**Changes in the Semantics between the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and the Brāhamaṇas**

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We all depend on the kindness of strangers.

List of Abbreviations

AB: *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*

ahd.: althochdeutsch

ai.: altindisch

AVP: *Atharvaveda Paippalāda Saṃhitā*

AVŚ: *Atharvaveda Śaunakya Saṃhitā*

ĀŚS: *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*

KpS: *Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā*

KS: *Kāṭha Saṃhitā*

KauS: *Kauthuma Saṃhitā*

KauB: *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*

*JAOS: Journal of American Oriental Society*

JS: *Jaiminīya Saṃhitā*

MhB: *Mahābhārata*

MS: *Maitrayāṇī Sāṃhitā*

R̥V: *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*

TB: *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*

TS: *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*

ŚB: *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* Mādhyaṃdina recension

VS: *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, Mādhyaṃdina recension

# Introduction

The present research was conceived within the scope of an investigation on the Vedic verbal root *van- / vani*- and its semantic development along the timespan between the earliest Vedic literary production and the texts that we have as immediate subsequent attestations. As is well known, this is a period of recasting and mutation involving the whole Vedic culture[[1]](#footnote-1); therefore the textual sources shall be addressed within the wider context of the cultural and social mutations, and yet there are two reasons for concentrating on a single verbal root.

On one hand, the idea that a single root could be a good means to go through such different linguistic strata, playing – as it were – the role of a trill. In this way there is the opportunity to approach the question of the development and semantic changes of the Vedic language deploying as tiny and delimited a tool as a single verbal root, so as to attempt an analysis and outline of the strata where the different meanings occur and consider the relation between them. It is patent that this research does not aim to offer a thorough panorama of the changes involving the Vedic language, but rather derives from the intention to furnish more data as to the actual development within the lexicon along the timespan between the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and the Brāhmaṇas.

On the other hand, this verbal root entails a semantic and morphological duplicity: at the Indo-European level it already seems possible to outline two forms (*\*u̯en / \*u̯en-H*)and to conjecture two different meanings “to win” and “to desire”. While in all the other groups of the Indo-European family the semantic alternation is not to be found in a single language -bar for minor residuum, in the Vedic literature, instead, both forms occur and seem to convey different meanings through the different strata of the *corpus.*

In the first chapter of the book we will take into consideration the linguistic issue with regard to the two Indo-European roots that can be reconstructed: a simple form and one with laryngeal suffix, *\*u̯en / \*u̯en-H*. We will have first to address the question whether there is a symmetry between the two linguistic forms and the two possible meanings that are reckoned at the Indo-European level. There are two main positions: to acknowledge this symmetry and try to trace it in the historical attestation of the roots, or to speculate that the two meanings cannot be apportioned to the two roots. Scholars sustaining this second position mainly cull one of the two meanings as the “primary” one, anyway postulating a continuum between the Indo-European level and the historical occurrences. Although we will sustain a position which is slightly different from both, we still have to recognise that the problem is far from being settled.

The working hypothesis is that none of the two meanings given at the Indo-European level can be considered as the main meaning in the Vedic period where the distinction between the two roots blurs into a single paradigm. Thus, I speculate a coalescence of the reconstructed verbal roots. It is worth underlying that this process has left no traces and that we must assume a hiatus between the two Indo-European forms (that we may name *van1* and *van2*) and the Vedic outcome (that we would than name *van3*), in which the two Indo-European forms have merged.

Bearing in mind this hiatus, we are not allowed to trace any duplicity of the verb we may find in the later data, that is in the Vedic texts, back to the Indo-European level. This means that whenever we are taking into consideration the Vedic material, we are dealing with the outcome that we called *van3.*

The core of the work will focus on the semantics of the Vedic outcome; in the second chapter we will first pick over the R̥gvedic occurrences of the verbal root -*van3,* henceforth also referred to as *van- / vani*-. The functional analysis let us pinpoint two type of readings: a nuclear meaning that is deployed in most of the occurrences of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and a ritual one which is bound to an actual moment of the sacrifice.

In the third chapter we will step into a third chronological level, and try to follow the development of these two uses of the verbal root along the chronological strata of the post-R̥gvedic texts, analysing all its occurrences. This means to consider the uses of *van- / vani-* (*van3*)under two points of view: one is the question as to semantic continuity (§III.3.1) and the other is to investigate if the verb is deployed differently within the earlier and later parts from which those texts are composed (§III.3.2). The survey will show how the ritual meaning is gradually disappearing; moreover the few passages where the verb is used with its ritual sense point to a loss of functionality: this process seems to belong to a larger recasting of the language that overshadows a change in the perception of the cult. On the other side, the nuclear meaning is still used in the post-R̥gvedic literature whereas it undergoes some slightly modification too.

Finally, in the fourth chapter, we will concentrate on another issue: the meaning “to desire”, which is speculated as a reading of one of the two verbal roots at the Indo-European level, is absent in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* in the Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda and Samaveda as well as in the Brāhmaṇas. This meaning is often to be found in the occurrences of the verbal root within the Saṃhitās of the Atharvaveda and in some derivatives of the root. This peculiarity will offer the possibility to speculate a different development of the semantic field “to desire”.

To sum up, this research takes advantage of the R̥gvedic evidences to shed a light on the duplicity of the Indo-European root *\*u̯en-/\*u̯en-H;* moreover, it deals with the development of *van- / vani*-along the R̥gvedic and post-R̥gvedic texts, charting the change in the use of the verb. Finally, it is concerned with a third aspect, namely the diastratic[[2]](#footnote-2) distribution of the meaning “to desire”.

