries to him, the pitiful, in mercy to release him from all the guilt of sin;²⁶⁴

* Cf. Ps. 77. 6-10, and Note 262.

† Ps. 22. 2: O my God, I cry in the daytime, but thou hearest not; and in the night season, and am not silent. Ps. 88. 2, etc.

upon the heart of the god he presses his song, in which, full of childlike trust, he vows :

Thee I will follow, jealous god, and serve thee,
Faithful and true, as slaves a kindly master.
The god gives light to minds devout though simple,
The wise a wiser one conducts to blessing. — 7. 86. 7.

With Varuṇa is connected also the belief in personal immortality, in the life of the soul after death, "that real *sine qua non* of all true religion."²⁶⁵ That life is here understood throughout as the free gift of the gods,²⁶⁶ which they grant to every upright adorer. The dead body was either consigned to the flames or laid away to gentle rest in the mother earth.²⁶⁷ The earth-born shell is given back; it takes possession of its home in the broad bosom of the earth; but the soul of the pious man, which springs from above, cannot remain in the grave;²⁶⁸ another place has been found for it by the righteous forefathers of olden times. Vivasvant's son, Yama, the first man, has gone to the distant heights, and has searched out a way to the 'world of the just' for the multitude after him.²⁶⁹

He went before and found a dwelling for us,
A place from which no power can ever bar us.
Whither our fathers all long since have journeyed;
His path leads every earth-born mortal thither.²⁷⁰

10. 14. 2.

Therefore, whether the flames devour the body or the earth cover it, the spirit, freed from all needs, moves through the air toward new life;²⁷¹ led by Pūṣan,²⁷² it crosses the stream²⁷³ and passes by Yama's watchful dogs²⁷⁴ to the world of spirits from which it came.²⁷⁵ "Go forth, go forth," — so one hymn cries to the soul of the departed at the funeral ceremony :

Go forth, go forth upon the path so ancient,
By which our fathers reached their home in heaven.
There Varuna shalt thou behold, and Yama,
The princes both, in blessedness eternal.²⁷⁶

The spotted dogs of Saramā, the four-eyed,
 Pass calmly by and hold thy way straight onward ;
 Enter the band of the propitious fathers,*
 Dwelling in blest abodes in bliss with Yama.²⁷⁷

Join thou thyself to Yama and the fathers ;
 Meet there with thy reward in highest heaven ;
 Return to home, free from all imperfection ;
 In radiant power gain union with thy body.²⁷⁸

10. 14. 7. 10. 8.

In the highest heaven, therefore, is the place, in Yama's
 bright realm,

Where men devout in blessedness are dwelling,
 Where life to life succeeds for righteous spirits,
 And each is fuller than the last in beauty.²⁷⁹ — 1. 154. 5.

There in the inmost midst of the highest heaven beams unfading light, and those eternal waters spring; there wish and desire and yearning are stilled; there dwell bliss, delight, joy and happiness. This life of bliss is not pictured more clearly in the hymns of the Rig; ²⁸⁰ it is not asked how the new body will be endowed in that spirit-world, and whether new tasks await it there; ²⁸¹ the man strives only, living according to the commands of Varuṇa, to be guiltless before him and Aditi, and hopes in childlike confiding trust that he shall at some time live above in eternal light, united with his ancestors, with his father and mother, ²⁸² as a divine spirit among the blessed gods; ²⁸³ that, like them in appearance and might, he may be their companion and helper in their works.

As to the eternal gods, so also reverence is shown to all who have passed away, the earlier, middle and last. When a man dies, or when the anniversary of a relative's death is celebrated, then with Yama and Agni all the fathers

* "Fathers" is here the standing epithet for the 'blessed'; the souls of the departed pious ones; cf. Note 270 and the following.

who are known and who are not known are summoned to the funeral feast, to the food on the sacrificial straw and to the prized Soma.²⁸⁴ And these who have become immortal look down upon mortals; these spirits of the dead care faithfully for their children here on earth. They move through the circle of the earth's atmosphere, through all the space of the air, among the races that dwell in beautiful villages, where men prepare the sacrifice and call them, there the holy, true, wise fathers come, full of gifts, with succor rich in blessing, with prosperity and blessing to the mortal adorer. They bring their sons might and wealth and posterity; they hear, help, comfort; they fight boldly like heroes in battle, they give a thousandfold reward for the offerings and punishment for wrong, if ever in human fashion mortals sin against them; for, themselves just, they rejoice in the right and preserve right²⁸⁵ and the divine ordinances of the Eternals. They lead the dawn across the sky, and with a thousand means and ways guard the sun; they deck the heavens with stars, as a dark steed with pearls, and lay darkness in the night, and in the day the light's radiance.²⁸⁶

But to the wicked, lying evil-doers, to perverse, godless men, who violate the firm decrees of Varuṇa and Mitra, the ever watchful, to lustful, wicked women who hate their husbands, to all these that highest gift of the gods is denied; they remain shut out from the companionship of the immortals and the spirit-life in eternal light. As their bodies are sunk in the tomb, so their souls are cast into the pit, into deepest, hopeless darkness.²⁸⁷ Of the descriptions of the place of torment, as the phantasy of the later Indians and other peoples evolved them, the Rigveda knows as little as of the gloomy doctrine of metempsychosis, which afterwards fettered the spirits of India in chains.

Two gods yet remain to be mentioned, to each of whom in time the qualities and deeds of the other gods collectively were ascribed.

Soma was originally the sap pressed out from the swelling fibres of a plant.²⁸⁸ This herb, itself called Soma, was once brought by a fair-winged falcon from afar, from the highest heaven, or from the mountains, where Varuṇa had placed it, the world's governor.²⁸⁹ Its sap, purified, mixed with milk or a decoction of barley, and left for some time for fermentation,²⁹⁰ showed intoxicating effects, and was the favorite drink of the Aryans, the soul and adornment of the sacrifice, the joy of men.²⁹¹ It is drunk by the sick man as medicine at sunrise; partaking of it strengthens the limbs, preserves the legs from breaking, wards off all disease and lengthens life. Then need and trouble vanish away, pinching want is driven off and flees when the inspiring one lays hold of the mortal; the poor man, in the intoxication of the Soma, feels himself rich; the draught impels the singer to lift his voice and inspires him for song; it gives the poet supernatural power, so that he feels himself immortal.²⁹² On account of this inspiring power of the drink, there arose even in the Indo-Iranian period²⁹³ a personification of the sap as the god Soma, and ascription to him of almost all the deeds of other gods,²⁹⁴ the strength of the gods even being increased by this draught.²⁹⁵ Like Agni, Soma causes his radiance to shine cheerily in the waters; like Vâyu, he drives on with his steeds; like the Aṣvins, he comes in haste with aid when summoned; like Pûṣan, he excites reverence, watches over the herds, and leads by the shortest roads to success.²⁹⁶ Like Indra, as the sought-for ally, he overcomes all enemies, near and far,²⁹⁷ frees from the evil intentions of the envious, from danger and want,²⁹⁸ brings goodly riches from heaven, from earth and the air.²⁹⁹ Soma, too, makes the sun rise in the heavens, restores what has long been lost, has a thousand ways and means of help, heals all, blind and lame,³⁰⁰ chases away the black skin (the aborigines), and gives everything into the possession of the pious Ârya.³⁰¹ In his, the world-ruler's, ordinance these lands stand; he, the bearer of heaven and

the prop of earth, holds all peoples in his hand.³⁰² Bright-shining as Mitra, awe-compelling as Aryaman, he exults and gleams like Sûrya;³⁰³ Varuṇa's commands are his commands; he, too, measures the earth's spaces, and built the vault of the heavens; like him, he, too, full of wisdom, guards the community, watches over men even in hidden places, knows the most secret things.³⁰⁴ By Soma's side also, as by Varuṇa's, stand ready, never-sleeping scouts, his binding fetters follow at every step; he, too, is zealous to punish untruth and guilt.³⁰⁵ Therefore, to him, also, men pray to take away the wrath of the gods, to approach with good will and without anger, and mercifully to forgive every error of his adorer, as a father pardons his son.³⁰⁶

King Soma, be thou gracious, make us prosper;
 We are thy people only; know this surely.
 Now rage and cunning lift their heads, O Soma;
 Give us not over to our foes' desires.

Thou, Soma, guardian of our bodies, madest
 Thy dwelling in each member, lord of heroes.
 Though we transgress thy firm decree so often,
 Be merciful to us, and kind and gracious.³⁰⁷ — 8. 48. 8. 9.

He will lengthen the life of the devout endlessly, and after death make him immortal in the place of the blessed, in the highest heaven.³⁰⁸

It has already been remarked above (p. 32), that **Bṛhaspati** or **Brahmaṇaspati**, the 'lord of prayer,' was 'a creation, and at the same time a personification of the priestly activity, to which later priestly poets ascribed the deeds of might for which formerly other gods, notably Indra, were praised.'³⁰⁹ Thus it is said of Bṛhaspati, that his prayer upheld the ends of the earth, he embraces the All; he split the rocks, took the strongholds, opened the cow-stalls and caused the floods to flow freely.³¹⁰ All haters of devotion, despisers of the gods and enemies he

exterminates, the stern avenger of crime;³¹¹ but on the man who believingly trusts in him he bestows victory and freedom, security and plentiful riches, youthful strength and a numerous family.³¹² He brings joy to the gods as well as to men; for only through his wisdom have the first obtained a share in the sacrifice³¹³; for the latter he created all prayers and makes them availing; he is their rightful, skilled priest³¹⁴ and the Pontifex, the preparer of the way to the heights of heaven.³¹⁵

We must finally call attention to the fact that a not inconsiderable number of hymns is directed to "all gods" (p. 34). These are either each one in succession called by name and entreated, or the petitions are presented to them in a body; the adorer assures them that he neither secretly is guilty of many errors nor openly provokes their wrath, and entreats of them imperishable prosperity.³¹⁶

We will here close our survey of the religious songs, and it remains to cast a glance at the not too numerous examples of

SEULAR POETRY,

if we may embrace under this title the songs not specially directed to divinities. We can naturally not look for a sharp division of the two chief groups; the transition from the first to the second is, perhaps, best formed by two hymns, which, belonging half to the religious, half to the secular poetry, are of the greatest interest for the history of civilization.

The **Wedding-hymn**, which, in the existing form is not a unit but a collection of marriage verses,³¹⁷ relates first the wedding of the moon and sun, 'this prototype and ideal of all human weddings and marriages.' The two Açvins present the suit of Soma to Savitar for the hand of his daughter, Sûryâ, and he causes the bride heartily agreeing to be led to her husband's house. This wedding

of Soma and Sûryâ (*i.e.*, of moon and sun³¹⁸) is pointed to as the pattern of married union in general to be followed.³¹⁹ "As sun and moon ever support each other and alternate in their office, on the constant fulfillment of which depend not only the prosperity of all inanimate nature, but also the possibility of intercourse between men and the ordering of civil relations, even so man and wife must work together in harmony and with united powers untiringly fulfil the duties laid upon them in their vocation for the advancement of the family."³²⁰ The following quotations throw important light on the rites of marriage, which in the most essential traits agree with those of related peoples.³²¹ When the relatives and acquaintances of the affianced pair are gathered in the house of the bride's parents (p. 15), the fire is kindled on the house-altar and the bride is given over to the bridegroom by her father or his representative (p. 15). With the formula

By thy right hand for happiness I take thee,
That thou mayst reach old age with me, thy husband.
Aryaman, Bhaga, Savitar, Puramdhi,
Gave thee to me to rule our home together. — 10. 85. 36.

the bridegroom with his right hand takes the right hand of the bride.³²² He murmurs a number of traditional verses, as, *e.g.*, "I am he, thou art she; thou art she, I am he."³²³ Come, we two will go forth, we will beget us posterity, many sons will we get for us, they shall reach great age. In love united, strong, cheerful, may we see a hundred years, live a hundred years, hear a hundred years." Then he leads the bride solemnly three times from left to right around the altar. With this, — by the taking of the right hand and the leading about the altar, — the bride becomes legally a wife, the bridegroom her husband. After the wedding feast is finished, the wife, in her festal adornment, is transported to the new home on a wagon decked with flowers and drawn by two white steers.³²⁴ Here the newly-married couple are greeted with admonitions and good-wishes:

Here now remain, nor ever part ;
 Enjoy the whole expanse of life,
 With son and grandson joyous sport,
 Be glad in heart within your house.

Children and children's children grant, Prajapati,*
 Till hoary age may Aryaman preserve the bond.
 From evil free enter thy husband's house and thine,
 Within the home may man and beast increase and thrive.

Be free from evil looks and lack not wedded love,
 Gentle in mind and face, bring e'en the beasts good luck ;
 Fearing the gods, do thou a race of heroes bear ;
 Within the home may man and beast increase and thrive.

In sons, O Indra, make her rich,
 Give her a life of happiness ;
 Ten children grant, and spare to her
 As an eleventh her dear spouse.

So rule and govern in thy home
 Over thy husband's parents both ;
 His brother and his sister, too,
 Are subject likewise there to thee.³²⁵ — 10. 85. 42-46.

Another solemn occasion in the life of the Vedic people is presented in a **Funeral-hymn**.³²⁶ The relatives and friends of the dead man, about to be buried, are assembled about the corpse which has been brought to the grave. By it the widow sits ; the liturgy adjures death to depart, and summons those present to devotion.

Depart, O Death, and go thy way far from us,
 Far from the path which by the gods is trodden.
 Thou seest and hear'st the words to thee I utter ;
 Harm not our children, harm not thou our heroes.

Ye who have come here, blotting out Death's footprints,
 And in your yet extended life rejoicing,

* Prajâpati, 'lord of descendants,' a genius presiding over birth, then in general protector of the living, and afterward 'lord of creatures, creator,' as highest god over the mentioned gods of the Vedic period.

In wealth and children's blessing still increasing,
O righteous men, your minds be pure and spotless.

10. 18. 1. 2.

It then gives expression to the feeling of joy that the death-lot has not fallen to any of the assembly and urges all gladly to enjoy life in the future. A stone laid between those present and the dead typifies the separation of the realms of life and death; and in connection with it the wish is expressed that for all there a long life may be decreed.

The living from the dead are separated,
The sacred rite to-day has prospered for us,
And we are here, prepared for mirth and dancing,
Prolonging still the span of our existence.

This boundary I place here for the living,
That to this goal no one of them may hurry.
May they live on through full a thousand harvests,
And through this rock keep death away far from them.

10. 18. 3. 4.

Now women with ointments enter the circle and approach the dead lying on the bier, to deck the widow, in token of her re-entrance into intercourse with the living. The priest summons her to separate herself from the corpse and himself takes the bow out of the hand of the dead man as the symbol of his ability, which they hope will remain in the community. The interment³²⁷ proceeds in fitting words and closes with the wish that the departed may find a place in the other world.

The women here, still happy wives, not widowed,
Shall come and bring rich oil and precious ointment;
And tearless, blooming, rich adorned, may they first
Approach the resting-place of the departed.³²⁸

Raise to the living world thy mind, O woman;
His breath is fled and gone by whom thou sittest;
Who took thee by the hand once and espoused thee,
With him thy plighted troth is now accomplished.

From out his lifeless hand his bow I've taken,
 A pledge to us of power, strength and honor.
 Thou yonder, and we here below as brave men,
 Shall overcome the force of every onslaught.

Return once more unto the earth, thy mother,
 Her arms she opens kindly to receive thee.
 To good men kind and tender as a maiden,
 May she henceforth preserve thee from destruction.

Firm may his spacious earthly home continue,
 Beneath supported by a thousand pillars,
 Let it henceforward be his house and riches,
 A sure protecting refuge for him ever.³²⁹

I settle firmly now the earth about thee ;
 I cast the clods on thee, — let this not harm me.³³⁰
 The Fathers shall uphold these columns for thee,
 But yonder Yama shall prepare a dwelling. — 10. 18. 7-13.

If we may not altogether look for **historical poems** among the ancestors of the Indian race, yet a number of songs of victory and triumph, most of them indeed only fragmentary, have been preserved to us.³³¹ Although the really historical gain is not very rich and the statements are exceedingly deficient, these fragments still give us a glance into the active, war-disturbed life of the Vedic period. The individual clans, Aryan and non-Aryan, or even Aryans among themselves, oppress and drive each other from the homes just conquered; individual pretenders to a throne seek with armed hand to make their claims good or even dare to offer violence to a whole assembly with their band. Princes and clans form alliances to offer resistance to a too powerful ruler or, in later times, to throw off the yoke of the priest-class, ever becoming more oppressive.³³²

The victorious princes love to hear their achievements praised in the loud song, and the singers soon know how to make their services indispensable; Indra, the ruler of

battles, takes no pleasure in the Soma offered without prayer; he scorns the sacrificial food prepared without a song, and no mean song of praise finds favor with the divine dispensers of riches.³³³ Therefore the king who cannot himself prepare a proper song of praise is forced to seek the skill of others, and so we find, among the more important princes, singers and families of singers who first through their prayers make great deeds possible for the rulers and afterwards celebrate them. In the foreground of these families of singers stand those of Viçvâmitra and Vasiṣṭha. The former had caused the rushing stream to stand still for the renowned Tṛṭsu King Sudâs, made the crossing possible for his patron and sent his steed forward to victory and spoils; but in course of time, pushed forward by the rising influence of his rival Vasiṣṭha, Viçvâmitra went over to the gens of the Bharatas. With them he sets forth and comes to the junction of the rivers Vipâç and Çutudrî ("Τφασις and Ζαδάδρης), which stream lustily forth from the bosom of the mountains, racing, like two mares let loose. At the call and loud entreaty of the singer the waves yield, they make the passage easy and do not even moisten the axles with their billows. The host proceeds confidently to battle; then the singer, sprung from Kuçika, proudly proclaims: "My prayer, the prayer of Viçvâmitra, protects the race of the Bharatas." But Indra prefers Vasiṣṭha; like ox-goads the haughty Bharatas are broken and the territory of the Tṛṭsus is extended.³³⁴ And many other exploits Sudâs accomplished with Vasiṣṭha's help; the wide-pouring river becomes a passable ford for Sudâs, while the (pursuing?) insolent Çimyu becomes the sport of the waves.

The evil minded fools in other pathways
 Turned from its course the rushing great Paruṣṇî.*
 The lord of earth with mighty power seized them,
 And prone upon the earth lay herd and shepherd.

* Name of a river: v. p. 12* and Note 39.

At once the stream, their aim, was their destruction,
 The swiftest even found rest beneath the waters.
 There Indra into Sudâs' hand gave over
 His flying foes, the boasters to the strong man.³³⁵

7. 18. 8. 9.

The defiant Bheda is overcome, the Ajas and Çigrus and Yakşus bring the heads of the horses as tribute; Sudâs conquers the challenging Pûrus in even fight, then takes the possessions of the Anus and from them and the people of the Druhyus sinks in sleep sixty hundred, six times a thousand spoilers, and sixty-six heroes in requital; ten kings had allied themselves and surrounded Sudâs on all sides, but the adoring hymn of the guests (*i.e.*, the royal singers) was effectual; for the sake of the prayers of the Vasiṣṭhids Indra rescued the prince.³³⁶ And many other fights are mentioned; Divodâsa quarrels with Çambara, and the Vetasu Daçadyu with the Tugras;³³⁷ the Bharatas war with the Pûrus, and on the Harîyûpîya the rearguard of the Vṛcîvants was scattered in fear when the van had been overcome: thirty hundred mailed Vṛcîvants, united at the Yavyâvatî full of ambition, fell by the arrow and sank into destruction,³³⁸ etc.

As sources of history may be mentioned also the so-called Dâna-stutis, *i.e.*, 'praise of gifts.'³³⁹ These are portions, not of the very highest poetical order, interpolated among or added to the real hymns, in which singers of an earlier period praise the generosity of the princes who bestowed presents on them. From these we not only see that these gifts were often considerable, but also discover the names of tribes and kings, together with indications of their homes; and some light is thrown on the families of singers and their genealogies.³⁴⁰ An example may be quoted here:

In this the Ruçamas did well, O Agni,
 In that they gave me forty hundred cattle;
 The freely offered gift of Rinamcaya,
 Of heroes most heroic, we have taken.

The Ruçamas let me depart, O Agni,
 Rewarded richly with a thousand cattle.
 The sharp and gladdening juice made Indra merry,
 When darkness lightened at the dawn of morning.

When darkness lightened at the dawn of morning,
 From Rinamcaya, king of the Ruçamas,
 Like speedy coursers, harnessed for the races,
 Bahhru received four times a thousand cattle.

Yea, forty hundred from the herds of cattle,
 Did we, O Agni, get from the Ruçamas,
 And, ready heated for our use in cooking,
 A brazen pot did we receive, the singers.³⁴¹ — 5.30.12–15.

Among the few **humorous** pieces we find the jest of a poet, who banteringly likens the awakening of the frogs at the beginning of the rainy season, their merry croaking, and their jollity to the songs of priests intoxicated with soma, and to the noise of a school of priests.³⁴²

The frogs were silent all the year,
 Like Brâhmans fettered by a vow.
 But now Parjanya calls them forth,
 And loud their voices they uplift.

Soon as the rain from heaven has fallen on them,
 Like shrivelled skins within the dry pool lying,
 From all at once comes up a noisy croaking,
 As when the cow calls to her calf with lowings.

When the first shower of the rainy season
 Has fallen on them, parched with thirst and longing,
 Then each with merry croak and loudly calling
 Salutes the other, as a son his father.

One seizes and congratulates the other,
 Delighted at the falling of the water.
 In glee each wet and dripping frog jumps upward,
 The green one and the speckled join their voices.

What one calls out, another quickly answers,
 Like boys at school their teacher's words repeating.
 Ye seem but many members of one body,
 When in the pool ye lift your varied voices.

Some low like cattle, some like goats are bleating,
 And one is yellow, and another speckled.
 Alike in name, but various in appearance,
 In many tones they modulate their voices.

Like priests attending at the Soma-offering,
 Who sit around the full bowl, loudly singing,
 Ye frogs around the pond hail the recurring
 Of autumn when the rain-fall first commences.

They shout aloud like Bráhmans drunk with Soma,
 When they perform their annual devotions.
 Like the Adhvaryu, sweating o'er the kettle,*
 They issue forth, — not one remains in hiding.

The sacred order of the year observing,
 These creatures never disregard the seasons;
 When autumn comes and brings the time of showers,
 They find release from heat and summer's scorching.

The frogs that bleat like goats, and low like cattle,
 The green one and the speckled, give us riches.
 Whole herds of cows may they bestow upon us,
 And grant us length of days through sacrificing. † — 7. 103.

In other places we meet with reflections upon the fact, that different as are the minds of men and various as their callings, yet all run after gain; for example, continues the author, he himself is a poet, papa a physician, and mama

[* The priest who offers the prayers and praises (ṛcas) at the sacrifice is the hotar, the speaking priest; the adhvaryu, the acting priest *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, performs the sacrifice.

† This verse appears to have been added in order to give the hymn the appearance of a prayer. — GKR.]

a miller; so in the most varied ways men chase after money.³⁴³ Another song makes us acquainted with a poet, who as poet, physician and apothecary in one person journeys about the country, carrying with him in a wooden box all sorts of healing herbs, and plying his vocation not without humor; especially with a frankness that merits recognition he makes no secret of the fact that it is not altogether philanthropy which urges him to practice, but that gain is his leading motive.³⁴⁴

Two short hymns of the tenth book display fine perception and an intelligent interpretation of nature; one, to Râtrî, the Goddess of Night, describes how she, looking out from a thousand eyes, comes forth adorned with all the glory of the stars, fills heights and depths, and puts all, even the greedy bird of prey, to rest.³⁴⁵ The other sings of Araṇyâni, the mocking genius of the forest, and the solitude of the woods.³⁴⁶

As an example of the secular poetry of that ancient time a few strophes of the well-known Dice-song follows, the contents of which are indeed more tragic than humorous.³⁴⁷ A passionate player describes his propensity for the brown nuts; * he cannot free himself from them, though he sees well how much misery they produce for him and his.

The nuts that once swayed on the lofty branches
Intoxicate me, rolling on the dice-board.
The fruit of the Vibhîdaka can charm me,
As 'twere the Soma of the Mûjantavas.†

My wife has never angered me nor striven,
Was ever kind to me and my companions;
Though she was faithful to me, I have spurned her,
For love of dice, the only thing I value.

* For dice the brown nuts of the *Terminalia bellerica* were used, the taste of which intoxicates, just as their use as dice enthral the gambler's senses.

† A tribe living on the mountain Mûjavant in the western Himâlayas.

My wife rejects me and her mother hates me ;
 The gamester finds no pity for his troubles.
 No better use can I see for a gambler,
 Than for a costly horse worn out and aged.

Upon his wife are laid the hands of others,
 While his possessions by the dice are wasted.
 His father, mother, brothers, — all deny him :
 “ We know him not, — away with him in fetters.”

The gambler's wife deserted mourns ; his mother
 Laments her son, she knows not where he wanders.
 And he, in debt and trouble, seeking money,
 Remains at night beneath the roof of strangers.

It grieves the gambler when he sees another
 With wife and happy home untouched by trouble.
 He yokes the brown steeds in the early morning,
 And when the fire goes out he sinks degraded.

And when I say that I will play no longer,
 My friends abandon me and all desert me ;
 Yet when again I hear the brown dice rattling,
 I hasten, like a wanton to her lover.

The gambler hurries to the gaming table,
 “ To-day I'll win,” he thinks in his excitement.
 The dice inflame his greed, his hopes mount higher ;
 He leaves his winnings all with his opponent.

10. 34. 1-6. 10. 11.

Of **didactic-gnomic** poetry we find not a few products in the Rigveda. Experience repeatedly introduced is brought together in verse and lives as a ‘winged word’ in the mouths of all.³⁴⁸ It seems only a variation of the proverbs of our day when we read :

The plough brings plenty when the soil it furrows ;
 Who moves his feet accomplishes his journey ;
 Speech benefits a Brāhman more than silence ;
 A friend who gives is better than a niggard.³⁴⁹—10. 117. 7.

The truth of the proposition: *Si duo faciunt idem, non est idem*, is confirmed in various directions, and it is commended as the "blessing of instruction," that "the straight path to the goal is found."³⁵⁰

To Indra himself is ascribed the saying, "Woman's mind is hard to direct aright and her judgment too is small"; while another has better words for women, and finds that many a man is better than his reputation.³⁵¹ "How many a maiden," reasons a singer, "is wooed only for her rich possessions," while another testifies "that even an ugly man is found beautiful, if only he is rich."³⁵² "Prudent and stupid, every one tries to extort," seeks the greatest possible gain, without being fastidious in his methods, — this seems even at that time to have been the result of experience, as well as that "many a one brings gifts of sacrifice only through fear of blame."³⁵³ But in other passages the duty and the blessing of good deeds are loudly proclaimed:

Let him who can give succor to the needy,
And well his future path of life consider.
For fortune like the wheels of chariots rolling,
Now, shifting, comes to one, now to another.³⁵⁴ — 10. 117. 5.

By sharing with others one's own store is never decreased, and through beneficence a man gains to himself good friends for the changeful future.³⁵⁵ The so-called Song of Wisdom among other matters, reflects how many see without perceiving, how many hear without understanding, while for others all difficulties disappear of their own accord.³⁵⁶ The saying of Vâmadeva, "Not without pains are the gods made friends" could serve as admonition and encouragement, and on the other hand as recognition that "the rule of the gods is too high for man's wisdom; we men, all, are companions in death; speedily life runs away," and each one in death must abandon his wealth and become a solemn memento to some one.³⁵⁷

The **Formulas of Incantation and Exorcism** may also

be regarded as a kind of didactic poetry, although their proper department is really the Atharvaveda (above, p. 4); but a number of such formulas are to be found in the Rig, e.g. for healing the most various diseases. Such a 'mantra' is repeated, and the healing of the sick person accomplished by the laying on of hands³⁵⁸ or some other ceremony;³⁵⁹ one who is near to death is recalled to life,³⁶⁰ an evil intention, a hostile demon, may be made harmless, a bad omen averted,³⁶¹ a fortunate rival in love driven off,³⁶² a herd gathered together again, etc.

As a second branch of didactic composition we must mention the **Poetical Riddles**. The simplest form is shown in a short hymn of the eighth book;³⁶³ from the very short descriptions the gods meant can be guessed, thus:

One in his mighty hand holds fast the thunderbolt,
With it his enemies he smites.

And one bears in his mighty hand a weapon sharp,
Yet kind withal, he seeks to heal.

Through empty space another made three mighty strides
Where the gods dwell in blessedness.

And two, with but one bride, on winged steeds go forth,
They journey onward far away. — 8. 29. 4. 5. 7. 8.

Much more intricate and difficult, however, were the riddles and enigmas (*brahmodya*), which in later Vedic time came into use at the great sacrifices of the kings, and at contests of various kinds. The priests propounded all sorts of questions from the whole circle of priestly knowledge, not only to the princes offering the sacrifice, but also to their companions in office, with whom they strove for pre-eminence. In these questions "the matters in discussion are usually not called by their ordinary, commonly understood names, but are indicated by symbolical expressions, or even only by mystical references, in which

numbers play an important part. They are taken now from nature, now from the spiritual life. Heaven and earth, sun and moon, the atmosphere, the clouds, rain and its production by evaporation of the mists by means of the sun's rays, the sun's course, the year, the seasons, months, days and nights, are here favorite subjects of symbolic clothing; their interpretation is regarded as the highest wisdom."³⁶⁴

With this enigmatical poetry the last group of hymns which have still to be mentioned, the **Philosophical Poetry**, stands in the closest connection.³⁶⁵ With few exceptions³⁶⁶ the compositions of this class are occupied with questions concerning the beginning and origin of all things, such queries occurring also here and there in the enigmatical hymns. A system of cosmogony is naturally not yet found here; they are throughout only first questions and attempts, the most primitive beginnings of natural philosophy and theories of creation. The poets like infants in their ignorance search with their intellect for the hidden traces of the invisible, unseen gods, for their origin and deeds.³⁶⁷ They are no longer satisfied with hearing that this or that god has created heaven and earth and fire and sun and dawn; in all seriousness "in order to know it, not for pastime alone," one asks, how many fires and how many suns, how many dawns and waters there are; whether day was created before night, or night before day, while another desires to know what tree it was, what kind of wood,* of which heaven and earth once were built, eternally firm, while days, many mornings, vanish; upon what the creator stood, when he upheld the worlds; what then was his standing-ground, what was the order of events, having made the earth out of what he enclosed the heavens with might.³⁶⁸ The question repeatedly appears, how and when from not-being the way was found to being, while others exert themselves to establish the

* i.e., the *ελη*, the material, the original matter.

beginning of all existent things, the original matter.³⁶⁹ The solution of these problems is naturally, where not evidently from the first shown to lie outside of human wisdom, very varied in result,³⁷⁰ and even the lines of development, if we may use the term, differ greatly.³⁷¹ Sometimes fire, sometimes the all-nourishing water is named as the original matter, as among the Greek philosophers; ³⁷² in other passages an original germ is spoken of, which, on the other side of heaven and this earth and the living gods, the waters received into themselves, in which the gods all met.

Far out beyond this earth, beyond the heavens,
Far, too, beyond the living gods and spirits,
What earliest germ was hidden in the waters,
In which the gods were all beheld together?

The waters held that earliest germ within them
In which the living gods were all united.
That One lay in the bosom of the unborn,
And all created beings rested in it.

Him ye can never know who formed these creatures,
Between yourselves and him lies yet another.
With stammering tongue and all in mist enveloped,
The singers go about in life rejoicing.³⁷³ — 10. 82. 5-7.

Another prominent hymn praises Hiranyagarbha, the 'gold-germ,' as the kindly origin of all being, who existed even before the first breath of the gods, who alone is god among all the gods.

In the beginning rose Hiranyagarbha,
Born as the only lord of all existence.
This earth he settled firm and heaven established:
What god shall we adore with our oblations?

Who gives us breath, who gives us strength, whose bidding
All creatures must obey, the bright gods even;

Whose shade is death, whose shadow life immortal :
What god shall we adore with our oblations ?

Who by his might alone became the monarch
Of all that breathes, of all that wakes or slumbers,
Of all, both man and beast, the lord eternal :
What god shall we adore with our oblations ?

Whose might and majesty these snowy mountains,
The ocean and the distant stream exhibit ;
Whose arms extended are these spreading regions :
What god shall we adore with our oblations ?

Who made the heavens bright, the earth enduring,
Who fixed the firmament, the heaven of heavens ;
Who measured out the air's extended spaces :
What god shall we adore with our oblations ?

To whom with trembling mind the two great armies
Look up, by his eternal will supported ;
On whom the sun sheds brightness in its rising :
What god shall we adore with our oblations ?

10. 121. 1-6.

The monotheistic conception lying at the foundation of this hymn (above, p. 34) appears more prominently, with the exception of some single verses in two hymns directed to Viçvakarma n, *i.e.*, the 'All-creator' of unrivalled power of mind and body, to him

Who is our father, our creator, maker,
Who every place doth know and every creature,
By whom alone to gods their names were given,
To him all other creatures go, to ask him.³⁷⁴ — 10. 82. 3.

By far the most important composition of this class in the whole Veda is the 'Song of Creation,' recognized even by Colebrooke.³⁷⁵ In the beginning, when the contrasts of being and not-being, of death and immortality, of day and night, did not yet exist, only one thing hovered

over the empty waste, and this one came into life through the force of heat; there the first germ of mind showed itself; then the wise ones, the cosmogonic gods, were able to call forth being out of not-being, and to separate and divide the heretofore unordered masses. But in spite of this solution the whole creation and many single things in it remain a riddle to the poet.

Then there was neither being nor not-being.
The atmosphere was not, nor sky above it.
What covered all? and where? by what protected?
Was there the fathomless abyss of waters?

Then neither death nor deathlessness existed;
Of day and night there was yet no distinction.
Alone that One breathed calmly, self-supported,
Other than It was none, nor aught above It.

Darkness there was at first in darkness hidden;
This universe was undistinguished water.
That which in void and emptiness lay hidden
Alone by power of fervor was developed.

Then for the first time there arose desire,
Which was the primal germ of mind, within it.
And sages, searching in their heart, discovered
In Nothing the connecting bond of Being.

And straight across their cord was then extended:
What then was there above? or what beneath it?
Life giving principles and powers existed;
Below the origin, — the striving upward.

Who is it knows? Who here can tell us surely
From what and how this universe has risen?
And whether not till after it the gods lived?
Who then can know from what it has arisen?

The source from which this universe has risen
And whether it was made, or uncreated,

He only knows, who from the highest heaven
Rules, the all-seeing lord, — or does not He know?

10. 129.

We stand at the end of our survey. From it we ought to recognize that we have in the Rigveda a literature which well deserves 'at least in extracts to be known to every student and lover of antiquity,' to every one who would have the poet's words, *Homo sum; humanum nihil a me alienum puto*, applied to himself. The chief importance of the Veda is not indeed for the history of literature, but it lies elsewhere; it lies, as the following commentary seeks to show, in the very extraordinary fullness of disclosures which this unique book gives to the student of philology and the history of civilization. In this, no other literature is to be compared with it, and though the aesthetic value of this relic of long-vanished times has sometimes been exaggerated, yet its historical importance, its value for the history of mankind, cannot easily be overrated.

ABBREVIATIONS.



- AfKM.** : *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, published by the German Oriental Society. Leipzig 1857 ff.
- BI.** : *Bibliotheca Indica*, a collection of oriental works, published under the superintendence of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta 1849 ff.
- BR.** : *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, by Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth : Note 30.
- GKR.** : *Siebzig Lieder des Rigveda*, übersetzt von K. Geldner und A. Kaegi mit Beiträgen von R. Roth : see p. 34 and Note 116. For the sake of brevity quotations are given in large italics, so that *e.g.* 4, 33, 4 (121) means 4, 33, 4, translated in GKR. page 121.
- Ist.** : *Indische Studien*, edited by A. Weber. Vol. 1-17. Berlin and Leipzig 1849-1885.
- JAOS.** : *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
- JLZ.** : *Jenaer Literatur-Zeitung* von A. Klette.
- JRAS.** : *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (NS. : New Series).
- Jbb.** : *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*. Vol. 121 (1880).
- KZ.** : *Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*. Vol. 1-28.
- OO.** : *Orient and Occident*, insbesondere in ihren gegenseitigen Beziehungen, Forschungen und Mittheilungen. Quarterly, edited by Theo. Benfey.
- SBE.** : *The Sacred Books of the East*, Translated by various Oriental Scholars and edited by F. Max Müller. Oxford 1879 ff.
- Benfey, GdSpr.** : *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland*, München 1869.
- Lassen, IA.** : *Indische Alterthumskunde*. Vol. 1 and 2 quoted in the second ed. (Leipzig 1867, 1874), vol. 3 and 4 in the first ed. (Bonn 1858, 1861).

- M. Müller, ASL.:** A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature. London 1859.
- M. Müller, LSL.:** Lectures on the Science of Language. First and Second Series. New York (Scribners) 1872. (Quotations refer to the American edition; the paging of the English edition is given on p. 180.)
- M. Müller, OGR.:** Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the religions of India. London 1882.
- J. Muir, MTr.:** Metrical Translations from Sanskrit writers. London 1879.
- J. Muir, OST.:** Original Sanskrit Texts: see Note 115.
- Roth, ZLGW.:** Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda: see p. 2 and Note 7.
- A. Weber, HIL.:** History of Indian Literature. Translated from the second German edition. Boston 1878. (Reprint of the English edition.)
- A. Weber, IStr.:** Indische Streifen. Berlin and Leipzig 1868–1879.
- W. D. Whitney, OLSt.:** Oriental and Linguistic Studies. 2 volumes. New York 1873, 1874.
- ZDMG.:** Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig, vols. 1–39, 1847–1885.
- H. Zimmer, AIL.:** Altindisches Leben. Berlin 1879: see p. 11 and Note 35.
- Beside the works already mentioned the following treat of the Veda: Müller in the Chips from a German Workshop, especially vol. 1.—Whitney in the treatises, The Vedas; The Vedic Doctrine of a Future Life; Müller's History of Vedic Literature; The Translation of the Veda in vol. 1 of his Oriental and Linguistic Studies, and in his notes to Colebrooke's Misc. Essays (see Note 5).—Westergaard, Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte mit Rücksicht auf die Literatur. Aus dem Dänischen übersetzt. Breslau 1862.—P. Wurm, Geschichte der Indischen Religion. Basel 1874, pp. 21–62.—A. Ludwig, Die Nachrichten des Rig und Atharvaveda über Geographie, Geschichte, Verfassung des alten Indien. Prag 1875. Die Philosophischen und Religiösen Anschauungen des Veda in ihrer Entwicklung. Prag 1875. Der Rigveda oder die heiligen Hymnen der Brähmana. Vol. 3: Die Mantraliteratur und das alte Indien als Einleitung zur Uebersetzung des Rigveda (*cf.* Note 116). Prag 1878.—[A. Bergaigne, La Religion Védique d'après les Hymnes du Rig-Veda. Paris 1878.—Barth, The Religions of India. Translated by Rev. J. Wood, London 1882.]

NOTES.

1. Essai, etc.: Introd. § 10 and 1^{ère} partie, chap. 4 (vol. 1, 77 and 2, 57 ff. of the edition of an XIII = 1805, or Œuvres, t. 14, p. 79 ff. and 290 ff. of the ed. of 1785); cf. Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire, Des Védas, 1854, p. 15 ff.

2. The *Ezour* (= *Yajur*) *Vedam* (Ith.: see Gildemeister, Bibl. Sanscr. 28, 103–106), presented by Voltaire to the Royal Library in Paris in 1761, published in 1778 by Sainte-Croix, and also translated into German, is a forgery made in the 17th century by a Jesuit missionary, perhaps Robertus de Nobilibus (cf. Müller, LSL. 1, 155 and 156 note); see Fr. Ellis, Asiat. Res., vol. 14, Calcutta 1822, pp. 1–59; A. Schlegel, Indische Bibliothek, vol. 2 (1824), 50 ff.

3. Ed. of Julian Schmidt, Leipzig 1869, vol. 2, 148 ff.

4. In the same year (1784) the “Asiatic Society” was founded in Calcutta, for the investigation of Asiatic antiquity in its widest extent. In 1785, Wilkins’ translation of the *Bhagavad-gîtâ* appeared in London; 1789, the celebrated translation of *Çakuntalâ*, by W. Jones, in Calcutta (German by G. Forster, Mainz and Leipzig 1791; 2d ed. Frankfurt 1803); 1792, the first printed Sanskrit text (*Ritusanhâra*: The Seasons, a Descriptive Poem by Cálidás, in the Original Sanscrit, Calcutta), etc. See Gildemeister, Bibl. Sanscr., p. 173 ff.

5. Asiat. Res. vol. 8, Calc. 1805, pp. 369–476; newly edited, with valuable notes by Whitney, in Colebrooke’s Miscellaneous Essays, edited by Cowell, 1873, vol. 1, pp. 8–132.

6. Rigvedae Specimen, ed. F. Rosen, London 1830; then Rigveda Sanhita, liber primus, sanskrite et latine, ed. F. Rosen, London 1838. (R. died Sept. 12, 1837.)

7. The enormous progress in knowledge of the Veda shown in this work of Roth can to-day only be appreciated if we compare with it what Benfey was able to give a few years before in his article *India* in Ersch and Gruber’s Allgem. Encycl., 2 sect. vol. 17, p. 161 f. Müller’s *History* appeared 1860; Weber’s *Vorlesungen* in a second, much enlarged edition, Berlin 1875 (additions to it 1878).

8. The first complete edition of the text was that of Aufrecht, 2 vols., Berlin 1861, 1863 (= ISt. vol. 6. 7), in Latin transliteration;

2d ed., Bonn 1877, with valuable additions (among others, an index of first lines and quotations, when the verses are cited in other Vedic literature; reprint of the *Khila*, i.e. the 'supplements' found in the manuscripts, but not counted with the hymns). The text in Sanskrit characters is given by M. Müller, *The Hymns of the Rigveda*, London 1873. 2 vols. (Sanhitâ- and Pada-Text: cf. note 77); 2d ed., London 1877. With the commentary of Sâyana, complete index of words and first lines, in 6 vols., edited by M. Müller, London 1849-75.

The first alphabetical index of first lines was given by W. Pertsch, *IST.* 3, 1-118 (additions by Aufrecht, *IST.* 4, 434 f.); a tabulated synopsis of the four Sanhitâs: Whitney, *IST.* 2, 321-368; a very valuable dictionary, H. Grassmann, Leipzig 1873-75.

9. *Sâman*, according to Burnell (*Introd. to the Ârşeya-Brahmana*, Mangalore and Basle 1876) and Barth (*Rev. Crit.* 1877, II, p. 21), means only "melody," independent of the text (*Rig-verse*) connected with it, which may be changed at will. The edition *Sâmavedârcikam*, *Die Hymnen des Sâmaveda*, herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Glossar versehen von Th. Benfey, Leipzig 1848, gives the *Râniyaniyaçâkhâ*; elsewhere, the *Kauthumaçâkhâ*, of which the *Naigeya* is a sub-division (see S. Goldschmidt, *Berl. Monatsber.* 1868, p. 228 f.). A. Weber's assertion, *HIL.* 9. 64 ff., that the variants of the *Sâmasanhitâ* are older and more original than those of the *Rigsanhitâ* (cf. Ludw. Rv. 3, 83-95; 91: "Thus it is evident that the *Sâmaveda* has an older form than the *Rigveda*") is opposed by Burnell, *Ârşeyabrahmana*, p. xvi f., and Aufrecht, *Rigveda*, 2d ed., vol. 2, pref. p. xxxvii to xlv. The latter gives p. xlv-xlvii an alphabetical index of the 75 verses peculiar to the *Sâmaveda*, not contained in our *Rigveda* [*Hillebrandt*, *Spuren einer älteren Rigveda Recension*, *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indo-Germ. Spr.* vol. 8, 195 ff.], which are translated by Ludw. Rv. 3, 419-426.

10. The two principal groups of these prayer-books, the *Black* and the *White Yajurveda*, are essentially distinguished by the fact that in the *Black* the sacrificial verses are followed immediately by their dogmatic interpretation, description of the accompanying ritual, etc., and the *Brahmana* belonging to it is to be considered as an addition differing only in time; while in the *White* the verses for the sacrifices are contained in the *Sanhitâ*, the interpretation and ritual in the *Brahmana*, and thus are separated throughout.

1. Of the *Black Yajurveda* two recensions have been known for some time: the *Taittirîya-sanhitâ* (text of the school of Âpastamba: ed. by A. Weber, Leipzig 1871-72 = *IST.* vol. 11, 12), and the *Kâthaka* (text of the *Kaṭha* school, v. Weber *IST.* 3, 451-479, *HIL.* 88 ff., L. v. Schroeder, *Berl. Monatsber.* July 1879, p. 675-704). The first inform-

ation of a new recension, the *Maitrāyaṇi-saṅhitā*, was given by Haug (ISt. 9, 174 f., *Brahma und die Brahmanen*, München 1871, pp. 31–34); then Bühler, ISt. 13, 117–128, and lately L. v. Schroeder, ZDMG. 33 (1879), 177–207 [Ueber die Maitrayaṇi Saṅhitā, Dorpat 1879; ed. by Schroeder, Leipzig 1881], and Berl. Monatsber. 1879, pp. 675–704. The latter makes it very probable that this Çākḥā is to be put at the head of the whole Yajus period, and is identical with the famous text of the *Kalāpins*.

2. Of the White Yajurveda both the known recensions of *Mādhyandina* and *Kāṇva* are contained in Weber's edition, *The Vājasaneyi-Saṅhitā*, Berlin 1852. The last, fortieth, book of this Saṅhitā is the *Īçā*, or *Īçāvāsya-Upaniṣad*, translated *e.g.* by Röer in BI. Ludw. Rv. 3, 34 f. M. Müller, see Note 16.

11. Cf. RV. 10, 90, 9; AV. 7, 54, 2; 12, 1, 38; Ait. Br. 5, 32, 4. — AV. 10, 7, 20, with the Rig, Yajus and Sāman mentions also the Atharvāṅgiras, *i.e.* a fourth collection in the style of our Atharvaveda. According to Burnell (*Vaṅcabrahmaṇa of the Sāmaveda*, p. xxi) the most influential scholars of Southern India still obstinately deny the genuineness of this Veda.

12. *E.g.* Ad. Kuhn, KZ. 13, 48–74 and 113–157, places side by side a number of Indian formulas (especially those contained in the Atharva) for banishing sickness, and similar Germanic ones, "which in both peoples correspond so remarkably, not only in purpose and contents, but also partially in form, that we must fully recognize in them the remains of a kind of poetry, which, even in the old Indo-Germanic period, had developed the contents of incantations designed for certain uses into a fixed form, preserved up to the latest times in all the formulas growing out of it." For other traces of Indo-Germanic poetry, *cf.* Note 82.

13. *Atharvaveda-Saṅhitā*, edited by R. Roth and W. D. Whitney, Berlin 1856, contains the "Vulgate" (text of the *Çaunakas*?) in 20 books, the last two of which did not belong to the original collection. Since 1875 the *Paipalādi-çākḥā* has become better known through Roth's *Der Atharvaveda in Kashmir*. Tübingen 1875. (P. 20: "But if all this (*sc.* known in any other place) is taken away, there will remain a mass so large that it may be appraised as the eighth or ninth part of the whole (Atharva).") Sāyaṇa's Commentary to this Saṅhitā was discovered in 1880; *cf.* Academy of June 12, 1880, and Ind. Antiq. Aug. 1880.

Book 1 has been translated by A. Weber, ISt. 4, 393–430; Book 2 by A. Weber, Berl. Monatsber. 1870, June, pp. 462–524 = ISt. 13, 129–216; Book 14 by A. Weber, ISt. 5, 195–217; Book 15 by Aufrecht, ISt. 1, 130–140; besides Hundert Lieder des Atharvaveda von J. Grill,

Tübingen 1879, and many single songs by A. Weber, *IST.* 5, 218-266, etc., by Zimmer, *ALL.* (Index, pp. 453-457), by Ludwig, *Rv.* vol. 3, especially pp. 428-551, and elsewhere. Whitney, *IST.* 4, 9-62, gives an alphabetical index of first lines, and *JAOS.* 12 (1881) a complete Index Verborum.

14. The name *Brāhmaṇa* (neut.) is to be derived, not from the masc. *brahmán*, 'chief priest' (Müller, *ASL.* 172, 342. Haug, *Ait. Br.* 1, p. 4 f. [Eggeling, *SBE.* 12. *Introd.* p. xxii ff.]), but from the neut. *brāhman*, 'formula, ceremony' (Whitney, *OLSt.* 1, 68, 1. Weber, *HIL.* 11, *IST.* 9, 351 f.). Concerning these books Müller, *ASL.* 389, says: "The *Brāhmanas* represent no doubt a most interesting phase in the history of the Indian mind, but judged by themselves as literary productions, they are most disappointing. No one would have supposed that at so early a period, and in so primitive a state of society, there could have risen up a literature which, for pedantry and downright absurdity, can hardly be matched anywhere. There is no lack of striking thoughts, of bold expressions, of sound reasoning, and curious traditions in these collections. But they are only like the fragments of a torso, like precious gems set in brass and lead. The general character of these works is marked by shallow and insipid grandiloquence, by priestly conceit and antiquarian pedantry. It is most important to the historian that he should know how soon the fresh and healthy growth of a nation can be blighted by priestcraft and superstition. . . . These works deserve to be studied as the physician studies the twaddle of idiots and the raving of madmen." Müller places the *Brāhmaṇa* Period (*Chips.* 1, 14; *cf.* *ASL.* 435) between 800 and 600 B.C. (Haug between 1400 and 1200: *cf.* Note 38).

14 a. Of the *Brāhmaṇas* (Roth, *Nirukta.* *Introd.* p. xxiv f. A. Weber, *HIL.* 11 f. M. Müller, *ASL.* 313 ff. Ludw. *Rv.* 3, 30 f.; shorter extracts in Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, London 1875, pp. 27-35) belong

1. To the *Rigveda*, two (both attaching themselves to recensions of the text differing from that preserved), namely:
 - Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, edited, translated, and explained by M. Haug. Bombay 1863 (with which *cf.* Weber, *IST.* 9, 177-380); edited with additions by Th. Aufrecht. Bonn 1879; to this belongs the
 - Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* in five books, the first three translated by M. Müller, *SBE.* 1, 155-268 (*cf.* *ibid.* *Introd.* pp. xci-xcviii), with the
 - Aitareya-Upaniṣad*, ed. by Roer in *BI.*, *cf.* Weber, *IST.* 1, 387-392;

Kauṣītaki- or Çāṅkhâyana-Brahmaṇa (*cf.* Weber, *IST.* 2, 288–315), with the

Kauṣītaki-Âraṇyaka, the third book of which forms the very valuable

Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad; see Weber, *IST.* 1, 392–420; ed. and transl. by Cowell in *BI.*; translated by M. Müller, *SBE.* 1, 269–308; *cf.* *ibid.* *Introd.* pp. xcvi–c.

2. To the Sâma-veda (see the review of the literature by Weber, *IST.* 1, 31–67; for the number of the Brahmaṇas, Weber, *HIL.* 74; *IST.* 4, 375):

Tâṇḍya- or Praudha- or Pancaviṅça-Brahmaṇa, edited in *BI.*; an addition to it is the

Ṣadvinça-Brahmaṇa, the last part of which forms the Adbhuta-Brahmaṇa; edited, translated, and explained by A. Weber, *Zwei vedische Texte über Omina und Portenta.* Berlin 1859 (*Berl. Akad. Abh. Philol.-Histor. Classe* 1858, pp. 313–343).

Chândogya-Brahmaṇa in ten books, of which, up to the present time, only eight are known in Europe, forming the important Chândogya-Upaniṣad; *cf.* A. Weber, *IST.* 1, 254–273; in *BI.* edit. by Röer, translated by Râjendra Lâla Mitra; translated by M. Müller, *SBE.* 1, 1–144, *Introd.* p. lxxxvi f.

Talavakâra- or Jaimintya-Brahmaṇa, only lately discovered in Southern India by Burnell [*see* Whitney, on the Jaimintya-Brahmaṇa. *Am. Or. Soc. Proc.*, May 1883], a part of it having already been long known as the

Talavakâra- or Kena-Upaniṣad, see A. Weber, *IST.* 2, 181–195; ed. and transl. by Röer in *BI.*; translated by M. Müller, *SBE.* 1, 147–156, *cf.* *Introd.* p. lxxxix f. As a part of the same Brahmaṇa appears now the

Ârṣeya-Brahmaṇa, edit. by Burnell, Mangalore 1876 (and 1878 in the Jaimintya text).

The following writings, belonging rather to the Sûtras, are also, but only improperly, called Brahmaṇa:

Sâma-vidhâna-Brahmaṇa, ed. by Burnell, London 1873.

Vaṅça-Brahmaṇa, ed. and comment. by A. Weber, *IST.* 4, 371–386; ed. by Burnell, Mangalore 1873;

Devatâdhyâya-Brahmaṇa, ed. by Burnell, Mangalore 1873; the above-mentioned Ârṣeya-Brahmaṇa and the Sanhitopaniṣad-Brahmaṇa (*IST.* 4, 375); ed. by Burnell, Mangalore 1877.

3. To the Black Yajurveda (Taittirîya-Sanhitâ):

Taittirîya-Brahmaṇa (*cf.* Note 10), edit. by Râjendra Lâla

Mitra, in BI. (the legend of Naciketas concerning existence after death, translated by Muir, OST. 5, 329 f., MTr. 54 ff., 252 ff., M. Müller, OGR. 340 ff.); with the

Taittirya-Āraṇyaka (by the same editor in BI.); with the Taittirya-Upaniṣad, see A. Weber, IST. 2, 210-236.

4. To the White Yajurveda (Vājasaneyi-Sanhitā), the most important of all Brāhmaṇas, the

Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, edited by A. Weber, Berlin 1855 (The White Yajurveda, vol. 2); cf. HIL. 116-139. M. Müller, ASL. 349-360; several legends of general interest (story of the flood, the fountain of youth, punishment after death) are translated in Weber's IStr. 1, 9-30. [Transl. by J. Eggeling, SBE., vol. 12; cf. Whitney, on Eggeling's Translation of the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Am. Journ. of Philol. 3, 390-410], and for the whole work Weber, HIL. 116 ff. This Brāhmaṇa contains in the 14th Book the

Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka, edited by Poley (Upaniṣads, Bonn 1844); edited and translated by Röer in BI. (Yājñavalkya's treatise on immortality is also translated by Müller, ASL. 22 f., OGR. 335 ff.; Muir, MTr. 51 f., 246 f.).

5. To the Atharvaveda:

Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa: Müller, ASL. 445 f., edit. in BI., see Weber, HIL. 150, 151.

15. Magasthenes in Strabo 15, 60, p. 713: Τοὺς δὲ Γαρμῶνας (leg. Σαρμῶνας) τοὺς μὲν ἐντιμοτάτους ἰλοβίουσ φησὶν [ὁ Μεγασθένης] ὀνομάζεσθαι, ζῶντας ἐν ταῖς ἕλαις ἀπὸ φύλλων καὶ καρπῶν ἀγρίων, ἐσθίητος φλοιῶν δενδρείων, ἀφροδισίων χωρὶς καὶ οἶνον τλ.; cf. ibid. ch. 70, p. 719, Weber, HIL. 27 f. — The ἰλόβιοι are the *vānaprasthas* (wood-dwellers). The later development of the ruling priesthood recognizes four stages (*ācrama*) in the life of the Brāhman; first he is a *brahmacārīn* (disciple of a Brāhman), then a *gṛhastha* (married, father of a family), then a *vānaprastha*, and finally a *bhikṣu* or *sannyāsīn* (a beggar living on alms, who has denied the world); more in full *e.g.* in OGR. 350 ff.

16. "Next follow the Āraṇyakas (cf. Müller, ASL. 313-315, 329-339. Ludw. Rv. 3, 33 f.), which, not only by the position which they occupy at the end of the Brāhmanas, but also by their character, seem to be of a later age again. Their object is to show how sacrifices may be performed by people living in the forest, without any of the pomp described in the Brāhmanas and the later Sūtras—by a mere mental effort. The worshipper had only to imagine the sacrifice, to go through it only in his memory, and he thus acquired the same merit as the performer of tedious rites. Lastly come the

Upaniṣads; and what is their object? To show the utter uselessness, nay, the mischievousness, of all ritual performances; to condemn every sacrificial act which has for its motive a desire or hope of reward; to deny, if not the existence, at least, the exceptional and exalted character of the Devas, and to teach that there is no hope of salvation and deliverance, except by the individual Self recognizing the true and universal Self, and finding rest there, where alone rest can be found." M. Müller, OGR. 347 f.

The number of the Upaniṣads is very large; M. Müller's alphabetical index in ZDMG. 19, 137-158, enumerates (1865) 149 of them, while A. Weber, 1875 (HLL. 155, note, cf. JLZ. 1878, p. 81 = IStr. 3, 564) counts 235. For this class of writings, consult the review with extracts in English translation, in Monier Williams, Indian Wisdom, pp. 35-47; P. Regnaud, Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde, 2 vols., Paris 1876 and 1878 (cf. Weber, JLZ. 1878, pp. 81-84 = IStr. 3, 563-576, concerning vol. 1), Deussen, Vedānta (1883), p. 82 f., and M. Müller, The Upanishads (= SBE. vols. 1 and 15). [For the latter, cf. Whitney, Am. Or. Soc. Proc., Oct. 1885.] The first part (1879) contains, besides general and bibliographical introductions, the translation of the above-mentioned

Aitareya-Āraṇyaka and Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad of the Rīgveda,
Chândogya-Upaniṣad, Kena- or Talavakâra-Upaniṣad of the Sâ-
maveda,

and the Vâjasaneyi-Sanhitâ-Upaniṣad or Îçâ- (Îçâvâsya-) Upaniṣad (cf. Note 10, 2), pp. 311-320, Introd. pp. c. ci.

17. Müller, ASL. 72, OGR. 150. — Müller places the Sûtra period between 600 and 200 B.C. (ASL. 244).

18. A well-known mnemonic verse gives the order (e.g. in Müller, ASL. 111):

çikṣâ kalpo vyākaraṇam niruktam chando jyotiṣam.

Of these names for classes of writings some were applied specially to individual treatises of relatively late origin; thus Çikṣâ (edited and translated by Weber, ISt. 4, 375-371), Jyotiṣa (ed., transl., and comment. by A. Weber, Berl. Akad. Abh. Philol.-Hist. Cl. 1862, pp. 1-130: Ueber den Vedakalender Jyotiṣam) and Chandas (ed., transl., and comment. by Weber, ISt. 8, 209 f.). — More recently other Çikṣâs have been discovered; Kielhorn, ISt. 14, 160.

19. Yâska's Nirukta sammt den Nighantavas, herausgegeben und erläutert von R. Roth. Göttingen 1852. [Ed. also in BI.] The *Nighantavas* (sing. *Nighanṭu*) are collections of words placed together (*γλῶσσαι*). Yâska's book is founded on five of these collections (1-3 put synonyms together, 4 contains specially difficult words, and 5 gives

a classification of the Vedic divinities), to which Yāska's *explanation* (nirukti) in 12 books is added (Books 13 and 14 are later). Yāska is himself commentated by Durga (13th cent.).

20. The first account of the Prātiçākhyas was given by Roth, ZLGW. 53 f. Nirukta, Introd. p. xlii f. Their real purpose is shown by Note 78. Of these specially important and interesting works the following have been edited and translated :

The Rig-Prātiçākhyā of Çaunaka, German by M. Müller. Leipzig 1856-1869. French by Ad. Regnier. Paris 1857-1858.

The Taittirīya-Prātiçākhyā, English by Whitney, JAOS. 9, 1-469 (1871).

The Vājasaneyi-Prātiçākhyā of Kātyāyana, German by A. Weber, IST. 4, 65-171, and *ibid.* 177-331.

The Atharva-Prātiçākhyā of Çaunaka, English by Whitney, JAOS. 7, 333-615 (1862), *addenda ibid.* 10, 156-171.

21. The date of Pāṇini is a matter of much dispute; *cf.* Lassen, IA. 1, 864 ff. M. Müller, ASL. 304-310. Whitney, OLSt. 1, 75 f. Benfey, GdSpr. p. 48, 1. A. Weber, *e.g.* IST. 1, 141 f., 4, 87 f., 5, 172. HIL. 217 ff. IStr. 3, 408.

According to G. Bühler, OO. 2, 703, Pāṇini's work is an "improved, completed, and partially rewritten edition" of Çakaṭāyana; *cf.* Bunnell, On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians. London 1875. p. 97 ff. A. Weber, IStr. 3, 414 f. [Pāṇini's Eight Books of Grammatical Sūtras. Ed. with an Eng. transl. and commentary by W. Goontilleke. Bombay 1882 ff.]

22. Benfey, GdSpr. p. 35, 36 (*cf.* Gött. Gel. Anz. 1860, 279 f.), where, pp. 35-100, an excellent survey of Indian grammar is given. [Whitney, The Study of Sanskrit and the Hindu Grammarians. Am. Journ. Philol. 5, 279-297.]

23. Certain of the Vedic teachers and schools did not occupy themselves with the 'revealed texts,' Sanhitā and Brāhmaṇa, but only with the Sūtras (*Sūtracarāṇa*): they created a new systematic presentation of all the requirements of the ritual, a compendium of the whole Kalpa. *E.g.* the Kalpa of Āpastamba (belonging to the Black Yajus), consisting of 30 praçnas, contains in praçna 1-24 the çrauta-regulations, praçna 25 the general regulations of the sacrifice (applying both to public and family sacrifice), praçna 26 and 27 the gr̥hya-regulations, praçna 28 and 29 the dharma-regulations, and praçna 30 the Çulva-sūtras (see Note 26). — "Pāraskara's Gr̥hya-sūtra is closely connected with Kātyāyana's Çrauta-sūtra, and is considered a mere component part of the latter to such an extent that it is often quoted directly under Kātyāyana's name." (Stenzler.)

23 a. Of the Çrauta-sûtras we may mention

1. Belonging to the Rigveda: those of
Âçvalâyana: edit. in BI.
Çânkhyâna.
2. Belonging to the Sâmaveda: those of
Mâçaka.
Lâtyâyana, edit. in BI (Kauthuma school).
Drâhyâyana (belonging to the Rânâyaniya-school).
3. Belonging to the Black Yajurveda (Taitt.-Sanh.): those of
Baudhâyana, Lit. in Weber, HIL. 100 ff.
Âpastamba: Weber, HIL. 100 ff. Bühler, SBE. 2, Introd. p.
xi f., xviii; portions translated by M. Müller, ZDMG. 9, Sup-
plement, p. xliii f. and R. Garbe, ZDMG. 34 (1880), 319-370;
ed. by Garbe, Calcutta 1881 f.
Hiraṇyakeçi,)
the Mânavas,) which have now all been brought to light.
the Bhâradvâjas,)
4. Belonging to the White Yajurveda (Vâj.-Sanh.): those of
Kâtyâyana, edit. by A. Weber. Berlin 1859. (The White Ya-
jurveda, vol. 3.)
5. Belonging to the Atharvaveda:
the Kauçika-sûtra,
the Vaitâna-sûtra, edit. by R. Garbe. London 1878, transl.
and comment. by the same, Strassburg 1878. [Bloomfield, On
the position of the Vaitâna Sûtra. JAOS. 11, 375 ff.]

24. The Gṛhyasûtras, of which only a few have been published, will have the greatest importance for the comparative study of customs: with their aid it will be possible to show that many customs, whether in the life of the classic nations, in the ritual of the Catholic church, or in the common life of the present day, come from primeval times; cf. Stenzler's excellent discussion, "Ueber die Sitte", AfKM. 1865, vol. 4, 147 f. — Some individual points have already been treated, such as

the Birth-ritual by Speijer, De ceremonia apud Indos quae vocatur jâtakarma. Lugd. Bat. 1872;
the Marriage-ritual by Haas and Weber in Ist. 5; cf. Note 317;
the Burial-ritual by M. Müller, ZDMG. 9, Sup.; cf. Roth, ZDMG. 8, 467 f. (above p. 76 f. and Note 326).

Of such Gṛhyasûtras the following are in existence:

1. Belonging to the Rigveda: those of
Âçvalâyana, edit. by Stenzler, Leipzig 1864; transl. by the same, 1865 (AfKM. vol. 3, part 4, and vol. 4, part 1); cf. A.

- Kuhn, KZ. 15, 224 f. and the review of the contents by Mon. Williams in Ind. Wisdom, p. 197-209.
 Çāṅkhâyana; edit. and transl. by H. Oldenberg, Ist. 15, 1-166.
2. Belonging to the Sāmaveda: those of
 Gobhila: edit. in BI. (a late addition edit. and transl. by Bloomfield, ZDMG. 35, 533-537).
3. Belonging to the Black Yajurveda: those of
 Baudhâyana,
 Âpastamba (cf. Note 23 and 23 a, 3).
 Laugakṣi (Bühler, Ist. 14, 403),
 the Mānavas, etc.: Note 23 and 23 a, 3 (J. v. Bradke, ZDMG. 36, 417-477).
4. Belonging to the White Yajurveda: those of
 Pāraskara, edit. by Stenzler. Leipzig 1876, transl. by the same.
 Leipzig 1878 (AfKM. vol. 6, part 2 and 4).
5. Belonging to the Atharvaveda:
 the Kauçika-sûtra (two chapters on expiatory ceremonies have been edited, translated, and commentated by A. Weber: Zwei ved. Texte über Omina und Portenta, Berl. Akad. Abh. Philos.-Hist. Cl. 1858, pp. 344-413). [Bloomfield, on a proposed edition of the Kauçika-Sûtra. Am. Or. Soc. Proc. Oct. 1883.]

25. The Dharma- or Sāmâyâcârîka-sûtras were first distinguished as a special group by Müller, ASL. 206 f.; more detailed information was given by Bühler in the Introd. to West and Bühler, A Digest of Hindu Law, Bombay 1867. Of these Sûtras, I mention those of

- Âpastamba, ed. and transl. by Bühler, Bombay 1868 f., translation in SBE. 2, 1-170; Introd. pp. ix-xliv;
 Gautama, ed. by Stenzler, London 1876, transl. by Bühler in SBE. 2, 173-307; Introd. pp. xlv-lvii;
 Vâsiṣṭha, } translated by Bühler in SBE.;
 Baudhâyana, }
 Viṣṇu, transl. by J. Jolly in SBE. 7, 1-302 (1880) [BI. (NS.) 458 ff.]; Introd. pp. ix-xxxvii; Jolly, Das Dharmasûtra des Vishnu und das Kâthakagr̥hya. Münch. Sitzsber. 1879. II. 1, 22-82.

25 a. The metrical law-book of the 'father of mankind,' Manu (ed. and transl. e.g. by Loiseleur-Deslongchamps, Paris 1830, 1833; new ed. of the text, with Indian commentary, Calcutta 1874). [Translated from the Sanskrit, with an Introduction, by the late A. C. Burnell. Completed and edited by E. W. Hopkins. London (Trübners) 1884. — Whitney, On the origin of the laws of Manu, Am. Or. Soc. Proc. May 1885], is proved to be relatively young by the fact that it

rests on the Sûtras of the Mânava school (*cf.* note 23 a, 3; 24, 3), but its period cannot be more definitely decided. Yājñavalkya's Dharmasāstra (ed. in Sanskrit and German, by Stenzler, Berlin 1849) must, at the earliest, have been composed in the third century A.D. (H. Jacobi, ZDMG. 30, 306). Of Nārada's law-book (not edited) an English translation has been given by J. Jolly, London 1876.

A whole collection of such texts is presented in the Dharmashastrasangraha, ed. by Pandit Jibānanda Vidyāsāgara, 2 parts, Calc. 1876; *cf.* besides Burnell, The Law of Partition and Succession, Mangalore and Basle 1872; Aurel Mayr, Das indische Erbrecht, Wien 1873 (resting on the work of West and Bühler, Note 25); and Jolly's works: Ueber die rechtliche Stellung der Frauen bei den alten Indern, München 1876 (Sitzungsber. der Akad.). Ueber das indische Schuldrecht, München 1877 (Sitzungsber. der Akad.). Ueber die Systematik des indischen Rechts, 1878 (Extract from the Zeitschrift für vgl. Rechtswissenschaft, vol. 1, 234-260; also Bernhöft, Ueber Zweck und Mittel der vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft, *ibid.* vol. 1, 1-38).

26. Purāṇas (like Itihāsa; saying, legend; *īti ha āsa; so it was*) are often mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, but in their present shape — eighteen in number — are all young, and almost all serve sectarian ends in Indian popular religion, since Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Śiva are each extolled in six of them. I mention the

Mārkaṇḍeya-P., ed. and transl. by Banerjea, Calc. 1851 f.; Books 7 and 8 translated by Wortham in JRAS. NS. 13 (1881), 355-379; [Books 81-93 in JRAS. 17 (1885), 221 ff.];

Bhāgavata-P., traduit et publié par Eug. Burnouf, Paris 1840 f.; Viṣṇu-P., ed. Bombay 1867, transl. by H. H. Wilson, London 1840; newly edited by F. E. Hall, 1864-77 [also Madras and Calcutta 1882];

Agni-P., appearing since 1870 in BI.

Portions translated in Muir's MTr. — Weber, HIL. 190 f. Mon. Williams, Ind. Wisdom, pp. 489-501. — Of other Pāriciṣṭas, two only need be mentioned:

The Anukramaṇis: tables of contents which give in order the divinity, composer, and metre of the individual hymns in the Saṁhitā; the contents of the Anukramaṇi of Kātyāyana for the Rig is edited in the editions of the text by Aufrecht (1st ed., vol. 2, 458 f.; 2d ed., vol. 2, 463 f.), and in Müller's large edition, vol. VI. pp. 621-671. An extensive Anukramaṇi is the Bṛhaddevatā of Śaunaka, intended to assign the divinities to their hymns, with strict regard to the order of the Rig-Saṁhitā, but at the same time giving an extraordinarily rich store of legends; see A. Kuhn, in *ISt.* 1, 101-120.

The Caraṇavyūha: a (modern) statement of the schools belonging to each of the four Vedas, ed. by A. Weber, *ISt.* 3, 247-283.

Here should be mentioned (see Note 23) a class of works which have only recently become known, the

Çulva-sûtras, the last part of the Kalpa system, which contains the geometrical specifications for the proper setting up of the altars (cf. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*. Jena 1879, p. 187 f.: *Versuch einer Construction des Opferplatzes nach Baudhâ-yana*). In these oldest mathematical treatises may already be found, according to Thibaut (Trübner's *Amer. and Orient. Lit. Rec.*, special number, London 1874, p. 27 f.), even attempts at squaring the circle. Thibaut began to publish the texts in the monthly journal, *The Pandit*, Benares, in May 1875; cf. his article in the *Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, 1875, pp. 227-275; also, separately, London 1877.

27. For the historical relations see Lassen, IA. 4, 156 f. — All the commentaries bear the names of Mâdhava and Sâyaṇa, according to the custom still existing in India of naming books after those who caused them to be composed and bore the expense. There have been received from that region a number of inscriptions on metal plates, documents relating to royal gifts of villages and lands to learned Brâhmans, who were settled there, most probably, to assist in these and similar works. Roth, ZDMG. 21, 4; cf. A. Weber, IStr. 3, 190 f.

According to Burnell (Introd. to the edition of the *Vañçabrâhmana*), Mâdhava and Sâyaṇa are only different names of the same person, a Telugu Brâhman, who in A.D. 1331 became head of the monastery at Çrngeri, died while holding that position in 1386, and wrote all the commentaries himself; cf. Weber, l.c.

28. So H. H. Wilson in his *Translation of the Rigveda Sanhitâ*. London 1850. 4 vols. edit. by Cowell 1866 (5th and 6th vols. still wanting). 2d ed. 1 vol. 1866.

29. See especially the clear exposition in the preface to vol. 1 of the *Lexicon* (Note 30), pp. iv-vi (1855), and the masterly treatise: *Ueber gelehrte Tradition im Alterthum, besonders in Indien*. ZDMG. 21, 1-9 (1865). Cf. Benfey's deductions, *GdSpr.* p. 46 f. and *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1858, p. 1608 f., with which latter A. Weber agrees, ISt. 5, 174 f. "Such passages, and others of similar character, — and there is a number of them, — should be noticed by those who still consider that Vedic interpretation according to the Indian method is preferable to our own, freeing itself in essentials from the native method. Whoever has carefully studied the Indian interpretations knows that absolutely no continuity of tradition can be assumed between the production of the Vedas and their interpretation by Indian scholars; that on the contrary between the genuine poetical remains of Vedic antiquity and their interpretation a long break must have occurred in the tradition, out of which, at the most, the understanding of a few details

may have been preserved up to later times, through liturgical uses and words, passages, and perhaps also hymns connected with it. Beyond these remains of the tradition, which must be estimated at a very small value, the interpreters of the Veda had almost no other aids than those which are in great part at our own disposal, the usage of the classical language and the grammatical, etymological, lexical investigations. At most they found assistance in matter preserved in dialects; but this advantage is almost entirely outweighed by that which we have at command, the comparison with Zend and with the other languages related to the Sanskrit, which, while it must of course be applied with care and discrimination, has already afforded so much help to a clearer understanding of the Vedas. But independently of all aids in particular cases, through the confusion with which it seeks to comprehend from its own religious standpoint, so many centuries later, the ancient conditions and conceptions completely foreign to it, the Indian interpretation comes to be false throughout its whole spirit; while we, through our knowledge, drawn from analogous conditions, of the life, conceptions, and needs of ancient peoples and of popular poetry, are better equipped for an understanding of the whole; and this superiority, even if the Indians owed much more in details to tradition than they really do, would not be dimmed by their interpretation."

Foot-note on p. 10: Yāska Nir. 1, 15: cf. Note 373.

30. Laid down principally in the Sanskrit Lexicon published by the Petersburg Academy of Sciences, produced by the labors of Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth (with the assistance of A. Weber, H. Kern, A. F. Stenzler, W. D. Whitney, A. Schiefner, and A. Kuhn). 7 vols. large quarto. 1852-1875. At the end of vols. 5 and 7 are additions, which are now included, with later additions and corrections in the "Sanskritwörterbuch in Kürzerer Fassung bearbeitet von Otto Böhtlingk," now publishing (1879 f.), of which Parts 1-5 and 6,¹ (*a-vedha*), have already appeared.

31. Especially John Muir in his article: On the Interpretation of the Veda, extr. from J.R.A.S. NS. vol. 2 (1866), pp. 303-402; cf. Whitney, On the Translation of the Veda. OLSt. 1, 100-132.

32. In opposition to Goldstücker's polemic it may suffice at present to refer to Whitney's Essay mentioned above, and to A. Weber, IStr. 2, 106 f. (cf. Ist. 14, 414 f.); in opposition to Haug (Transactions of the London Oriental Congress. 1877. pp. 213-226 and often; cf. N. 116, foot-note), to Delbrück, JLZ. 1875. p. 152 f., and E. Kuhn, Wissensch. Jahresber. 1877. 1, 92 f. (Leipzig 1880). ["The principles of the 'German school' are the only ones which can ever guide us to a true understanding of the Veda." Whitney, Am. Or. Soc. Proc. Oct. 1867.]

33. *Vedārthayātna*, or an attempt to interpret the Vedas. Bombay 1876 f. The publisher, Shankar Pandurang Pandit, beside the complete Sanhitā- and Pada- text (Note 77), gives three translations, in Sanskrit, in Mahrāthī, and in English (*imgraji*). Similar undertakings in Hindi and Bengālī, without an English translation, are to appear in Benares and Calcutta (E. Kuhn, *Wissensch. Jahresber.* 1877. 1, 94).

34. *Lit. Centralbl.* 1873, Col. 84; *cf.* E. Kuhn, *l.c.* p. 92 f.: "that we have learned to place ourselves on the standpoint of free criticism in opposition to native tradition will always be an undeniable service of the Petersburg Lexicon. But just as certainly that native tradition will continue to be an element which we must regard in our interpretation, and which under some circumstances deserves the same attention as the opinion of a European scholar."

35. I have given a detailed review of the contents of this excellent work in *Jbb.* 121, 433–469, and in connection have referred occasionally to related characteristics among the Greeks and Romans.

36. Whereas formerly Asia, especially the highland of Central Asia, the region of the sources of the Oxus and Yaxartes was in general held to be the original as well as the last home of the Indogermanic people while they were still living together (see the rich literature in Muir, *OST.* 2, 306 f., besides *e.g.* Justi in *Raumer's Histor. Taschenbuch* 1862. p. 333 and 339 f., Höfer in *KZ.* 20, 382–85, etc.), other investigators in later times thought they had grounds for seeking it in Europe,* while others again spoke out decidedly in favor of Asia,† so that the question must still be considered an open one; so now (opposed to his former championship of Asia) Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde* 1, 428. *Ausland* 1871, p. 553 f.; 1872, p. 961 f. *JLZ.* 1878, p. 286; Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*

* Latham in L. Geiger, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Menschheit*, p. 119. Benfey, *Introd. to Fick's Indogerm. Wörterb.*¹ p. ix, and *GdSpr.* 600; the following localities are specially mentioned:

Germany, particularly the middle and west: L. Geiger, *l.c.* p. 118. Th. Poesche, *die Arier.* Jena 1878. pp. 58–74.

Northern Germany and the northwest of France; J. G. Cuno, *Forschungen*, vol. i. (1871) p. 21: *cf.* A. v. Gutschmied in the *Lit. Centralbl.* 1871. p. 1025.

Southeastern Europe (to which the Indog. tribes came from Armenia): F. Müller, *Allg. Ethnographie.*² 1879. p. 86 f.

† Pauli, *Die Benennung des Löwen bei den Indogermanen.* München 1873; *Gerland, JLZ.* 1875. pp. 738, 740;

V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere.*³ *Introd.* viii, and: *Das Salz.* p. 16 (Bolur-Tagh);

O. Peschel, *Völkerkunde.*² p. 544 f. (both slopes of the Caucasus);

The geologist Désor, *Les pierres à écuelles.* Genève, Carey 1878. pp. 33–43, etc.

(N. Y., Scribner 1874), p. 200 f.; Whitney, *Life and Growth of Language* (N. Y., Appleton 1883), p. 194: "Evidences of real weight bearing on the question may possibly yet be found; but certainly none such have been hitherto brought to light"; cf. Hübschmann, *JLZ.* 1876, p. 250, etc.; now especially O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte.* Jena 1883. pp. 117-149. [Brunnhofner, *Ueber den Ursitz der Indogermanen.* Basle 1884.]