## Criteria of the work and selection of the texts

As pointed out above, linguistics and especially semantics represent the guiding lines of this research. Nonetheless, dealing with texts conceived for ritual actions also entails the use of other branches as anthropology and ethnology; moreover, interpretation of a linguistic datum, and especially of a semantic development, cannot be performed out in the space: this means that often we will see how, for example, historical investigations into the Vedic period will form the basis and support of the work, furnishing it with a way to proceed. In my opinion, it is not just a need that forces a linguist to address other branches in order to place the object of research in a broader context. It is, indeed, inherent to the real meaning of one’s work to be part of a wider process and potentially contribute one’s data within the broad picture.

Returning to some key-concepts, I would like point them out here and provide the relevant references. The idea of semantic field[[3]](#footnote-3) as a lexical field applied to some content domain, insofar as the meaning of a word is regarded as a cluster of semantic components[[4]](#footnote-4), has recently been employed in Vedic studies in particular by Roesler 2004.

With regard to the notion of functional analysis, i.e. taking into account the syntagmatic level and the syntagmatic relations of the lexemes, as well as many other conceptual instruments developed in linguistics and in particular in semantics, which will be of great use throughout this case-study, see Berruto 1976, Ullmann 1977, Karoly 1980, Chierchia 1997; for further bibliographical references see Gambarara 1999.

The first step of the analysis has to be taken in synchrony, in order to see how the verbal root operates and not to take a diachronic development for a portion of synchronic meaning. Therefore we started to analyse the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* alone as it appears to be a good source of information standing at the beginning of the Indo-Aryan historical tradition. We shall consider the text underspecifying some of its internal differences: it is generally acknowledged that the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*  is composed of material from different chronological periods, namely five layers, when it comes to relative chronology, nonetheless its language shall be treated as one synchronic linguistic stage in this work with some exceptions for hymns or stanzas which have an evidently later character in order to make a specific diachronic point. The criteria or patterns should be build upon this text with no reference to the later Saṃhitās or Brāhmaṇas. We will then take into account the liturgical texts, namely those regarding the classical ritual, the *śrauta* ritual, to which all these texts referred; this is a step out of synchrony into a diachronic perspective.

The only texts that have to have a different position and that will be again treated within a specific synchronic prospective are those of the Atharvaveda school: the fourth Veda, as it is called within the tradition, does not belong to the classical liturgy, and the position of these texts is different from that of the Yajurveda and Sāmaveda schools. Though collected and partially composed later as the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*, at least in the extant form, they contain material from different temporal levels; indeed, some hymns of the Saṃhitās of this school can be traced back to a period earlier than the composition of the Yajurveda and Sāmaveda schools, and many of the small Atharvavedic sorcery rites may even be earlier than the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*, even if the language in which they are preserved is later than that of the tenth R̥gvedic *maṇḍala*. Moreover, its focus is on small non-*śrauta* rituals and, interestingly enough, its composition involved many elements from social strata that are positively other than that of the groups responsible for the production of the classical liturgy. Therefore, those texts also imply a diastratic approach, and we will not consider their data along a post-R̥gvedic development, but rather beside it.

For the transliteration of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* I used the editions by F. M. Müller and by van Nooten-G. B.Holland, including the metrical correction (*orthoepic diaskeuasis*). For the other texts, the transliteration, when not indicated, is my responsibility. References to the translations of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* made by K.F. Geldner, L. Renou and to the most recent translation of the first five *maṇḍala*s[[5]](#footnote-5) by M. Witzel and T. Gōto (*et alii*) are made systematically. To avoid overloading the text, the first two works will be cited giving the author’s surname followed by volume and page indication without repeating the year of publication in all the references. The beautiful and enlightening translation of Jamison and Brereton (Jamison-Brereton 2014) could not be taken in account systematically, as it came out in 2014. As to the editions and translations of the other Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, they are listed among the primary texts of the Bibliography and also cited in the lists of post-R̥gvedic occurrences at the beginning of every school (cf. §III.2.1;.2 and §IV.2.1).

All the occurrences of *van- / vani-* in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* have been analysed and systematically listed in the Appendix, only some of them have been quoted in chapters I and II especially within the functional analysis of the *R̥gvedic Scenario*. In contrast, the post R̥gvedic occurrences of the verbal root will be translated and commented upon all together in paragraph III.2 since many of the textual sources are still wanting for a further study. Additionally, in the chapter IV two paragraphs will be dedicated to the attestations of the derivatives (§IV.1.1;.2) and one to the occurrences of the verbal root in the Atharvaveda schools (§IV.2.1), in both cases all the occurrences are also presented and commented upon. Each and every section presenting the occurrences is followed by a paragraph with the relevant analysis of the passages. The intention of such a structure is, on one side, to follow the line of the reasoning and, on the other side, to give all the passages referring to every step of the work in one and the same paragraph. In this way there is the possibility to have a complete overview of the post-R̥V and AV occurrences as well as of the derivatives apart from the analysis of the semantics in the following paragraphs. The order has been made using the following criteria:

* as to the post-R̥gvedic occurrences, the first division is between Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas.
* Within every group, first are presented the occurrences that are R̥V-*mantra*s and after the passages that present non R̥V-*mantra*s as well as prose passages. This criterion mirrors the linguistic strata representing different chronological levels.
* Every passage is supplied with a list of cross-references to the other texts of the Vedic *corpus[[6]](#footnote-6),* that is labelled as “Vedic Web”, and with a note (labelled as “Rite”) about the the ritual context in which the passage should be used, when this has been possible.
* Within the functional analysis of the R̥gvedic occurrences (§II.1) I choose to use the object of the action expressed by the verb as a key to distinguish different groups that are labelled along an alphanumeric order, the same order is deployed in the analysis of the post-R̥gvedic occurrences (§III.3) and again in the Data-Base (§VI.2) at the end of the work.

Finally, the translation of the Vedic texts is not conceived in stylistic terms, first of all because of the difficulty of translating a language that is often poetic into another that is not my mother-tongue. This combines with the fact that in order to accomplish such an ambitious goal other elements would be sacrificed, some playing an important role in the analysis and speculations we will go through.

# I. Presentation of the Problem: Two Meanings and Two Roots?

## I.1 The Indo-European Linguistic Situation.

The Indo-European root *\*u̯en / \*u̯en-H*, generally listed among those also indicating ‘desire’, seems to have taken on two different values which can be traced in various Indo-European languages: ‘to desire’ and ‘win/conquer’[[7]](#footnote-7). This semantic alternation is apparently reflected in the morphological alternation: on the basis of comparison of the historical evidence in the various Indo-European languages known to us, two forms are to be reconstructed at the proto-language level: according to the laryngeal theory[[8]](#footnote-8), we may hypothesise for this verbal root a form with an undefined laryngeal element, thus indicated with –H. This element comes in a final position, preceded by a nasal sonant, and gives rise to the alternation *\*u̯en / \*u̯en-H*, as attested by the historical forms (ahd.) *gi-winnan, wunsc(h)* o (ai.) *vantŕ̥, váni-tr̥-* where in fact we find the resulting vowel of the laryngeal (H° > °), what once was called *schwa indogermanium*, which is represented in the Indo-Iranian branch by the vowel |i| - , which is why the Indian grammarians created the two terms *seṭ* (*sa* – *iṭ*, i.e. with –i-) and *aniṭ* (*an* – *iṭ*, without –i-) to indicate, in fact, the verbs that show this vowel in certain forms.

Turning, now, to the most important Indo-European etymological dictionaries and lexicons we find an – at least partial – tendency to favour a symmetry, as noted above, between morphology and semantics: for the former *aniṭ \*u̯en*, in fact, the meaning “to win”, “to conquer” is given, keeping it separate from the form *seṭ \*u̯en-H*, which is, by contrast, attributed with the meaning of “to desire”, “to love”. This position is to be found both in LIV (680-683) and in the Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen[[9]](#footnote-9), henceforth EWAia, (II 499-501), the fundamental work of the great scholar Manfred Mayrhofer, who also comes down in favour of this analysis of the verbal form in 2005: 20.1.205. On the basis of the listings supplied by various etymological dictionaries, we might be tempted to suggest that we are probably dealing with two different morphological outcomes and two different semantic values. If, however, we turn to the extensive though older works by Walde[[10]](#footnote-10) and Pokorny[[11]](#footnote-11), we find the separation between the forms somewhat less distinctly defined, to the extent indeed of conveying the impression that the biunique relationship between the two planes is by no means certain, leaving room for very different hypotheses: “An eine Trennung der Wzn. ist nicht zu denken” (Walde 1927-1932: 258), and in fact the scholar proposes: “Als Grundbedeutung dieser Wz. wird “streben, erstreben” auszusehen sein, woraus sich einerseits die Bedeutung “wünschen, lieben” […] andrerseits “arbeiten” […] und perfektiv “erreichen, gewinnen, siegen” ergeben kann.” (Walde *ibid*.).

Moreover, the very same etymological dictionaries and lexicons mentioned above make it clear that we cannot, on the basis of the historical developments postulated, claim biunique correspondence at the semantic level with any certainty. In fact, while we have the Germanic *giwinnan* to contrast with *wunsc*(*h*) and the Latin *venus*- which may possibly be associated with the old Indian *vanas*- or the Tocharian A *wañi*, we have, however, on the one hand, many forms in which the laryngeal has left no trace – no evidence to assert or deny its existence – and on the other hand no attestations outside the Indo-Iranian branch. Or rather, to be more precise, outside it we rarely find attestations of both roots and both meanings in a single language.

It is precisely with respect to this semantic ambivalence[[12]](#footnote-12) and the phonetic alternation shown by the root that two interrelated types of problem arise, one linguistic and one semantic: on the one hand, we may have two possible roots or two forms of the same root while, on the other hand, it may be a matter of two different types of meaning, the relationship between these two planes remaining, however, unclear.

## I.2 R̥gvedic Evidences – *van3*: Hypothesis of a Nuclear Meaning.

With regard to the Sanskrit outcome of the Indo-European root, we find an alternation of the two root forms *van- / vani-* which can be traced back to the reconstructed Indo-European forms: *van- < \*u̯en* and *vani- < \*u̯en-H*. These outcomes converge in Sanskrit into a single verbal lemma *van*- (catalogued respectively as I and VIII class), whose meanings, as listed by Böthlingk-Roth (1855-1875), are: 1) gern haben, lieben; wünschen, verlangen – 2) erlangen, verschaffen für; sich verschaffen – 3) bemeistern, bezwingen; siegen, gewinnen – 4) verfügen über, innehaben. – 5) bereit machen, sich anschicken zu [...] das Absehen haben auf, petere [...] angreifend.

Here, too, besides the morphological alternation, we again find those two semantic fields considered above for the Indo-European root. Thus the question remains open: can these two fields of possible meanings be traced back to the two forms of the Sanskrit root (*van- / vani*-)? Is there, then, a morphological element which in this case turns out to be a bearer of semantic value, or, on the other hand, is there one single meaning to which this alternation can be traced back, and if so what is it? With regard to the Sanskrit verbal root, two main positions have been taken by the various scholars: we may take Saul Migron and Toshifumi Gotō as representative of these two opposite interpretations.