37. Skt. *aryà, árya*; old Bactrian (East Iranian, the language of the Avesta), *airya*; old Persian (West Iranian, the language of the inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes), *ariya*, properly, *the truly devoted*, designates in the first place the *people of (their) own race*; then the governing classes, the *rulers*; cf. *Hdt.* 7, 62: οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι . . . ἐκαλέοντο πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι. The word is also found as Ἄριο- in Graecized Iranian proper names, e.g., Ἀριαράμνης = old Pers. Ariyaramna. Moreover, that the Celts (the Irish) in olden times also called themselves Arya, that this group of words still exists in the Celtic (Airem = Aryaman, Erin [gen. Erenn] = Aryana, aire [gen. airech] = áryaka: princeps, primus, airechas: principatus), and that 'Aryan' is a thoroughly justifiable designation for 'Indogermanic,' is proved minutely by H. Zimmer, in *Bezzenberger's Beiträge*, 3, 137-151. [See now especially A. F. Pott on the word in the *Internationale Zeitsch. für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. 2, p. 105 ff., Leipzig 1885.]

38. The older Indian chronology presents great difficulties. The determination of the Vedic period must be deduced from the histories of the various literatures which lie between the hymns and the fixed dates of Buddhism, from the difference in language and in the religious and social views between the former and latter, and can therefore approximate the true period only by centuries.

The estimates in Bunsen, *Aegypten's Stellung in der Weltgeschichte*, V, 4, 5, 211. 225 f., are too high; N. L. Westergaard refrains from any chronological determinations, *Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte mit Rücksicht auf die Literatur*, Breslau 1862, pp. 14, 93; cf. *Ludw. Rv.* 3, 183 f.

Müller, *ASL.* 572, hesitatingly placed the beginning of Vedic literature at 1200 B.C. ("We can do so only under the supposition that during the early periods of the history the growth of the human mind was more luxuriant than in later times, and that the layers of thought were formed less slowly in the primary than in the tertiary ages of the world"), and Whitney, *OLSt.* 1, 78, says concerning this: "To this date no one will deny, at least, the merit of extreme modesty and caution"; similar judgments were expressed by Wilson and Barthélemy St. Hilaire; cf. *Lassen, IA.* 1, 862-874. Müller himself after-

ward called this estimate too low (cf. Rigveda Sanhitâ, vol. IV., Preface, p. viii f.; according to p. lxxviii, Sâyaṇa lived [about 1350 A.D.: see Note 27] “thirty centuries after the rishis”), and then (Chips, 1, 11) named the period from

1500–1200 B.C. as the period of composition of the Vedic hymns; similarly A. Weber, who has repeatedly (e.g. IStr. 1, 6; Ind. Skizzen, pp. 14, 46, 43) placed the migration into the Indus-land in the 16th century B.C., but cf. HIL. p. 2, note 2; Spiegel (e.g. Ausland 1874, p. 31), Duncker, Geschichte des Altert. 3, 24, 5, etc.—The period from

2400–1400 B.C. is considered by Haug as the period of the production of the Vedic hymns (Introd. to the Ait. Brâhm. 1, 47 f.; cf. Die fünf Gâthâ's Zarathustra's, vol. 2, 244).

An estimate which, if we take everything into account, is certainly not too high, and which has the greatest claims to probability, is that of Whitney, OLSt. 1, 21, and elsewhere, of

2000–1500 B.C., the first half of the second thousand years B.C.; cf. his note on Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, ed. Cowell, 1, 124 (“somewhere between 2000 and 1000 B.C.”); and his Life and Growth of Lang. p. 186: “The period of the oldest hymns . . . was probably nearly, or quite, 2000 B.C.”); and in his Sanskrit Gram. 1879, Introd. p. xiii: “It may have been as early as 2000 B.C.” So Benfey (GdSpr. 600: “It can hardly be doubted that the most eastern branch had their abode on the Indus as early as 2000 years before our era”); F. Müller (Allg. Ethnogr.² 1879, p. 512: “Between 2000 and 1500”; cf. p. 88 *** and p. 509), etc.

39. [Geographical location: Vivien de St. Martin, Études sur la géographie du Veda; Ludw. Rv. 3, 197 ff. Zimmer believes the eastern sea was not known (AIL. 27), but we have a trace of it in RV. 10, 136, a late hymn.]

Rivers: after Zimmer, AIL. 32, with p. 16. 6 (RV. 7, 95, 1. 2), and p. 27. Thomas, The Rivers of the Veda, and how the Aryans entered India, JRAS. 14, 4.

Sindhu: the ‘stream’ *κατ’ ἐξοχὴν*. The Greek form Ἰνδός is derived through the Iranian *Hindu*; Pliny, Nat. Hist. 6, 20, 71, knows that *Indus incolis Sindus appellatus*. To the Indus also belongs, for the most part, the designation *sam-udra*, ‘gathering of waters’ (not to the ocean); and in the same way it is the much-praised Sarasvatî (‘rich in water’), not the small, in later times most sacred, stream in Madhyadeça: see Zimmer, pp. 5–10.

Kubhâ: ‘bending,’ *Κωφὴν* or *Κωφῆς* among the Greeks.

Suvâstu: ‘having beautiful places,’ *Σούστρος*.

Krumu and Gomati: ‘rich in cattle,’ not mentioned by the ancients.

Vitastâ: 'stretched out,' Ὑδάσπησ (Ptolemy, Βιδάσπησ), now *Bihat* or *Jihlam*.

Asikni: 'black,' called by the natives at the time of Alexander's arrival *Candrabhâga* ('moon portion'), which name in Greek dress had to assume the ominous form Σανδαροφάγος. It was, therefore, natural that the Macedonian conqueror should re-christen the 'Alexander-devourer,' and he named it, evidently with an intelligent use of the older name, Asikni, the 'Healing': Σανδαροφάγος ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ποταμὸς μετωνομάσθη καὶ ἐκλήθη Ἀκεσίνης (Hesychius. Roth, ZLGW. 139). Alexander's innovation obtained a foothold so that the name displaced by it is known, among all the ancient writers, by Ptolemy alone, 7, 1, 23: Σανδαβάγα (the Mss. wrongly Σανδαβάλ; Pliny, Nat. Hist. 6, 20, 71, *Cantabas*!): the river is now called *Cinâb*: 'gathered water' (cf. Arr. An. 6, 15, 4. Ind. 4, 20).

Paruṣṇi: 'arundinosa,' the later

Irâvati: 'giving drink,' in Arrian (with distinct reference to ὕδωρ), Ὑδραώτης; in Strabo, Ὑραώτης; in Ptolemy, Ῥονάδις, now *Rawi*.

Vipâc, later, Vipâcâ: 'fetterless,' in Arrian, Ὑφασίς; in Pliny, *Hypasis*; in Ptolemy, Βίπασίς, now *Beyah* or *Bias*; the variant Ὑπρασ in Strabo, Diod. and others is wrong, and undoubtedly to be changed.

Çutudri, changed later by popular etymology into Çatadru, 'Hundred-course'; in Ptol., Ζαδάδρης (var. Ζάραδρος), in Pliny, 6, 17, 63, *Sydrus*; Megasthenes must also have mentioned it, for the most complete description of the river-system of those regions, originating with that author, in Arr. Ind. 4, 8 f., comes into proper order only if Ὑδραώτης μὲν ἐν Καμβισθόλοισι καὶ ὁ Ζαδάδρης παρεληφώς κτλ. is read in that passage, as Lassen, IA. 1², 57 f., observes.

Yamunâ: Διάμουννα in Ptol. 7, 1, 29, *Jomanes* in Pliny, corrupted to Ἰωβάρης in Arr. Ind. 8, 5, and elsewhere.

[The Ganges, which in later times became the backbone of India, is not mentioned in the Rig, except 10, 75, 5.]

40. Climate, soil and products of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms: Zimmer, AIL. 40-99; cf. Jbb. 121, 436-442.

41. Dwelling: Zimmer, AIL. 148-156; quotation from p. 153 f.

42. Settlement: Zimmer, AIL. 145-148; certainly correct as opposed to the acceptation, resting upon an etymological anachronism, of "cities" (*pur* is radically identical with πόλις) among Aryans and aborigines.

43. Cattle-raising: Zimmer, AIL. 221-225; 'all good,' etc., RV. 3, 30, 14.

44. Agriculture, chase: Zimmer, AIL. 235-245.

45. Food: Zimmer, AIL. 275–282; quotation from p. 272.

46. Occupations: Zimmer, AIL. 245–260. — The cow as monetary unit (cf. *τεσσαράβοιος, ἐννεάβοιος*): Weber, IStr. 1, 101. — ‘Active tradesmen’ (*vanij vankú*: 5, 45, 6), in Ludw. Rv. 3, 213 f., ‘wandering tradesmen.’ — Usurers: 8, 55, 10. — Mina: *manā*, with the Greeks *μῶν, μῶνία*: 8, 67, 2. — Trade with the west: see Weber, HIL. p. 2 f., Note 2. Ophir also was in India, whence King Solomon got “many hundredweight of gold and silver, sandalwood, precious stones, as well as apes and peacocks”; cf. Jbb. 121, 440 f.

47. Family: Zimmer, AIL. 305–318. Wedding, induction of the wife into the new house, above p. 75 f. ‘Home, darling abode, bliss’ (*ásta yóni suráṇa*): 3, 53, 4, 6. — Morning prayers (*párváhúti*): 1, 122, 2; 10, 86, 10: “From former times the wife comes to the common sacrifice and to the assembly of the feast, she the cherisher of the rite.”

48. Monogamy, Polygamy: Zimmer, AIL. 323–326. — Marriage of blood relations is considered immoral and reprehensible: see 10, 10 (142 ff.). — Adopted children: 7, 4, 7: “That is not (real) posterity which is begotten by another.” — Birth of a girl: AV. 6, 11, 3: “The birth of a girl, grant it elsewhere; here grant a boy.”

49. The right to expose new-born children was possessed by the father among the Indians (exposure is evidenced in the Yajus texts, though not indeed in the RV. and AV.: Weber, ISt. 5, 54. 260. Zimmer, AIL. 319 f.) as well as among the Greeks (Schömann, Griech. Altert. 1⁸, 531. 113. Becker, Charikles 2⁸, 22 ff.), Romans (Marquardt, Privatleben der Römer, 1, p. 3, Note 1, p. 81), and Germans, among which last people, after the birth of a child, the father decided on its life by raising it up from the place where the mother had given birth to it (Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalt. p. 455 f.; Weinhold, Deutsche Frauen, p. 75 f.; Altnord. Leben, p. 260 ff.).

50. Treatment of the Aged: “Among the Germans, when the master of the house was over sixty years old, if the signs of the weakness of age were of such a character that he ‘no longer had the power to walk or stand, and to ride unassisted and unsupported, with collected mind, free will and good sense,’ he was obliged to give over his authority to his son, and to perform menial service; then old men might be made by hard sons and cruel grandsons to expiate painfully the love and gentleness they had neglected in their more powerful days; those who had grown useless and burdensome were even either killed outright, or exposed and abandoned to death by starvation (Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalt. p. 487 ff.; Haupt’s Zeitschrift für Deutsch. Altert. 5, 72; W. Wackernagel, Kleine Schriften,

1, 15-17; Weinhold, *Altnord. Leben*, p. 473 f.). We have to imagine exactly similar conditions among the Indians, when the texts speak of 'the divided possessions of an old father,' and of 'old men exposed' (Zimmer, *AIL.* 326-328), and this the more, because exactly similar things are told by the attendants of Alexander the Great of Iranian tribes,* and even among the Romans there was a period when old men over sixty were thrown down from the bridge into the Tiber." † *Jbb.* 121, 459.

51. Burning of Widows: Zimmer, *AIL.* 328-331; Fleckeisen's *Jbb.* 121, 460; *RV.* 10, 18, 7 (above p. 77) with Note 328. — *AV.* 18, 3, 1 proves the death of the wife with her departed husband as an old custom (*dharma purāṇa*). — But that this custom was not general, other passages beside *RV.* 10, 18, 7 show, which prove the re-marriage of the widow (*AV.* 9, 5, 27, — with her brother-in-law: *RV.* 10, 40, 2: levirate marriage), and that the usage only received decided sanction in late times, is evident from the fact that "the Indian law literature, from the oldest times up to the late period, treats fully of the widow's right of inheritance, and that the isolated references to the burning of widows in some of the law-books endorse it only as a matter of choice." J. Jolly, *Augsb. Allg. Ztg.* 1879, Supplement 199, p. 2914; *cf.* the same in the *Münchener Sitzungsber.* 1876, p. 447 f. [See Colebrooke, *On the Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow*, *Misc. Essays*, 1, p. 133 ff.]

52. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*,⁸ p. 473.

53. Zimmer, *AIL.* 331-336. — Fickleness, etc.: above, p. 85, with Note 351. — Sons of unmarried women: *cf.* 4, 19, 9 (67) and 4, 30, 16 (74). — Fallen women: 2, 29, 1: "Put guilt away far from me, as a woman secretly giving birth" (puts away the child). [Roth, *The Morality of the Veda*, *JAOS.* 3, 331-347.]

54. State: Zimmer, *AIL.* 158-162. *Ludw. Rv.* 3, 248 f. — The Aryan tribes: Zimmer, *AIL.* 119-138. 430 f.; *Ludw. Rv.* 3, 167 f. 204

* Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, p. 472 ff. *Strabo* 11, 11, 3, p. 517, says of the Bactrians: λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ Ὀνησίκριτον, τοὺς ἀπειρηκότας διὰ γῆρας ἢ νόσον ζῶντας περιβάλλεσθαι τρεφομένοις κυσὶν ἐπίτηδες πρὸς τοῦτο, οὓς ἐνταφιαστὰς καλεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ γλώττῃ . . . καταλύσαι δὲ τὸν νόμον Ἀλέξανδρον. — *ibid.* 11, 11, 8, p. 520, of the Caspians: τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη λιμοκτονήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐκτιθέασιν, *ibid.* 11, 8, 6, p. 513 of the Massagetes.

† *Festus* (*cf.* *Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalt.* p. 489, 8; *W. Wackernagel, Kleine Schriften*, 1, 17; Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, above): *deponiani* appellabantur qui sexagenarii de ponte deiciebantur, and *sexagenarios de ponte* olim deiciebant, etc.: *Cic. pro S. Roscio* 35, 100: habeo etiam dicere quem contra morem maiorum minorem LX annis de ponte in Tiberim deiecerit. The matter was repellant to the patriotism of Varro and others, and they tried to argue it away; see *Ossenbrüggen, Introd. to the oration*, pp. 45-58.

f. — Order of battle: Tac. Germ. 7: quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates. Nestor in Hom. II. 2, 362 f.: κρῖν' ἀνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμεμνον, ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγη, φύλα δὲ φύλοις.

55. Government: Zimmer, AIL. 162–177. Ludw. Rv. 3, 249–256.

56. Origin of the Castes: Zimmer, AIL. 185–192, cf. Ludw. Rv. 3, 216–247. Zimmer graphically describes, p. 193–204, the gradual transition to the new hierarchical order, and pp. 204–220 this new form of the state itself. — The four castes are mentioned only in the late verse 10, 90, 12 (Note 375 d). [Muir and Zimmer deny the existence of the caste system in the Veda, while Ludwig asserts it (Rv. 3, 216 ff.). The questions of name and fact should be kept separate. The system is distinctly enunciated only as stated above, but many passages seem to point clearly to its existence, as e.g. 8, 35, 16, 17, 18, where the classes are designated almost certainly: “May the Brahma (potentiality of holiness) prosper . . . may the ksatra (quality of warrior) prosper . . . may the cows (special possession of the Vaiçya) prosper,” etc. Zimmer, treating the subject of caste in connection with the purohitâ (AIL. 195 f.), evidences later conditions as proof of its non-existence in the Vedic period.]

57. Law and administration of justice: Zimmer, AIL. 177–185. — Ordeal (in exactly the same form as among the Greeks): Jbb. 121, 449; cf. E. Schlagintweit, Die Gottesurtheile der Juden. München 1866. — Banishment: *parâ-vrj*, radically identical with Old Sax. *wrekio*, Old High Germ. *reccho*, New High Germ. *Recke*.

58. After 10, 117 (155 f.) and 10, 71, 6 (163).

59. Village assembly (*sabhâ*: related to Germ. *Sippe*): Zimmer, AIL. 172 f. ‘Sift their words’: 10, 71, 2 (162). Dice: 2, 29, 5; 5, 85, 8 (5); 7, 86, 6 (7); 10, 34 (158), above p. 83 f.; Zimmer, AIL. 283 f. (quotation from p. 283), where the little that is known about the arrangement of the game is adduced; cf. Jolly, Augsb. Allg. Ztg. 1879, Supplement 199, p. 2914.

60. Zimmer, AIL. 287 f.

61. Zimmer, AIL. 289 f. The hymn 8, 69 is the prayer of a charioteer for victory before the race.

62. The *Dasyus*: Zimmer, AIL. 101 f.; Ludw. Rv. 3, 207 f.; their tribes: Zimmer, AIL. 118 f. They seem to have been designated *Phallus-worshippers* (*cinadeva*): Ludw. Rv. 3, 212; for the *αστρομοι* and *ἄρπυιες* in Megasthenes: Jbb. 121, 443 f.

63. War, weapons: Zimmer, AIL. 293–301. — In the so-called “Weapon song,” 6, 75, a number of verses in praise of weapons (coat

of mail, bow, bowstring, arrow, etc.) are put together; freely imitated by Muir, OST. 5, 469 f., MTr. p. 195 f.

64. Writing, its use: For the (not consistent) statements of Strabo (after Nearchus and Megasthenes) concerning the use of writing, see A. Weber, *Indische Skizzen*, p. 131 f. — It may now be considered as proved that the Vedic texts were for a long time transmitted orally, and were only at a comparatively late date fixed in a written form (*cf.* Note 76), that the Indian alphabets are of Semitic origin, and that the application of writing to literary uses arose chiefly with Buddhism; *cf.* Benfey, *Indien*. p. 240, *Einleit. in die Gram. der ved. Sprache*. p. 31 (*Gött. Abhandl.* vol. 19. 1874); A. Weber, *IST.* 5, 18 f., *ISTR.* 2, 339 f.; 3, 342. 349 f.; Haug, *Wesen und Wert des ved. Accents*, p. 16 f.; Zimmer, *AIL.* 347 f.

65. Numbers, measures: The highest number fixed is a hundred thousand (*çatâ sahasrâ*); as a common miracle of Indra's and Viṣṇu's the division of the number 1000 by three is praised (6, 69, 8). See Zimmer, *AIL.* 348; for later Vedic time, A. Weber, *ZDMG.* 15, 135 f. = *ISTR.* 1, 95.

The term *sâmi*, half (*sâmi-êmu-semi*: Curtius, *Grdz.* n. 453), as well as the numbers up to 100 (*çatam* = *ê-κατόν* = *centum* = *hundert*: Curtius, *Grdz.* n. 18), are known to have belonged to the original tongue, while for 1000 Asiatics and Greeks on the one hand (*Skt. sahasria*, East Iran. *ha-zanr-a*, Aeol. *χέλλιοι* from *χέσλιοι*, Attic *χίλιοι*), and the Northern Europeans on the other (*Lith. tūkstantis*, old Prussian *tusimtons*, old Slav. *tysaŝta*, Goth. *thusandi*: J. Schmidt, *Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der Idg. Sprachen*. 1872, pp. 40, 52), had a common term, while the Italians and Celts stand alone (*mille, mile*).

66. Zimmer, *AIL.* 357 f.; *cf.* above p. 27 f. with Note 91. — The childish conceptions of the Brâhmaņas: A. Weber, *IST.* 9, 358 f.

67. Zimmer, *AIL.* 349–357. — Pleiades: 1, 24, 10 (above pp. 27. 64) and 10, 82, 2. See the explanation of the statement of Dio Chrysostomos 2, 363 *Emp.* (*τὰς ἄρκτους οὗ φασι φαίνεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς* (*sc. τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς*)) by Weber, *IST.* 2, 165. — Sirius: *Skt. tisya* = old Bact. *tistrya*. — The five planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the frequently mentioned *Nakṣatras* or lunar stations, are known to the youngest portions of the Veda, their names only to the *Taitt. Sanh.* and the *Atharvaveda* (Zimmer, *AIL.* 353–356, with M. Müller and Ludwig, *Nachrichten*, p. 4 = *Rv.* 3, 183 f. in opposition to Weber). The knowledge of the planets as well as of the *Nakṣatras* is (with Weber and Zimmer) not to be held as indigenous in India but as imported from Babylonia. [Whitney, *JAOS.* 8, 72 ff. 382 ff.; *OLSt.* 2, 341–421; note on Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, p. 126 ff.]

—Eclipse of the Sun: 10, 27, 20; *cf.* 5, 40, 5-9 [see Whitney, *Am. Or. Soc. Proc.* Oct. 1885].—Lunar Phases mentioned in 2, 42.

68. Intercalary days, month: Zimmer, AIL. 366 f. The year was regulated, even in the Indo-Germanic period, by the insertion of the "twelve days," or according to the older expression "twelve nights."* (A. Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, Berlin Akad. Abhdl. 1858, p. 388 = *ISt.* 10, 242); mentioned in the *Rigveda*: 4, 33, 7 (122) and 1, 161, 11. 13 (119), *cf.* above p. 37.* The intercalary month "born after" is mentioned in 1, 25, 8, above p. 64 and Note 250.—Division of the year: Zimmer, AIL. 371 f. (*Jbb.* 121, 464). In the Vedic period the threefold division predominates; in later times (*i.e.* in dwelling-places situated more to the southeast) five, six, or seven seasons were distinguished.

69. Medical art: Zimmer, AIL. 374-399.—1, 116, 15 (above p. 50 with Note 180) seems to point to a knowledge of the first elements of surgery.

70. Above p. 66 f.

71. In the manuscripts a purely external, uniform division, originating in the practical necessities of the school, is presented, by which the whole is divided into eighths (*aṣṭaka*), each of these into eight subdivisions (*adhyāya*, lessons), these into sections of about five verses each (*varga*).—This division, formerly used in quoting, has been generally abandoned since Roth, *ZL.G.W.* p. 5 f. brought to light the original division into books (chapters) and hymns (*maṇḍala* [*anuvāka*], *sūkta*).

72. After 8, 48 the Mss. present eleven hymns from another recension (the *Vâlakhilya*), which by Müller and in Aufrecht's second edition are numbered with the others, in Aufrecht's first edition are consigned to the end; there are, besides, a number of scattered "supplements" (*khîla*), which are now collected in Aufrecht's second edition of the text, vol. 2, 672-688.

The *Vâṣkala-çâkhâ* mentioned beside the *Çâkala-çâkhâ* contained further hymns, and seems to stand in closer relations to the *Çâukhâyana* texts (note 14 a, 1; 23 a, 1; 24, 1) and to the *Bṛhaddevata* (Note 26): see Weber, *HIL.* 314 f.

73. Relative age of the separate books: H. Brunnhofer, *Ueber Dialektspuren im vedischen Gebrauche der Infinitivformen*, *KZ.* 25, 329-377, publishes the first very valuable attempt to collect the indications of the Vedic language (especially the uses of the various infinitival formations) in a methodical manner for the determination

* The Indians, like the Germans and other related tribes (*cf. e.g.* Tac. *Germ.* 11 and *Caes. B. G.* 6, 18), in the oldest times reckoned not by days, but by nights: Zimmer, AIL. 360 (*Jbb.* 121, 463).

of the relative age of the various collections of hymns (family books, etc.). He gets the following chronological order of the families of singers:

1. Gautamas: Maṇḍ. 4 (principal poet Vāmadeva).
2. Bhāradvājas: Maṇḍ. 6.
3. Vāsiṣṭhas: Maṇḍ. 7.
4. Âtreyas: Maṇḍ. 5.
5. Vaiçvâmitras: Maṇḍ. 3.
6. Bhârgavas: Maṇḍ. 2 (principal poet Ḡṛtsamada).
7. Ângirasas: portions of Maṇḍ. 1. 8. 9. 10.
8. Kâṇvas: portions of Maṇḍ. 1. 8. 9.

[Lanman, Noun-Inflection, p. 580 (the relative frequency of ancient and modern equivalent grammatical forms as a criterion of the age of different Vedic texts), reaches a different result for Book 8: “. . . The result is, that the family books 2-7 are, in general, of about the same age. . . . As between Books 8, 9, 7, and 10, a rude chronological arrangement may be made. . . . Our result indicates that the eighth is older than the other family Books.”]

The poet's names handed down for books 2-8 may, in general, be correct; yet even here, but especially in the later books, it is evident that many of them have simply been got out of the hymns by ingenuity, of which we have examples enough in other literatures. [E.g. 5, 1 the real author is *Gaviṣṭira*, as appears from v. 12; and the *Anukramaṇi* gives this name, but also gives *Buddha* from *abodhi* v. 1.] — As yet the only copious collections and investigations in Ludw. Rv. 3, 100 f.

74. Arrangement of the hymns in the family books: Müller, ASL. 461 f. — To the critique of the composition after Delbrück, J LZ. 1875, p. 867, Grassman has given the most careful attention in his Translation. In the case of many hymns, whose position indicates their origin from a number of separate, originally independent pieces, this supposition is proved by the variety of metre, or by the occurrence of the separate pieces in the Sāmaveda.

[Diminishing order of verses: violations of the law. Examining the exceptions to the rule in e.g. Book 7, we find

IN ORDER.	HYMNS.	EXCEPTIONS.
Agni-group	1-14	15-17
Indra	18-30	31-33
Viçve devâs	34-54	55
Maruts	56-58	59
Sûrya, Maruts, and Varuṇa	60-65	66
Acvins	67-73	74
Uṣas	75-80	81

i.e. all violations of the law occurring at the *end* of the group. If we assume that the hymns are in their proper places, having originally had a different number of verses, why should these violations not be found in other parts of the groups? The probable explanation is, that the shortest hymns, which stand at the end of each group, were at some time, through whim or misunderstanding, combined. So Grassmann, Delbrück and Oldenberg (*Rigveda Sanhitâ and Sâmavedârcikam. ZDMG. 38, 439-480*).

75. M. Müller, *Chips* 1, 13: "And thus we are brought to 1100 or 1200 B.C. as the earliest time when we may suppose the collection of the Vedic hymns to have been finished"; *ibid.* p. 15: "If, therefore, the years from about 1000 to 800 B.C. are assigned to this collecting age," so ASL. 497, *cf.* Whitney, *OLSt.* 1, 78 f.; on the other hand, Müller, *OGR.* 210. [347: "If we put that collection at about 1000 B.C., we shall not, I believe, expose ourselves to any damaging criticism."]

The sage Vyâsa ('separating, dividing'), whom the Indian tradition names as the collector, is the personification of the whole period and activity of collection.

76. Transmission of the text: *cf.* Whitney, *On the History of the Vedic Texts*, *JAOS.* 4, 245-261; *Ludw. Bv.* 3, 70-99. That the written fixation could not have taken place until a much later period (*cf.* A. Weber, *HIL.* 22, 10) from what has been said, p. 20 and Note 64, is self-evident, *cf.* Roth, *KZ.* 26, 53 f.

Concerning the oral transmission, *cf.* Müller, ASL. 503 f., Westergaard, *Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum ind. Gesch.* pp. 30-51. The method of instruction in the schools is treated (according to the *Prâtîçâkhyas* and *Gṛhyasûtras*) by Weber, *ISt.* 10, 128-135; the statements of the *Rig Prâtîç.* concerning the memorizing method are given by Weber, *l.c.* p. 129, Zimmer, *AIL.* 210 (*Jbb.* 121, 451), and Müller, *OGR.* 160 ff. [see Whitney, *OLSt.* 1, 82-88]. *OGR.* 163-172, is given an interesting account of the present method of Vedic study; *cf.* also Haug's account of the enormous memory of the *Brâhmanas to-day*, in his essay, *Brahma und die Brahmanen*, *Münich* 1871, p. 21, and 47, 17.

The only possible alterations are interpolations; *cf.* Note 79 *b.*

77. It is a peculiarity of the Sanskrit that adjoining words in a sentence are united with each other according to certain laws, by which their initial and final portions are subjected to various changes through assimilation, elision, etc., which naturally cause difficulties in understanding; these it was sought to obviate by fixing the text, not only in the ordinary *connected form (Sankhîâ-pâtha)*, but also in an *unconnected (Pada-pâtha, word-text)*, which gave the separate words as

each originally appeared, independently; thus we have presented to us in the Pada-pāṭha one of the first exegetical works. [Roth, Von Pada und Samhitā, KZ. NS. 6 (26), pp. 45-62.] But soon the two pāṭhas named appeared no longer sufficient; new ones were made, in part very complicated, in order to make every alteration of the sacred text absolutely impossible. Three of these forms of the text may be mentioned:

The *Kramapāṭha* ('step-text') puts each word of the Padapāṭha twice: first, in connection with the preceding words; next, with the succeeding, so that the order *a b c d* gives the Krama members *ab. bc. cd*; the Krama is treated by the Upalekha (ed. Pertsch, Berlin 1854); Roth, ZLGW. 83 f.; Thibaut, Das Jaṭāpaṭala, Leipzig 1870, p. 36 f.

The *Jaṭāpāṭha* ('the woven text') exhibits each Krama member three times, the second time in reversed order: *ab. ba. ab | bc. cb. bc | cd. dc. cd |*; the Jaṭā is treated in the Jaṭāpaṭala, herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Aumerkungen versehen von G. Thibaut, Leipzig 1870.

The *Ghanapāṭha* shows the order: *ab. ba. abc. cba. abc | bc. cb. bcd. dcb. bc | bc. cb. bcd. dcb. bcd |*, etc.; for the Ghana, see Haug, Wesen und Werth des vedischen Accents, Munich 1874, p. 58; Bhandarkar in Müller, OGR. 169 f.

Senseless as such endless repetitions are in themselves, they still have this value for us, that they fix absolutely the wording of the text, and in that, indeed, their purpose is accomplished.

78. It is the Prātiçākayas mentioned above, p. 7 and Note 20, the real purpose of which is to exhibit exactly all alterations, which make a retroversion of the Padapāṭha to the Sanhitāpāṭha necessary. Whitney, JAOS. 4, 259.

79a. Erratic portions are often placed in their connection through conjecture, on account of external accordance of individual similar words, etc.; sometimes a number of other verses of related contents attach themselves to an old hymn as a centre; as examples, with many of which every one familiar with the text is acquainted, cf. 1, 161 (117); 4, 18 (62); 4, 24 (69).—4, 18, 13, from a totally different connection is attached, on account of line *b* (*ná devéṣu vivide marditāram*), to stanza 12, line *c*: *Kás te devó údhi mārḍiká ásid*. In the same manner to 4, 24, 9 (with *avikrito*) is joined 4, 24, 10 (with *kṛiṇāti*), which, by the metre alone, is proved to be foreign: "Who offers me ten cows for this Indra of mine? When he has overcome the enemy he will return him to me." Since this offer—recalling 8, 1, 5: "Not even for a high price would I exchange thee, thou that art armed with sling-stones; not for thousands, not for

myriads (of cows), not for a hundredfold price, thou with hundredfold riches," and Arist. Pax. 848: οὐχ ἄν ἐτι δόιην τῶν θεῶν τριώβολον — is hardly conceivable without an image or some symbol of the god, the verse shows itself to be very young; for images of the gods are foreign to the old Vedic period, as Müller rightly declares (Chips, 1, 37; the inferences of Bollensen, ZDMG. 22, 587 f., are incorrect; cf. Muir, OST. 5, 453 f.); they first appear here and there in the Sûtras (e.g. Pârask. gṛhya 3, 14, 8, and in the Kauçikasûtra, § 105), or in secondary additions to the Brâhmanas, as in the Adbhuta-Br. (Note 14 a, 2), while at the time of Pāṇini (p. 4), Manu and Yājñavalkya they are very frequent. Weber, Omina und Portenta, 337, 367 f., Ist. 5, 149.

b. Interpolations: to support doctrine, e.g. vs. 7-9 of the hymn 4, 50 (108). 10, 97, 22 (175). 10, 107 (Note 349), and the like; the Puruṣasūkta 10, 90 (Note 375 d), which alone in the Rigveda mentions the four castes.

The six verses, 7, 59, 12; 10, 20, 1; 10, 121, 10 (Note 373), and 10, 191, 1-3, appeared to have forced themselves into the Rig-text only after the introduction of the Padapāṭha, and show the Sanhitâ form even in the Pada manuscripts.

80. Benfey, GdSpr. 53, finds it "probable, on many grounds, that among the Vedic tribes the tribe of the Bharatas (cf. 3, 33, 11, 12 (134); above p. 79 and Note 334) was, or became, the most important; that there even was a time when the predominant language of the Vedic hymns was called after them Bhârati."

81. Up to a recent time, the most convenient treatment of Vedic forms was afforded by Th. Benfey, in his Practical Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, 2d ed., London 1868; now W. D. Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, London 1879 (German by H. Zimmer, Leipzig 1879), treats the language of the Sanhitâs and Brâhmanas, as well as the Sanskrit, on the foundation of the texts themselves.

With a view to a Vedic grammar on a large scale, Benfey published a number of preliminary labors (especially in the Göttinger Abhandlungen, Anzeigen und Nachrichten); in addition, the following monographs, relating to Vedic morphology, may be mentioned:

a. The Accentuation first really became known through the Veda, since the post-Vedic texts (above p. 5) are not accented, and the meagre grammatical remains were for a long time the sources of information. "Das Accentuationssystem des altindischen Nominalcompositums" is treated by R. Garbe, KZ. 23, 470-518; the "Accentsetze der Homerischen Nominalcomposita" are described and compared with those of the Veda by Leopold Schröder, KZ. 24, 101-128; Haskell, On the Accentuation of the Vocative case in the Rig- and

Atharva-Vedas, JAOS. 11, 57 ff.; for the verbal accent, *cf.* Note 84. [Whitney, *On the Nature and Designation of the Accent*, Am. Phil. Ass. Trans., vol. 1, p. 20; Bollensen, *Die Betonungssysteme des Rig- und Sâmaveda*, ZDMG, 35, 456 ff.]

b. Word-formation: See the valuable survey of the vocabulary of the Rigveda, arranged according to the ending, the suffixes, in Grassmann's *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, Leipzig 1873, column 1687-1740, and B. Lindner's *Altindische Nominalbildung*, Jena 1878. Whitney, *The Roots, Verb-forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language* (supplement to his grammar), Leipzig 1885.

c. Declension: On Noun-Inflection in the Veda. By Ch. Lanman, New Haven 1880 (JAOS. 10, 325-601).

d. Conjugation: *Das altindische Verbum aus den Hymnen des Rigveda seinem Bau nach dargestellt* von B. Delbrück, Halle 1874 (*cf.* Avery in JAOS. 10, 219-324). Avery, *The Unaugmented Verb-forms of the Rig and Atharva-vedas*. JAOS. 11 (1885), 326-361. [Whitney, *Numerical Results from Indexes of Skt. Tense and Conj. stems*. Am. Or. Soc. Proc. May 1885; *The system of the Skt. verb*. Am. Phil. Ass. Proc. July 1876; Bloomfield, *on Differences of use in Present systems from the same Root in the Veda*. Am. Or. Soc. Proc. Oct. 1882; Whitney, *Derivative Conjugations*, Am. Or. Soc. Proc. May 1878; Lanman, *on Multiform Presents*, Am. Or. Soc. Proc. May 1885, etc.]

To indicate the great wealth of Forms the following fact from the verbal inflection will suffice: While Greek, admittedly the richest in forms of all the European languages, in the finite verb shows 68 forms from the Present stem (Curtius, *Verbum*, vol. 1, 4), here the single root *kr* (make), which is indeed exceptionally far developed, shows within the same limits no less than 336 forms; to these further belong stems of the Perfect (with an augment-tense, the so-called Pluperfect), of the Aorist with *s*, of the Future with *s*, of the Optative with *s*; further, each a Passive, Causative, Desiderative and Intensive stem; and finally as Infinitive, Verbal noun, ten fully declinable Participles and four Infinitives (Delbrück, *l.c.* p. 15); the extraordinary wealth of Infinitive forms is now shown (*cf.* Delbrück, pp. 221-228) most clearly by Brunnhofer, *KZ.* 25, 332 f. (Note 376).

82. Poetry of the old Indo-Germanic period. As was stated in Note 12, A. Kuhn has proved that even the oldest period "had elaborated the contents of charms designed for certain purposes into a settled form and in them possessed a kind of poetry"; concerning the metrical form, the verse of that poetry, Note 85 (after Westphal and Allen) gives fuller information. Further, Heinzel (*Ueber den Stil der altgermanischen Poesie*. Strassburg 1875) has pointed

out that the most essential forms of the poetical style, which are common to the Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon and Old High German poetry, belong also to the Vedic hymns, and indeed his few examples (as Zimmer, *Anzeiger für deutsches Altert.* vol. 2 (1876), 296, observes) may be greatly multiplied. Finally it may be mentioned that according to Scherer (*Anz. f. d. Alt.* vol. 4 (1878), 100) in *brahmán* is contained the common name for poet and priest in the most ancient period: Skt. *brah-mán* = Lat. *flū-men* (Leo Meyer, *Vergleich. Gramm.* 2, 275 f.) = old Norse *brag-r*, *Brag-i* (the god of poetry and eloquence: Grimm, *Myth.* p. 215, 3d ed.); "with the old Norse *brag-na-* in *bragnar* is compared the Greek *βραγ-χο-* for *βραχ-vo-*; the earlier common priest-name was preserved only in the guardians of the oracle at Didyma, the descendants of *Βράγκος*, the *Βραγκίδα*. Cf. also Note 95.

83a. Formulaic expressions and verses repeated with small variations: collections in Aufrecht, *Rigveda*, 2d ed. vol. 2, p. xii-xxvii, Ludw. Rv. 3, 95-99; cf. c of this note.

b. Play on words: e.g. 10, 47, 1: "We grasped thy right hand desiring riches, O Indra, riches-lord of riches" (*vasúyavo, vasupate, vasûnâm*); 4, 25, 4: "the manly (strong) man, manliest of men" (*nare naryâya nrtamâya nrñâm*), and the like very often. Many of these cannot be reproduced in translation; in 6, 24, 4 the poet plays with ambiguous derivatives of the two roots *dâ* give and *dâ* bind (*dâmanvanto, adâmânah, suddâman* [each word may come from each root]); 7, 41 with the various meanings of the word *bhaga*, which is sometimes an appellative (dispenser; share, lot, fortune), sometimes the proper name of a god granting fortune and riches (Note 227); similarly 3, 44 and 10, 96; 2, 18 is a play with numbers; play on the verbal forms and derivatives of the root *su* (*asavit, âsvat, prasâva*) and *Savitâr*: Note 217. Cf. L. Geiger, *Ursprung und Entw. der menschl. Sprache und Vernunft*, vol. 1, p. 120 with p. 401, 4, and p. 129 with p. 407, 18, etc.). [A. Bergaigne, *Les Figures de Rhétorique dans le Rig-Veda*. Paris 1880.]

c. Refrain: cf. e.g. 2, 12 (58 f.), 1-14 always *sá janâsa indrah*, "he is, ye peoples, Indra"; besides 2, 15; 3, 55; 5, 6; 5, 79; 8, 41; 8, 62; 10, 133 and others; in 8, 12; 8, 35 (1, 187, 8-10) and others, each set of three verses, i.e. each strophe has the same refrain; cf. 2, 13. Not seldom such refrains are put by the scholiasts in the wrong place (e.g. all the verses of 9, 112 (167) and 9, 113 (110 f.) have the absolutely foreign refrain, "O Soma, flow forth for Indra"), here and there evidently in order to embrace whole groups of hymns together (especially in Books 2, 7, 8 and 10), by which the original last lines of the hymns may sometimes have been crowded out. The same thing might have happened through the frequent repetition of formu-

laic endings (*galita*, in the Padapátha wanting in the second and following positions, not repeated further) and through the solemn end-verses of the families of singers (e.g. Bk. 7: *yáyam pāta svastibhih sadā nah*, "Ye gods, protect us in lasting well-being").—For the literary significance of these repetitions, see M. Müller, Lit. Centralblatt 1876, p. 1700.

84. Directly upon the knowledge of the Vedas rest the investigations in Comparative Syntax, which Schweizer-Sidler opened in Höfer's *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, vol. 2, 444–456 (1848) with a treatise on the Ablative, and which B. Delbrück especially promoted. The following books may be mentioned here:

a. Case: Delbrück, *Ablativ, Localis, Instrumentalis im Altindischen, Griechischen und Deutschen*. Berlin 1867. Delbrück, *De usu dativi in carminibus Rigvedae*. Halle 1867 (rewritten in KZ. 18, 81–106). Siecke, *De genetivi in lingua Sanscrita, imprimis Vedica usu*. (Dissert.) Berlin 1869. The use of the Ablative in Sanskrit, especially in the Veda, in Kuhn and Schleicher's *Beiträge* 8, 377–421 (1876). H. Wenzel, *Ueber den Instrumentalis im Rigveda*. Tübingen 1879. C. Gaedicke, *Der Accusativ im Veda*. Breslau 1880.—H. Hübschmann, *Zur Casuslehre*. München 1875.

b. Tense and Mode: Delbrück, *Altindische Tempuslehre (Syntaktische Forschungen of Delbrück and Windisch. vol. 2)*. Halle 1877. Delbrück, *Der Gebrauch des Coniunctivi und Optativi im Sanskrit und Griechischen (Synt. Forsch. vol. 1)*. Halle 1871.—L. Meyer, *Griech. Aoriste*. Berlin 1879. Neisser, *Zur vedischen Verballehre*. *Bezenb. Beitr.* 7, 211–241.

[Whitney, *Classification of Aor. Forms*, *Am. Or. Soc. Proc.* Oct. 1884. May 1876; *The sis and sa Aorists*. *Am. Journ. Phil.* 6, 275 ff.; J. Avery, *Modes in Relative Clauses in the Rigveda*. *Am. Or. Soc. Proc.* May 1881. May 1883. Bloomfield, *On Certain Irregular Vedic Subiunctives or Imperatives*. *Am. Journ. Phil.* 5, 16–30, etc.]

c. Infinitive: A. Ludwig, *Der Infinitiv im Veda*. Prag 1871 (in connection Delbrück, KZ. 20, 212–240). Wilhelmi, *De infinitivi linguarum sanscritae, bactricae, persicae, graecae, oscae, umbricae, latinae, goticae forma et usu*. Isenaci 1873. J. Jolly, *Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen*. München 1873.

Verbal Accent: In the Veda the verb of the principal clause is usually enclitic, while that of the dependent is orthotone (cf. Delbrück, *Die Altindische Wortfolge*, *Synt. Forsch.* vol. 3, p. 77); the same treatment, according to J. Wackernagel, KZ. 23, 457–470, was originally usual in Greek, therefore even in the Graeco-Aryan or a

still earlier period. For Greek, Delbrück's *Grundlagen der griechischen Syntax* (Synt. Forsch. vol. 4). Halle 1879.

[Whitney, *Contributions from the Atharvaveda to the theory of Skt. verbal accent*. JAOS. 5, 385-419.]

85. Westphal has shown (*Zur Vergleichenden Metrik der indogermanischen Völker*, KZ. 9, 436-458) that the Indo-Germanic period possessed a kind of poetry the metrical principle of which was the counting of syllables. This syllabic system is found in pure and unmodified form only in the Iranian people, in the metrical portions of the Avesta (see K. Geldner, *Ueber die Metrik des jüngern Avesta*. Tübingen 1877. Pref. p. vi f.). The prosody of the Vedas shows the first advance, the transition from metre depending only on the number of syllables to one based on quantity, in which the beginning still shows the stage of mere syllable-counting, while the ending has attained prosodical fixedness. The latter in the case of the Greeks meets us from the commencement of the literature fully developed and as the first principle of metrical composition (as also the metres of later Indian poetry are altogether quantitative). 'But in one point, even with the Greeks, is shown a remnant of that stage, preceding the perfected prosodical metre, upon which they anciently stood together with the Indians. Among the Indians the first half of the Dimeter is prosodically undefined, among the Greeks the first half of the Dipody, where the trochee may interchange with spondee. The "free base" of the Aeolians may also be referred to this stage' (Westphal). In correction of Westphal, Allen has shown (KZ. 24, 556-592: *Ueber den Ursprung des Homerischen Versmasses*) that "the common ancestors of Germans, Indians and Iranians sang their ballads in a verse which consisted of two sharply separated members, of which each had four ictus and four light syllables; and each member began with a light syllable and closed with an ictus" (p. 567). To this verse Allen further refers the Homeric hexameter and the Italic Saturnian verse.

The Vedic metres are described in the *Anukramaṇi* (Note 26); further details in Westphal, l.c., and Ludw. Rv. 3, 47-69 [Weber, *Metrik der Inder*. ISt. vol. 8. Kuhn, *Aufträge*, vols. 3 and 4. Benfey, *Introd. to the Sāmaveda and Quantitätsverschiedenheiten in Sanh. und Pada Text. der Veden*. Abhandl. Gött. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1875 ff. Bollensen, ZDMG. 22, 569 ff.; 35, 448 ff. Oldenberg, *Altind. Âkhyâna*, ZDMG. 37, 54 ff.; *Rigveda Sanhitâ und Sāmavedarcikam*, ZDMG. 38, 439 ff.; *Âkhyâna-Hymnen im Rigveda*, ZDMG. 39, 52 ff. Haskell, *On the Metres of the Rigveda*, Am. Or. Soc. Proc. May 1881 and May 1882; Lanman, *Catalectic verses of seven syllables*, Am. Or. Soc. Proc. May 1880. — Brunnhofer, *Ueber den Geist der Ind. Lyrik*. Leipzig 1882].

86. Formation of the Strophe: Shown in GKR. (see Introd. p. viii), and in great numbers by Grassmann in his Translation (Note 116); cf. *ibid.* vol. 1, p. 3.

Lyrical Dialogue: See the hymns translated in GKR. *1, 165* (84); *3, 33* (132); *4, 42* (26); *10, 10* (142); *10, 51* (104); *10, 108* (78). [Oldenberg, *Âkhyâna-Hymnen im Rigveda*, ZDMG. 39, 52-90, discusses a number of hymns of this class.]

87. Though the later time regarded the hymns as 'revealed' (above p. 5), the poets themselves say nothing different on the point than as is said elsewhere: "To him Apollo granted the gift of singing, the sweet mouth of songs, etc. (Hom. Od. 8, 44 f., 63 f., 480 f.; 22, 347 f.). Agni is called 'god-given devotion,' 'inventor' (1, 37, 4.—2, 9, 4; 6, 1, 1; 9, 91, 1); from him, who enchains the singer's mind, come gifts of prophecy, prayers and spells: 4, 11, 2. 3. Indra gives the singer songs of devotion: 3, 34, 5; cf. 6, 34, 1. From Varuṇa: 1, 105, 15 in Note 253; 8, 42, 3 in Note 244. Bṛhaspati gives the poet the song heard by the gods: 10, 98, 7. The intoxicated Soma lifts his voice and awakens yearning devotion: 6, 47, 3 (cf. Eur. Bacch. 300 f.); see in general the theory of revelation in Muir, OST. 3, 252 f.

"Giving expression to the emotions of the heart," *10, 71, 8* (163). Chariots, clothing; 5, 29, 15; 10, 39, 14; 4, 16, 20; 1, 61, 4, and often.—6, 21 6 (*yād evā vidmā*); 1, 31, 18 (*çākā vā vidā vā*); cf. 6, 47, 10: "Whatever I speak here, in reverence toward thee, receive it graciously."—P. 25, foot-note: Müller, OGR. p. 157.

88. After Grassman, Transl. vol. 1, p. v f. and M. Müller, Chips, 1, 3. [Otherwise Barth, Religions of India, Pref. p. xiii f.: "In it (the Veda) I recognize a literature that is pre-eminently sacerdotal, and in no sense a popular one. Neither in the language nor in the thought of the Rigveda have I been able to discover that quality of primitive, natural simplicity which so many are fain to see in it," etc.]

89. L. Geiger, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der menschlichen Sprache und Vernunft*. Stuttgart 1868, vol. 1, 119 f.; cf. vol. 2, 339: "The Indians developed their religion to a kind of old-world classicity, which makes it for all time the key of the religious beliefs of all mankind"; and Müller's Origin and Growth of Religion.

90. Aufrecht, *Rigveda*, 2d ed., vol. 2, Pref. p. xvii f.: 1, 62, 9; 1, 180, 3; 2, 40, 2; 4, 3, 9; 6, 17, 6; 6, 44, 24; 6, 72, 4; 8, 78 (89), 7; 32, 25; 3, 30, 14 is added by A. Bergaigne, *Observations sur les Figures de Rhétorique dans le Rigveda*. Paris 1880, p. 21, 5.

91. 4, 13, 5: cf. James Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman* . . . Paris 1877, p. 51: "Les deux peuples sont frappés avant tout de la

fixité de ce ciel et de cette terre dont un si merveilleux équilibre arrête la chute toujours imminente: 'Qui a fixé, s'écrie le poète iranien, qui a fixé la terre et les astres immobiles pour empêcher qu'ils ne croulent?' (Jaçna 43, 4.) Et de l'autre versant de l'Himalaja répond le cri du Rishi védique: 'Oh! puisse, à bas du ciel, ne jamais crouler ce soleil' (RV. 1, 105, 3)"; then 1, 24, 10 und 5, 85, 6 (5)."

92. M. Müller, OGR. 198 ff. — *Ṛta*, the 'world-ordinance,' means first the 'course,' and designates "the course of the stars eternally the same," etc. (cf. Skt. *ṛtu*, season, and the Latin *rātus* in passages like Cic. Tusc. 5, 24, 69: quorum (siderum sc.) *vagi motus rata tamen et certa sui cursus spatia definiant*, and Nat. Deor. 2, 20, 51: *maxime vero sunt admirabiles motus earum quinque stellarum quæ falso vocantur errantes; nihil enim errat quod in omni aeternitate conservat progressus et regressus reliquosque motus constantis et ratos*, so ibid. 2, 37, 95: *in omni aeternitate ratos immutabilisque cursus*); then "the eternally unchanging order, the law in nature as in human life" (cf. Cic. De Sen. 21, 77: *sed credo deos immortalis sparsisse animos in copora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitæ modo atque constantia*, similarly Nat. Deor. 2, 14, 37). — For *ṛta*, Müller, OGR. 243 ff.; Ludw. Rv. 3, 284 f.

93. *Mensch*, O.H.G. *mannisco*, root *man*, *think*. — 10, 68, 10 (cf. 2, 24, 5); 1, 24, 8. 10; — 10, 55, 5 cf. 10, 85, 18 f. in Note 319. — 1, 62, 8; 1, 113, 2. 3 (p. 52 ff.).

94. 8, 75, 5; "The horn of *ṛta* is stretched out far and near; *ṛta* conquers even the mighty fighters." — 8, 28, 4: "As the gods will, so it will happen; this no one can take from them." In 10, 33, 7 ff. the singer speaks consolingly to Upamaçravas, the son of Kuruçravana: "Mark this, my son Upamaçravas, I am the singer of thy father; if I were lord of the immortals, or even of mortals, he who rewards me (*i.e.* thy father Kuruçravana) should live; but no one lives beyond the will of the gods (*ὑπερ αἰσων*), not even if he had a hundred lives; still he would be separated from his companions."

95. Even the Graeco-Aryan period praised the "givers of good things," *dātaraḥ vasuām* = *δωτῆρες ἐάων*; see Benfey, Entstehung des Vocativ. Götting. Abhandh. 1872, vol. 17, 57, n. 58. Fick, Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas, p. 276. As other liturgical formulas, which even at so early a period were peculiar to the poetry (cf. Note 82), we find: *vārâ dhar, ἦρα φέρειν*, show love ('bring the wishes'); *vasu mânas, μένος ἦβ*, good courage; *çrávas ákṣitam, κλέος ἀφθιτον*, imperishable renown, etc.

96. 1, 109, 1: "I looked forth in spirit, seeking good, o Indra and Agni, to relations and kinsmen; but I have no

other helper than you; therefore I have made you a powerful song." 1, 71, 7: "No sustaining aid was visible for us among kinsmen; do thou, O Agni, find assistance for us among the gods."—10, 64, 1. 2 (should *ādīcaḥ* "projects," be read instead of *ā dīcaḥ*, "into the worlds"?).

97. 6, 9, 3 (102) and 10, 55, 5: "Look on the wisdom and greatness of the god (*mahitvādyā* = *mahitvām adyā* with Zimmer, AIL. 349); to-day he dies who breathed yesterday" (p. 28), etc. 1, 103, 5: "Behold this his miracle, and believe in Indra's power." 1, 102, 2 (p. 32, Note 110): "Sun and moon move on, that we may look and believe."

98. 4, 33, 11 (122); 1, 53, 1; 8, 2, 18; 2, 20, 3.—10, 42, 4 f.; 4, 24, 2-5 (69; above p. 43 f.); 10, 49, 1; 10, 160, 4 and often; cf. p. 47 f. and 79 with Note 333.

99. 2, 35, 2 (*kuvid asya védat*), 7, 15, 4 (cf. 8, 43, 24; 8, 44, 6: *agnim iḥe sá u çravat*).—3, 53, 2.—8, 6, 34; 6, 47, 14.—5, 42, 2.—7, 72, 1; 6, 49, 12.—4, 32, 16; 3, 62, 8.

100. 10, 71, 7 (163)—7, 32, 18. 19; 8, 19, 25. 26; 8, 44, 23 cf. 8, 14, 1. 2 and 1, 38, 4-6.

101. 1, 30, 9; 8, 69, 2. 3; 6, 21, 8; 3, 49, 3; 7, 29, 4.—10, 74, 6 (*vāvāna*; *required*, 1st sing. in spite of Delbrück, Altind. Verb. p. 116).

102. 6, 46, 17; 8, 19, 5 (instead of *védena* with Roth, BR. 6, 1357, and Grassman, Dict. and Transl.; with M. Müller, ASL. p. 205, 1 and p. 28, note, and Ludw. Rv. 1, 424 and 3, 18 f.: *vedéna*); 8, 24, 20.

103. 1, 27, 13; 5, 69, 3; 8, 1, 29, etc.—1, 71, 10; 1, 89, 9: "When our sons become fathers,—break not off our life in the midst of its course."—3, 36, 10; 2, 27, 10 (22) and often.—1, 179, 1 cf. 1, 116, 25: "May I, seeing, attaining to long life, enter old age as into my home." (Cf. p. 66 with Note 254.)

104. 10, 63, 16; 6, 51, 15; 6, 24, 10; 7, 1, 19, etc.—6, 22, 10; 6, 33, 3; 10, 69, 6, etc.

105. With this passage 2, 21, 6 used in the house ritual (Pārask. Gṛhyas. 1, 18, 6) cf. the wish of the Greeks in the scholium (Bergk, Poet. Gr. Lyr.^s 3, 1289, 8):

Ἐγχαίνειν μὲν ἀριστον ἀνδρὶ θνατῶ,
 δευτέρου δὲ φῦαν καλὸν γενέσθαι,
 τὸ τρίτον δὲ πλουτεῖν ἀδόλως,
 καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἡβᾶν μετὰ τῶν φίλων.

106. 8, 56, 18; 8, 18, 12; 8, 56, 17 (*pratyántam énasah*: "turning about, returning from sin," repenting and expiating it; cf. Geldner, KZ. 1877, NS. 4 (24), 141 f. for the analogy of this conception in the Avesta.

107. 10, 63, 8; 8, 47, 8.—1, 24, 1; 10, 14, 2; more in detail, p. 68 f. and Note 265-286.

108. Cf. Hom. Il. 1, 37-42 (*εἰ ποτέ τοι . . . ἢ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι — τὸ δέ μοι κρήνην ἐέλδωρ*), Od. 4, 762-765 (*εἰ ποτέ τοι — τῶν νῦν μοι μῆσαι καὶ μοι φίλον ῥία σάωσον*), Virg. Aen. 9, 403 ff., and in general, Peschel, Völkerkunde, p. 281 f., 2d ed.

109. Cf. Weber, HIL. 17 f. and Zimmer, AIL. 191 f.

110. Bṛhaspati: p. 73 f. with Notes 309-315; Note 79 has already referred to the characteristic composition 4, 50, 7-9 (108) and 10, 97, 22 (175); Weber gives the passages of the Brāhmaṇas in IST. 10, 35 f. ("Whatever Brāhmaṇa knows, he has the gods in his power," Vāj.-San. 31, 22); more from the Sanhitās: Zimmer, AIL. 205 f.

111. 1, 102, 2 (Note 97); 8, 21, 14; 1, 55, 5; Hor. Ode 1, 34, 1 f.; cf. p. 46 f. with Note 163 f.

112 a. Dyaus (from *diu, div*, "to shine," p. 28, genet. Divás: Zeus: Διφός, Dyaus-pitar (voc. 6, 51, 5): Ζεῦ πάτερ: Diespiter etc.), named in many single verses, but without appearing in life or playing an important part in hymn or cult. According to Bréal and Benfey this highest god of the ancient period in India especially was displaced by Indra; cf. Muir, OST. 5, 118 f. and Ludw. Rv. 3, 310 f. Cf. now J. v. Bradke, Dyaús Asura, Ahura Mazda und die Asuras, Halle 1885. [Mehlis, Ueber die Bedeutung des homerischen Epitheton's διος, Eisleben 1883.]

b. With Dyaus as Father of Heaven, the Mother Earth Pṛthivi is mentioned in many single verses, and a few later hymns are addressed to the divine pair Dyāvâpṛthivi, in which some of the questions mentioned on p. 87 f. concerning their origin, etc., appear. On Dyāvâpṛthivi, cf. Muir, OST. 5, 20-34 = 00. 3, 450 f.

c. 5, 84 only is addressed to Pṛthivi (GKR. 124; cf. AV. 12, 1, translated by Bruce, JRAS. 1862, vol. 19, 321-337).

d. Of Trita with the appellative Âptya (from *ap*, water: "dwelling in the water") it is said in one passage that he carried on the fight with the demons Vṛtra, Vala, and others, independently, or as comrade of the Maruts and of Vâta; in other passages he is incited to it or assisted by Indra (*e.g.* 1, 187, 1; 1, 52, 5; 5, 86, 1; 10, 99, 6; 5, 54, 2; 8, 7, 24; 10, 64, 3.—10, 8, 8; 10, 48, 2; 2, 11, 19); see Roth in BR. and Grassmann in the Translation *s.v.*—For the relation of Trita (RV. 1, 158, 5: Traitana) Âptya to the Iranian Thraëтана

Athwya, Feridun, and further to *Ἐρωιδ-Ἀθάνα*, see A. Kuhn in Höfer's *Zeitschrift für Wiss. der Sprache* 1, 276-291; Benfey, *Sāmaveda-Gloss. s.v. āptya* and *trīta*; Roth, *ZDMG.* 2, 216-230 (*Die Sage von Feridun in Indien und Iran*); Spiegel, *Avesta-Uebersetzung*, vol. 1, 7; vol. 2, 71; Pott, *KZ.* 4, 429; and especially Benfey, *Götting. Nachricht.* 1868, pp. 36-60; also Myriantheus, *Die Acvin* 1876, *Introd.* p. xvii f.

113. M. Müller, *ASL.* 532, 546; *Chips.* 1, 28 (where 'Kathentheism' is proposed); G. Bühler, *OO.* 1, 227; Muir, *OST.* 5, 6 f. and 12 f. and *OO.* 3, 449; Zimmer, in *ZfDA.* NS. 7 (19), 175; cf. Hillebrandt, *Varuna* and *Mitra*, *Breslau* 1877, p. 105, and Müller, *OGR.* 266, 285, 298 f. — Müller's term, *Henotheism*, has been adopted for the sake of its brevity, though C. P. Tiele (in the notice of the first edition of the present work in the *Theol. Tijdschrift* 1880. *Letterkundig overzicht. Geschiedenis der Indische godsdiensten*, p. 9), "deze geleerde daarme toch mit geheel hetzelfde bedoelt;" cf. *Ludw. Rv.* 3, *Introd.* p. xxvii f., and Muir, *OST.* 5, 412-420. [Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 26. See Whitney, *On the so-called Henotheism of the Veda*, *Ind. Antiq.* May 1881 = *Am. Or. Soc. Proc.* Oct. 1881; his note on Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, p. 110.]

114. *Dual Divinities:* A. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, *Berlin* 1859, p. 161 f.; Hillebrandt, *Varuna* und *Mitra*, p. 98; Müller, *OGR.* 297 f. — The most important are:

Agni-Soma.	Indra-Pūṣan (Note 211).
Indra-Vāyu.	Indra-Viṣṇu (Note 214).
Indra-Agni.	Dyaus and Pṛthivi (Note 112).
Indra-Bṛhaspati.	Soma-Rudra: 6, 74 (116 f.).
Indra-Soma.	Indra-Varuṇa: 7, 82; 7, 83 (29 f.).
Mitra-Varuṇa:	1, 152; 7, 61 (13 f.); Note 226 f., 241.
Viçve devās:	p. 74, with Note 316.

Older and newer gods: 10, 72, 3, in Note 371. Muir, *OST.* 5, 16 f. Systematizing: e.g. according to the three regions; see 1, 139, 11; 3, 9, 9 in Note 117.

Classes of gods: The *Angiras*, above p. 42*; the *Rudriyas*, belonging to Rudra; the *Vasus*, the light, good ones; the *Ādityas*, p. 58 ff.; the *Tritas*, cf. Note 112 d; the *Āptyas*, the dwellers in the water, etc.

Several gods identical: 1, 164, 46, and 10, 114, 5 in Note 374.

Monotheistic conception: p. 89 f. (pantheistic: Aditi 1, 89, 10 in Note 225).

115. Such a presentation of the Vedic mythology, after de Gubernatis' *Lettura sopra la Mitologia vedica.* Firenze 1874, is greatly

to be desired, but presupposes a number of special investigations, which have as yet hardly been begun. Abel Bergaigne's work, *La Religion Védique d'après les Hymnes du Rigveda*, Paris 1878-1883, contains a number of correct remarks and observations on particulars, but, according to our view, is too much dominated by preconceived opinions, and does not even claim to offer such a presentation. The best, most copious and reliable sources are the excellent *Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India, their Religion and Institutions*. Collected, translated, and illustrated by John Muir, especially vols. 4 and 5, from which sketches of various divinities and single hymns are repeated on pages 159-195 of the same editor's *Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers*, London 1879. Monographs will be mentioned in connection with the individual divinities.

116. Concerning the Translation of the Rigveda, it is to be observed: that the 'translation' of Langlois, *Rigveda, ou livre des hymnes, traduit du Sanscrit par Mr. Langlois*. Paris 1848-1859, does not in any manner whatever deserve that title, 'that it must be denied all authority,' has long been accepted among scholars; that in the title: *Deuxième édition, revue, corrigée et augmentée d'un Index analytique par Ph. Ed. Foucaux*. Paris 1872, the honored name of Foucaux has been misused in a very strange fashion is shown by the declaration of that scholar to Weber, *Lit. Centralb.* 1873, 93 f. = *IStr.* 3, 140 f. ("Je n'ai en aucune manière revu le texte français," etc.).

Concerning Wilson's Translation, which in the five volumes published (1850-1866) reaches to RV. 8, 20, cf. p. 9 with Note 28.

Benfey in his periodical *Orient und Occident*, vols. 1-3 (1860-1868) translated RV. 1, 1-118. RV. 1, 119-130 from Benfey's remains in *Bezenb. Btr.* 7, 287-309.

Of the *Rigveda-Sanhita*, translated and explained by F. Max Müller, the first (up to the present the only) volume, London 1869, contains twelve hymns of the first book to the Maruts; then followed

Siebzig Lieder des Rigveda, übersetzt von Karl Geldner und Adolph Kaegi, mit Beiträgen von R. Roth. Tübingen 1875.*

* Detailed reviews are known to me by Delbrück, *JLZ.* 1875, No. 49, Art. 754, by A. Bergaigne, *Rev. crit.* 1875, No. 50, 51 (II, p. 369 f., 385 f.) and by A. Weber, *JLZ.* 1876, Art. 750 = *IStr.* 3, 440 f. — Haug's polemic (*Münchener Sitzungsber.* 1875, ii, 457 f.) may be disregarded (cf. Note 32): concerning the one single passage really treated, RV. 2, 28, 5 (p. 510 n.) a judge who is certainly competent, A. Weber, expresses himself as follows, *JLZ.* 1876, p. 653 = *IStr.* 3, 458: "Bei seiner Polemik gegen die in den *Siebzig Liedern* vorliegende Uebersetzung von *khâm ritasja* durch 'Quelle des frommen Sinnes,' während er es selbst durch 'Wasserquelle' übersetzt, hat Haug leider die schon von

Der Rigveda, zum ersten Male vollständig ins Deutsche übersetzt von Alfred Ludwig, 2 vols. Prag. 1876; in prose, often incomprehensible for the layman, but valuable to the scholar; vol. 3; Die Mantralitteratur und das alte Indien als Einleitung zur Uebersetzung des Rigveda. 1878. [Vols. 4 (1881) and 5 (1883), Commentary to the Translation.]

Rigveda. Übersetzt und mit kritischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen versehen von Hermann Grassmann. 2 vols. Leipzig 1876-77; for the most part metrical, somewhat free and occasionally very much modernized, but as a whole successful. In regard to the last two works, see A. Weber, JLZ. 1876, p. 650 ff. = IStr. 3, 447 ff., and E. Kuhn, Wissensch. Jahresber. 1877, 1, p. 93 f. (Leipzig 1880).

Single hymns, as mentioned in the following notes, have been translated in various places, a great number of course by Muir in the OST.

117. On this threefold division (see Note 118) rest the statements concerning the number of the gods, which say that there are thirty-three of them, eleven in the heavens, eleven on the earth, and eleven in the waters (i.e. the air, in the clouds): 1, 139, 11; further details in OST. 5, 9 f. and Haug, Ait. Brähm. 2, 212, n. 21. At the same time, 'three hundred, three thousand and thirty and nine' gods are also mentioned (3, 9, 9 = 10, 52, 6). "These combinations of three must, even in the most ancient times, have been used of the gods and things relating to them, since we find them also among the Romans, who clung closely to such forms; Livy, 22, 10, where it is reported concerning the expiatory sacrifices instituted after the battle of Trasimenus: *Eius causa ludi magni voti aeris trecentis triginta tribus millibus trecentis triginta tribus triente; praeterea bubus Jovis trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis.*" A. Kuhn, KZ. 13, 135; cf. *ibid.* 15, 223. Wölfflin on this passage of Livy compares the prophecy in Virg. Aen. 1, 265 ff., by which Aeneas is to rule 3 years, Iulus 33 years, and the dominion is to remain in Alba Longa for 300 years, together 333 years to the founding of Rome; cf. Wölfflin on Livy 22, 1, 15. The sacredness of the trinity and its frequent occurrence in popular superstitions up to the present day are well known.

Benfey aufgewiesene Parallele mit dem zendischen *ashahê khâo* nicht im Gedächtnis gehabt, denn er hätte doch wohl Anstand genommen, die scholastische Erklärung von *rita* durch 'Wasser' uns auch für zend. *asha* aufzudrängen!" — In opposition to the orally expressed opinion of Haug, preserved by W. Christ in JLZ. 1877, p. 472, it may suffice to refer to the preface of the Siebenzig Lieder, p. vi and vii, Delbrück, JLZ. 1875, p. 152 f. (cf. E. Kuhn, Wissensch. Jahresber. 1877, 1, p. 92, Leipzig 1880).

118. Roth, ZDMG. 6, 68. This distinction between air and light in Greece, where the poets have however quite remodeled the three-fold division of the world (*διὰ τρία δασμός*, Hom. II. 15, 189 f. : *τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται κτλ.*) shows itself plainly in the separation of the denser lower stratum of air with clouds and mist from 'that eternally gleaming brightness, which was held to be the source of all light and the substance of all heavenly phenomena.' (Preller.) Hom. II. 14, 287 f. : *εἰς ἐλάτην ἀναβὰς περιμήκετον, ἧ τότ' ἐν ἴδῃ μακροτάτη πεφύια δι' ἠέρος αἰθέρ' ἴκανεν.* Lehrs, de Arist. Stud. Hom. pp. 167-175. — Benfey, KZ. 8, 187 f.

119. 10, 66, 9; 2, 4, 3. — Next to Indra, most of the hymns, even if not many of very high poetical value, are addressed to **Agni**, the 'Moving' (probably from *aj*: Lat. *ag-illis*: Slav. *og-nu*: Lith. *ug-nis*; Lat. *ig-nis*); Muir, OST. 5, 199-223; MTr. 183-186; cf. Ludw. Rv. 3, 324 f.; GKR. 100 f.; 1, 143; 6, 9; 10, 51. A. Kuhn, in his well-known work: *Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*, Berlin 1859, treats of the myths named in the title.

120. 3, 1, 3; 2, 1, 3; 2, 9, 3; 3, 9, 4; 2, 12, 3; 1, 60, 1; 1, 93, 6; 1, 143, 2; 1, 128, 2; 3, 9, 5; 3, 5, 10; 1, 58, 6; 2, 4, 2, etc. — To the Bhr̥gus (= Φλεγύαι: Kuhn, l.c. p. 21 f.) themselves are assigned in 10, 46, 9, the preparation, in 10, 46, 2 the discovery of the fire; cf. 1, 143, 4 (100).

121. 6, 3, 4; 2, 4, 4, and many others. The technical verb for the act of getting fire (as an act of producing: Kuhn, l.c. p. 69 f.; on 5, 2, 1-6: A. Hillebrandt, ZDMG. 33, 248-251) is *math*, *manth*, whence the word *pramanth-ana*, which designates the stick by the turning of which fire is rubbed out of the wood; with this *pramanth-ana*, without regard to the suffix, the Greek Προμηθεύς (*Zeus Promantheus* among the Thurians; Lykophr. 537) is identical: Kuhn, l.c. p. 17; J. Schmidt, Vocalismus, 1871, vol. 1, 118.

122. 2, 10, 5; 1, 94, 7; 1, 24, 2; 1, 22, 10; 1, 36, 6. 15, etc. — 7, 2, 1, with 6, 2, 6; 7, 3, 3; 6, 9, 4, etc. — 7, 4, 1; 1, 128, 6; 5, 9, 1; 7, 1, 18, etc. — 1, 74, 6; 2, 36, 4; 5, 4, 4, etc. — 1, 36, 3, 4; 3, 11, 4 with 1, 144, 6; 1, 44, 11; 10, 4, 2, etc.

123. 10, 51 (104 f.); cf. the note GKR. 106 and 10, 52; 3, 9, 4, etc.; 6, 9, 4; 7, 11, 1; 1, 145, 1-5; 10, 2, 1. 3. — 6, 15, 3 (*yajīṣṭha*); 4, 3, 4 (*ṛtacit*, *svādhi*); 5, 3, 9; 1, 1, 1 (*ṛtvij*), etc.

124. 10, 2, 3-5; cf. 4, 1, 4; 4, 12, 4, and others below in Notes 259 and 261. — 7, 9, 2; 10, 87; cf. 7, 104.

125. 6, 1, 5; 1, 189, 2; 10, 87, 22 f.; 3, 18, 1; 7, 5, 6; 1, 59, 1; 1, 69, 4; 4, 4, 4; 3, 1, 18; 7, 5, 3. 6; 1, 59, 2; 7, 6, 5; 10, 69, 6, etc. (*viçam gopati*).

126. 1, 59, 3; 6, 13, 1; 5, 1, 4; 10, 7, 3; 1, 75, 4; 6, 1, 5; 1, 1, 9; 3, 18, 5, etc. (*vaicvânara, gr̥hapati, damânas*, etc.).

Among the Agni-hymns, the ten so-called *Apri-sûktas* are interpolated in our Rigveda, i.e. the songs of invitation (1, 13; 1, 142; 1, 188; 2, 3; 3, 4; 5, 5; 7, 2; 9, 5; 10, 70; 10, 110), which introduce the sacrifices of animals. In these liturgical pieces the fire is invoked under various forms and names; the sacrificial straw, the gates of enclosure of the place of sacrifice, and other personifications of the acts and utensils of the sacrifice, usually to the number of ten, and at the close one or more gods in transmitted order, are called upon; see Roth, *Nirukta*, *Introd.* p. xxxvi f.; *explanations* p. 117 f. 121–124; Müller, *ASL.* 463–466; Weber, *IST.* 10, 89–95; Grassmann, *Transl.* vol. 1, p. 6.

The hymn 3, 8 is addressed to the sacrificial posts (*yûpa*); to the stones used in the pressing of the Soma (*grâvan*), the hymns 10, 76; 10, 94 and 10, 175 (154), and others.

127. The *Ṛbhus*: Nève, *Essai sur le mythe des Ribhavas*, Paris 1847; cf. A. Kuhn, *KZ.* 4, 103 ff., and Mannhardt, *Germanische Mythen.* Forschungen, Berlin 1858.—GKR. 117 f.: 1, 161 and 4, 33.

Three names are mentioned: *Ṛbhū*, the “*adroit, skillful*” (from the root *ṛbh*, German *Arb-eit*); *Vâja*, the “*stirring*”; and *Vibhvan*, the “*capable*,” the *artist*; three seasons; above Note 68. This construction by Ludwig, *Nachrichten*, p. 5 = *Rv.* 3, 187 f.; Zimmer, *AIL.* 366.

128. 3, 60, 2; 1, 20, 8; 1, 161, 6; 3, 60, 1; 4, 36, 4; 1, 110, 4.—4, 36, 1 f.; 1, 20, 3; 1, 111, 1.—4, 33, 8; 1, 161, 6.—1, 20, 4; 1, 161, 9; 4, 33, 10; 1, 20, 2; 3, 60, 2; 4, 35, 5.

129. 4, 36, 3; 4, 33, 2 f.; 1, 111, 1.—1, 20, 4; 1, 110, 8; 1, 161, 7; 4, 35, 5.

130. 1, 110, 2; 4, 33, 7 with 1, 161, 10, 13.

131. 1, 161, 1-5; 4, 33, 5, 6 (cf. 1, 20, 6; 1, 110, 3; 3, 60, 2; 1, 110, 5); 4, 33, 9; 1, 161, 14, 6; 4, 33, 2.—The custom of offering to the *Ṛbhus* at evening (4, 33, 11; 4, 35, 6. 7. 9) the composer of 1, 161, 8 tries to explain by telling that the *Ṛbhus* had neglected the Soma libations at morning and noon, on which account it was preserved for them for the “third libation.”

Tvaṣṭar, the ‘Artist’ not only made the cup of the gods and Indra’s thunderbolt (p. 41 and Note 144), but especially he forms the offspring in the womb of men and beasts (e.g. 10, 10, 5 (143); 10, 184, 1.—1, 142, 10; 2, 3, 9.—7, 34, 20, etc.); so he (as the gods have their hosts, Indra the *Vasus*, Rudra the *Rudriyas*, Varuṇa and Aditi the *Ādityas*) has the wives of the gods (*gnâs, janayas, devânâm*

patnis) for his surroundings (7, 35, 6; 10, 66, 3; 1, 161, 4 (118); 2, 31, 4; 6, 50, 13 (128); 10, 64, 10; cf. Note 148). — Tvaṣṭar also, like Dyaus, Trita and others (Note 112. 142), appears to belong to an earlier race of gods and to have been pushed aside by the later gods.

132. Vata (identical with the Germanic Wuotan: Zimmer, ZfDA. NS. 7 (19), 172, 179 f. Mannhardt, *ibid.* 10 (22), 4) or Vāyu: few hymns; Muir, OST. 5, 143–146, in GKR. 95: 10, 168.

“First . . . to drink the Soma”: *pūrvapā*. With the foot-note St. John 3, 8, cf. Xen. Mem. 4, 3, 14: καὶ ἄνθρωποι αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐχ ὄρωνται, ἃ δὲ ποιοῦσι φανερὰ ἡμῖν ἐστὶ καὶ προσιώντων αὐτῶν αἰσθανόμεθα.

133. Rudra. The name is obscure even to the commentaries, and also to modern scholars (cf. BR. and Grassmann, *s.v.*). Müller, OGR. 216, interprets the ‘Howler,’ the Thunderer; Muir, OST. 4, 299–320 (420); cf. Ludw. Rv. 3, 320 f.; GKR. 90 f.: 2, 33 and 7, 46 (6, 74 to Rudra-Soma). For the identification of Rudra with Agni the hymns give no foundation, but A. Kuhn first recognized, and has frequently insisted on the fact, that Rudra is essentially identical with the Greek Apollo; see J. V. Grohmann, Apollo Smintheus und die Bedeutung der Mäuse in der Mythologie der Indogermanen, Prag 1862, p. 4, 45 f. — Rudra still lives, in part, in the present Hindu Triad of gods as Śiva, cf. Muir, OST. vol. 4.

134. 2, 33, 3; 1, 43, 5; 7, 46, 2; 2, 33, 14, 11 (AV. 11, 2, 19; VS. 16, 9. 52); 7, 46, 1, etc. (Apollo ἐκηβόλος: Grohmann, KZ. 12, 70).

135. 2, 33, 5. 12. 3. Protector of herds: 2, 33, 1; 1, 43, 6. — 2, 33, 13; 1, 114, 2; 7, 46, 3; 1, 114, 5; 1, 43, 4, and 8, 29, 5 (129); 2, 33, 4.

136. The Maruts are at all events no Death-gods; perhaps the ‘Shining’ (μαρ-μαίρω, μαρ-μαρνή, Mars); see Grassman, KZ. 16, 161 f.; Muir, OST. 5, 147–154; twelve hymns from the first book in Müller’s Translation, vol. 1 (Note 116); in GKR. 84 f.: 1, 165, and 7, 57. — *Divó arkās*: 5, 57, 5; cf. 5, 30, 6; 1, 19, 4; 1, 85, 2; 1, 166, 7.

137. 1, 166, 11; 2, 34, 2; 5, 60, 4. — 1, 166, 9. 10; 5, 54, 3. 11; 5, 57, 6, and others.

138. See the beautiful hymn 1, 165 in Roth’s translation, GKR. 84 f. — 5, 57, 1; 8, 7, 27; 5, 55, 6; 5, 57, 3; 2, 34, 3; 1, 87, 4, etc. — 5, 54, 10; 8, 7, 7. 8; 1, 39, 1; 1, 168, 8. — 5, 60, 3; 8, 20, 5; 1, 64, 7; 8, 7, 5; 1, 38, 9; 3, 32, 4; 1, 64, 5, and others.

139. Parjanya: G. Bühler, OO. 1, 214 ff.; Zimmer, ZfDA. NS. 7 (19), 164 f. (cf. AIL. 42 f.), who has proved the identity of the name with Goth. *fairguni*, Norse *Fiörgyn*, and Lith. *Perkuna* (still

the name of the thunder) ; Muir, OST. 5, 140; GKR. 96 f. : 5, 83 and 7, 102. — Parjanya (a great choice of etymologies in Nir. 10, 10) probably stands for Parcanya, from the root *pr-c*, *fill*, and is the designation for the filled rain-cloud" (Grassman, Zimmer).

140. 5, 83, 3. 4. 2. — On 7, 103, which, according to the tradition, is addressed to Parjanya, see p. 81, with Note 342.

141. To Indra are addressed by far most hymns; Muir, OST. 5, 77–139 and MTr. 164–177, *cf.* 318 ff.; Ludw. Rv. 3, 317 f.; Perry, Indra in the Rigveda, JAOS. 11, 117–208. GKR. 58 f.; 2, 12; 4, 18. 19. 24. 30; 7, 28; 10, 108. 119 and 10, 27, 1–4 (p. 71). — The etymology of the name is still obscure; Nir. 10, 8 and Sāyana on 1, 3, 1 (vol. 1, p. 68), guess like modern scholars; Benfey, Sāma Vedagloss. 25, the 'Raining one, Pluvius' (from the root *ind*, *sind*, *syand*: "a name dialectically originated somewhere, and afterward extended with the cult," Benfey, OO. 1, 49); so M. Müller, I.SL. 2, 449; OGR. 218. — Grassman, *s.v.* the 'Shining One' (from *indh*), as formerly Roth (Theol. Jahrbücher 1846. 5, 352*), who, however, in BR. *s. v.* translates 'Bezwinger, Bewältiger, der Vermögende' (from the root *in*, *inv* with suffix *-ra* and epenthetic *d*).

142. Whether the Iranian demon Indra, Añdra, coincides with Indra, must appear very questionable; it is certain that Indra represents a new race of gods (*cf.* p. 33), and that in most of the tribes he surpasses even Varuṇa in popularity, as he does Dyaus, Trita, and Tvaṣṭar; *cf.* above p. 62, Note 242, and Muir, OST. 5, 118–126.

143. OST. 5, 98: "The growth of much of the imagery thus described is perfectly natural, and easily intelligible, particularly to persons who have lived in India, and witnessed the phenomena of the seasons in that country. At the close of the long hot weather, when every one is longing for rain to moisten the earth and cool the atmosphere, it is often extremely tantalizing to see the clouds collecting and floating across the sky day after day, without discharging their contents. And in the early ages, when the Vedic hymns were composed, it was an idea quite in consonance with the other general conceptions which their authors entertained, to imagine that some malignant influence was at work in the atmosphere to prevent the fall of the showers, of which their parched fields stood so much in need. It was but a step further to personify both this hostile power and the beneficent agency by which it was at length overcome. Indra is thus at once a terrible warrior and a gracious friend, a god whose shafts deal destruction to his enemies, while they bring deliverance and prosperity to his worshippers. The phenomena of thunder and lightning almost inevitably suggest the idea of a conflict between opposing forces; even we ourselves, in our more prosaic age, often

speak of the war or strife of the elements. The other appearances of the sky, too, would afford abundant materials for poetical imagery. The worshipper would at one time transform the fantastic shapes of the clouds into the chariots (*cf.* Psalm 104, 3; Isaiah 19, 1; Daniel 7, 13; Matth. 24, 30; 26, 64. Habakuk 3, 8; Bréal, Hercule et Cacus, 171 f.) and horses of his god, and at another time would seem to perceive in their piled-up masses the cities and castles which he was advancing to overthrow." *Cf.* Zimmer, AIL. 42, also Merk, Acht Vorträge über das Pandschab. Bern 1869, pp. 72–89, etc.

144. 1, 52, 10; 8, 85, 7; 4, 8, 11. — 6, 38, 4; 1, 32, 2; 1, 52, 7; 1, 61, 6, etc. (acc. to 10, 105, 7, Mātariçvan prepares the thunderbolt); to the Maruts: see above p. 39 and 7, 165 (84 f.). The young hero, as soon as he is born, demands the Soma from his mother, and greedily drinks the sap, after outwitting Tvaṣṭar (3, 48, 2–4; 3, 32, 9: 4, 18, 3 (64)); or he asks immediately after birth where the renowned champions are, and at once strikes down those that are named to him: 8, 66, 1–3; 8, 45, 4. 5.

145. 3, 34, 3. 6; 6, 22, 6; 1, 32, 7; 3, 30, 8; 1, 52, 15; 1, 80, 5; 3, 32, 4; 5, 32, 5; 5, 30, 6; 1, 32, 5, *cf.* 8, 40, 6; 1, 32, 10. 8 (*mānas* adv., or with BR. "attaining their will"? *Cf.* Grassm. Dict. s. v. *mānas* and Ludw. Rv. 2, 296); 2, 19, 5.

The *Encompasser* is called *āçāyāna* (root *çi: ki: κείσθαι*), a word which, with the Greeks, signifies "the primeval boundary-stream surrounding earth and sea, which, with a deep and mighty flood, like a snake, flows back into itself" (Preller), *āçāyāna* being identical, element for element, with *ὠκεανός* (except the accent; *cf.* Lehrs, De Arist. Stud. Hom. p. 283 f., etc.); Benfey, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1860, p. 222 f.; A. Kuhn, KZ. 9, 247; Leo Meyor, *cf.* Gramm. 1, 334 (in spite of J. Schmidt, Die Wurzel AK in Indogerm. Weimar 1865, p. 40). The word *ὠκεανός* is therefore neither of Semitic origin, nor has it anything at all to do with *Ὠγγύγης* or with *ὠκός* (in spite of W. H. Roscher, Gorgonen. Leipzig 1879, p. 24, Note 37), or with Skt. *augha*.

146. 4, 19, 1. 2; 6, 17, 8; 1, 80, 15, *cf.* 3, 51, 8; 6, 20, 2; 7, 21, 7; 7, 165, 6; 4, 16, 14: Indra clothes himself in the strength of the elephant, and carries the weapons of the terrible lion.

147. 4, 18, 9; 4, 17, 10; 5, 32, 3; 7, 18, 20; 2, 11, 2; 2, 12, 10; 6, 18, 12; 10, 54, 2; 8, 24, 15; 1, 57, 2; 1, 130, 4; 2, 11, 10; 1, 14, 2; 3, 492 (*pr̥thujr̥yā*: Grassm.). — A frequent designation of Indra's weapon, *vadha* or *vadhar* (from root *vadh*), explains the "etymologically obscure" German word *Wetter*, O. H. Germ. *wetar*, A.S. *veder*. "When the Indo-Germanic languages separated, the root contained only the idea of the lightning-stroke. In the German tongues

this was generalized in such a way that the term for the most wonderful and striking atmospheric change was extended to all atmospheric changes." Delbrück, KZ. 16, 266-271. The word is therefore in no way related to *ἀήρ* or *αἰθήρ*.

148. 8, 14, 13; 4, 19, 5; 1, 52, 8, with 1, 7, 3. — 1, 32, 14 ("Whom sawest thou, Indra, as the avenger of Ahi, after thou hadst killed him, when thou hastenedst through the 99 rivers, like a terrified falcon through the air?"); 6, 18, 14; 1, 61, 8; 8, 21, 5; 8, 12, 22 f.; 4, 22, 5.

Wives of Gods (1, 61, 8; 5, 46, 8) play no part in the Rig; they are only mentioned as the surrounding of Tvaṣṭar (Note 131), and the names appear isolated; *Agnâyi*, *Indrâni* (10, 86, 11 in Note 159), *Varuṇâni* in 1, 22, 12; 2, 32, 8; 5, 46, 8; *Rodasi* (the wife of Rudra): 6, 50, 5; 6, 66, 6; 7, 34, 22. *Açvini*: 5, 46, 8 (wife of *Açvin*, as otherwise *Sûryâ* is named; p. 50 and Note 176); for the goddess *Aditi*, Note 225.

149. After 10, 108 (78); then 2, 12, 1; 2, 15, 8; 3, 30, 10; 2, 12, 3; 10, 68, 10; cf. 10, 67, 6: "He brought the Panis to lamentation." *Vala*, "the cave," also personified. — In 7, 19, 5, it is told of Indra that in one day he won ninety-nine strongholds, and in the evening the hundredth.

Saramâ (root *sr*, 90) is, according to A. Kuhn, ZfDA. 6, 117 f., the storm-cloud (differently Müller, LSL. 2, 481 f.). The regular matronymic of *Saramâ* is *Sârameya*, in which Kuhn has found the explanation (in no way refuted) of the Greek messenger of the gods *Ἐρμείας*; on this cf. Benfey, Göttinger Abhandlungen, 1877, vol. 22, 1 f.

In the epithets *vîla* and *dṛdha* (from **dardha*), "firm," of these beleaguered strongholds the stems of **Ἴλιον* (*Ἔλιον*) and *Δαρδανία* have been seen: Oscar Meyer, Quaestiones Homericae. Dissert. Bonn, 1867, p. 10 f.

150. GKR. 76; 3, 30, 4; 2, 12, 4; 1, 53, 1. — 4, 19, 4; 8, 14, 14 (demons stealthily climbing); 2, 12, 12. — 2, 12, 2; 3, 30, 4; 1, 131, 1; 1, 57, 5.

151. 6, 25, 8; cf. 2, 20, 8. — 7, 32, 14; cf. 10, 147, 1; 8, 1, 31. — 10, 138, 3; 4, 16, 13.

152. 4, 25, 6. 7; 1, 83, 6; 10, 160, 3; 6, 23, 3; 10, 42, 4; cf. 3, 32, 14 (corrupt): "I will praise thee before the day of decision, that, when both the armies call upon thee, thou mayest rescue us from need, as upon a ship."

153. GKR. 69; cf. p. 46 f. and Note 164. — 6, 18, 3; 4, 26, 2; 2, 11, 18; 1, 103, 3; 5, 54, 6; cf. 1, 130, 8; 3, 34, 9; 1, 51, 8, etc. — 4, 19, 6; 2, 13, 12; cf. 1, 61, 11; 2, 15, 5.

154. GKR. 66 f.; 2, 13, 12; *cf.* 1, 61, 11; 2, 15, 5. — 1, 174, 9 = 6, 20, 12; 2, 15, 5; **4, 30, 17**; 5, 31, 8; 6, 45, 1. — **4, 30, 3**; 10, 138, 3.

155. 6, 30, 5; 3, 32, 8; 8, 36, 4; 2, 13, 5; **2, 12, 2**; 6, 17, 7 (*cf.* 6, 47, 4: "It is he who measured out the breadths of earth, and formed the heights of heaven; he fixed the sap on the three heights, — Some a fixed the wide air-space"); 10, 89, 4; 10, 138, 6; 3, 32, 8; 10, 89, 2 (read *sūryam* with Grassm.); 4, 17, 14. — 2, 13, 7; 8, 67, 10.

156. 6, 34, 1; 3, 30, 1; 8, 87, 2; 8, 37, 3; 8, 67, 5; 3, 34, 2; 4, 30, 1; *cf.* 8, 21, 13.

157. 10, 54, 3; *cf.* 5, 42, 6; 6, 27, 3. 4. — 6, 30, 1; 1, 61, 8. 9; 10, 89, 11; *cf.* further 1, 52, 14. 11; 2, 16, 3; 3, 32, 11; 3, 36, 4; 7, 23, 3; 8, 6, 15; 8, 59, 5; 8, 83, 12; 1, 81, 5; 8, 77, 5; 1, 55, 1; 1, 81, 5 etc.; 8, 59, 5: "If, Indra, a hundred skies and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor could anything created [nor], the two worlds [even then], when thou wert born."

158. 3, 32, 7 [with Aufrecht in Muir, OST. 4, 102, n. 82, and Benfey, Gött. Abhandl. vol. 19, p. 238]; 6, 30, 1; 3, 30, 5 (*cf.* 1, 33, 9; Isaiah 40, 12); 8, 6, 5; (*cf.* 10, 119, 6-8, 81 f.); 1, 53, 1; 8, 6, 38; *cf.* **4, 30, 2**: "The races of men, all things, roll after thee like wheels."

159. 1, 51, 1; 6, 24, 7; 8, 82, 5; *cf.* 10, 48, 5 (Indra speaks): "Never shall I fall into the hands of Death." 10, 86, 11: "I have heard that among all these females Indrāṅī is the most fortunate; for her husband shall never at any future time die of old age."

160. 3, 32, 9; 7, 20, 1; **4, 30, 23**; *cf.* 1, 165, 9; 6, 24, 5 [otherwise BR. vol. 7, column 1707]; 7, 18, 17 ("He slays the lioness by a ram, and tears the spears? [Ludw.] with a needle;" similar paradoxes 10, 28, 4, 9); *cf.* 8, 52, 6: "In Indra abide all heroic deeds, the accomplished and that are to be done." 10, 49, 3, Indra says: "They praise me for that which is and that which is to be done."

161. 6, 31, 1; 1, 176, 3, *cf.* 6, 45, 8; 3, 46, 2 (8, 1, 2: "Indra, who does both, who puts at enmity and reconciles"); 10, 22, 10.

162. 10, 28, 9; 7, 98, 4; 3, 34, 10; 2, 30, 10; then 5, 34, 3 [quite differently Haug, Die Gāthā's 2, 239]; 7, 98, 4. — 4, 17, 13; 6, 47, 15.

"Now to the front brings one, and now another:" Hes. Op. 6: *ῥεία δ' ἀρίζηλον μινίθει καὶ ἀδηλον ἀέξει, ἢ ῥεία δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει ἢ Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης* (Arist. Lys. 772: τὰ δ' ὑπέρτερα νεότερα θήσει Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης). Hom. Od. 16, 211: *ῥηΐδιον δὲ θεοῖσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὴν ἔχουσι ἢ μὲν κυδῆναι θνητὸν βροτὸν ἢ δὲ κακῶσαι.* *Cf.* besides the beautiful *Fragm. 56* of Archilochos (Bgg.) and Hor. Od. 1, 34, 12: *Valet ima summis mutare et insignem attenuat deus obscura promens.*

“The lord of both the worlds hates all the haughty” (restrainer of the proud: 3, 34, 10): *cf.* Aesch. Pers. 827: Ζεὺς τοι κολάστης τῶν ὑπερκόπων ἄγαν || φρονημάτων ἔπεισιν εὐθύνος βαρῦς, the fate of Karaneus: Aesch. Sept. 427 f.; Soph. Ant. 127 f.;— the μηδὲν ἀσεπτεῖν and the μεγάλοι λόγοι in Soph. Ant., the θεῖον φθονερόν of Hdt. 1, 32; 3, 40; 7, 10, the *dis te minorem*, etc., of Hor. Od. 3, 6, 5, etc.

163. 2, 12, 10; 10, 27, 1 (71) (10, 27, 6: the wheels shall roll over the mockers who have fallen by his arrow), *cf.* 10, 89, 8; 1, 131, 4.—10, 160, 4; 8, 14, 15; 5, 34, 7; 10, 43, 7, Indra says: “I alone vanquish this one enemy; I vanquish two; what can even three do? I destroy many [of them] like sheaves of corn on the threshing-floor. Why do the enemies who regard not Indra revile me?” 4, 25, 6: “The unfriendly he hurls down into the deep” (p. 71 with Note 287).

164. GKR. 71; 1, 84, 8: “He thrusts aside the men who offer no gifts with his foot, like bushes”; 8, 53, 2.

“Turn to the god in day of need”: *cf.* above p. 32, with Note 111, and p. 44 (with 4, 24, 5); Hor. Od. 1, 34, 1 f.

“When they see how fierce the battle rages”: Aesch. Pers. 498 f.: Θεοὺς δὲ τις || τὸ πρὶν νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ, τότε εὐχετο || λιπαῖσι, γαῖαν οὐρανὸν τε προσκυνῶν, etc.

165. 7, 31, 5; 2, 30, 7: “Let me never grow weary, nor lame, nor give over; we will never say, ‘Press no Soma.’” 5, 37, 1; 7, 22, 5; 5, 32, 11, 12.

166. 5, 36, 4; 7, 37, 3; 10, 27, 1 (71); 8, 87, 11; 8, 50, 17; 8, 45, 17: “We call thee from afar to help, for thou art not deaf, but of listening ear”;—7, 20, 1.—*Cf.* 3, 53, 5; 10, 23, 7; 6, 21, 8; 10, 47, 1; 10, 42, 3; 1, 104, 7; 6, 45, 1. 7, and many others. 10, 43, 1, Indra says: “Men call me as a father.” 8, 87, 11: “Thou, o good one, art our father; thou, o mighty one, our mother.” 4, 17, 17:

“Appearing as our friend, do thou defend us,—
The Soma-presser’s comforter and safeguard;
Friend, father thou, most fatherly of fathers,
Who gives the suppliant life, and grants him freedom.”

167. 7, 28, 5; 4, 17, 19; 3, 32, 16; 8, 70, 3; 8, 77 3; 8, 14, 4; *cf.* 5, 34, 5; 8, 82, 11.—7, 37, 6 (*vāsāyasi*).

168. (*Cf.* 4, 23, 1. 2, 5. 6); 2, 12, 5 (“Of whom the doubter asks, ‘where then is Indra?’ and denies that he exists, although so awful”); 6, 18, 3 (“Hast thou now conquered the enemies? Hast thou alone won the land for the Aryan? Is this really thy deed? or is it not? Tell me truly”).

169. 10, 22, 1; cf. 8, 50, 9: "Whether a poet or one who is not a poet sing thy praise."

170. 8, 6, 44; 10, 89, 10: "In labor and pleasure Indra is to be called on."

171. The *Açvins*, as is at once evident, are gods of the breaking day, perhaps of twilight, and, at all events, originally identical with the Greek *Dioskuroi*; but a satisfactory solution of their original signification in all points has not yet been given. See Muir, OST. 5, 234–257, and the monograph, *Die Açvin oder arischen Dioskuren*, by Dr. L. Myriantheus, Munich 1876, well worthy of notice for the significance of the myths. — GKR. 40 f.; 7, 69; 10, 39.

172. In the *Rigveda* the *Açvins* are always adored together (cf. 2, 39, 1–7); their later names, *Dasra* and *Nâsatya*, are here (as adj.) always in the dual; I can recall only one passage where the heroes are thought of as separated, 1, 181, 4: "The one a prince, victorious over heroes; the other, the blessed son of heaven." Cf. Nir. 12, 1 f.; Müller, LSL. 2, 507 ff. — 3, 58, 4; 7, 69, 5; 5, 77, 1. 2.

173. 6, 63, 3 [*uttânâhasta*: *χεῖρας ἀνασχών*: *palmas tendens*]; 6, 63, 1; 3, 39, 3; 7, 67, 1; cf. 10, 39, 1: "Like a father's name men love to call their names."

174. 7, 69, 2. 1. 3; cf. 1, 30, 19. — 4, 36, 1 (with golden bridles: 8, 5, 28; 8, 22, 5); 4, 36, 2; 1, 183, 1; cf. 1, 46, 3.

175. 1, 118, 4; 4, 45, 4; 1, 118, 1; 5, 77, 3; 4, 45, 7; cf. 1, 180, 1; 7, 70, 2; 5, 77, 3; 6, 63, 7; 7, 68, 3; 1, 117, 2; 10, 39, 12; 1, 118, 1; 8, 62, 2.

176. 7, 69, 4 [*pâritakmyâyâm* with Grassmann; cf. especially *aktór vyūṣṭan pâritakmyâyâm*]; 1, 119, 5; 1, 116, 17; 1, 117, 13; 4, 43, 6; 5, 73, 5; 8, 22, 1; 10, 39, 12 (instead of *Sûryâ Açvini*; 5, 46, 8. Note 148); 7, 67, 2; 7, 73, 1; 8, 8, 12; cf. 1, 112, 2: "For your favor weighty, unexhausted acts of help have mounted your chariot, so that it almost seems to give way."

177. 8, 18, 8; Medicines 1, 157, 6. — 1, 112, 8; 8, 5, 23: "To *Kâṇva*, blinded in his house, ye gave sight in delight at his song"; 1, 118, 7; 10, 39, 3; cf. 10, 40, 8. — 1, 180, 5; 10, 39, 4; cf. 1, 118, 3 = 3, 58, 3: "Why else do the old sages call you the speediest helpers in need?"

178. GKR. 43. — *Vimada*: 1, 116, 1 ("on chariot swift as the arrow"); 1, 117, 20; 10, 65, 12. *Puraṁdhi*: 1, 116, 13: "Puraṁdhi called you helpers at the great sacrifice; ye listened to the eunuch's wife as though it were a command, and gave her *Hiraṇyahasta*"

(“Goldhand”); 10, 65, 12, he is called Çyāva (“Brown”); *cf.* 1, 117, 24: “Ye, favoring, gave Hiranyahasta as son to the eunuch’s wife; Çyāva, though twice cut apart, ye raised up to life.”

179. Kali is also (1, 112, 15) mentioned as the protégé of the Açvins.—Vandana, according to this passage, is drawn out of an antelope-pit, into which he had fallen; so 1, 118, 6; according to 1, 116, 11 [where with BR. 3, 539 *riçyadâd* is to be read], and 1, 117, 5, the Açvins bring forth to light for Vandana that which was buried, like him who slumbered in the bosom of Death, and like the sun, which rests in darkness, like beautiful ornaments of gold, *cf.* 1, 117, 12; according to 1, 119, 7, like artists they fashioned a car for the old and feeble Vandana, and miraculously brought forth the singer from the earth.

180. In the contest of Khela the foot of Viçpalâ had been cut off like a wing from a bird; at once the Açvins furnished her an iron leg, so that she could run for the offered prize; 1, 116, 15; 117, 11; 112, 10. Myriantheus, pp. 100–112.

181. 1, 116, 6 (“Pedu with evil steed”); 117, 9; 118, 9; 119, 10; 7, 71, 5.—9, 88, 42.

182. 1, 117, 3; 5, 78, 4; 1, 116, 8; 1, 180, 4; 8, 62, -8; 7, 71, 5: “From the calamity of darkness ye seized Atri”; 6, 50, 10: “As ye released Atri out of great darkness”; 10, 143, 1. 2: “Ye raised the hoary Atri up to walk . . ., ye released Atri . . . in full youthful strength”; for 10, 39, 9, *cf.* Gkr. p. 45, n. 13.—A sunset, under the keeping of the Açvins, the Dioskuroi, who, as mediators between darkness and light, protected Helios. They guarded the evening sky, the glowing fire which surrounds the sun, with refreshing coolness (of evening), with a draught, which seems to point to the evening dew. Sonne, KZ. 10, 331. At morning they overpower the demon of darkness, and lead back the sun to heaven in full beauty.

183. 1, 116, 10; 7, 68, 6; 10, 39, 4: “Cyavâna, who lay like an old cart, ye made young again to walk”; 5, 74, 5: “And made young again, he raised the maiden’s love.” The Sun, gone down and thought to be dead, is brought up by the Açvins in the full vigor of youth and beauty; and becomes the companion, wins the love, of the Dawn. Benfey, OO. 3, 160; Myriantheus, p. 93 f.

184. 1, 112, 5; 1, 116, 24; 1, 117, 4; 10, 39, 9.—For the signification, Benfey, OO. 3, 162. 164; differently Myriantheus, p. 174.

185. 1, 116, 7; 1, 117, 6. The horse’s hoof, as spring or opener of springs, recalls the Ἴππου κρήνη, opened by Pegasus, on Helicon (Strabo, 8, 21, p. 379: τὸν δ’ αὐτὸν φασι καὶ τὴν Ἴππου κρήνην ἀναβα-

λεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἐλικῶνι πλήξαντα τῷ ὄνυχι τὴν ὑπόσαν πετραν; cf. *On. Met.* 5, 256: fama novi fontis . . . dura Medusaei quem praepetis ungula rupit); and in Troezene (*Paus.* 2, 31, 9), *Paus.* 2, 3, 5, tells of a spring specially worth seeing in Corinth: Καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἔπεισι, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οἱ δ' ὀπλῆς ἵππου ρεῖ τοῦ Πηγάσου. *Myriantheus*, p. 149 f.

186. 1, 117, 7; cf. *10, 39, 3*: "For ye bring happiness in love to the old unmarried maid." — *Myriantheus*, p. 95.

187. 1, 116, 14; 1, 117, 16; 1, 112, 8; 1, 118, 8; *10, 39, 13* [in 7, 68, 8, I consider *vṛka* corrupt]. *Vṛka* = wolf = λύκο-ς is the Demon of Darkness; here the Aṅvins destroy him, elsewhere the Sun-god, Apollo λυκοκτόνος. Cf. *Myriantheus*, pp. 78–81, and for the quail (*vartikā*, *Ortygia*), *Müller*, *LSL.* 2, 525 f.

188. 1, 112, 21. — The Aṅvins put a horse's head upon Dadhyanca, with whose bones Indra slew the enemies; thereupon he showed them where they could find the sweetness, i.e., the Soma-draught with *Tvaṣṭar*: 1, 84, 13; 10, 48, 2; 1, 117, 22; 1, 116, 12; 1, 119, 9; 9, 108, 4. *Benfey*, *OO.* 2, 245; *Myriantheus*, p. 142 f.

189. 1, 116, 3; 1, 182, 6; 1, 117, 14. 15; 1, 119, 4; 1, 116, 5. 4; 10, 143, 5: "Bhujyu tossed in the sea on the other side of the air"; 1, 116, 5: "home"; 1, 119, 4: "to the Fathers"; 1, 182, 5: "godward." — 7, 68, 7, instead of *Tugra's*, "evil-minded companions" are named (4, 27, 4, appears to me corrupt). — The "vehicle swift as thought," the "animated ships floating in the atmosphere" (1, 182, 5: "Ye made in the floods that flying ship, endowed with life, for *Tugra's* son"), the "never failing, never tiring, never faltering, winged steeds," 7, 69, 7 recall the verses in *Hom. Od.* 8, 559 f., concerning the (cloud) ships of the Phaeacians: ἀλλ' αὐταὶ ἴσασι νοήματα καὶ φρένας ἀνδρῶν || καὶ πάντων ἴσασι πόλιν καὶ πῖονας ἀγροῦς || ἀνθρώπων, καὶ λαῖτμα τάχισθ' ἀλὸς ἐκπερώσω, || ἥερί καὶ νεφέλη κεκαλυμμένα οὐδέ ποτέ σφιν || οὔτε τι πημανθῆναι ἐπι δέος οὔτ' ἀπολέσθαι. *Vs.* 565 οὔνεκα πομπὸι ἀπήμονές εἰμεν ἀπάντων. *Sonne*, *KZ.* 10, 337. With 1, 182, 7: "What was the tree, standing in the midst of the flood, which the son of *Tugra* seized in his need?" *Sonne*, *KZ.* 15, 109 f., compares *Od.* 12, 103, 431 f.: τῷ δ' ἐν ἐρινεός ἐστι μέγας, φύλλοισι τεθηλώς . . . ἢ μὲν ἀνερροῖβδησε θαλάσσης ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ. || αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ ποτὶ μακρὸν ἐρινεὸν ὑψόσ' ἀερθεῖς || τῷ προσφύς ἐχόμεν ὡς νυκτερίσ κτλ. — For the meaning of this sun-myth, see *Sonne*, *KZ.* 10, 335 f. *Benfey*, *OO.* 3, 159; *Myriantheus*, p. 158 ff.

190. 4, 43, 7; 10, 40, 12. — 1, 116, 1; 1, 181, 7; 1, 180, 5. The Aṅvins, too, are praised for the miracle of the "soft milk in rough cows," above p. 27, with note 90; 1, 180, 3. — 5, 73, 1; 8, 10, 5. 1:

“from front and rear, from above and below; from heaven and earth, from the sea; from plants, houses, from the mountains’ peaks, and from foreign tribes,” 7, 72, 5; 4, 44, 5; 7, 70, 3; 8, 10, 5; 1, 47, 7; *cf.* 1, 182, 3: “What do ye there, why sit ye where the people boasts unsacrificing?”

191. 7, 69, 6 (differently 4, 45, 4); 5, 76, 3. 2.

192. 1, 117, 4; *cf.* 1, 158, 3; 1, 181, 1; 7, 72, 2 (*cf.* 5, 76, 4 and 4, 44, 5: “Let not other devout men hold you fast when your old friends gather around you”); 1, 157, 4 *cd* = 1, 34, 11 *cd*. 1, 116, 25 with 1, 182, 3. 4; 10, 40, 13: “Give him a watering-place, with a good draught, and a resting-place on the journey”; 8, 8, 13; 8, 26, 7; 8, 35, 10 *f.*, etc.

193. *Uṣas*: the “Irradiating.” Muir, *OST.* 5, 181–198; *GKR.* 35 *f.*: 1, 124; 7, 76. —1, 92, 1; 7, 124, 5; 7, 76, 2; 3, 61, 4; 4, 51, 1. 2; 7, 77, 2; 1, 123, 1; Homer: Ἡὼς φαεσίμβροτος— and χρυσόθρονον ἠργυρέειαν || ὤρσεν, ἔν’ ἀνθρώποισι φῶς φέροι.—Max Müller, who traced a very large number of myths to the Dawn (*cf.* *LSL.* 2, 481 *ff.*), says, *l.c.* p. 517: “The dawn, which to us is merely a beautiful sight, was, to the early gazer and thinker, the problem of all problems. It was the unknown land from whence rose every day those bright emblems of a divine power which left in the mind of man the first impression and intimation of another world, of power above, of order and wisdom. What we simply call the sunrise, brought before their eyes every day the riddle of all riddles, the riddle of existence. The days of their life sprang from that dark abyss, which every morning seemed instinct with light and life. Their youth, their manhood, their old age, all were to the Vedic bards the gift of that heavenly mother who appeared bright, young, unchanged, immortal, every morning, while everything else seemed to grow old, to change, and droop, and at last to set, never to return. It was there, in that bright chamber, that, as their poets said, mornings and days were spun, or, under a different image, where mornings and days were nourished (10, 37, 2; 7, 65, 2), where life or time was drawn out (1, 113, 16). It was there that the mortal wished to go, to meet Mitra and Varuṇa. The whole theogony and philosophy of the ancient world centred in the Dawn, the mother of the bright gods, of the sun in his various aspects, of the morn, the day, the spring; herself the brilliant image and visage of immortality.”

194. 1, 113, 3; 1, 123, 7; 6, 49, 3: “One decks herself with stars, with sunlight the other, relieving each other in their mutual courses” [instead of *sūro*, probably *sūrâ* should be read with Grassm. *Dict.* 1630]; 1, 113, 3 (in Note 200); 1, 124, 9. 8 (36); 1, 113, 1; 10, 172, 4; 4, 52, 1.

195. 1, 113, 1; 6, 65, 2; 6, 64, 3: "She drives away the darkness as a heroic defender chases the enemies, like a swift charioteer"; 1, 48, 8; 7, 81, 6; 10, 35, 3. — 10, 35, 2, Uṣas drives away the guilt of sin; 8, 47, 18, the evil dreams. — For the dispute of Uṣas with Indra, **4, 30, 8-11 (73)**; 2, 15, 6; 10, 138, 5, cf. Sonne, KZ. 10, 416 f.; Müller, Chips, 2, 91 f.

196. 7, 81, 1; 7, 75, 1; 1, 92, 4. 11; 1, 48, 15; 1, 113, 4. 14; 4, 52, 5; 1, 92, 12: "Spreading out (her rays) like herds, as the river its waves, she is visible afar."

197. 1, 49, 1. 2; 1, 113, 14; 7, 78, 4; 7, 75, 6; 3, 61, 2; 4, 51, 5. — 1, 124, 11; 5, 80, 3. The steeds or cattle of Uṣas are the light morning-clouds, "bright, shining, as the clear billows of the waters," 6, 64, 1. Theocr. 13, 11: λευκιππος Ἄως 2, 147 f. ἵπποι || Ἄω τὰν ῥοδόπαχυν ἀπ' Ὀκεανοῖο φέρουσαι, etc. Virg.: roseis Aurora quadrigis (bigis). — 6, 64, 4. 1; 6, 65, 5; 5, 80, 1; 7, 79, 1.

198. 4, 51, 3; **1, 124, 10**. — 1, 92, 9; 7, 80, 2; 7, 77, 1; 1, 49, 3; 6, 64, 6 = **1, 124, 12**; 7, 79, 1; 7, 75, 4. With the following verses cf. 1, 48, 5. 6 [where *padám ná vety ódati* is obscure to me]:

"She comes, and all the footed creatures rouses up,
And stirs the birds to fly aloft.
She sends men forth to battle, sends them to their toil . . .
And never in their busy flight the birds seek rest
When shines thy radiance, Bounteous One."

"All the five peoples" (*panca janāsas, kṛṣṭayas*, etc.), originally the five tribes of the Yadus, Turvaṣas, Druhyus, Anus, and Pūrus [1, 108, 8], afterward formulaic for men in general, "the whole world"; see Zimmer, AIL. 119-123.

199. 1, 92, 4; 1, 123, 10; 6, 64, 2; 5, 80, 5. 6; 1, 113, 15; 7, 81, 5; 7, 76, 7; 7, 75, 2.

200. 1, 123, 8. 9; 7, 76, 5; 1, 92, 12; 5, 80, 4 = **1, 124, 3 (35)**; cf. 1, 113, 3, of night and morning:

"The sisters' paths are each alike, and endless,
On them they journey, by the gods instructed;
Unlike in color, but alike in spirit,
They never halt nor strive, steadfast forever."

201. 1, 92, 10; 1, 118, 11: "in the ever renewed light of the Dawn"; 1, 123, 8; 4, 51, 6; 1, 113, 8. 15; **1, 124, 2. 4.**

202. On *svadhābhis* (1, 113, 13) cf. 3, 61, 1, *ānu vratām*, and 1, 113, 10; for the rest on *pāda d*, 4, 51, 6; 3, 61, 1; 1, 123, 2. 8. On 1, 92, 10. 11 (4, 51, 9, *āmitavarṇā*); Bollensen, OO. 2, 463 f., 465. For the

thought, cf. Plut. Consol. ad. Apoll. 15, p. 110, B: γενναίων δὲ καὶ τὸ Λακωνικόν· νῦν ἄμές, πρόσθ' ἄλλοι ἐθάλευον, αὐτίκα δ' ἄλλοι, ὧν ἄμές γενεὰν οὐκέτ' ἐποψόμεθα.

203. *Sûrya*: the "Gleaming, Shining." — Muir, OST. 5, 155–161; GKR. 55 f.: 1, 115; 10, 189 (sunrise) — 1, 115, 2 (55); 10, 37, 1. 9. Minnermus fgm. 12: 'Ἡέλιος δ' ἀμέγαρτ' ἔλαχεν πόνον ἤματα πάντα, || οὐδέποτ' ἄμπαυσις γίγνεται οὐδεμία || ἵπποισιν τε καὶ αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ ῥοδοδάκτυλος 'Ἡὼς || 'Ὀκεανὸν προλιποῦς' οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβῆ.

204. 7, 63, 3. 2; 4, 13, 4; 7, 63, 1: "Sûrya, the fortune-giving, who, like a skin, rolls the darkness together." — 1, 50, 2; 10, 189, 2: "He moves among the hosts of stars, — at his breath they fade."

205. *Sûrya's Mares*: 1, 115, 4. 5; 10, 31, 8; 1, 121, 13; 5, 29, 5; 5, 45, 10; 10, 92, 8 (seven: 1, 50, 8; 4, 13, 3; 7, 66, 5; 7, 60, 3). Horses: 1, 115, 3; 10, 37, 3; 10, 49, 7 (*sarîðra*; 5, 45, 9), cf. Eur. Phoen. 1 f.: ὦ τὴν ἐν ἄστροις οὐρανοῦ τέμνων ὄδῶν καὶ χρυσοκολλήτοισιν ἐμβεβῶς δίφροις Ἥλιε, θοαῖς ἵπποισιν εἰλίσσων φλόγα κτλ. Hom. Hymn. in Solem 9 f. (vs. 14: ἄρσενες ἵπποι), in Merc. 69, in Cer. 88. Soph. Aj. 845: σὺ δ' ὦ τὸν αἰπὴν οὐρανὸν διφρηλατῶν Ἥλιε κτλ. Ar. Nub. 571: Ἥλιος ἵππονώμας. Aesch. fgm. 192 D (186 N.), etc.

206. 1, 50, 2 (*πανόπτῃς ἡλίου κύκλος*. 'Ἡέλιος, ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ, etc.); 10, 35, 8; 4, 1, 17; 5, 45, 9: "Sûrya goes to the field, which spreads out far and wide before him." 5, 45, 10, and 7, 60 4: "The bright flood of light." 7, 60, 2: "The herdsman of all things standing and moving, i.e. the immovable and the movable, of the inanimate and animate, looking upon right and wrong among men." 6, 51, 2; 10, 37, 5. — 1, 115, 4 with 4, 13, 4 (*vihâran tântum*); 1, 115, 5. "Dome" = "vault, arch of heaven," often.

207. 1, 115, 1 ("the moving and standing," see 7, 60, 2, in the preceding note); 5, 27, 6; 7, 63, 1. Matth. 5, 45: τὸν ἡλίον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους. — 1, 50, 4. 2; 10, 170, 3; 4, 13, 2 (spoken of Mitra-Varuṇa, as usually; see above p. 59); 7, 83, 2; 7, 66, 2: "The bright eye, placed by the gods." Cf. p. 59 with Note 224.

208. Hillebrant rightly observes, Varuna und Mitra, p. 45: "To infer from the name that they were all personifications of various attributes of the sun, seems suspicious to me, in so far as we look upon it as a production of the Vedic poets themselves; for some, we may rather ask whether they were not originally sun-gods of different tribes, who gave them names as they appealed to their fancy; whether, then, in the consolidation of single tribes, the cults were not also brought over," etc.

209. Pūṣan: Muir, OST. 5, 171-180; GKR. 51 f.: 1, 42. — 4, 3, 7; 8, 4, 15; 1, 89, 6; 6, 58, 4; 10, 26, 7: "The strong lord of refreshing, the strong friend of nourishing"; 1, 42, 8; *cf.* 10, 139, 2; 1, 42, 6. 9 (51): "Give richly, and with open hand"; 1, 89, 5: "We call him, that he may be a true defender and guardian for the increase of wealth"; 8, 4, 17. 18; 8, 29, 6; 6, 48, 15; 6, 54, 8; 6, 53, 3-6; 6, 56, 6:

" We pray to thee for happiness
From trouble free, in treasures rich;
For full prosperity to-day,
And for to-morrow highest good."

210. 10, 139, 2. 1 with 1, 23, 14 (*āghrni*, often), and 10, 17, 3; 2, 40, 5; 3, 62, 9. — Goats; 6, 58, 2; 6, 53, 9. — 1, 89, 5; 10, 26, 6 (*cf.* Zimmer, AIL. 229); 6, 54, 5-7. — 10, 17, 3: "The world-herdsman, who loses no cattle"; 6, 54, 10: "Pūṣan shall stretch his right hand far; he shall drive back the lost"; 1, 23, 13. — Pūṣan is drawn (like the Scandinavian Thōrr), not by horses, but by goats: 6, 57, 3; 6, 55, 6. 4. 3; 6, 58, 2; 10, 26, 8; only in 6, 58, 3 are "golden ships, which move upon the sea and in the air, with which Pūṣan does messenger's service for Sūrya," spoken of [instead of *dutyām*, *dutyām* ought probably to be read; so also Ludw. Rv. 1, 157]. — Pūṣan does not care for the Soma, but for the preparation of barley: 6, 57, 2.

Do the passages 6, 56, 1; 1, 138, 4; 1, 42, 10,

Who mockingly of Pūṣan says:
' Behold the gruel-eater there!'
His jeers the god will not endure. —
For I do not disdain thee, Pūṣan, glowing god;
Thy friendship I do not reject. —
The god from us no chiding hears;
We bring him praise in pleasing songs,
The Helper we implore for wealth,

indicate mockery on the part of certain tribes towards those with other cults?

211. 6, 49, 8 (6, 53, 1: "Companion on the journey," Vāj.-Sanh.); 1, 42, 7. 1. 2-4; 10, 17, 5; 6, 54, 1. 2:

Bring us, o Pūṣan, to a man
Who, wise, at once shall point the way,
And say to us, " Lo, here it is."

With Pūṣan joined let us go forth,
Who points the houses out to us,
And says to us: " Lo, here they are."

9, 67, 10. — Pūṣan also aids in battle, 10, 139, 3, and so becomes Indra's comrade, 6, 57, 4; brings the seasons, 1, 23, 14. 15.

212. 10, 17, 3-6; 10, 59, 71 (Ath.-Sanh. 16, 9, 2; 18, 2, 53); so Pûsan ψυχοπομπός; cf. Notes 221 and 272.

213. Viṣṇu is the only Vedic god whose name has been preserved in the Hindu triad of divinities, while in the Veda he does not play an important part; Muir, OST. 4, 63-298; GKR. 53 f.: 1, 154.— 1, 154, 3; 1, 22, 16 f.; 1, 155, 4; 6, 49, 13; 7, 100, 1. 3; 8, 29, 7; 1, 154, 1; 7, 99, 2. 3. The steps: rising, highest point, and setting of the sun.

214. 7, 99, 3; 7, 100, 4, with 1, 154, 2; 6, 69, 5: "Indra and Viṣṇu, ye made the atmosphere wide, and stretched out the worlds for our existence."— Viṣṇu, more often than Pûsan, is named as the ally of Indra: 1, 22, 19; 1, 156, 4. 5; 4, 18, 11 (63); 8, 89, 12; 6, 20, 2; 7, 97, 4 f.; cf. 6, 69, 8 in Note 65.—The epithet *çipiviṣṭa* is quite obscure in 7, 99, 7; 7, 100, 5: verse 6:

"What was to be descried in thee [Muir, what hadst thou to blame], o Viṣṇu, when thou declaredst, 'I am Çipiviṣṭa'? Do not conceal from us this thy beauty (disguise?), when in battle thou assumest another form."

[Çipiviṣṭa: Ludwig ad. loc. renders "bald-headed" (Rv. 1, 162); see his note, Rv. 4, 153, and Muir, OST. 4, 87 f.]

215. 7, 99, 1 with 1, 155, 5. 4.—1, 22, 20; 1, 154, 5; cf. 10, 177, 1: "Sages behold with heart and mind the bird adorned by the power of the Asura," i.e. the sun pictured as a bird; see 10, 72, 8 in Note 226, and 10, 149, 3 in Note 370.

216. Savitar (from root *su, sù*; Pres. *suwati*; Aor. *ásavit*): Muir, OST. 5, 162-170; GKR. 46 f.: 2, 38; 5, 81.—Savitar and Sûrya: cf. e.g. 4, 14, 2: "God Savitar raised his banner high, providing light for all the world; Sûrya has filled the earth and heaven, and the wide realm of air with beams." 10, 158, 1: "Sûrya protect us from heaven . . ."; v. 2: "Rejoice (?), o Savitar . . ."; v. 3: "Savitar, give us . . ."; v. 4: "We would see thee, o Sûrya . . ."; 1, 35, 1-11; 7, 63, 1 f.

217. E.g. 1, 157, 1: "Savitar enlightened (*prâsavit*) the world"; 1, 110, 3: "Savitar has awakened (*âsuwat*) immortality"; 3, 33, 6: "God Savitar has led us with beauteous hands, at whose impulse (*prasavê*) we flow"; 5, 82, 4: "Send (*sâviḥ*) us to-day, god Savitar, the blessing with children; drive away (*parâsuwa*) evil dreams" [10, 27, 4, *apa-suwa*, of Sûrya]; 2, 38, 1 (46): "The divine inciter comes to arouse" (*devaḥ savitâ savâya*); numerous other examples in Muir, OST. 5, 165-168.

218. 5, 81, 4 (49), to Savitar: "Thou gladdenest thyself in Sûrya's beams"; 7, 63, 3: "This god (*sc.* Sûrya) seems to me to be

a Savitar, never changing the same order." In 10, 139, 1, Savitar is called "Sûrya-beaming," 7, 66, 4; 1, 123, 3; 7, 45, 2; etc.

219. 5, 82, 8; 5, 81, 4. — 5, 81, 2. 3; 6, 71, 5. 1; 7, 45, 2. — 6, 71, 2; 8, 27, 12: "Savitar has raised himself up before you, desirable he stands high uplifted; the two-footed and the four-footed, the striving and the flying, have gone to rest"; 1, 35, 2; 7, 45, 1; 7, 124, 1 (35); 3, 38, 8.

220. 1, 35, 3. 2; 5, 81, 4 (in Note 218); 7, 38, 1 with 1, 73, 21 ("true like Savitar"; also 9, 97, 48); 7, 38, 2; 7, 45, 3; 1, 35, 3; cf. verse 10, and 671, 5; 5, 81, 2.

221. 6, 71, 3; 7, 38, 3; 1, 35, 11; 7, 45, 4. 3; 6, 71, 6; 1, 24, 3-5 (1, 110, 3, in Note 217); 4, 54, 1 f., verse 3: "Whatever (offence) we have committed, by want of thought, against the divine race, — by feebleness of understanding, by violence, after the manner of men, either against gods or men, — do thou, O Savitar, free us from guilt." — 10, 17, 4, Savitar is *ψυχοπομπος*, like Pūṣan; Note 212.

222. 4, 53, 2; 1, 35, 11; 4, 53, 4. — The following verses from the Evening Hymn, 2, 38 (46). — To Savitar is also addressed the celebrated Gâyatri or Sâvitri, the daily prayer of the Brâhmans (Rv. 3, 62, 10): ["Of Savitar, the heavenly, that longed-for glory may we win! and may himself inspire our prayers!" "No good and sufficient explanation of the peculiar sanctity attaching to this verse has ever been given; it is not made remarkable, either by thought or diction, among many other Vedic verses of similar tenor. Its meaning is a matter of some question, depending on the meaning given to the verb in the second páda, *dhímahi*, whether 'we may receive, gain, win,' or 'let us meditate.' If the latter be correct, the correspondence of root and meaning between this verb and the following noun, *dhiyaḥ*, in the third páda, cannot be accidental, and should be regarded in translating: we must read, "and may he inspire (or quicken) our meditations (adoring or prayerful thoughts).]" — "Sâyana gives no less than four different explanations of the *gâyatri*, and leaves his readers free choice as to which they will accept." Whitney, Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, p. 111 f.].

223. Uṣas: above p. 54, with Note 200, where in 1, 113, 3 it is also said of Night and Morning that they "are taught by the gods to go their way." Savitar: 4, 13, 2.

224. 4, 13, 3 (above p. 55: "whom they have made," etc.); cf. 7, 62, 2; 7, 60, 1; 10, 12, 8; 7, 60, 3; 10, 37, 5. — 6, 51, 1; 7, 61, 1; 7, 63, 1; 1, 115, 1; 1, 136, 2; cf. 5, 66, 2 and the hymn 7, 152, especially vs. 3-5 (13 f.). — 7, 63, 5; 7, 60, 5; cf. 8, 90, 2. Indra even says of himself, 10, 48, 11: "As god, I do not disturb the decrees of the

gods, the Âdityas (Vasu, Rudriya): *they made me for great might as unconquerable, unvanquished victor*"; 10, 113, 5: "Indra darts his lightning for Mitra and Varuṇa"; 10, 89, 8. 9.—7, 63, 5; 7, 65, 1; 7, 66, 12 (Mitra-Varuṇa-Aryaman); cf. 5, 69, 3 (Aditi-Mitra-Varuṇa).

225. Aditi ('Eternity, Infinity'); M. Müller, Translation 1, 230–251, OGR. 233 f.; Muir, OST. 5, 35–53 = OO. 3, 462 f.; the monograph, Ueber die Göttin Aditi. A. Hillebrandt, Breslau 1876.—7, 10, 4; 1, 136, 3; 1, 185, 3; 1, 166, 12.—8, 25, 3.—4, 25, 5; 8, 18, 6; 8, 47, 9; 10, 36, 3; 8, 56, 10–12:

"And thee I summon to my side,
O mighty goddess, Aditi,
Thee, Merciful, to my defence.

In deep or shallow places save,
Thou mother of the gods, from foes,
Do thou our children keep from harm.

Far-searching thou, grant sure defence
To all our children, far and wide,
That, living, they may spread abroad."

1, 162, 22: "May Aditi grant us sinlessness"; 5, 82, 6: "guiltless before Aditi"; 4, 12, 4; 7, 93, 7; 2, 27, 14 (23); 7, 87, 7 (9); 10, 12, 8; 1, 24, 15: "Varuṇa, loose us from the uppermost, the middle, and the lowest bond. Then may we, O Âditya, in thy service, freed from sin, belong to Aditi."

(On Varuṇa's bonds, see p. 67 and Note 255.)

Aditi, viewed as a divinity, as the personification of 'the visible Infinite, the endless expanse beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky' (Müller, Translation 1, 230) may be younger than Varuṇa, Bhaga, Mitra, and Aryaman; but the group of the Âdityas, as the name itself proves, pre-supposes the proper name Aditi (Weber, JI.Z. 1876, p. 652 = IStr. 3, 453). "It was, no doubt, the frequent mention of these her sons that gave to Aditi, almost from the beginning, a decidedly feminine character. She is the mother with powerful, with terrible, with royal sons. But there are passages where Aditi seems to be conceived as a male deity or, anyhow, as a sexless being." Müller, OGR. 236 f.

Aditi is praised in pantheistic fashion in 1, 89, 10: "Aditi is the heaven, Aditi the atmosphere, Aditi the mother; she (*sá*) is father, she son, all gods are Aditi, the whole world, Aditi is what is born, Aditi is what shall be born," recalling the familiar Orphic verses (Lobeck, Aglaophamus, p. 521 f.):

Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένητο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀργικέρανος,
 Ζεὺς κεφαλῆ, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς τ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται,
 Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
 Ζεὺς ἀρσὴν γένητο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἐπλετο νύμφη,
 Ζεὺς πνοὴ πάντων, Ζεὺς ἀκαμάτου πυρὸς ὁρμῆ,
 Ζεὺς πόντου ῥίζα, Ζεὺς ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη, κτλ., and the like.

226. The *Âdityas*: Roth, Die höchsten Götter der Arischen Völker. ZDMG. 6, 67–77; Muir, OST. 5, 54–57; GKR. 19 f.: 1, 41; 2, 27; 10, 185. The long recognized identity of the Indian *Âditya* with the Iranian *Amesha Çpenta*, is followed out in details by J. Darmestetter, Ormazd et Ahriman, leurs origines et leur histoire. Paris 1877, pp. 7–84. For the most frequently mentioned, cf. Note 227.

Mitra and Varuṇa: Muir, OST. 5, 58–76; GKR. 13 f.: 1, 152; 7, 61; the excellent monograph, Varuna und Mitra. Ein Beitrag zur Exegese des Veda, von Dr. Alfred Hillebrandt. Breslau 1877. On Mitra, Note 228; on Varuṇa, Note 241.

Seven *Âdityas* are mentioned, 9, 114, 3 (cf. Müller, Translation 1, 240 f.); for their names, cf. Note 228.—In AV. 8, 9, 21 Aditi is called the “mother of eight sons,” with which cf. RV. 10, 72, 8. 9:

“Eight sons there are of Aditi,
 Who from her body were produced.
 With seven she approached the gods,
 But the egg-born she cast away.

 With seven only Aditi
 Approached the former race of gods.
 To birth at first, but then to death,
 The goddess brought Mârtânḍa back,”

and the legend of the ÇB. attaching to these verses: Roth, IST. 14, 392 f. The “egg-born” is the sun, pictured as a bird; cf. Note 215. [Ludw. Rv. 5, 443 and Muir, OST. 4, 13 f.]

The later period mentions twelve *Âdityas*, with distinct reference to the months.

227. The important hymn 2, 27 (21–24), in v. 1, names Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Dakṣa, Anṇa, Varuṇa. The name of the seventh *Âditya* can not be discovered; it cannot be Indra, nor Savitar (7, 85, 4; Val. 4, 7; 8, 18, 3), though in isolated—always late—verses of the Rig (1, 150, 13; 1, 163, 13; 1, 191, 9; 8, 90, 11) the word *Âditya*, as afterwards, stands as an appellative for *sun*.

Very rarely appear

Anṇa (portion): the ‘Apportioner,’ and

Dakṣa (ability, strength, intellectual power): the 'Capable, Clever'; somewhat more frequently

Bhaga (portion): the 'Dispenser, Protector, Lord'; see espec. 7, 41, 2-4. His name as an appellative in the Iranian and Slavonic tongues means *God*.

The following are almost never mentioned separately:

Aryaman: the Bosom-friend; 5, 29, 1? 6, 50, 1 (126): "Aryaman, who gives without being asked" (*cf.* Matth. 6, 8), and

Mitra: the 'Friend'; the only hymn addressed to him is 3, 59 (17); but both, especially the latter, are very often connected with **Varuṇa** (p. 61 f., Note 241).

The last three, or even the dual divinity **Mitra-Varuṇa** (*cf.* Note 226) serve as the representatives of the **Âdityas** in general. On this account, and to avoid too frequent repetitions in the following notes, the hymns to the **Âdityas** and to **Mitra-Varuṇa** are treated together, the latter distinguished by the sign *.

228. 8, 25, 17 (*okýá samrâjýásya*); 8, 90, 6: "Ye regard the immortal ordinances of mortals, inviolable."—7, 65, 2 (*devânâm ásurâ*). "The laws of the moral are as eternal and unchangeable as those of the natural world. The same divine power has established the one and the other. This power is represented by a circle of divinities who may be most pertinently entitled the Gods of Heavenly Light. Human imagination was able to find no visible thing with which they could be compared, saving the light. They are and are named the Spiritual." Roth, JAOS, 3, 340 f.; *cf.* Roth, ZDMG, 6, 69 and Müller, OGR. 294 f.

229. *7, 66, 2 with 8, 25, 1 (*cf.* 8, 25, 3) and *6, 67, 5. The following verses, all from the above-named hymn 2, 27, are in part taken out of their original sequence (11 ab with 9 cd, 14 ab with 11 cd etc.). This order will here excuse itself.

230. 8, 47, 11: "Ye look down, **Âdityas**, like watchmen from the battlements."—**Mitra-Varuṇa** at the shining of the dawn, at the rising of the sun mount their firm highest seat, the golden throne, which rests on a thousand brazen columns; from thence they look upon the infinite and the finite, they even look into the heart of man (*5, 62, 8.7 with *2, 41, 5; *7, 67, 1); *cf.* *7, 65, 1: "The divine power of you twain is imperishable, ye hasten closely regarding each one in his course"; 10, 65, 5: "Not far away are the two all-rulers with their spirit."—In *6, 67, 5 cunning, never deceived spies are assigned to them; so *7, 67, 3.5 (15):

"From the broad earth and from the heights of heaven
Ye send abroad your spies that never tire,

In every place, through field and house, their presence
Unceasingly keeps watch on each transgressor.

All your avenging spirits, O ye Mighty,
In whom can be perceived no form or token,
Unerringly the sin of men they punish;
And nothing is so hid as to escape you."

Cf. also 2, 27, 16 (23).

231. 7, 66, 11: "They ordered the years, months, days" (Gen. 1, 14; Psalm 74, 16. 17; 104, 19; Jerem. 31, 35; Yaçna 44, 3: Who ordered the path of the sun and the stars? Who (ordained) that the moon now waxes, now wanes? [on *thwat* cf. BR. sub 3 *tva*]; *6, 67, 6: "They extended earth and heaven as a dwelling of man"; *5, 69, 4: "You who are the supporters of the ether, the atmosphere and the earth-regions"; cf. v. 1, with 2, 27, 3. 9 (22); *5, 76, 2: "The supporters of the peoples"; 7, 64, 2: "Strong lords of the rivers send refreshing rain from heaven"; *7, 51, 2: "Guardians of the world"; according to *8, 90, 2 they guide the sun with their arms. — 3, 38, 5 f. ?

232. *7, 60, 5: "Avengers of much wrong they grew up in the house of the right"; *7, 66, 13: "Just, born and strengthened in right, hating wrong, terrible"; *6, 67, 4: "Their mother made them terrible to the deceitful man"; *7, 65, 3: "Binding wrong with many bonds not to be overstepped by the deceitful man"; *1, 139, 2: "For the sake of right they lay hold on wrong with the wrath of their spirit"; 8, 25, 4: "The just loudly proclaim the right."

233. "So their spies are called invisible ("in whom can be perceived no form or token"; *7, 61, 5 in Note 230); 1, 105, 16: "The path which is prepared for the Âdityas praiseworthy in the heavens is not, O gods, to be overstepped, ye cannot perceive it, O mortals."— 8, 25, 9: "Seeing further than the eye with unclouded vision, even slumbering they observe attentively"; *10, 65, 5 (in Note 230); 5, 62, 6: "For the righteous, far-reaching protectors with hands clean from blood." With this cf. Indra's words 10, 48, 2 and 10, 113, 5 in Note 224 (*i.e.* Indra fights for them), also 6, 68, 3 and 7, 85, 3 in Note 242.

234. *6, 67, 6; *2, 41, 5; *7, 61, 4; 8, 56, 13; 1, 90, 2; *5, 69, 4 (see Indra's words, 10, 48, 2 in Note 224); *7, 61, 4: "The moons of the god-haters dwindle powerless"; 1, 152, 1: "Ye strike to earth every impiety and protect the right"; 5, 67, 3: "They follow the decree step by step"; 1, 136, 1: "Their dominion, their divinity no one can assail"; *7, 60, 10; *6, 67, 9.

235. 8, 18, 15 (*cf.* *7, 61, 1; 6, 51, 7 = 7, 52, 2: "We do not do what ye, O good ones, punish"; 8, 56, 7; 8, 18, 5 (5, 67, 4; 1, 107, 1); 8, 47, 8.

236. 2, 29, 2. 6; 8, 56, 6; **2, 28, 3**; 8, 47, 13; 8, 56, 17 ('penitent' = "who returns from his sin," above p. 31 with Note 106); 8, 18, 18. 22; 8, 56, 20; 1, 89, 9: "When our sons are fathers, — do not (before) harm our life in the midst of its course"; **2, 28, 5**:

"Let not the thread of my devotion sever,
Let not the laborer's staff too soon be broken."

237. Differently in 8, 47, 5: "May dangers avoid us as drivers (avoid) bad roads."

238. 1, 41, 4: "Well paved and thornless is the path for him who lives aright." — 8, 47, 2. 3: "As the birds their wings, spread over us your defence." Ps. 91, 4: He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wing shalt thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Ps. 17, 8: Hide me under the shadow of thy wings, etc. — Rv. 8, 47, 8: "We are united to you as a fighter to his armor"; see further Note 239.

239. 10, 63, 13: "Every mortal prospers unharmed, he propagates his line in child and grandchild, whom ye Âdityas guide with good guidance through all misfortunes to happiness." *7, 65, 4; *7, 62, 5: "Stretch forth your arms that we may live, and refresh our fields with rich nourishment; O youths, make us renowned in the people, hear my call, Varuṇa and Mitra." Their most excellent protection and defence guard from poverty and sickness, from snares and enemies, from dangers of all kinds: 7, 66, 13; *5, 70, 3. 4; 8, 18, 10. 11; 8, 56, 15. 21; 10, 126; *8, 90, 4 etc.; **1, 41, 1-3** (19); 8, 47, 7; 10, 126, 1; **10, 185, 2. 3** (25). — **7, 82, 7** (30); **2, 27, 7. 12. 15** (22 f.).

240. The passages 8, 18, 12; 8, 56, 17 f.; 10, 63, 8 and 8, 47, 8 above p. 30-31; 2; 29, 5; 7, 52, 2: "Let us not expiate another's transgression," etc.

241. Varuṇa; Roth, ZDMG. 6, 71 ff.; 7, 607 f.; JAOS. 3, 340 ff.; Muir, OST. 5, 61 ff., MTr. 159-163 and 313-317; Ludw. Rv. 3, 314 ff.; GKR. 1 ff.: **2, 28; 5, 85; 7, 86. 87. 88. 89**; *cf.* **4, 42** (26 f.).

The name *Varuṇa* (from root *vr*, *cover*, *envelop*) signifies the 'Enveloper,' the 'Investor of All,' and is, in spite of Ludwig's objection (Rv. 3, 314), etymologically identical with the Gk. *Ὀὐρανός*, which in Homer signifies not (as in Hesiod) a divinity, but also the sky as a region, as the container of everything. Though in the Veda the ethical relations of Varuṇa — displayed in Greece and Rome by the Father of Heaven Zeus-Jupiter — always stand in the foreground, yet the

original signification of the god often appears; 8, 41, 7: "Like a cloak he spread himself over all the world, surrounding its regions"; v. 3: "He enclosed the nights and skillfully established the mornings; he is seen about all things" (*cf.* 1, 25, 18); 7, 87, 5: "The three heavens are enclosed by him; three earths beneath, a series of six."

"The eye with which he beholds the zealous among men" (1, 50, 6) is of course the sun in the sky. *Cf.* Hesiod O.D. 267: Πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ πάντα νοήσας with Hom. Il. 3, 277: ἠέλιός θ' ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις. Soph. Ant. 879, Aristoph. Nub. 285: ὄμμα γάρ αἰθέρος ἀκάματον σελαγείται μαρμαρέαις ἐν αἰγαῖς etc. Macrob. Sat. 1, 21, 12: quia Solem Jovis oculum appellat antiquitas. "The two bright eyes that rule the earth and fill the three highest spaces, the sure abode of Varuṇa" (8, 41, 9; *cf.* 1, 72, 10: "They endowed him with beauty when they created the two immortal eyes of heaven"), sun and moon (νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ὄμμα of the moon, Aesch. Sept. 390, Pers. 428 etc.); the adjective four-faced (*caturanika*: 5, 48, 5) refers to the four quarters of heaven.

The above-mentioned (p. 59, Note 226 f.) frequent combination Mitra-Varuṇa brings out the two sides of the 'All-container,' the 'shining day-sky,' and the 'glimmering night-sky,' both of which more-over Varuṇa alone displays, *e.g.* 8, 41, 10: "Who made and enclosed the gleaming white and the black" (*i.e.* days and nights); 7, 88, 2:

"When I obtain a vision of his features,
His form appears to me like gleaming fire;
So may the ruler let me view in heaven
The wondrous glory of the light and darkness."

In later times Varuṇa is lowered to a mere *god of the waters*, which stream down from the sky to earth; *cf.* with Note 245 also 7, 34, 10 f.; 8, 41, 2: "Who stands at the source of the streams in the midst of the seven sisters," *i.e.* rivers; 8, 58, 11. 12; 7, 49, 3 (125), and in general Muir, OST. 5, 72 f. and Hillebrandt, Varuna und Mitra, p. 83 ff.

242. 10, 103, 9: "The host of Indra the hero and Varuṇa the king"; especially 7, 82, 2. 4-6 and 7, 83, 9 (29, 30, 33), and the passages 10, 89, 8. 9; 10, 113, 5 in Note 224; beside 6, 68, 3 (31) and 7, 85, 3:

"The one destroys the fiend with might and lightning,
The other is a counsellor of wisdom." —
"The one protects the tribes, far separated,
The other slays his enemies, the mighty."

7, 28, 4: "In these days help us, O Indra, for hostile champions come on in gleam (of weapons) [so with Grassm. and Hillebrandt, against GKR. 76]; the wrong, which He sinless beheld in us, may wise Va-

ruṇa henceforward pass over"; 7, 84, 2: "May Varuṇa's wrath pass by us; may Indra open to us an ample space"; v. 4: "Āditya takes away wrong, the hero dispenses immeasurable wealth."—For the mutual relations of both gods the hymns 4, 42 (26) and 10, 124 are specially characteristic; cf. Muir, OST. 5, 116 f.; Hillebrandt, Varuna und Mitra, p. 104 f.

243. 4, 42, 3-4 with 8, 42, 1 (*viçvâvedas*); 5, 85, 1; 7, 87, 5; 8, 25, 18.

244. 8, 41, 5. 6: "The wise one brings many a wise work to completion . . . in whom all wisdom is placed as the nave in the wheel," (differently by Hillebrandt, p. 81); cf. 5, 85, 5. 6.—8, 42, 1; 8, 41, 10: "With a prop he held the two worlds apart."—"Wisdom in the heart"; 8, 42, 3: "O God, increase this prayer of the learner, and his power, O Varuṇa, and knowledge."—1, 93, 6: "The eagle brought the Soma from the rock"; cf. Note 289.

245. 7, 88, 1: "Who brings to us the great exalted sun-steed, that grants a thousand gifts."—1, 24, 8: "For King Varuṇa made that broad path for the sun to travel; he made feet for the footless to tread and scattered that which wounded the heart."

The Waters: 10, 75, 2: "Varuṇa opened for thee, O Sindhu, paths to flow"; 10, 124, 7: "Without trouble Varuṇa set the waters free"; cf. Note 241; 4, 42, 4; 5, 85, 3.4 (Amos 5, 8; 9, 6); 5, 85, 6 (Eccles. 1, 7: above p. 27); 2, 28, 4: "The orderer of the worlds made the rivers run," etc.

246. 1, 25, 13. Avesta, Yt. 13, 3 (Note 285 a, 286 a): "This heaven above, gleaming and beautiful, like polished brass in appearance, shining over the three divisions of earth, which Mazda wears like a garment, spangled with stars, god-woven" (Roth).—5, 85, 1 (*samrâj*).—8, 25, 18; 5, 85, 5; 8, 42, 1; 8, 41, 4.

247. 4, 42, 3 (. . . *sám airayam dhârayamca*); 8, 41, 5 (*dhartâ bhúvanânâm*); 7, 87, 2; 1, 115, 1, (Note 207); 5, 85, 3.

248. 7, 88, 5; 7, 87, 5; 1, 25, 20 (three heavens [Note 283 a] and three earths; 7, 87, 5 in Note 241; 8, 41, 9 etc., and three air-regions; so "nine homes," as in the old Norse belief. Zimmer, AIL. 358).—2, 27, 10; 7, 87, 6. Even the flying birds do not reach the bounds of Varuṇa's dominion, not the ceaseless moving waters, nor those that surpass the wind's swiftness: 1, 24, 6.

249. 1, 25, 10 etc.; 1, 24, 10 = 3, 54, 18 etc. (*8, 25, 17: "The old statutes of the all-rulers," above p. 59; Ps. 148, 6).—2, 28, 8; 8, 42, 1.—10, 11, 1: "He knows everything, like Varuṇa." "Ruler of all": 5, 85, 1; 6, 68, 9; 8, 42, 1; 1, 25, 10; cf. 1, 25, 5.—Varuṇa

brings the sun as the light of day; by his ordinance the stars know their path and the moon moves light-giving throughout the night: 1, 24, 10; cf. Ps. 136, 8 f.; Job 38, 31 f.; Jerem. 31, 35: Thus saith the Lord, which giveth the sun for a light by day, and the ordinances of the moon and of the stars for a light by night; Ps. 148, 3 f. 6: He hath also stablished them (sun, moon and stars) forever and ever: he hath made a decree which shall not pass.

250. 1, 24, 10; 8, 41, 5 (of Soma, 9, 87, 3; Note 304). — 1, 25, 7. 8. — 1, 25, 9. — 1, 25, 11; 8, 25, 16: "He only, the lord of the house, sees much and far"; 1, 25, 5. 16; *8, 90, 2; 7, 34, 10.

251. 7, 49, 3 (125); 8, 41, 1. — 2, 28, 6.

252. Roth, *Der Atharvaveda*. Tübingen 1856, p. 29; Müller, *Chips*, 1, 41, *Introd.* 243 f.; Muir, *OST.* 5, 64. 126; *MTr.* 163; *Ludw. Rv.* 3, 388. — In the last verse instead of *ní minoti*, 'he holds,' should perhaps be read with *BR.* 5, 764; 7, 409 *ví cinoti*, 'he surveys.'

253. 2, 28, 6. 7. 10; 8, 42, 2. — 1, 24, 9 ("Varuṇa the lord of remedies," *Vāj.-Sanh.* 21, 40); 8, 42, 3 (in *Note 244*); 1, 105, 15: "Varuṇa creates prayers; we call to him as the inventor of songs; he calls forth devotion in the heart"; cf. *1, 151, 2. 6. — On 7, 87, 4 (mysteries of creation? *GKR.* 8 with n. 4); cf. *Amos* 3, 7: Surely the Lord God will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets. Ps. 25, 14.

254. 7, 86, 2 (1, 25, 5. 19); 2, 27, 10 (22); cf. 7, 89, 1 and 2, 28, 5. 7. 9; on the blessed life among the gods, p. 69 f. — The two foot-notes after Roth, *ZDMG.* 7, 607 and *JAOS.* 3, 341 and 342.

255. 1, 24, 11; *1, 139, 2 (in *Note 232*); 7, 86, 2. — 7, 87, 3; 1, 25, 13; 2, 28, 7. — 1, 24, 13. 15 (on p. 68: "In chains," and in *Note 225*); 1, 25, 21 ("Take away the undermost of the bonds"); 7, 88, 7. [*Cf.* 7, 89, 2. 4: "I go shaking like a puffed-up skin. . . I stand in the midst of water, yet thirst consumes me; be merciful, o Lord, forgive," *i.e.* dropsy sent as punishment.] — *Cf.* 2, 27, 16 (23); 2, 29, 5; 8, 56, 8. — 6, 74, 4; 10, 85, 24; *7, 65, 3 (in *Note 232*) and 7, 84, 2 (to *Indra-Varuṇa*): "You who bind with bonds without cords." — 1, 25, 14; 7, 28, 4 (76; cf. *Note 242*). — *Varuṇa* himself is sinless and pure and just, he punishes every error; *Levit.* 11, 44: Ye shall be holy, for I am holy.

256. 7, 84, 2 (in *Note 242*; cf. 4, 1, 4; 1, 94, 12; 7, 93, 7. — *7, 60, 8; *7, 62, 4); 1, 24, 11: "Without wrath attend to us"; 1, 25, 3; 1, 24, 14. — *Ps.* 6, 2; 38, 1: O Lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath: neither chasten me in thy hot displeasure.

257. 7, 86, 7; 7, 87, 7 and 2, 28, 1 (penitent: p. 31 with Note 106 and p. 61 with Note 236); *cf.* Ps. 32, 5. 6; Prov. 28, 13: He that covereth his sins shall not prosper: but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy. Isaiah 12.

258. 1, 24, 14 (p. 68):

“Do thou who hast the power, wise king eternal,
Release us from the sins we have committed.”

1, 24, 9: “Take away from us the sin accomplished”; 2, 28, 5: “Loose sin as a cord from me.”—*Cf.* 10, 37, 12: “If we have sinned grievously against you, o gods, with the tongue, by thoughtlessness (lit. ‘absence of mind’), raising your anger”; 10, 164, 3: “If we have erred through wish, through turning aside, through blame, waking or sleeping.”—Following verses GKR. 5. 6. 2. 5. 11.

259. See 6, 51, 7=7, 52, 2 in Note 240 and 4, 3, 13: “Do not visit the sin of an erring brother (on us).”—The verse is addressed to Agni, the best sacrificer; with this *cf.* above p. 36 with Note 124; 4, 12, 4 (in Note 261); 4, 1, 4: “O do thou, Agni, turn away from us the wrath of god Varuṇa, since thou canst”; similarly 1, 94, 12; 6, 48, 10; 7, 93, 7 (Agni, Aryaman, Aditi); 5, 2, 7 in Note 263.

260. Beside the above verses 5, 85, 7 (“If we to any loved companion . . .”), *cf.* 7, 88, 6: “If, Varuṇa, thy friend who is dear to thee, if thy companion has offended thee, yet punish not . . .”; also 10, 37, 12 and 10, 164, 3 in Note 258 (“with the tongue,” etc.).

261. 5, 85, 8: (Whatever sin we have committed), “all that, o god, remove like flakes, and then may we be dear to thee again”; 7, 87, 7: “Who shows mercy even to the sinner, — O that we were guiltless before Varuṇa”; 1, 25, 1-3: “However, O god Varuṇa, we have violated thy laws day by day, give us not over to the deadly weapon of the wrathful, nor to the fury of the raging; as the driver looses the horse from the harness, so we (loose) appease thy mind through songs, that thou mayst have mercy”; 7, 89, 5 (12) and 7, 86, 6: “It is not our own will, Varuṇa, that leads us astray, but some seduction, — wine, anger, dice and our folly. The older remains in the errors of the younger; even sleep occasions sin.”

Cf. further 4, 12, 4: “Whatever offence we have committed against thee, through folly, after human fashion, O Agni, make us free from sin against Aditi” (Note 259). “Sin after the manner of man,” 7, 57, 4; 10, 15, 6. “In folly, in weakness of judgment, in human fashion,” 4, 54, 3, Note 221.

262. See the fine lines 7, 88, 3-5 (10) and with the words, “What now has become of our friendship, who formerly enjoyed

intercourse?" *cf.* Ps. 89, 50: Lord, where are thy former loving kindnesses which thou swarest unto David in thy truth? Ps. 77, 6-10.

263. After 7, 86, 3. 4 with 2, 28, 6; 7, 88, 6 (6. 2. 11); with the following verses *cf.* 5, 2, 7 (to Agni: Note 259):

"And from a thousand pillars Çunahçepa
The fettered thou didst loose; for he entreated.
From us too take away, O God, the fetters."

264. 6, 51, 8: "By acts of devotion I seek to blot out sin already committed," GKR. 7.

265. Müller, Chips, 1, 44; *cf.* Roth, ZDMG. 4, 427. Müller in the 2d edition adds the words of Lessing (vol. 11, 63, Lachm.): "Without the belief in a future life, a future reward and punishment, no religion could exist," and those of Schopenhauer (Parall. vol. 1, 37) on the "real Jewish religion of Genesis and the historical books." Detailed proof that the belief in a personal immortality not only existed in the oldest Indo-Germanic period in general traits, but was also developed in many particulars must be reserved for another occasion; I confine myself in the following to a few indications (Notes 270-286 with the accompanying foot-notes) and refer, in addition to the general work of E. Spiess, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode*. Jena 1877, to the works of W. Geiger, *Die Mythen vom Tod und Jenseits bei den Indogermanen*, in Lindau's *Nord und Süd*, Vol. 11, Oct. 1879, p. 84-103;

On the Vedic belief, to Whitney, *OLSt.* 1, 46-64; Muir, *OST.* 5, 284-329; *MTr.* 186;

On the Iranian belief, to Hübschmann in the *Jahrbücher für Protest. Theologie*, 1879, p. 203-245;

On the belief of the Greeks, to Weisse in *Fichte's Zeitschrift für Philos. und Spec. Theol.* Vol. 2. 1838; E. Curtius in *Altertum und Gegenwart*. 1875, p. 219-236; K. Lehrs in the *Populäre Aufsätze*. 2d ed. 1875, p. 303-362; J. Girard, *Le sentiment religieux en Grèce d'Homère à Eschyle*.² 1879, p. 207 f., 247 ff.

266. For the first time in 10, 154, 2: "Who through penance are invincible, who through penance attained heaven, who accomplished mighty acts of penance—" ; vs. 4. 5: "the righteous Fathers, singers."

267. After 10, 18, 10. 12. 13 (above p. 77 f.) and v. 11 (152).

268. The grave as house of the dead body: see p. 77 f. with Note 329.— Evidence that the soul is considered as coming from heaven and returning thither as its home: see Note 275.

269. 10, 14, 1 (146) with 10, 16, 4 d— Vivasvant, the god of the breaking light of day, the morning sun, is the personification

of all phenomena of light, is called the father of Yama, and the gods are his race (10, 14, 5; 10, 58, 1; 10, 60, 10; 9, 113, 8; 10, 14, 1. — 10, 63, 1). That Yama is really looked upon as the first man is expressly stated in AV. 18, 3, 13, variants to AV. 18, 1, 49 = RV. 10, 14, 1; Note 276, cf. Weber's *IST.* 14, 393 and Zimmer, *AIL.* 415 * (in opposition to which Müller, *LSL.* 2, 529 f.).

270. GKR. 146 (*jajnânâs* belongs not to *jnâ*, but to *jan*, as Grassmann takes it in all passages except this, Ludwig in most passages). On *pâda b* cf. in the Avesta Yaçna 43, 13: "the desire for eternal life, which no one of you can assail, for the better existence which shall be in Thy kingdom." To the 'Fathers' (*pitr*; *pitaras*) i.e. the 'spirits of the departed righteous' (p. 70 *) correspond

the *Fravashis* among the Iranians (Note 283 a to 286 a);

the "heroes of the past" and the *Θεοὶ παρῶν* among the Greeks (Note 285 a);

the *Divi Manes* and *Lares* among the Romans (Note 283 a, 285 a).

271. After 10, 16, 2; 10, 18, 13 (152; above p. 78: "I settle firmly now the earth," etc.); 10, 14, 8: "free from all imperfection"; (see Note 275); 10, 15, 14; 10, 16, 5 (in Note 278); 10, 56, 1 (in Note 275).

272. 10, 17, 3-6 (above p. 56 with Note 212; with *Pušan Savitar* is mentioned in 10, 17, 4: Note 221).

273. That before the final entrance into the land of the blessed a stream was to be crossed is indicated by 10, 63, 10: "May we embark free from sin (*ânâgasas*, var. of AV. 7, 6, 3) on the divine ship with good oars." 9, 41, 2 (cf. the variant SV. 2, 3, 1, 3, 2=2, 243) seems to point to the bridge often mentioned in the Avesta: "May we succeed in passing over the bridge hard to reach, after conquering the godless enemy." More material on this subject is presented in the Iranian, Grecian and German sources.

274. Two broad-nosed, four-eyed, spotted (*çabâla*) dogs, the offspring of *Saramâ* (p. 42, Note 149) occupy the path and guard the entrance of Paradise, in order that no godless person may steal into the region of the blessed, 10, 14, 10: p. 70; 10, 14, 11 (*pathirâkšî*:

273 a. On the *Cinvat-bridge* ("Bridge of the Gatherer") of the Iranians, cf. the foot-notes 274 a and 283 a.

274 a. The Iranians believe according to *Vendidad* 13, 9 (25 *Spiegel*) that two dogs guard the *Cinvat-bridge* leading to Paradise, and passable only for the righteous. The name of the guardian *Κέρβερος* among the Greeks has long been recognized as identical with Skt. *çarvâra*, 'varie-

variant of AV. 18, 2, 12: *pathiśádi*); cf. 10, 15, 1: "The Fathers, who entered unharmed into the spirit world," and the fragment 7, 55, 2-4, which describes a scene at the entrance of the world of the dead. "A dead man, who has reached the confines of the shadow-kingdom, is stopped by Sárameya, who shows his teeth and is about to attack him. Then he conjures the monster to sleep; let him attack thieves and robbers, but the speaker is an adorer of Indra, and as such is entitled to admission." Aufrecht, ISt. 4, 342.