The path followed by Saul Migron[[13]](#footnote-13) takes as its starting point the difficulty of a semantic division between the two verbal forms – a division upon which Gotō bases his proposed solution – due to a morphological situation that leaves little scope for differentiation, as had already been pointed out by Grassmann[[14]](#footnote-14). If one takes up the idea advanced by Meringer[[15]](#footnote-15) that this verb must have denoted “a thing” and not a nebulous concept, then the approach taken to the problem differs from the one considered above, coming closer to what is defined as internal semantic reconstruction. Migron, in fact, focuses directly on the text, and specifically on the data supplied by the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*, seeking to deduce a single semantic field from the various contexts in which the verb in question is used. The starting point – and the point of arrival – lies in demonstrating that this is possible.

More specifically, the author tries out the hypothesis that there may be in a living language a semantic field able to account for all the senses of the Sanskrit verb. This field is supplied by the English verb “to get”. Thus the investigation is pursued through the various typologies of meaning that the Sanskrit *van- / vani*- appears to take on, verifying in each case whether the English verb can show a valid corresponding meaning, and eventually arriving at the conclusion that even as from the earliest attestations – looking back to the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*, that is – the semantics of *van*- / *vani-* matches that of the English “to get”. Like Meillet[[16]](#footnote-16), Migron detects here are a term originally associated with hunting and, taking here a different line from the French scholar, suggests a path developing from hunting towards desire. To corroborate this interpretation is the fact that the use of a venatorial (!) terminology with erotic senses is a widespread phenomenon marking the development of this root within many in the Indo-European languages (see, as a case in point, the Latin *vēnārī*). Thus, from an initial “to capture” (possibly an animal) the way led to a more general meaning, “to attract”, eventually arriving at the familiar concept of “to please” incarnated by the Latin *Venus* or the Germanic *Wonne*, showing a progression that boils down to something like chase > desire. Concluding his article, however, Migron leaves another possibility open, associated with stanzas like R̥V 6.16.26b *adyá tvā vanván surékṇāḥ* or R̥V 5.41.17b *dévāso vánate mártiyo va*, which may also be worth considering: “Another avenue has its starting-point in ‘make (a thing or person) one’s own’”[[17]](#footnote-17). Among those who supported the hypothesis of what Walde (cf. *supra*) had already called “Grundbedeutung”, i.e. of a meaning lying behind both roots and of the various meanings which the verb takes on, there is also Kümmel[[18]](#footnote-18), who, however, studied the forms of the perfect to go on to hypothesise for *van- / vani-* the base meaning “liebgewinnen” (‘grew fond of’), much as Trier[[19]](#footnote-19) had read into it “gewinnen”.

On the other hand, a contrasting hypothesis was advanced by Toshifumi Gotō who, in his study on the first class of the Vedic present system[[20]](#footnote-20), starts with an analysis of the two root forms. Of the two forms, the *seṭ* one shows the more complicated situation, while the present stem derived from the *aniṭ* root (*van*-), *vanó / vanu-΄* shows a certain uniformity of a values: in most cases the meaning “überwältigen” is beyond all doubt, and even in those passages where the meaning is not unambiguously deducible, the sense of the verb can certainly be rendered, following in the footsteps of Geldner, with “gewinnen” or, again, with “überwältigen”. As for the *seṭ* form*,* Gotō traces out the following path: starting from certain secondary derivatives, *vāmá*- “wert, lieb” -*vāta*- “geliebt” *vā́ñcha-ti* “begehren, wünschen”, he finds his way back to the original verbal form, the meaning of which would be expected to be something like “to love”, “desire”.

At this point, according to the author, the need is to demonstrate whether the stem *va(΄)na-* gave rise to present forms and to verify the possibility of attributing to these forms the meaning “to love”, much as was done in the case of the stem of the present *vanó- / vanu-΄*: in the passages quoted by Gotō the verb *vani*- can certainly be translated with “to love” or such like, with regard both to the attestations of the present and the forms of the thematic aorist, supplied by the stem *vaná*- (*\*u̯n̥h-é-*). A problem arising with this interpretative approach—the solution to which needs to be argued out at length—concerns *vanema,* the optative present 1st pers. pl. Deriving from the stem *vana*- (1st class), *vanema* should therefore be associated with the form *seṭ*, but, on the other hand, in many passages it hardly seems appropriate to translate it as “to love” (of the many examples we may cite R̥V 1.70.1 *vanéma pūrvī́r aryó manīṣā́* ). According to Gotō, who refers readers to the literature on the question[[21]](#footnote-21), the form *vanema* can, however, be read as a thematic optative (a + i > e) constructed on the athematic root aorist, the existence of which is borne out by the subjunctive, and which finds a place among the forms of *van-* “gewinnen”. Thus the scholar concludes that it is possible to contemplate two different original roots: 1) *van-* “gewinnen, überwältigen” mainly in the form of the present *vanóti*, etc., of the root and sigmatic aorist; 2) *vani-* “lieben” in the present stem *vani-a-ti/te* and in the stem of the thematic aorist *vaná*-.

Also following this interpretative line is Werba[[22]](#footnote-22), in his study on Indo-Iranian roots, as do the etymological dictionaries and lexicons mentioned above, which in fact refer readers to Gotō’s study.