According to the other fragment 10, 14, 11. 12 the two never satisfied dogs ("in turn," if with Sâyaṇa 1, 29, 3 should be referred here) go about among men, search out those who are to die and accompany them surely. — Cf. Muir, OST. 5, 294, 439.

275. 10, 15, 14; 10, 16, 2; 10, 14, 8 (147; above p. 70). The heaven is, therefore, the home of the soul, to which, after death, it returns purified ("free from all imperfections"); 10, 16, 5: "Dismiss him again, o Agni, to the Fathers"; 10, 56, 1: "When thou interest thy (new) body, be welcome, be dear to the gods in the highest homes"; here belongs also 10, 135 (hymn to Yama at the funeral of a boy), v. 5: "Who gave life to the boy? Who made his car roll forth? Who to-day could tell us how he was given back?"

According to 10, 16, 3: "Let thy eye go to the sun, thy breath to the wind; go to the sky, to the earth, according to (thy) nature; go to the waters, if that is destined for thee; enter into the plants with thy members," man came from the edifice of the world; Zimmer, AIL. 403 points out analogous Germanic conceptions in Grimm, Mythol. 1, 464 ff., 4th ed.

gated, spotted,' an older dialectic by-form of the adjective *ṣabála* used of Yama's dogs above: Müller, *e.g.* Chips, 2, 180; LSL. 2, 497; A. Weber, ISt. 2, 298; cf. IStr. 2, 229 f.; Kuhn, KZ. 2, 314; Bréal, Hercule et Cacus p. 121. 130; finally Benfey, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1877, 8 f. = Védica 149-163. "If anything is certain, the agreement of *ṣabála*, *ṣarvara* with *Κέρεπος* is assured. And yet, according to the decision of a competent judge, lately pronounced, 'no advantage for Grecian mythology is to be looked for from India.' We may therefore expect to see sillinesses like the comparison of *Κέρεπος* and *ἔρεπος* paraded once more," Aufrecht, ISt. 4, 342 (1858).

275 a. Concerning the belief of the Iranians, we learn from the Bundelesh (a work quite young in its composition, but in contents of considerable antiquity): "The soul is created before the body." "It comes from heaven and rules the body, as long as it lives; when the body dies, it is mingled with the earth, and the soul goes back to heaven." (Bundelesh, c. 15, 17, ed. Justi, pp. 17, 23; cf. Spiegel, Eranische Altertumskunde, 2, 149).

276. GKR. 147. Although both are 'princes of the blessed,' yet Varuṇa, the god, is expressly distinguished from Yama, who is 'as the first man (Note 269), so also the first to arrive in the realm of the Immortals, the natural head of those who are destined, each in his turn, to follow him thither' (Roth, ZDMG. 4, 426). Therefore he is called, 10, 135, 1, the 'lord of races, the father,' and 10, 14, 1 the 'Gatherer of the peoples'; cf. Athen. 3, 55, p. 99 B: οἶδα δ' ὅτι που . . . εἶπεν τὸν Ἄιδην ἀγγελίαν. Hesych.: Ἀγήσανδρος ὁ Ἄιδης (more in O. Schneider, on Callim. Lav. Pall. 130, vol. 1, 362 f.).

277. Saramā's dogs: Note 274.—The Fathers are propitious also in 10, 15, 3, 9; 10, 17, 3; see p. 71 with Note 285, and cf. Hesiod's πλουτοδόται, OD. 126 in Note 285*a*.—"In bliss with Yama"; Note 280.

278. A syllable is wanting in the pāda, perhaps *te*, "thy body"? 10, 15, 14: "Shape thee a body at pleasure"; 10, 16, 5: "Restore him, Agni, to the fathers; him who, offered to thee, now goes in peace, clothing himself in youthful strength (seeking posterity?), and let him meet with a (new) body"; 10, 56, 1 in Note 275.

279. GKR. 53; 1, 115, 1 (55), the following after the beautiful hymn 9, 113, 7-11, GKR. 111: "In the inmost midst of the highest heaven," literally: "Where is the innermost space of the heavens— in threefold third heights of heaven— where is the sun's highest pinnacle."—Here refer 10, 56, 1: "Unite thyself with the third brightness"; 1, 35, 6: "There are three heavens, two spaces of Savitar, the third in the realm of Yama, containing men," the latter recalling the ἀναξ πολυδέγμων, πολυδέκτης in Hom. Hymn. in Cer. 17. 430.

Similarly the belief of the Greeks: Eur. Suppl. 1140 f.: Βεβᾶσιν· αἰθήρ ἔχει νιν ἥδη || πυρὸς τετακότας σποδῶ. Corp. Inscr. Att. 1, n. 442: Αἰθήρ μὲν ψυχὰς ὑπεδέξατο, σώματα δὲ χθών). Epicharm. in Plut. Consol. ad Apoll. 15: συνεκρίθη καὶ διεκρίθη κἀπῆνθεν ὕθεν ἦνθεν, πάλιν γὰ μὲν εἰς γᾶν, πνεῦμ' ἄνω. Mosch. in Eur. Suppl. 531 ff.: ὕθεν δ' ἕκαστον ἐς τὸ σῶμ' ἀφίκετο, || ἐνταῦθ' ἀπελθεῖν, πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα, || τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐς γῆν. Eur. fgm. 836: χωρεῖ δ' ὀπίσω, || τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντ' ἐς γαίαν, || τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου βλαστούντα γονῆς || εἰς οὐράνιον πάλιν ἦλθε πόλον. C. I. G. 1, n. 1001: γαῖα δὲ κεύθει || σῶμα, πνοὴν δ' αἰθήρ ἔλαβεν πάλιν, ὕπερ ἔδωκεν. (Eccles. 12, 7); so often in epigrams; cf. Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca. Berlin 1878. p. 680, s.v. anima, and Roscher, Hermes der Windgott. Leipsig 1878. p. 58 f.

Among the Romans, Lucretius teaches, De Rerum Nat. 2, 999 f. (like Eur., however, in the last quoted passage, not only of the genus humanum): cedit item retro, de terra quod fuit ante, || in terras, et quod missum est ex aetheris oris, || id rursum caeli rellatum templa recepit; Macrob. Sat. 1, 10, 15 (of Egypt): "quod aestimaverunt antiqui, animas ab Jove dari et rursus post mortem eidem reddi."

9 and Aesch. Suppl. 157: τὸν πολυξενώτατον Ζῆνα τῶν κεκμηκότων, fgm. 229 D, 224 N, etc.

280. Beside the text, only passages which speak in general of a joyful life of bliss; see *10, 14, 3. 6. 9* (146 f.): "where waters flow, days and nights interchange"; *i.e.* the delights of earth are also found; *10, 56, 4; 10, 15, 8. 9* and the like; scattered passages *10, 56, 3*: "Go to the lovely" (*sc.* women or maidens, acc. plur. fem.); *10, 135, 1*: "Beneath what tree, with beautiful foliage, Yama drinks with the gods, there the Father, founder of our race, cares lovingly for our ancestors." — More of the same nature is found in the more popular Atharvaveda, and later: "There warm, grateful breezes blow, cooling rain falls gently; there there are basins of cream, brooks in which honey flows, streams filled with milk, carrying surâ instead of water; glistening cows giving milk at will, which do not kick out the foot, come up to the righteous, and the weaker has not to pay tribute to the stronger." Zimmer, AIL. 412 f.; Muir, OST. 5, 303–311. 314 f.

281. "What shall be the employment of the blest, in what sphere their activity shall expend itself — to this question ancient Hindû wisdom sought no answer. The certainty of happiness was enough for it." Roth, JAOS. 3, 344.

282. *1, 24, 1. 2*: "Who shall give us back to the great Aditi? I would behold my father and mother"; *Av. 6, 120, 3*: "Where virtuous friends rejoice, — there we would see our parents and our children."

283. The data for the belief in a personal immortality, a happy

283a. According to the testimony of Diog. Laert., Theopompus had already told that the Iranians believed in the immortality of the soul: ἀναβιώσασθαι κατὰ τοὺς Μάγους φησὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἔσεσθαι ἀθανάτους, οἷ, with Aeneas of Gaza: ὁ δὲ Ζωροάστρης προλέγει, ὡς ἔσται ποτὲ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ πάντων νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις ἔσται (C. Müller, Fgm. Hist. Gr. 1, 289, n. 71; Windischmann, Zoroastr. Stud. p. 233, 279). We now know much more, and more definitely from the Avesta, the sacred scripture of the Eastern Iranians, which, however, still presents great difficulties of interpretation; to defend here my translations of even the few passages from it would lead too far: videant periti! Vend. 9, 44 W.: "Announce to man as the reward of the other world the gain of (the best place) Paradise"; cf. 13, 8 (22). Yt. 1, 25 (37): "There are (imperishableness) completeness and immortality, which are the reward of the righteous who have attained to Paradise." Yç. 45, 5: "They will attain to completeness and immortality through acts of righteousness." Yç. 43, 2 f.: "The righteous shall gain the best thing; he who seeks Ahura

continuance of life in the other world, have been given in the preceding; see the foot-note 283 a.

Mazda, the most holy spirit, shall attain to the heavenly light (*cf.* Yç. 50, 5), and to the refreshment, which he gives really to the righteous, in fullness, all the days of an eternity. May that man prosper more who shows us the straight paths of this (embodied) earthly world and the spirit-world, to the true abodes where Ahura dwells." Yç. 51, 13: "The soul of the wicked perishes, but the soul of the upright is confirmed and, through its deeds, through its words, attains to the regions by the bridge of the Gatherer (Note 273 a), the paths of the righteous."—"When the spirit of the righteous over that bridge has come from the perishable to the imperishable world, it goes joyfully to the golden thrones of Ahura Mazda, of Ameshā-Çpenta (*cf.* Note 230), to Garonmāna, the bright, gleaming Paradise, the dwelling of Ahura Mazda, of Ameshā-Çpenta, of the other righteous" (after Vend. 19, 30 f. (101 ff.) with Visp. 7, 1 (8, 8)).—On the 'threefold third height of heaven' of the Veda (Note 248, 279); *cf.* the arrangement Yt. 22, 14 f., Mainjo-i-Khard, 2, 145; 7, 8 ff., ed. West.

On the Fravashis, corresponding exactly to the 'Fathers' (Note 270), it is enough to refer to Roth in Baur und Zeller's Theol. Jahrb. 8, 291 f. and Spiegel, Uebersetz. des Avesta 3, xxix. Eran. Alterth. 2, 91 ff., and to the following Notes, 284 a to 286 a.

If among the Greeks Homer's epic does not show this belief in immortality, yet the belief in a continued existence of the soul, in a better, happy life after death, lived among the people from the oldest times, not first as the teaching of philosophers, as no less a one than Aristotle distinctly informs us (Plut. Consol. ad Apoll. c. 27, p. 115 C): *διόπερ, ὃ κράτιστε πάντων καὶ μακαριστότατε, πρὸς τῷ μακαρίου καὶ εὐδαιμόνασ εἶναι τοὺς τετελευτηκότας νομίζειν καὶ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι τι κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ βλασφημεῖν οὐχ ὕβριον ἠγοῦμεθα ὡς κατὰ βελτιόνων καὶ κρείττωνων ἤδη γεγενομένων. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἀρχαία καὶ παλαιὰ διατελεῖ νομισμένα παρ' ἡμῖν, ὥστε τὸ παράπαν οὐδεὶς οἶδεν οὐτε τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐτε τὸν θάνατον πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἔπειρον αἰῶνα τυγχάνει διὰ τέλους οὕτω νομισμένα.* And Socrates says in Plato's Apol. 32 p. 40 C, that *τὸ τεθνάναι κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα μεταβολὴ τις τυγχάνει ὄσα καὶ μετοίκησις τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθάδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, cf. p. 40 E and ibid. p. 41 C: τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα εὐδαιμονέστεροί εἰσιν οἱ ἐκεῖ τῶν ἐνθάδε, καὶ ἤδη τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀθάνατοί εἰσιν, εἴπερ γε τὰ λεγόμενα ἀληθῆ ἔστιν.* On the 'Fathers,' the 'Fravashis' of the Greeks, see Note 285 a.

The belief of the Romans in a 'happy future' (see Kuhn's words in Note 315) finds its most eloquent expression in the renowned cult of the divi Manes and the Lares (to be connected, in spite of Preuner, Hestia-Vesta, 1864, p. 341), the Italic 'Fathers.' The *summa rerum* of ancient laws reads in Cic. De Leg. 2, 9, 22: *Deorum manium iura sancta sunt; sos [i.e. suos. Vahlen with the Mss., nos] leto dato divos*

284. 10, 15, 1. 2; 10, 13, 3 f.; 10, 16, 11 f.; 10, 56, 2; 10, 154, 2; 1, 164, 30. 38: "The immortal is of one origin with the mortal." For the ancestral cult of the Iranians, Greeks, and Romans, see the foot-note 284 a.

285. 1, 164, 30; 10, 15, 2; 10, 56, 5 ("With might they move through the whole atmosphere, measuring the old unmeasured re-

habento. Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, writes to her son: ubi mortua ero, parentabis mihi et invocabis Deum parentem (Corn. Nep. ed. C. L. Roth, p. 177); and according to Varro's testimony (Plut. Quaest. Rom. 14 p. 267 B) the words *θεὸν γεγονέναι τὸν τεθνηκότα* were spoken immediately after the burning of the corpse. Serv. ad Virg. Aen. 5, 47.

For the Germans, refer to Grimm, Mythol. 31, 132. 172 ff. Mannhardt, Germ. Mythen. p. 749, Index s.v. Seele.

Mannhardt observes that the Celts (*cf.* Caes. B. G. 6, 14) held the same belief as the Germans, and l.c., p. 320, 1, collects the testimony of the ancients.

284 a. The Iranians 'praise and honor all the true spirits of the righteous, that are, that have been, and that shall be, with hand furnished with flesh and covering, with devotion which attains uprightness,' with rich sacrifices, especially on fixed days (Yt. 13, 21. 31 f. 49 f.).

The libations and offerings for the dead among the Greeks are well known; there were, besides, 'public forefathers' days, on which all families celebrated the memory of their departed.'

Varro tells of the Romans (Plut. l.c.): *ἐπὶ τῶν τάφων περιστρέφονται, καθάπερ θεῶν ἱερά τιμῶντες τὰ τῶν πατέρων μνήματα*, and Tertullian makes them the reproach (Apolog. 13): *Quid omnino ad honorandos eos (sc. deos) facitis quod non etiam mortuis vestris conferatis? aedes proinde, aras proinde; idem habitus et insignia in statuis . . . quo differt ab epulo Jovis silicernium?*—Characteristically enough, the language of the Romans calls the act of burial an 'reverence,' the Latin *sepelio* being element for element identical with Skt. *saparyāmi*, honor, reverence: Sonne, Kuhn, Schweizer-Sidler, KZ. 10, 327; 11, 262; 14, 147.

285 a. The Fravardin Yasht of the Avesta (Yt. 13) "describes the speed and strength, the majesty and kindness and friendliness of the spirits (fravashi) of the just; the strong, victorious, how they come to help, how they give support, the powerful spirits of the just" (vs. 1: Roth, ZDMG. 25, 217). Spread through all the atmosphere, through the families, through villages, districts, lands, they hasten to the offerings (*εἰδώλων πλήρη εἶναι τὸν ἄερα*: Diog. L. Prooim. 6; Yt. 13, 21. 49. 68. 84); when with a believing spirit men call upon them and satisfy them with offerings, the good, strong, holy Fravashis come, mightier, more victorious, more healing, more favoring than one can tell in words (Yt. 13, 34. 47. 63. 64; *cf.* 75. 27: "They are prosperity, refreshing where they come"); vic-

gions"); 10, 15, 3 ff.; 10, 56, 5. 6; 10, 154, 3; 10, 15, 6; 10, 154, 4; 10, 16, 11.

286. 7, 76, 4: "They were the companions of the gods, the righteous singers of olden times; the Fathers found the hidden light, with true hymns they produced *Uşas*." 10, 154, 5; 10, 68, 11. — More

torious to aid the pious, they fight bravely in battle at their abodes and homes against the enemies of the land, and bring for their children, for their village, their districts, their land, the fructifying water, for the Aryan regions, and growth to the trees (*Visp.* 11, 15 (12, 33); *Yt.* 13, 23 f. 27. 36 f. 67. 69 f. 66. 68. 43. 53. 55); in the sacrificer's house there will be an abundance of cattle and men, the swift horse and the firm wagon; but the Just ward off all evil for all time (*Yt.* 13, 52; 33. 76 f.).

In the popular belief of the Greeks, likewise, the heroes of old times, and according to the verses of Hesiod, *OD.* 121 ff. (cl. 252 f.), brought into this their proper connection by Roth, in his treatise on the myth of the five races of man in Hesiod, Tübingen 1860, "the men of the Golden Age after their peaceful death have become friendly demons or immortal guardians of mortals, who, wrapped in mist [*i.e.* "in the atmosphere"], everywhere pervade the earth" (*Roscher*). These verses are (according to the account in *Plato Rep.* p. 469 A. cl. *Cratyl.* 398 A. *Plut. De Def. Orac.* 39 p. 431 E and elsewhere, evidently better in spite of *Lacth. Inst. Div.* 2, 14): *αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κέλυψεν, ἥτοι μὲν δαίμονες ἀγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι τελέθουσιν ἢ ἐσθλοὶ, ἀλεξικάκοι, φύλακες μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, ἢ οἷ βα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα, ἢ ἡέρα ἐσσάμενοι πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν ἢ πλουτοδοταὶ καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλῆιον ἔσχον.*

—Further, the *Θεοὶ πατῆροι* correspond to the "Fathers," the "Favashis."

That the Romans believed that their dead possessed divine power eternally, is distinctly told in a grave-epigram (*Ritschl, Opusc. Philolog.* 4, 244. 250. 252): *Manes colamus, namque opertis Manibus* || *Divina vis est aeviterni temporis (opertis: i.e. rite sepultis).* Men hope for their help and that of the *Lares* in the most various circumstances. The old Arval song begins: *E nos Lases iuvate!* (*Lares placare: Hor.*) In the letter quoted above (*Note 283a*), *Cornelia* writes further to her son: *In eo tempore non pudet te, eorum deum preces expetere, quos vivos atque praesentes relictos atque desertos habueris.* Compare in general the *Lares familiares, domestici, praestites* (*Ovid. Fast.* 5, 134 fg.: *quod praestant oculis omnia tuta suis. || Stant quoque pro nobis, et praesunt moenibus Urbis, et sunt praesentes, auxiliumque ferunt, viales, compitales, permarini.*—*Schoemann* has already rightly shown (*De Diis Manibus Laribus et Geniis*, p. 10 f. *Opusc. Acad.* 1, 359 f.) that this belief was, among the Romans, a primitive popular superstition ("longe omni philosophia prior, . . . ipsi iam urbis Romanae primordiis aequalis").

plainly still the ÇB. 6, 5, 4, 8: "Whatever men go virtuous to heaven, these stars are their brightness"; *ibid.* 1, 9, 3, 10: "The righteous are the rays of the glowing sun." Similar declarations in the *Mahābhārata*: Muir, OST. 5, 319 and n. 487. Cf. foot-note 286 a.

287. After 4, 5, 5; 7, 104, 3 ("into the abyss, in endless darkness"); 10, 152, 4 ("to the undermost darkness"; Matth. 8, 12,

286 a. According to the Iranian belief, Ahura-Mazda, by the aid and might of the Fravashis, ordered the heaven above, which, gleaming and beautiful, encloses in itself and round about that earth, which like a building stands raised, firmly founded, far-reaching, like polished metal in appearance, shining over the three parts (of the earth) [Roth]. Through their action and might, the divinely created waters flow onward in their beautiful paths; the trees grow forth from the earth, and the wind blows; through their action and might, sun, moon, and stars move on their paths, the heavens, the waters, the earth with its blessing, the whole world, remain established (Yt. 13, 2. 3. 53 with 14. 16. 57. 22. 9. 10 cf. 12). "All the unnumbered and innumerable stars which show themselves are called the spirits of men" (Mainjo-i-Khard. 49, 22, ed. West).

The analogy to the latter among the Greeks is proved by Arist. Pac. 832: οὐκ ἦν ἄρ' οὐδ' ἂ λέγουσι, κατὰ τὸν ἄερα ὡς ἀστέρης γιγνόμεθ', ὅταν τις ἀποθάνῃ;

For the Romans, we may compare *e.g.* Virg. Georg. 1, 32 f.: Anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas, || qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis || panditur? *ibid.* 4, 225 f.: Scilicet huc reddi deinde ac resoluta referri || omnia; nec morti esse locum, sed viva volare || sideris in numerum, atque alto succedere caelo.

The greatest similarity to the Indian belief is seen in the Norse-German, in which "the stars are effects of the Elbs (*i.e.* souls of the departed)"; "stars are souls: when a child dies, God makes a new star; the soul of the righteous attains to Gimill, where, united with the Light-elves, *i.e.* the spirits of the just, it imparts light to the heavenly bodies"; "from the souls proceed the brightness of the sunbeams and the brightness of all heavenly bodies." Mannhardt, Germ. Mythen. p. 378. 310, 3; 439. 474.—Some related matter in H. Osthoff, Quaest. Mythol. Dissert. Philol., Bonn 1869, p. 22 f.

287 a. Among the Iranians we read, Yç. 43, 5: "I think Thee holy, because I saw Thee, how from the beginning, for the creatures of the earth, Thou madest their acts and words to be accompanied by rewards: evil for the evil, a good allotment for the good, through thy excellent might at the last catastrophe of the creation." Yç. 45, 7: "Through his help all strive for reward, those who have been living and shall be; the passing over of the just is into immortality; but eternal woe is the fate of the wicked man." Yç. 49, 11: "In the house of the Druj are the lasting abodes of the soul of the wicked, who walk in an

τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον); 9, 73, 8; 4, 5, 4; 1, 121, 13; 2, 29, 6; 4, 25, 6 in Note 163; cf. Zimmer, AIL. 420 f.

288. Soma: Muir, OST. 5, 258–271; GKR. 110 f.: 9, 113; 10, 25 and 6, 74 to Rudra-Soma. “It is now represented by a species of *Sarcostemma*, which, however, grows in more southerly regions than where the seats of the Vedic [or even, Note 293, Indo-Iranian] people lay; probably with the home the plant changed also.” Roth, BR. s.v. In later Vedic writings (ÇB.), in case Soma should be wanting, substitutes are given. [Roth, Ueber den Soma, ZDMG. 35, 680 ff.; Wo wachst der Soma? ZDMG. 38, 134–139.]

289. 8, 89, 8; 4, 26, 6; 1, 93, 6; 5, 85, 2 (p. 63 and Note 244; the Soma of Mount Mújavant was specially strong: 10, 34, 1 above p. 83), etc.; 9, 68, 5: “The wise saw the beauty of the Gladdening, when the falcon brought the herb from afar”; 9, 86, 24: “The well-winged brought thee from heaven, that art adorned with all songs.” Differently 9, 113, 3 (110) and 9, 83, 4; 9, 85, 12; 8, 66, 4 f. [Roth, Der Adler mit dem Soma. ZDMG. 36, 353 ff.]

290. Soma gavâcir or yavâcir. Cf. e.g. (Plut. De Isid. et Osir. c. 46) Muir, OST. 2, 469 ff. Haug, l.c. and Essays on the Sacred Language of the Parsis, 2d ed. 1878, p. 282 f.; Grassmann, Transl. 1, 157; 2, 183 f.

291. Cf. the description in Zimmer, AIL. 272 f.—9, 2, 7; 1, 4, 7; 9, 24, 4; 9, 67, 2.

292. 8, 61, 17; 8, 48, 5. 4, cf. 11; 9, 96, 14; 9, 98, 4 (Note 299); 8, 48, 11. 6: “Make me bright like gleaming fire; enlighten us and make us richer. In thy intoxication, Soma, I think: *I shall now attain fortune, a rich man.*” Cf. 9, 4, 1–10; 6, 47, 3; in 9, 76, 4 Soma is called father; in 9, 96, 4 producer of the hymns; 8, 48, 3: “We

evil way . . .” Yç. 30, 10: “Then the fall into the place of rejection comes to liars.” Vend. 5, 61 f. (174 f.): “In life he is not just, in death he has no part in Paradise; he comes to the place of the wicked, the dark, the darkest, to darkness.” Yç. 51, 13: “The spirit of the wicked perishes.”

That the Indo-Germanic (and Graeco-Aryan) period was acquainted with a place of torment for the wicked, Weber, ZDMG. 9, 242, has made probable from a legend of the ÇB. (Bhrgu expiates his arrogance; the [etymologically identical] φλεγύαι are condemned to hard pains of hell for their arrogance); Benfey even attempts (Hermes, Minos, Tartaros. Gött. Akad. Abhandl. 1877, p. 17 ff., 33 ff.) to prove the identity of Τάρταρος with Skt. *talâtala* (name of a hell in the Upaniṣads and Purāṇas).

have drunk the Soma, we are now immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us? What can the malice of a mortal, O Immortal, now effect?"

The intoxicating effect of the drink upon Indra is described by himself in *10, 119* (81 f.).—With the passages mentioned, 6, 47, 3; 8, 48, 3, Muir, OST. 3², 264 f., compares the verses Eur. Bacch. 294 f.: Μάντις δ' ὁ δαίμων ὄδε· τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον || καὶ τὸ μανιώδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει. || ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἔλθῃ πολὺς, || λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τοὺς μεμηγότας ποιεῖ, || and Cyclops 578 f.: ὁ δ' οὐρανὸς μοι συμμεμυγμένος δοκεῖ || τῇ γῇ φέρεσθαι, τοῦ Διὸς τε τὸν θρόνον || λείσσω, τὸ πᾶν τε δαιμόνων ἀγνὸν σέβας. On Dionysos as 'the Grecian Soma,' cf. Muir, OST. 5, 259 f.

293. To the Indian Soma cult the quite analogous Haoma cult of the Eastern Iranians corresponds; cf. e.g. the translation of Yaçnas 9 and 10 by Geldner, *Metrik des jüngern Avesta*, Tübingen 1877, p. 122 f.; Plutarch tries to reproduce "*haoma*," the regular Bactrian form of the Skt. *sōma*, *De Isid. et Osir.* 46, p. 369 E: πῶαν γὰρ τινα κόπτοντες ὄμωμι καλουμένην ἐν ὄλμῳ κτλ.

294. "The simple-minded Aryan people, whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature, had no sooner perceived that this liquid had power to elevate the spirits and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine; it was to their apprehension a god, endowing those into whom it entered with godlike powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants. . . . Soma is addressed in the highest strains of adulation and veneration; all powers belong to him; all blessings are besought of him, as his to bestow, etc." Whitney, *JAOS.* 3, 299 f. = *OLSt.* 1, 10 f.—It has already been remarked (p. 21) that a large number of hymns are addressed to Soma, among others all those of the ninth book.—In many passages it can, of course, not be determined whether the word *soma* is to be taken as an appellative or as a proper name.

295. Of Indra, e.g. above p. 41, with Note 144; cf. also p. 31. He is pleasing to all gods, he intoxicates and gladdens all; see e.g. 9, 90, 5; 9, 97, 42, etc.

296. 9, 88, 3; 9, 96, 7; 9, 100, 3; 1, 91, 1; 9, 70, 9; **10, 25, 6-8** (114): "Thou best knowest paths and places"; on Pûṣan, p. 56.

297. 9, 66, 16-18; 9, 29, 4; 9, 70, 10; 9, 91, 4; 9, 94, 5; 9, 47, 2: "What he had to do he has done; the destruction of the enemies is plain"; 9, 97, 54: "Soma has sunk them in sleep and death"; 9, 88, 4:

“Like Indra, who performs great deeds, thou, Soma, overcomest the enemies and destroyest the strongholds.”

298. 9, 70, 5; 9, 29, 5; 9, 79, 3; 9, 56, 4; 8, 48, 3 (in Note 292); 8, 48, 15: “Protect us in rear and front”; 1, 91, 8; 9, 104, 6; 9, 105, 6; 9, 110, 12; 9, 97, 16; 9, 85, 1; etc.

299. 9, 36, 5; 9, 14, 8; 9, 19, 1. — 9, 66, 17: “more generous than rich givers”; 9, 32, 6: “grant splendor to me and the lord of the sacrifice”; 9, 98, 4: “thousandfold gift with hundredfold life”; 1, 91, 7. — “Food and drink for man and beast, for animals and plants”: 9, 86, 35; 9, 94, 5; 9, 11, 3; 3, 62, 14.

300. 9, 107, 7; cf. 9, 97, 31 and 1, 93, 5: “Full of wisdom, Agni-Soma, ye placed those stars yonder in heaven”; 8, 68, 6; 9, 71, 7; 8, 68, 2: “He clothes what is naked, heals all that is sick, the blind see, the lame walk.”

301. 9, 41, 1; 9, 73, 5; 9, 63, 5 with 6, 52, 3.

302. 9, 96, 10; 9, 97, 40. 56; 9, 101, 7; 9, 86, 29; 9, 87, 2 (cf. 9, 65, 11); 9, 89, 6.

303. 1, 91, 3; 9, 64, 9; 9, 86, 29: “Thy brightness, O Radiant, is (like) the sun.”

304. 1, 91, 8; 6, 47, 4 (|| Varuṇa: above p. 63, with 8, 41, 10 in Note 244); 9, 87, 3; 9, 97, 10: “king of the race” (|| Varuṇa: 6, 68, 3: above p. 62, Note 242); 9, 71, 9; 9, 96, 7 (|| : p. 64 with Note 251); 9, 87, 3: “He knows what is hidden in them, the secret, concealed names of the cows (dawns)” (|| : 8, 41, 5: p. 64 and Note 250).

305. 9, 73, 4; 9, 47, 2; cf. 7, 104, 12. 13; 9, 85, 1; 9, 113, 4; 9, 110, 1: “To conquer the haters thou hastenest as the punisher of sin.”

306. 8, 48, 2; 1, 91, 4; 8, 68, 8; 1, 179, 5.

307. Delbrück, *Altind. Tempuslehre*, Halle 1877, p. 29.

308. 8, 68, 6; 8, 48, 7; 9, 4, 6; 1, 91, 7. 6: “Mayest thou will that we live; then shall we not die.” — 9, 113, 7-11; 9, 108, 3: “For thou hast called the races of the gods to immortality.”

309. Bṛhaspati: Roth, *ZDMG.* 1, 66 f.; Muir, *OST.* 5, 272-283; *GKR.* 107 f.; 4, 50. Bṛhaspati is not to be taken only as a name of Agni, and to be identified with him; cf. Muir, *l.c.* 281-283.

310. 4, 50, 1; 2, 24, 11; 6, 73, 1. 2. — 2, 24, 3; 4, 50, 5; 10, 68, 3-10; 2, 23, 18; 2, 24, 3 f.; 6, 73, 3.

311. 2, 23, 4. 8. 11; 2, 26, 13; 6, 73, 3. — 2, 23, 11. 17; 2, 24, 13.

312. 2, 26, 3 f.; 6, 73, 2. — 1, 18, 3 f.; 2, 23, 5; 2, 25, 5 etc. 2, 23, 9, 15; 2, 24, 10; 1, 18, 2; 3, 62, 4; 1, 190, 8. — 2, 23, 10, 19; 2, 25, 2; 4, 50, 6; Bṛhaspati's blessings, 2, 25.

313. 1, 90, 1; 2, 24, 10; 1, 40, 5. — 2, 23, 2.

314. 2, 23, 2; 2, 24, 1, 15; 2, 23, 10. — 4, 50, 1 (107); 1, 18, 7: "May he, without whom even a sage's sacrifice is fruitless, further the course of prayers." 2, 24, 9: "A high priest, who unites and scatters."

315. 2, 23, 6 Bṛhaspati is called *pathikṛt*, "*Path-preparer*"; and so 10, 14, 15 (148) "the Ṛṣis of former times, who prepared the way." What way is meant in this cannot be doubtful after the above, especially from 9, 113, 7 f. (111). — "With this meaning of *pathikṛt*, *pontifex* (identical in its first part) coincides exactly, and so much more, because we know what high reverence was paid to the Manes by the Romans (*cf.* above Note 283 f.); so they agree, at least for the older period, with Indians and Germans, in their conception of a happy future life, to which their Pontifex alone holds the key." A. Kuhn, KZ. 4, 76 f.

316. Viçve devās (p. 34): in GKR. 126 f.: 6, 50 and 8, 30. — 10, 100, 7.

317. The **Wedding Hymn** 10, 85 is treated by Haas, Die Heiratsgebräuche der alten Inder, nach den Grihjasūtra (*cf.* Note 24), in Ist. 5, 267–412, which is prefaced by Weber, *ibid.*, pp. 177–266, Vedische Hochzeitssprüche, with a translation of 10, 85, and a number of related texts of the Atharvaveda.

318. For the analogy among the Greeks and Romans, the *ἱερός*; *γάμος* of the highest god of the heaven, Zeus, and the moon-goddess, Hera, see Roscher, Studien zur vergleich. Mythologie 2, Juno und Hera, Leipzig 1875, p. 70 ff.

319. 10, 85, 18 f.: "Following each other, these two glad children encircle the air-region (instead of *adhvarām*, the variant *arṇavam*, AV. 7, 81, 1; 13, 2, 11; 14, 1, 23); the one surveys all creatures, the other, dividing the seasons, is born again. Ever new he is born again; as the standard of day he goes before the Dawns; he gives the gods their portions (regulates the times of sacrifice) by his course; the moon lengthens life."

320. Haas, *l.c.* p. 273. — In the text the subject could only be treated briefly after Çāṅkh. Gṛhya-sūtra 1, 13 (Oldenberg, Ist. 15, 27 f.), Pāraskara 1, 6, 3; *cf.* Âçv. 1, 7, 3 f.; see Zimmer, AIL. 311 f.

321. We cannot enter here upon the many and far-reaching coincidences; it is sufficient to refer to the treatises just mentioned (Note

317), especially the index l.c. 410-412, and the few observations in Jbb. 121, 457.

322. Pada c.: *Purāṁdhi*: "the rich"? or with *Sāyaṇa*, *Pūṣan*? or a special genius? cf. BR. s.v. — "With his right hand the right hand of the bride"; cf. 10, 18, 8 (above p. 77, bottom): "Who took thy hand once and espoused thee": the *dexterarum junctio* of the Romans.

323. I have already shown in Jbb. 121, 457, 28 that the corresponding Roman *quando (ubi ὄρον) tu Gaius, ego Gaia* was originally used at the marriage, and not (as it is given in most of the manuals) on entering the new home.

324. "From left to right" (*pradakṣiṇam*): ἐπιδέξια: Jbb. ibid. 27. Team of heifers: ibid. 29.

325. Zimmer, AIL. 313.

326. The following hymn, 10, 18 (see the beautiful rendering of Roth, ZDMG. 8, 467 ff. and GKR. 150 ff.), presupposes the burial, on the other hand e.g. 10, 16; 10, 17, 3 ff., the burning of the corpse. — The ritual is treated by M. Müller in the supplement to ZDMG. 9, 1 ff.

327. Trees are frequently mentioned as coffins (AV. 18, 2, 25. 3, 70), which recalls the Allemanian 'Totdenbaum.'

328. This stanza has a very special interest, because with a very slight forgery it would give the highest sanction, the Vedic authority, for the custom of burning the widow on the grave of the husband; cf. Colebrooke, On the duties of a faithful Hindu widow, in his Misc. Essays, 1, 132 f. ed. Cowell, and Fitzedward Hall, JRAS. NS. 3, 183 f. (from *ā rohantu yōnim āgre*, "let them first approach the place," the forgery *ā rohantu yōnim agnēh*, "let them enter the place of fire").

329. The grave is thus the dwelling of the body (above p. 69); so also among the Greeks and Romans: "The grave, according to the universal view of antiquity, is a dwelling into which the dead enter, there to begin another and better existence; it has, therefore, the character of a house, which requires a certain arrangement," etc. Becker-Marquardt, Römische Altertümer. 5, 1, 367 f. For German antiquity, it suffices to refer to Weinhold, Altnordisches Leben. p. 490 f. ("here a regular house was built for the dead . . .").

330. Here is already seen the present usage; "by the Roman pontifical law the most essential ceremony at every burial is the *glebam in os inicere*; whoever omitted throwing a handful of earth on an un-

buried corpse was guilty of a piaculum." Marquardt, l.c. 5, 1, 375; cf. Soph. Antig. 256, with the scholium and the Interpr. on Hor. Ode 1, 28, 30 f.

331. For the historical relations, Roth, ZLGW. p. 87 ff.; Lassen, IA. 1², 421 ff.; Ludwig, in the 'Nachrichten' (above p. 94), now enlarged in the "Mantralitteratur" = Rigveda, vol. 3, 167-177 and 203-256, and Zimmer, AIL. 100-138; 185-217; 430 f.; among the hymns are those already quoted by Roth, l.c. 3, 33 (132); 7, 18; 7, 33; 7, 83 (32) by Belang; details in 6, 26; 6, 47; 10, 48; 10, 49; 10, 102; etc.

332. Cf. above pp. 17, 19; Zimmer, AIL. 104 f. Pretenders, *ibid.* p. 165, 175-177 (Jbb. 121, 446).—Violence: 10, 166, 4: "I have come here overpowering with an all-subduing host; I make myself master of your intention, your resolve, your assembly."—Coalitions: e.g. against Sudâs in the battle of the ten kings, p. 80: 7, 83, 4-8 (32 f.).—Contests of the warlike nobility against the Brâhmanas: Zimmer, AIL. 197 f.

333. 7, 26, 1. 2: "Soma not rightly pressed (*i.e.* without song) does not please Indra, nor draughts poured without prayer the Mighty; I make him a song that he may rejoice in it, a mighty, new one, that he may hear us"; 8, 58, 14: "The young hero disdains the food prepared without a song"; 10, 105, 8: "A sacrifice without prayer does not greatly please thee."—1, 53, 1; 7, 32, 21: "With a poor song a mortal gains no good, no riches fall to the imperfect." 2, 33, 4: "May we not wake thy anger, O Lord, by a bad song."

334. After 3, 53, 9. 11 (according to Roth's rendering, ZLGW. 121); the fine hymn 3, 33 (132 f.); 3, 53, 12.—7, 33, 2. 6. "The final outcome is, however, different: while in later time the Tr̥tsus have disappeared, the Bhâratas shine forth in bright light." Zimmer, AIL. 128.

335. 7, 18, 5.

336. 7, 33, 3; 7, 83, 4; 7, 18, 18. 19. 13. 14; 7, 83, 4-8; in verse 4 Vasiṣṭha boasts: "Our mediation for the Tr̥tsus has prevailed."

337. 6, 47, 22; 6, 26, 4. From a comparison of this passage with 1, 33, 14; 6, 20, 8; 10, 49, 4 I conclude that Vetasu is the name of the gens to which Daçadyu belonged; so too now Zimmer, AIL. 128.

338. 7, 8, 4; 6, 27, 5. 6. *Har̥iyûpiya* and *Yavyâvati*, otherwise unknown, are probably rivers. (Probably not *one hundred and thirty*; cf. e.g. *catuṣçatam* Vâl. 7, 4, etc.)

339. The Dânas̥tutis are quite numerous, especially in the eighth book; cf. Ludw. Rv. 3, 274 f.; Zimmer, AIL. 170 f.; for the

later time, Weber, *ISt.* 10, 47 ff.—Note 341. [Oldenberg, *ZDMG.* 37, 83 ff.]

340. So for those of the families of princes; in the gens of *Trasadyu* we get the line *Mitrâtithi*, *Kuruçravaṇa*, *Upamaçravas* (Note 94); in the *Tṛtsus*, *Vadhryaçva*, *Divodasa*, *Atithigva*, *Pijavana*, *Sudâs*; further details can be gained from Ludwig's collections, *Rv.* 3, 100–167.

341. 5, 30, 12–15 (*pravṛje*: see R. Garbe, *ZDMG.* 34, 321). Some further examples, interesting in matter, follow: 6, 47, 22 (each ten caskets, steeds, the spoils of *Çambara*, chests, garments as presents; lumps of gold, chariots with horses, a hundred cows).—8, 1, 32 ff.; 8, 4, 20 ff. a singer drives away, as the reward of his songs, sixty thousand, whole herds of cows, so that the very trees rejoice where he rests.—8, 5, 37 f.: “*Kaçu*, the *Cedi*, gave a hundred buffaloes and ten thousand cattle, ten coverings adorned with gold (*tvaco* instead of *râjno* with *Delbrück* in *Grassmann* 1, 558); for the tribes subject to the *Cedi* princes are tanners; none walk in the path in which the *Cedis* go, no other lord of the sacrifice, no other people is reputed more generous”; 8, 6, 46 (hundreds from *Tirindira*, thousands from *Paçu*, among the *Yadus*; three hundred steeds, ten thousand cattle, double teams of buffaloes). 8, 21, 18: “*Citra* is a true king, obscure kings are those there (*îsti*) on the *Sarasvatî*; as *Parjanya* gives rain with thunder, he gave a thousand myriads.”—8, 63, 13 ff.—*Vâl.* 7, 2 ff.: “A hundred white heifers gleam like the stars in heaven; by their greatness they support the heaven. A hundred bamboo reeds, a hundred dogs, a hundred soft tanned skins, a hundred fabrics of *Balbuja* grass are mine, four hundred ruddy mares. Then the sevenfold team was praised: great is the renown of the not yet fully completed; the brown mares rush along the way so fast that the eye cannot follow them.”—*Vâl.* 8, 1 ff.: “Thy rich gift, O *Dasyavevṛka*, is displayed; thy renown is high as the heavens. *Dasyavevṛka*, the son of *Pûtakratâ*, gave me ten thousand from his own possessions. A hundred asses, a hundred sheep, rich in wool, a hundred slaves, and wreaths of flowers; moreover, an adorned mare was brought forward for the *Pûtakratâs* (*i.e.* as their present), which did not belong to the steeds of the herd.”—10, 62, 8: “. . . and two slaves, well trained for service, together with many cattle, *Yadu* and *Turva* gave me.”—8, 46, 22 ff., 3: “And this excellent wife, adorned with ornaments, is brought to me (the singer), *Vaça Açvia*.”—1, 126, 1 ff. *Kakṣivant* piously brings joyful songs of praise, because a king dwelling on the *Sindhu*, striving for renown, has given him rich presents, and thereby raised his own imperishable renown to heaven: A hundred golden ornaments, a hundred steeds at one time, a hundred

cattle, ten chariots with maidens, a thousand and sixty cattle fell to my share at the departure of day. Forty ruddy steeds lead the train of a thousand with their ten spans; the *Kakṣivants*, the race of the *Pājras*, bore away spirited racers adorned with pearls. — 6, 27, 8 (a double chariot team, twenty cows with maidens, a gift of the *Pārthavas* hard to attain). — 7, 18, 22. — 8, 19, 36. — 8, 57, 15, and others. (Against Roth, BR. 6, 663, Grassmann Dict. 1203 and Transl., and Delbrück, Chrestom. 21, after Durga in the last five passages, I take *vadhû* in the usual signification; that women were given as slaves is shown in 8, 46, 33. So Ludw. Rv. 2, 622, 653. 655; 1, 427; 2, 218 and Zimmer, AIL. 107 ff., on linguistic evidence.)

342. 7, 103, GKR. 169 f.; cf. Müller, ASL. p. 494; Muir, OST. 5, 435. MTr. 194. Haug, *Brahma und die Brahmanen*, p. 12. 40 f. does not consider the hymn a satire; frogs and priests are mentioned together only because both have reference to rain; so G. Buhler. I cannot agree with Gubernatis or Bergaigne, *Revue Critique*, 1875, 2, 393, "que les grenouilles dont il s'agit ici sont des grenouilles mythiques." [This is one of the three rain-bringing hymns, the others being 7, 101 and 7, 102.]

343. 9, 112, GKR. 167; Muir, OST. 5, 424. MTr. 190.

344. 10, 97, translated by Roth, ZDMG. 25, 645 f. and GKR. 172 ff.

345. 10, 127, GKR. 138 f.; Muir, OST. 4, 498. Cf. the beautiful prayer to Night for protection, AV. 19, 47, translated by A. Kuhn, KZ. 13, 131 f.; Muir, OST. 4, 498-500; and Zimmer, AIL. 179 f.

346. 10, 146, GKR. 140 f. Muir, OST. 5, 423. MTr. 189. — Broad humor is shown in the soliloquy of the intoxicated Indra, 10, 119, GKR. 81 f. Muir, OST. 5, 90.

347. GKR. 158 ff. Muir, OST. 5, 425. MTr. 190. R. Heinzel, *Stil der altgermanischen Poesie*, Strasburg 1875, p. 53.

348. The hymn 10, 117 (155 f.) is a collection of sayings; to verses 1-6, which describe the blessing of well-doing, other passages have been added; cf. also the so-called Song of Wisdom, 10, 71 (162 f.).

349. How much speaking, but not silence, brought in gold to the *Brāhmans* is shown e.g. in Note 341; the blessing of the 'reward of sacrifice' is, therefore, praised in the highest strains in a special hymn, 10, 107 (Muir, OST. 5, 433; verses 8-11 MTr. 192); in the late verses, 1, 18, 5; 10, 103, 8, it is addressed directly as a god (*dakṣiṇā*), together with Indra, Soma, *Bṛhaspati*, and the *Maruts*. 10, 107, 5 ff.: "Who-

ever gives dakṣiṇā goes before as the chief of the clan (*cf.* 4, 50, 7-9 (108); 1, 40, 7. 8; 1, 190, 5 etc.). I consider him the king of the peoples who first introduced dakṣiṇā. The generous die not, they fall not into ruin, they suffer no harm, and are not moved; all that this whole world and the heavens contain dakṣiṇā brings to the givers. They gain splendid homes, beautiful as a lotus-pond, adorned like the dwellings of the gods; the maiden, clad in beautiful garments, waits upon them"; with this 5, 37, 3: "Here comes a woman, seeking a husband for herself; who shall lead home the blooming wife? His (*sc.* the righteous) chariot hastens by, rumbling, and many thousands direct their gaze to him" (*i.e.* the righteous wins the most desirable wife).

350. 10, 117, 9 (156) and 10, 32, 7 (*srutim*; Müller's texts *stutim*. Sāyana, *mārgam*).

351. 8, 33, 17: For Indra himself even said: "Woman's . . ." like Simon. Amorg. fgm. 1, 16 f. 44 f.: ἡ σύν τ' ἀνάγκη σύν τ' ἐνιπήσιν μόγυς || ἔσπερξεν ὧν ἅπαντα καὶ ποιήσατο || ἀρεστά and fgm. 7, 1 (after Meineke): χωρὶς γυναικας θεὸς ἐποίησεν νόου || τὰ πρῶτα. 10, 95, 15: "There can be no friendship with women, their hearts are those of hyenas"; on the other hand, the more favorable verdict, 5, 61, 6. 7: "And many a woman is often better than the man, the godless, impious; she, who knows well how to distinguish the weary, the thirsty, and lovers (*i.e.* helps and assists each in the right way), and has turned her mind to the gods." Ibid. v. 8: "And many a man, because he is unloved, is called a Papī (child of the devil, miser); but he remains the same even in his revenge" (*i.e.* can control himself; is better than his reputation. Differently Grassmann 1, 543, and Ludwig 2, 621).

352. 10, 27, 12: "To how many a maiden does the wooer, who desires to become her husband, show affection for the sake of her admirable treasures; but if a woman is pure and beautiful, she can of herself (even without treasure) find her mate in the people." 6, 28, 5: "Ye cows make even the lean fat, the ugly even ye make beautiful in countenance."

353. 4, 24, 9 (70) and 10, 107, 3; *cf.* v. 7: "Whoever is wise, makes the rewards of sacrifice his armor."

354. Here, already, is the wheel of fortune spoken of by Croesus to Cyrus, in Hdt. 1, 207: εἰ δὲ ἔγνωκας, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἷς καὶ ἐτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκείνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὡς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπητῶν ἐστὶ πρηγματῶν, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχέειν. Tibull. 1, 5, 70: versatur celeri Fors levis orbe rotæ, etc.

355. After 10, 117, 1-6 (155 f.).

356. 10, 71, 7. The whole hymn in GKR. 162 f.

357. 4, 33, 11 (122); 5, 48, 5: "We know not in our human wisdom where the Dispenser Savitar will give the desired good"; 10, 12, 8: "We do not understand the mysterious council in which the gods agree." Cf. also 1, 105, 16 in Note 233, and 10, 149, 2 in Note 370. — 8, 18, 22 with 1, 164, 30 and 1, 116, 3.

358. 10, 60, 12; 10, 137, 12. — 10, 137 is translated by Aufrecht, ZDMG. 24, 203 ff.; v. 1: "Ihr Götter hebt Gesunkene ans Land, ihr Götter, wieder auf; Und Götter, schuldbeladenen, weckt Ihr zu neuem Lebenslauf"; v. 7: "Ob zähngezacktem Händepaar flüstert die Zunge heil'gen Spruch; das leg' ich auf, das löse dich von deiner Uebel Wucht und Fluch."

359. 8, 80 *e.g.* tells how Indra heals a woman, Apālā, who is afflicted by a skin disease, by drawing her "through three apertures of his car," a remedy which Aufrecht, *IST.* 4, 1-8, in agreement with Kuhn, connects with German superstition. — 10, 163 (translated by Kuhn, *KZ.* 13, 66 f.); 10, 162, 1 f. (*KZ.* 13, 149); cf. 10, 97, 12 (173); 10, 103, 12; 10, 164, 1. — 7, 50, etc.

360. 10, 161, 2. 5; 10, 18, 14 (152); 10, 60, 7 f.; cf. in general the Gaupāyana hymns, 10, 57-60, treated by M. Müller, *JRAS.* NS. 2, 426 ff. (translated p. 457 ff.).

361. 10, 164, 5; 10, 162, 3 f.; charm against vermin, 1, 191 cf. 7, 50, 2 f.; 10, 165 is for the purpose of warding off the injury, probably death, announced by a dove (? *kapota*); v. 1: "Ye gods, for that which the dove, seeking, came hastening as the messenger of Nirriti, we will sing, we will propitiate, may it be well with us, with man and beast. The dove shall be propitious to us." In v. 4, beside the *kapota*, the owl is mentioned as the messenger of death (cf. *AV.* 6, 29, 2), in which function it is known also to German popular superstitions. — In 2, 42, 3 and 43, the wish is made that "a prophetic (ominous) bird may lift his voice on the right of our houses" ('*taschenhalb*,' as Hartlieb said); Homer, *Il.* 24, 319 f.: εἴσατο δέ σφω || δεξιὸς ἀτίτας ὑπὲρ ἄστρος. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες || γήθησαν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἰάνθη. So *Il.* 10, 274 f.; 13, 821 f.; 24, 292 f.; *Od.* 24, 311 f. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.* p. 1083 ff. *Gesch. d. Dtsch. Spr.*¹ p. 983 ff. — The Romans in part differently.

362. In 10, 145 (German by A. Weber, *IST.* 5, 222. Zimmer, *AIL.* 307), a girl seeks to drive off a successful rival, and to bind a man to herself (Ἰνγξ, ἔλακε τὸν τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἀνδρα); cf. the inverse of this in the passage from the *Çat. Br.* in Kuhn, *Herabkunft*,

p. 75 f. — 10, 159 (German by Delbrück, Altind. Tempulsehre, p. 14) is the song of triumph of a woman after a successfully accomplished charm, which was to make her the only wife of her husband (much related matter from the AV. in Weber, *IST.* 5, 218–266); in 7, 55, 5–8 (see Aufrecht, *IST.* 4, 337–342; Zimmer, *AIL.* 308 f.) a maiden awaiting her lover seeks to put the whole household to sleep, from the grandfather to the faithful watch-dog. — Through 10, 19 it is sought to bring back cows which have wandered off, etc.

363. GKR. 129 f.; Indra, p. 41; Rudra, p. 38; Viṣṇu, p. 56. The two Aṅvins with Sūryā, p. 50.

364. Haug, *Vedische Rätselfragen und Rätselsprüche*, Sitzungsber. der Philos.-Philol.-Histor. Classe der Königl. Bair. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu München. 1875, II. p. 459 f. (above Note 116*). Haug translates there, RV. 1, 164, a mixtum compositum of such questions. Ludw. RV. 3, 390 f. [Roth, *Lösung eines Räthsels im Veda*, ZDMG. 37, 109 ff.]

365. Beginnings of Philosophy: cf. Weber, *HIL.* 232 f.; Haug, *Die Kosmogonie der Inder*. Ausburger Allgem. Zeitung, 1873, p. 2373 f., 2390 f.; more in detail, Muir, *OST.* 4, 3 f. and 5, 350 f.

366. I mean *e.g.* the personification of abstract conceptions to genii, as of

Anumati ('agreement') to the genius of divine purity and mercy (10, 59, 6: "Long may we see the sun rise; O Anumati, be gracious to us"; 10, 167, 3: "In Soma's decree and King Varuṇa's, in Bṛhaspati's and Anumati's protection");

Ḡrad dhâ ('confidence, faithfulness,' *crêdo* = *grad-dhâ*) to the genius of faith (10, 151, 1–5; Muir, *MTr.* 330 f., v. 1: "Through faith the fire is kindled, through faith the oblation is offered, with our words we proclaim faith (to be) upon the head of good fortune"; v. 5: "We invoke faith in the morning, at noon, and at the setting of the sun; O Faith, inspire us with faith"; cf. 9, 113, 2–4, GKR. 110).

367. 1, 164, 5 with 10, 82, 7 (above p. 88: "Him ye can never know, who formed," etc.).

368. *E.g.* of Indra; above p. 45, with Note 155.—10, 88, 17 (*upaspij* ?); 1, 185, 1.—10, 81, 4 = 10, 31, 7 (cf. the Norse 'World-ash' Yggdrasil); 10, 81, 4. 2.

369. 10, 5, 7: "Existence and non-existence are in the highest heaven, in Dakṣa's home, in the bosom of Aditi"; 10, 72, 2: "In the former races of the gods, being was born from not-being"; 10, 129, 1. 4; above p. 90.

370. 10, 149, 2 f.: "Where once the firmly founded sea sprang forth, that Savitar alone knows (so we need inquire no further concerning it; see 5, 48, 5 and 10, 12, 8, in Note 357); then from it the world and the realm of air arose, from thence heaven and earth spread forth; on it came into being Savitar's revered bird, with beautiful wings in the heaven" (the sun; Notes 215, 226).

371. According to 10, 72, 2. 6. 7, in the time of the first race of gods, existence was born from non-existence; then Brahmanaspati welded the world together, like a blacksmith; the gods stood in the flood; dust rose from them as from dancers. They lifted forth the sun, lying hidden in the sea, and caused the earth to swell. — 10, 81, 3: "Everywhere present, Viçvakarman creating welds earth and heaven together." — 10, 149, 2 f. in Note 370; 10, 190, 1 f. in Note 372.

372. 10, 190, 1 f.: "Law and Truth arose from kindled fire (*tapas* : perhaps '*penance*'?); thence night was born, thence the surging sea (of air?); dividing day and night, he rules all that close the eyes. Sun and moon the creator formed in turn; heaven and earth, the air-space and the realm of light." — To this I refer *1, 161, 9* (118): of the Rbhus who, full of wisdom, entertain each other at work with sayings (*4, 33, 10*: 122), one holds water for the most important thing (*bhūyis̥tha*), another considers fire the most essential.

It was stated (p. 13) that the waters are praised very loudly on account of their healing and refreshing powers; cf. (together with Notes 241 and 245) *1, 23, 16-23*; *7, 47*; *10, 9* and *7, 49* (125). They are often called "motherly," or, "most motherly, very motherly"; cf. *6, 50, 7* (127): "O ye waters, friendly to man, grant us unending favor, prosperity for child and grandchild. For ye, most motherly, are our physicians, ye bear all things, animate and inanimate." Water appears in the Brāhmanas, more often than in the Rig, as the starting-point of all animal creation (see Weber, *ISt.* 9, 2, n. 2 and 9, 74). In the *Taitt.-Sanh.* 7, 1, 5, 1 (*ISt.* 12, 245) it is stated that "in the beginning was the expanse of water, and upon it Prajāpati moved (p. 76*) in the form of a wind, of a breath," which recalls the *rūach elohim* of Genesis 1, 2.

373. Translated by Müller, OGR. 300 f.; the following verses translated by Müller, OGR. 301 f.; Muir, *OST.* 4, 16; Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 23. (Müller, v. 6, reads *rodasī*, "heaven and earth," instead of *krandasī*, "the two armies.") V. 7 seems not to have belonged originally to the hymn. That v. 10: "Prajāpati, no other than thou is lord over all these created things: may we obtain that, through desire of which we have sacrificed; may we become masters of riches," appears to have been incorporated into the Rig

text later, only after the formation of the Pada text, was remarked in Note 79.

From the beginning of the refrain *Kásmāi devāya* (*cui deo, to what god*) the native tradition evolved at an early period a special highest unknown god, *Ka* (*Quo, Quis*), a new illustration of the degree to which the understanding of the texts had been lost: above p. 10*.

374. Single verses; 1, 164, 46: "Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, they call him, and then he is that celestial, well-winged bird; that which is one they call by different names: they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariçvan" (a verse with which the Brāhmins seek to invalidate the accusation of polytheism); 10, 114, 5: "Inspired singers represent under many forms the well-winged, who is one" (although he is but one).

To Viçvakarman: 10, 81 and 10, 82; often made use of above: Notes 367, 368, and 371; pp. 88 and 89. — Indra is called *viçvakarman*, 8, 87, 2.

375. GKR. 165 f.; Müller, ASL. 559; Muir, OST. 4, 3 f.; 5, 356 f.; MTr. 188; Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 22 (I abandon the theory of a hiatus between verses 4 and 5 (with Bergaigne, *Rev. Crit.* 1875, II. 393), and refer *eṣām* to *kavayas*). [On this hymn see Whitney, *Am. Or. Soc. Proc.*, May 1882. "The general character and value of the hymn are very clear. It is of the highest historical interest as the earliest known beginning of such speculation in India, or probably anywhere among Indo-European races. The attitude of its author and the audacity of his attempt are exceedingly noteworthy. But nothing can be said in absolute commendation of the success of the attempt. On the contrary, it exhibits the characteristic weaknesses of all Hindu theosophy; a disposition to deal with words as if they were things, to put forth paradox and insoluble contradiction as profundity. . . . The unlimited praises which have been bestowed upon it, as philosophy and poetry, are well-nigh nauseating." — Verse 2: "Whether 'fervor' (*tapas*) means physical heat or devotional ardor, penance, according to the later prevalent meaning of the word, admits of a question; but it is doubtless to be understood in the latter sense. For no such element as heat plays any part in the Hindu cosmogonies, while penance, the practice of religious austerities, is a constant factor in their theories." — Verse 5: "But the next verse is still more unintelligible; no one has ever succeeded in putting any sense into it, and it seems so unconnected with the rest of the hymn that its absence is heartily to be wished. 'Crosswise [was] stretched out the ray [line] of them: was it, forsooth, below? was it, forsooth, above? impregnators were, greatneses were; *svadhā* below, offering beyond.' The word rendered 'offering' is literally 'forth-

reaching,' and, as sometimes also, as perhaps here, the signification 'straining, intentness.' . . . Who the 'they' are, unless the sages of the preceding verse, it is hard to guess" (Whitney, l.c.). Brunnhofer, *Geist der Indischen Lyrik*, p. 16, translates v. 5a: "And to these sages a ray of light appeared"; Ludwig: "From one to another was drawn the bond of these"; Muir: "The ray [or cord] which stretched across these [worlds]."]

Finally, we may mention:

a. The song to the twins *Yama* and *Yami*, the first human beings, 10, 10, GKR. 142. [Muir, OST. 5, 288.]

b. The so-called Song of Wisdom, 10, 71, GKR. 162 (cf. above p. 85 and Note 348).

c. The hymn to the Goddess of Speech, *Vâc* (*voc-s*) 10, 125, GKR. 136 f.; on *vâc* and *λόγος* (in St. John), cf. Weber, IST. 9, 473-480; Schlottman and Weber, IST, 10, 444 f., point out Biblical parallels.

d. The hymn to the Genius of the House, *Vâstoṣpati*, 7, 54 GKR. 135, to be recited, according to *Pâraskara*, *Gṛhyas*. 3, 4 (with 7, 55, 1), after the entrance into the house.

e. The modern, pantheistic *Puruṣa-sūkta*, 10, 90, 'the Magna Charta of Brahmanism' (Haug), which tries to explain and justify the already existing division of the state into the four castes (v. 11 f.: "When they divided the original creature, *Puruṣa* (i.e. 'man'), the *Brâhman* was his mouth, the *Râjanya* became his arms, the *Vaiçya* was his thighs, from his feet sprang the *Çudra*"); see Weber, IST. 9, 1-10; Muir, OST. 1, 7-15; 2, 454 ff.; 5, 367 ff.; Zimmer, AIL. 217 f.

f. And finally, the Dialogue of *Purûravas* and *Urvaçi*, 10, 95; see Roth, Erl. zum *Nirukta*, p. 153 ff., 230; Müller, Chips, 2, 98 ff.; Hehn, *Herabkunft*, p. 78 f., 85 f.

Müller's LSL.

Note 141,	English Edition,	2, 430.
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I.

INDEX OF MATTERS, NAMES, AND WORDS.

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RIG-VEDA-SANHITA.

VOL. I.

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BY T. COMBE, M.A., E. B. GARDNER, E. P. HALL, AND H. LATHAM, M.A..

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RIG-VEDA-SANHITA.

THE SACRED HYMNS OF THE BRAHMANS

TRANSLATED AND EXPLAINED

BY

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VOL. I.

HYMNS TO THE MARUTS OR THE STORM-GODS.



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OF
COLEBROOKE, ROSEN, BURNOUF,
THE THREE FOUNDERS
OF VEDIC SCHOLARSHIP IN EUROPE.

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PREFACE.

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 Sâyana'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 *Sanhitâ* 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 *Rig-veda* rather than to an independent study of that text, it was chiefly from a conviction that the traditional interpretation of the *Rig-veda*, as embodied in the commentary of *Sâyana* 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 *Sâyana*. 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 Sâyana 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, Sâyana's commentary was a *sine quâ non* for a scholarlike study of the Rig-veda. I do not wonder that others who have more recently entered on that study are inclined to speak disparagingly of the scholastic interpretations of Sâyana. 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 Sâyana 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 Sâyana, 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 collation 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 prâha nripatim râgan, sâyanâryo mamânugah, sarvam vetty esha vedânâm vyâkhyâtritvena yugyatâm.* The same MS., after verse 4, adds : *ityukto mâdhavâryena virabukkamahîpatih, anvasât sâyânâkâryam vedârthasya prakâsane.*

I had for a time some hope that MSS. written in Grantha or other South-Indian alphabets might have preserved an independent text of Sâyana, 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 tâvatâ sarvâ rikô vyâkhyâtum 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 Sâyana'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 *punañ kidrisam,* on page 44, line 24, this MS. reads : *athavâ yagñasya devam iti sambandhañ, yagñasya prakâsakam ityârthañ, purohitam iti prithagviseshanam.* And again, page 44, line 26, before *punañ kidrisam,* this MS. adds : *athavâ ritvigam ritvigvid (vad) yagñanirvâhakam hotâram devânâm âhvâtâram ; tathâ ratnadhâtamam.* In the same line, after *ratnânâm,* we read *ramanîyadhanânâm vâ,* 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 Ashtakas, 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 *bond 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. Sâyana'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 Sâyana 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 Sâyana, 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 Sâyana'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 criticise 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 Nâbhânedishta 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. 'Animadvertite,' he writes, 'tres syllabas postremas vocis adhvarânâm 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 agnoscere 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. 111, 1, is called an Atyashti, and the first pâda is said to consist of twelve syllables. In order to get this number, the author must have read,

ăyâ rūkâ hărinŷâ pŷnânâh.

Immediately after, verse iv. 1, 3, is called a Dhriti, and the first pâda must again have twelve syllables. Here therefore the author takes it for granted that we should read,

săkhē săkhâyam ōbhŷ â vāvritsvā*.

No one, in fact, with any ear for rhythm, whether Saunaka and Piṅgala, 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 :

utá bruvantu nah nídah níh anyátah kit árata,
 dádhánáh índre ít dúvah,
 utá nah su-bhágân aríh vokéyuh dasma krishtáyah,
 syáma ít índrasya sármani.

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. *aríh*, 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 *aríh* should be joined with *krishtáyah*, and that he therefore proposed to alter it to *aríh*, 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 arih pluralis esse, contracta terminatione, pro arayah?*

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 Sanhitâ text. Whether the Pada or the Sanhitâ 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 Prâtisâkhyas, 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 Sanhitâ text. But, on the other hand, the Pada text in some cases clearly presupposes the Sanhitâ text. It leaves out passages which are repeated more than once, while the Sanhitâ 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*, *agîshu*, 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 *yagñám prá krinuta sakhâyah*, 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 *krinuta* 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 ragasi instead of dhâvasi, because his eye was caught by râgâ in the preceding line. x. 16, 5, the same MS. reads sám 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 kakartha 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 devayū	instead of devayūḥ †.
ix. 11, 4, ,, arḥata	,, arḥate †.
ix. 14, 2, ,, yadī sabandhavaḥ	,, yaddīptabandhavaḥ †.
ix. 16, 3, ,, anaptam	,, anuptam †.
ix. 17, 2, ,, suvânâsa	,, stuvânâsa †.
ix. 21, 2, ,, pravrinvanto	,, pravrinvato †.
ix. 48, 2, ,, samvrikta	,, samyukta †.
ix. 49, 1, ,, no 'pâm	,, no yâm †.
ix. 54, 3, ,, sūryaḥ	,, sūryam †.
ix. 59, 3, ,, sīda ni	,, sīdati †.

† As printed by Pandit Târânâtha.

The third check was a comparison of this text with Sâyana'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 Sanhitâ 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 Sâyana 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 Prâtisâkhya.

These were the principles by which I was guided in the critical restoration of the text of the Rig-veda, 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 Sâyana, and in all important points identically the same with that text which the authors of the Prâtisâkhya 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 *sasamánám* occurs three times instead of *sasamánám*, 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 *Prâtisákhyā*, 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 *Prâtisákhyā*, 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 *Válakhilya** 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 *Válakhilya* is found in the *Taittiriya-âraṇyaka* i. 23. We are told that *Pragâpati* created the world, and in the process of creation the following interlude occurs :

sa tapo 'tapyata. sa tapas taptvâ sarîram adhûnuta. tasya yan mâmsam âsît tato 'runâh ketavo vâtarasanâ rishaya udatishtan. ye nakhâh, te vaikhânasâh. ye bâlâh, te bâlakhilyâh.

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

The author of this allegory therefore took *bâla* or *vâla* in *vâlakhilya*, not in the sense of child, but identified it with *bâla*, hair.

The commentator remarks with regard to *tapas* : *nâtra tapa upavâsâdirûpam, kimtu srashtavyam vastu kidrisam iti paryâloċanarûpam.*

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 Kâtyâyana's Sarvânukrama, though here the same accident has happened. One commentator, Shadgurusishya, the one most commonly used, does not explain them; but another commentator, Gagannâtha, does explain them, exactly as they occur in the Sarvânukrama, 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 *Anukramanîs* 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 *Sâyana'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 Sarvânukrama. Eight of them are mentioned in the Brihaddevatâ, without any allusion to their apocryphal character :

Parâny ashtau tu sûktâny rishînâm tigmategasâm,
Aindrâny atra tu shadvimsah pragâtho bahudaivatah.
Rig antyâgner akety agnih sûryam antyapado gagau.
Praskanvas ka prishadhras ka prâdâd yad vastu
kimkana

Bhûrîd iti tu sûktâbhyâm akhilam parikîrtitam.
Aindrâny ubhayam ity atra shaî 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 (pâdapûranârtham), 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 eta~~kkh~~hâkhâsanketapâthas khândasah sarvatra.

foot celebrates Sûrya. Whatsoever Praskanva and Prishadhra gave (or, if we read *prishadhrâya*, 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 *ubhayam*.'

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, *hetâyañ* 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 Ârshî 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 Sanhitâ it is sometimes elided, and sometimes not. Thus the Prâtisâkhya begins in Sûtra 139 by stating that if the short a stands at the beginning of a pâda 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 Prâtisâkhya. He is a statistician, not a grammarian, and he therefore simply adds in Sûtra 153 the only three exceptional passages where the a, under these very circumstances, happens to be not elided. He then proceeds in Sûtra 139 to state that a is elided even in the middle of a pâda, provided it be light, followed by y or v, and these, y or v, again followed by a light vowel. Hence the Sanhitâ writes te 'vâdan, so 'yâm, but not sîkshanto 'vratam, for here the a of avratam is heavy; nor mitramaho 'vadyât, 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 âvo. 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 Sanhitâ writes indeed gâvo 'bhîta^h, but not gâvo '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 Vâlakhilya hymn in which *hetâyah* 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, *satânîkâ hetâyo asya*. It might be objected that the Prâtisâkhya only quotes *hetâyah* as an exceptional word, and does not refer directly to the verse in the Vâlakhilya hymn. But fortunately *hetâyah* 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 Vâlakhilya 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 *Vasishtâ* or *Visvâmitra*.

It would lead me too far, were I to enter here into similar cases in support of the fact that the Prâtisâkhya 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 Prâtisâkhya 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 Prâtisâkhyas. But until that possi-

* The Prâtisâkhya 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 Prâtisâkhyas? 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 Prâtisâkhyas 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 Prâtisâkhyas: 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 Prâtisâkhyas, 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 Prâtisâkhyas 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 yagnéshu mitrá-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 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 Prâtisâkhya. 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 Prâtisâkhya, and they will commit occasionally the very mistakes against which they are warned by the Prâtisâkhya. Thus the Prâtisâkhya (Sûtra 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 Sâyana, and which was known, probably 2000 years earlier, to the authors of the Prâtisâkhyas, 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 Devanâgarî, 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 Devanâgarî 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 Devanâgarî 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 Prâtisâkhya.

I begin with some mistakes of my own, mistakes which I might have avoided, if I had always consulted the Prâtisâkhya, 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, *sasamánám* instead of *sasamánám*; i. 124, 4, *sudhyúvah*, in the Pada, instead of *sundhyúvah*; and the substitution in several places of a short u instead of a long û in such forms as *sûsávâma*, when occurring in the Pada; cf. i. 166, 14; 167, 9.

It is clear from Sûtra 819 and 163, 5, that the two words *ûtí* *indra* in iv. 29, 1, should not be joined together, but that in the Sanhitâ the hiatus should remain. Hence *ûtí**indra*, 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, *ûtí* *itthâ*. MSS. S. 1, S. 3. are right; in S. 2. the words are joined.

It follows from Sûtra 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 Prâtisâkhya. In viii. 26, 11, therefore, *vaiyyasvâsya*, as printed in my edition and repeated in Professor Aufrecht's, should be changed to *vaiyasvâsya*. MSS. S. 1, S. 3. are right, likewise P. 1, P. 2; but S. 2. has the double mistake *vayyasvâsya*, as described in the Prâtisâkhya; 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 *Padapâtha* only, as printed in my edition, are pointed out in a note to Sûtra 738 of the Prâtisâkhya. Thus,

according to Sûtra 583, 6, *srûyâh* in the Pada text of ii. 10, 2, should be changed to *sruyâh*. MSS. P. 1, P. 2. have the short u.

In v. 7, 8, I had printed *súkih* shma, leaving the a of shma short in accordance with the Prâtisâkhya, Sûtra 514, where a string of words is given before which sma must not be lengthened, and where under No. II. we find *yâsmâi*. Professor Aufrecht has altered this, and gives the â 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 *mâvate*. Hence, according to Sûtra 514, 14, I ought not to have printed in vi. 65, 4, *shmâ mâvate*, but *shma mâvate*. 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 Sûtra 499 that in i. 138, 4, we should not lengthen the vowel of *sú*. Hence, instead of *asyâ û shû na úpa sâtáye*, as printed in my edition and repeated by Professor Aufrecht, we should read *asyâ û shú na úpa sâtáye*. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have short u.

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

While in cases like these, the Prâtisâkhya 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 Sâyana 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 purŭ yó. I had, however, corrected this misprint in my edition of the Prâtisâkhya, 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 purŭ.

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 Prâtisâkhya, never occurs in the Sanhitâ 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 mâtrâ. Of course, nothing is said by the Prâtisâkhya 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 Sanhitâ 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 mâtrâ, the Vivritti or hiatus has the length of $\frac{1}{4}$ mâtrâ, if the two vowels are short; of $\frac{1}{2}$ mâtrâ, if either vowel is long; of $\frac{3}{4}$ mâtrâ, 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 remarks 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 Pañkāla and Prākya padavritti (Sūtra 137). If, on the contrary, final o or e become one (ekābhavati) with the initial short a, this is called the Abhinihita sandhi (Sūtra 138). While the former, the hiatus of the Pañkāla and Eastern schools, is marked by the writers of several MSS. by the sign *ṣ*, the Abhinihita sandhi, being a sandhi, is not marked by any sign*.

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

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

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

i. 10, 12. *gúshṭāḥ*, 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 takes place in the Sanhitā, see p. xxxv seq.

i. 11, 4. *kávir* (Aufr. p. 7) should be *kavír* (M. M. vol. i. p. 143).

i. 22, 8. read *rádhâmsi*.

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 ántebhyaḥ*. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. preserve the initial *a*, nor does the *Prâtisákhya* anywhere provide for its suppression.

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

i. 55, 7. *vandanasrúd* (Aufr. p. 47) instead of *vandanasrud* (M. M. vol. i. p. 514) is wrong.

i. 57, 2. *samásita* instead of *samásita* had been corrected in my reprint of the first *Mandala*, published at Leipzig. See Bollensen, *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, vol. xxii. p. 626.

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

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

i. 67, 2 (4). *vidántîm* (M. M. vol. i. p. 594) is perfectly right, as far as the authority of the MSS. and of *Sâyana* is concerned, and should not have been altered to *vindántîm* (Aufr. p. 57).

i. 72, 2. read *vatsám* ; i. 72, 6. read *paśñ* ; i. 76, 3. read *dhákshy* ; i. 82, 1. read *yadá*.

i. 83, 3. Rosen was right in giving *ásamyatah*. I gave *ásamyatah* on the authority of P. 1, but all the other MSS. have *tt*.

i. 84, 1. *indra* (Auf. p. 68) cannot have the accent on the first syllable, because it does not stand at the beginning of a *páda* (M. M. vol. i. p. 677). The same applies to *índra*, vi. 41, 4, (Auf. p. 429) instead of *indra* (M. M. vol. iii. p. 734); to *ágne*, i. 140, 12, (Auf. 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 *páda*, ought to have the accent on the first syllable, *índra* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 855), not *indra* (Auf. p. 249). The same mistake occurs again, iii. 36, 10, (Auf. p. 250); iv. 32, 7, (Auf. p. 305); iv. 32, 12, (Auf. p. 305); viii. 3, 12, (Auf. ii. p. 86). In v. 61, 1, *nara* should have no accent; whereas in vii. 91, 3, it should have the accent on the first syllable. In viii. 8, 19, *vipanyû* 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, 1. read *yáta* (M. M. vol. i. p. 708), not *yátha* (Auf. p. 72).

i. 90, 1. read *rigunití*; i. 94, 11. read *yavasádo* (M. M. vol. i. p. 766), not *yayasádo* (Auf. p. 80).

i. 118, 9. *abhíbhûtim* (Auf. p. 105) instead of *abhíbhûtim* (M. M. vol. i. p. 957) cannot be right, considering that in all other passages *abhíbhûti* has the

accent on the second syllable. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have the accent on the i.

i. 128, 4. *ghritasrīr* (Aufr. p. 117) instead of *ghritasrīr* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 52) is wrong.

i. 144, 2. read *parīvritāh* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 155) instead of *parīvritāh* (Aufr. p. 133).

i. 145, 5. Professor Aufrecht (p. 134) gives *upama-syām*, both in the *Sanhitā* and *Pada* texts, as having the accent on the last syllable. I had placed the accent on the penultimate, (*Pada*, *upa-māsyām*, 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. *pūrñni* (Aufr. p. 136) instead of *purñni* (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 *purñni*.

i. 151, 7. *gakkhatho* (Aufr. p. 137) should be *gāk-khatho* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 181).

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

i. 163, 11. *dhrágīman* (Aufr. p. 147) instead of *dhrágīmān* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 245) is wrong.

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

i. 164, 17. read párena (M. M. vol. ii. p. 259) instead of paréna (Aufr. p. 149).

i. 164, 38. The first *kikyúh* 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 étân (vol. ii. p. 293) with the accent on the first syllable. Professor Aufrecht alters this into etán (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 éta, the speckled deer of the Maruts.

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

i. 169, 7, instead of *patayánta* (Aufr. p. 158), read *patáyanta* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 322).

i. 174, 7. *kúyâvâkam* (Aufr. p. 162) should be *kúyavâkam* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 340).

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

i. 188, 4. *astrinan* (Aufr. p. 171) instead of *astrinan* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 395) can only be a misprint.

ii. 29, 6. *kártád* (Aufr. p. 203) instead of *kartád* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 560) is wrong.

ii. 40, 4. *kakra* (Aufr. p. 214) instead of *kakrá* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 614) is wrong.

iii. 7, 7. *guh* (Aufr. p. 226) instead of *gúh* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 666) is wrong; likewise iii. 30, 10. *gáh* (Aufr. p. 241) instead of *gâh* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 792).

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 *índro* 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 *Sâyana* takes *indra* as a vocative, and likewise the *Nirukta*.

iii. 50, 2. Professor Aufrecht (p. 258) gives *asya*, both in the *Sanhitâ* 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 *hí* 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* (Auf. 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, (Auf. p. 280) instead of *árupitam* (M. M. vol. iii. p. 45) is right, as had been shown in the *Prátisākhya*, *Sūtra* 179, though by a misprint the long *â* of the *Sanhitâ* had been put in the place of the short *a* of the Pada.

iv. 5, 9. read *gaúh* (M. M. vol. iii. p. 46) instead of *góh* (Auf. p. 281).

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

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

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

iv. 26, 3. *átithigvam* (Auf. p. 300) instead of *atithigvám* (M. M. vol. iii. p. 140) and vi. 47, 22. *átithigvasya* (Auf. p. 437) instead of *atithigvása* (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 *kútsám* (Auf. p. 300) should be *kútsam* (M. M. vol. iii. p. 139).

iv. 36, 6. Professor Aufrecht (p. 309) has altered the accent of *āvishuḥ* into *āvishúḥ*, but the MSS. are unanimous in favour of *āvishuḥ* (M. M. vol. iii. p. 181).

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

iv. 42, 9. *ádâsat*, being preceded by *hí*, ought to have the accent; (Aufrecht, p. 314, has *adâsat* without the accent.) For the same reason, v. 29, 3, *ávindat* (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 *dîrghám* instead of *dógham* (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 *dógham*, 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. *práyato* (Aufr. p. 351) instead of *práyatâ* (M. M. vol. iii. p. 371) is wrong.

v. 42, 9. *visármânam* (Aufr. p. 358) instead of *visarmânam* (M. M. vol. iii. p. 402) is wrong.

v. 44, 4. *parvané* (Aufr. p. 360) instead of *pravané* (M. M. vol. iii. p. 415) is wrong.

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

v. 85, 6. *âsîñkantîḥ* (Aufr. p. 391) instead of *âsiñkántîḥ* (M. M. vol. iii. p. 560) is not supported

either by MSS. or by grammar, as *siñk* belongs to the Tud-class. On the same grounds *isháyantaḥ*, vi. 16, 27 (M. M. vol. iii. p. 638), ought not to have been changed to *isháyántaḥ* (Aufr. p. 408), nor vi. 24, 7, *avakarsáyanti* (M. M. vol. iii. p. 687) into *avakársayanti* (Aufr. p. 418).

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

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

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

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

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

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 *ñ*, although Professor Bollensen prefers the dental *n*; (*Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, vol. xxii. p. 599.) The fact is that Vedic MSS. use the *Anusvára* 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, *asrigran* 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 *âvivenam tām* would leave it doubtful whether we ought to read *âvivenan tām* or *âvivenam tām*; S. 1. and S. 3. read *âvivenam tām*, but S. 2. has *âvivenan tām*; P. 2. has *âvi-venan tām*, and P. 1. had the same originally, though a later hand changed it to *âvi-venam tām*. In iv. 25, 3, on the contrary, S. 1. and S. 3. write *âvivenam*; S. 2. *âvivenam*; P. 1. and P. 2. *âvi-venam*. What is intended is clear enough, viz. *âvi-venan* in iv. 24, 6; *âvi-venam* in iv. 25, 3.

vii. 73, 1. *asvinâ* (Auf. ii. p. 56) instead of *asvínâ* (M. M. vol. iv. p. 176) is wrong. On the same page, *dhîshnye*, 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 *karâthai* nor *garâyai*.

viii. 2, 29. *kîrînam* (Aufr. ii. p. 84) instead of *kârînam* (M. M. vol. iv. p. 308) does not rest on the authority of any MSS., nor is it supported by *Sâyana*.

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

viii. 32, 14. *âyântâram* (Aufr. ii. p. 129) instead of *âyantâram* (M. M. vol. iv. p. 567) is wrong.

viii. 47, 15. *dushvâpnyam* (Aufr. ii. p. 150) is not so correct as *duhshvâpnyam* (M. M. vol. iv. p. 660), or, better, *dushshvâpnyam* (*Prâtisâkhya*, *Sûtras* 255 and 364), though it is perfectly true that the MSS. write *dushvâpnyam*.

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 ardharko 'bganâmo devasya stutih; mâ no 'hir budhnya ity ardharko 'hirbudhnyanâmo devasya**. Another commentator says: *abgâm ukthair ardharko 'hih; uttaro mâ no 'hir ity ahir budhnyah*. From this we learn that both commentators looked upon the *Dvipadâs* as *ardharkas* or half-verses, and ascribed the whole of verse 16 to *Ahir abgâh*, the whole of verse 17 to *Ahir budhnyah*. 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, *ardharko nâmano 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 *Anukramanikā*, *abgām aheḥ*, signify that the verse beginning with *abgām*, 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 *Abgā Ahiḥ* 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 *Sāyana's* introduction to hymn 90, that he, too, wrongly limits the sentence of the *Anukramanikā*, *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-brâhmana, v. 20, we actually find that the word *vâm* which occurs in hymn 90, 1, and which might be taken as a dual, though Sâyana explains it as a singular, is changed into *te**.

In hymn vii. 104, *rakshohanau* might certainly be added as an epithet of *Indrâ-Somau*, and *Shadgurusishya* clearly takes it in that sense. The *Anukramanikâ* says: *indrâsomâ pañcâdhikaindrâsomam rākshoghnam sâpâbhisâpaprâyam*.

In hymn viii. 67, it has been supposed that the readings *Samada* and *Sâmada* instead of *Sammada* and *Sâmmada* were due to a misprint. This is not the case. That I was aware of the other spelling of this name, viz. *Sammada* and *Sâmmada*, I had shown in my *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (2nd ed.), p. 39, where I had translated the passage of the *Sâñkhâyana-sûtras* in which *Matsya Sâmmada* occurs, and had also called attention to the *Âsvalâyana-sûtras* x. 7, and the *Satapatha-brâhmana* 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 brâhmanasûtrayoh praüge vâvavatvâya pra vîrayâ sukayo dadrire vâm iti diva kanasthâne ta ity ekavakanapâthah kritaḥ; vâm ity uktam ked aindratvam ka syâd iti*. Possibly the same change should be made in *Âsvalâyana's Sûtras*, viii. 11, and it has been made by the *Râma Nârâyana Vidyâratna*. The remark of the commentator, however, *dadrire ta ity prayogapâthah*, looks as if *vâm* 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 Âsvalâyana-sûtras, which has since been published by Râma Nârâyana Vidyâranya, 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 Anukramanî 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 Akrishtas, whereas Sâyana calls them Âkrishtas.

It is perfectly true that the best MSS. of the *Anukramanikâ* have *Akrishta*, it is equally true that the name of these *Akrishtas* is spelt with a short *a* in the *Harivamsa*, 11,533, but an editor of *Sâyana's* work is not to alter the occasional mistakes of that learned commentator, and he certainly called these poets *Âkrishtas*.

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

Again, in the same hymn, Professor Aufrecht ascribes verses 31-40 to the *Atris*. He evidently read *tritiye 'trayah*. But *Sâyana* read *tritiye trayah*, 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 âkrishtâ mâshâ ityâdivinâmânas trayo ganâ drashtârah*. I do not say that the other explanation is wrong; I only say that, whether right or wrong, *Sâyana* 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 *Sâyana*, 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 *Prâtisâkhya*, to say nothing of the passages of the hymns which are quoted verbatim in the *Brâhmanas*, the *Kalpa-sûtras*, the *Nirukta*, the *Brihaddevatâ*, and the *Anukramanîs*, 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 *Mlekkhas* 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 Prâtisâkhyâ 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 :

vârdhân yâm pûrvîh kshapâh ví-rûpâh sthâtúh ka
rátham ritá-pravítam.

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 *sthátúh 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*, *mátuh*, &c., which stand for *pitur-s*, *mátur-s*. This phrase *sthátúh karátham* occurs :

i. 58, 5. *sthátúh karátham bhayate patatrínah*.

What stands and what moves is afraid of Agni.

i. 68, 1. *sthátúh karátham aktún ví úrnot*.

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

i. 72, 6. *pasún ka sthâtrín karátham ka páhi*.

Protect the cattle, and what stands and moves !

Here it has been proposed to read *sthátúh* 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-bráhmaṇa*, xi. 8, 3, .2. *saurya evaisha pasuh syâd iti, tasmâd etasminn astamite pasavo badhyante ; badhnanty ekân yathâgoshtam, eka upasamâyanti*.

i. 70, 2. *gárbhaḥ ka sthâtám gárbhaḥ karáthám*,
(read *sthâtrám*, and see Bollensen, *Orient und Occident*, 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. *át it sákhi-bhyaḥ karátham sám airat.*

He brought together, for his friends, the flocks.

viii. 33, 8. *puru-trā karátham dadhe.*

He bestowed flocks on many people.

x. 92, 13. *prá nah púshā karátham—avatu.*

May Púshan protect our flock !

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

iv. 53, 6. *gágatah sthâtúh ubháyasya yáḥ vaśi.*

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

vi. 50, 7. *vísvasya sthâtúh gágatah gánitríh.*

They who created all that stands and moves.

vii. 60, 2. *vísvasya sthâtúh gágatah ka gopāh.*

The guardians of all that stands and moves. Cf. x. 63, 8.

i. 159, 3. *sthâtúh ka satyám gágatah ka dhármani putrásyapaṭhah padám ádvayávinah.*

Truly while you uphold all that stands and moves, you protect the home of the guileless son. Cf. ii. 31, 5.

But although I have no doubt that in i. 70, 4,

the original poet said *sthâtúh karátham*, I should be loath to suppress the evidence of the mistake and alter the Pada text from *ka rátham* to *karátham*. 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 misunderstanding on the part of the original compilers of the Vedic texts, and likewise of the authors of the *Prátisákhyas*, the *Niruktas*, and other Vedic treatises, has been pointed out by Professor Kuhn. In an article of his, 'Zur ältesten Geschichte der Indogermanischen 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*, *lôch*, village. All these words are to be traced back to the Sk. *uru*, Gr. *εὐρύς*, broad, wide. The initial u is lost, as in Goth. *râms*, O. H. G. *râmi*, *râmin* (Low Germ. *râme*, 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 particle 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. *stlocus*, 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. *dyaúh dehí lokám vágrâya vi-skábhe*, Dyu! give room for the lightning to step forth! Professor Bollensen (l. c. p. 603) reads *vritrâya* instead of *vâgrâya*, without authority. He is right in objecting to *dyaús* as a vocative, but *dyaúh* may be a genitive belonging to *vâgrâya*, 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 *pâda* is against the very rules, or, at least, runs counter to the very observations which the authors of the *Prâtisâkhya* 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: ‘*anudâttam tu pâdâdau na-uvargam vidyate padam*,’ ‘no unaccented word is found at the beginning of a *pâda* except u!’ Although I have frequently insisted on the fact that such statements of the *Prâtisâkhya* 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 pāda. 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 pāda 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 *krinutam* u lokám, make room for us, grant an escape to us, in this danger!) iv. 17, 17; vi. 23, 3; 7 (with urúm); 47, 8 (urúm *nah* lokám, or ulokám?); 73, 2; vii. 20, 2; 33, 5 (with urúm); 60, 9 (with urúm); 84, 2 (with urúm); 99, 4 (with urúm); ix. 92, 5; x. 13, 2; 16, 4 (*sukrítâm* u lokám); 30, 7; 104, 10; 180, 3 (with urúm). 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 pāda: lokáh, iii. 37, 11; lokám, iii. 2, 9 (u lokám u dvé (íti) úpa *gámím* íyatuh); v. 4, 11;

loka-kritnám, viii. 15, 4; ix. 2, 8. The only passages in which loka occurs without being preceded by u, are lokám, vi. 47, 8 (see above); viii. 100, 12; x. 14, 9; 85, 20 (amrítasya); lokáh, ix. 113, 9; lokán, x. 90, 14; loké, ix. 113, 7³; 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 loká occurs and where it means space, *carrière ouverte*, freedom, we ought to read uroká; but in spite of this I could never bring myself to insert this word, of which neither the authors of the Bráhmanas nor the writers of the Prâtisákhyas 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 uloká, 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 slóka presupposes

sravaka, or óka, house, avaka (from av, not from *urk*). 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 *Prātisākhya*s and the *Anukramanī*s, 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 Sanhitā 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 Prātisākhya 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 Prātisākhya 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 pâda 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. $\bar{u}d\bar{v}\bar{a}t\bar{s}v\bar{a}sm\bar{a} \check{a}k\check{r}\check{i}\check{n}\check{o}\check{t}\check{a}\check{n}\bar{a} t\check{r}\check{i}\check{n}\bar{a}m.$

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:

$\check{p}\check{r}\check{e}\check{t}\bar{a} \check{g}\check{a}y\check{a}\check{t}\bar{a} \check{n}\check{a}\check{r}\bar{a}h.$

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, gōr nā pārvā vī rādā tīrāskā, we get

a verse of eleven syllables, and thus secure for *dâ* in *radâ* 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 (*svâbhāvika*) 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, 1*, 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 *goḥ*, never entered *Uvata*'s mind. M. Regnier was right, Professor Kuhn (*Beiträge*, vol. iv. p. 187) was wrong. *Uvata*, no doubt, wishes to show that original (*svâbhāvika*) 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.

pâdas, of eight syllables each. In order to obtain that number, we must read:

sām[̄]rāgām karshā[̄]nīnām.

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 Sūtra 523 that the eighth syllable of hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, if short, is lengthened, provided a short syllable follows, they

remark that for this purpose *naḥ* or *no* is treated as a short syllable:

x. 59, 4. *dyū-bhīḥ hitāḥ gāṛimā sū nāḥ āstū*, (Sanh. *sū nō 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 *naḥ* or *no*, as a short syllable:

vii. 48, 4. *nū dēvāsāḥ vāṛivāḥ kārtānā nāḥ*, (Sanh. *kārtānā nō*, *bhūta naḥ*, &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 stótave ambyām*, Sanh. *vēti stótava ambyām*. (Prâtis. 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 *Prākṛit* every final *o* and *e* can be treated as either long or short*. Starting from

* See Lassen, *Inst. Linguae Pracriticae*, pp. 145, 147, 151; Cowell, *Vararuki*, Introduction, p. xvii.

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 īshātē tūgyātē kō bībhāyā
kō māmsātē sātām īndrām kō āntī,
kās tokāyā kā ībhāyōtā rāyē
ādhi bravāt tānvē kō gānāyā.*

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

usrāh gārāntē prāti vāstōh āsvinā,

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 kītrāh svadhītīvān.*
i. 141, 8. *rāthō nā yātaḥ sīkvābhīh kritō.*
i. 174, 3. *sīmho nā damē apāmsī vāstōh.*
vi. 24, 3. *ākshō nā kakryōh sūra brīhan.*
x. 3, 1. *īnō rāgān arātīh samīddhō.*

This leaves but one of Professor Kuhn's examples (Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 192) unexplained: i. 191, 1. *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 Prâtisâkhya (see p. xxxv). Nay, that they wished it to be pronounced even in passages where, in accordance with the requirements of the Prâtisâkhya, it had to disappear in the Sanhitâ text, we may conclude from Sûtra 978. It is there stated that no pâda should ever begin with a word that has no accent. The exceptions to this rule are few, and they are discussed in Sûtras 978-987. But if the initial a were not pronounced in i. 1, 9, *sâh nah pitâ-iva sînâve âgne su-upâyanâh bhava*, the second pâda 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 Pânini.

Pânini says, vi. 1, 127, that i, u, ri (see Rv. Bh. iv. 1, 12) at the end of a pada (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 *dhânvarnasah*, which is divided into *dhânva-arnasah*, may be *dhânu-arnasah* (Rv. v. 45, 2). *Dhânarkam*, divided into *dhâna-arkam*, may have been *dhâna-rikam* (Rv. x. 46, 5). *Satârkasam* (Rv. vii. 100, 3) may be taken as *satâ-rikasam* instead of *satâ-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 Śākalya, Prāṭisākhya 155 seq.* Thus *kakrī atra* may become *kakrī atra* or *kakry 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 Śākalya, i. e. Prāṭisākhya 136. Hence *brahmā rishih* becomes *brahmā rishih* or *brahmarshih*; *kumārī risyah* becomes *kumārī 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 *pragrihya* vowel. To the first class belong such passages as i. 163, 12; iv. 38, 10. *vāgī árvā*, Sanh. *vāgyárvā*; vi. 7, 3. *vāgī agne*, Sanh. *vāgyāgne*; vi. 20, 13. *pakthī arkaīh*, Sanh. *pakthyārkaīh*; iv. 22, 4. *sushmī ā góh*, Sanh. *sushmyā góh*. In these passages *ī* is the termination of a nom. masc. of a stem ending in *in*. Secondly, iv. 24, 8. *pátnī ákka*, Sanh. *pátnyákkha*; iv. 34, 1. *devī áhnām*, Sanh. *devyáhnām*; v. 75, 4. *vānīkī ā-hitā*, Sanh. *vānīkyāhitā*; vi. 61, 4. *avitrī avatu*, Sanh. *avitryāvatu*. In these

* In the Prāṭisākhya 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 *î* is the termination of feminines. In x. 15, 4, *ûtî arvâk*, Sanh. *ûtyârvâk*, the final *î* of the instrumental *ûtî* ought not to have been changed into a semivowel, for, though not followed by *îti*, 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 *védî îti asyâm*, Sanh. *védyasyâm*. The *pragrihya î* 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 î* 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 *vyavâya*, 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 îti sam-bhû â gatam*, Sanh. *sambhû â gatam*; v. 43, 4. *bâhû îti âdrim*, Sanh. *bâhû âdrim*, 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 Pânini.

To Professor Kuhn, I believe, belongs the merit of having extended this rule to final *â*. That the *â* 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 *â*

is followed by a vowel, and where Sandhi between the two vowels is impossible, the final *â* 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. *kṵā tyā valgū pūrū-hūtā ādyā*, (Sanh. *puruhûtādyā*); and not *kṵā tyā valgū pūrūhûtādyā*, although we might quote other verses as ending with an epitritus primus.

iv. 3, 13. *mā vēsāsyā prā-mīnātāh mā āpēh*, (Sanh. *māpēh*), although the dispondeus is possible.

i. 77, 1. *kāthā dāsēmā āgnāyē kṛ āsmāi*, (Sanh. *kāsmāi*.)

vi. 24, 5. *āryāh vāsāsyā pari-ētā āstī*.

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

x. 148, 1. *tmānā tānā sanūyāmā tvā-ūtāh*,

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 pāda of a Gāyatrī, 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

* I see that Professor Kuhn, vol. iv. p. 186, has anticipated this observation in *eshtau*, to be read *ā-īshṭāu*.

circumstances, ought to be shortened. We may scan :

v. 5, 7. *vātāsyā pātman īlītā dāivyā hōtārā mañū-
shāh.*

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 ārvātē,*

while, with regard to the Trishtubh and Gagatī 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 â in

v. 5, 10. *dēvānām gūhyā nāmānī.*

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 â into a short one. Such passages are in the Pada text:

vi. 46, 11. *dīdyāvāh tīgma-mūrdhānāh,* not *mūrdhānāh.*

i. 15, 6. *ṛitunā yāgñāṃ āsāthē*, not *āsāthē*.

v. 66, 2. *sāmyāk āsūryām āsāte*, not *āsāte*.

v. 67, 1. *vārshishtām kshātrām āsāthē*, not *āsāthē*.

See Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 122.

i. 46, 6. *tām āsmē rāsāthām īshām*, not *rāsāthām īshām*.

iv. 32, 23. *bābhrū yāmēshū sōbhētē*, not *sōbhētē*.

iv. 45, 3. *ūtā priyām mādhūnē yūṅgāthām rāthām*, not *yūṅgāthām rāthām*.

v. 74, 3. *kām ākṣhā yūṅgāthē rāthām*, not *yūṅgāthē rāthām*.

iv. 55, 1. *dyāvābhūmī (īti) āditē trāsīthām nāh*, not *trāsīthām nāh*.

v. 41, 1. *ṛitāsyā vā sādāsī trāsīthām nāh*, not *trāsīthām nāh*.

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. *hīrānyāvāsīmat-tāmā*, not *vāsīmat-tāmā*.

Here the short syllable of *ganasrī-bhiḥ* 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 *nāri-bhyaḥ* as an instance of a long *ī* being shortened, for *nāri-bhyaḥ* is derived from *nāriḥ*, not from *nārī*, and occurs with a short *i* even when the metre requires a long syllable ; i. 43, 6. *nri-bhyāḥ nārī-*

bhŷāh gāvē. The fact is, that in the Rig-veda the forms *nârîshu* and *nârî-bhyah* never occur, but always *nârîshu, nârî-bhyah*; while from *vâsî* we never find any forms with short *i*, but always *vâsîshu, vâsî-bhih*.

Nor is there any justification for change in *i. 25, 16. gāvāh nā gāvvyūtīh ānū*, the second pāda of a Gāyatrī. Nor in *v. 56, 3. rīkshāh nā vāh mārūtāh śimī-vān āmāh*. 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. *vṛishnē tē indūh vṛishābhā' pīpāyā*.

i. 73, 1. *syōnā-sīh ātīthīh nā' prīnānāh*.

vii. 13, 1. *bhāre hāvīh nā bārīhīh' prīnānāh*.

ii. 28, 7. *ēnāh krīnvāntām āsūrā' bhrīnāntī*.

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 Prātisākhya teaches that there must be a long syllable in the eighth or tenth place of Traishtubha and Gāgata, and in the sixth place of Ānushtubha pādas. This is not the case. The Prātisākhya, 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 pāda, 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 Prâtisākhya 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 pādas. They distinctly admit that the seventh and the ninth and the eleventh syllables in such pādas 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 Prâtisākhya, the general scheme for the Gâyatra would be, not only

$$+ + + + \mid + \overset{6}{-} \overset{7}{\cup} +,$$

but also

$$+ + + + \mid + \overset{6}{\cup} \overset{7}{-} +;$$

and for the Traishtubha and Gâgata, not only

$$+ + + + \mid + + + \overset{8}{-} \mid \overset{9}{\cup} + + (+),$$

but also

$$+ + + + \mid + + + \overset{8}{\cup} \mid \overset{9}{-} + + (+).$$

And again, for the same pādas, not only

$$+ + + + \mid + + + + \mid + \overset{10}{-} \overset{11}{\cup} (+),$$

but also

$$+ + + + \mid + + + + \mid + \overset{10}{\cup} \overset{11}{-} (+).$$

Before appealing, however, to the Prâtisâkhya for the establishment of such a rule as that the sixth syllable of Ânushtubha 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 Sanhitā, 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 Sanhitā 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 Sanhitā, and where no intelligible reason of their lengthening can be given, at least not by the authors of the Prātisākhya, the Prātisākhya adds in Sūtra 523, 'The final vowel of the eighth syllable is lengthened in pādas of eleven and twelve syllables, provided a syllable follows which is short in the Sanhitā.' As instances the commentator gives (Sanhitā text):

i. 32, 4. tādītnā sātrūm nā kīlā vivītse.

i. 94, 1. āgnē sakhyē mā rīshāma vāyām tāva.

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

iii. 54, 22. āhā vīsvā sumānā dīdīhi nāh.

ii. 34, 9. āvā rūdrā asāso hantānā vādhāh.

Lastly, a rule is given (Sūtra 526) that 'The final vowel of the sixth syllable is lengthened in a pāda

of eight syllables, provided a syllable follows which is short:’

i. 5, 10. $\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{o}$ $\overset{\vee}{y}\overset{\vee}{a}\overset{\vee}{v}\overset{\vee}{a}\overset{\hat{}}{y}\overset{\vee}{a}$ $\overset{\vee}{v}\overset{\vee}{a}\overset{\vee}{d}\overset{\vee}{h}\bar{a}\bar{m}$.

If the seventh syllable is long no change takes place:

ix. 67, 30. $\bar{ā}$ $\overset{\vee}{p}\overset{\vee}{a}\overset{\vee}{v}\overset{\vee}{a}\overset{\vee}{s}\overset{\vee}{v}\overset{\vee}{a}$ $\overset{\vee}{d}\overset{\vee}{e}\overset{\vee}{v}\overset{\vee}{a}$ $\overset{\vee}{s}\overset{\vee}{o}\bar{m}\bar{a}$.

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 (iti) sántāh āvādyāni pūnānāh.*

Thus we see that in vi. 44, 9, *vārshīyāh vāyāh krīṇūhī śakībhīh*, hi remains short; while in vi. 25, 3, *gāhī vrīshnyāni krīṇūhī pārākāh*, it is lengthened in the Sanhitā, the only difference being that in the second passage the accent is on hí.

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

ii. 27, 14. *ādītē mītrā vārūnā ūtā mṛīlā.*

* '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 hendecasyllabic, they quote

ii. 20, 1. *vāyām tē vāyāh īndrā viddhī sū nāh.*

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

viii. 23, 26. *māhāh vīsvān ābhī sātāh.*

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 yagnāya kakrathūr u lokam*; or i. 96, 1. *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 Sanhitāttext 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 Prâtisâkhyâ, because that general observation refers to *final vowels* only, but not to short syllables in general. Similar cases are i. 107, 1^a; 122, 9; 130, 10; 152, 6; 154, 1; 158, 5^a; 163, 2; 167, 10^a; 171, 4; 173, 6; 179, 1^a; 182, 8^a; 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 Kâtyâyana. Now it is well known that Professor Kuhn* has laid down the rule that the Traishtubha pâdas must end in a bacchius or amphibrachys $\cup - \cup$, and the Gâgata pâdas in a dijambus or pæon secundus $\cup - \cup \cup$. With regard to Ânushtubha pâdas, he requires the dijambus or pæon secundus $\cup - \cup \cup$ at the end of a whole verse only, allowing greater freedom in the formation of the preceding pâdas. In a later article, however, the final pâda, too, in Ânushtubha metre is allowed greater freedom, and the rule, as above given, is strictly maintained with regard to the Traishtubha and Gâgata pâdas 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 Prâtisâkhyas 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, (Sûtras 988, 989):

1. The Gâyatra pâda, of eight syllables, ending in ॐ -.
2. The Vairâga pâda, of ten syllables, ending in --.
3. The Traishtubha pâda, of eleven syllables, ending in --.
4. The Gâgata pâda, of twelve syllables, ending in ॐ -.

Then follows an important rule, Sûtra 990: 'The penultimate syllable,' he says, 'in a Gâyatra and Gâgata pâda is light (laghu), in a Vairâga and Traishtubha pâda heavy (guru).' This is called their *vritta*.

This word *vritta*, 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 *vrit*, to turn. Hence *vritta* 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

* See Appendix to my edition of the Prâtisâkhya, p. ccclvi.

originally a furrow, then a line, then a verse. In Sanskrit the metaphor that led to the formation of *vritta*, 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 choregic movements, *vritta* 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 *stubbh*, to praise. I believe they should be derived from a root *stubbh*, which is preserved in Greek, not only in *στυφελός*, hard, *στυφελίζω*, to strike hard, but in the root *στεμφ*, from which *στέμφυλον*, stamped or pressed olives or grapes, and *ἀστεμφής*, untrodden (grapes), then unshaken; and in *στέμβω*, to shake, *στοβέω*, 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 $\cup - \cup$, 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-stúbham ánu karkûryámânam índram ní kikyuh kaváyah manîshâ.*

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 *Padapañkti*, 'Step-row;' *Nyañku-sârinî*, 'Roe-step;' *Abhisârinî*, 'Contre-danse,' &c.

If now we return to the statement of the *Prâtisâkhya* 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 *Prâtisâkhya* 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 pādas 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 pādas, (to which one more pāda, viz. the half Vairāga, 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 pādas, are,

1. Three Gāyatra pādas = the Gāyatrî, (24 syllables.)
2. Four Gāyatra pādas = the Anushtubh, (32 syllables.)
3. Four Vairāga pādas = the Virāg, (40 syllables.)
4. Four Traishtubha pādas = the Trishtubh, (44 syllables.)
5. Four Gāgata pādas = the Gagatî, (48 syllables.)

Between the Gāyatrî and Anushtubh strophes, another strophe may be formed, by mixture of Gāyatra and Gāgata pādas, consisting of 28 syllables, and commonly called Ushnih; likewise between the Anushtubh and the Virāg, 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, $\cup - -$, yet if we take, for instance, the 77th hymn of the tenth *Mandala*, we clearly perceive another hendecasyllabic pāda 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, $\cup - -$, instead of being at the end, stands in the middle of the line.

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

1. ābhra-prūshāh nā vākā¹ prūshā² vasū,
 hāvishmāntāh nā yagnāh¹ vi-gānūshāh¹ ।

* 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 $\cup - \cup -$ and $- - \cup -$, 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 *vritta* $- \cup -$ or scan *dhūkṣan*. In iii. 58, 6, I should admit vyūha for *narā*; in iv. 26, 6, for *māndrām*; in i. 100, 8, for *gyōtīḥ*, always supposing that we consider the ending $- - \cup -$ incompatible with a Trishtubh verse.

- sū-mārutām nā brāhmānam ārhāsē,
 gānam āstōshī ēshām nā sōbhāsē ॥
2. sriyē māryāsah āngīn' ākrinvātā,
 sū-mārutām nā pūrvīh' āti kshapāh ।
 divāh pūtrāsah etāh' nā yetirē,
 ādityāsah tē ākrāh' nā vāvridhūh ॥
3. prā yē divāh prithivyāh' nā bārhanā,
 tmanā ririkrē ābhrāt' nā sūryāh ।
 pāgāsvantāh nā vīrāh' pānasyāvāh,
 risādāsah nā māryāh' ābhi-dyāvāh ॥
4. yūshmākam būdhnē āpām' nā yāmanī,
 vithuryāti nā māhī' srātharyāti ।
 visvā-psūh yāgnāh' ārvāk' āyām sū vāh,
 prāyāsvantāh nā sātrākāh' ā gātā ॥
5. yūyam dhūh-sū prā-yūgāh' nā rāsmi-bhīh,
 gyōtishmantāh nā bhāsā' vi-ushṭishū ।
 syēnāsah nā svā-yāsasah' risādāsah,
 prāvāsah nā prā-sitāsah' pāri-prūshāh ॥

Another strophe, the nature of which has been totally misapprehended by native metricians, occurs in iv. 10. It is there called Padapaṅkti and Mahāpadapaṅkti; nay, attempts have been made to treat it even as an Ushnih, 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 *Padapañkti*; 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. Āgnē tam ādyā | āsvām nā stōmaih | krātūm nā bhādrām,
hṛīdisprīṣam rīdhyaṃā tā ōhaih.
2. Ādhā hy āgnē | krātōr bhādrāsyā | dakshāsyā sādhoḥ,
rāthīr ritāsyā brīhātō bābhūthā.
3. Ēbhīr nō ārkair | bhāvā nō ārvān | svār nā gyōtīh,
āgnē vīsvēbhih sūmanā anīkaiḥ.
4. Ābhīsh tē ādyā | gīrbhīr grīnāntō | āgnē dāsēmā,
prā tē divō nā stānāyāntī sūshmāh.
5. Tāvā svādīshthā | āgnē sāmdrīshṭīr,
īdā kīd āhnā | īdā kīd āktōh,
sriyē rūkmō nā rōkātā ūpākē.
6. Ghṛitām nā pūtām | tānūr ārepāh | sūkī hīrānyām,
tāt tē rūkmō nā rōkātā svādhāvāh.
7. Kṛitām kīd dhī shmā | sānēmī dvēshō | āgnā īnōshī,
mārtād itthā yaḡamānād ritāvāh.
8. Śivā nāh sākhyā | sāntū bhrātrāgnē | devēshū yūshmē,
sā nō nābhih sādānē sāsmin ūdhan.

Now it is perfectly true that, as a general rule, the syllables composing the vṛitta 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 pāda, 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 pādas, at all events, were free from this rule, and though he tried to retain it for the third or final pāda, he was obliged after a time to give it up even there. Again, it is perfectly true, that in the third pāda of the Gâyatrî, and in the second and fourth pādas 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 pādas, 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 *apaurusheyatva*. 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 unmeaning 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 *Prātisākhyas*, 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, *sāmānē ādhī bhārman*? Any one acquainted with Sanskrit would naturally read *sāmānē ādhī bhārmani*. But who would have changed *bhārmani*, if that had been there originally, to *bhārman*? I believe we must scan *sāmānē ādhī bhārman*, or *sāmānē ādhī bhārman*, the pæon tertius being a perfectly legitimate foot at the end of a Gâyatrî verse. In x. 158, 1, we can understand how an accident happened. The original poet may have said: *Śūryō nō divās pātū pātū vātō āntārikshāt, āgnīr nāh pārthivēbhyaḥ*. Here one of the two *pātu* 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, *grīnītē āgnīr ētārī nā sūshaiḥ, sōkīshkēsō nī rinātī vanā*, every modern Pandit would naturally read *vanāni* 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 *vanāni* into *vanā*? What surprises one is, that *vanā* should have been spared, in spite of every temptation to change it into *vanāni*: for I cannot doubt for one moment that

vanâ is the right reading, only that the ancient poets pronounced it *vāñā*. 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, *pūrvīsh tā īndrōpāmātāyāh pūrvīr ūtā prāsastāyāh*, nothing seems more tempting than to omit *indra*, and to read *pūrvīsh tā ūpāmātāyāh*. 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 *pūrvīṣh tā īndrōpamātāyāh*. For a similar synizesis of *-o*, see iii. 6, 10. *prākī ādhvārevā tāsthātūh*, unless we read *prāky ādhvārevā*.

Another and more difficult case of synizesis occurs in

vii. 86, 4. *āvā tvānēnā nāmāsā tura(h) iyām*.

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

In ii. 18, 5. *ā vīmsātyā trīmsātā yāhṛ arvān,*
ā katvārīmsātā harībhir yūgānāh,
ā pañkāsātā sūrathēbhīr īndrā,
ā shāshṭyā saptātyā sōmapēyām,

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 *pādas*, which all begin with *ā*, while by admitting synizesis of *harībhih* 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, 1, *divo adarsi dūhitā*, into *adarsi duhitā divāh*? or x. 118, 6, *ādābhyaṃ grīhāpatīm*, into *grīhāpatīm ādābhyaṃ*?

If an epitritus secundus (-○○-) had been objectionable in the same place, why not say vi. 61, 10, *stomyā bhūt sarāsvatī*, instead of *sarāsvatī stomyā bhūt*? Why not viii. 2, 11, *rēvāntām hi śrīnōmī tvā*, instead of *rēvāntām hi tvā śrīnōmī*?

If an ionicus a minore (○○-) had been excluded from that place, why not say i. 30, 10, *gāritrībhyāh śakhē vāsō*, instead of *śakhē vāsō gāritrībhyāh*? or i. 41, 7, *varūnāsyā māhī psarāh*, instead of *māhī psarō varūnāsyā*?

If a dispondeus (----) was to be avoided, then v. 68, 3, *māhī vām kshātrām devēshū*, might easily have been replaced by *deveshu vām kshātrām māhī*, and viii. 2, 10, *sukrā āsirām yākantē*, by *sukrā yākantā āsirām*.

If no epitritus primus (○---) was allowed, why not say vi. 61, 11, *nīdās pātū sarāsvatī*, instead of *śarāsvatī nīdās pātū*, or viii. 79, 4, *dvēshō yāvīr āghāsyā kīt*, instead of *yāvīr āghāsyā kīd dvēshāh*?

Even the epitritus tertius (-○○-) might easily have been avoided by dropping the augment of *apām* in x. 119, 1-13, *kuvit somasyāpām itī*. 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

removed in iii. 24, 5, *śiśīhī nāh sūnumātāh*, by reading *sūnumātāh śiśīhī nāh*, and in viii. 2, 31, *śānād āmrīktō dāyātē*, by reading *āmrīktō dāyātē śānāt*.

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 dijam-bus is by far the most general metre, the following seven varieties have to be recognized in the poetry of the Veda :

1. $\cup - \cup -$, 2. $\cup \cup \cup -$, 3. $- \cup - -$, 4. $\cup \cup - -$, 5. $- - - -$,
6. $\cup - - -$, 7. $- - \cup -$, 8. $- \cup \cup -$.

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. 0 0 0 - .

i. 12, 9. *tasmai pāvakaṁ mṛīḷyā*. (Instead of *mṛīlaya*, it has been proposed to read *mardaya*.)

i. 18, 9. *divo na sadmāmākhāsām*.

i. 42, 4. *padābhi tishthā tapūshim*.

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

i. 97, 1-8. *apa nah sosūkāt āghām*.

iii. 11, 3. *artham hy asyā tāraṇī*.

iii. 27, 10. *agne sudītim ūsigām*.

iv. 15, 7. *akkhā na hūta ūd āram*.

iv. 32, 4. *asmāñ-asmāñ id ūd āvā*.

iv. 52, 1. *divo adarsī dūhitā*.

v. 5, 9. *yagne-yagne nā ūd āvā*.

v. 7, 4. *pra smā minātī āgarāh*.

v. 7, 5. *bhūmā prishthevā rūrūhūh*.

v. 7, 7. *anibhrishtātāvishih*.

v. 9, 4. *agne pasur nā yāvāsē*.

v. 53, 12. *enā yāmenā mārūtāh*.

v. 61, 3. *putrakrithe nā gāṇyāh*.

v. 61, 11. *atra sravāmsī dādhirē*.

v. 64, 5. *sākhīnām kā vṛidhāsē*.

v. 65, 4. *sumatir astī vidhātāh*.

v. 82, 9. *pra ka suvātī sāvitā*.

vi. 16, 17. *tatrā sadaḥ krīṇāvāsē*.

vi. 16, 18. *athā duvo vānāvāsē*.

- vi. 16, 45. sokā vi bhāh̃y āgārā.
vi. 45, 17. sa tvam na indrā mṛīḷāyā.
vi. 61, 4. dhīnām āvītry āvātū.
vii. 15, 14. pūr bhāvā sātabhūgīh.
vii. 66, 2. asuryāya prāmāhasā.
viii. 6, 35. anuttamanyūm āgārām.
viii. 6, 42. satam vahantū hārāyāh.
viii. 32, 10. sādhu krinvantām āvāsē.
viii. 44, 28. tasmai pāvakā mṛīḷāyā.
viii. 45, 31. mā tat kar indrā mṛīḷāyā.
viii. 72, 6. dāmā rathasyā dādriṣē.
viii. 72, 13. rasā dadhīta vṛishābhām.
viii. 80, 1 and 2. tvam na indrā mṛīḷāyā.
viii. 83, 3. yūyam ritasyā rāthīyāh.
viii. 93, 27. stotribhya indrā mṛīḷāyā.
ix. 61, 5. tebhir nah somā mṛīḷāyā.
ix. 64, 1. vṛishā dharmāni dādhiṣhē.
x. 118, 6. adābhyam grīhāpātīm.

§ 3. — — — .

- i. 22, 11. akkhinnapatrāh sākantām.
i. 30, 13. kshumanto yābhīr mādēmā.
i. 41, 8. sumnair id va ā vīvāsē.
i. 90, 1. aryamā devāih sāgōshāh.
i. 90, 4. pūshā bhago vāndyāsāh.
i. 120, 1. kathā vidhāty āprakētāh.
v. 19, 1. upasthe mātūr vi kāshtē.

- v. 70, 3. turyāma dasyūn tānūbhīh.
- vi. 61, 10. sarasvatī stōmyā bhūt.
- viii. 2, 2. asvo na niktō nādīshū.
- viii. 2, 4. antar devān mārtyāms kā.
- viii. 2, 5. apasprinvatē sūhārdam.
- viii. 2, 11. revantam hi tvā sṛinōmī.
- viii. 2, 12. ūdhar na nagnā gārāntē.
- viii. 2, 13. pred u harivāh sṛtāsyā.
- viii. 2, 14. na gāyatram gīyāmānām.
- viii. 2, 15. sikhā sakīvāh sakībhīh.
- viii. 2, 16. kanvā ukthebhīr gārāntē.
- viii. 2, 17. taved u stomām kīkētā.
- viii. 2, 29. indra kārinām vṛdhāntāh.
- viii. 2, 30. satrā dadhire sāvāmsī.
- viii. 2, 32. mahān mahībhīh sakībhīh.
- viii. 2, 33. anu ghen mandī māghōnāh.
- viii. 2, 36. sātīyō vītā vīdhāntām.
- viii. 2, 37. yo bhūt somaiḥ sātīyāmādvā.
- viii. 7, 30. mārḍīkebhīr nādhamānām.
- viii. 7, 33. vāvṛītyām kītrāvāgān.
- viii. 11, 2. agnē rathīr ādhvārānām.
- viii. 11, 3. adevīr agnē ārātīh (or § 4).
- viii. 11, 4. nopa veshi gātāvēdāh.
- viii. 16, 3. maho vāginām śanībhyāh.
- viii. 16, 4. harshumantāh sūrasātāu.
- viii. 16, 5. yeshām indras tē gāyāntī.
- viii. 16, 7. mahān mahībhīh sakībhīh. Cf. viii. 2, 32.

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- viii. 46, 2. vidma dātārām rayīnām.
 viii. 71, 2. tvām id āsī kshāpāvān (or § 4).
 viii. 81, 1. mahāhastī dakshīnēnā.
 viii. 81, 3. bhīmam na gām vārayāntē.
 viii. 81, 4. na rādhasā mārddhishān nāh.
 viii. 81, 7. adāsūstharāsyā vēdāh.
 viii. 81, 9. vasais ka makshū gārāntē.
 viii. 94, 2. śūryāmāsā drīṣē kām.
 ix. 62, 5. svadanti gāvāh pāyōbhīh.
 x. 20, 4. kavir abhram dīdyānāh.
 x. 20, 7. adreḥ sūnum āyūm āhūh.

§ 4. ∪ ∪ - - .

- i. 3, 8. usrā iva svāsārānī.
 i. 27, 4. agne deveshū prā vōkāh.
 i. 30, 10. sakhe vaso garītrībhyāh.
 i. 30, 15. rinor aksham nā śakībhīh.
 i. 38, 7. miham krinvanty āvātām.
 i. 38, 8. yad eshām vrishtīr āsārgī.
 i. 41, 7. mahi psaro vārūnāsyā.
 i. 43, 7. mahi sravas tūvīnrīmnam.
 ii. 6, 2. enā sūktenā sūgātā.
 iii. 27, 3. ati dveshāmsī tāremā.
 v. 82, 7. satyasavam śavītārām.
 vi. 16, 25. ūrgo napād āmrītāsyā.
 vi. 16, 26. marta ānāsā sūvrīktīm.
 vi. 61, 12. vāge-vāge hāvya bhūt.

- viii. 2, 1. anābhayin rārimā tē.
 viii. 2, 3. indra tvāsmint sādhamādē.
 viii. 2, 8. sāmānē ādhī bhārman (see page cx).
 viii. 2, 18. yanti pramādam ātandrāh.
 viii. 2, 19. mahāñ iva yūvāgānīh.
 viii. 2, 21. trishu gātasyā mānāmsī.
 viii. 2, 22. yasastaram sātāmūtēh.
 viii. 2, 23. bharā piban nāryāyā.
 viii. 2, 26. ni yamate sātāmūtīh.
 viii. 2, 35. ino vasu sā hī vōlhā.
 viii. 16, 2. apām avo nā sāmūdre.
 viii. 16, 6. esha indro vārivāskrit.
 viii. 16, 8. ekas kit sann ābhībhūtīh.
 viii. 71, 9. sakhe vaso gāritrībhyāh. Cf. i. 30, 10.
 viii. 79, 3. uru yantāsī vārūthām.
 ix. 21, 5. yo asmabhyām ārāvā (or ārāvā).
 ix. 62, 6. madhvo rasam sādhamādē.
 ix. 66, 21. dadhad rayim māyī pōshām.
 x. 20, 5. minvant sadma pūrā eti.
 x. 185, 1. durādharsham vārūnāsyā.
 x. 185, 2. īse ripur āghāsāmsāh.
 x. 185, 3. gyotir yakkhantī āgāsram.

§ 5. — — — —.

- i. 2, 7. dhiyam ghrītakīm sādhanā.
 i. 3, 4. anvībhis tanā pūtāsāh.
 i. 27, 3. pāhi sadam īd visvāyūh.

- i. 90, 2. *vratā rakshantē vīsvāhā* (or § 6).
 ii. 6, 4. *yuyodhy asmād dvēshāmsī*.
 iii. 41, 8. *indra svadhāvō mātsvēhā* (or § 6).
 v. 68, 3. *mahi vām kshatrām dēvēshū*.
 v. 68, 4. *adruhā devau vārdhētē*.
 viii. 2, 10. *sukrā āsiram yākāntē*.
 viii. 2, 24. *vāgam stotribhyō gōmāntām* (or § 6).
 viii. 16, 1. *naram nrishāhām māmhīsthām*.
 viii. 16, 12. *akkhā ka nah sūmnām nēshī*.
 viii. 79, 2. *prem andhaḥ khyan nīh srōnō bhūt*.
 ix. 66, 17. *bhūridābhyas kīn māmhīyān*.
 x. 20, 6. *agnim devā vāsīmāntām*.
 x. 20, 8. *agnim havishā vārdhāntāh*.

§ 6. ∪ - - - .

- i. 15, 6. *ritunā yagñām āsāthē*.
 i. 38, 2. *kva vo gāvo nā rānyāntī* (see page 70).
 i. 38, 9. *yat prithivīm v̄yūndāntī*.
 i. 86, 9. *vidhyatā vidyūtā rākshāh*.
 iii. 27, 2. *srushṭivānam dhītāvānām*.
 iii. 41, 3. *vīhi sūra pūrōlāsām*.
 iv. 32, 23. *babhrū yāmeshū sōbhētē*.
 v. 68, 5. *brihantam gartām āsātē*.
 v. 70, 2. *vayam te rudrā syāma*.
 vi. 61, 11. *sarasvatī nīdas pātū*.
 viii. 2, 20. *asrīra ivā gāmātā*.
 viii. 2, 25. *somam vīrāyā sūrāyā*.

- viii. 7, 32. *stushe hiranyāvāsībhīh.*
 viii. 26, 19. *vahethe subhṛāyāvānā.*
 viii. 79, 4. *yāvīr aghasyā kīd dvēshāh.*
 viii. 79, 5. *vavrigyus trishyātāh kāmām.*
 viii. 81, 6. *indra mā no vāsōr nīr bhāk.*
 x. 158, 4. *sam kedam vi kā pāsyēmā.*

§ 7. — — — .

- i. 10, 8. *sām gā āsmābhyām dhūnūhī.*
 i. 12, 5. *āgnē tvām rākshāsvināh.*
 i. 37, 15. *visvam kīd āyūr gīvāsē.*
 i. 43, 8. *ā na indo vāgē bhāgā.*
 i. 46, 6. *tām asme rāsāthām īshām.*
 iii. 62, 7. *asmābhis tubhyām sāsyaṭē.*
 iv. 30, 21. *dāsānām indrō māyayā.*
 v. 86, 5. *amseva devāv ārvātē.*
 viii. 5, 32. *pūruskandrā nāsatyā (or nāsatyā, § 8).*
 viii. 5, 35. *dhīgāvanā nāsatyā.*
 x. 119, 1-13. *kuvit somasyāpām itī.*
 x. 144, 4. *sātākākrām yō 'hyō vārtānīh.*

§ 8. — — — .

- i. 2, 9. *daksham dadhātē āpāsām (or § 2).*
 i. 6, 10. *indram maho vā ragāsāh.*
 i. 27, 6. *sadyo dāsushē kshārasī.*
 i. 30, 21. *asve na kitrē ārūshī (or § 2).*
 i. 41, 9. *na duruktāyā sprīhāyēt (or § 2).*
 i. 90, 5. *kārtā nah svāstimātāh.*

- iii. 24, 5. *sisīhi nah sūnūmātāh.*
 v. 19, 2. *â drilhām purām vīvisūh.*
 v. 70, 1. *mitra vāmsi vām sūmātīm.*
 v. 70, 4. *mā seshasā mā tānāsā.*
 v. 82, 8. *svādhīr devāh savitā.*
 viii. 2, 27. *gīrbhih srutam gīrvānāsām.*
 viii. 2, 31. *sanād amriktō dāyātē (or § 2).*
 viii. 16, 9. *indram vardhanti kshītayāh (or § 2).*
 viii. 55, 4. *asvāso na kāṅkrāmātā.*
 viii. 67, 19. *yūyam asmabhyām mṛīlātā.*
 viii. 81, 5. *abhi rādhasā gūgūrāt.*
 viii. 81, 8. *asmābhih su tām sānūhī.*
 ix. 47, 2. *rinā ka dhrishnūs kāyātē.*

But although with regard to the Gâyatra, and I may add, the Ânushtubha pādas, the evidence as to the variety of their vrittis is such that it can hardly be resisted, a much more determined stand has been made in defence of the vritta of the Traishtubha and Gâgata pādas. Here Professor Kuhn and those who follow him maintain that the rule is absolute, that the former must end in $\cup - \cup$, the latter in $\cup - \cup -$, 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 *vrittās* at the end of *Traishtubha* and *Gāgata* 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 *vrittās* or final syllables of *Traishtubha* and *Gāgata* *pādas*, 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 *Prātisākhya* and *Pānini*, viz. the aneeps 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 :

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

ii. 39, 3. *prāṭi vāstōr ūsrā* (see *Trisht.* § 5).

Here the *o* of *vastoh* 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 ἄποικοι, τύπτεται, 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. gōpā āmā.

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

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

vii. 62, 4. dyāvābhūmī āditē trāsīthām nāh' (see Trisht. § 5).

The forms īsīyā and rāsīyā in vii. 32, 18, occur at the end of octosyllabic or Gâyatra pādas, and are therefore perfectly legitimate, yet Professor Kuhn would change them too, into īsīyā and rāsīyā. In vii. 28, 4, even mâyī is treated as mâyī (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 *vītam*, *vīhi* is quoted, which is identified with *vīhi*, this can hardly be considered as an argument, for *vīhi* 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 *m* 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 *Gâyatra 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. *māhāh kshōnāsyā āsvinā kāvāyā*.

Here, even if we considered the dispondeus as illegitimate, we might scan *kāvāyā*, 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. *yāsmiñ vīsvā* (*Trisht.* § 5); i. 174, 5. *yāsmiñ kākān*; i. 186, 4. *sāsmi(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 sāmṛāt* (Trisht. § 5). Even in i. 63, 4. *kodīḥ sakhā* (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.

6. S before mutes makes no position. Ex. vi. 66, 11. *ūgrā āsprīdhrān* (Trisht. § 3).

7. S before *k* makes no position. Ex. *viśvā-skāndrāḥ*; &c.

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

9. Mutes before *r* or *v* make no position. Ex. *sūsiprā, dīrghāsṛūt*.

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

11. R followed by mutes or sibilants makes no position. Ex. *āyūr gīvāsē, khārdīḥ, vārshishthām*.

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

We now proceed to consider a number of pro-

according to the rules of Sandhi, is doubled, if a vowel follows. In the latter case, the vowel before the *n* remains, no doubt, short in many cases, or, more correctly, the doubling of the *n* does not take place, e. g. i. 63, 4; 186, 4. In other places, the doubling seems preferable, e. g. i. 33, 11, though Professor Kuhn would remove it altogether. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, vol. iii. p. 125.

* Here, too, according to later researches, Professor Kuhn would rather omit the final sibilant altogether, loc. cit. vol. iv. p. 207.

social 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. *tasmāi pāvākā mṛīḷāyā* is to be read *mārdāyā*; v. 33, 10. *sāmvarānāsyā ṛishēh* is to be read *arsheh*. But why not *sāmvarānāsyā ṛishēh* (i. e. *siarsheh*) ?

2. The *a* privativum may be lengthened. Ex. *āgārāh, āmṛitāh*.

3. Short vowels before liquids may be long. Ex. *nārāh, tarutā, tarati, marutām, harivāh, ārushī, dadhūr iha, sūvitā* (p. 471).

4. Short vowels before nasals may be lengthened. Ex. *gānān, sānitar, tānūh, ūpā nāh*.

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

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 *āuā*. Ex. *āvāsē* becomes *āuāsē*; *sāvītā* becomes *sāūtā*; *nāvā* becomes *nāuā*.

8. The group *āyā* is to be changed into *aiā* or *ēā*. Ex. *nāyāsī* becomes *nāiāsī*.

9. The group *vā* is to be changed into *ua*, and this *ua* to be treated as a kind of diphthong and therefore long. Ex. *kānvātāmāh* becomes *kānūātāmāh*; *vārūnāh* becomes *ūārūnāh*.

10. The short vowel in the reduplicated syllable of perfects is to be lengthened. Ex. *tātānāh, dādhirē*.

11. Short vowels before all aspirates may be lengthened. Ex. *rāthâh* becomes *rāthâh*; *sākhâ* becomes *sākhâ*.

12. Short vowels before *h* and all sibilants may be lengthened. Ex. *māhīnī* becomes *māhīnī*; *ūṣīgām* becomes *ūṣīgām*; *rīshātē* becomes *rīshātē*; *dāsāt* becomes *dāsāt*.

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

14. The short vowel before *d* may be lengthened. Ex. *ūdaram* becomes *ūdaram*; *ūdava* becomes *ūdava*.

15. The short vowel before *p* may be lengthened. Ex. *āpām* becomes *āpām*; *tāpushim* becomes *tāpushim*; *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 *Gagatî* 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 *Gagatî* 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 dodecasyllabic. 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 *Gagatî* 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 dodecasyllabic *Gagatî*, 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 chorus, 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 choregic poets may not have indulged occasionally in an irregular movement? We see that this was so with regard to Gâyatrî verses. We see the greater freedom of the first and second pâdas occasionally extend to the third; and it will be impossible, without intolerable violence, to remove all the varieties of the last pâda of a Gâyatrî 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 Gâyatrîs. 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 pâda 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 pâdas that had been quoted by other scholars in support of their own theories, to the final pâdas 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 Gāyatrī, so as to include the important eighth syllable of the Trishtubh, which does not properly belong to the vṛitta, I maintain that class 4. $\cup \cup - -$, class 5. $- - - -$, and class 8. $- \cup \cup -$ 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 prosodial licences which Professor Kuhn felt himself obliged to admit in his theory of Vedic metres.

§ 4. $\cup \cup - -$.

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 *Prātisākhya*, for the simple reason that the *Prātisākhya* 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 pāda 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. $- - - -$, 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 pāda of each Trishtubh, while the first, second, and third pādas would have yielded a much larger harvest:

§ 5. - - - - .

- i. 89, 9. mā no madhyā rīrishatāyūr gāntōh.
 i. 92, 6. supratikā saumanasāyāgīgāh.
 i. 114, 5. sarma varma khardir asmābhyām yāmsāt.
 i. 117, 2. tena narā vartir asmābhyām yātām.
 i. 122, 1. ishūdhṛyēvā mārūtō rōdasyōh (or rōdasyōh).
 i. 122, 8. asvāvato rathino māhyām sūrīh.
 i. 186, 3. ishas ka parshad arigūrtāh sūrīh.
 ii. 4, 2. devānām agnir aratir gīrāsavāh.
 iii. 49, 2. prithugrayā aminād āyūr dāsyōh.
 iv. 3, 9. gāmaryena payasā pīpāyā.
 iv. 26, 6. divo amushmād uttarād ādāyā.
 v. 41, 14. udā vardhantām abhishātā(h) ārnāh.
 vi. 25, 2. āryāya viso (a)va tārīr dāsīh.
 vi. 66, 11. girayo nāpa ugrā āsprīdhrān.
 vii. 8, 6. dyumad amīvakātanām rākshōhā.
 vii. 28, 4. ava dvitā varuno māyī nāh sāt.
 vii. 68, 1. havyāni ka pratibhritā vītām nāh.
 vii. 71, 2. divā naktam mādhvī trāsīthām nāh.
 vii. 78, 1. gytishmatā vāmam asmābhyām vākshī.
 vii. 93, 7^b. akkhā mitram varunam īndrām vōkēh.
 ix. 90, 4. sam kīkrado maho asmābhyām vāgān.
 x. 11, 8. bhāgam no atra vasumāntām 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 *arātir*, and then read *gīrā-āsvāh*, as in i. 141, 12. In vi. 25, 2, after eliding the *a* of *ava*, we might read *ḍāsīh*. 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 *Gāyatrī*s? 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 *Prātisākhyas* 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 pādas ending in a choriambus, — ∪ ∪ —, again confining myself, with few exceptions, to final pādas :

§ 8. — ∪ ∪ —.

- i. 62, 3. sam usriyābhir vāvasāntā nārāh.
 i. 103, 4. yad dha sūnuh sravase nāmā dādhe.
 i. 121, 9. sushnam anantaih pariyāsi vādhaih.
 i. 122, 10^b. sārthāstarō nārām gūrtāsrāvāh.
 i. 173, 8. sūrims kid yadi dhishā veshī gānān.
 i. 186, 2. karant sushāhā vithurām nā sāvāh.
 ii. 4, 3. dakshāyoyo yo dāsvatē dāmā ā (not dāmē ā).
 ii. 19, 1. oko dadhe brahmanyantās kā nārāh.
 ii. 33, 14. mīdhvas tokāya tanayāyā mritā.
 iv. 1, 19^c. sūkṃ ūdhō ātrīnān nā gāvām*.
 iv. 25, 4. nare naryāya nritamāyā nṛinām.
 iv. 39, 2. dadathur mitrāvarunā tāturīm.
 v. 30, 12. prāty āgrābhīshmā nritāmāyā nṛinām.
 v. 41, 4. āgīm nā gāgmūr āsvāsvātāmāh.
 v. 41, 15. smāt sūrībhir riḡūhāstā riḡūvānīh.
 vi. 4, 7. vāyūm priṇāntī rādhasā nritāmāh.
 vi. 10, 5. sūvīryēbhīs kābhī santi gānān.

* 'Nur eine Stelle habe ich mir angemerkt, wo das Metrum āam verlangt.' Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 180 ; Bollensen, Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. xxii. p. 587.

- vi. 11, 4. aṅganti suprayasam pāñkā gānāh.
 vi. 13, 1^b. agne vi yanti vaninō nā vāyāh.
 vi. 13, 1^d. divo vrishtir īdyō rītir āpām.
 vi. 20, 1^b. tasthaú rayśh savasā prītsū gānān.
 vi. 20, 1^d. daddhi sūno sahaso vritrātūrām.
 vi. 29, 4. ukthā samsanto devavātātāmāh.
 vi. 33, 3. ā prītsū darśhi nrīnām nrītamā.
 vi. 33, 5. divī shyāmā pāryē gōshātāmāh.
 vi. 44, 11. gāhṃ āsūshvīn pra vrihāprīnātāh.
 vi. 49, 12. strībhīr nā nākām vākānasyā vipāh.
 vi. 68, 5. vamsad rayim rayivatās kā gānān.
 vi. 68, 7. pra sadyo dyumnā tiratē tātūrīh.
 vii. 19, 10. sakhā kā sūro vītā kā nrīnām.
 vii. 62, 4. mā mītrāsyā priyātāmāsyā nrīnām.
 ix. 97, 26. hotāro nā divīyāgō māndrātāmāh (?).
 x. 55, 8. sūro nīr yūdhādhāmād dāsyūn (?).
 x. 99, 9. atkam yo asya sanitōtā nrīnām.
 x. 108, 6. brihaspatir va ubhayā nā mriḷāt.
 x. 169, 1. āvāsāyā pādvātē rūdrā mriḷā.

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 cæsura 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. 0 0 0 -.

Trishtubh verses the final pāda of which ends in 0 0 0 -, 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, 11. prāsastayē māhīnā¹ rāthavātē.
 iii. 20, 5. vāsūn rūdrāñ ādityāñ¹ ihā hūvē.
 v. 2, 1. pūrāñ pāsyantī nihitām¹ (tām) arātau.
 vi. 13, 5. vāyō vrikāyārayē¹ gāsūrayē.

§ 10. 0 - 0 -.

I should propose the same medela for some final pādas of Trishtubhs apparently ending in 0 - 0 -. 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 *Gāgata* pāda is more in accordance with the habit of the Vedic poets. Thus I should scan :

v. 33, 4. *vṛishā sāmātsū dāsāyā nāmā kīit* *.

v. 41, 5^b. *rāyā ēshē vāse dadhīta dhīh*.

After what I have said before on the real character of the teaching of the *Prātisākhya*, I need not show again that the fact of *Uvata*'s counting *ta* of *dadhīta* 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. *māpsāvāh pāri shādāmā māduvāh*.

§ 6. ∪ - - - .

Final pādas of *Trishtubhs* ending in ∪ - - - are very scarce. In vi. 1, 4,

bhadrayām te ranayantā samdrishtāu,

it would be very easy to read *bhadrayām te samdrishtau ranayantā*; and in x. 74, 2,

* Professor Kuhn has finally adopted the same scanning, *Beiträge*, vol. iv. p. 184.

d̄yāur nā vārebhīh krīṇāvāntā svāih,

we may either recognize a *Gāgata* pāda, or read

d̄yāur nā vārebhīh krīṇāvāntā svāih,

which would agree with the metre of hymn x. 77.

§ 7. — — ∪ —.

Pādas ending in — — ∪ — 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^a. tvām hā tyād īndrā kōḍīh śakhā.

iv. 26, 6^b. pārāvātāh śakūnō māndrām mādam.

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

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 dropt 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 *sa* appears most frequently as *sa* (*sa dadāti*), 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 Pāṇini, vi. 1, 134. We might refer also to feminines which have *s* in the nominative singular after bases in *û*, but drop it after bases in *î*. We find in the Sanhitâ text, v. 7, 8, *svādhitîva*, instead of *svādhitîh-iva* in the Pada text, sanctioned by the Prâtisâkhya 259; likewise ix. 61, 10, Sanhitâ, *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 *sa*; by the side of *bhūmiḥ* we have a secondary form *bhūmî*; and we may conclude from *svādhitî-vân*, i. 88, 2, that the Vedic poets knew of a form *svādhitî*, by the side of *svādhitîh*.

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 *túbhya*, which occurs frequently instead of *tú-*

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

* 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, 1.

† ii. 11, 3; v. 30, 6.

‡ See Bollensen, *Orient und Occident*, vol. iii. p. 459; Kuhn, *Beiträge*, vol. iv. p. 199.

§ *Orient und Occident*, vol. iv. p. 449.

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 *hyânã* instead of *hiyânã*, ix. 13, 6; *dhyânó* instead of *dhiyânó*, viii. 49, 5; *sáhyase* instead of *sáhiyase*, i. 71, 4; *yânó* instead of *iyânó*, 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 monosyllabic, 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 synalcephe, 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 *ἀλεγεινός* and *ἀλγεινός*, *γαλακτοφάγος* and *γλακτοφάγος*, *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. *Samprasârana* might seem a more appropriate term, but though the grammatical process designated in Sanskrit by *Samprasârana* 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 καλουμένη *συνεκφώνησις* ἢ καὶ *συνίζησις* λέγεται. "Ὅταν γὰρ φωνηέντων ἐπάλληλος γένηται ἡ προφορά, τότε γίνεται ἡ συνίζησις εἰς μίαν συλλαβήν. Διαφέρει δὲ *συναλοιφῆς* ἡ μὲν γὰρ γραμμάτων ἐστὶ κλοπή, ἡ δὲ χρόνων" καὶ ἡ μὲν *συναλοιφή*, ὡς λέγεται, φαίνεται, ἡ δὲ οὐδ. Mehlhorn, *Griechische Grammatik*, § 101. Thus in *Νεοπτῶλεμος* we have synizesis, in *Νοῦπτῶλεμος* synæresis.

‡ Cf. Mehlhorn, *Griechische Grammatik*, § 57.

§ See the important chapters on 'Kürzung der Vokale' and

we find in Sanskrit, too, such double forms as *prithvī* or *prithivī*, *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 *nāsatyā* and *nāsātyā*, viii. 5, 32; *pr̥thivyās* and *pr̥thivṛyāh*; *pitrōh* and *pit̥rōh*, i. 31, 4. They could separate compound words, and pronounce *ghritānnāh* or *ghritā-annāh*, vii. 3, 1. They could insert a kind of shewa or svarabhakti in words like *sāmnē* or *sāmñē*, viii. 6, 47; *dhāmnē* or *dhāmñē*, viii. 92, 25; *ārāvnāh* and *ārāvñāh*, ix. 63, 5. They might vary between *pānti* and *pāntī*, i. 41, 2; *yāthānā* and *yāthānā*, i. 39, 3; *nīdhātōh* and *nīdhātōh*, i. 41, 9; *tredhā* and *tredhā*, i. 34, 8; *dēvāh* and *dēvāh* (besides *devāsah*), i. 23, 24; *rōdasī* and *rōdasī*, i. 33, 9; 59, 4; 64, 9; and *rōdasīyōh*, 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 *pr̥thivī* as *pr̥thivī*, i. 191, 6; vii. 34, 7; 99, 3; *dh̥r̥ishnāvā* as *dh̥r̥ishnāvā*, 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 *rodasīos*. In i. 96, 4, no change is necessary if we read *visām*.
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, *suvāna* should not be pronounced as dissyllabic, i. e. as *sūvānā*; 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 *Vyāli* 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 prosodial licences. To my mind the most convincing passages are those where, as in the *Atyashṭi* 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. āpūrūshāghnō 'prātītā sūrā sātvaḥhīh,
trīsāptaiḥ sūrā sātvaḥhīh.

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. ūgrā īshānāntā bhūrvānī,
 āpām īshāntā bhūrvānī.

As ishanta never occurs again, I suspect that the original reading was *ishananta* in both lines, and that in the second line *ishananta*, pronounced rapidly, was mistaken for *ishanta*. Is not *bhurvāni* 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:

āhēlāmānā ūrusāmsā sārī bhāvā,
 vāgē-vāgē sārī bhāvā.

In i. 129, 11,

ādhā hī tvā gānitā gīgānād vāsō,
 rākshōhānam tvā gīgānād vāsō,

we might try to remove the difficulty by omitting *vaso* at the end of the refrain, but this would be against the general character of these hymns. We want the last word *vaso*, 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. *ghṛītasyā vibhrāshṭīm anū vāshṭī sōkīshā.*

Cf. x. 14, 1.

The preposition *abhi* :

i. 91, 23. *rāyō bhāgām sahasāvān 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. *āvār māhā indrā dādriḥī sṛdhī nāḥ.* Although this verse is quoted by the Prātisākhya, Sūtra 522, as one in which the lengthened syllable *dhī* of *sṛdhī* 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 vākāmsī parīkākshyāñī vōkām,
sūmnēshv̄ id vō antāmā madēmā.

Here Professor Kuhn (Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 197) begins the last pāda 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 hārī :

vii. 32, 12. yā indrō harivān nā dābhāntī tām rīpāh.
ii. 18, 5. ā katvārīmsatā harībhīr yūgānāh.

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

sāhāsrām tā indrā-ūtāyō nāh,
sāhāsrām īshō harivō gūrtātāmāh*,
sāhāsrām rāyō mādayādhyai,
sāhāsrīnā ūpā 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 ivāpō nā trīshyātē bābhūthā.
v. 61, 16. ā yāgñīyāsō vavrittānā.

* As to the scanning of the second line see page cxxxv.

The *pragrihya* î 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 *Prâtisâkhyâ*, we might scan

vi. 52, 14. ūbhē rōdāsy āpām nāpāk kâ mānmā, or we might shorten the î before the a, and admitting synizesis, scan :

ūbhē rōdāsī āpām nāpāk kâ mānmā.

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

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

iv. 48, 1. vāyāv ā kandrēnā rāthenā (Anushtubh, c.)

iv. 1, 2. sâ bhrātāram varunām āgnā ā vāvritsvā.

The termination *avaḥ* also, before vowels, seems to count as one syllable in v. 52, 14, *divō vā dhrishnavā ōgāsā*, which would render Professor Bollensen's correction (*Orient und Occident*, vol. ii. p. 480), *dhrishnúogāsā*, 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 *ím*, and *ayam* to *ám* (*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, *sadhāvīrā* is trisyllabic. In vi. 10, 1, we must admit synizesis in *adhvaré*; in i. 161, 8, either in *udakám* or in *abravítana*; i. 110, 9, in *ribhumán*; viii. 79, 4, in *diváh*; v. 4, 6, in *nritama* (unless we read so 'gne); i. 164, 17, in *paráh*; vi. 15, 14, in *pāvaka*; i. 191, 6; vii. 34, 7; 99, 3, in *prithivī*; ii. 20, 8, in *púrah*; vi. 10, 1, in *prayatí*; vi. 17, 7, in *brihát*; ix. 19, 6, in *bhiyásam*; i. 133, 6, in *maháh*; ii. 28, 6; iv. 1, 2; vi. 75, 18, in *varuna*; iii. 30, 21, in *vrishabha*; vii. 41, 6, in *vágínah*; ii. 43, 2, in *sísumatíh*; vi. 51, 2, in *sanutár*; vi. 18, 12, in *sthávirasya*, &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 :
March, 1869.

FIRST BOOK.

HYMNS TO THE MARUTS.

VOL. I.

B

MANDALA I, SÛKTA 6.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYÂYA 1, VARGA 11-12.

1. Yuñgánti bradhnám arushám kárantam pári
tasthúshah, rókante rokanã diví.

2. Yuñgánti asya kãmyâ hári (íti) ví-pakshasâ ráthe,
sónâ dhrishnũ (íti) nri-váhasâ.

3. Ketúm krinván aketáve péсах maryâh apesáse,
sám ushát-bhih agâyathâh.

4. Át áha svadhãm ánu púnah garbha-tvám â-íriré,
dádhanâh nãma yagñíyam.

1. WILSON: The circumstationed (inhabitants of the three worlds) associate with (Indra), the mighty (Sun), the indestructive (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 Morgenroth.

LANGLOIS: O mortels, (voyez-le) mettant l'ordre dans la confusion, donnant la forme au chaos. O Indra, avec les rayons du jour tu viens de naître.

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 heiligen 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'arani).

5. *Vilú kit ârugatnú-bhih gúhâ kit indra váhni-bhih, ávindah usríyâh ánu.*

6. *Deva-yántah yáthâ matím ákka vidát-vasum gírah, mahám anûshata srutám.*

7. *Índrena sám hí dríkshase sam-gagmánáh ábi-bhyushâ, mandû (iti) samáná-varkasâ.*

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

9. *Átah pari-gman â gahi diváh vâ rokanât 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 Schätzeherrn, 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 Maruts¹ who break even through the stronghold,² hast found even in their hiding-place the bright cows³ (the days).

6. The pious singers¹ (the Maruts) have, after their own mind,² shouted towards the giver of wealth, the great, the glorious (Indra).

7. Mayest thou¹ (host of the Maruts) be verily seen² 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 sacrificer¹ cries aloud.

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

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.

8. 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 homage aussi empressé, Indra et la troupe (des Marouts) bienfaisante, irréprochable, et brillante des feux (du matin).

9. 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 Äther, Umkreisender! zu dir streben die Lieder all.

10. Itáh vâ sâtím ŷmahe diváh vâ pârthivât ádhi,
 índram maháh vâ rágasah.

LANGLOIS: (Dieu des vents), qui parcourt 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 Gâyatrî 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 bradhná as an adjective,—bradhná 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 meaning of arushá, and justify the translation here adopted.

Arushá as an Adjective.

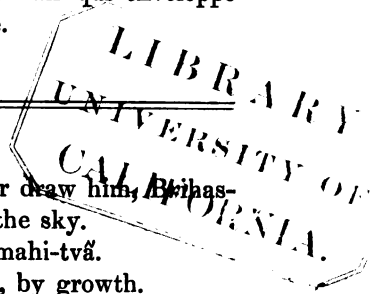
Arushá is used as an adjective in the sense of red:

vii. 97, 6. tám sagmāśah arushāśah āśvāh brīhaspātim
 saha-vāhaḥ vahanti,—nābhaḥ ná rūpām arushām vāsānāḥ.

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 gaṅṅānām arushām mahi-tvā.*

Agni, the white, when born; the red, by growth.

iii. 15, 3. *krishnāsu agne arushāḥ ví bhāhi.*

Shine, O Agni, red among the dark ones.

iii. 31, 21. *antār (íti) 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 adrisran ushāsam vāhantaḥ.*

The red horses, the beautiful, were seen bringing to us the bright dawn.

v. 43, 12. *híraya-varnam arushám sapema.*

Let us worship the gold-coloured, the red, i. e. Brihaspati (the fire).

i. 118, 5. *pári vām āsvāḥ vāpushaḥ patangāḥ váyah vahantu arushāḥ abhīke.*

May the winged beautiful horses, may the red birds bring you (the Aśvins) back near to us.

iv. 43, 6. *ghrinā váyah arushāsaḥ pári gman.*

The red birds (of the Aśvins) came back by day.

v. 73, 5. *pári vām arushāḥ váyah ghrinā varante â-tāpaḥ.*

The red birds shield you (the Aśvins) around by day from the heat.

i. 36, 9. *ví dhûmám agne arushám miyedhya srigá.*
Send off, O Agni, the red smoke, thou who art worthy of
sacrificial food.

vii. 3, 3. *ákkha dyám arusháh dhûmáh eti.*
The red smoke goes up to the sky.

vii. 16, 3. *út dhûmásaḥ arushásaḥ divi-sprisaḥ.*
The clouds of red smoke went up touching the sky.

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

i. 141, 8. *dyám ángebhiḥ arushébhiḥ íyate.*

He (Agni) goes to the sky with his red limbs.

ii. 2, 8. *sáh idhánáh ushásaḥ rámyâḥ ánu svâḥ ná didet*
arushéna bhânúnâ.

He (Agni), lit after the lovely dawns, shone like the sky
with his red splendour.

iii. 29, 6. *ásvaḥ ná vâgí arusháh váneshu á.*

Like a stallion, the red one (Agni) appears in the
wood.

iv. 58, 7. *arusháh ná vâgí káshtáh bhindán.*

Like a red stallion, breaking the bounds.

i. 114, 5. *diváh varáhám arushám.*

Him (Rudra), the boar of the sky, the red.

v. 59, 5. *ásvâh-iva ít arushásaḥ.*

Like red horses, (O Maruts.)

v. 12, 2. *ritám sapám arushásya vrishnaḥ.*

I follow the rite of the red hero (Agni). The meaning
here assigned to *vrishan*, will be explained hereafter, see
note to i. 85, 12.

v. 12, 6. *ritám sáh pâti arushásya vrishnaḥ.*

He observes the rite of the red hero (Agni).

vi. 8, 1. *prikshásya vrishnaḥ arushásya nú sáhaḥ prá nú*
voḥam.

I celebrate the power of the quick red hero (Agni Vaisvá-
nara).

vi. 48, 6. *syâvâsu arusháh vrishâ.*

In the dark (nights) the red hero (Agni).

iii. 7, 5. *gânánti vrishnaḥ arushásya sévam.*

They know the treasure of the red hero (of Agni).

In one passage *vrishan arushá* is intended for fire in the
shape of lightning.

x. 89, 9. ní amítreshu vadhám indra túmram vríshan
vríshânam arushám sisíhi.

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

x. 43, 9. út gâyatâm parasúh gyótishâ sahâ—ví rokatâm
arusháh bhânúnâ súkih.

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

x. 1, 6. arusháh gâtáh padé ílayâh.

Agni, born red in the place of the altar.

vi. 3, 6. náktam yáh îm arusháh yáh dívâ.

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

x. 20, 9. krishnáh svetáh arusháh yâmah asya bradhnáh
rigráh utá sónah.

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

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

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

ix. 8, 6. arusháh hárih.

ix. 71, 7. arusháh diváh kavíh vríshâ.

ix. 74, 1. vâgí arusháh.

ix. 82, 1. arusháh vríshâ hárih.

ix. 89, 3. hárim arushám.

ix. 111, 1. arusháh hárih. See also ix. 25, 5; 61, 21.

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

Arushá as an Appellative.

Arushá 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. yuñgánti bradhnám arushám.

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

i. 94, 10. yát áyuktháh arusháh róhitâ ráthe.

When thou (Agni) hast yoked the two red-horses and the
two ruddy horses to the chariot.

i. 146, 2. rihánti údhaḥ arushásaḥ asya.

His (Agni's) red-horses lick the udder.

ii. 10, 2. srutyāḥ agníḥ—hávam me—syávā rátham vaha-
taḥ róhitā vā 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 yugánáḥ.

Agni having yoked the two red-horses.

iv. 6, 9. táva tyé agne harítaḥ—róhitásaḥ—arushásaḥ
vríshanaḥ.

To thee (Agni) belong these bays, these ruddy, these red-
horses, the stallions.

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

viii. 34, 17. yé rigrāḥ vāta-ramhasaḥ arushásaḥ raghu-
syádaḥ.

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 áśú 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. sáh yogate arushá visvá-bhogasá.

May he (Agni) yoke the two all-nourishing red-horses.

vii. 42, 2. yunkshvá—harítaḥ rohítaḥ ka yé vā sádman
arusháḥ.

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 re-
taining, like Vritra, the waters which Indra and the Maruts
wish to liberate.

i. 85, 5. utá arushásya ví syanti dhārāḥ.

(When you go to the battle, O Maruts), the streams of
the red enemy flow off.

v. 56, 7. utá syáḥ vāgā arusháḥ.

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 Sŭrya. 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, *yuṅgánti 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 svásuḥ ushásaḥ nák gihīte rinákti krishnīḥ arusháya pánthām.*

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. *diváh sísum sáhasaḥ sūnám agním yaḡñásya ketúm arushám yáḡadhyaí.*

To worship the child of Dyū, 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 yaḡñásya 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 Dyū, originally the offspring of heaven. He is the son of strength, originally generated by the strong rubbing of the aranis, 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 duhitárâ vírûpe (íti ví-rûpe) strí-bhih anyá pipisé súrah anyá.

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 Vaisvánara; 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. tám árvantam ná sânasím arushám ná diváh sísum marmṛigyánte 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. arusháh su-parnáh.

Arushá, the morning sun, with beautiful wings.

The feminine Árushî as an Adjective.

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

iii. 55, 11. syáví ka yát árushî ka svásârau.

As the dark and the red are sisters.

i. 92, 1 and 2. gávah árushîh and árushîh gáh.

The red cows of the dawn.

i. 92, 2. *rúasantam bhânúm árushîh asisrayuh.*

The red dawns obtained bright splendour.

Here *ushásaḥ*, the dawns, occur in the same line, so that we may take *árushîh* 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. *ásve ná 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 :

iv. 52, 2. *ásvâ-iva kitrâ árushî mâtâ gâvâm ritâ-varî sâkhâ abhût asvínoh ushâh.*

The dawn, bright and red, like a mare, the mother of the cows (days), the never-failing, she became the friend of the *Asvins*.

x. 5, 5. *saptâ svásrîh árushîh.*

The seven red sisters.

The feminine Árushî as a Substantive.

If used as a substantive, *árushî* 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 *árushî* as a recognized name of the dawn. Other passages, however, would likewise gain in perspicuity, if we took *árushî* by itself as a name of the dawn, just as we had to admit in several passages *arushâ* by itself as a name of the morning. Cf.

i. 71, 1.

Árushî means the horses of Agni, in i. 14, 12 :

yukshvá hí árushîh ráthe harítah deva rohítah.

Yoke, O god (Agni), the red-horses to the chariot, the bays, the ruddy.

i. 72, 10. *prá níkîh agne árushîh agânan.*

They knew the red-horses, Agni, coming down.

In viii. 69, 5, *árushî* refers to the horses of Indra, whether as a noun or an adjective, is somewhat doubtful :

ā hárayah sasrigrire árushîh.

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 arusháh hárih.