The quantity of studies following one upon another over time regarding the root we are concerned with here is such that it has been expedient to supply only the two principal positions and their more recent and significant representatives; for the full picture of all the critical studies and the various exegeses, see EWAia: II 499-501, and more recently the analysisby Hettrich (2007); the scholar investigates the meanings of *van- / vani* especially in the *R̥gvedasaṃhitā* and, maintaining the division between the two roots and the two meanings,proposes for *van-* a schemathat is based on the three german verbs *siegreich sein/ überwältigen/ erringen-gewinnen.* In the conclusion, noticing that the two meanings of the two roots are clearly observable and still very near, he states that “Das Verhältins zwischen beiden könnte man als ‘pragmatische Implikation’ bezeichnen[[23]](#footnote-23)”. With regard to the possibility of attributing one single value to the verbal root or considering it the vehicle of both meanings, it is also worth looking into the interpretations proposed by Karl Friedrich Geldner (1951) and Louis Renou (1955-1969) in their works translating the *R**̥gveda Saṃhitā*. To some extent, their hypotheses anticipate the two illustrated above. Geldner makes use of both the meanings proposed for the verbal root *van- / vani-*, and yet there emerges a position that, on the one hand, seems to fit in with the hypothesis argued by Gotō, but on the other hand shows a basic and radical departure from these very hypotheses: Gotō holds that a biunique relationship can be established between the two root forms and the two semantic values but, if we take into account a sufficiently large number of passages, we find that the German scholar does not base his argument on the separation between the two forms deriving from the root *seṭ* and those deriving from the root *aniṭ*, but the choice between the two areas of meaning is made in relation to the context. A good example is stanza R̥V 1.31.13:

1.31.13 *tuvám agne yájyave pāyúr ántaro*

*aniṣaṅgā́ya caturakṣá idhyase*

*yó rātáhavyo avr̥kā́ya dhā́yase*

*kīréś cin mántram mánasā vanóṣi tám*

You, o Agni, are kindled for the defenceless sacrificer, close protector, with four eyes; of him[[24]](#footnote-24) who has offered the libations for nourishment free of danger, albeit weak[[25]](#footnote-25), *van-* the verse with the mind.

With regard to the grammatical construction of the second two *pāda* (cf. footnote just above), scholars interpret this passage in very different ways, although almost all of them agree in attributing to *vanóṣi* meanings that come within the sphere of the English verb “to love”, on account of a form of the stem of the present *vanó / vanu-΄* which clearly derives from the *aniṭ* root. In particular, while Geldner (I 35) and Witzel-Gotō (2007: 59) translate as “begehrst” and Renou (XII 6) resorts to paraphrase, “gagne en ton cœur”, in the attempt to retain “gagne” for the Sanskrit verb *van-*, both taking the object of the action to be man. Elizarenkova (1995a: 62-3), unlike these two scholars takes the object of the verb to be *mántram* (the verse) and translates *vanóṣi* with the English “love”. Finally, it is worth recalling the two primary meanings that Elizarenkova supplies for *van-* in her study on the terms characterised by *conversive meaning*: “to like, to prefer” and “to obtain,” “to win”(cf. Elizarenkova 1995a: 47). Unlike Geldner, the French scholar holds that in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* the value of “to desire” is not to be found in the use of *van- / vani-* (cf. Renou XII 77-78 n.13); he adopts the French verb *gagne* in all its senses (cf. “ont gagné à eux”in 1 51.2) and sticks to this translation with great constancy, occasionally resorting to the more specific *vaincre* (above all for the form of the participle, cf. 6.16.27; 9.61.24; 2 21.1; 7.83.4; 6.16.20). However, there are some passages in which, while continuing in any case to underline the dominant value of “gagne”, seems to have no option but to abandon the initial choice and resort to “aimer” or “agréer”. This position has a certain affinity with that taken by Migron who, as we have seen, suggests the possibility of considering the various attestations of this verbal root as different developments of a single ancient term of hunting, which the scholar compares with the English “to get”: with a verb of this kind, which is applied over a very wide range of meanings and also lends itself to phrasal uses, Migron succeeds in handling the passages most suggestive of the presence of the meaning close to “desire”, as, for example, in the case of R̥V 8.45.23 *mā́ tvā mūrā́ aviṣyávo mópahásvāna ā́ dabhan mā́kīm brahmadvíṣo vanaḥ* – a stanza difficult to translate using the two meanings met with so far, and that will be throughout analysed at the end of this chapter, representing a keystone of the semantic speculation we are bringing forth.

Despite their differences, both positions seem to some extent equally possible. What, then, is the background that offers scope for this possibility? Grassmann[[26]](#footnote-26), in his *Wörterbuch des Rigveda*, takes the *seṭ* and *aniṭ* forms of the verb *van- / vani-* as different stems of one and the same root, suggesting for them a common, underlying and broader meaning: the various meanings of *van- / vani-* can, according to Grassmann, be grouped under the concept of *auf etwas hinzielen, sich hinrichten*. Similarly, according to Pischel (Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: III §22, 198-204) *Grundbedeutung* of the verb is “auf etwas losgehen”.

May we, then, take the possibility of different interpretations to have to do with a meaning – a semantic situation – as delineated by Pischel and Grassmann? The latter states with regard to the verb *van- / vani-*: “Die verschiedenen, zum Theil sich scheinbar wiederstreitenden Begriffe, welche diese Wurzel im Indiscen, im Zend und im Germanischen vor Augen stellt, darf uns nicht verleiten, dieselbe in zwei ursprünglich gesonderte Wurzeln zu zerlegen” and more “Die volkommene Uebereinstimmung der Form in allen ihren Entwickelungen […] und die mannichfachen Begriffübergänge lassen keinen Zweifel an der ursprünglichen Einheit der Wurzel zu”. Even if we don’t take this last statement for sure, considering the “original” unity of the I.E. root, we would propose to concentrate on what we called *van3,* that is to address the Vedic outcome as the result of a coalescence between the two hypothetical I.E. roots.

Having, then, framed our question in the terms set out above, I made a functional analysis[[27]](#footnote-27) of the attestations of *van- / vani-* in the *R̥gvedasaṃhitā* in order to identify and delineate the specific contexts, and, comparing the differences in use, eventually establish its values and discern their connections. The result of such analysis, that is fully presented in the next chapter, is that the R̥gvedic occurrences can be divided into five groups presenting different context-bound uses of the verb.

*van3*: a) to possess

b) to win / conquer

c) absolute use

d) to appropriate

e) ritual meaning

The first of the most frequent uses of *van- / vani-* is clearly represented by the passages in which the verb takes on the value of “to possess” / “to come into possession”. A second meaning can be discerned which is very common and in a way related to the previous one: “to win” “to conquer”. The third group is represented by the absolute use of the present participle *vanvan-,* conveying both the idea of possession and dominion.

In the fourth group, the action indicated by the verb *van- / vani-* cannot be understood in the sense of ‘to possess’: the request addressed to the god is that he ‘*van-* something for man’, rather than possessing, that he ‘appropriate’ something in the name of, on behalf of man. In particular, we shall see that neither man nor the god take command or obtain possession of something, but rather ‘make it their own’, they bring it into their own sphere of influence. In the stanza 2.11.2, for instance, the god appropriates the chants, thereby endowing them with potency, i.e. making of them what they are: *r̥c-*, chants that man has not created but receives, and in turn appropriates, in accordance with a circular mechanism[[28]](#footnote-28) frequent in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and typical of Vedic thought:

2.11.12 *tuvé indra ápi abhūma víprā*

*dhíyaṃ vanema r̥tayā́ sápantaḥ*

*avasyávo dhīmahi práśastiṃ*

*sadyás te rāyó dāváne siyāma*

In you we have gathered, o Indra, vibrant, may we make ours the poetic vision to honour you with a just vision,[[29]](#footnote-29) let it be granted to us, desirous of protection, to obtain a eulogy,[[30]](#footnote-30) in this moment to be those on whom you bestow riches.

*vanema:* opt. pres. 1stpl. I-VI cl.

Geldner: I 288 “wollen Gewinn haben”

Renou: XVII 55 “gagner”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 366 “wollen erreichen”

In the light of this functional division, it seems reasonable to hypothesise the existence of an underlying and broader meaning for the verb *van- / vani-*: in fact, we may subsume the first three uses of the verb under the common nuclear-meaning “to appropriate” or “to make s.o., s.t. one’s own” as Migron suggested considering it an alternative avenue. ‘To appropriate’ can indicate an act of transference,but it can also take on in different contexts a sense very close to what we have rendered with ‘to possess’ and ‘to dominate’, or in other words to the other two senses we have found for this a verb: one can, in fact, appropriate riches, or an enemy, just like a verse. It is not that we are suggesting here to use ‘to appropriate’ as an alternative to ‘to get’ as proposed by Migron; that is, as the term to be used in all circumstances to translate the verb *van- / vani-*.

The hypothesis is that the coalescence of the two Indo-european forms, *van3*, conveys basically a core meaning. The different uses of the verb, the different meanings we have seen insofar, can be read as conversive meanings: “all the “separate meanings” are really context-bound variants of a single syncretic invariant meaning” (Elizarenkova 1995a: 30).

I choose ‘to appropriate’ because it retains the idea of a possessing, but also to make something one’s own in a broader sense, being one of the definitions of this verb as it is given in the Oxford English Dictionary “To take possession for one’s own, to take to oneself”. I am thus not arguing ‘to appropriate’ being always the proper translation for *van- / vani-.* I will use this verb just to point out the possibility of a narrow semantic field from which the different context-bound meanings could be derived.

Finally, in the fifth group I put together stanzas where the verb is still connected with the idea of making something one’s own, or to let something enter in one’s own sphere of control, but it takes a rather concrete and specific nuance within the context of a ritual performance. Moreover, in all the occurrences the verb has either the god as object or it has none.

What we are dealing with is a ritual action – an action that is concrete or formed by concrete gestures which, at least for the time being, are unknown to us (not an unusual circumstances at this stage of the language, a good example being the verb *hvī*- “to invoke”, behind which we can only imagine a series of concrete undertakings which combined to form the act of invocation). If it is a movement that leads from the outside inwards, it is in fact also, in the context of sacrifice, an action “to have arrive in the place where the rite is being performed”, or, better, “to have enter the circle of sacrifice”. In this case, therefore, we are confronted with an action that has its origins in the ritual procedure.

To sum up, we may read the different uses of the verb as follow,

*van3* “to appropriate”(d): context bound -variant meaning/uses: a) “to possess”

b) “to win / conquer”

c) absolute

e) ritual meaning

Thus, for *van3* we have an action implying an outward movement which, when visible in a ritualistic performance-context, is almost always in the direction of the gods. It is also a movement that, if brought to completion, leads to an “appropriation ”, and the perfective-resultative value of *van- / vani-* in contrast with the desiderative[[31]](#footnote-31) form that conveys the non-perfective meaning “to summon”, “to invoke” seems to underpin the hypothesis of a movement towards the outside as underlying rationale. This reconstruction shall be underpinned the functional analysis of the R̥gvedic occurrences in the next chapter.

# II The R̥gvedic Scenario

## II.1 Functional Analysis of the Occurrences

To make our analysis clearer, the various readings are divided into the following principal groups, along an alphanumeric order: *a-* “to possess”, *b-* “to conquer, to dominate” *c-* absolute use of the present participle, *d-* “to appropriate”, as a passage of possessing, *e-* “to make s.o. enter the circle of sacrifice”, as a ritual use of the idea of possessing. A thorough data-base of those groups, including all R̥V occurrences, is also to be found in the Appendix.