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

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

It is curious that Arushá, which in the Veda means red, should in its Zendic form aurusha, mean white. That in the Veda it means red and not white is shown, for instance, by x. 20, 9, where svetá, the name for white, is mentioned by the side of arushá. Most likely arushá meant originally brilliant, and became fixed with different shades of brilliancy in Sanskrit and Persian. Arushá 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 arushá and árushî 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 arushá 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 'arushá 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. ávardhayan su-bhágam saptá yahvîh svetám gagnânám arushám mahi-tvā, sísuṃ ná gâtám abhí áruh ásvâh. 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, vrishnah arushásya is no doubt

* See v. 1, 4. svetáh vâgí gáyate ágre áhnám. x. 1, 6. arusháh gâtáh padé ilâyáh.

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 ráthaḥ vrīsha-bhiḥ yātu ásvaiḥ*, 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 *arushá vrīshan* by red-horse, but only by the red male, or the red hero.

In iii. 31, 3, *agníḥ gaṅṅe guhvā régamānaḥ maháḥ putráṅ arushásya pra-yákshe*, I do not venture to say who is meant by the *maháḥ putráṅ arushásya*, 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 tyé agne harítaḥ ghrita-snāḥ róhitāsaḥ rigu-āñkaḥ su-āñkaḥ, arushásah vrīshanaḥ rigu-mushkāḥ*. Here, so far from Agni being represented as a red-horse, his different horses, the *Haríts* or bays, the *Róhitas* or ruddy, and the *arushásah vrīshanaḥ*, the red stallions, are distinctly mentioned. Here *vrīshan* may be translated by stallion, instead of simply by male, because *arushá* is here a substantive, the name of a horse.

v. 1, 5. *gánishṭa hí gényah ágre áhnám hitáh hitéshu arusháh váneshu*. Here *arusháh* 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 *arushá vrīshan*, which does not mean the red-horse, but the red male, the red hero, i. e. Agni.

In vi. 49, 2, *diváh śisum sáhasaḥ sūnúm agnīm yagñásya ketúm arushám yágadhyai*, 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 *Arushá*, 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 vâm ásvâh vápushah patangâh, váyah vahantu arushâh abhîke*. Here we find the *vâyah arushâh* 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), *árushî* occurs three times, referring twice to the cows of the dawn, once to the dawn herself.

In iv. 15, 6, *tám árvantam ná sânasím arushám ná diváh sísum marmrigyánte divé-dive*, *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 *arushám* in the next *pâda* with *árvantam* in the preceding *pâda*, 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 (íti) krishnân arushâh dhâma-bhih gât, dhâma-bhih* is said to mean flames of lightning. But *dhâman* 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 *árushî* in the *Veda* are collected, it is said that *árushî* 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 árushî 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 *Válakhilya* hymn, and in viii. 68, 18, a *dâna-stuti* or panegyric. Besides, no passage is given where árushî means the horses of the dawn, and I doubt whether such a passage exists, while the verse where árushî is really used for the horses of Indra, is not mentioned at all. Lastly, two passages are set apart where árushî 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. III, 2, árushî is said to mean flames, but no further light is thrown upon that very difficult passage.

Verse 1, note². A similar expression occurs iii. 61, 5, where it is said of Ushas, the dawn, that she lighted the lights in the sky, *prá rokanã ruruke ravá-sandrík*.

Verse 2, note¹. 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, note¹. The vocative *maryâh*, 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 *mehercle*, or like the English O ye powers, and it is therefore quoted as a *nipâta* or particle in the *Vâgasan*. *Prâtis*. 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 Vārttika to Pān. 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 mádbhíḥ 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. Svatavadbhyaḥ has been pointed out by Professor Aufrecht in the Vāgasan. Sanhitā xxiv. 16, and svatavobhyaḥ in Satap. Br. ii. 5, 1, 14. That the nom. svavân, which is always trisyllabic, is not to be divided into sva-vân, as proposed by Śākalya, but into su-avân, is implied by Vārttika to Pān. viii. 4, 48, and distinctly stated in the Siddhānta-Kaumudī. That the final n of the nom. su-avân disappeared before semi-vowels is confirmed by the Śākala-prātisākhya, Sūtra 287; see also Vāgasan. Prātis. iii. Sūtra 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. Ât must here take vyûha and be pronounced as an iambus. This is exceptional with ât, but there are at least two other passages where the same pronunciation is necessary. i. 148, 4. ât rokate vâne ā vi-bhā-vâ, though in the line immediately following it is monosyllabic. Also in v. 7, 10. ât agne āprinataḥ.

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 *svadhã*, as corresponding to the Greek *ἔθος* and the German *sitte*, O. H. G. *sit-u*, Gothic *sid-u*. The noun *svadhã* 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 *ἔθος* or *ἦθος*. See Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. ii. p. 134, vol. xii. p. 158.

The expressions *ánu svadhãm* and *svadhãm 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 svadhãm ánu hí nah babhútha.*

For, Indra, according to thy wont, thou art ours.

viii. 20, 7. *svadhãm ánu sríyam nárah—váhante.*

According to their wont, the men (the Maruts) carry splendour.

viii. 88, 5. *ánu svadhãm vavakshitha.*

Thou hast grown (Indra) according to thy nature.

iv. 33, 6. *ánu svadhãm ribhávah gagmañ etãm.*

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 svadhãm ava.*

Dawn, help! as thou art wont.

i. 33, 11. *ánu svadhãm aksharan ápah asya.*

As usual, or according to his nature, i. e. his strength, the waters flowed.

i. 88, 6. *ásãm ánu svadhãm.*

According to the nature of these libations.

vii. 56, 13. *ánu svadhãm áyudhaiñ yákkhamánãh.*

According to their nature, stretching forth with their weapons.

iii. 51, 11. *yáh* te ánu svadhám ásat suté ní *yakkha* tanvām.

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

In all these passages svadhá may be rendered by manner, habit, usage, and ánu svadhám would seem to correspond to the Greek ἐξ ἔθους. 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 ἔθος and ἦθος, and whereas the former comes very near in meaning to the Sanskrit svadhá, 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. Svadhá in the Veda does not occur in that sense, although etymologically it might take the meaning of one's own place: cf. dhâ-man, *familia*, etc. Whether in Greek ἦθος, from meaning lair, haunt, home, came, like νομός and νόμος, to mean habit, manner, character, which would be quite possible, or whether ἦθος in that meaning represents a second start from the same point, which in Sanskrit was fixed in svadhá, is impossible to determine. In Sanskrit svadhá 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. *tisráh devíh svadháyâ barhíh* á idám ákkhidram pântu.

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

iv. 13, 5. *káyâ yâti svadháyâ.*

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

iv. 26, 4. *akakráyâ svadháyâ.*

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 svadháyâ, seems to mean to revel in his strength, proud of his might.

v. 32, 4. svadháyâ mádantam.

Vritra who delights in his strength.

vii. 47, 3. svadháyâ mádantîh.

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. svadháyâ gribhîtáh.

Held or grasped by his own strength.

iii. 17, 5. svadháyâ ka sambhúh.

He who blesses by his own strength.

iii. 35, 10. índra píba svadháyâ kit sutásya agnéh vá pâhi gihváyâ 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. agnéh píbata gihváyâ.

x. 15, 3. yé svadháyâ sutásya bháganta pítváh.

Those who by themselves share in the offered draught.

i. 165, 6. kvã syã vah marutah svadhã âsît yát mãm ékam sam-ádhatta 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. káyâ nah agne ví vasah su-vriktím kãm ûm (íti) svadhãm rinavah sasyámânah.

In what character dost thou light up our altar, and what character dost thou assume when thou art praised?

iv. 58, 4. venât ékam svadháyâ níh tatakshuh.

They (the gods) made one out of the sun, by their own power.

iv. 45, 6. vísvân ánu svadháyâ ketathah patháh.

You (Asvins) look after all the paths by your own strength.

i. 64, 4. sâkám gagñire svadháyâ.

They (the Maruts) were born together according to their nature; very much like ánu svadhãm, 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, svadháyâ, meaning originally by its own power, or nature, comes to mean, by itself, *sponte sud*.

vii. 78, 4. *ā asthât rātham svadháyâ yugyámānam.*

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. *ānît avâtām svadháyâ tát ékam.*

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

In the same sense *svadhābhih* is used in several passages :

i. 113, 13. *amṛitā karati svadhābhih.*

The immortal Dawn moves along by her own strength, i. e. by herself.

viii. 10, 6. *yāt vā svadhābhih adhi-tishthathaḥ rātham.*

Or whether ye mount your chariot by your own strength, ye *Āsvins*.

i. 164, 30. *gīvāh mritāsya karati svadhābhih āmartyaḥ mārtvena sá-yoniḥ.*

The living moves by the powers of the dead, the immortal is the brother of the mortal.

iii. 26, 8. *vārshishtḥam rátnam akṛita svadhābhih.*

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

v. 60, 4. *varāh-iva ít raivatāsaḥ hīranyaiḥ abhí svadhābhih tanvāh pipisre.*

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 *svadhābhih*, too, is doubtful. Thus, i. 180, 6. In vi. 2, 8, *svadhā* looks like an adverb, instead of *svadháyâ*, and would then refer to *parigmā*. The same applies to viii. 32, 6.

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

i. 108, 12. *yāt indrāgnî (iti) út-itâ sūryasya mādhye divāḥ svadháyâ mādáyethe (iti).*

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

x. 15, 12. *tvām agne ílitāḥ gāta-vedaḥ ávāt havyāni surabhīni kritvī, prá adāḥ pitṛi-bhyaḥ svadháyâ té akshan addhí tvām deva prá-yatâ havīmshi.* 13. *yé ka ihá pitāraḥ yé ka ná ihá yān ka vidmá yān ūm (iti) ka ná pra-vidmá, tvām vettha*

yāti té *gâta-vedaḥ svadhâbhiḥ yagnâm sū-kritam gushasva*.
 14. yé agni-dagdhâḥ yé anagni-dagdhâḥ mādhye divâḥ svadhâyâ mādâyante, tébhiḥ sva-rât̃ āsu-nîtim etām yathâ-vasām tanvām kalpayasva.

12. Thou, O Agni Gâtavedas, 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 Gâtavedas, 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. *saptâ prikshâsaḥ svadhâyâ madanti*.

The seven horses delight in their food.

x. 14, 7. *ubhâ râgânâ svadhâyâ mādantâ*.

The two kings delighting in their food.

ix. 113, 10. *yâtra kâmâḥ ni-kâmâḥ ka, yâtra bradhnâsya vishâpam, svadhâ ka yâtra trîptiḥ ka tâtra mām amrîtam kridhî*.

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. *yâsya trî pûrnâ mādhunâ padâni âkshîyamânâ svadhâyâ mādanti*.

He (Vishṇu) whose three places, full of sweet, imperishable, delight or abound in food.

v. 34, 1. *svadhâ âmitâ*.

His unlimited portion or offering.

ii. 35, 7. *dhenûḥ svadhâm pîpâya*.

The cow yields her food, her portion, her milk.

i. 168, 9. *ât it svadhâm ishirâm pâri apasyan*.

Thereafter (the Maruts) saw the vigorous food.

i. 176, 2. *ānu svadhâ yām upyâte*.

After whom, or for whom, his food is scattered.

In the tenth book *svadhâ* is used very much as it occurs in the later Sanskrit, as the name of a peculiar sacrificial rite.

x. 14, 3. *yān ka devāḥ vavridhūḥ yé ka devān svāhā anyé svadhāyā anyé madanti.*

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 â-îrîré* is matched by that of iii. 6c, 3. *saudhanvanāsaḥ amrita-tvām ā îrîre*, 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 *vāhniḥ* in the sense of *Marúdbhiḥ*, and he tells the oft-repeated story how the cows were carried off by the Panis 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*, *अग्-ω*, *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. *yátra váhniḥ abhí-hitaḥ*.

Where the sacrificial fire is placed.

It is applied to Agni :

vii. 7, 5. *ásâdi vritáh váhniḥ â-gaganvân agníḥ brahmâ*.

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 vásu*.

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. *âpa dvârâ tâmasaḥ váhniḥ âvar (ity âvaḥ)*.

Agni opened the two doors of darkness.

i. 160, 3. *sáh váhniḥ putráḥ pitróḥ pavitra-vân punâti dhîraḥ bhúvanâni mâyáyâ*.

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. *ât ródasî (íti) gyótishâ váhniḥ â atanot*.

Then the luminous (Indra) stretched out or filled heaven and earth with his light.

ii. 38, 1. *út ûm (íti) syáh deváh savitâ—váhniḥ asthât*.

The bright Savitar, the luminous, arose.

Besides this meaning of light or fire, however, there are

clearly two other meanings of *váhni* 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. *agãh anyásya váhnayah hári (íti) anyásya sám-bhritâ.*

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

i. 14, 6. *ghritâ-prishthâh manah-yúgah yé tvâ váhanti váhnayah.*

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

viii. 3, 23. *yásmai anyé dása práti dhúram váhanti váhnayah.*

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. *váhamânah ásvaih.*)

ii. 37, 3. *médyantú te váhnayah yébhîh ïyase.*

May thy horses be fat on which thou goest.

ii. 24, 13. *utá ásishtâh ánu srinvanti váhnayah.*

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

i. 44, 13. *srudhí srut-karna váhni-bhîh.*

Agni, who hast ears to hear, hear, on thy horses. Unless *váhni-bhîh* is joined with the words that follow, *devaîh sayâva-bhîh*.

iii. 6, 2. *vakyântâm te váhnayah saptâ-gihvâh*.*

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

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

viii. 94, 1. *yuktâ váhnih ráthânâm.*

She is yoked as the drawer of the chariots.

The passages in which *váhni* 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 *visâm vispâtih*, lord of men (vii. 7, 4), we find

* Cf. i. 58, 7. *saptâ guhvâh.*

ix. 108, 10. *visām váhniḥ ná vispátiḥ*. 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 vispátiḥ*, which is meant to form one phrase.

In ix. 97, 34, *tisráḥ vākaḥ îrayati prá 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 *ukthá-vâhas* or *stóma-vâhas*, offering hymns of praise. Thus we read :

v. 79, 4. *abhí yé tvâ vibhâ-vari stómaiḥ grinánti váhnayah.*

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

i. 48, 11. *yé tvâ grinánti váhnayah.*

The ministers who praise thee.

vii. 75, 5. *ushâḥ ukkhati váhni-bhiḥ grinânâ.*

The dawn lights up, praised by the ministers.

vi. 39, 1. *mandrásyā kavéḥ divyásya váhneḥ.*

Of the sweet poet, of the heavenly priest

vii. 82, 4. *yuvām ít yut-sú prítanâsu váhnayah yuvām kshémasya pra-savé mitá-gñavaḥ îsânâ vásvaḥ ubháyasya kâravaḥ índrâvarunâ su-hávâ havâmahe.*

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. *sâḥ váhni-bhiḥ ríkva-bhiḥ góshu sâsvat mitágñu-bhiḥ puru-krítvâ gigâya.*

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. *hótâ yáh nah mahān sam-váraneshu váhnih.*

The Hotar who is our great priest in the sanctuaries.

i. 128, 4. *váhnih vedháh ágâyata.*

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 *uktháih* 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-usháishu havate váhnih uktháih.*

The priest at the break of day calls with his hymns Agni, Ushas, the Asvins, and Dadhikrá.

i. 184, 1. *tá vâm adyá taú aparám huvema ukkhántyâm ushási váhnih uktháih.*

Let us invoke the two Asvins to-day and to-morrow, the priest with his hymns is there when the dawn appears.

In a similar sense, it would seem, as *váhnih uktháih*, the Vedic poets frequently use the words *váhnih ásá*. This *ásá* 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. *vagríne sám-tamâni vákâmsi ásá sthávírâya taksham.*

I have shaped with my mouth blessed words to the wielder of the thunderbolt, the strong Indra.

x. 115, 3. *ásá váhnim ná sokíshâ vi-rapsínam.*

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 *váhnih ásá* in the same place in the sixth

and seventh Mandalas (vi. 16, 9; vii. 16, 9), in the phrase *váhniḥ âsã vidúh-tarah*, applied to Agni in the sense of the priest wise with his mouth, or taking *váhniḥ âsã* as it were one word, the wise poet.

i. 129, 5. *váhniḥ âsã, váhniḥ nah ákkha*.

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 *âsã** to be near, or *coram*.

i. 76, 4. *pragã-vatã vákasã váhniḥ âsã á ka huvé ní ka satsi ihá devaiḥ*.

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

vi. 11, 2. *pãvakáyã guhvã váhniḥ âsã*.

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

The question now arises in what sense *váhni* 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 Asvins are called *váhnî*, 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

* *Âs*, mouth, the Latin *os, oris*, 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 *âs* and *âsya*, mouth, from the same root. I do not think, however, that the lengthening of the vowel in *âs* 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 *anadvâh*; in others to the Anga and Pada base, as in *visvavât*, *visvavãdbhiḥ*, &c.; in others again it pervades the whole declension, as in *turâshât*: (see Sanskrit Grammar, §§ 210, 208, 175.) Among ordinary words *vât* offers a clear instance of a lengthened vowel. In the Veda we find *ritishãham*, vi. 14, 4, and *ritishãham* (*Sanhitã*), i. 64, 15. We find *vãh* in *apsu-vãh* (*Sãm. Ved.*), *indra-vãh*, *havya-vãh*. *Sah* at the end of compounds, such as *nri-sah*, *priãanã-sah*, *bhûri-sah*, *satrã-sah*, *vibhã-sah*, *sadã-sah*, varies between a long and short *ã*: (see Regnier, *Étude sur l'idiome 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 *âs* from *av-as*, or from *an-as*. From *an* we have in the Veda *ãnã*, 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 *Sâyana*, 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, 1. *táva tyé indra sakhyéshu váhnayah—ví adar-diruḥ valám.*

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

Verse 5, note ². I have translated *vîlú* by stronghold, though it is only an adjective meaning firm. Dr. Oscar Meyer, in his very able essay *Quæstiones Homericæ*, specimen prius, Bonnæ, 1867, has tried to show that this *vîlú* is the original form of *Ἰλιος*, 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 *vîlú* 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 *gírah* as a masculine in the sense of singer or praiser, may be seen in a note to i. 37, 10.

Verse 6, note ². *yáthâ matím*, 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 *Sâma-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. *Dṛikshase*, a very valuable form, a second person singular conjunctive of the First Aorist *Âtmanepada*, the termination 'sase' corresponding to Greek $\sigma\eta$, 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 *vívakshase*, 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*. See *Curtius*, *Grundzüge*, p. 293; *Grassmann*, in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. xvi. p. 164.

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. *vívakti váhnih, su-apasyáte makháh*. Here I propose to translate, The poet speaks out, the priest works well. The same meaning seems to me applicable likewise to the phrase *makhásya dâvâne*, to the offering of the priest.

i. 134, 1. *ã yâhi dâvâne, vâyo (íti), makhásya dâvâne*.

Come, *Vâyu*, to the offering, to the offering of the priest.

viii. 7, 27. *ã nah makhásya dâvâne—dévâsah 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 *dâvâne*, as I have done, as a dative of *dâván*, a *nomen actionis*, meaning, the giving. There are some passages where one feels inclined to admit a noun *dâvána*, and to take *dâvâne* as a locative sing.

vi. 71, 2. *devásya vayám savitúh sâvîmani*

sréshthe syâma vásunah ka dâvâne.

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 *dāvāne* 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 *vāna*. It is better, therefore, in vi. 71, 2, to refer *sréshthe* to *sāvīmani*, and to make allowance in the other passages for the idiomatic use of such phrases as *dāvāne vásūnām* or *râyāh dāvāne*.

The termination *vāne* explains, as has been shown by Professor Benfey, Greek infinitives such as *δοῦναι*, i. e. *δοεναί* or *δοφεναί* = Sanskrit *dā-vāne*. The termination *mane* in *dā-mane*, for the purpose of giving, explains, as the same scholar has proved, the ancient infinitives in Greek, such as *δό-μεναι*. It may be added that the regular infinitives in Greek, ending in *εναί*, as *λελοιπ-εναί*, are likewise matched by Vedic forms such as ix. 61, 30. *dhūrv-ane*, or vi. 61, 13. *vibhv-āne*. In the termination *ειν*, which stands for *ει*, like *εις* for *εσι*, 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, note¹. Although the names for earth, sky, and heaven vary in different parts of the Veda, yet the expression *divāh rokanām* occurs so frequently that we can hardly take it in this place in a sense different from its ordinary meaning. Professor Benfey thinks that *rokanā* 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, *divāh vā rokanāt ādhi*, and *divāh vā pārthivāt ādhi*, as parallel; yet I believe they are not quite so.

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

viii. 98, 3. *ágakḥah rokanām divāh*.

* Rv. i. 61, 10; 122, 5; 134, 2; 139, 6; ii. 1, 10; iv. 29, 5; 32, 9; v. 59, 1; 4; 65, 3; viii. 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. *uraú vâ yé antárikshe—diváh vâ yé rokané.*

In the wide sky, or in the light of heaven.

viii. 82, 4. *upamé rokané diváh.*

In the highest light of heaven.

ix. 86, 27. *tritīye prishthé ádhi rokané diváh.*

On the third ridge, in the light of heaven. See also i.

i. 5, 5; viii. 69, 3.

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

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 *sūrya* and *nāka*.

Thus, i. 14, 9. *sūryasya rokanât vísvân devân—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 sūryasya.*

The waters which are above, in the bright realm of the sun, and those which are below.

i. 19, 6. *yé nākasya ádhi rokané, diví devāsaḥ āsate.*

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, *nākasya 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 ā bhāti rokanám, they light up the whole sky.

We also read of three *rokanas*, 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, antáríksha, dyú). There is also a fourfold division, for instance,

viii. 97, 5. yát vâ ási rokané diváh
 samudráya ádhi vishtápi,
 yát pârthive sádane vritrahan-tama,
 yát antárikshe 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 pârthiváh yé uraú antárikshe á,
 vrigáne vâ nadínâm sadhá-sthe vâ 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. tistráh bhūmîh tríni rokaná.

The three earths, the three skies.

ii. 27, 9. trí rokaná divyá dhârayanta.

The Âdityas support the three heavenly skies.

v. 69, 1. trí rokaná varuna trín utá dyú'n tríni mitra dhârayathaḥ rágâmsi.

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

Here there seems some confusion, which Sâyana'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 divyá-pârthivasya 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 savitá mahi-tvaná trí rágâmsi pari-bhūh
 tríni rokaná, tistráh diváh prithivíh tistráh 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* *vâ 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 *pārthivât* must be separated. At all events there is no passage in the Rig-veda where *pārthiva* is joined as an adjective with *dyú*. *Pārthiva* as an adjective is frequently joined with *rágas*, never with *dyú*. See i. 81, 5; 90, 7; viii. 88, 5; ix. 72, 8: in the plural, i. 154, 1; v. 81, 3; vi. 31, 2; 49, 3.

Pārthivâni 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 pārthivâni rágasâ.*

Indra thou goest in the sky between the heavenly lights and the earthly.

viii. 94, 9. *â yé vísvâ pārthivâni paprâthan rokanâ diváh.*

The Maruts who stretched out all the earthly lights, and the lights of heaven.

vi. 61, 11. *â-paprúshî pārthivâni urú rágañ antáriksham.*

Sarasvatî filling the earthly places, the wide welkin, the sky. This is a doubtful passage.

Lastly, *pārthivâni* by itself seems to signify earth, sky, and heaven, if those are the three regions which Vishnu 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. *yáh pārthivâni tri-bhíñ ít vígâma-bhíñ urú krá-mishá.*

He (Vishnu) 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.

MANDALA I, SŪKTA 19.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 1, VARGA 36-37.

1. Prāti tyám *kārum* adhvarám go-pîthāya prá hūyase, marút-bhih agne ā gahi.

2. Nahí deváh ná mártayah maháh táva krátum paráh, marút-bhih agne ā gahi.

3. Yé maháh rágasah vidúh vísve devāsah adrúhah, marút-bhih agne ā gahi.

4. Yé ugráh arkám ānrikúh ánādhrishtāsah ógasā, marút-bhih 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 unconquerable 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 bienfaiteurs (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. Yé subhrāḥ ghorá-varpasaḥ su-kshatrāsaḥ risā-dasaḥ, marút-bhiḥ agne ā gahi.

6. Yé nākasya ádhi rokané diví devāsaḥ āsate, marút-bhiḥ agne ā gahi.

7. Yé ũkháyanti párvatān tirāḥ samudráṃ arnavám, marút-bhiḥ agne ā gahi.

8. Ā yé tanvánti rasmí-bhiḥ tirāḥ samudráṃ ógasā, marút-bhiḥ agne ā gahi.

9. Abhí tvā pūrvá-pítaye srigāmi somyám mādhu, marút-bhiḥ agne ā gahi.

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, hochherrschend-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 Wolken-schaar—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 ;¹ with the Maruts come hither, O Agni !

7. They who toss the clouds¹ across the surging sea ;² 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 !

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 Kaṇva. The metre is Gâyatrî throughout.

Verse 1, note ¹. Gopîthá 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 gopîthá, protection, would give the sense: 'Thou art called for the sake of protection.' But pîtha has clearly the sense of drinking in soma-pîthá, Rv. i. 51, 7, and must therefore be taken in the same sense in gopîthá.

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

Verse 3, note ¹. The sky or welkin (rágas) is the proper abode of the Maruts, and 'they who know of' means simply 'they who dwell' in the great sky. The Vedic poets distinguish commonly between the three worlds, the earth, prithivî, f., or pârthiva, n.; the sky, rágas; and the heaven, dyú: see i. 6, 9, note ¹. The phrase maháh rágasah occurs i. 6, 10; 168, 6, &c. Sâyana takes rágas for water or rain: see on this my article in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xii. p. 28. The identification of rágas with ἔρεβος (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 deváh, 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 deváh, it seems, inappropriate as an epithet of the Maruts.

Verse 3, note ³. On adruh, 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 *Âdityas*, 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. *Sâyana* 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 *Brâhmanas*, who had lost all knowledge of the natural sense of the ancient hymns. The passages in which *arká* is explained as water in the *Brâhmanas* are quoted by *Sâyana*, 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. *Nâka* 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 *nâka*, too, is adorned with stars; cf. i. 68, 10. *pipésa nâkam strîbhih*. *Dyú*, heaven, is supposed to be above the *râgas*, sky or welkin. *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. xii. p. 28.

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

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

i. 57, 6. *tvâm tám indra pârvatam mahâm urúm vâgrena vagrin parva-sâh 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. *ūdhaḥ 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 *Mánavas*, 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 *Mánavas*, 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 Matsyas, Pañkâlas (Kanyâkubya, 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 Mânavas is called Brahmâvarta. 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 Mânavas may be supposed to have consulted. Madhyadesa is indeed mentioned in one of the Parisishṭas (MS. 510, Wilson) as a kind of model country, but it is there described as lying east of Dasârṇa*, 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 kshódasâ dhâyasâ sasre eshã sârasvatî dharúnám áyasâi pûh, pra-bâbadhânâ rathyã-iva yâti vísvâh apâh mahinã síndhuh anyãh. ékâ aketat sârasvatî nadînâm súkih yatí giri-bhyañ á samudrât, râyãh kêtantî bhúvanasya bhûreñ ghrítám páyah duduhe nãhushâya.

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*

* See Wilson's Vishnu-purâna, ed. Hall, pp. 154, 155, 159, 160.

† See Wilson's Vishnu-purâna, ed. Hall, p. 161.

‡ l. c. pp. 123, 127.

§ Prâg dasârṇât pratyak kâmpilyâd udak pâriyâtrâd, dakshinena himavatañ. Gangâyamunayor antaram eke madhyadesam ity âkashate. 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 Penjáb 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 Penjáb, 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 saptáthî síndhu-mâtâ*), the strongest of rivers (vi. 61, 13. *apásâm apáh-tamá*), 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. *confluvies*, 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 :

yâh âpah divyâh utá vâ srávanti khanítrimâh utá vâ yâh svayam-gâh, samudrá-arthâh yâh súkayah pâvakâh tâh âpah devîh ihá mãm 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. agním vísvâh abhí príkshañ sakante samudrám ná sravâtañ saptá yahvíñ.

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

Cf. i. 190, 7. samudrám ná sravâtañ ródha-kakrâh.

v. 78, 8. yáthâ vâtañ yáthâ vânam yáthâ samudráñ égati.

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 arnavám 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. yás te pûshan nâvañ antáñ samudré hiranyáyîñ antáriksho káranti.

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

vii. 70, 2. yáh vâm samudrán sarítañ píparti.

He who carries you across the watery rivers.

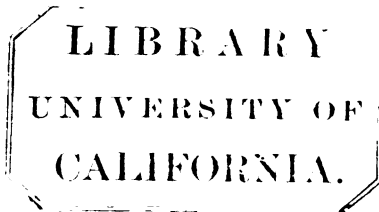
i. 161, 14. at-bhíñ yâti várunañ samudráñ.

Varuna 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. ná samudráñ párvatañ indra te ráthañ (ná pari-bhvē).

Thy chariot, O Indra, is not to be overcome by the watery clouds.



MANDALA I, SŪKTA 37.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 12-14.

1. *Krīlām vah sárdhah mārutam anarvānam rathe-súbham, kánvâh abhí prá gâyata.*

2. *Yé prīshatībhīh rishtī-bhīh sákam vāsībhīh aṅgī-bhīh, ágâyanta svá-bhānavah.*

3. *Thá-iva srinve êshâm kásâh hásteshu yát vádân, ní yāman kitrám riṅgate.*

4. *Prá vah sárdhāya ghrīshvaye tveshá-dyumnāya sushmīne, deváttam bráhma gâyata.*

1. WILSON: Celebrate, Kañwas, the aggregate strength of the Maruts, sportive, without horses, but shining in their car.

BENFEY: *Kanviden, auf! begrüsst mit Sang, die muntre Heerschaar der Marut's, die rasch'ste, wagenglänzende.*

LANGLOIS: *Enfants de Canwa, célébrez 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 traîné 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,¹—

2. They who were born together, self-luminous, with the spotted deer (the clouds),¹ the spears, the daggers, the glittering ornaments.²

3. I hear their¹ whips, almost close by, as they crack them in their hands; they gain splendour² on their way.³

4. Sing forth your god-given prayer to the exultant¹ host of your Maruts, the furiously vigorous,² 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 strahlenreichen, 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 krílám yát sárdhah márutam, gámbhe rásasya vavridhe.*

6. *Káh vah várshishtah á narah diváh ka gmáh ka dhútayah, yát sím ántam ná dhúnuthá.*

7. *Ní vah yámâya mánushah dadhré ugrâya man-yáve, gíhíta párvatah girih.*

8. *Yéshâm ágmeshu prithiví gugurvân-iva vispátih, bhiyá yámeshu régate.*

9. *Sthirám hí gánam eshâm váyah mâtúh níh-etave, yát sím ánu dvitá sávah.*

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 unbesiegbar in den Küh'n, im Schlund des Safts wuchs sie heran.

LANGLOIS: Loue donc cette puissance des Marouts, invulnérable 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 schüttelt Wipfel 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 cloud¹ fled at your fierce anger.

8. They at whose racings¹ 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

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 altergebogter 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 élancer, tels que des oiseaux; car, des deux côtés, est un élément solide.

10. Ūt ūm (īti) tyé sūnávah gírah káshtháh ágme-
shu atnata, vāsráh abhi-gñú yátave.

11. Tyám kit gha dīrghám prithúm mihák nápâtam
ámridhram, prá kyavayanti yāma-bhih.

12. Mārutah yát ha vah bálam gánân akukyavítana,
girín akukyavítana.

13. Yát ha yānti marútaḥ sām ha bruvate ádhvan
ā, srinóti káh kit eshām.

14. Prá yáta sībham āsú-bhih sánti kánveshu vah
dúvah, tátro (īti) sū mādayādhvai.

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 rain¹ 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 pass¹ along, they talk together on the way: does any one hear them?

14. Come fast on your quick steeds! there are worshippers¹ for you among the Kanvas: may you well rejoice among them.

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 Kanvas are prepared. Be pleased with them.

BENFEY: Auf schnellen kommet schnell herbei, bei Kanva's Spross sind Feste euch: da wollt euch schön ergötzen.

LANGLOIS: Accourez, portez ici vos pas rapides. Les enfants de Canva vous attendent avec leurs offrandes; ici vous serez satisfaits.

15. Ásti hí sma mádâya vah smâsi sma vayâm
eshâm, vísvam kit âyuh gîvâse.

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 Kanva, the son of Ghora. The metre is Gâyatrî.

Verse 1, note ¹. Wilson translates *anarvânam* by without horses, though the commentator distinctly explains the word by without an enemy. Wilson considers it doubtful whether *ârvan* can ever mean enemy. The fact is, that in the Rig-veda *an-arvân* 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-arvân* is not formed from *ârvat*, horse, racer, but from *ârvan*; and this is derived from the same root which yields *ârus*, n. a wound. The accusative of *anarvat*, without a horse, would be *anarvantam*, not *anarvânam*.

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 ἄλλυμι, corresponding to Sanskrit *rinomi*, i. e. *arnomi*, I hurt, likewise in οὐλή, wound, which cannot be derived from ὄλη; in οὐλος, οὐλιος, hurtful, and ὄλοός, 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 â-sásâ nih-sásâ abhi-sásâ upa-ârimá gâ-gratah yát svapântah, agníh vísvâni ápa duh-kritâni águshfâni 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 *gyâyân kánîyasaḥ* 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 Sâyana supposes, a man who does not give. In árarivân, gen. árarushaḥ, hostile, Rosen recognized many years ago a participle of a really reduplicated perfect of ar, and he likewise traced aráru, 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 ; yágvan and yágus from yag, párvan and párus from par. See Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. ii. p. 233.

Anarván, then, is the same as ánarus, Sat. P. Bráhmāna 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. 61, 13 ; 65, 3. In i. 116, 16, anarván seems to be used as an adverb ; in i. 51, 12, as applied to ślóka, it may have the more general meaning of irresistible, powerful.

There are two passages in which the nom. sing. *árvân*, and one in which the acc. sing. *árvânam*, occur, apparently meaning horse. But in i. 163, 13, and ix. 97, 25, *árvân* stands in the Pada text only, the Sanhitâ has *árvâ ákkha* and *árvâ iva*. In x. 46, 5, the text *híri-smasrum ná árvânam dhána-arkam* is too doubtful to allow of any safe induction, particularly as the Sâma-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 *árvâ* and *árvantam*. Pânini (vi. 4, 127) allows the forms *arvân* and *arvânam*, 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 *anarvânam* 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 *anarvânam*. It would be possible, if necessary, to explain away the irregularity of *anarvânam* by admitting a rapid transition from the Maruts to Indra, the eldest among the Maruts (cf. i. 23, 8. *índra-gyeshthâh mârut-ganâh*), 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:

tâm vah sárdham rathe-súbham—ã huve.

I call hither this your host, brilliant on chariots.

Again, ii. 30, 11, we read:

tâm vah sárdham mârutam—girâ úpa bruve.

I call with my voice on this your host of Maruts.

viii. 93, 16. *srutâm vah vritrahân-tamam prá sárdham karshanînâm, ã 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):

subhráh vah súshmah krúdhmî mánâmsi dhúnih múnih-iva sárdhasya dhrishnóh.

Your strength is brilliant, your minds furious ; the shout of the daring host is like one possessed.

We have likewise the dative *sárdhâya*, the instrumental *sárdhena*, and the acc. plur. *sárdhân* ; and in most cases, except in two or three where *sárdha* seems to be used as an adjective, meaning strong, these words are applied to the host of the Maruts.

But the other word *sárdhas* is equally well authenticated, and we find of it, not only the nominative, accusative, and vocative sing. *sárdhas*, but likewise the nom. plur. *sárdhâmsi*.

The nominative singular occurs in our very hymn :

i. 37, 5. *krílám yát sárdhah mārutam.*

Which is the sportive host of the Maruts.

i. 127, 6. *sáh hí sárdhah ná mārutam tuvi-svánih.*

For he (Agni) is strong-voiced like the host of the Maruts.

iv. 6, 10. *tuvi-svanásah mārutam ná sárdhah.*

Thy flames (Agni) are strong-voiced like the host of the Maruts.

v. 46, 5. *utá tyát nah mārutam sárdhah á gamat.*

May also that host of the Maruts come to us.

ii. 1, 5. *tvám narám sárdhah asi puru-vásuh.*

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. *tvám sárdhah mārutam.*

Thou art the host of the Maruts.

If this repetition seems offensive, the first *narám sárdhas* might be taken for some other company of gods. Thus we find :

vii. 44, 5. *srinótu nah daívyam sárdhah agníh srinvántu vísve mahisháh ámûrâh.*

May the divine host, may Agni, hear us, may the Visve hear us, the strong, the wise.

Or iii. 19, 4. *sáh á vaha devá-tâtím yavishtha sárdhah yát adyá divyám yágâsi.*

Bring thou hither, O Agni, the gods, that you may sacrifice to-day to the divine host.

Or i. 139, 1. *ã nú tát sárdhaḥ divyám vrinîmahe.*

We chose for us now that divine host.

As in these last, so in many other passages, *sárdhas* is used as a neuter in the accusative. For instance,

i. 106, 1; ii. 11, 14. *mārutam sárdhaḥ.*

ii. 3, 3; vi. 3, 8. *sárdhaḥ marútâm.*

The vocative occurs,

v. 46, 2. *ágne índra várûna mítra dévâḥ sárdhaḥ prá yanta māruta utá vishno (iti).*

Agni, Indra, Varuna, Mitra, gods, host of the Maruts, come forth, and Vishnu!

We see how throughout all these passages those in which *sárdha* and *sárdhas* are applied to the Maruts, or to some other company of gods, preponderate most decidedly. Yet passages occur in the Rig-veda where both *sárdha* and *sárdhas* are applied to other hosts or companies. Thus v. 53, 10, *sárdha* refers to chariots, while in i. 133, 3, *sárdhas* 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 *sárdhas* 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. *sárdhas* followed by *yé*, in iii. 32, 4:

índrasya sárdhaḥ marútaḥ yé ásan.

The host of Indra, that was the Maruts.

As to the change of genders, we find adjectives in the masculine after *sárdhas*, in

v. 52, 8. *sárdhaḥ mārutam út samsa satyá-savasam ríbhvasam.*

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 *yé* after *ganáh*. On the Umbrian *Āerfo Martio*, as possibly the same as *sárdha-s máruta-s*, see Grassman, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xvi. p. 190.

Verse 2, note ¹. The spotted deer (*príshatî*) are the recognized animals of the Maruts, and were originally, as it would seem, intended for the rain-clouds. *Sâyana* is perfectly aware of the original meaning of *príshatî*, 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 *príshatî*, as Roth observes, may mean a spotted cow or a spotted horse,—the Maruts, in fact, are called sometimes *prishat-asvâh*, 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 *âsú-asvâh*, possessed of quick horses; and in v. 58, 6, we read *yát prá áyâsishta príshatîbhih ásvaih—ráthebhih*, where the gender of *príshatîbhih* would hardly allow us to join it with *âsvaih*, 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. *Sâyana* takes *vâsî* in this passage for war-cries on the authority of the *Nirukta*, where *vâsî* is given among the names of the voice. From other passages, however, it becomes clear that *vâsî* is a weapon of the Maruts; and *Sâyana*, too, explains it sometimes in that sense: cf. v. 53, 4; 57, 2. Thus i. 88, 3, the *vâsîs* 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 *vâsîs*. Here *Sâyana*, too, translates *vâsî* rightly by weapon; and in his remarks on i. 88, 3, he says that *vâsî* was a weapon commonly called *ârâ*, which is a shoemaker'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 *Tvashṭar* is said to carry an iron *vāśī* in his hand. Grassman (*Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. xvi. p. 163) translates *vāśī* by axe. That *añgī* 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, *añgī* *añkte hiranyāyam*. *Sākām*, together, is used with reference to the birth of the Maruts, i. 64, 4. It should not be connected with *vāśibhiḥ*.

Verse 3, note ¹. *Eshām* should be pronounced as a creticus; also in verses 9, 13, 15. This is a very common *vyūha*.

Verse 3, note ². I should have taken *kitrām* as an adverb, like Benfey, if *ni riñg* were not usually construed with an accusative. *Riñg* 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 *Sāyana*, 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 *dyumnā* 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 syandrāsaḥ ná ukshānaḥ āti skandanti śárvarīḥ.

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. 85, 2. té ukshitāsaḥ mahimānam āsata).

Verse 5, note ². I take *gāmbhe* in the sense of *gāmbhane*. (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 *Sâyana* 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 *vastrānta*, 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. *Sâyana* 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 *gīhīta*, 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 párvato giríh by the gnarled or rocky mount; but there is no authority for translating gíhîta by it is shattered, and we should have to translate, the mountain yielded or bent before your anger. Cf. v. 57, 3 :

ní vah vâná gihate yâmanaḥ bhivyâ.

The forests get out of your way from fear.

v. 60, 2. vâná kit ugrâh gihate ní vah bhivyâ prithivî kit regate párvataḥ kit.

Even the forests, ye fearful Maruts, yield from fear of you; even the earth trembles, even the mountains.

Verse 8, note ¹. *Āgma* seems to express the act of racing or running (like *âgi*, race, battle), while *yâma* 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, *vithurâ* takes the place of *vispâti*.

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. *Vâyas* may be the plural of *vi*, bird, or it may be *vâyas*, 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 *nâ* or *iva*. I therefore take *vâyas* 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 *sûnávo gírah* in the sense of the sons of voice, i. e. of thunder, the accent of *gírah* will have to be changed. *Gírah*, however, occurs, at least once more, in the sense of singers or poets, ix. 63, 10, where *gírah* can only be a vocative, O ye singers! In i. 6, 6, the translation of *gírah* by singers, i. e. the Maruts, may be contested, but if we consider that *gírah*, in the sense of hymns, is feminine, and is followed by the very word which is here used, viz. *devayántaḥ*, as a feminine, viz. *devayántîḥ*;

vii. 18, 3, we can hardly doubt that in i. 6, 6, *gírah* 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. *Kāshlthâ* 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.

Sâyana: '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, *akukyavît* is explained by *vyadârayat*, he tore open. *Akukyavîtana* 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 *dúvah* 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 *dúvah* as a nominative plural of a noun *dû*, worshipper, derived from the same root which yielded *dúvah*, worship. We certainly find *á-duvah* in the sense of not-worshipping:

vii. 4, 6. *mã tvâ vayám sahasâ-van avîrâh mã ápsavañ pári sadâma mã áduvah.*

May we not, O hero, sit round thee like men without strength, without beauty (cf. viii. 7, 7), without worship.

Here *Sâyana* explains *áduvah* very well by *parikarana-hînâh*, which seems better than Roth's explanation 'zögernd, ohne Eifer.'

MANDALA I, SŪKTA 38.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 15-17.

1. Kát ha núnám kadha-priyah* pitá putrá^m ná hástayoh, dadhidhvé vrikta-barhishah.

2. Kvã núnám kát vah á^rtham gánta diváh ná prithivyáh, kvã vah gávah ná † ranyanti.

3. Kvã vah sumná návyâmsi márutah kvã suvitá, kvô (íti) vísvâni saúbhagâ.

4. Yát yúyám prisni-mâtarah mártâsah syátana, stotá vah amritah syát.

5. Má vah mrigáh ná yávase garitá bhût ágoshyah, pathá yamásyá gât úpa.

6. Mó (íti) sú nah párá-pará níh-ritih duh-hánâ vadhit, padîsh^tá trîshnayâ sahâ.

7. Satyám tvesháh áma-vantah dhánvan kit & rudríyâsah, míham k^rinvanti avátám ‡.

8. Vâsrâ-iva vi-dyút mimâti vatsám ná mâtá si-sakti, yát eshâm v^rishtih ásargi.

9. Dívâ kit támah k^rinvanti pargányena udavâhéna, yát prithivím vi-undánti.

10. Ádha svanât marútám vísvam & sádma párthivam, áreganta prá mánusháh.

* kádha priyáh

† Omit ná

‡ ávátam

HYMN TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. What then now? When¹ 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

2. Whither now? On what errand of yours are you going, in heaven, not on earth?¹ Where are your cows sporting?²

3. Where are your newest favours,¹ O Maruts? Where the blessings? Where all delights?

4. If you, sons of *Prisni*, were mortals, and your worshipper an immortal,¹—

5. Then never¹ should your praiser be unwelcome, like a deer in pasture grass,² nor should he go on the path of *Yama*.³

6. Let not one sin¹ after another, difficult to be conquered, overcome us; may it depart² together with lust.

7. Truly they are furious and powerful; even to the desert the *Rudriyas* bring rain that is never dried up.¹

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.¹

9. Even by day the *Maruts* create darkness with the water-bearing cloud,¹ when they drench the earth.

10. From the shout of the *Maruts* over the whole space of the earth,¹ men reeled forward.

11. *Márutah vīlupāni-bhiḥ * kitrāḥ ródhasvatīḥ ánu, yátá im ákhidrayāma-bhiḥ.*

12. *Sthiráḥ vah santu nemáyah ráthāḥ ásvásah eshām, sú-samskritāḥ abhīsavah.*

13. *Ákkha vada tánā girā garāyai bráhmaṇah pátim, agním mitráṃ ná darsatám.*

14. *Mimihí slókam ásyē pargányah-iva tatanah, gāya gāyatrám ukthyām.*

15. *Vándasva márutam ganám tveshám panasyúm arkīnam, asmé (íti) vriddhāḥ asan ihá.*

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to *Karva*, 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 *Padapāṭha* as one word, and *Sāyana* 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 *Sāyana* as fond of praise. In order to obtain this meaning, *kadha* has to be identified with *kathā*, story, which is simply impossible. There is another compound, *adha-priyā*, nom. dual,

* *vīlupāni-bhiḥ?*

11. Maruts on your strong-hoofed steeds¹ go on easy roads³ after those bright ones (the clouds), which are still locked up.²

12. May your felloes be strong, the chariots, and their horses, may your reins¹ be well-fashioned.

13. Speak out for ever with thy voice to praise the Lord of prayer,¹ Agni, who is like a friend,² the bright one.

14. Fashion a hymn in thy mouth! Expand like a cloud!¹ Sing a song of praise.

15. Worship the host of the Maruts, the brisk, the praiseworthy, the singers.¹ May the strong ones stay here among us.²

which occurs viii. 8, 4, and which Sâyana explains either as delighted here below, or as a corruption of kadha-priyâ.

In Boehtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, kadha-priya and kadha-prî are both explained as compounds of kadha, an interrogative adverb, and priya or prî, 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-prî, kind to whom?, is somewhat strange, and it seems preferable to separate the words, and to write kádha priyâ and ádha priyâ.

It should be observed that the compounds kadha-prî and kadha-priya occur always in sentences where there is another interrogative pronoun. The two interrogatives kát—kádha, what—where, and kás—kádha, 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 Sâkalya, Sâyana 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, *priyáh* would be an adjective belonging to *pitá*, 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:

káh te *usháh* *kádha* *priye* *bhugé* *márta* *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:

kát ha *núnám* *kádha* *priyáh* *yát* *índram* *ághâtana*, *káh* *va* *sakhi*-*tvé* *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 priyâ* should have been joined into one word is more difficult to say, yet here, too, the compound might easily be separated.

Kádha does not occur again, but would be formed in analogy with *ádha*. It occurs in Zend as *kadha*.

The words *kát* ha *núnám* 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 *yát* *námasâ* *barhíh* *agnáú*, *áyâmi* *srúk* *ghritá*-*vatî* *su*-*vriktíh*.

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 nūnām su-dānavaḥ mādatha vrikta-barhishaḥ.

Where do ye rejoice now, you gods for whom the altar is trimmed?

Otherwise, *vrikta-barhishaḥ* 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. Sâyana 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. *vīsvāni yāḥ āmartyaḥ havyā mārteshu rānyati.*

The immortal who deigns to accept all offerings among mortals.

v. 74, 3. *kāsya brāhmāni ranyathaḥ.*

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: kvã váh | gâvâh | na rán | yantí | . But the fact is that through the whole of the Rig-veda kvã 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, kvâbhîsavañ. 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 sûryañ, making sûryañ 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 sumná in the first five *Mandalas* are well explained by Professor Aufrecht in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. iv. p. 274. As to suvitã 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. ã nañ bhara suvitãm yãsyã kãkãn.

• Verse 4, note ¹. One might translate: 'If you, sons of Prîsni, 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 Prîsni, may become mortals, and your panegyrist become immortal.' Sâyana translates: 'Though you, sons of Prîsni, 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
 - - - - -
 - - - - -
 martâsaḥ syâtana.

Verse 5, note ¹. Mā, though it seems to stand for ná, retains its prohibitive sense.

Verse 5, note ². Yávasa is explained by Sâyana 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 ζεά is likewise explained as barley or rye, fodder for horses. See i. 91, 13. gâvaḥ ná yávaseshu, 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 pitrî-bhiḥ sám yaména.

Meet with the fathers, meet with Yama, (x. 14, 10; 15, 8.)

x. 14, 7. yamám pasyâsi várunam ka devám.

Thou wilt see (there) Yama and the divine Varuna.

x. 165, 4. tásmāi yamāya námaḥ astu mrityáve.

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.' Āgoshya is translated insatiable by Professor Goldstücker.

Verse 6, note ¹. One of the meanings of *nírriti* is sin. It is derived from the same root which yielded *ritá*, in the sense of right. *Nírriti* was conceived, it would seem, as going away from the path of right, the German *Vergehen*. *Nírriti* was personified as a power of evil and destruction.

vii. 104, 9. áhaye vâ tân pra-dádâtu sómah á vâ dadhâtu níh-riteh upá-sthe.

May Soma hand them over to Ahi, or place them in the lap of Nirriti.

i. 117, 5. susupvâmsam ná níh-riteh upá-sthe.

Like one who sleeps in the lap of Nirriti.

Here Sâyana 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. *Padîshhá* is formed as an optative of the *Âtmanepada*, but with the additional *s* before the *t*, which, in the ordinary Sanskrit, is restricted to the so-called benedictive (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. *mâ pâdy áyushah purâ*, literally, 'may he not go before the time,' but really intended for 'may he not die before the time.' In the Rig-veda *padîshhá* 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, *padîshhá sâh* is by itself used in a maledictory sense, *pereat*, may he perish! In another, vi. 20, 5, *pâdi* 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 *d* or *vi*, *pad* may have an ill-omened meaning. In the *Aitareya-brâhmana* 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 avâtām. Sâyana 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, ávâtâm, unchecked, unconquered, would be better than avâtām, windless. But ávâta, unconquered, does not occur in the Rig-veda, except as applied to persons. It occurs most frequently in the phrase vanván ávâtaḥ, which Sâyana explains well by himsan ahimsitaḥ, hurting, but not hurt : (vi. 16, 20 ; 18, 1 ; ix. 89, 7.) In ix. 96, 8, we read prit-sú vanván ávâtaḥ, in battles attacking, but not attacked, which renders the meaning of ávâta 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 avâta occurs with the accent on the last syllable, and where it is accordingly explained as a Bahuvrīhi, meaning either windless or motionless, from vâta, wind, or from vâta, 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 ávâta. Thus in vi. 64, 4, avâte is clearly a vocative applied to Ushas, who is called ávâtâ, unconquerable, in the verse immediately following. In i. 52, 4, the Maruts are called avâtâḥ, which can only be ávâtâḥ, unconquerable ; nor can we hesitate in viii. 79, 7, to change avâtâḥ into ávâtaḥ, as an

epithet applied to Soma, and preceded by *ádriptakratuh*, 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 *gîta*, instead of *gîna*, the latter form being sanctioned by Pânini. *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, *Sâyana*, 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, *ânîtv avâtâm svadhâyâ tát ékam*, that only One breathed breathless by itself, *avâtâm* 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

---úú--|---ú--|ú---úú--|
 ---ú--ú--|---ú--ú--|ú---úú--

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

-ú-úúú-|úúúú-|ú-úúú-
 -úú-úú-|úúú-ú-|ú-úúú-

Sâyana: '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 *parḡānya* 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 *Parḡanya* 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 pári nīyate hótá*; vii. 18, 22. *hótá-iva sádma pári emi rébhan*. It soon, however, assumed the more general meaning of place, as

x. 1, 1. *agníh bhânúnâ rúsatâ vísvâ sádmâni apráh*.

Agni with brilliant light thou filledst all places.

It is lastly used with special reference to heaven and earth, the two *sádmânî*, 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. *Sâyana* 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. *sadmānam divyām*.

Verse 11, note ¹. I have translated *vīlu-pānībhiḥ*, as if it were *vīlúpānībhiḥ*, for this is the right accent of a Bahuvrīhi compound. Thus the first member retains its own accent in *prithú-pāni*, *bhūri-pāni*, *vṛisha-pāni*, &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. *Pānī*, hand, means, as applied to horses, hoof:

ii. 31, 2. *prithivyāḥ sānau gāṅghananta pānī-bhiḥ*.

When they strike with their hoofs on the summit of the earth.

This meaning appears still more clearly in such compounds as *dravát-pāni*:

viii. 5, 35. *hiranyáyena ráthena dravátpāni-bhiḥ ásvaiḥ*.

On a golden chariot, on quick-hoofed horses.

The horses of the Maruts, which in our verse are called *vīlu-pānī*, strong-hoofed, are called viii. 7, 27. *híraya-pāni*, golden-hoofed:

ásvaiḥ hírayapāni-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 *Sâyana* 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.

Kitrá, bright or many-coloured, is applied to the clouds, v. 63, 3. *kitrébhiḥ abhráih*.

Verse 11, note ³. Roth takes *ákhidrayáman* 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 ādhvā*) 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. *Abhīsu* does not mean finger in the *Rig-veda*, though *Sâyana* frequently explains it so, misled by *Yâska* who gives *abhīsu* 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 *marût-sakhâ*, the friend of the *Maruts*, viii. 92, 14. It seems better, therefore, to refer *brâhmanas pátim* to *Agni*, than, with *Sâyana*, to the host of the *Maruts* (*marúdgayam*). *Brâhmanaspáti* and *Brîhaspáti* 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. *Tánâ* 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 *Brahmanaspati*, *Agni*, and the beautiful *Mitra*.'

Benfey: 'Lass schallen immerfort das Lied zu grüssen *Brahmanaspati*, *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 *mitrá* as friend. Besides *ná* cannot be left here untranslated.

Verse 14, note ¹. The second sentence is obscure. *Sâyana* 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. *Tatanaḥ* can only be the second person singular of the conjunctive of the reduplicated perfect, of which we have also *tatánat*, *tatánâma*, *tatánan*, and *tatánanta*. *Tatanaḥ* 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 *Sarasvatî* are only small kings, and the poet adds : 'May he spread like a cloud with the rain,' giving hundreds and thousands, (*pargányaḥ-iva tatánat hí vrishtyá.*)

Verse 15, note ¹. It is difficult to find an appropriate rendering for *arkín*. 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 *arkín* in this place the meaning of praising. If it simply meant, possessed of *arká*, i. e. songs of praise, it would be a very lame epithet after *panasyú*. 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 *arká* 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 *arkín* here means musician, and that the *arká* of the Maruts is the music of the winds.

Verse 15, note ². *Vriddhá*, literally grown, is used in the *Veda* as an honorific epithet, with the meaning of mighty or great :

iii. 32, 7. *yágâmaḥ ít námasâ vriddhám índram
brihântam rishvám agáram yúvânam.*

We worship with praise the mighty Indra, the great, the exalted, the immortal, the vigorous.

Here neither is *vriddhá* intended to express old age, nor *yúvan* 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 *ásam*.

We find, for instance, *ásah*, with an imperative or optative meaning, in

viii. 100, 2. *ásah ka tvám dakshinatáh sákhâ me
ádha vritráni ganghanâva bhúri.*

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 yagnám á ihi—
ásah havya-vât utá nah purah-gáh.*

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 sávasâ kakánáh.*

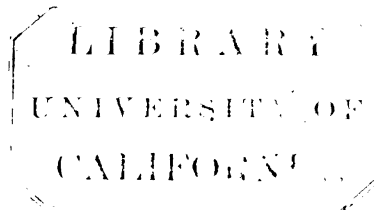
That thou mayest be ours, delighting in strength.

vii. 24, 1. *ásah yáthâ nah avitá vridhé 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.'



MANDALA I, SŪKTA 39.

ASHṬAKA I, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 18-19.

1. Prá yát ithá pará-vátaḥ sokíḥ ná mānam ásyatha,
kásya krátvá marutaḥ kásya várpasá kám yátha kám
ha dhútayah.

2. Sthirá vah santu áyudhá pará-núde vílú utá
prati-skábhe, yushmákam astu távishî pánîyasî má
mártyasya máyínah.

3. Párâ ha yát sthirám hathá nárah vartáyatha
gurú, ví yáthana vanínah prithivyāḥ ví āsāḥ pārva-
tānām.

4. Nahí vah sátruh vividé ádhi dyávi ná bhūmyām
risādasah, yushmákam astu távishî tánā yugā rúdrā-
sah nú kit ā-dhríshe.

5. Prá vepayanti párvatān vi viñkanti vānaspátin,
pró (íti) árata marutaḥ durmádāḥ-iva dévāsah sárveyā
visā.

6. Ūpo (íti) rátheshu príshatíḥ ayugdhvam prásh-
tíḥ vahati róhitah, ā vah yāmāya prithiví kit asrot
ábíbhayanta mánushāḥ.

7. Á vah makshú tánāya kám rúdrāḥ ávah vrinî-
mahe, gánta núnám nah ávasá yáthā purā itthā kán-
vāya bíbhyúshe.

8. Yushmā-ishitah marutaḥ mártya-ishitah ā yāḥ
nah ábhvah íshate, ví tám yuyota sávasá ví ógasá ví
yushmākābhíḥ útí-bhíḥ.

9. Ásāmi hí pra-yagyavah kánvam dadá pra-ketasaḥ,
ásāmi-bhíḥ marutaḥ ā nah útí-bhíḥ gánta vrishtím ná
vi-dyútaḥ.

HYMN TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. When you thus from afar cast forwards your measure¹ 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 pass¹ 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 *Kanva*.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 protected¹ *Kanva*. Come to us, Maruts, with your entire help, as lightnings² (go in quest of) the rain.

10. *Āsāmi ógah bibhritha su-dānavah āsāmi dhū-
tayah sāvah, rishi-dvīshe marutah pari-manyāve
īshum nā srigata dvīsham.*

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Kanva, the son of Ghora. The metre varies between Brihatî and Satobrihatî, 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 Brihatî consists of 8 + 8 + 12 + 8, the Satobrihatî of 12 + 8 + 12 + 8 syllables.

Verse 1, note ¹. *Māna*, 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 *māna* is ever used in the *Rig-veda* in the sense of pride, which no doubt it has, as a masculine, in later Sanskrit: cf. *Halâyudha*, ed. Aufrecht, iv. 37. *Māna*, 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:

*mānena-iva tasthi-vān antárikshe ví yáh mamé prithivīm
sūryena.*

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. *Várpas*, which generally means body or form, is here explained by praise. Benfey puts *Werk* (i. e. *Gesang, Gebet*); Langlois, *maison*. *Várpas*, which, without much reason, has been compared to Latin *corpus*, must here be taken in a more general sense. Thus vi. 44, 14, *asyá madé purú várpāmsi 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 *ví 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: viii. 73, 13. *rāthaḥ viyāti ródasī (īti)*.

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-bhindúnā....rāthena ví párvatān....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 :

viii. 7, 23. *ví vritrām parva-sāḥ yayuḥ ví párvatān*.

They passed through *Vritra* piecemeal, they passed through the mountains (the clouds); or, they destroyed *Vritra*, cutting him to pieces, they destroyed the clouds.

Likewise i. 86, 10. *vī yāta vīsvam atrīnam.*

Walk athwart every evil spirit, or destroy every evil spirit !

We must scan *vī yāthanaṁ vaninaṁ prithivīāḥ.*

Verse 3, note ². It might seem preferable to translate *āsāḥ párvatânām* by the spaces of the clouds, for *párvata* means cloud in many places. Yet here, and still more clearly in verse 5, where *párvata* 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. *áva abhinat kakúbhaḥ párvatânām.* In the later literature, too, the same idea occurs: Mahābh. Vana-parva, v. 10974, *dyauḥ svit patati kim bhūmir dīryate 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 überwältigen 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. *tāpasā yugā*; x. 102, 12. *vádhriṇā yugā*; vii. 32, 20. *púram-dhyā yugā*; vi. 56, 2. *sákhyā 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 â-dhrīshe* might possibly be taken as an abrupt interrogative sentence, viz. Can it be defied? Can it be resisted? See v. 87, 2:

tát vaḥ marutaḥ ná â-dhrīshe sávaḥ.

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. *Práshṭi* is explained by *Sâyana* as a sort of yoke in the middle of three horses or other animals, harnessed in a car; *róhita* 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 *Sâyana*'s definition of *práshṭi* as yoke is right, but that of *róhita* as deer, wrong. If *Sâyana*'s authority is to be invoked at all, one might appeal from *Sâyana* in this place to *Sâyana* viii. 7, 28, where *práshṭi* is explained by him either by quick or by *pramukhe yugyamánaḥ*, harnessed in front. The verse is

yát eshâm *príshatīḥ* ráthe *práshṭīḥ* váhati *róhitaḥ*.

When the red leader draws or leads their spotted deer in the chariot.

vi. 47, 24. *práshṭīḥ* is explained as *tripada ádhârah*; *tadvad vahantīti prashtayo 'svâḥ*. In i. 100, 17, *práshṭibhiḥ*, as applied to men, means friends or supporters, or, as *Sâyana* explains, *pârsvasthair anyair rishibhiḥ*.

Verse 7, note ¹. *Kaṇva*, 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 *dadá* is the second pers. plur. of the perfect of *dâ*, and is used here in the sense of to keep, to protect, as is well shown by B. and R. s. v. *dâ* 4, base *dad*. *Sâyana* 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 *Kaṇva* gabt ihr,' as if *Kaṇva* 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 kömmt.' Lightning precedes the rain, and may therefore be represented as looking about for the rain.

Verse 10, note ¹. Wilson: 'Let loose your anger.' Sâyana: 'Let loose a murderer who hates.'

Pari-manyú, which occurs but once in the Rig-veda, corresponds as nearly as possible to the Greek *περίθυμος*. Manyú, like *θυμός*, means courage, spirit, anger; and in the compound parimanyú, as in *περίθυμος*, the preposition pári seems to strengthen the simple notion of the word. That pári is used in that sense in later Sanskrit is well known; for instance, in parilaghū, *perlevis*, parikshâma, withered away: see Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen*, second edition, vol. i. p. 487. How pári, 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, pári-dveshas, lit. one who hates all around, then a great hater:

mā nah pári-dveshasaḥ amhatīḥ, ūrmīḥ ná nāvam ā vadhīt.

May the grasp of the violent hater strike us not, as the wave strikes a ship.

Again, pari-sprīdh means literally one who strives round about, then an eager enemy, a rival (fem.):

ix. 53, 1. nudásva yāḥ pari-sprīdhaḥ.

Drive away those who are rivals.

Pari-krosá 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. sáravam pari-krosám gahi.

Kill every reviler!

The same idea which is here expressed by pari-krosá, 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-rāpaḥ*.

Having struck down the enemies.

ii. 23, 14. *vī pari-rāpaḥ 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 *prītāḥ*, loved, we have *pāri-prītaḥ*, lit. loved all round, then loved very much : i. 190, 6. *pāri-prītaḥ nā mitrāḥ*; cf. x. 27, 12. We also find ix. 72, 1. *pari-prīyaḥ*, those who love fully or all around, which may mean great lovers, or surrounding friends.

In all these cases the intensifying power of *pāri* 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 *ὑπέμετρος* (loc. cit. p. 488), but I doubt whether *pāri* ever occurs in that sense in Sanskrit compounds.

MANDALA I, SŪKTA 64.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 5, VARGA 6-8.

1. *Vṛishne sárdhāya sū-makhāya vedhāse nédhaḥ*
su-vriktím prá bhara marút-bhyaḥ, apáh ná dhí-*
rah mánasā su-hástyāḥ girāḥ sām añge vidátheshu
â-bhúvah.

2. *Té gagñire divāḥ rishvāsaḥ ukshānaḥ rudrāsya*
māryāḥ āsurāḥ arepāsah, pávakāsaḥ sūkayāḥ sūryāḥ-
iva sátvānaḥ ná drapsīnaḥ ghorā-varpasah.

3. *Yúvānaḥ rudrāḥ agárāḥ abhok-hānaḥ vavakshúḥ*
ádhi-gāvaḥ párvatāḥ-iva, drillhā kit vísvā bhúvanāni
pārthivā prá kyavayanti divyāni magmánā.

4. *Kitráḥ añgi-bhiḥ vāpushe ví añgate vākshaḥ-su*
rukmán ádhi yetire subhé, ámseshu eshām ní mi-
mrikshuḥ rishtāyāḥ sākám gagñire svadhāyā divāḥ
nārah.

5. *Ísāna-kṛítāḥ dhúnayāḥ risādasaḥ vātān vi-dyútaḥ*
tāvishibhiḥ akrata, duhānti ūdhaḥ divyāni dhūtayāḥ
bhūmim pinvanti páyasā pári-grayah.

6. *Pīnvanti apāḥ marútaḥ su-dānavāḥ páyāḥ ghritá-*
vat vidátheshu â-bhúvah, átyam ná mihé ví nayanti
vāgīnam útsam duhanti stanáyantam ákshitam.

7. *Mahishāsaḥ mâyīnaḥ kitrá-bhānavāḥ girāyāḥ ná*

* *apáh?*

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 Dyū¹ (heaven), the boys² 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 ornaments¹ 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 Dyū.

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 bounteous¹ Maruts fill² (with) the fat milk (of the clouds) the waters, which are useful at sacrifices. They seem to lead³ 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 rooted¹ like mountains, (yet) lightly

svá-tavasah raghu-syádah, mrigāh-iva hastínah khâ-
datha vánâ yát árunishu távishih áyugdhvam.

8. Simhāh-iva nánadati prá-ketasah pisāh-iva su-
písah visvá-vedasah, kshápah gínvantah prishatī-
bhih rishī-bhih sám ít sa-bādhah sávasā áhi-ma-
nyavah.

9. Ródasī (íti) ā vadata gana-sriyah nrī-sākah sūrāh
sávasā áhi-manyavah, ā vandhúreshu amátih ná dar-
satā vi-dyút ná tasthau marutah rátheshu vah.

10. Visvá-vedasah rayī-bhih sám-okasah sám-mi-
slāsah távishībhih vi-rapsínah, ástārah íshum dadhire
gābhastyoh anantā-sushmāh vrīsha-khādayah nārah.

11. Hiranyáyebhih pavī-bhih payah-vrīdhah út
gighnante â-pathyāh ná párvatān, makhāh ayāsah
sva-srītah dhruva-kyútah dudhra-krītah marútah
bhrāgat-rishtayah.

12. Ghṛishum pávakām vanīnam ví-karshanīm ru-
drāsya sūnūm havásā grinīmasi, ragah-túram tavá-
sam márutam ganām rigīshīnam vrīshanam saskata
sriyé.

13. Prá nú sáh mártah sávasā gánān áti tasthau
vah útī marutah yām āvata, árvat-bhih vāgam bha-
rate dhánā nrī-bhih â-prīkkyam krátum ā ksheti
púshyati.

gliding along ;—you chew up forests, like elephants,² when you have assumed vigour among the red flames.³

8. Like lions they roar, the far-sighted Maruts, they are handsome like gazelles,¹ the all-knowing. By night² 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!¹ On the seats on your chariots, O Maruts, the lightning stands, visible like light.²

10. All-knowing, surrounded with wealth, endowed with vigour, singers,¹ men of endless prowess, armed with strong rings,² 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,¹ they move by themselves ; they throw down what is firm, the Maruts with their brilliant spears make (everything) to reel.²

12. We invoke with prayer¹ the offspring of Rudra, the brisk, the bright, the worshipful,² the active. Cling³ for happiness-sake to the strong host of the Maruts, the chasers of the sky,⁴ the vigorous, the impetuous.⁵

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 honourable¹ strength, and he prospers.²

14. *Karkrīyam marutāḥ prīṣū dustāram dyu-
māntam sūshmam maghāvat-su dhattana, dhana-
spritam ukthyām visvā-karshanim tokām pushyema
tānyam satām hīmāḥ.*

15. *Nú sthīrām marutāḥ vīrā-vantam rīti-sāham
rayīm asmāsu dhatta, sahasrīnam satīnam sūsu-vām-
sam prātāḥ makshū dhiyā-vasuḥ gagamyāt.*

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Nodhas, of the family of Go-
tama. The metre from verse 1-14 is *Gagatī*, verse 15 is
Trishṭubh.

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, *suvrīktī* means the cleaning and
trimming of the grass on which, as on a small altar, the
oblation is offered: cf. *vrikṭabarhis*, 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 *Sâyana*. 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 *ῥυθμός*, as derived from *ῥέω*. 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 *ápah*, or the last vowel, and read *apáh*. 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 Rudrásya máryâh, the boys of Rudra (vii. 56, 1), the personification is always preserved. Hence if the same beings are called Diváh máryâh, 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 *vîra*):

v. 59, 5. *máryâh-iva su-vrídhañ vavridhuñ nárah.*

Like boys that grow well they have grown men.

When joined with *náraḥ* (v. 53, 3), *náraḥ máryāḥ* are-
pásaḥ, it may be taken as an adjective, manly, strong. At
 last *márya* assumes the general meaning of man :

i. 91, 13. *máryaḥ-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.' *Ghorá-*
varpas 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-ghánaḥ*, 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. *giríḥ ná bhugmā maghávāt-su pivate.*

Like a feeding cloud he showers his gifts on the wor-
 shippers.

Verse 4, note ¹. The ornaments of the Maruts are best
 described v. 54, 11 :

āmseshu vaḥ rishtāyaḥ pat-sú khādāyaḥ vākshaḥ-su ruk-
māḥ.

On your shoulders are the spears, on your feet rings, on
 your chests gold ornaments.

Rukmā 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 *rukmaṅvakshasaḥ*, gold-breasted, (ii. 34, 2 ;
 v. 55, 1 ; 57, 5.)

Verse 4, note ². *Vápushe* and *subhé*, as parallel expres-
 sions, 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-kṛítvan* (viii. 61, 10), and *tuvi-mrakshá* (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 (*svá-tavasaḥ*, *svá-bhānavaḥ*, *sva-srítah*), to themselves is of frequent occurrence in these hymns.

Verse 5, note ¹. They are themselves compared to kings (i. 85, 8), and called *îsâná*, lords (i. 87, 4).

Verse 5, note ². *Dhúni* is connected with root *dhvan*, to dun or to din. *Sâyana* 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 *dānú*, 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 giver 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 Āsvins, 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 Ādityas, 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 *sudānavah*, in the sense of bounteous givers, is applicable to all. The objection that *dānu*, 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 *sudānu* must be translated by good giver. Nor would the accent of *dānú*, giver, be an obstacle, considering that the author of the *Unādi-sūtras* had no Vedic authority to guide him in the determination of the accent of *dānú*. 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 *sudānu* by identifying it with the Zend *hudānu*, which means, not a good giver, but a good knower, wise. True, this root *dā*, to know, does not occur in the ordinary Sanskrit, but as it exists both in Zend and in Greek (*δάημι*, *δαίεις*), it may have left this one trace in the Vedic word *sudānu*. This, however, is only a conjecture; what is certain is this, that apart from the passages where *sudānu* 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 priñkántâ su-kríte su-dānave.*

Bringing food to him who acts well and gives well.

vii. 96, 4. *gani-yántah nú ágravah putri-yántah su-dānavah, sárasvantam havāmahe.*

We, being unmarried, and wishing for wives and wishing for sons, offering sacrifices, call now upon Sarasvat.

viii. 103, 7. *su-dānavah deva-yāvah.*

Offering sacrifices, and longing for the gods. Cf. x. 172, 2; 3; vi. 16, 8.

iv. 4, 7. *sáh* ít agne astu su-bhágaḥ su-dānuḥ yáh tvá nityena havishâ yáh uktháih píprishati.

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 *dānavá*, 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 *dānú* by the author of the *Unádi-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. *āpaḥ* ná síndhum abhí yát sam-áksharan sómāsaḥ índram kulyāḥ-iva hradám, vārdhanti víprāḥ máhaḥ asya sādane yávam ná vrishṭih divyéna 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 *gīradānu* means the sacrificer whose *Soma* is always alive, always ready.

In vi. 50, 13, however, *dānu pāpriḥ* is doubtful. As an epithet to *Apām 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 *sriprá-dānū*, which may mean possessed of flowing rain. And in the next verse, *sám yā dānūni yemáthuḥ* may be rendered by *Mitra* and *Varuna*; who brought together rain.

The fact that *Mitra-Varunau* and the *Asvins* are called *dānunaspátî* does not throw much more light on the subject, and the one passage where *dānu* occurs as a feminine,

i. 54, 7, *dānuḥ asmai úparâ pivate diváh*, may be translated by rain pours forth for him, below the sky, but the translation is by no means certain.

Dānuḥitra, 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 vāsu*, 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*) *pāyasâ pínva-mānâḥ*, the rivers swelling with milk. *Pinvati* 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 τινα τοιήνδε* (Herod. ii. 2), but rather with *διδάσκειν τινά τι*.

Cf. vi. 63, 8. *dhenúm nah ísham pinvatam ásakrâm*.

You filled our cow (with) constant food.

Similarly *duh*, to milk, to extract, is construed with two accusatives: *Pân*. i. 4, 51. *gâm dogdhi payaḥ*, he milks the cow milk.

Rv. ix. 107, 5. *duhânâḥ údhaḥ divyám mádhu priyám*.

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. *Átyaḥ vâgī* is a strong horse, possibly a stallion; but this horse is here meant to signify the cloud. Thus we read:

v. 83, 6. *diváh nah vṛishṭím marutaḥ rarîdhvam prá pinvata vṛishnah ásvasya dhârâḥ*.

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 vâgī* was meant for the cloud. *Vâgīn* by itself means a horse, as i. 66, 2; 69, 3. *vâgī ná prítáh*, like a favourite horse: i. 116, 6. *paidvâh vâgī*, the horse of Pedu. But being derived from *vâga*, strength, *vâgīn* 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 Pferdekennner,' he says, 'aber ich glaube bemerkt zu haben, dass man Pferde, welche rasch gelaufen sind, zum Uriniren zu bewegen sucht. So lassen hier die Maruts die durch ihren Sturm rasch fortgetriebenen Wolken Wasser herab strömen.'

Verse 6, note ⁴. *Ūtsa*, 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. *Yâska* 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-srít*, going by themselves, i. e. moving freely, independently, wherever they list. See i. 64, 4, note ⁴.

Verse 7, note ². *Mrigāh hastínah*, 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. Hastín 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. *ārunî*. *Ārunî* does not occur again in the whole of the Rig-veda. If we take it with Sāyana as a various reading of *arunî*, then the *Arunîs* 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 *ārunî* in this one place only. If, as suggested by B. and R., the original text had been *yadā arunîshu*, it would be difficult to understand how so simple a reading could have been corrupted.

Another difficulty is the verb *áyugdhvam*, which is not found again in the Rig-veda together with *tāvishî*. *Tāvishî*, vigour, is construed with *dhâ*, to take strength, v. 32, 2. *adhatthâh*; 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 *tāvishî* 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 *Ārunîs*.' The *Ārunîs* being the cows of the dawn, *ārunîshu* might simply mean in the morning. Considering, however, that the Maruts are said to eat up forests, *ārunî*, in this place, is best taken in the sense of red flames, viz. of fire or forest-fire (*dāvâgni*), 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 *pisá* 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. *Kshápaḥ* can only be the accusative plural, used in a temporal sense. It is so used in the expression *kshápaḥ usráḥ ka*, by night and by day, lit. nights and days (vii. 15, 8). In vi. 52, 15, we find *kshápaḥ usráḥ* in the same sense. iv. 53, 7. *kshapābhiḥ áha-bhiḥ*, by night and by day. i. 44, 8, the loc. plur. *vyúshfishu*, in the mornings, is followed by *kshápaḥ*, 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 *tisráḥ* 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 *kshapám vastá ganitá 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 *kshápaḥ* would be more natural, nor do I see how a genitive could here be accounted for :

dyāvaḥ ná dyumnaiḥ abhí sántaḥ aryáḥ kshapáh madema sarádaḥ ka pūrvīḥ.

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 *kshápaḥ* 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. *Ródasī*, 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 :

i. 73, 8. *âpāpri-vān ródasî antáriksham*. Cf. v. 85, 3. We must scan *ródasî*. See Kuhn, *Beiträge*, vol. iv. p. 193.

Verse 9, note ². The comparison is not quite distinct. *Amāti* means originally impetus, then power, e. g. v. 69, 1 :
vavridhânāu amátim kshatríyasya.

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 *Rodasî*. The comparative particle *ná* is used twice.

Verse 10, note ¹. See i. 38, 14, p. 78.

Verse 10, note ². In *vṛisha-khâdi* the meaning of *khâdi* is by no means clear. *Sâyana* evidently guesses, and proposes two meanings, weapon or food. In several passages where *khâdi* 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 *khâdis* 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 *kakra* 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 *vṛishan* the meaning of hole in the ear, and then translates the compound as having earrings in the hole of the ear. But *vṛishan* does not mean the hole in the lap of the ear, nor has *vṛishabhá* that meaning either in the Veda or elsewhere. Wilson gives for *vṛishabha*, not for *vṛishan*, 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 *khâdis* were made of the teeth of wild animals, and hence their name of biters. *Vṛishan* conveys the meaning of strong, though possibly with the implied idea of rain-producing, fertilising. See p. 121.

Verse 11, note ¹. Formerly explained as ‘zum Kampfe wandelnd.’ See Kuhn, *Zeitschrift*, vol. iv. p. 19.

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: 'Weghemnissen gleich schleudern die Fluthmehrer mit den goldnen Felgen das Gewölk empor, die nie müden Kämpfer, frei schreitend-festesstürzenden, die schweres thu'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, 11.

Verse 12, note ². Vanín does not occur again as an epithet of the Maruts. It is explained by Sâyana 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 dyumnáni vanínaḥ índram sakante ákshítâ.

The inexhaustible treasures of the worshipper go towards Indra.

viii. 3, 5. índram vanínaḥ havâmahe.

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, svânínam instead of vanínam 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 cling, is often used in the sense of following or revering (*colere*):

ii. 1, 13. *tvām rāti-sākaḥ adhvaréshu saskire*.

The gods who are fond of offerings cling to thee, follow thee, at the sacrifices.