### *a- Variant meaning “to possess”*

The first group represents the most common use of the verb. In some cases the subject of the action is the god who “*van-* something for himself” – for example nourishment, as in 10.61.4 or in 10.107.7 in which is the subject of the action is the *Dakṣiṇā**[[32]](#footnote-32)*, while in 4.44.2 it is the Aśvin, divinities of light and daytime, that in fact gain luminous beauty. In the stanzas dedicated to Indra, the object of the action is almost always *soma*, the drink the god is so fond of as to be recognised among the gods as the “*soma* drinker” par excellence (cf. 1.61.15; 6.23.5; 10 105.5); while in 10.27.9 it is not *soma*, but the horse – the animal associated with this warrior god – that Indra “possesses”, or rather tames.

In other cases it is man who “*van-* something for himself”, and that which man “possesses” or often asks to “possess” concerns to a large extent the sphere of material goods, which hold great importance in the life and thought of Vedic man; what is asked for, then, is *riches*, also mentioned in 6.68.5; 9 72.8 and in 9.101.9, and of which 1.129.7 is an example:

1.129.7 *vanéma tád dhótarayā citántiyā*

*vanéma rayíṃ rayivaḥ suvī́riyaṃ*

*raṇváṃ sántaṃ suvī́riyam*

*durmánmānaṃ sumántubhir*

*ā́ īm iṣā́ pr̥cīmahi*

*ā́ satyā́bhir índaraṃ dyumnáhūtibhir*

*yájatraṃ dyumnáhūtibhiḥ*

Let us possess this thanks to an excellent sacrificial offering: let us possess riches, o lord of riches, let us possess the issue of heroes, which is that which gives joy, the issue of heroes; we can satisfy the evil evoked[[33]](#footnote-33) with benevolent words as nourishment, satisfy Indra with luminous, true invocations, he who is worthy of sacrifice with luminous invocations.

2x *vanéma:* opt. pres. 1st pl. I-VI cl.

Geldner: I 181 “möchten gewinnen”

Renou: XVII 43 “gagner”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 241 “gewinnen möchten”

Thus in stanzas 3.30.18 and 7.8.3 we see adopted with the same function the *nomen agentis* formed from the verbal root *van- / vani-*, in both cases associated, in fact, with the substantive *rai-* ‘riches’. Elsewhere the god is invoked to grant *victory* (10.53.11), *rain* (10.98.3), *drunkenness* (10.96.1), *offerings* (1.127.7), *libation* (7.47.1), or, more generically, *goods* (1.15.8; 1.133.7; 7.94.9). A considerably smaller role is played by the cases in which the man wishes “to possess” *benevolence* (5.70.1) or the *protection of the gods* (7.88.7 and 8.92.31) rather than their *greatness* (10.26.2), requests that differ from the previous ones since, although these, too, are goods and in a sense concretely far closer to Vedic man than to his modern-day counterpart, they nevertheless imply more abstract and general values:

5.70.1 *purūrúṇā cid dhí ásti*

*ávo nūnáṃ vāṃ varuṇa*

*mítra váṃsi vāṃ sumatím*

Abundant now is your protection which manifests itself thanks to the ample space[[34]](#footnote-34), o Varuṇa, o Mitra, let me possess your benevolence.

*váṃsi:* inj. aor. 1st sing. sigmatic aorist

Geldner: II 76 “möchte gewinnen”

Renou: V 82 “je veux gagner”

There are also requests (*van- / vani-* in these cases is always adopted in the optative) to “possess” the *inspirations* of the enemy (1.70.1), or “*the poetic vision”* (2.11.2): the latter type of attestation, although far rarer, nevertheless plays an important part in our analysis of the meaning of *van- / vani-*:

1.70.1-2 *vanéma pūrvī́r aryó manīṣā́*

*agníḥ suśóko víśvāni aśyāḥ*

*ā́ daíviyāni vratā́ cikitvā́n*

*ā́ mā́nuṣasya jánasya jánma*

Let us possess the many poetic inspirations[[35]](#footnote-35) of the stranger[[36]](#footnote-36), Agni, who burns well, let him obtain everything, he who has knowledge[[37]](#footnote-37) of the divine orders and the descent of the human race.

*vanéma:* opt. pres. 1st pl. I-VI cl.

Geldner: I 91 “wollen überbieten”

Renou: XII 16 “(souhaitons) emporter”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 128 “möchten überbieten”

So far, then, we have presented our first group of verses showing a characteristic in common: *van- / vani-*, albeit in different contexts, means ‘to possess’, whether *soma* or beauty, in the case of a divinity, or riches, abundant oxen, but also, as in the last of the passages, the protection of the god or the poetic inspirations of the enemy when the subject of the action is man. There are two points to make about this group of stanzas: the frequency, already noted, of this sense of the verb and the quantitative disparity between the cases in which the subject of the action is man and those where the subject is the god. While here the former case is far more frequent, as we will see, the situation is completely reversed for the fourth group of stanzas. These disparities call to mind the possibility of an equally interesting functional analysis of what Elizarenkova (1995a: 41 ff.) calls *conversive meaning* – semantic reflection of the Vedic model of the universe: “The idea of an exchange between the deity and the worshipper is lexically expressed by a “conversive” meaning […]” (*ibid.* 41).

### *b- Variant meaning “to conquer”*

The following group consists of stanzas in which a second sense can be discerned which is very common and in a way related to the sense identified in the first group. So far *van- / vani-* has been used to indicate the action, performed by the god or by man, to take possession of some asset. In the following passages, on the other hand, the poet applies this verb to indicate an action which the god or man perform against the enemy, “the other”. The meaning conveyed here seems to be “to win” “to conquer” , borne out by the fact that in this type of context the preponderant presence of Indra is perfectly evident. The warrior god is invoked in nine of the eleven passages having to do with the gods: both directly (1.121.9; 5.29.9; 6.18.3; 6.20.9; 10.74.6) and through his horses (10.32.2) or the state of drunkenness which is characteristic of him, and thanks to which he performs heroic feats (6.33.1):

1.121.9 *tuvám āyasám práti vartayo gór*

*divó áśmānam úpanītam ŕ̥bhvā*

*kútsāya yátra puruhūta vanváñ*

*chúṣṇam anantaíḥ pariyā́si vadhaíḥ*

You have rolled the iron-bearing stone away from the celestial cow[[38]](#footnote-38), the stone put down by the able one;

When for the sake of Kutsa[[39]](#footnote-39) you, much invoked, Śuṣna with countless bows surrounded conquering him.