The Soma libation is said to reach the god:

ii. 22, 1. *sāḥ enam saskat devāḥ devām*. The gods too are said to cling 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 *ὀπάζω*.

Verse 12, note ⁴. *Ragastūh* may mean rousing the dust of the earth, a very appropriate epithet of the Maruts. *Sâyana* 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 *ragastūh*, ix. 108, 7, *Sâyana* too explains it by *tegasâm prerakam*, and ix. 48, 4, by *udakasya prerakam*.

Verse 12, note ⁵. *Rigîshín*, derived from *rigîsha*. *Rigîsha* 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 *rigîshín*, as drinking at their later libation the juice made of the *rigîsha*. 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 *rigîshín* by the Vedic poets, this *rigîshín* being derived from *rigîsha*, and *rigîsha* from *rig*, to strive, to yearn, like *purîsha* from *prî*, *manîshâ* from man; (see *Unâdi-sûtras*, p. 273.) This *rig* is the same root which we have in *ὀρέγειν*, to reach, *ὀργή*, emotion, and *ὄργυα*, furious transports of worshippers. Thus the Maruts from being called *rigîshín*, impetuous, came to be taken for drinkers of *rigîsha*, the fermenting and overflowing Soma, and were assigned accordingly to the third libation at sacrifices. *Rigîshín*, 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. *Âpríkhhya*, 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-yatah vraté te ksheti púshyati.*

Without let he dwells in thy service and prospers.

Roth reads *asamyattaḥ*, against the authority of the MSS.

Verse 14, note ¹. The difficulty of this verse arises from the uncertainty whether the epithets *dhanasprítam*, *ukthyām*, and *visvákarshanim* belong to *súshma*, strength, or to *toká*, kith and kin. Roth and Benfey connect them with *toká*. Now *dhanasprít* 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, *visvákarshani* 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. *dhâtam vîréshu visvá-karshani srávaḥ.*

Give to these men world-wide glory. Cf. iii. 2, 15.

The next difficulty is the exact meaning of *visvá-karshani*, and such cognate words as *visvá-krishñi*, *visvá-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 vírá-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 :

agnih apsám riti-sáham vírávam dadāti sāt-patim, yásya trāsanti sávasah sam-kákshi sátravaḥ bhīyā.

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* :

viii. 45, 35. *bibháya hí tvā-vataḥ ugrāt abhi-prabhaṅgīnaḥ dasmāt ahám riti-sáhaḥ.*

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-kûrmím riti-sáham índra sávishtḥa sāt-pate.*

Thee, O most powerful *Indra*, of mighty strength, able to withstand all onslaughts.

viii. 88, 1. *tám vaḥ dasmám riti-sáham—índram gīḥ-bhīḥ navāmahe.*

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 *nū*.

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 (*Sarasvatī*), iii. 3, 2, iii. 28, 1 (*Agni*), these hymns being all ascribed to the

family of Visvâmitra. 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 Anukramanî, 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. *tâm tvâ vayám pátim agne rayînâm prá samsâ-maḥ matí-bhiḥ gótamâsaḥ.*

We, the Gotamas, praise thee with hymns, Agni, the lord of treasures.

i. 61, 16. *evá te hari-yógana su-vriktí índra bráhmâni gótamâsaḥ 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 gótamaḥ indra návyam átakshat bráhma hari-yóganâya, su-nîthâya naḥ savasâna nodhâḥ— prátâḥ makshú dhiyâ-vasuḥ gagamyât.*

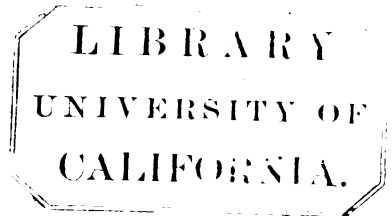
Gotama made a new song for the old (god) with brilliant horses, O Indra! May Nodhas be a good leader to us, O powerful Indra! May he who is rich in prayers (Indra) come early and soon!

I feel justified therefore in following the Anukramanî 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.



MANDALA I, SŪKTA 85.

ASHTAKA I, ADHYĀYA 6, VARGA 9-10.

1. Prá yé súmbhante *gánayah* ná *sáptayah yāman*
rudrásya sūnávah su-dāmsasah, ródasí (íti) hí marú-
tah kakiré vridhé mādanti vírāh vidátheshu ghrí-
shvayah.

2. Té *ukshitāsah mahimānam āsata diví rudrásah*
ádhi kakrire sádah, árkantah arkám ganáyantah
indriyám ádhi sríyah dadhire prísni-mátarah.

3. Gó-mátarah yát *subháyante añgí-bhih tanŕishu*
subhrāh dadhire virúkmatah, vādhante vísvam abhi-
mátinam ápa vártmāni eshām ánu ríyate ghrítām.

4. Ví yé *bhrāgante sú-makhāsah rishtí-bhih pra-*
kyaváyantah ákyutā kit ógasā, manah-gúvah yát
marutah rátheshu ā vrísha-vrátāsah príshatīh áyug-
dhvam.

5. Prá yát *rátheshu príshatīh áyugdhvam vāge*
ádrim marutah ramháyantah utá arushásya ví syanti
dhárāh kárma-iva udá-bhih ví undanti bhūma.

6. Ā *vah vahantu sáptayah raghu-syádah raghu-*
pátvānah prá gigāta bāhú-bhih, sídata ā barhíh urú
vah sádah kṛitām mādáyadhvam marutah mádhvah
ándhasah.

7. Té *avardhanta svá-tavasah mahi-tvanā ā nākam*

HYMN TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Those who glance forth like wives and yoke-fellows,¹ they are the powerful sons of Rudra on their way. The Maruts have made heaven and earth to grow,² they, the strong and wild, delight in the sacrifices.

2. When grown up,¹ 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.²

3. When these sons of the cow (Prisni)¹ adorn themselves with glittering ornaments, the brilliant² ones put bright weapons on their bodies.³ They hurl away every adversary;⁴ fatness (rain) runs along their paths;—

4. When you,¹ the powerful, who glitter with your spears, shaking even what is unshakable by strength; when you, O Maruts, the manly hosts,² had yoked the spotted deer, swift as thought, to your chariots;—

5. When you had yoked the spotted deer before your chariots, stirring¹ the cloud to the battle, then the streams of the red enemy² rush forth: like a skin³ with water they water the earth.

6. May the swift-gliding, swift-winged horses carry you hither! Come forth with your arms!¹ Sit down on the grass-pile; a wide place has been made for you. Rejoice, O Maruts, in the sweet food.²

7. They who have their own strength, grew¹ with

tasthúh urú kakrire sádah, víshnuh yát ha ávat
vrishanam mada-kyútam váyah ná sídan ádhi bar-
híshi priyé.

8. Súrâh-iva ít yúyudhayah ná gágmayah srava-
syávah ná prítanâsu yetire, bháyante vísvâ bhúvanâ
marút-bhyah rágânah-iva tveshá-sandrisah nârah.

9. Tváshtâ yát vágram sú-kritam hiranyáyam
sahâsra-bhrishtim su-ápâh ávartayat, dhatté índrah
nári ápâmsi kártave áhan vritráam níh apám aubgat
arnavám.

10. Ūrdhvám nunudre ávatám té ógasâ dadri-
hânám kit bibhiduh ví párvatam, dhámantah vâ-
nám marútah su-dânavah máde sómasya rányâni
kakrire.

11. Gihmám nunudre avatám táyâ disâ ásiñkan
útsam gótamâya trishná-ge, á gakkhanti im ávasâ
kitrá-bhânavañh kâmam víprasya tarpayanta dhâma-
bhih.

12. Yâ vah sârma sasamânâya sânti tri-dhâtûni
dâsúshe yakkhata ádhi, asmábhyam tâni marutah ví
yanta rayím nah dhatta vrishanah su-víram.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama. The metre is *Gagatî*, except in verses 5 and 12, which are *Trishtubh*.

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 Vishnu² descried 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 Tvashtar¹ had turned the well-made, golden, thousand-edged thunderbolt, Indra took it to perform his manly deeds;² he slew Vritra, he forced out the stream of water.

10. By their power they pushed the well¹ aloft, they clove asunder the cloud, however strong. Sending forth their voice² 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 *gánayah* could be connected with *sáptayah*, so as to signify mares. But although *gáni* is coupled with *patnî*, i. 62, 10, in the sense of mother-wife, and though *sápti* is most commonly joined with some other name for horse, yet *gánayah* *sáptayah* never occurs, for the simple reason that it would be too elaborate and almost absurd an expression for *vadavâh*. We find *sápti* joined with *vâgín*,

i. 162, 1; with ráthya, ii. 31, 7; átyam ná sáptim, iii. 22, 1; sáptî hári, iii. 35, 2; ásvâ sáptî-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. *hitáh ná sáptayah ráthe*, like horses put to the chariot; or in the singular, ix. 70, 10. *hitáh 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 (*σύζυγος*), 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. *yûyám sakhâyah 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 *saptayah*!

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 (*sapatnî*) 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 gárbham*, 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. Ukshítá is here a participle of vaksh or uksh, to grow, to wax; not from uksh, to sprinkle, to anoint, to inaugurate, as explained by Sâyana. Thus it is said of the Maruts, v. 55, 3. sâkám gâtâh—sâkám ukshítâh, born together, and grown up together.

Verse 2, note ². The same expression occurs viii. 28, 5. saptó (iti) ádhi sríyâh dhire. See also i. 116, 17; ix. 68, 1.

Verse 3, note ¹. Gó-mâtri, like gó-gâta, a name of the Maruts.

Verse 3, note ². Subhrá applied to the Maruts, i. 19, 5.

Verse 3, note ³. Virúkmatah must be an accusative plural. It occurs i. 127, 3, as an epithet of ógas; vi. 49, 5, as an epithet of the chariot of the Aśvins. 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. sátrún asrinât virúkmata, Indra tore his enemies with the bright weapon.

In viii. 20, 11, where *rukma* occurs as a masculine plural, *vī bhrāgante rukmāsaḥ ādhi bāhúshu*, 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-rokínaḥ*, 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-vrāta* is untranslatable for reasons stated p. 121 seq.; it means consisting of companies of *vrīshan's* in whatever sense that word be taken. Wilson in his translation mistakes *ákyutá* for *ákyutāḥ*, 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. *tvám útsân ritú-bhiḥ badbadhânñ áramhaḥ*.

Thou madest the springs to run that had been shut up by the seasons.

viii. 19, 6. *tásya ít árvantaḥ ramhayante áśávaḥ*.

His horses only run quick.

Adri, which I here preferred to translate by cloud, means originally stone, and it is used in *adrivaḥ*, 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 *arushá* 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 Vṛitra, 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. Sâyanā 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 (dhârâḥ) 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. bhūmyâḥ udnâ-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 *kārmēvōdābhiḥ vi undanti bhūmā*, for *kārmēva udābhiḥ vyundanti bhūmā* would give an unusual cæsura.

Verse 6, note ¹. With your arms, i. e. according to *Sâyana*, 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, *bhūrîni bhadrá nâryeshu bâhúshu*; nor does *bâhú*, 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 *raghupátvânaḥ* with *bâhúbhiḥ*, come forth swiftly flying on your arms! As it is, and with the accent on the antepenultimate, we must refer *raghupátvânaḥ* to *sáptayaḥ*, 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. *utá mâtā mahishám ánu avenat amí (íti) tvâ gahati putra devāḥ,*

átha abravît vritráṃ índraḥ hanishyán sákhe vishvo (íti) vi-taráṃ ví kramasva.

The mother also called after the bull, these gods forsake thee, O son; then, when going to kill Vṛitra, Indra said, Friend, Vishṇu, step forward!

This stepping of Vishṇu is emblematic of the rising, the culminating, and setting of the sun; and in viii. 12, 27, Vishṇu is said to perform it through the power of Indra. In vi. 20, 2, Indra is said to have killed Vṛitra, assisted by Vishṇu (vishṇunâ sakânâh). Vishṇu is therefore invoked together with Indra, vi. 69, 8; vii. 99; with the Maruts, v. 87; vii. 36, 9. In vii. 93, 8, Indra, Vishṇu, and the Maruts are called upon together. Nay, māruta, belonging to the Maruts, becomes actually an epithet of Vishṇu, v. 46, 2. māruta utá vishṇo (íti); and in i. 156, 4, mārutasya vedhásah has been pointed out by Roth as an appellation of Vishṇu. The mention of Vishṇu 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 Vishṇu 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 Vishṇu schützt den rauschtriefenden 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 ávat may mean, he defended or protected, but likewise he descried, 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 Asvins, possibly even to the cloud. Mada-kyút. is readily

explained 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 *mada-kyút*, and where the meaning of 'bringing down pride' would seem most appropriate, we ought to translate 'wildly rushing down.'

viii. 96, 5. *ã yát vágram bâhvóh indra dhátse mada-kyútam áhaye hántavaí úm (íti).*

When thou tookest the wildly rushing thunderbolt in thy arms in order to slay Ahi.

When applied to the gods, the meaning of *mada-kyút* 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, *mada-kyút* is also applied to real horses (i. 126, 4) where givers of rain would be an inappropriate epithet. I should therefore translate *mada-kyút*, when applied to Indra, to his horses, to the *Aśvins*, or to horses in general by furiously or wildly moving about, as if 'made *kyavate*,' 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. *vísveshâm tarutāram mada-kyútam máde hí sma dádāti 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 *mada-kyút*, i. 81, 3; viii. 33, 18; 34, 9. Ordinary horses, i. 126, 4.

It is more surprising to see this epithet applied to the *Asvins*, who are generally represented as moving about with exemplary steadiness. However we read:

viii. 22, 16. *mánaḥ-gavasâ vṛishanâ mada-kyútâ*.

Ye two *Asvins*, quick as thought, powerful, wildly moving; or, as *Sâyana* proposes, liberal givers, humblers of your enemies. See also viii. 35, 19.

Most frequently *mada-kyút* 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-kyútam sahasra-dhâram vṛishabhâm*.

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-kyútam puru-kshúm visvá-dhâyasam*.

In all these passages we must translate *mada-kyút* by bringing delight, showering down delight.

We have thus arrived at the conclusion that *vṛishanam mada-kyútam*, as used in our passage i. 85, 7, might be meant either for *Indra* or for *Soma*. If the *Asvins* can be called *vṛishanau mada-kyútâ*, the same expression would be even more applicable to *Indra*. On the other hand, if *Soma* is called *vṛishabhâḥ mada-kyút*, the same *Soma* may legitimately be called *vṛishâ mada-kyút*. 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:

viii. 20, 10. *vṛishanasvéna marutaḥ vṛisha-psunâ ráthena vṛisha-nâbhinâ, á syenâsaḥ ná pakshínâḥ vṛithâ naraḥ havyâ nah vîtáye 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 desecrating of the Soma is ascribed to Vishnu.

Verse 9, note ¹. Tváshtar, the workman of the gods, frequently also the fashioner and creator.

Verse 9, note ². Nári, the loc. sing. of nri, but, if so, with a wrong accent, occurs only in this phrase as used here, and as repeated in viii. 96, 19. nári ápâmsi kártâ sáh vritra-há. Its meaning is not clear. It can hardly mean 'on man,' without some more definite application. If nri could be used as a name of Vritra or any other enemy, it would mean, to do his deeds against the man, on the enemy. Nri, however, is ordinarily an honorific term, chiefly applied to Indra, iv. 25, 4. náre náryâya nri-tamâya nrinâm, and hence its application to Vritra would be objectionable. Sâyana explains it in the sense of battle. I believe that nári stands for náryâ, the acc. plur. neut. of nárya, manly, and the frequent epithet of ápas, and I have translated accordingly. Indra is called nárya-apas, viii. 93, 1.

Verse 10, note ¹. Avatá, a well, here meant for cloud, like útsa, i. 64, 6.

Verse 10, note ². Dhámantaḥ vânáḥ is translated by Sâyana 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 vâná meaning either lyre or flute in the Veda. Vâná occurs

five times only. In one passage, viii. 20, 8, *góbhih vânáh agyate*, it means arrow; the arrow is sent forth from the bow-strings. The same meaning seems applicable to ix. 50, 1. *vânásya kodaya pavím*. In another passage, ix. 97, 8, *prá vadanti vânam*, 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 *vâná* 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 *ásva* is horse, but vii. 69, 1, we read :

ā vām ráthah—vrísha-bhih yātu ásvaih.

May your chariot come near with powerful horses, i. e. with stallions.

The *Háris*, the horses of Indra, are frequently called *vríshanâ* :

i. 177, 1. yuktvā hárí (íti) vríshanâ.

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. sáh vríshâ vrishabháh bhuvat.

May he (Indra) be a strong bull.

i. 54, 2. vríshâ vrísha-tvā vrishabháh.

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. yé te vríshanah vrishabhāśah indra—átyâh.

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. ā nah bhara vríshanam súshmam indra.

Bring us thy manly strength, O Indra.

And in the next verse :

vi. 19, 9. ā te súshmah vrishabháh etu.

May thy manly strength come near.

Vámsaga, too, which is clearly the name for bull, is defined by *vríshan*, i. 7, 8 :

vrīshâ yūthâ-iva vâmsagah.

As the strong bull scares the herds.

The same applies to *varâha*, which, though by itself meaning boar, is determined again by *vrīshan* :

x. 67, 7. *vrīsha-bhih varâhaih.*

With strong boars.

In iii. 2, 11, we read :

vrīshâ—nânadat ná simhâh.

Like a roaring lion.

If used by itself, *vrīshan*, 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, *vrīshâ ná krudhdâh*, we can only translate like an angry male, though, no doubt, like a wild bull, would seem more appropriate.

i. 186, 5. *yéna nâpâtam apâm gunâma manah-gúvah vrīshanañ yâm vâhanti.*

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 *vrīshan* by itself means horse.

If used by itself, *vrīshan* most frequently means man, and chiefly in his sexual character. Thus :

i. 140, 6. *vrīshâ-iva pâtnîh abhî eti rôruvat.*

Agni comes roaring like a husband to his wives.

i. 179, 1. *âpi ûm (îti) nú pâtnîh vrīshanañ gagamyuh.*

Will the husbands now come to their wives?

ii. 16, 8. *sakrît sù te sumatî-bhih—sâm pâtnîbhih ná vrīshanañ nasîmahi.*

May we for once cling firmly to thy blessings, as husbands cling to their wives.

v. 47, 6. *upa-prakshé vrīshanañ módamânâh divâh pathâ vadhvâh yanti âkkha.*

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 *sûrah drîsîke vrīshanañ ka paûmsye*, which occurs iv. 41, 6; x. 92, 7. See also i. 179, 1.

In all the passages which we have hitherto examined *vṛishan* 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 *aspahé arshnô*, gen. a male horse; *varâzahe arshnô*, gen. a male boar; *gêus arshnô*, gen. a male ox; but likewise in the sense of man or hero, as *arsha husrava*, the hero Husrava. In Greek we find *ἄρσῆν* and *ἄρρῆν* used in the same way to distinguish the sex of animals, as *ἄρσενες ἵπποι*, *βόων 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 *vṛishan* 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 *vṛishan* 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. *vṛishâ vâm megháh* may be translated, your raining cloud.

i. 129, 3. *dasmáh hí sma vṛishanam 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, *vṛishan* retained something of its etymological meaning, that it meant gushing forth, poured out, though in many places it is impossible to render *vṛishan*, as applied to Soma, by anything but strong. All we can admit is that *vṛishan*, 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 tvâ amadat vṛishâ mádañ, sómañ—sutáh*.

This strong draught inspirited thee, the poured out Soma-juice.

i. 91, 2. tvám vrīshā vrīsha-tvébhiḥ.

Thou, Soma, art strong by strength.

i. 175, 1. vrīshā te vrīshne induḥ vâgī sahasra-sātamaḥ.

For thee, the strong one, there is strong drink, powerful, omnipotent.

In the ninth Mandala, specially dedicated to the praises of Soma, the inspiring beverage of gods and men, the repetition of vrīshan, 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, vrīshan 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 Aśvins, Vishnu, the Ribhus (iv. 35, 6), all are vrīshan, which means no longer male, but manly, strong.

In the following passages vrīshan is thus applied to Indra :

i. 54, 2. yāh dhriṣṇúnâ sâvasâ rôdasî (íti) ubhé (íti) vrīshā vrīsha-tvā vrīshabhāḥ ni-rīṅgâte.

(Praise Indra) who by his daring strength conquers both heaven and earth, a bull, strong in strength.

i. 100, 1. sáh yāh vrīshā vrīshnyebhiḥ sám-okāḥ mahāḥ divāḥ prithivyāḥ ka sam-rāt satīnā-satvâ hávyah bhāreshu marútvān nah bhavatu índrah ūtī.

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!

i. 16, 1. ā tvā vahantu hārayah vrīshanam sóma-pītaye, índra tvā sūra-kakshasaḥ.

May the bays bring thee hither, the strong one, to the Soma-draught, may the sunny-eyed horses (bring) thee, O Indra!

iv. 16, 20. evā ít índrāya vrīshabhāya vrīshne brāhma akarma bhṛígavaḥ ná rátham.

Thus we have made a hymn for Indra, the strong bull, as the Bhrigus make a chariot.

x. 153, 2. tvám vrishan vrishâ 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. avasyávaḥ vrishanam vágra-dakshinam marút-vantam sakhyáya havâmahe.

Longing for help we call as our friend the hero who wields the thunderbolt, who is accompanied by the Maruts.

viii. 6, 14. ní súshne indra dharnasím vágram gaghantha dásyavi, vrishâ hí ugra srinvishé.

Thou, O Indra, hast struck the strong thunderbolt against Sushna, the fiend ; for, terrible one, thou art called hero !

viii. 6, 40. vavridhânâḥ úpa dyávi vrishâ vagrī aroravīt, vritra-há soma-pâtamaḥ.

Growing up by day, the hero with the thunderbolt has roared, the Vritra-killer, the great Soma-drinker.

v. 35, 4. vrishâ hí asi rádhase gagnīshé vrishni te sávaḥ.

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 vrishan in the comparative and superlative várshîyas and várshishtḥa. In the Veda, várshishtḥa still means excellent, but in later Sanskrit it is considered as the superlative of vridha, old, so that we see vrishan, from meaning originally manly, vigorous, young, assuming in the end the meaning of old. (M. M., Sanskrit Grammar, § 252.)

Yet even thus, when vrishan 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. vrishnaḥ vádhriḥ prati-mānam búbhûshan puru-trā vritráḥ asayat ví-astāḥ.

Vritra, the eunuch, trying to be like unto a man (like unto Indra), was lying, broken to many pieces.

The next passages show vrishan as applied to Agni :

iii. 27, 15. vrishanam tvâ vayám vrishan vrishanaḥ sám idhîmahi.

O, strong one, let us the strong ones kindle thee, the strong !

v. 1, 12. ávokâma kavâye médhyâya vákah vandâru vri-shabhâya vrîshne.

We have spoken an adoring speech for the worshipful poet, for the strong bull (Agni).

Vishnu is called vrîshan, i. 154, 3:

prá víshnave sûshâm etu mánma giri-kshíte uru-gâyâya vrîshne.

May this hymn go forth to Vishnu, he who dwells in the mountain (cloud), who strides wide, the hero!

Rudra is called vrîshan:

ii. 34, 2. rudráh yát vah marutah rukma-vakshasaḥ vrîshâ ágani prîsnyâh sukré údhani.

When Rudra, the strong man, begat you, O Maruts with brilliant chests, in the bright bosom of Prîsni.

That the Maruts, the sons of Rudra, are called vrîshan, 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 vrîshâ ganáh, 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 vrîshan 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 vrîshan refers to Indra:

iv. 30, 10. ápa usháḥ ánasaḥ sarat sám-pishtât áha bibhyúshî, ní yát sîm sîsnáthat vrîshâ.

Ushas went away from her broken chariot, fearing lest the hero should do her violence.

Here vrîshan 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. bhûri-karmane vri-shabhâya vrîshne satyâ-sush-mâya sunavâma sómam, yáh â-drîtya paripanthî-iva sûraḥ áyagvanaḥ vi-bhâgan éti védaḥ.

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. *ritásya budhné ushásâm ishanyán vrîshâ mahî (íti) ródasî (íti) â viveśa.*

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 *vrîshan*, without any other epithet to show that he is meant rather than any other god, is clear from such passages as,

vi. 3, 7. *vrîshâ ruksháh óshadhîshu nûnot.*

He the wild hero shouted among the plants.

In vii. 60, 9, *vrîshanau*, the dual, is meant for Mitra and Varuna ; in the next verse, *vrîshanañ*, the plural, must mean the same gods and their companions.

That Soma is called simply *vrîshan*, not only in the ninth *Mandala*, but elsewhere, too, we see from such passages as,

iii. 43, 7. *índra píba vrîsha-dhûtasya vrîshnañ (â yám te syenáh usatê gabhâra), yásya máde kyaváyasi prá krishñîñ yásya máde ápa gotrá vavártha.*

Indra drink of the male (the strong Soma), bruised by the males (the heavy stones), inspirited by whom thou makest the people fall down, inspirited by whom thou hast opened the stables.

Here *Sâyana*, 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 *Sâyana* would have so readily admitted the definite meaning of *vrîshan* as Soma.

i. 109, 3. *mâ khedma rasññ íti nádhamânâñ pitrîññám*

saktīḥ anu-*yákkhamânâh*, indrâgni-bhyâm kám *vṛishanaḥ* madanti tã hí ádrî (íti) dhishânâyâḥ upá-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 *dhishânâyâḥ* upá-sthe, which Sanskrit scholars will easily perceive.

When *vṛishan* is thus used by itself, we must be chiefly guided by the adjectives or other indications before we determine on the most plausible translation. Thus we read :

i. 55, 4. *sáh* ít váne namasyú-bhiḥ *vakasyate* kâru *gáneshu* pra-bruvânâḥ indriyâm, *vṛishâ* *khânduh* bhavati haryatâḥ *vṛishâ* kshémēna dhénâm maghá-vâ yát ínvati.

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 Sâyana 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 *khánda* 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, *Púshan*, 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. *pítvã mádasya haryatásya ándhasah*, means having drunk of the draught of the delicious Soma.

viii. 72, 18. *padám haryatásya ni-dhânyám*, means the place where the delicious Soma resides.

iii. 44, 1. *haryatáh sómah*.

Delicious Soma.

ii. 21, 1. *bhara índrâya sómam yagatâya haryatám*.

Bring delicious Soma for the holy Indra.

i. 130, 2. *mádâya haryatâya te tuvîh-tamáya dhâyase*.

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 vrishanah su-víram*.

Give us wealth, ye heroes, consisting of good offspring.

viii. 96, 14. *íshyâmi vah vrishanah 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 *vṛishan* is applied to the roaring of the storms and similar objects.

v. 87, 5. *svanáḥ vṛishâ*.

Your powerful sound (O Maruts).

x. 47, 1. *gagṛibhmâ te dâkshinam indra hástam vasu-yávaḥ vasu-pate vásûnâm, vidmâ hí tvâ gó-patim sûra gónâm asmábhyam kitráṃ vṛishanam rayim dâḥ*.

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 *kitrá* here refer to treasures, and *vṛishan* to cattle?

x. 89, 9. *ní amítreshu vadhám indra túmram vṛishan vṛishânám arushám sisîhi*.

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

The long *â* in *vṛishânám* is certainly startling, but it occurs once more, ix. 34, 3, where there can be no doubt that it is the accusative of *vṛishan*. Professor Roth takes *vṛishan* here in the sense of bull (s. v. *tumra*), but he does not translate the whole passage.

iii. 29, 9. *krinóta dhûmám vṛishanam sakhâyaḥ*.

Make a mighty smoke, O friends!

Strength itself is called *vṛishan*, if I am right in translating the phrase *vṛishanam súshmam* by manly strength. It occurs,

iv. 24, 7. *tásmin dadhat vṛishanam súshmam índraḥ*.

May Indra give to him manly strength.

vi. 19, 8. *â naḥ bhara vṛishanam súshmam indra*.

Bring to us, O Indra, manly strength.

vii. 24, 4. *asmé (íti) dádhat vṛishanam súshmam indra*.

Giving to us, O Indra, manly strength.

See also vi. 19, 9, *súshmaḥ vṛishabhâḥ*, used in the same sense.

This constant play on the word *vṛishan*, 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. *ã tishtha rátham vríshanam vríshâ te sutáh sómah pári-siktâ mádhûni, yuktvã vrísha-bhyâm vrishabha kshitînâm hári-bhyâm yâhi pra-vátâ úpa madrik.*

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 *vríshan* and *vrishabhâ*.

ii. 16, 6. *vríshâ te vágrah utá te vríshâ ráthah vríshanâ hári (íti) vrishabhãni áyudhâ, vríshnah mádasya vrishabha tvâm ísishé indra sómasya vrishabhásya tripnuhi.*

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. *vríshâ tvâ vríshanam vardhatu dyaúh vríshâ vrísha-bhyâm vahase hári-bhyâm, sáh nah vríshâ vrísha-rathañ su-sipra vrísha-krato (íti) vríshâ vagrin bháre dhâh.*

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. *vríshâ grãvâ vríshâ mádah vríshâ sómah ayám sutáh, vríshan indra vrísha-bhiñ vritrahan-tama, vríshâ tvâ vríshanam 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. *vríshâ ayám indra te ráthah utó (íti) te vríshanâ hári (íti), vríshâ tvâm sata-krato (íti) vríshâ hávah. vríshâ grãvâ vríshâ mádah vríshâ sómah ayám sutáh, vríshâ yagnáh yám ívasi vríshâ hávah. vríshâ tvâ vríshanam*

huve vágrin kitrābhih ūtí-bhih, vavántha hí práti-stutim
vríshâ 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 præterquam nihil*. When we read, i. 122, 3, *vātah apām vríshan-vân*, we are justified, no doubt, in translating, 'the wind who pours forth water;' and x. 93, 5, *apām vríshan-vasû (íti) sūryâmāsá*, 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. *índrāvarunâ mádhumat-tamasya vríshnah só-
masya vríshanâ * á vrishethâm.*

* 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 Sanhitá (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 Sanhitá, 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 Sanhitá 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 Varuna, you strong ones, may you drink of the sweetest strong Soma.

That *â-vrish* means to drink or to eat, was known to Sâyana and to the author of the Satapatha-brâhmana, who paraphrases *â vrishâyadhvam* by *asnîta*, eat.

The same phrase occurs i. 108, 3.

i. 104, 9. *uru-vyâkâh gathâre â vrishasva*.

Thou of vast extent, drink (the Soma) in thy stomach.

The same phrase occurs x. 96, 13.

viii. 61, 3. *â vrishasva—sutâsya indra ândhasah*.

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. *yâm tvâ devâsah mânave dadhûh ihâ yâgishtam havya-vâhana, yâm kânvaḥ médhya-atithih dhana-spritam yâm vrishâ yâm upa-stutâh*.

Thee, O Agni, whom the gods placed here for man, the most worthy of worship, O carrier of oblations, thee whom Kanva, thee whom Medhyâtithi 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 Upastuta is here to be taken as a proper name, as Upastuta, the son of Vrishâhavya, is clear from verse 17:

agnih prâ âvat mitrâ utâ médhya-atithim agnih sâtâ upa-stutâm.

Agni protected also the two friends, Medhyâtithi and Upastuta, in battle.

The fact is that whenever upastutâ 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. *yâthâ kit kânvam âvatam priyâ-medham upa-stutâm*,

As you have protected Kanva, Priyamedha, Upastuta. Cf. i. 112, 15.

viii. 103, 8. *prâ mâmhishtâya gâyata—ûpastutâsah agnâye*.

Sing, O Upastutas, to the worthiest, to Agni!

x. 115, 9. *īti tvâ agne vṛishṭī-hāvyaśya putrāḥ upastutāśaḥ rīshayaḥ avokan.*

By these names, O Agni, did the sons of *Vṛishṭihavya*, the *Upastutas*, the *Rishis*, speak to you.

Vṛishan occurs once more as a proper name in vi. 16, 14 and 15 :

tām ūm (īti) tvâ dadhyān rīshih putrāḥ īdhe átharvanaḥ, vṛitra-hānam puram-darām.

tām ūm (īti) tvâ pāthyāḥ vṛishā sám īdhe dasyuhāntamam, dhanam-gayām rāne-rane.

Thee, O Agni, did *Dadhyak* kindle, the *Rishi*, the son of *Atharvan*, thee the killer of *Vṛitra*, the destroyer of towns.

Thee, O Agni, did *Vṛishan Pāthya* 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 *Vṛishan* were both intended as proper names. Yet as early as the composition of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*, this was entirely misunderstood. *Dadhyak*, the son of *Atharvan*, is explained as speech, *Vṛishan Pāthya* as mind (*Sat. Br.* vi. 3, 3, 4). On this *Mahīdhara*, in his remarks on *Vâg. Sanh.* xi. 34, improves still further. For though he allows his personality to *Dadhyak*, the son of *Atharvan*, he says that *Pāthya* comes from *pathin*, *path*, and means he who moves on the right path ; or it comes from *pāthas*, which means sky, and is here used in the sense of the sky of the heart. He then takes *vṛishan* 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. Mārutah yásya hí ksháye páthá diváh vi-mahasah, sáh su-gopátamah gánah.

2. Yagñaih vá yagña-vâhasah víprasya vá matînām, mārutah srinutá hávam.

3. Utá vá yásya vâgínah ánu vípram átakshata, sáh gántá gó-mati vragé.

4. Asyá vírásya barhíshi sutáh sómah dívishṭishu, ukthám mádah ka sasyate.

5. Asyá sroshantu ā bhúvah* vísváh yáh karshanīh abhí, sūram kit sasrúshīh íshah.

6. Pūrvībhih hí dadâsimá sarát-bhih marutah vayám, ávah-bhih karshanīnām.

7. Su-bhágah sáh pra-yagyavah mārutah astu mártayah, yásya práyâmsi párshatha.

8. Sasamânásya vá narah svédasya satya-savasah, vidá kâmasya vénatah.

9. Yúyam tát satya-savasah ávīh karta mahi-tvanā, vídhyata vi-dyútá rákshah.

10. Gúhata 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 thunder-bolt!

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 *Gâyatrî* throughout.

Verse 1, note ¹. *Vímahas* 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. *diváh rishváśah ukshánaś*; i. 64, 4. *diváh nárah*.

Verse 2, note ¹. The construction of this verse is not clear. *Yagñá-vâhas* has two meanings in the Veda. It is applied to the priest who carries or performs the sacrifice :

iii. 8, 3, and 24, 1. *várkah dhâh yagñá-vâhase*.

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 Vâyu*); viii. 12, 20 (*Indra*). In our verse it is used in the latter sense, and it is properly construed with the instrumental *yagñáiś*. The difficulty is the gen. plur. *matî-nâm*, instead of *matîbhiś*. The sense, however, seems to allow of but one construction, and we may suppose that the genitive depends on the *yagña* in *yagñávâhas*, 'accepting the worship of the prayers of the priest.' Benfey refers *yagñáiś* to the preceding verse, and joins *hávam* to *víprasya matî-nâm* : 'Durch Opfer—Opferfördrer ihr!—oder ihr hört—Maruts—den Ruf der Lieder die der Priester schuf.'

The Sanhitâ text lengthens the last syllable of *sriñutá*, as suggested by the metre.

Verse 3, note ¹. The genitive *yásya vâgínaś* depends on *vípra*. *Anu-taksh*, like *anu-grah*, *anu-gñâ*, seems to convey the meaning of doing in behalf or for the benefit of a person. *Gántâ* 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 *â bhúvah* into *âbhúvah*,

for I do not think that *bhúvaḥ*, the second pers. sing., even if it were *bhúvat*, the third pers., could be joined with the relative pronoun *yáḥ* in the second pada. The phrase *vísváḥ yáḥ karshanīḥ abhí* occurs more than once, and is never preceded by the verb *bhuvah* or *bhuvat*. *Âbhúvaḥ*, on the contrary, is applied to the Maruts, i. 64, 6, *vidá-theshu ábhúvaḥ*; and as there can be no doubt who are the deities invoked, *âbhúvaḥ*, the strong ones, is as appropriate an epithet as *vímahas* in the first verse.

Verse 5, note ². *Sasrúshih íshaḥ*, 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 *divyāḥ íshaḥ* :

viii. 5, 21. *utá naḥ divyāḥ íshaḥ utá síndhûn varshathaḥ.*

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 écoutent 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.'

Sroshantu does not occur again; but we find *sróshan*, i. 68, 5; *sróshamâna*, iii. 8, 10; vii. 51, 1; vii. 7, 6.

Verse 6, note ¹. The expression *ávobhiḥ*, 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 *karshaní* 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 *karshaní* is used in that sense also. Only *ávobhiḥ* would not be in its right place then.

Verse 7, note ¹. *Par*, with *ati*, means to carry over,

(i. 97, 8; 99, 1; 174, 9; iii. 15, 3; 20, 4; iv. 39, 1; v. 25, 9; 73, 8; vii. 40, 4; 97, 4; viii. 26, 5; 67, 2, &c.); with *apa*, to remove, (i. 129, 5); with *nih*, to throw down. Hence, if used by itself, unless it means to overrun, as frequently, it can only have the general sense of carrying, taking, accepting, or accomplishing.

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 *rákshañ*, 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 *atrâ*, which means tooth or jaw, and therefore meant originally an ogre with large teeth or jaws, a devourer. Besides *atrâ*, we also find in the *Veda* *âtra*, with the accent on the first syllable, and meaning what serves for eating, or food:

x. 79, 2. *âtrâni asmai pat-bhîh sám bharanti.*

They bring together food for him (*Agni*) with their feet.

With the accent on the last syllable, *atrâ* in one passage means an eater or an ogre, like *atrín*:

v. 32, 8. *apâdam atrâm—mridhrâ-vâkam.*

Indra killed the footless ogre, the babbler.

It means tooth or jaw:

i. 129, 8. *svayám sâ rishayâdhyai yâ nah upa-îshé atraiñ.*

May she herself go to destruction who attacks us with her teeth.

It is probably from *atrâ* in the sense of tooth (cf. *ὀδόντες = ἐδόντες*) 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, *damshtriño bhî-mavegâs ka.*

Thus we read i. 21, 5, that *Indra* and *Agni* destroy the *Rakshas*, and the poet continues:

ápragâh santu atrínah.

May the ogres be without offspring!

ix. 86, 48. *galí vísvân rakshásaḥ indo (íti) atrínah.*

Kill, O Soma, all the tusky Rakshas. Cf. ix. 104, 6;

105, 6.

vi. 51, 14. *gahí ní atrínam paním.*

Kill, O Soma, the tusky Pani.

i. 94, 9. *vadhaíḥ duh-sámsân ápa duh-dhyāḥ gahi
dûré vâ yé ánti vâ 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.

1. Prá-tvakshasah prá-tavasah vi-rapsínah ánâna-tâh ávithurâh rigîshínah, gúshta-tamâsah nrî-tamâsah aṅgî-bhîh ví ânagre ké kit usrâh-iva strî-bhîh.

2. Upa-hvaréshu yát ákidhvam yayím váyah-iva marutah kéna kit pathâ, skótanti kósâh úpa vah rátheshu â ghritám ukshata mádhu-varnam ár-kate.

3. Prá eshâm ágmeshu vithurâ-iva regate bhŕmîh yâmeshu yát ha yuṅgâte subhé, té krîlâyah dhúnayah bhrâgat-rishtayah svayám mahi-tvám panayanta dhŕtayah.

4. Sâh hí sva-srît prîshat-asvah yúvâ ganâh ayâ isânâh távishîbhîh â-vritah, ási satyâh rina-yâvâ ánedyah asyâh dhiyâh pra-avitâ átha vrîshâ ganâh.

5. Pitúh pratnâsya gánmanâ vadâmasi sómasya gihvâ prá gigâti kâkshasâ, yát im índram sámî rîkvânah âsata ât it nâmâni yagñtyâni dadhire.

6. Sriyâse kám bhânú-bhîh sám mimikshire té rasmî-bhîh té rîkva-bhîh su-khâdayah, té vâsî-mantah ishmínah ábhîravah vidré priyâsya mârutasya dhâmnah.

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 *Gagatî* throughout.

Verse 1, note ¹. *Ké 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. *Ké 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 *usráh iva strî-bhih* 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 *usráh* here in the same sense as *dyāvah*; ii. 34, 2, it is said that the Maruts were perceived *dyāvah ná strî-bhih*, like the heavens with the stars.

i. 166, 11. *dûre-drîsah yé divyâh-iva strî-bhih*.

Who are visible far away, like the heavens (or heavenly beings) by the stars.

And the same is said of Agni, ii. 2, 5. *dyaúh ná strî-bhih kitayat ródasî (íti) ánu*. *Strîbhih* 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 *usráh*, 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 *yayí* not by a goer, a traveller, i. e. the cloud, (this is the explanation proposed by *Sâyana*, and adopted by Professor Benfey,) but by path. Etymologically *yayí* may mean either. But in parallel passages *yayí* is clearly replaced by *yâma*. Thus:

viii. 7, 2. *yât—yâmam subhrâh ákidhvam*.

When you, bright Maruts, have seen your way.

See also viii. 7, 4. *yât yâmam yânti vâyú-bhih*.

When they (the Maruts) go on their path with the winds.

viii. 7, 14. *ádhi-iva yát girínām yāmam subhráh ákidhvam.*

When you, bright Maruts, had seen your way, as it were, along the mountains.

The same phrase occurs, even without *yāma* or *yayí*, in

v. 55, 7. *ná párvatáh ná nadyāh varanta vah yátra ákidhvam marutah gákkhata ít u tát.*

Not mountains, not rivers, keep you back; where you have seen (your way), there you go.

Though *yayí* does not occur frequently in the Rig-veda, the meaning of path seems throughout more applicable than that of traveller.

v. 87, 5. *tvesháh yayíh.*

Your path, O Maruts, is brilliant.

v. 73, 7. *ugráh vām kakuháh yayíh.*

Fearful is your pass on high.

i. 51, 11. *ugráh yayím níh apáh srótasâ asrigat.*

The fearful Indra sent the waters forth on their way streaming.

x. 92, 5. *prá—yayínâ yanti síndhavaḥ.*

The waters go forth on their path.

Verse 3, note ¹. Cf. i. 37, 8, page 51. There is no authority for Sâyana's explanation of *vithurá-iva*, the earth trembles like a widow. *Vithurá* occurs several times in the Rig-veda, but never in the sense of widow. Thus:

i. 168, 6. *yát kyaváyatha vithurá-iva sám-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 (*vithuryáti*). The Maruts themselves are called *ávithura* in verse 1. As to *ágma* and *yāma*, see i. 37, 8, page 62.

Verse 3, note ². *Súbh* is one of those words to which it is very difficult always to assign a definite special meaning. Being derived from *súbh*, to shine, the commentator has no difficulty in explaining it by splendour, beauty; sometimes by water. But although *súbh* 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 Sâyana 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 subhrāh dadhire virúkmatah.*

When the Maruts adorn themselves with glittering ornaments, the brilliant ones put bright weapons on their bodies.

vii. 56, 6. *subhā sōbhishtāh, sriyā sám-mislāh, ógah-bhih ugrāh.*

The most brilliant by their brilliancy, united with splendour, terrible by strength.

In i. 64, 4, I have translated *vákshah-su rukmān ádhi yetire subhé* by 'they fix gold (chains) on their chests for beauty.' And the same meaning is applicable to i. 117, 5, *subhé rukmām ná darśatām ní-khātam*, 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. *gáyatām-iva tanyatúh marútām eti dhrishnu-yā yát súbham yāthána narah.*

The thundering voice of the Maruts comes fiercely, like that of conquerors, when you go to conquer, O men !

Sâyana : '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. *yāthana súbham*, you go to conquer. Cf. v. 55, 1.

Sâyana : 'For the sake of water, or, in a chariot.'

v. 52, 8. *sārdhaḥ mārutam út samsa—utá sma té subhé nárah prá syandrāḥ yugata tmánâ.*

Praise the host of the Maruts, and they, the men, the quickly moving, will harness by themselves (the chariots) for conquest.

Sâyana: 'For the sake of water.' Cf. x. 105, 3.

v. 57, 3. *subhé yát ugrāḥ prīshatīḥ áyugdhvam.*

When you have harnessed the deer for conquest.

Sâyana: 'For the sake of water.'

v. 63, 5. *rātham yuṅgate marútaḥ subhé su-khám sūrah ná—gó-ishṭīshu.*

The Maruts harness the chariot meet for conquest, like a hero in battles.

Sâyana: 'For the sake of water.'

i. 88, 2. *subhé kám yānti—āsvaiḥ.*

The Maruts go on their horses towards conquest.

Sâyana: 'In order to brighten the worshipper, or, for the sake of water.'

i. 119, 3. *sám yát mithāḥ paspridhânāsaḥ ágmata subhé makhāḥ ámitāḥ gâyāvaḥ rāne.*

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.

Sâyana: 'For the sake of brilliant wealth.'

vii. 82, 5. *marút-bhiḥ ugrāḥ sūbham anyāḥ íyate.*

The other, the fearful (Indra), goes with the Maruts to glory.

Sâyana: 'He takes brilliant decoration.'

iii. 26, 4. *subhé—prīshatīḥ ayukshata.*

They had harnessed the deer for victory.

Sâyana: 'They had harnessed in the water the deer together (with the fires).'

i. 167, 6. *ā asthāpayanta yuvatīm yúvānaḥ subhé ní-mislâm.*

The Maruts, the youths, placed the maid (lightning on their chariot), their companion for victory, (*subhé ní-mislâm*).

Sâyana: 'For the sake of water, or, on the brilliant chariot.' Cf. i. 127, 6; 165, 1.

vi. 62, 4. *sūbham prīksham ísham ūrgam váhantâ.*

The *Āsvins* 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-yâvânâ*, viii. 26, 19 (*Asvinau*).
Subham-yâ, of the wind, iv. 3, 6.
Subham-yú, of the rays of the dawn, x. 78, 7.

Verse 4, note ¹. *Sâyana* : ‘ 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, 11. *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 *Sanhitâ* 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 *samîdham* 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 τῶ: Rv. iii. 12, 2 ; ix. 53, 2 ; 106, 14. In x. 116, 9, the Pada reads *âyâh-iva*, not *âyâ*, as given by Roth ; in vi. 66, 4, *âyâ nú*, the accent is likewise on the first.

Verse 4, note ³. *Rina-yâvan* is well explained by B. and R. as going after debt, searching out sin. *Sâyana*, though he explains *rina-yâvan* by removing sin, derives it nevertheless correctly from *rina* and *yâ*, and not from *yu*. The same formation is found in *subham-yâvan*, &c. ; and as there is *rina-yâ* besides *rina-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. *Sámi* 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 *sám*, 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 turváne sámi.*

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, *sám* is likewise used in the sense of sacrifice. This meaning seems more applicable in

x. 40, 1. *vástoḥ-vastoḥ váhamânam dhiyâ sámi.*

Your chariot, O *Asvins*, which through prayer comes every morning to the sacrifice.

ii. 31, 6. *apâm nápât âsu-hémâ dhiyâ sámi.*

Apâm nápât (*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 *dhiyâ-sámi* as one word. *Dhiyâ-sám* would mean the sacrificer who is engaged in prayer; cf. *dhiyâ-gúr*, v. 43, 15. Thus we read:

vi. 2, 4. *yáh te su-dânave dhiyâ mártah sasámate.*

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, *sámi* is an acc. plur. neut.:

sámi ákkha dídye pûrvyâni.

I glance back at the former sacrifices. See B. R. s. v. *dî*.

From the same root we have the feminine *sámî*, 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, *sámî* or *sámîbhiḥ*, 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:

îgé yagnébhiḥ sasámé sámîbhiḥ.

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 *κᾶμ-νω*, to work, to labour, to tire (Sanskrit *sâmyati*), the Greek *κομιδή* and *κομίζω*, 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 *Ribhus*, i. 20, 8, &c. *Yagñīya*, properly 'worthy of sacrifice,' has the meaning of divine or sacred. The Greek *ἄγιος* has been compared with *yāgya*, *sacrificio colendus*, not a Vedic word.

Verse 6, note ¹. *Sriyāse kām* seems to be the same as the more frequent *sriyé kām*. *Sriyāse* only occurs twice more, v. 59, 3. The chief irregularity consists in the absence of *Guna*, which is provided for by *Pânini's* *kasen* (iii. 4, 9). Similar infinitives, if they may so be called, are *bhiyāse*, v. 29, 4; *vridhāse*, v. 64, 5; *dhruvāse*, vii. 70, 1; *tugāse*, iv. 23, 7; *riñgāse*, viii. 4, 17; *vriñgāse*, viii. 76, 1; *rikāse*, vii. 61, 6. In vi. 39, 5, *rikāse* 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 *bhânú*, 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 *arkí*.

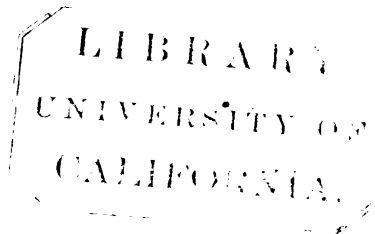
Verse 6, note ³. The bearing of this concluding verse is not quite clear, unless we take it as a continuation of the preceding verse. It was there said that the Maruts (the *rikvānah*) obtained their sacrificial honours, after having joined Indra in his work. Having thus obtained a place

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 dhâmana^h.

Benfey translates: 'Gedeih'n zu spenden woll'n die schön-geschmücketen mit Lichtern, Strahlen mit Lobsängern regen; 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 vidyúnmat-bhih marutaḥ su-arkaḥ ráthebhih
yáta rishimát-bhih * ásva-parṇaiḥ, & várshishthayâ
naḥ ishâ váyah ná paptata su-mâyâh.

2. Té arunébhih váram & písāngaiḥ subhé kám
yānti rathatūh-bhih ásvaiḥ, rukmāḥ ná kitráḥ † svá-
dhiti-vān pavyā ráthasya gaṅghananta bhūma.

3. Sriyé kám vah ádhi tanūshu vāsīḥ medhā ‡
vánâ ná krinavante ūrdhvā, yushmábhyam kám
marutaḥ su-gátāḥ tuvi-dyumnāsah dhanayante
ádrim.

4. Áhāni grídhrah pári & vah & aguh imām dhiyam
vārkāryām ka devīm, bráhma krinvántah gótamāsah
arkaḥ ūrdhvām nunudre utsa-dhīm píbadhyai.

5. Etát tyát ná yóganam aketi sasvāḥ ha yát
marutaḥ gótamah vah, pásyān hiránya-kakrān áyah-
damshtṛān vi-dhāvataḥ varāhūn.

6. Eshā syā vah marutaḥ anu-bhartrī práti sto-
bhati vāghátah ná vānī, ástobhayat vríthā ásām ánu
svadhām gábhastyoh.

* rishī-mantaḥ?

† kitráḥ eshām?

‡ medhāḥ

HYMN TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Come hither, Maruts, on your chariots charged with lightning, resounding with beautiful songs,¹ stored with spears, and winged with horses! Fly³ to us like birds, with your best food,² 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 axe¹ is brilliant like gold;— with the felly² of the chariot they have struck the earth.

3. On your bodies there are daggers for beauty; may they stir up our minds¹ as they stir up the forests. For your sake, O well-born Maruts, you who are full of vigour, they (the priests) have shaken² the stone (for distilling Soma).

4. Days went round you and came back,¹ 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 hymn¹ was ever known as this which Gotama sounded for you, O Maruts, when he saw you on golden wheels, wild boars² 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.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama, the son of Rahûgana. The metre varies. Verses 1 and 6 are put down as Prastâra-pañkti, 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:

â vīdyūnmat-bhīḥ maruṭaḥ sū-arkaiḥ
rāthebhiḥ yāta-rishīmat-bhīḥ asva-pānaiḥ.

Again verse 6: ēshā syā vaḥ maruṭaḥ anu-bhartrī
pratī stobhati vāghataḥ 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:

â vīdyūnmat-bhīḥ maruṭaḥ sū-arkaiḥ
rāthebhiḥ yāta-rishīmat-(bhīḥ) asva-pānaiḥ.

And verse 6: ēshā syā vaḥ maruṭaḥ anu-bhartrī
pratī stobhati vāghataḥ na vānī.

Our only difficulty would be the termination bhīḥ of *rishīmat-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 iḥ, where parallel forms in ī are intelligible. The simplest correction would be to read *rāthebhiḥ yāta-rishī-māntaḥ-asva-pānaiḥ*. One might urge in support of this reading that in all other passages where *rishīmat* 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 Gâyatrī pādas which follow I feel equally reluctant to alter. I therefore scan

â varshishtḥayā nāḥ ishā vāyaḥ nā paptata sū-māyāḥ,
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 :

astobhayāt vrithā-āsām anu svadhām gabhastyoh.

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 virādrūpā, 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, rukmaḥ na kitraḥ svadhiti-vān. It would not be possible to get eleven syllables out of this, unless we admitted vyūha not only in svadhitivān or svadhiti-vān, but also in kitraḥ. Nothing would be easier than to insert eshām after kitraḥ, but the question occurs again, how could eshām 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. Vārshishtḥa, which is generally explained as the superlative of vridhha, old, (Pān. vi. 4, 157,) has in most passages of the Rig-veda the more general meaning of strong or excellent: vi. 47, 9. ísham ā vakshi ishām vārshishtḥām; iii. 13, 7 (vāsu); iii. 26, 8 (rátna);

iii. 16, 3 (raí); iv. 31, 15; viii. 46, 24 (srávaḥ); iv. 22, 9 (nrimná); 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. *Várshishtha* is derived in reality from *vṛishan*, 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 *πίπτετε*, 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*, *paptaḥ* and *paptan*:

ii. 31, 1. prá yát váyaḥ ná páptan.

That they may fly to us like birds.

vi. 63, 6. prá vâm váyaḥ—ánu paptan.

May your birds fly after you.

x. 95, 15. purûravaḥ mã mrithâḥ mã prá paptaḥ.

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. 2, 10. svá-dhitim ná tégase.

They adorned Agni like an axe to shine or to cut.

The *svádhiti* 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 *deví svádhitiḥ* is mentioned, possibly the lightning, the companion of Indra and the Maruts.

Verse 2, note ². The felly 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 pavyā ráthânâm ádrim bhindanti ógasâ.

They cut the mountain (cloud) with the felly of their chariot.

i. 166, 10. pavíshu kshurāḥ 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 Pavîrava, 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 *vāsîs* are small weapons, knives or daggers, we saw before, p. 59. Sâyana here explains *vāsî* by a weapon commonly called *âra*, or an awl. In x. 101, 10, *vāsîs* are mentioned, made of stone, *aśman-mâyî*.

The difficulty begins with the second half. *Medhâ*, as here written in the Pada text, could only be a plural of a neuter *medhâm*, 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, *ûrdhvâh bhavanti pitârâ-iva médhâh*, is of no assistance, unless we alter the accent. The feminine *medhâ* 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 *medhâ* as a Vedic instrumental instead of *medhâyâ*, 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-dyum-nâsa* be the subject, it would signify the priests. This, however, is again without any warrant from the Rig-veda, where *tuvi-dyumná* 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-gâtâḥ*. 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 *ûrdhvâ* 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, *âhâni* or *grîdhrâḥ*? If *grîdhrâḥ* were the subject, then we should have to translate it by the eager poets, and take *âhâni* in the sense of *visvâ ahâni*. 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, *grîdhrâḥ* never occurs again as signifying poets or priests. One passage only could be quoted in support, ix. 97, 57, *kavâyaḥ nâ grîdhrâḥ* (not *grîdhrâḥ*), like greedy poets. But even here, if this translation is right, the adjective is explained by *kavî*, and does not stand by itself. Secondly, *âhâni* 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 *âhâni* as a totally different word, viz. as *â + hâni*, without ceasing, without wearying, would be too bold in the present state of Vedic interpretation. If then we take *âhâni* as the subject, *grîdhrâḥ* would have to be taken as a vocative, and intended for the Maruts. Now, it is perfectly true, that by itself *grîdhra*, hawk, does not occur again as a name of the Maruts, but *syená*, 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. *abhî sva-pûbhiḥ mithâḥ vapanta vâta-svanasaḥ syenáḥ aspridhran.*

They plucked each other with their beaks (?), the hawks, rushing like the wind, strove together.

Aguh might be the aorist of *gai*, to sing, or of *gā*, to go :

i. 174, 8. *sánâ tã te indra návyâh á aguḥ*.

New poets, O Indra, sang these thy old deeds.

iii. 56, 2. *gãvah á 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, *imãm dhíyam vârkâryãm ka devím*, or whether these words are to be joined to *krinvántah*, like *bráhma*. The meaning of *vârkâryã* is, of course, unknown. *Sâyana'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 *vârkâryã* 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 *vârkâryã*, in order to give the meaning of rain-producing. It might have been *karkârya*, glorious, or the song of a poet called *Vârkara*. The most likely supposition is that *vârkâryã* was the name given to some famous hymn, some pæan or song of triumph belonging to the Gotamas, possibly to some verses of the very hymn before us. In this case the epithet *deví* would be quite appropriate, for it is frequently used for a sacred or sacrificial song: iv. 43, 1. *devím su-stutím*; iii. 18, 3. *imãm dhíyam sata-séyâya devím*. 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. *arenú-bhih yóganebhih bhugántâ*.

You who possess dustless chariots.

viii. 72, 6. *ásva-vat yóganam brihát*.

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. *bráhma te indra girvanah kriyánte ánatid-bhutâ, imâ gushasva hari-asva yóganâ índra yâ te ámanmahi*.

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. *Varáhu* has here the same meaning as *varâhá*, wild boar, (viii. 77, 10 ; x. 28, 4.) It occurs once more, i. 121, 11, as applied to *Vritra*, who is also called *varâhá*, i. 61, 7 ; x. 99, 6. In x. 67, 7, *vrísha-bhih varâhaih* (with the accent on the penultimate) is intended for the Maruts*. Except in this passage, *varâha* has the accent on the last syllable : ix. 97, 7, *varâhá* 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 *eburðrung* (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 emporstrebt, 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 célébra (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-bhartrî* 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 felines of the chariots. The next line adds little beyond stating that this libation of Soma rushes forth freely from the hands, the *gabhasṭis* being specially mentioned in other passages where the crushing of the Soma-plant is described:

ix. 71, 3. *ádri-bhiḥ sutáh pavate gábhastyoh.*

The Soma squeezed by the stones runs from the hands.

On *svadhâ* see p. 19.

MANDALA I, SŪKTA 165.

ASHTAKA II, ADHYĀYA 3, VARGA 24-26.

Indrah.

1. Káyâ subhâ sá-vayasaḥ sá-nílâḥ samânyâ marú-
taḥ sám mimikshuh, káyâ matí kútaḥ â-itâsaḥ eté
árkanti súshmam vrîshanaḥ vasu-yâ.

Indrah.

2. Kásya bráhmâni gugushuh yúvânaḥ kâḥ adhvaré
marútaḥ â vavarta, syenân-iva dhrágataḥ antárikshe
kéna mahâ mânasâ rîramâma.

Marutah.

3. Kútaḥ tvám indra máhinaḥ sán ékaḥ yâsi sat-
pate kíṃ te itthâ, sám prikkhase sam-arânâḥ subhâ-
naḥ vokéh tát naḥ hari-vaḥ yát te asmé (íti).

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 equally¹ 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) strength⁴ because they wish for wealth?

2. Whose prayers have the youths accepted? Who has turned the Maruts to his own sacrifice? By what strong devotion¹ 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

Indrah.

4. Bráhmâni me matáyah sám sutásah súshmah
iyarti prá-bhritah me ádrih, & sâsate práti haryanti
ukthá imá hári (iti) vahatah tá nah ákka.

Marutah.

5. Átah vayám antamébhih yugânâh svá-kshatre-
bhih tanvâh súmbhamânâh máhah-bhih étân úpa yug-
mahe nú indra svadhâm ánu hí nah babhútha.

Indrah.

6. Kvã syá vah marutah svadhâ ásit yát mãm
ékam sam-ádhatta ahi-hátye, ahám hí ugráh tavi-
sháh túvishmân vísvasya sátroh ánamam vadha-
snaíh.

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, traîné 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 thunderbolt, 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).

LANGLOIS: (Indra parle): Les cérémonies, les prières, les hymnes, les libations, les offrandes, tout est à moi. Je porte la foudre. Des invocations, des chants se sont fait entendre. Mes chevaux m'amènent. Voilà ce que je veux ici.

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 reconnaissez 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.

Marutah.

7. Bhūri kakartha yūgyebhih asmé (íti) samāné-
bhih vṛishabha paūmsyebhih, bhūrīni hí kṛināvāma
savishtha índra krátvā marutah yát vásāma.

Indrah.

8. Vádhim vritrám marutah indriyéna svéna
bhāmena tavisháh babhūvān, ahám etāh mánave vi-
svá-kandrāh su-gāh apāh kakara vágra-bāhuh.

Marutah.

9. Anuttam ā te magha-van nákih nú ná tvā-vān
asti devátā vídānah, ná gāyamānah násate ná gātāh
yāni karishyā * kṛinuhí pra-vṛiddha.

Indrah.

10. Ékasya kit me vi-bhú astu ógah yā nú

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 thunderbolt, I created all these pellucid, gently-flowing waters for (the good of) man.

* karishyāh?

The Maruts speak :

7. Thou hast achieved much with us as companions.¹ 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.²

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.¹

The Maruts speak :

9. Nothing, O powerful lord, is strong before thee: no one is known among the gods¹ like unto thee. No one who is now born² will come near, no one who has been born. Do what has to be done,³ thou who art grown so strong.

Indra speaks :

10. Almighty power be mine alone, whatever I

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

dadhrishvân krinávai manîshâ, ahám hí ugráh maru-
tah vídânah yâni kyávam índrah ít íse eshâm.

Indrah.

11. Ámandat mâ marutah stómah átra yát me
narah srútyam bráhma kakrá, índráya vrishne sú-
makhâya máhyam sákhye sakhâyah tanvê tanũ-
bhik.

Indrah.

12. Evá ít eté práti mâ rókamânâh ánedyah *
srávañ á íshah dádhânâh, sam-kákshya marutah
kandrá-varnâh ákkhânta me khadáyâtha ka nú-
nám.

Agastyah.

13. Káh nú átra marutah mamahe vah prá yâtana

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.

* ánedyam?

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

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

sákhîn ákha sakhâyah, mánmâni kitráh api-vâtá-
yantaḥ eshám bhûta návedâh me ritánâm.

Agastyah.

14. Á yát duvasyât duváse ná kârúh asmân kakré
mânyásya medhá, ó (iti) sú varta marutaḥ vípram
ákha imá bráhmâni garitá vah arkat.

Agastyah.

15. Esháh vah stómah marutaḥ iyám gîh mândâr-
yásya mânyásya kâróh, á ishâ yâsishta tanvê vayám
vidyâma ishám vrigánam gîrá-dânum.

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, ô Marouts? Soyez-nous agréables, et venez
vers des amis. D'un souffle propice favorisez nos vœux. 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 Anukramanikâ 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, cherish¹ these prayers, and be mindful of these my rites.

14. The wisdom of Mānya 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 Māndārya, the son of Māna,¹ the poet. Come hither with rain! May we find for ourselves offspring,² food, and a camp³ with running water.

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!

Anukramasikā. 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 *prábhritaḥ me ádriḥ*. 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 *prábhrita* in our passage, I doubt whether, in connection with *ádri*, or with *vágra*, *prábhrita* can mean anything but hurled. Thus we read:

i. 61, 12. *asmaí ít úm (íti) prá bhara—vritráya vágram.*

Hurl thou, Indra, the thunderbolt against this Vritra.

v. 32, 7. *yát ím 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 (vípra) 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 samânî occurs in the Veda as the feminine of samâna (cf. iv. 51, 9; x. 191, 3; 4), samânyâ 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?' Sâyanâ 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, *sâdhâranyâ-iva marútaḥ mimikshuḥ*, 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. *Mimikshuḥ* 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 *μίσσειν*, which come from the same source, i. e. from a root *mik* or *mig*, 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. *mimikshúḥ 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. *ghritám 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 sã te indra rishítih asmé (íti).*

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)*; (Sây. *prâpnoti.*) Cf. viii. 61, 18.

2. With locative :

x. 44, 2. *mimyaksha vágrah nri-pate gabhástau.*

In thy fist, O king, the thunderbolt rests firmly.

i. 167, 3. *mimyaksha yéshu sú-dhitâ—rishítih.*

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. (Sây. *samgatâbhût.*)

vi. 50, 5. *mimyaksha yéshu rodasí nú deví.*

To whom the goddess Rodasí clings. (Sây. *samgakkhate.*)

vi. 11, 5. *ámyakshi sádma sádane prithivyãh.*

The seat was firmly set on the seat of the earth. (Sây. *gamyate, parigrihyate*). It is the 3rd pers. sing. aor. pass.

vi. 29, 2. *ã yásmin háste náryãh mimikshúh ã ráthe hiranyáye rathe-sthãh, ã rasmáyah gábhastyoh sthúráyoh ã ádhvan ásvâsah vrishanah yugânãh.*

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. (Sây. *ásikyante, âpûryante*; or *ásiñkanti, pôrayanti.*)

x. 96, 3. *indre ní rúpã háritâ mimikshire.*

Bright colours stuck or clung or settled on Indra. (Sây. *nishiktâni babhûvuḥ*; *miheḥ sanantât karmani rûpam.*)

3. With instrumental :

i. 165, 1. *káyâ subhã marútaḥ sám mimikshuh.*

To what splendour do the Maruts cling; or, what splendour clings to them?

v. 58, 5. *sváyâ matyã marútaḥ sám mimikshuh.* (See also i. 165, 1.)

The Maruts cling to their own thought or will. (Sây. *vrishtyâ samyak siñkanti.*)

i. 167, 4. *yavyâ* (i. e. *yavîyâ*) *sâdhârazyâ-iva marútaḥ mimikshuh.*

A difficult passage which receives little light from i. 173, 12; viii. 98, 8; or vi. 27, 6.

i. 87, 6. *bhânú-bhiḥ sám mimikshire.*

The Maruts were joined with splendour. (Sây. *medhum ikkanti.*)

4. With accusative :

viii. 61, 18. *ní yâ vágram mimikshátuh.*

Thy two arms which have firmly grasped the thunderbolt. (Sây. *parigrihñítaḥ.*)

Here I should also prefer to place vii. 20, 4, if we might explain *mímikshan* as a participle present of *myaksh* in the Hu-class :

ní vágram índraḥ mímikshan.

Grasping firmly the thunderbolt. (Sây. *satrushu prâpayan.*)

vi. 29, 3. *sriyé te pãdâ dúvaḥ â mimikshuh.*

Thy servants embrace thy feet for their happiness. (Sây. *âsiñkanti, 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. *ápo (iti) sú myaksha varuna bhiyásam mát.*

Remove well from me, O Varuna, terror. (Sây. *apagamaya.*)

Quite distinct from this is the desiderative or inchoative verb *mimiksh*, 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. *mádhvâ yagnám mimikshati.*

(*Narâsamsa*) sprinkles the sacrifice with rain.

ix. 107, 6. *mádhvâ yagnám mimiksha nah.*

Sprinkle (O Soma) our sacrifice with rain.

i. 34, 3. *tríḥ adyâ yagnám mádhunâ mimikshatam.*

O Asvins, sprinkle the sacrifice with rain thrice to-day !

i. 47, 4. *mádhvâ yagnám mimikshatam.*

O Asvins, sprinkle the sacrifice with rain !

5. Without *mádhu* :

i. 22, 13. *mahí dyaúh prithiví ka nah imám yagnám mimikshatám.*

May the great heaven and earth sprinkle this our sacrifice.

6. With *mádhu* in the accusative :

vi. 70, 5. *mádhu nah dyāvâprithiví (íti) mimikshatám.*

May heaven and earth shower down rain for us.

Very frequently the *Asvins* 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 *Asvins* are asked to sprinkle the sacrifice with their whip, i. e. to give rain :

i. 157, 4. *mádhu-matyâ nah kásayâ mimikshatam.*

O *Asvins*, sprinkle us with your rain-giving whip.

i. 22, 3. *táyâ yagnám mimikshatam.*

O *Asvins*, sprinkle the sacrifice with it (your whip).

7. Lastly, we find such phrases as,

i. 48, 16. *sám nah râyâ—mimikshvá.*

Sprinkle us with wealth, i. e. shower wealth down upon us. Here *mih* is really treated as a *Hu-verb* in the *Âtmanepada*.

As an adjective, *mimikshú* is applied to *Indra* (iii. 50, 3), and *mimikshá* to *Soma* (vi. 34, 4).

Verse 1, note ³. I do not see how *étâsah* can here be taken in any sense but that suggested by the *Pada*, *â-itâsah*, come near. Professor Roth thinks it not impossible that it may be meant for *étâh*, the fallow deer, the usual team of the *Maruts*. These *Etas* are mentioned in verse 5, but there the *Pada* gives quite correctly *étân*, not *â-itân*, and *Sâyana* explains it accordingly by *gantûn*.

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.

Verse 2, note ¹. *Mánas* 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 manasâbhigakkhati tad vâkâ 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. *mahâ nâmasâ*, with great adoration, an expression which occurs, if not in vi. 52, 17, at least in vii. 12, 1. We find, however, the phrase *mahâ mânasâ* in

vi. 40, 4. *ã yâhi sâsvat usatã yayâtha índra mahâ mânasâ soma-péyam,*

úpa brâhmâni srinavañ imã nah átha te yagnãñ tanvë váyah dhât.

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 Rig-veda the instrumental singular *mahâ* 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. *ayã vidhema návayâ mahã girã.*

Let us sacrifice with this new great song.

vi. 52, 17. *su-ukténa mahã nâmasâ ã vivâse.*

I worship with a hymn with great adoration, or I worship with a great hymn in adoration.

viii. 46, 14. *gâya girã mahã ví-ketasam.*

Celebrate the wise Indra with a great song.

Verse 3, note ¹. We ought to scan *kútañ ãvãm índra mãhinañ san*, because *yâsi*, being *anudâta*, could not begin a new *pâda*. It would be more natural to translate *kútañ* 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 Rig-veda, even in the latest hymns, *kútañ* 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 índraḥ vṛishabháh satám asi.

Thou, Agni, art Indra, the hero among heroes.

i. 173, 7. samát-su tvâ sūra satám urânám.

Thee, O hero, in battles the protector of (good and true) men.

Verse 3, note ³. The meaning of sám prikkhase is very much the same as that of sám vadasva in i. 170, 5.

Verse 3, note ⁴. Subhâná 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. tébhiḥ kalpasva sâdhu-yá mã naḥ sam-árane vadhîḥ.

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. Bráhmâni and matáyaḥ are here mentioned separately in the same way as a distinction is made between bráhman, stóma, and ukthá, iv. 22, 1; vi. 23, 1; between bráhmâni and gíraḥ, iii. 51, 6; between bráhma, gíraḥ, and stómaḥ, vi. 38, 3; between bráhma, gíraḥ, ukthá, 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 á pítáh indo (íti)*.

Be thou well (sweet) to our heart, when drunk, O Soma!

Cf. x. 9, 4.

i. 90, 9. *sám nah bhavatu aryamá*.

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, ocre Fisie, totar Jovinar dupursus, peturpursus fato fito*, (Umbrische Sprachdenkmäler, von Aufrecht, p. 198.)

ii. 38, 11. *sám yát stotrí-bhyañ ápáye bhávâti*.

What may be well (a pleasure) for the praisers, for the friend.

x. 37, 10. *sám nah bhava kákshasâ*.

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. *túbhyam manîshâ iyâm 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 ûm (íti) yóge nah astu.*
 May it be well with us in keeping and acquiring !

v. 7, 9. *ã yáh te—agne sám ásti dháyase.*

He who is lief to thee to support, i. e. he whom thou
 likest to support.

v. 74, 9. *sám ûm (íti) sú vâm—asmâkam astu karkritîh.*
 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.

viii. 13, 11. *sám ít 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 kãmâya, 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 yagnáh 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. *tokâya 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 ã vakshat dvi-páde kátuh-pade.*

May he bring blessing to us for man and cattle.

viii. 5, 20. *téna nah—pásve tokâya sám gáve, váhatam
 pívarîh íshañ.*

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. 11, 3. *sáh nah pavasva sám gáve sám gánâya 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. 11, 7; 60, 4; 61, 15; 109, 5.

vii. 35, 4. *sám nah ishiráh abhî vâtu vâtah.*

May the brisk wind blow kindly upon us, or blow a blessing upon us.

vii. 35, 6. *sám nah tváshtâ gnâbhih ihá srinotu.*

May Tvashṭar with the goddesses hear us here well, i. e. auspiciously !

vii. 35, 8. *sám nah sūryah—út etu.*

May the sun rise auspiciously for us !

viii. 18, 9. *sám nah tapatu sūryah.*

May the sun warm us well !

iii. 13, 6. *sám nah 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 yóh*. 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 acceptation of these words :

i. 93, 7. *dhattam yágamânâya sám yóh.*

Give, Agni and Soma, to the sacrificer health and wealth.

i. 106, 5. *sám yóh yát te mánuh-hitam tát îmahe.*

Brihaspati, we ask for health and wealth which thou gavest to Manu.

i. 114, 2. *yát sám ka yóh ka mánuh â-yegé pitá tát 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 mánuh ávrinîta pitá nah tá sám ka yóh ka rudráya vasmî.*

The medicines which our father Manu chose, those I desire, the health and wealth of Rudra.

i. 189, 2. *bháva tokāya tánayāya sām yóh.*

Be to our offspring health and wealth !

iv. 12, 5. *yákkha tokāya tánayāya sām yóh.*

Give to our offspring health and wealth !

v. 69, 3. *īle tokāya tánayāya sām yóh.*

I ask for our offspring health and wealth.

vi. 50, 7. *dháta tokāya tánayāya sām yóh.*

Give to our offspring health and wealth !

x. 182, 1. *átha karat yágamânāya sām yóh.*

May he then produce for the sacrificer health and wealth.

vii. 69, 5. *téna nah sām yóh—ní asvinâ vahatam.*

On that chariot bring to us, *Asvins*, health and wealth.

iii. 17, 3. *átha bhava yágamânāya sām yóh.*

Then, *Agni*, be health and wealth to the sacrificer.

iii. 18, 4. *brihát váyah sasamânéshu dhehi, revát agne visvāmitreshu sām yóh.*

Give, *Agni*, much food to those who praise thee, give to the *Visvāmitras* richly health and wealth.

x. 15, 4. *átha nah sām yóh arapáh dadhâta.*

And give us health and wealth without a flaw ! Cf. x. 59, 8.

x. 37, 11. *tát asmé sām yóh arapáh dadhâtana.*

And give to us health and wealth without a flaw !

v. 47, 7. *tát astu mitra-varunâ tát agne sām yóh asmábhyam 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. *vrishtví sām yóh āpah usrí bheshagám syāma marutah sahá.*

Let us be together, O *Maruts*, after health, wealth, water, and medicine have been showered down in the morning.

viii. 39, 4. *sám ka yóh ka máyah dadhe.*

He gave health, wealth, and happiness.

viii. 71, 15. *agním sām yóh ka dātave.*

We ask *Agni* to give us health and wealth.

x. 9, 4. *sām yóh 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. *súshmaḥ iyarti*, we must take it as an independent phrase, and translate it by 'my strength rises.' For *súshma*, 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 *súshma* by strong. But even there it is better to keep to the general meaning of *súshma*, 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. *stómân iyarmi abhríyâ-iva vâtaḥ.*

I stir up hymns as the wind stirs the clouds.

x. 116, 9. *su-vakasyám iyarmi síndhau-iva prá îrayam nâvam.*

I stir up sweet praise, as if rowing a ship on the river.

In the sense of rising it occurs,

x. 140, 2. *pâvakâ-varkâḥ sukrâ-varkâḥ ânûna-varkâḥ út iyarshi bhânúnâ.*

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 *súshma* 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 *antamébhiḥ* by horses, as Sâyana does, but there is no authority for it. *Svá-kshatra* is an adjective, meaning endowed with independent strength, synonymous with *svá-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 *etân*. If the accent had not been preserved by the tradition of the schools, the later interpreters would certainly have taken *etân* for the demonstrative pronoun. As it is, in spite of accent and termination, *Sâyana* in i. 166, 10, seems to take *étâh* for *eté*. In other passages, however, *Sâyana*, too, has perceived the difference, and in i. 169, 6, he explains the word very fully as *prishadvarnâ gantâro vâ asvâ vâ*. In this passage the *Etas* are clearly the deer of the Maruts, the *Prishatîs*:

i. 169, 6. *ádha yát eshâm prithu-budhnâsah étâh*.

In the next verse, however, *éta* seems applied to the Maruts themselves:

i. 169, 7. *prâti ghorânâm étânâm ayâsâm marûtâm srinve â-yatâm upabdîh*.

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 *éta* 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. *Mâhah-bhih*, 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 prithivīm utá dyām mítra-râgânâ varunâ máhah-bhih.

Kings Mitra and Varuna, you have supported heaven and earth by your powers.

vii. 3, 7. tébbih nah agne ámitaih máhah-bhih satám pûr-bhíh âyasibhih ní pâhi.

With those immeasurable powers, O Agni, protect us, with a hundred iron strongholds.

i. 90, 2. té—máhah-bhih, vratâ rakshante visvâhâ.

They always protect the laws by their powers.

vii. 71, 1. tvám nah agne máhah-bhih pâhí.

Protect us, Agni, with thy power.

In other passages, however, we see máhah-bhih used of the light or of the flames of Agni and of the dawn :

iv. 14, 1. deváh rókamânah máhah-bhih.

Agni, the god, brilliant with his powers.

vi. 64, 2. devi rókamânâ máhah-bhih.

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-pra gâyante—máhah-bhih.

The Maruts are born with their powers.

vii. 58, 2. prá yé máhah-bhih ógasâ 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 *ánamam*. Out of the four passages in which *badha-snaíh* 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 ¹. See vii. 39, 6. *sakshîmâhi yúgyebhih nú devaíh*.

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. *táthâ ít asat índra krátvâ yáthâ vásaḥ*.

May it be so, O Indra, as thou desirest by thy mind.

viii. 66, 4. *vagrí—ít karat índraḥ krátvâ yáthâ vásat*.

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 *verethraghna* in *Zend* means victory in general, though originally it meant the slaying of *Vritra*.

Verse 9, note ¹. *Devátâ* 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, *devâh devátayâ* means, O gods, by your godhead, i. e. by your divine power. In x. 98, 1, *brîhaspate práti me devátâm ihi*, I take *devátâ* in the same sense as *devátâti*, and translate, O *Brihaspati*, come to my sacrifice.

In all other places where *devátâ* 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 *devátâ* a different meaning :

i. 55, 3. *prá vîryēna devátâ áti kekite.*

He is pre-eminent among the gods by his strength.

i. 22, 5. *sáh kēttâ devátâ padám.*

He knows the place among the gods.

i. 100, 15. *ná yásya devâh devátâ ná mártâh āpah kaná sāvasaḥ ántam āpúh.*

He, the end of whose power neither the gods among the gods, nor mortals, nor even the waters have reached.

Here the translation of *devátâ* in the sense of 'by their godhead,' would be equally applicable, yet nothing would be gained as, in either case, *devátâ* is a weak repetition.

vi. 4., 7. *índram ná tvâ sāvasaḥ devátâ vâyúm prizanti rádhasâ nrî-tamáh.*

The best among men celebrate thee, O *Agni*, as like unto *Indra* in strength among the gods, as like unto *Vâyú* in liberality.

Verse 9, note ². The juxta-position of *gāyamānah* and *gâtâh* 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 *Pāvamânîs* (ix. 67) we read :

yan me garbhe vasataḥ pāpam ugram,
yag gāyamānasya ka kimkid anyat,
gātasya ka yak kâpi vardhato me,
tat pāvamânîbhir aham punâmi.

Verse 9, note ³. *Karishyā* 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, *karishyām* standing for *kāryām*, *faciendum*. It would be much easier, however, to explain this form if we added the Visarga, and read *karishyāḥ*, 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 nūnām yāt indriyām karishyāḥ indra paūmsyam, adyā nākih 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 *dadhṛishvān* 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-vātáyantaḥ* 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 *asmán* (which is here used as an amphimacer), the sacrificers or the Maruts? The verb *â kakré* would well apply to the *medhã mânyásya*, the hymn of *Mánya*, which is intended to bring the Maruts to the sacrifice, this bringing to the sacrifice being the very meaning of *â kar*. But then we have the vocative *marutaḥ* 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 *asmán* 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 *Mândârya Mánya*, 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 *kakré* 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 *Mândârya Mánya* 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 *Mánya*, and the rest added at some solemn occasion.

Other difficulties, however, remain. *Duvasyāt* is taken by *Sâyana* as an ablative of *duvasyá*, worthy of *dúvas*, i. e. of worship, of sacrifice. Unfortunately this *duvasyá* does not occur again, though it would be formed quite regularly, like *namasyá*, worthy of worship, from *námas*, 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 *dú* in the sense of acting, or sedulously working. It exists in Zend as *du*, to do, in Gothic as *táujan*, *gataujan*, Old High German *zaujan*, Modern German *zauen* (Grimm, Gram. i². p. 1041). The Gothic *tavi*, opus, Old High German *zouwi*, Middle High German *gezöuwe* (Grimm, Gram. iii. p. 499), come from the same source; and it is possible, too, that the Old Norse *töfrar*, incantamenta, the Old High German *zoupar*, Middle High German *zouber*, both neuter, and the modern *Zauber*, 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. *duvasyáta—gátá-vedasam*.

Worship *Gâtavedas*.

v. 28, 6. *ã guhota duvasyáta agním*.

Invoke, worship Agni. Cf. iii. 13, 3; i. 13.

iii. 3, 1. *agníh hí deván—duvasyáti*.

Agni performs the worship of the gods. Cf. vii. 82, 5.

i. 167, 6. *sutá-somah duvasyán*.

He who has poured out Soma and worships.

In many passages *duvasyati* is joined with an instrumental:

v. 42, 11. *námaḥ-bhiḥ devám—duvasya.*

Worship the god with praises.

i. 78, 2. *tám u tvâ gótamaḥ girá—duvasyati.*

Gotama worships thee with a song.

v. 49, 2. *su-uktaíḥ devám—duvasya.*

Worship the god with hymns.

vi. 16, 46. *vítí yáḥ devám—duvasyét.*

He who worships the god with food.

x. 14, 1. *yamám—havíshâ duvasya.*

Worship Yama with an oblation.

vi. 15, 6. *agním-agnim vaḥ samídhâ duvasyata.*

Worship Agni with your log of wood. Cf. viii. 44, 1.

iii. 1, 2. *samít-bhiḥ agním námasâ 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. *anehásaḥ stúbhaḥ índraḥ duvasyati.*

Indra provides for the matchless worshippers.

i. 112, 15. *kalím yâbhiḥ—duvasyáthaḥ.*

By the succours with which you help Kali. Cf. i. 112, 21.

i. 62, 10. *duvasyánti svásâraḥ áhrayânam.*

The sisters attend the proud (Agni).

i. 119, 10. *yuvám pedáve—svetám—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 *διακομῆιν*; and if we take *duvâs*, 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. *Duvasyât* may be, as *Sâyana* suggests, an ablative of *duvasyâ*; and

* Kar in the sense of officiating at a sacrifice is equally construed with a dative, x. 97, 22. *yásmái kṛinóti bráhmaṇáḥ*, he for whom a *Bráhmaṇa* performs a sacrifice.

duvasyá, like namasyā, 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 duvāse 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 marutaḥ, to judge from its accent, can only be a vocative. Thus we read:

i. 138, 4. ó (íti) sú tvâ vavritîmahî stómebhiḥ.

May we turn thee quickly hither by our praises!

viii. 7, 33. ó (íti) sú vrîshnah—vavriyām.

May I turn the heroes quickly hither!

Compare also passages like iii. 33, 8:

ó (íti) sú svasâraḥ kârâve srinota.

Listen quickly, O sisters, to the poet.

i. 139, 7. ó (íti) sú nah 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 kârú, the poet, whose hymn is supposed to attract the gods to the sacrifice. By a quick transition, the next words, marutaḥ 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 Mânya, the son of Mâna, because the poet, so called in i. 189, 8, is in all probability the same as our Mândârya Mânya.

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 *tanvê vayām* with the following words, and it certainly seems more difficult to elicit any sense if we join them with the preceding words.

Ã *ishã* * *yâsishã* might be rendered, 'Come hither with water or drink or rain,' *yâsishã* being the aorist without the augment and with the intermediate vowel lengthened. The indicative occurs in

v. 58, 6. *yât prã áyâsishã prishatîbhih ásvaih.*

When you Maruts come forth with your fallow deer and your horses.

But what is the meaning of *vayām*? *Vayã* means a germ, a sprout, an offshoot, a branch, as may be seen from the following passages :

ii. 5, 4. *vidvãñ asya vratã dhruvã vayãh-iva ánu rohate.*

He who knows his eternal laws, springs up like young sprouts.

vi. 7, 6. *tãsyã ít ûm (íti) vísvã bhúvanã ádhi mûrdhãni vayãh-iva ruruhuh.*

From above the head of Vaisvanara all worlds have grown, like young sprouts.

viii. 13, 6. *stotã—vayãh-iva ánu rohate.*

The worshipper grows up like young sprouts.

viii. 13, 17. *índram kshomñh avardhayan vayãh-iva.*

The people made Indra to grow like young sprouts.

viii. 19, 33. *yãsyã te agne anyé agnáyah upa-kshítah vayãh-iva.*

Agni, of whom the other fires are like parasitical shoots.

i. 59, 1. *vayãh ít agne agnáyah te anyé.*

O Agni, the other fires are indeed offshoots of thee.

ii. 35, 8. *vayãh ít anyã bhúvanãni asya.*

The other worlds are indeed his (the rising sun's) offshoots.

vi. 13, 1. *tvát vísvã—saúbhagãni ágne ví yanti vanínah ná vayãh.*

From thee, O Agni, spring all happinesses, as the sprouts of a tree.

* There was a misprint in the Sanhitã text, *eshã* instead of *éshã*, which was afterwards repeated whenever the same verse occurred again.

vi. 24, 3. *vrikshásya nú (ná?) té—vayáh ví útáyah ruruhuh.*
Succours sprang from thee, like the branches of a tree.

v. 1, 1. *yahváh-iva prá vayám ut-gñhânâh prá bhânávañ*
sisrate nâkam ákka.

Like birds (?) flying up to a branch, the flames of Agni went up to heaven.

vi. 57, 5. *tâm pûshnâh su-matím vayám vrikshásya prá*
vayám-iva índrasya ka á rabhâmahe.

Let us reach this favour of Pûshan and of Indra, as one reaches forth to the branch of a tree.

There remain some doubtful passages in which *vayá* occurs, vii. 40, 5, and x. 92, 3; 134, 6. In the first passage, as in our own, *vayáh* is trisyllabic.

If *vayá* 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 *tanvê*. '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 *vayám*. In vi. 2, 5, the expression *vayávantam ksháyam*, a house with branches, means the same as *nrvántam*, a house with children and men. See M. M., On *Bíos* and *váyas*, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xv. p. 215.

If the third *pâda* is to be kept as an independent sentence, we must take *yâsîshã* as the third pers. sing. of the benedictive, and refer it to *stómah* or *gñh*. 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. *Vrigána* means an enclosure, a *νομός*, whether it be derived from *vrig*, to ward off, like *arx* from *arcere*, or from *vrig*, in the sense of clearing, as in *vrikta-barhis*, *barhíh prá vriñge*, 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 *vrigána* will be discussed in other places.

MANDALA I, SŪKTA 166.

ASHṬAKA II, ADHYĀYA 4, VARGA 1-3.

1. Tāt nū vokāma rabhasāya gānmane pūrvam mahi-tvām vṛishabhāsya ketāve, aidhā-iva yāman marutaḥ tuvi-svanah yudhā-iva sakrāḥ tavishāni kartana.

2. Nītyam nā sūnūm mādhu bibhrataḥ úpa krīlanti krīlāḥ vidātheshu ghrīshvayah, nākshanti rudrāḥ ávasā namasvīnam nā mardhanti svā-tavasaḥ havih-krītam.

3. Yāsmāi ūmāsah amritāḥ árāsata ráyāḥ pósham ka havishā dadāsúshe, ukshānti asmai marutaḥ hitāḥ-iva purú rágāmsi páyasā mayah-bhúvah.

4. Ā yé rágāmsi távishībhiḥ ávyata prá vah évāsah svā-yatāsah adhragan, bháyante vísvā bhúvanāni harmyā kitrāḥ vah yāmah prá-yatāsu rishṭīshu.

5. Yāt tveshā-yāmāḥ nadáyanta párvatān divāḥ vā prishthām náryā * ákukyavuh, vísvah vah ágman bhayate vānaspátih rathiyāntī-iva prá gihīte óshadhīh.

6. Yūyām nah ugrāḥ marutaḥ su-ketúnā árishta-grāmāḥ su-matīm pipartana, yātra vah didyút rádati krīvih-datī rināti pasvāḥ sūdhitā-iva barhánā.

* náryāḥ

HYMN TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Let us now proclaim for the robust¹ host, for the herald² 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!³

2. Like parents bringing sweet to¹ their own² 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 stirred¹ up the clouds with might, your horses rushed² forth, self-guided. All beings who dwell in houses³ 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,¹ 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,² quick like chariots.³

6. You, O terrible Maruts, whose ranks are never broken, favourably¹ fulfil our prayer!² Wherever your gory-toothed³ lightning bites,⁴ it crunches⁵ all living beings, like a well-aimed bolt.⁶

7. *Prá skambhá-deshnâh anavabhra-râdhasah alâ-trinâsah vidâtheshu sú-stutâh, ârkanti arkâm madi-râsya pîtâye vidûh virâsya prathamâni paúmsyâ.*

8. *Satâbhugi-bhih tám abhî-hruteh aghât pûh-bhîh rakshata marutah yám âvata, gânam yám ugrâh tavasah vi-rapsinah pâthâna sâmsât tâna-yasya pushtîshu.*

9. *Vîsvâni bhadrâ marutah râtheshu vah mitha-sprîdhyâ-iva tavishâni â-hitâ, âmseshu â vah prá-patheshu khâdâyah âkshah vah kakrâ samâyâ ví vavrite.*

10. *Bhûrîni bhadrâ nâryeshu bâhúshu vâkshah-su rukmâh rabhasâsah aṅgâyah, âmseshu étâh pavîshu kshurâh âdhi váyah ná pakshân ví ânu srîyah dhire.*

11. *Mahântah mahnâ vi-bhvâh ví-bhûtayah dûre-drîsah yé divyâh-iva strî-bhih, mandrâh sugihvâh svâritârah âsâ-bhih sám-mislâh índre marútah pari-stúbhah.*

12. *Tât vah su-gâtâh marutah mahi-tvanám dirghám vah dâtrám âditeh-iva vratám, índrah kaná tyâgasâ ví hrunâti tát gânáya yâsmai sukrîte ârâdhvam.*

13. *Tât vah gâmi-tvám marutah páre yugé purú yát sâmsam amritâsah âvata, ayâ dhiyâ*

7. The Maruts whose gifts are firm, whose bounties are never ceasing, who do not revile,¹ and who are highly praised at the sacrifices, they sing forth their song² 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 injury¹ 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 weapons¹ are piled up clashing against each other. When you are on your journeys, you carry the rings² on your shoulders, and your axle turns the two wheels at once.³

10. In your manly arms there are many good things, on your chests golden chains,¹ flaring² ornaments, on your shoulders speckled deer-skins,³ on your fellies sharp edges;⁴ as birds spread their wings, you spread out your splendour behind you.

11. They, mighty by might, all pervading, powerful,¹ visible from afar like the heavens² with the stars, sweet-toned, soft-tongued singers with their mouths,³ the Maruts, united with Indra, shout all around.

12. This is your greatness,¹ O well-born Maruts!—your bounty² extends as far as the sway³ of Aditi.⁴ Not even⁵ Indra in his scorn⁶ 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 srushtím ávya sákám nárah damsánaiḥ á kikitrire.

14. Yéna dīrghám marutah susávāma yush-mākena párīnasā turāsah, á yát tatānan vrigāne gánāsah ebhīh yagñébhīh tát abhí íshitim asyām.

15. Esháh vah stómah marutah iyám gīh mândâr-yásya mânyásya kâróh, á ishā yásishtha tanvê vayām vidyāma ishám vrigānam gírā-dānum.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Agastya, the reputed son of Mitrâvarunau, and brother of Vasishtha. The metre in verses 1-13 is *Gagatî*, in 14, 15 *Trishtubh*.

Verse 1, note ¹. Rabhasá, an adjective of rábhas, and this again from the root rabh, to rush upon a thing, â-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 *snél*, which, from meaning originally strong, comes to mean in modern German quick, and quick only. Thus we read:

i. 145, 3. *sísuḥ á adatta sám rábhaḥ*.

The child (Agni) acquired vigour.

Indra is called *rabhaḥ-dâh*, giver of strength; and *rabhasá*, 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 Māndārya, the son of Māna, the poet, approach you (asking) for offspring to our body together with food! May we find food, and a camp with running water!

in v. 58, 5, are called *rābhishtāh*, 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. *ādha enam vṛikāh rabhasāsaḥ adyūh*.

May rabid wolves eat him!

In the next verse *rabhasā*, the epithet of the wolves, is replaced by *āsiva*, which means unlucky, uncanny.

In our hymn *rabhasā* occurs once more, and is applied there, in verse 10, to the *añgī* or glittering ornaments of the Maruts. Here Sāyana 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 *aidh*, flaming, or flame, and derive it from the root *idh*, to kindle, with the preposition *â*. Professor Bollensen 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 *tavishāni 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 *aidhé | va* and *yudhé | va*. Both are infinitives, *aidh* is nothing but the root *idh* + *â*, 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 *yudhé-iva*, though it might become *yudhá iva*, would never in the Veda become *yudhéva*.

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 *yúdh* is a verbal noun and means fighting. We have the accusative *yúdhām*, i. 53, 7; the genitive *yudhāh*, viii. 27, 17; the dative *yudhé*, i. 61, 13; the locative *yudhí*, i. 8, 3; the instrumental *yudhā*, i. 53, 7, &c.; loc. plur. *yut-sú*, i. 91, 21. As long as *yúdh* retains the general predicative meaning of fighting, some of these cases may be called infinitives. But *yúdh* soon assumes not only the meaning of battle, battle-ground, but also of instrument of fighting, weapon. In another passage, x. 103, 2, *yúdhāh* may be taken as a vocative plural, meaning fighters. Passages in which *yúdh* means clearly weapon, are, for instance,

v. 52, 6. *ā rukmaíh ā yudhā nárah rishvāh rishīh asrikshata*.

With your gold chains, with your weapon, you have stretched forth the uplifted spears.

x. 55, 8. pītvī sómasya diváh ā vridhánáh sūrah níh yudhá adhamat dásyún.

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 yúdh in our passage also in the sense of weapon or sword, and, in accordance with this, I assign to aídh the meaning of torch. Whether aídh comes from idh with the preposition á, which after all, would only give edh, or whether we have in the Sanskrit aídh 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 imám yagnám ā vahâtaḥ índram.

Bring Indra to this sacrifice!

i. 25, 4. váyah ná vasatīḥ úpa.

As birds (fly) to their nests.

Verse 2, note ². Nítya, from ni + tya, means originally what is inside, *internus*, then what is one's own; and is opposed to níshtya, from nis + tya, what is outside, strange, or hostile. Nítya has been well compared with nigá, literally

* Schleicher, Compendium, § 36, *αἶθω, αἰθήρ, αἰθουσα*; and § 49, *aides, aidiús, aestas*.

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 tvâ nárah dáme ā nítyam iddhám ágne sákanta kshitishu dhruvāsu.*

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. *dakshāyyah yáh dáme āsa 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 *sūnú*, i. 66, 1; 185, 2; *tánaya*, iii. 15, 2; x. 39, 14; *toká*, ii. 2, 11; *âpí*, vii. 88, 6; *páti*, i. 71, 1, and has always the meaning of one's own, very much like the later Sanskrit *niga*, which never occurs in the Rig-veda, though it makes its appearance in the *Ātharvana*.

Nishtya, *extraneous*, occurs three times in the Rig-veda :

vi. 75, 19. *yáh nah sváh áranah yáh ka nishtyah gíghāmsati.*

Whoever wishes to hurt us, our own friend or a stranger from without.

x. 133, 5. *yáh nah indra abhi-dāsati sá-nābhih yáh ka nishtyah.*

He who infests us, O Indra, whether a relative or a stranger.

viii. 1, 13. *mā bhūma nishtyâh-iva indra tvád áranâh-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).²

Verse 4, note ¹. *Ávyata*, a Vedic second aorist of *vî* (*ag*), to stir up, to excite. From it *pravayana*, a goad, pra-vetar, a driver. The Greek *οἰ-σ-τρος*, gad-fly, has been referred to the same root. See Fick, *Wörterbuch*, p. 170.

Verse 4, note ². *Adhragan*, from *dhrag*, a root which, by metathesis of aspiration, would assume the form of *dragh* or *dragh*. In Greek, the final medial aspirate being hardened, reacts on the initial media, and changes it to *t*, as *bâhu* becomes *πῆχυς*, *budh* *πυθ*, *bandh* *πενθ*. This would give us *τρεχ*, the Greek root for running, Goth. *thrag-jan*.

Verse 4, note ³. *Harmyá* is used here as an adjective to *bhúvana*, 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 *ædes*. 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 *harmyá*, which is the Zend *zairimya**, or *gharmá*, which is the Latin *formus*. Thus we read :

vii. 56, 16. *té harmye-stháh sísavah ná subhráh.*

The Maruts bright like boys standing by the hearth.

From meaning fire-pit, or hearth, *harmyá* afterwards takes the more general sense of house :

vii. 55, 6. *téshám sám hanmah aksháñi yáthâ idám harmyám táthâ.*

We shut their eyes as we shut this house, (possibly, this oven.)

vii. 76, 2. *pratíkí á agát ádhi harmyébhyañ.*

The dawn comes near, over the house-tops.

x. 46, 3. *gátáh á harmyéshu.*

Agni, born in the houses.

x. 73, 10. *manyóñ iyâya harmyéshu tasthau.*

He came from Manyu, he remained in the houses.

In some of these passages *harmyá* might be taken in the sense of householder ; but as *harmyá* 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 *harmyá* 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 *Sushna*, who was anxious to fight, in the darkness of the pit.

In the next verse we find

asúryé támasi, in the ghastly darkness.

viii. 5, 23. *yuvám kánvâya násatyâ ápi-riptâya harmyé sásvat útíñ dasasyathañ.*

You, *Násatyas*, always grant your aid to *Kanva* when thrown into the pit.

* Justi, Handbuch, p. 119, *zairimyañura*, 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 Aṣvins, is likewise called gharma; i. 112, 7; 119, 6; viii. 73, 3; x. 80, 3.

Lastly we find:

x. 114, 10. *yadā yamáh bhávati harmyé hitáh.*

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).'

Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. ii. p. 234: 'Die ihr die Luft erfüllt mit eurer Kraft, hervorstürmt ihr selbst-gelenkten Laufes.'

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 vah ágman á nánadati párvatásaḥ vánaśpátih, bhūmih yāmeshu 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.

Sâyana explains it, like a woman who wishes for a chariot, or who rides in a chariot. I join it with óshadhi, and take it in the sense of upamânâd âkâre (Pân. 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 Pada has rathiyântî, whereas the more regular form is that of the Sanhitâ, rathîyântî. Cf. Prâtisâkhyâ, 587.

Verse 6, note ¹. Su-ketúnâ, the instrumental of su-ketú, kindness, good-mindedness, favour. This word occurs in the instrumental only, and always refers to the kindness of the gods; not, like sumatî, to the kindness of the worshipper also :

i. 79, 9. â nah agne su-ketúnâ rayim visvâyu-poshasam, mârdâkâm dhehi gîvâse.

Give us, O Agni, through thy favour wealth which supports our whole life, give us grace to live.

i. 127, 11. sâh nah nédishtam dádrisânâh â bhara âgne devébhih sâ-kanâh su-ketúnâ mahâh râyâh su-ketúnâ.

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. asmâbhyam dyâvâprithivî (íti) su-ketúnâ rayim dhattam vásu-mantam sata-gvînam.

Give to us, O Dyâvâprithivî, by your favour, wealth, consisting of treasures and many flocks.

v. 51, 11. svastî dyâvâprithivî (íti) su-ketúnâ.

Give us, O Dyâvâprithivî, happiness through your favour !

v. 64, 2. tâ bâhâvâ su-ketúnâ prá yantam asmai ârkate.

Stretch out your arms with kindness to this worshipper !

In one passage of the ninth Mandala (ix. 65, 30) we meet with su-ketúnâ, as an accusative, referring to Soma, the gracious, and this would pre-suppose a substantive ketúna, which, however, does not exist.

Verse 6, note ². Sumatî 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 bhíkshamânâh.*

Begging for thy favour.

i. 171, 1. *su-ukténa bhikshe su-matím turânâm.*

With a hymn I beg for the favour of the quick Maruts.

i. 114, 3. *asyâma te su-matím.*

May we obtain thy favour ! Cf. i. 114, 9.

i. 114, 4. *su-matím ít vayám asya â vrinâmahe.*

We choose his favour. Cf. iii. 33, 11.

i. 117, 23. *sádâ kavî (íti) su-matím â kake vâm.*

I always desire your favour, O ye wise Asvins.

i. 156, 3. *mahâh te vishno (íti) su-matím bhagâmahe.*

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 râsi vásvah.*

Thou grantest the favour of wealth.

vii. 39, 1. *ûrdhvâh agnîh su-matím vásvah asret.*

The lighted fire went up for the favour of wealth.

Cf. vii. 60, 11 ; ix. 97, 26.

iii. 57, 6. *vâso (íti) râsva su-matím visvá-ganyâm.*

Grant us, O Vasu, thy favour, which is glorious among men !

vii. 100, 2. *tvâm vishno (íti) su-matím visvá-ganyâm—dâh.*

Mayest thou, Vishnu, give thy favour, which is glorious among men !

x. 11, 7. *yâh te agne su-matím mártah ákshat.*

The mortal who obtained thy favour, O Agni.

ii. 34, 15. *arvâkî sâ marutah yâ vah útîh ó (íti) sú vâsrâ-iva su-matíh gigâtu.*

Your help, O Maruts, which is to usward, your favour may it come near, like a cow !

viii. 22, 4. *asmân ákha su-matíh vâm subhah patí (íti) â dhenúh-iva dhâvatu.*

May your favour, O Asvins, hasten towards us, like a cow !

But this meaning is by no means the invariable meaning of *sumatī*, 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) *kétantī su-matīnām*, this can only mean she who knows of the prayers, as before she is called *kodayitrī sūnṛitānām*, she who excites songs of praise :

i. 151, 7. *ákkha gírah su-matīm gantam asma-yŷ (íti)*.

Come towards the songs, towards the prayer, you who are longing for us. Cf. x. 20, 10.

ii. 43, 3. *tŷshnŷm áśīnah su-matīm kikiddhi nah*.

Sitting quiet, listen, O *Sakuni* (bird), to our prayer !

v. 1, 10. *á bhândishthasya su-matīm kikiddhi*.

Take notice of the prayer of thy best praiser ! Cf. v. 33, 1.

vii. 18, 4. *á nah índrah su-matīm gantu ákkha*.

May *Indra* come to our prayer !

vii. 31, 10. *prá-ketase prá su-matīm krinudhvam*.

Make a prayer for the wise god !

ix. 96, 2. *su-matīm yāti ákkha*.

He (*Soma*) goes near to the prayer.

x. 148, 3. *ríshínám víprah su-matīm kakánáh*.

Thou, the wise, desiring the prayer of the *Rishis*.

viii. 22, 6. *tá vām adyá sumatī-bhih subhah patī (íti) ásvinâ prá stuvŷmahī*.

Let us praise to-day the glorious *Asvins* with our prayers.

ix. 74, 1. *tám ímahe su-matŷ*.

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. *á nah kāmam pūpurantu* ; i. 158, 2. *kāmapréna-iva mánasâ*. On *sumná*, see *Aufrecht*, in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. iv. p. 274.

Verse 6, note ³. *Krívih-datī* has been a crux to ancient and modern interpreters. It is mentioned as a difficult word in the *Nighantu*, and all that *Yâska* has to say is that it means possessed of cutting teeth ; (*Nir.* vi. 30. *krivirdatī 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 *dant*, tooth.' Sâyana contents himself with explaining *krivirdatî* by *vikshepanasîladantî*, having teeth that scatter about.

My own translation is founded on the supposition that *krivis*, the first portion of *krivirdatî*, has nothing to do with *krivi*, but is a dialectic variety of *kravis*, raw flesh, the Greek *κρέας*, Latin *caro*, *cruor*. It means what is raw, bloody, or gory. From it the adjective *krûra*, horrible, *cruentus*; (Curtius, *Grundzüge*, p. 142; Kuhn, *Zeitschrift*, vol. ii. p. 235.) A name of the goddess Durgâ in later Sanskrit is *krûradantî*, and with a similar conception the lightning, I believe, is here called *krivirdatî*, with gory teeth.

Verse 6, note ⁴. It should be observed that in *râdati* the simile of the teeth of the lightning is carried on. For *râdati* may be supposed to have had in the Veda, too, the original meaning of *râdere* and *rôdere*, 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. *gôh ná pārva ví rada tiraskâ*.

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 *râd*, to give, and which Justi rightly identifies with the root *râdh*.

This meaning is evident in the following passages:

vii. 79, 4. *tâvat ushaḥ rādhaḥ asmâbhyam râsva yâvat stotri-bhyaḥ âradaḥ grinânâ*.

Grant us, Ushas, so much wealth as thou hast given to the singers.

i. 116, 7. *kakshîvate aradatam pûram-dhim*.

You gave wisdom to Kakshîvat.

i. 169, 8. *râda marût-bhiḥ surûdhaḥ gô-agrâḥ*.

Give to the Maruts gifts, rich in cattle.

vii. 62, 3. *ví nah saháśram surúdhah radantu.*
 May they (the gods) give to us a thousand gifts.

i. 117, 11. *vāgam víprāya—rádantâ.*

Giving sustenance to the sage !

vi. 61, 6. *rāda pūshā-iva nah saním.*

Give us, Sarasvatî, wealth, like Pūshan !

ix. 93, 4. *rada índo (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. *yát âbhyah áradaḥ gâtúm indra.*

That thou hast cut a way for them (the rivers).

iv. 19, 2. *prá vartanīḥ aradaḥ visvá-dhenâḥ.*

Thou (Indra) hast cut open the paths for all the cows.

vii. 47, 4. *yābhyah índrah áradat gâtúm.*

The rivers for which Indra cut a way.

x. 75, 2. *prá te aradat várunah yátave patháh.*

Varuna cut the paths for thee to go.

vii. 87, 1. *rádat patháh várunah sūryāya.*

Varuna cut paths for Sūrya.

v. 80, 3. *patháh rádantî suvitāya devī.*

She, the dawn, cutting open the paths for wealth.

vii. 60, 4. *yásmai âdityāḥ ádhvanah rádanti.*

For whom the Âdityas cut roads.

ii. 30, 2. *patháh 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. *índrah asmán aradat vágra-bāhuḥ.* Cf. x. 89, 7.

Verse 6, note ⁵. *Rināti*, like the preceding expressions *krírvdatî* and *rādati*, 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. *purūni dasmáh ní rinâti gâmbhaih.*

Agni crunches many things with his jaws.

i. 127, 4. *sthirã kit ánnâ ní rinâti ógasâ.*

Even tough morsels he (Agni) crunches fiercely.

In a more general sense we find it used,

v. 41, 10. *sokíh-kesah ní rinâti vánâ.*

Agni with flaming hair swallows or destroys the forests.

iv. 19, 3. *áhim vágrena ví rinâh.*

Thou destroyedst Ahi with the thunderbolt.

x. 120, 1. *sadyáh gagñánáh ní rinâti sátrûn.*

As soon as born he destroys his enemies.

Verse 6, note ⁶. *Súdhita-iva barhánâ.* I think the explanation of this phrase given by *Sâyana* may be retained. He explains *súdhitâ* by *suhitâ*, i. e. *sushthu* *peritâ*, well thrown, well levelled, and *barhánâ* by *hatis*, *tatsâdhanâ* *hetir vâ*, a blow or its instrument, a weapon. Professor *Roth* takes *barhánâ* as an instrumental, used adverbially, in the sense of powerfully, but he does not explain in what sense *súdhitâ-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-dhitâ* ever used as a substantive so as to take the place of *svâdhitîva*. *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 sú-dhitah á-sadhá-sthe.*

Agni produced by rubbing, and well placed in his abode.

vii. 42, 4. *sú-prítah agníh sú-dhitah dáme á.*

Agni, who is cherished and well placed in the house.

iii. 29, 2. *arányoh ní-hitah gâtá-vedâh gârbhah-iva sú-dhitah garbhínîshu.*

Agni placed in the two fire-sticks, well placed like an embryo in the mothers. Cf. x. 27, 16.

viii. 60, 4. *abhí práyâmsi sú-dhitâ â vaso (íti) gahi.*

Come, O Vasu, to these well-placed offerings. Cf. i. 135, 4; vi. 15, 15; x. 53, 2.

x. 70, 8. *sú-dhitâ havîmshi.*

The well-placed offerings.

iv. 2, 10 (*adhvarám*). vii. 7, 3 (*barhîh*).

As applied to *âyus*, life, *súdhita* may be translated by well established, safe :

ii. 27, 10. *asyâma âyûmshi sú-dhitâni pûrvâ.*

May we obtain the happy long lives of our forefathers.

iv. 50, 8. *sâh ít ksheti sú-dhitaâ 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-dhitâ—rishîh.*

To whom the well held spear sticks fast.

vi. 33, 3. *tvám tân indra ubháyan amitrân dâsâ vritrâni âryâ ka sûra, vâdhîh vâna-iva sú-dhitebhih âtkaih.*

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-dhitât ádhi priyât ûm (íti) kit mânmanaâh préyaâh astu te.*

May this perfect prayer be more agreeable to thee than an imperfect one, though thou likest it.

vii. 32, 13. *mântram ákharvam sú-dhitam.*

A poem, not mean, well contrived.

As applied to men, *súdhita* means very much the same as *hitâ*, well disposed, kind :

iv. 6, 7. *ádha mitráh ná sú-dhitaâ pâvakâh agníh dîdâya mânushîshu vikshú.*

Then, like a kind friend, Agni shone among the children of man.

v. 3, 2. *mitráam sú-dhitam.*

vi. 15, 2. *mitráam ná yám sú-dhitam.*

viii. 23, 8. *mitráam ná gâne sú-dhitam ritâ-vani.*

x. 115, 7. *mitrāsaḥ ná yé sú-dhitâḥ.*

At last *sú-dhita*, without reference to human beings, takes the general sense of kind, good :

iii. 11, 8. *pári vísvâni sú-dhitâ agnêḥ asyâma mánma-bhiḥ.*

May we obtain through our prayers all the goods of Agni.

Here, however, *práyâmsi* 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 *súdhita*, as applied to weapons, means well held or well aimed, we can hardly doubt that *barhánâ* 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-bhrishtim ambhrinâm pisâkim indra sám mrina, sârvam rākshah ní barhaya.*

Pound together the fearful *Pisâki* with his fiery weapons, strike down every *Rakshas*.

ii. 23, 8. *brîhaspate deva-nídaḥ ní barhaya.*

Brihaspati strike down the scoffers of the gods. Cf. vi. 61, 3.

Barhánâ 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 *barhánâ* occurs at least once more :

viii. 63, 7. *yát pāñka-ganyayâ visâ índre ghóshâḥ ásri-kshata, ástrinât barhánâ vipáḥ.*

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 *barhánâ* an adverbial meaning, but I do not think that this meaning would be appropriate in our verse.

Verse 7, note ¹. *Alâtrinâsaḥ*, 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 meghaḥ*, the cloud which opens easily. This, at least, is the translation given by Professor *Roth*, though not without hesitation. *Alamâtardanaḥ*, as a compound, is

explained by the commentator as *âtardanaparyâptaḥ*, *alam âtardayitum udakam*, i. e. capable of letting off the water. But *Devarâgayagvan* explains it differently. He says: *alam paryâptam âtardanam himsâ yasya, bahûdakatvât sabalo meghe viseshyate*, i. e. whose injuring is great; the dark cloud is so called because it contains much water. *Sâyana*, 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. 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 *iritare**, thus showing a transition of meaning from barking, to provoking or attacking. The same root *râ* explains also the Latin *lâtrare*, to bark, *allâtrare*, to assail; and, whatever ancient etymologists may say to the contrary, the Latin *latro*, an assailer. The old derivation 'latrones eos

* Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. ix. p. 233.

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 *λάτρον*, pay, hire, would never have proved so fertile as *latro* has been in Latin.

If then we could write *alātrināśaḥ*, 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, *âtardanarahita*. What gives me some confidence in this explanation is this, that it is equally applicable to the other passage where *alātrina* occurs, iii. 30, 10 :

alātrināḥ valāḥ indra vragāḥ gōḥ purā hântoḥ bhāyamānaḥ ví âra.

Without barking did Vala, the keeper of the cow, full of fear, open, before thou struckest him.

If it should be objected that *vragā* means always stable, and is not used again in the sense of keeper, one might reply that *vragāḥ*, in the nom. sing., occurs in this one single passage only, and that *bhāyamānaḥ*, 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 *alātrinā* 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. *Abhī-hruti* seems to have the meaning of assault, injury, insult. It occurs but once, but *abhī-hrut*, a feminine substantive with the same meaning, occurs several times. The verb *hru*, which is not mentioned in the *Dhātupāṭha*, but has been identified with *hvar*, occurs in our hymn, verse 12 :

i. 128, 5. *sáh nah trâsate duh-itât abhi-hrútaḥ sámsât aghât abhi-hrútaḥ.*

He protects us from evil, from assaults, from evil speaking, from assaults.

x. 63, 11. *trāyadhvam nah duh-évâyâḥ abhi-hrútaḥ.*

Protect us from mischievous injury!

i. 189, 6. *abhi-hrútâm ási hí deva vishpát.*

For thou, god, art the deliverer from all assaults. *Vishpát*, deliverer, from *vi* and *spas*, to bind.

Ví-hruta, which occurs twice, means evidently what has been injured or spoiled:

viii. 1, 12. *íshkartâ ví-hrutam púnar (íti).*

He who sets right what has been injured. Cf. viii. 20, 26.

Ávi-hruta again clearly means uninjured, intact, entire:

v. 66, 2. *tā hí kshatrám ávi-hrutam—âsâte.*

For they both have obtained uninjured power.

x. 170, 1. *āyuh dādhat yagnā-patau ávi-hrutam.*

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 *bhadrá*, 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 *khâdis*, whatever they are, can be carried on the shoulders or not. We saw before (p. 102) that *khâdis* 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 *khâdis* are said to be worn on the shoulders:

vii. 56, 13. *ámseshu á marutah khâdáyah vah vákshah-su rukmâh upa-sisriyânâh.*

On your shoulders are the quoits, on your chests the golden chains are fastened.

In other places the khâdís 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. *á eshâm ámseshu rambhínî-iva rarabhe, hásteshu khâdíh ka kritíh 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 khâdí-hasta, holding the quoits in their hands. There is one passage which was mentioned before (p. 94), where the khâdís 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 khâdís are on your forefeet.' I do not think this emendation necessary. Though we do not know the exact shape and character of the khâdí, 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 khâdí. What, however, is quite certain is this, that khâdí 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 sarái 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 axle, and the axle acted on the wheels. Anyhow, no other translation seems possible. Samáyâ in the Veda means together, at once, and is the Greek *ὁμῆ*, generally *ὁμοῦ* or *ὁμῶς*, 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 syâvâh*—*nemím ní vavrituh*.

The ten black horses turn the felly or the wheel.

iv. 30, 2. *satrá te ánu krishtáyah vísvâh kakrá-iva vavrituh*.

All men turn always round thee, like wheels.

That the *Âtmanepada* of *vrit* may be used in an active sense we see from

i. 191, 15. *tátah vishám 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 *ἄξων ὁ(μῶν) κύκλω ὁμῆ*

Verse 10, note ¹. See i. 64, 4, note ¹, page 94. I ought to have mentioned there that in the *Âsvalâyana Srautasûtras* ix. 4, *rukma* occurs as the fee to be given to the Hotar, and is explained by *âbharanavishesho vrittâkârah*, a round ornament.

Verse 10, note ². See i. 166, 1, note ¹, page 200.

Verse 10, note ³. On *éta* in the sense of fallow deer, or, it may be, antelope, see i. 165, 5, note ³, page 185.

Éta originally means variegated, and thus becomes a name of any speckled deer, it being difficult to say what exact species is meant. *Sâyana* in our passage explains *étah* by *suklavarnâ mâlâh*, many-coloured wreaths or chains,

which may be right. Yet the suggestion of Professor Roth that *étâh*, 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 *Āsvalâyana's* *Grihya-sûtras*, of which we now possess an excellent edition by Professor Stenzler, and a reprint of the text and commentary by *Râma Nârâyana Vidyâratna*, 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 *Brâhmana* should wear the skin of an antelope (*aineya*), the *Kshatriya* the skin of a deer (*raurava*), the *Vaisya* the skin of a goat (*âga*). If they wore dresses, that of the *Brâhmana* should be dark red (*kâshâya*), that of the *Kshatriya* bright red (*mân̄gisht̄ha*), that of the *Vaisya* yellow (*hâridra*). The girdle of the *Brâhmana* should be of *Muñga* grass, that of the *Kshatriya* a bow-string, that of the *Vaisya* made of sheep's wool. The same regulations occur in other *Sûtras*, as, for instance, the *Dharma-sûtras* of the *Āpastambîyas* 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 *Āpastambîya-sûtras*, which have just been published by Professor *Bühler*, the *Brâhmana* may wear the skin of the *harina* deer; or that of the antelope (*aineyam*), but the latter must be from the black antelope (*krishnam*), 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 *kshumâ*,

* *Sana* is an old Aryan word, though its meanings differ. *Hesychius* and *Eustathius* mention *κάννα* as being synonymous with *ψίαθος*, reed. *Pollux* gives two forms, *κάννα* and *κάννα*, (*Pollux* x. 166. *πανάκα δὲ ἐστὶ ψίαθος ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀκαρίοις ἦν καὶ κάναν καλοῦσιν.* vii. 176. *κάνναι 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 (darbhâdinirmitam kîram kambalam). He then adds a curious remark, which would seem to show that the Brâhmanas preferred skins, and the Kshatriyas clothes, for he says that those who wish well to the Brâhmanas should wear *agîna*, 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-sûtras of the Gautamas, which were published in India, prescribe likewise for the Brâhmana the black antelope skin, and allow clothes of hemp or linen (*sâna-kshaumakîra*) as well as *kutapas* (woollen cloth) for all. What is new among the Gautamas is, that they add the *kârpâsa*, the cotton dress, which is important as showing

κάνναβις and *κάνναβος* or *κάνναβος*, a model, a lay figure, which Lobeck derives from *κάννα*. In Old Norse we have *hanp-r*, in A. S. *hænep*, hemp, Old High Germ. *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. *hænep*, the Old Norse *hanp-r*, 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. *kanapė*) from the Goths, the Celtic nations (Ir. *canasb*) 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.) *Κάνναβις* being a foreign word, it would be useless to attempt an explanation of the final element *bis*, 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 *κάνναβις* must be kept distinct from that of the Greek *κάννα* or *κάννα*, reed. Both spellings occur, for Pollux, x. 166, writes *πτανάκα δὲ ἐστὶ ψιὰθος ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀκατίοις ἦν καὶ κάναν καλοῦσιν*, but vii. 176, *κάννα δὲ τὸ ἐκ κανάβων πλέγμα*. This word *κάννα* 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 kshaumî 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 Brâhmana's dress should be taken from the bark of trees (vârksha). Manu, who here, as elsewhere, simply paraphrases the ancient Sûtras, says, ii. 41 :

kârshnarauravâstâni 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 *agina*, a word which does not occur in the Rig-veda, but which, if Bopp is right in deriving it from *agá*, goat, as *aiγís* from *aiξ*, 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 *aineya*, which Âsvalâyana ascribes to the Brâhmana, not, as we should expect, to the Kshatriya, if, as has been supposed, *aineya* is derived from *ena*, which is a secondary form, particularly in the feminine *enî*, 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 vātaḥ anu-vāti sokīḥ, vāptā-iva smāsrū vapasi prā 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. nāpita, 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, (*schneppfe*, 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 nāpita, proposed by Professor Weber (Kuhn's Beiträge, vol. i. p. 505), who takes nāpita 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-bhūtayaḥ 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 hī te vī-bhūtayaḥ ūtāyaḥ indra mā-vate sadyāḥ kit sānti 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-bhūtiḥ astu sūnritā.

May the prayer be powerful.

vi. 17, 4. mahām ānūnam tavāsam vī-bhūtim matsarāsaḥ 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 *svaṅg*, 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.

Vibhvāh, with the Svarita on the last syllable, has to be pronounced vibhūāh. In iii. 6, 9, we find vi-bhávaḥ.

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-tvanám, greatness, is formed by the suffix tvaná, which Professor Aufrecht has identified with the Greek σώνη (συνον); 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 prâtaḥ-ítvâ = prâtaḥ-yāvâ.

Verse 12, notes ² and ³. Vratá 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. Vratá, I believe, meant originally what is enclosed, protected, set apart, the Greek νομός :

v. 46, 7. yāḥ pārthivâsaḥ yāḥ apām âpi vraté tâḥ naḥ devîḥ su-havâḥ sârma yakkhata.

O ye gracious goddesses, who are on the earth or in the realm of the waters, grant us your protection !

Here vratá is used like vrigána, see i. 165, 15, note ³, page 195.

x. 114, 2. tâsâm ní kikyuh kaváyaḥ ni-dānam páreshu yāḥ gúhyeshu vratéshu.

The poets discovered their (the Nirritis') origin, who are in the far hidden chambers.

i. 163, 3. âsi tritâḥ gúhyena vraténa.

Thou art Trita within the hidden place, or with the secret work.

Secondly, vratá means what is fenced off, what is determined, what is settled, and hence, like dhárman, law, ordinance. In this sense vratá occurs very frequently :

i. 25, 1. yát kit hí te vísaḥ yathâ prá deva varuna vratám, minîmâsi dyâvi-dyavi.

Whatever law of thine we break, O Varuna, day by day, men as we are.

ii. 8, 3. *yásya vratám ná mīyate.*

Whose law is not broken.

iii. 32, 8. *índrasya kárma sú-kritâ purúni vratáni devâh ná minanti víšve.*

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 maghavânâ yuvóh ít ápañ kaná prá minanti vratám vâm.*

All that is yours, O powerful gods, is true; even the waters do not break your law.

ii. 38, 7. *nákiñ asya táni vratã devásya savitúh minanti.*

No one breaks these laws of this god Savitar. Cf. ii. 38, 9.

i. 92, 12. *áminatí daívyâni vratáni.*

Not injuring the divine ordinances. Cf. i. 124, 2.

x. 12, 5. *kát asya áti vratám kakrîma.*

Which of his laws have we overstepped?

viii. 25, 16. *tásya vratáni ánu vah karâmasi.*

His ordinances we follow.

x. 33, 9. *ná devânâm áti vratám satâ-âtmâ kaná gîvati.*

No one lives beyond the statute of the gods, even if he had a hundred lives.

vii. 5, 4. *táva tri-dhātu prithiví utá dyaúh vaísvânara vratám agne sakanta.*

The earth and the sky followed thy threefold law, O Agni Vaisvânara.

vii. 87, 7. *yáh mriáyâti kakrúshe kit ágañ vayám syâma várune ánâgâh, ánu vratáni áditeh ridhántah.*

Let us be sinless before Varuna, who is gracious even to him who has committed sin, let us perform the laws of Aditi!

ii. 28, 8. *námañ purã te varuna utá núnâm utá aparám tuvi-gâta bravâma, tvé hí kam párvate ná sritáni ápra-kyutáni duh-dabha vratáni.*

Formerly, and now, and also in future let us give praise to thee, O Varuna; for in thee, O unconquerable, all laws are grounded, immovable as on a rock.

A very frequent expression is *ánu vratám*, according to

the command of a god, ii. 38, 3 ; 6 ; viii. 40, 8 ; or simply *ānu vratām*, according to law and order :

i. 136, 5. *tām aryamā abhī rakṣaṭi rigu-yāntam ānu vratām.*

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. *yāh agnīśhómā havīśhā saparyāt devadrīkā mānasā yāh ghritēna, tāsa vratām rakṣatam pātām āmhasaḥ.*

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. *tvām agne prathamāḥ āngirah-tamaḥ kavīh devānām pári bhūshasi vratām.*

Agni, the first and wisest of poets, thou performest the sacrifice of the gods.

iii. 3, 9. *tāsa vratāni bhūri-poshīnaḥ vayām úpa bhūshema dáme ā suvriktī-bhiḥ.*

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 mahāni táva krátvá ródasī (íti) ā tatantha.*

The deeds of thee, the great Agni, are great, by thy power thou hast stretched out heaven and earth.

viii. 42, 1. *ástabhnât dyām ásurah vísvā-vedāḥ ámimīta varimānam prithivyāḥ, ā asīdat vísvā bhúvanāni sam-rāt vísvā ít tāni várunasya 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. *tūrvantaḥ dásyum áyávaḥ vrataih síkshantaḥ 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 ánâgasah áditaye syâma.*

Then, O *Áditya*, under thy auspices may we be guiltless before *Aditi*.

vi. 54, 9. *pûshan táva vraté vayám ná rishyema kádâ kaná.*

O *Pûshan*, may we never fail under thy protection.

x. 36, 13. *yé savitúh satyá-savasya vísve mitrásyá vraté várunasya deváh.*

All the gods who are in the power of *Savitar*, *Mitra*, and *Varuna*.

v. 83, 5. *yásya vraté prithiví námnamîti yásya vraté saphá-vat gárbhurîti, yásya vraté óshadhîh visvá-rûpâh sâh 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.

Dâtrá, if derived from *dâ*, would mean gift, and that meaning is certainly the most applicable in some passages where it occurs :

ix. 97, 55. *ási bhágañ así dâtrásya dâtá.*

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 *dâtrá*, like *dâtra* or *dâtra*, in the sense of gift, bounty, largess :

i. 116, 6. *yám asvinâ dadáthuñ svetám ásvam—tát vâm dâtrám máhi kîrtényam bhût.*

The white horse, O *Asvins*, which you gave, that your gift was great and to be praised.

i. 185, 3. *aneháñ dâtrám áditeñ anarvám huvé.*

I call for the unrivalled, the uninjured bounty of *Aditi*.

vii. 56, 21. *má vah dâtrát marutañ níñ arâma.*

May we not fall away from your bounty, O *Maruts* !

iii. 54, 16. yuvám hí stháh rayi-daú naḥ rayīnām dâtrám rakshethe.

For you, Nâsatyas, are our givers of riches, you protect the gift.

vi. 20, 7. rigīsvane dâtrám dâśushe dâḥ.

To Rigīsvan, the giver, thou givest the gift.

viii. 43, 33. tát te sahasva îmahe dâtrám yát ná upa-dâśyati, tvát agne vâryam vásu.

We ask thee, strong hero, for the gift which does not perish; we ask from thee the precious wealth.

x. 69, 4. dâtrám rakshasva yát idám te asmé (îti).

Protect this gift of thine which thou hast given to us.

viii. 44, 18. îśishe vâryasya hí dâtrâśya agne svâḥ-patiḥ.

For thou, O Agni, lord of heaven, art the master of the precious gift. Cf. iv. 38, 1.

Professor Roth considers that dâtrâ is derived rather from dâ, 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, mã vaḥ dâtrât marutaḥ níḥ arâma, 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 dâtrâ. The idea of dâtrâ, bounty, is by no means incompatible with vratâ, 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 dâtra occurring once with the accent on the first syllable in the sense of sickle, see M. M., 'Über eine Stelle in Yâska's Commentar zum Naighantuka,' Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1853, vol. vii. p. 375.

viii. 78, 10. táva ít indra ahám â-sâśâ háste dâtram kaná â dade.

Trusting in thee alone, O Indra, I take the sickle in my hand.

This dâtra, sickle, is derived from do, to cut.

Aditi, the Infinite.

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 Varuṇa 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 áditiḥ stómam índrāya 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 stómam instead of sómam, 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. *híran̄ya-rûpam ushásaḥ ví-ushtau áyaḥ-sthûnam út-itâ sūryasya, ā rohathaḥ varuna mitra gártam átāḥ kakshāthe (íti) áditim 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 *Ādityas*, 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,

* Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series, p. 499.

whether in time or in thought only, and a name that lives on in the name of the Âdityas, the sons of Aditi, including the principal deities of the Veda.

Aditi and the Âdityas.

Thus we read :

i. 107, 2. *úpa nah deváh ávasâ á gamantu ángirasâm sâma-bhih stúyámânâh, índrah indriyaih marútañ marút-bhih âdityaih nah áditiñ sârma yamsat.*

May the gods come to us with their help, praised by the songs of the Ângiras,—Indra with his forces, the Maruts with the storms, may Aditi with the Âdityas give us protection !

x. 66, 3. *índrah vásu-bhih pári pátu nah gáyam âdityaiñ nah áditiñ sârma yakkhatu, rudráñ rudrébhih deváh mrilayâti nah tváshâtâ nah gnâbhih suvitâya ginvatu.*

May Indra with the Vasus watch our house, may Aditi with the Âdityas give us protection, may the divine Rudra with the Rudras have mercy upon us, may Tvashatar with the mothers bring us to happiness !

iii. 54, 20. *âdityaiñ nah áditiñ srinotu yákkhantu nah marútañ sârma bhadram.*

May Aditi with the Âdityas hear us, may the Maruts give us good protection !

In another passage Varuna takes the place of Aditi as the leader of the Âdityas :

vii. 35, 6. *sám nah índrah vásu-bhih deváh astu sám âdityébhih várunañ su-sámsañ, sám nah rudráñ rudrébhiñ gálâshañ sám nah tváshâtâ gnâbhiñ ihá srinotu.*

May Indra bless us, the god with the Vasus ! May Varuna, the glorious, bless us with the Âdityas ! May the relieving Rudra with the Rudras bless us ! May Tvashatar 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. *prátáh devîm áditim gohavîmi madhyândine út-itâ súryasya,*

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 *âdityâh âditih* without any copula, to signify the *Âdityas* and *Aditi* :

iv. 25, 3. *kâh devânâm ávah adyá vrinîte kâh âdityân âditim gyôtih îtte.*

Who does choose now the protection of the gods? Who asks the *Âdityas*, *Aditi*, for their light?

vi. 51, 5. *visve âdityâh adite sa-góshâh asmábhyam sárma bahulám ví yanta.*

All ye *Âdityas*, *Aditi* together, grant to us your manifold protection!

x. 39, 11. *ná tám râgânau adite kútañ kaná ná ámhañ asnoti duh-itám nákiñ bhayám.*

O ye two kings (the *Asvins*), *Aditi*, no evil reaches him from anywhere, no misfortune, no fear (whom you protect). Cf. vii. 66, 6.

x. 63, 5. *tân â vivâsa námasâ suvriktí-bhiñ mahâñ âdityân âditim svastáye.*

I cherish them with worship and with hymns, the great *Âdityas*, *Aditi*, for happiness' sake.

x. 63, 17. *evá platéh súnúh avivridhat vah visve âdityâh adite manîshñ.*

The wise son of *Plati* magnified you, all ye *Âdityas*, *Aditi*!

x. 65, 9. *pargányâvâtâ vrishabhâ purîshínâ indravâyú (íti) várunah mitráh aryamá, devân âdityân âditim havâmahe yé pârthivâsah divyâsah ap-sú yé.*

There are *Parganya* and *Vâta*, the powerful, the givers of rain, *Indra* and *Vâyú*, *Varuna*, *Mitra*, *Aryaman*, we call the divine *Âdityas*, *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 *Âdityas*, 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. *áдитеह दákshaह agâyata dákshât ûm (íti) áditiह pári,—áditiह hí áganishṭa dáksha yá duhitā táva, tám devāह ánu agâyanta bhadráह amṛita-bandhavaह.*

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 vâ adite gánmani vraté rágânâ mitrá-varunâ á vivásasi.*

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 sāt ka paramé ví-oman dákshasya gánman áditeह upá-sṭhe.*

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 gānâ prá vokāma vipanyáyâ, ukthéshu sasyámāneshu yáh (yát ?) pásyât út-tare yugé. 1.*

bráhmaṇaḥ pátiḥ etā́ sám karmāraḥ-iva adhamat, devā́nām pūrvyē yugē ázataḥ sāt agāyata. 2.

devā́nām yugē prathamē ázataḥ sāt agāyata, tát āsāḥ ánu agāyanta tát uttā́nā-padaḥ pári. 3.

bhū́ḥ gagñe uttā́nā-padaḥ bhuváḥ āsāḥ agāyanta, áditeḥ dákshaḥ agāyata, dákshât ūm (íti) áditiḥ pári. 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. Brahmanaspati* 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 ὄν and τὸ μὴ ὄν) 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 dáksha, 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 dáksha-pitaraḥ, 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 dáksha-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

* Bráhmanaspáti, 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. *Indrena yugá—níḥ apám aubgaḥ arnavám*; cf. viii. 96, 15). In ii. 26, 3, he is called father of the gods (*devā́nām pitáram*); in ii. 23, 2, the creator of all beings (*visveshām ganitá*).

translates it, 'preserving, possessing, granting faculties*.' This is particularly clear in one passage:

iii. 27, 9. bhûtânâm gárbham á dadhe, dákshasya pitáram.

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-gyótishaḥ—dáksha-pitrîn—devân.

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 Âdityas, 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. yâ—su-dákshâ dáksha-pitarâ.

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. avasyávaḥ yushmâbhiḥ 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 Âdityas 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 Bahuvr̥hi; in the second, the analogy of such Tatpurusha compounds as grihá-pati (Pân. vi. 2, 18) would be sufficient to justify the p̥rva-padaprakritisvaratvam.

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 :

i. 94, 16 (final). *tát nah mitráh várunah mamahantâm áditiḥ síndhuḥ prithivī utá dyaúh.*

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. *dyaúh vah pitá prithivī mâtá sómah bhrátá áditiḥ svásâ.*

The Sky is your father, the Earth your mother, Soma your brother, Aditi your sister.

viii. 101, 15. *mâtá rudránâm duhitá vásûnâm svásâ ádityâ-nâm amrítasya nábhīh, prá nú vokam kikitúshe gánâya má gãm ánâgâm áditim vadhishṭa.*

The mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Âdityas, 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 ; Vâgasan. Sanhitâ xiii. 49.

vi. 51, 5. *dyaúh pítar (íti) príthivi mâtah ádhruk ágne bhrâtaḥ vasavaḥ mriláta nah, ví sve ádityâh adite sa-góshâh asmábhyam sárma bahulám vi yanta.*

Sky, father, Earth, kind mother, Fire, brother, bright

gods, have mercy upon us! All Âdityas (and) Aditi together, grant us your manifold protection!

x. 63, 10. *su-trãmânam prithivîm dyãm anehâsam su-sârmânam âditim su-prânîtim, daivîm nâvam su-aritrâm ânâgasam âsravantîm â ruhema svastâye.*

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. *âditih dyâvâprithivî (îti).*

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 unfrequently put together. For instance,

x. 36, 1-3. *ushâsânâktâ brihatî (îti) su-pésasâ dyâvâ-kshâmâ vârunah mitráh aryamá, índram huve marútaḥ párvatân apáh âdityân dyâvâprithivî (îti) apáh svâr (îti svâh). 1.*

dyaúh ka nah prithivî ka prá-ketasâ ritávarî (ity ritá-varî) rakshatâm ámhasah risháh, má duh-vidâtrâ níh-ritih nah ísata tát devânâm ávah adyá vrinîmahe. 2.

vîsvasmât nah âditiḥ pâtu ámhasah mâtâ mitrásyâ vârunasya revâtaḥ svâh-vat gyótiḥ avrikám nasîmahi. 3.

1. There are the grand and beautiful Morning and Night, Heaven and Earth, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, I call Indra, the Maruts, the Waters, the Âdityas, 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 Varuna! May we obtain heavenly light without enemies! This blessing of the gods we ask for to-day.

Here we cannot but admit that Dyâvâkshâmâ, 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 gāvīyūtiḥ āditeḥ ritām yaté.*

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: *nápâtâ sávasaḥ maháḥ sūnú (íti) dáksḥasya su-krátû (íti)*. 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 *yahváh āditeḥ*, 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 (*mârtândá*, addled egg) was thrown away: *ashtaú*

putrāsah áditeh yé gâtāh tanvāh pári, devān úpa prá ait saptá-bhih párá mártándám ásyat.

In x. 63, 2, the gods in general are represented as born from Aditi, the waters, and the earth: yé sthá gâtāh áditeh at-bhyāh pári yé prithivyāh té me ihá 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 Âdityas, occurs also in

ix. 114, 3. saptá dísaḥ nānâ-sûryāh saptá hótārah ritvīgaḥ, devāh âdityāh yé saptá tébhih soma abhí raksha nah.

There are seven regions with their different suns, there are seven Hotars as priests, those who are the seven gods, the Âdityas, with them, O Soma, protect us!

The Seven Âdityas.

This number of seven Âdityas 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 Âdityas, 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 Âdityas back to the eight regions, or the eight cardinal points of the heaven. Thus we read:

i. 35, 8. ashṭaú ví akhyat kakúbhaḥ 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 Âdityas 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. Âr. 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 Âdityas. This might even explain the destruction of the eighth Âditya, 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. *yâgishtham saptâ dhâma-bhih.*

Agni, most worthy of sacrifice in the seven stations.

ix. 102, 2. *yagnâsya saptâ dhâma-bhih.*

In the seven stations of the sacrifice.

The seven threads of the sacrifice may have the same origin :

ii. 5, 2. *â yâsmin saptâ rasmâyah tatâh yagnâsya netâri, manushvât daivyam ashtamâm.*

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, *saptâ-tantu*, having seven threads.

x. 122, 3. *saptâ dhâmâni pari-yân âmartyah.*

Agni, the immortal, who goes round the seven stations.

x. 8, 4. *ushâh-ushah hí vaso (íti) ágram éshi tvám yamá-yoh abhavañ vi-bhâvâ, ritâya saptâ dadhishe padâni ganâyan mitráam tanvê svâyai.*

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. *saptâ maryâdáñ kavâyah tatakshuh tásâm êkâm ít abhí amhurâñ gât.*

The sages established the seven divisions, but mischief befel one of them.

i. 22, 16. *ātaḥ devāḥ avantu naḥ yātaḥ viśhnuḥ vi-kakramé prithivyāḥ saptā dhāma-bhiḥ.*

May the gods protect us from whence Vishnu strode forth, by the seven stations of the earth!

Even the names of the seven or eight Âdityas are not definitely known, at least not from the hymns of the Rig-veda. In ii. 27, 1, we have a list of six names: Mitrá, Aryamán, Bhága, Váruna, Dáksha, *Āmsah*. These with Aditi would give us seven. In vi. 50, 1, we have Aditi, Váruna, Mitrá, Agní, Aryamán, Savitár, and Bhága. In i. 89, 3, Bhága, Mitrá, Aditi, Dáksha, Aryamán, Váruna, Sóma, Asvínâ, and Sârasvatî are invoked together with an old invocation, *pūrvayâ ni-vidâ*. In the Taittirîya-âraṇyaka, i. 13, 3, we find the following list: 1. Mitra, 2. Varuna, 3. Dhâtar, 4. Aryaman, 5. *Amsa*, 6. Bhaga, 7. Indra, 8. Vivasvan, but there, too, the eighth son is said to be *Mârtânda*, or, according to the commentator, Âditya.

The character of Aditi as the mother of certain gods is also indicated by some of her epithets, such as *râga-putrâ*, having kings for her sons; *su-putrâ*, having good sons; *ugra-putrâ*, having terrible sons:

ii. 27, 7. *pîpartu naḥ âditiḥ râga-putrâ âti dvêshâmsi aryamâ su-gébhiḥ, brihât mitrâsya vârunasya sârma úpa syâma puru-vîrâḥ ârishtâḥ.*

May Aditi 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 Mitra and Varuna!

iii. 4, 11. *barhîḥ naḥ âstâm âditiḥ su-putrâ.*

May Aditi with her excellent sons sit on our sacred pile!

viii. 67, 11. *pârshi dîné gabhîré â úgra-putre gîghâmsataḥ, mâkiḥ tokâsya naḥ 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 mâtá sáh pitá sáh putráh, vísve deváh áditih páñka gánáh áditih gâtám 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 *Âditya*, 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 life 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. *káh nah mahyaí áditaye púnah dāt, pitáram ka driséyam mâtáram 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. *râyé ka nah su-apatyâya deva dítim ka rāsva áditim 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 Rig-veda thrice only, and in one passage it should, I believe, be changed into Aditi. This passage occurs in vii. 15, 12. *tvám agne vírá-vat yásah deváh ka savitá bhágah, dítih ka dâti vâryam.* 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 Rig-veda 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 drugdháni pítryâ sriga nah áva yã vayám kakrimá tanúbhih, áva râgan pasu-trípam ná tâyúm srigâ vatsám ná dâmnañ vásishtam.

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 âsnâñ vríkânâm âdityâsañ mumókata stenám baddhám-iva adite.

O Âdityas, deliver us from the mouth of the wolves, like a bound thief, O Aditi ! Cf. viii. 67, 18.

Sunañsepa, 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 :

súnañ-sépañ kit ní-ditam sahásrât yûpât amuñkañ ása-mishã hí sâñ, evá asmát agne ví mumugdhi pásân hótar (íti) kikitvañ ihá tú ni-sádyá.

O Agni, thou hast released the bound Sunañsepa 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 á-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. âdityânâm ávasâ nûtanena sakshîmáhi sármanâ sám-tamena, anâgâñ-tvé aditi-tvé turâsañ imám yağñám dadhatu sróshamânâñ.

May we obtain the new favour of the Âdityas, 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. Ágas has the same meaning as the Greek ἄγος, guilt, abomination ; an-âgâñ-tvá, therefore, as applied to a sacrifice or to the man who makes it, means guiltlessness, purity. Aditi-tvá, Aditi-hood, has a similar meaning, it means freedom from bonds, from

* See M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, 2nd ed., p. 541.

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 aditivá, soon assumed a very definite moral character, and hence the following invocations :

i. 24, 15. út ut-tamám varuna pāsam asmát áva adhamám ví madhyamám śrathaya, átha vayám áditya vraté táva ánâgasah áditaye syâma.

O Varuna, lift the highest rope, draw off the lowest, remove the middle ; then, O Âditya, let us be in thy service free of guilt before Aditi.

v. 82, 6. ánâgasah áditaye devásya savitúh savé, vísvâ vâmâni dhîmahi.

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. anâgâh-tvám nah áditih krinotu.

May Aditi give us sinlessness ! Cf. vii. 51, 1.

iv. 12, 4. yát kit hí te purusha-trá yavishttha ákitti-bhih kakrimá kát kit âgah, kridhí sú asmán áditeh ánâgân ví ênâmsi śisrathah víshvak 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. sáh agne enâ námasâ sám-iddhah ákka mitráam várunam índram vokeh, yát sîm âgah kakrimá tát sú mriḷa tát aryamá áditiḷ śisrathantu.

O Agni, thou who hast been kindled with this adoration, greet Mitra, Varuna, and Indra. Whatever sin we have committed, do thou pardon it ! May Aryaman, Aditi loose it !

Here the plural *śisrathantu* should be observed, instead of the dual.

viii. 18, 6-7. áditiḷ nah dívâ pasúm áditiḷ náktam ádva-yâh, áditiḷ pâtu ámhasah sadâ-vridhâ.

utá syâ nah dívâ matih áditiḷ útyâ ā gamat, sâ sám-tâti máyah karat ápa śridhah.

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. *ā vṛiskyantām āditaye duḥ-évâh.*

May the evil-doers be cut off from Aditi! or literally, may they be rooted out before Aditi!

ii. 27, 14. *ādite mitra vārūna utā mṛiḷa yāt vaḥ vayām kakrimá kát kit āgah, urú asyām ábhayam gyótiḥ indra má nah dīrghāḥ 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!

vii. 87, 7. *yáh mṛiláyâti kakrúshe kit āgah vayām syâma vārūne ánâgâḥ, ánu vratāni āditeḥ ridhántaḥ yuyám pāta svastī-bhīḥ sádâ 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. *yáthâ nah áditiḥ kárat pásve nrī-bhyaḥ yáthâ gáve, yáthâ tokāya rudríyam.*

That Aditi may bring Rudra's favour to our cattle, our men, our cow, our offspring.

i. 153, 3. *pīpāya dhenúḥ áditiḥ ritāya gánāya mitrávarunâ 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. *aneháḥ dâtrám áditeḥ anarvám huvé.*

I call for the unrivalled, uninjured gift of Aditi. Here Professor Roth again assigns to Aditi the meaning of freedom or security.

vii. 40, 2. *dídeshtu deví áditiḥ réknaḥ.*

May the divine Aditi assign wealth!

x. 100, 1. *ā sarvá-tâtīm áditim vrinâmahe.*

We implore Aditi for health and wealth.

i. 94, 15. *yásmai tvám su-dravināḥ dádâsaḥ anâgâḥ-tvám adite sarvá-tâtâ, yám bhadréna sâvasâ kodâyâsi pragā-vatâ rādhasâ 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 *anarván*, uninjured, unscathed. Being invoked to grant light (vii. 82, 10), she is herself called luminous, *gyótishmatî*, i. 136, 3; and *svārvatî*, heavenly. Being the goddess of the infinite expanse, she, even with greater right than the dawn, is called *úrûkî*, viii. 67, 12; *uruvyákas*, v. 46, 6; *uruvragâ*, viii. 67, 12; and possibly *prithvī* in i. 72, 9. As supporting everything, she is called *dhârayátkshiti*, supporting the earth, i. 136, 3; and *visváganyâ*, vii. 10, 4. To her sons she owes the names of *râgaputrâ*, ii. 27, 7; *suputrâ*, iii. 4, 11; and *ugraputrâ*, viii. 67, 11: to her wealth that of *sudravinas*, i. 94, 15, though others refer this epithet to Agni. There remains one name *pastyâ*, 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 Brâhmanas and Âranyakas, 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 Rig-veda. 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 *sarvâtâti*, *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. *mímātu dyaúh áditih vîtáye nah.*

May the boundless Dyú (sky) help us to our repast !

Here *áditi* must either be taken in the sense of *Âditya*, 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 :

yébhyañ mâtã mádhumat pínvate páyañ píyúsham dyaúh áditiñ ádri-barháh.

The gods to whom their mother yields the sweet milk, and the unbounded sky, as firm as a rock, their food.

iv. 3, 8. *kathá sárdhâya marútâm ritâya kathá súré brihaté prikkhyámânah, práti bravañ áditaye turâya.*

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 *turâya*, partly because she is never called quick. Aditi must here be the name of one of the *Âdityas*, or it may refer back to *súré brihaté*. It can hardly be joined, as Professor Roth proposes, with *sárdhâya marútâm*, owing to the intervening *súré brihaté*.

In several passages *áditi*, as an epithet, refers to Agni :

iv. 1, 20 (final). *vísveshâm áditiñ yagníyanâm vísveshâm átithiñ mánushânâm.*

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 ushásâm 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, *áditim 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 mitréna várunena 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 *sagóshâh* or allied with other *Âdityas*, 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:

vii. 18, 8. *duh-ādhyāh áditim sreváyantah aketásaḥ ví gagribhre párushnîm.*

Professor Roth in one of his earliest essays translated this line, 'The evil-disposed wished to dry the earth, the fools split the Parushnî,' and he supposed its meaning to have been that the enemies of Sudâs swam across the Parushnî in order to attack Sudâs. 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, áditi never means earth. I should therefore propose to translate: 'The evil-disposed, the fools, laid dry and divided the resistless river Parushnî.' This would be a description of a stratagem 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 Sâyana, who does not say that *vigraha* means dividing the waves of a river, as Professor Roth renders *kûlabheda*, but that it means dividing or cutting through its banks. In the Dictionary Professor Roth assigns to áditi 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 *kaná*, 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, *kaná* 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 *kaná*, we ought in the latter to read *ka ná*.

I begin with those passages in which *kaná* is used emphatically and as one word.

I a. In negative sentences :

i. 18, 7. *yásmât rité ná sídhyati yagnāḥ vipah-kítah kaná.*

Without whom the sacrifice does not succeed, not even that of the sage.

v. 34, 5. ná ásunvatâ sakate púshyatâ kaná.

He does not cling to a man who offers no libations, even though he be thriving.

i. 24, 6. nahí te kshatrám ná sáhañ ná manyúm váyañ kaná amí (íti) patáyantañ ápúñ.

For thy power, thy strength, thy anger even these birds which fly up, do not reach. Cf. i. 100, 15.

i. 155, 5. tritíyam asya nákiñ á dadharshati váyañ kaná patáyantañ patatrínañ.

This third step no one approaches, not even the winged birds which fly up.

i. 55, 1. diváñ kit asya varimá ví papratha, índram ná mahná 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. púrvíñ kaná prá-sitayañ taranti tám yáñ indre kármanâ bhúvat.

Even many snares pass him who is with Indra in his work.

viii. 2, 14. ukthám kaná sasyámânam ágoñ aríñ á kiketa, ná gâyatráñ gíyamânam.

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 â-sásâ háste dátram kaná á dade.

Trusting in thee alone, O Indra, I take even this sickle in my hand.

i. 55, 5. ádha kaná srát dadhati tvíshi-mate índrâya vágram ni-ghánighnate vadhám.

Then indeed they believe in Indra, the majestic, when he hurls the bolt to strike.

i. 152, 2. etát kaná tvañ ví kiketát eshám.

Does one of them understand even this ?

iv. 18, 9. mámat kaná used in the same sense as mámat kit.

i. 139, 2. dhíbhíñ kaná mánasâ svébhiñ akshá-bhiñ.

v. 41, 13. váyañ kaná su-bhvāñ á áva yanti.

vii. 18, 9. *âsúh kaná ít abhi-pitvám gagâma.*

viii. 91, 3. *ã kaná tvâ kikitsâmañ ádhi kaná tvâ ná imasi.*

We wish to know thee, indeed, but we cannot understand thee.

x. 49, 5. *ahám randhayam mrigayam srutárvane yát má ágihîta vayúnâ kaná ânu-shák.*

vi. 26, 7. *ahám kaná tát sūrī-bhiñ ânasyâm.*

May I also obtain this with my wise friends.

I c. Frequently *kaná* occurs after interrogative pronouns, to which it imparts an indefinite meaning, and principally in negative sentences :

i. 74, 7. *ná yóh upabdíh ásvyah srinvé ráthasya kát kaná, yát agne yási dûtyâm.*

No sound of horses is heard, and no sound of the chariot, when thou, O Agni, goest on thy message.

i. 81, 5. *ná tvâ-vân indra káh kaná ná gâtáh ná gani-shyaté.*

No one is like thee, O Indra, no one has been born, no one will be !

i. 84, 20. *mã te rádhâmsi mã te útáyah vaso (íti) asmãn kádâ kaná dabhan.*

May thy gifts, may thy help, O Vasu, never fail us !

Many more passages might be given to illustrate the use of *kaná* or *kás kaná* 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 ; 7 ; 128, 4 ; 129, 2 ; 152, 1 ; 168, 3 ; 185, 2.

I d. In a few passages, however, we find the indefinite pronoun *kás kaná* used in sentences which are not negative :

i. 113, 8. *usháh mritám kám kaná bodháyantî.*

Ushas, who wakes even the dead, (or one who is as if dead.)

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. *yásmât índrât brihatáh kím kaná îm rité.*

Beside whom, (beside) the great Indra, there is not anything.

ii. 24, 12. *vísvam satyám magha-vânâ yuvóh ít ápah kaná prá minanti vratám vâm.*

Everything, you mighty ones, belongs indeed to you ; even the waters do not transgress your law.

iii. 30, 1. *títikshante abhí-sastim gánânâm índra tvát á 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 tvâ 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.távishîm ákukrudhat.*

Even in a stronghold many a man is not often preserved who has excited his anger.

vii. 83, 2. *yásmín ágã bhávati kím kaná priyám.*

In which struggle there is nothing good whatsoever.

vii. 86, 6. *svápnañ kaná ít ánritasya pra-yotã.*

Even sleep does not remove all evil.

In this passage I formerly took *kaná* as affirmative, not as negative, and therefore assigned to *prayotã* the same meaning which *Sâyana* 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 párá 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. *kaḍā kanā starīh asi.*

Thou art never sterile.

viii. 52, 7. *kaḍā kanā prā yukkhasi.*

Thou art never weary.

viii. 55, 5. *kákshushâ kaná sam-náse.*

Even with my eye I cannot reach them.

x. 56, 4. *mahimnâh eshâm pitârah kaná îsire.*

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 *tyágas* 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 *tyágas* 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 *tyágas* 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. *ná tám tigmám kaná tyágasâ ná drâsad abhí tám gurú.*

No sharp blow, no heavy one, shall come near him whom you protect.

Here the two adjectives *tigmá*, sharp, and *gurú*, heavy, point to something tangible, and I feel much inclined to take *tyágas* 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, 1. *mahâh kit asi tyágasâh varûtâ.*

Thou art the shielder from a great attack.

iv. 43, 4. *káh vâm maháh kit tyágasaḥ abhīke urushyátam mādhvī dasrâ nah ūtī.*

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 *maháh kit tyágasaḥ abhīke urushyátam*, but in that case it would be impossible to construe the first words, *káh vâm*.

i. 119, 8. *ágakkhatam kṛipamānam parâ-vāti pitúh svásya tyágasâ ní-bâdhitam.*

You went from afar to the suppliant, who had been struck down by the violence of his own father.

According to Professor Roth *tyágas* would here mean forlornness, need, or danger. But *ní-bâdhita* is a strong verb, as we may see in

viii. 64, 2. *padā paññ arádhásaḥ ní bâdhasva mahán asi.*

Strike the useless *Pañis* down with thy foot, for thou art great.

x. 18, 11. *út svañkasva prithivi má ní bâdthâh.*

Open, O earth, do not press on him (i. e. the dead, who is to be buried; cf. M. M., *Über Todtenbestattung*, *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.*, vol. ix. p. xv).

vii. 83, 6. *yátra rága-bhiḥ dasá-bhiḥ ní-bâdhitam prá su-dâsam ávatam trítsu-bhiḥ sahá.*

When you protected *Sudás* with the *Tritsus*, when he was pressed or set upon by the ten kings.

Another passage in which *tyágas* occurs is,

vi. 62, 10. *sánutyena tyágasâ mártiyasya vanushyatām ápi śīrshā 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 *tyágasâ* 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 *śīrshā* is governed by *vavriktaṃ*, meaning turn back their heads, for the same expression occurs again in i. 33, 5. *parâ kit śīrshā vavriḡuh té indra áyagvānaḥ yágva-bhiḥ spárdhamānāh.*

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 índunâ devéshu kit dhârayâte máhi tyágah.

Indeed through this draught Indra can hold out against that great attack even among the gods.

.x. 79, 6. kím devéshu tyágah énaḥ kakartha.

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 várunaḥ sa-góshâḥ déva pási tyágasâ mártam ámhaḥ.

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), Varuna, 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 sámsah árarushah dhûrtih prának mártasya.*

Let not the curse of the enemy, the onslaught of a mortal hurt us.

i. 94, 8. *asmákam sámsah abhí astu duh-dhyāh.*

May our curse fall on the wicked!

ii. 26, 1. *rigúh ít sámsah vanavat vanushyatáh.*

May the straight curse strike the enemies! Cf. vii. 56, 19.

iii. 18, 2. *tápa sámsam árarushah.*

Burn the curse of the enemy!

vii. 25, 2. *áre tám sámsam krinuhi ninitsoh.*

Take far away the curse of the reviler! Cf. vii. 34, 12.

It means blessing:

ii. 31, 6. *utá vah sámsam usígám-iva smasi.*

We desire your blessing as a blessing for suppliants.

x. 31, 1. *ā nah devānām úpa vetu sámsah.*

May the blessing of the gods come to us!

x. 7, 1. *urushyá nah urú-bhih deva sámsaih.*

Protect us, god, with thy broad blessings!

ii. 23, 10. *mā nah duh-sámsah abhi-dipsúh ísata prá su-sámsáh matí-bhih târishîmahi.*

Let not an evil-speaking enemy conquer us; may we, enjoying good report, increase by our prayers!

Lastly, *sámsa* means praise, the spell addressed by men to the gods, or prayer:

i. 33, 7. *prá sunvatáh stuvatáh sámsam ávah.*

Thou hast regarded the prayer of him who offers libation and praise.

x. 42, 6. *yásmin vayám dadhimá sámsam índre.*

Indra in whom we place our hope. Cf. *ásams*, Westergaard, *Radices Linguae Sanscritæ*, s. v. *sams*.

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