*vanván:* part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.

Geldner: I 166 “Partei nehmend”

Renou: XVII 41 “gagnant (la battaille pour K.)”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 222 “überwältigend”

In stanzas 2.30.6 and 7.83.4, on the other hand, the god is invoked together with other divinities. In particular, in 7.83.4 the protection and attention of Indra and Varuṇa are called for, while in 2.30.6 Soma is also involved, showing two aspects so diametrically opposed as that of ‘protector’ on the one hand, and ‘annihilator’ on the other:

2.30.6 *prá hí krátuṃ vr̥hátho yáṃ vanuthó*

*radhrásya stho yájamānasya codaú*

*índrāsomā yuvám asmā́m̐ aviṣṭam*

*asmín bhayásthe kr̥ṇutam u lokám*

“You two surely draw out the ability of the one[[40]](#footnote-40) whom you conquer; of the promoter of the sacrifice, obedient, you are guides; o Indra and Soma, you two, protect us, procure for us in this dangerous situation a safe place[[41]](#footnote-41).”

*vanutháḥ:* ind. pres. 2nd du. VIII cl.

Geldner: I 314 “abgesehen habt auf”. The scholar refers to the *topos* which has it that the gods deprive of reason those they mean to bring low, but (n. 6a) “*van-* ist allerdings eine vox media”.

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 401 “überwältigt”

There are only two cases in which other divinities our invoked. The first is 7.48.3, a hymn dedicated to the R̥bhu, in some cases named as companions of Indra for whom they forged the weapons, a divine group from which help may justly be expected at the time of battle. In the second case it is Agni, the messenger god, who has the role of aggressor: this passage may possibly constitute an account of the initial stage of the fire cult, of which Vadhryaśva[[42]](#footnote-42) was the promoter; thus we may imagine these elders, or those who had been before (*pū́rvām̐*), as persons or divinities far from this nascent cult (*yaviṣṭha*), and therefore arrogant:

10.69.10 *pitéva putrám abibhar upásthe*

*tuvā́m agne vadhriaśváḥ saparyán*

*juṣāṇó asya samídhaṃ yaviṣṭha*

*utá pū́rvām̐ avanor vrā́dhataś cit*

Like a father his son, so did Vadhryaśva bear you in his womb, o Agni, honouring you; you, satisfied with his wood to burn and newly born, conquered the elder ones, who were arrogant[[43]](#footnote-43).

*avanoḥ:* ind. impf. 2nd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Geldner: III 247 “hast überwunden”

Renou: XIV 18 “as gagné à toi”

In all these passages, as in the passages where the subject of the action is no longer the divinity but man, there seems to be no doubt about the fact that the sense in which the verb is used is “to dominate”, a way to “possess” which is also to “conquer” – to conquer the enemy, in fact (as in 1.73.9; 8.19.20; 8.31.3; 9.61.24), or to defeat the mortal, as in 5.3.5-6: in this hymn dedicated to Agni we find *van- / vani-* reiterated in two successive stanzas within the same request. This is a characteristic tendency in the Vedic world, where repetition is seen as a means of reinforcement. In the case of man, it is to be noted that the foreigner (*arí-*) represents the most frequent object of this domination (cf. 6.16.27; 8.60.12; 9.61.11; 10.38.3). In stanza 8.19.20 the action of Agni and the action of men are symmetrically associated: the former acts at the level of the macrocosm, the latter at the level of the microcosm: both perform the same action, and it is this connection between macro and microcosm that Vedic man creates and follows, the structure through which he interprets the realities around him:

8.19.20 *bhadrám mánaḥ kr̥ṇuṣva vr̥tratū́riye*

*yénā samátsu sāsáhaḥ*

*áva sthirā́ tanuhi bhū́ri śárdhatāṃ*

*vanémā te abhíṣṭibhiḥ*

Along the victory over enemies make your spirit[[44]](#footnote-44) well-wishing, thanks to which you can get the better in battles. Slacken the steadfast forces[[45]](#footnote-45), we will overcome the many[[46]](#footnote-46) of all those who resist you with your protection[[47]](#footnote-47).

*vanéma:* opt. pres. 1st pl. I-VI cl.

Geldner: II 321 *möchten gewinnen*

Renou: XIII 66 *gagner* (absolute)

### *c- Absolute use of the present participle*

The third group of attestations occupies a position that might be seen as rather particular as compared to the first two. It is to the broader semantic sphere indicated by “to possess”-“to dominate”, in fact, that we should ascribe the absolute use of the present participle *vanvan-*, which in these cases take on some function of divine attribute. The stanza 6.12.4 offers an example of this:

6.12.4 *sá asmā́kebhir etárī ná śūṣaír*

*agní ṣṭave dáma ā́ jātávedāḥ*

*drúanno vanván krátuvā ná árvā*

*usráḥ pitéva jārayā́yi yajñaíḥ*

This Agni and Jatavedas, like the one who crosses[[48]](#footnote-48), raises[[49]](#footnote-49) hymns through our chants resounding in the house; he who feeds on wood, he who appropriates with skill, like a courser, like the father of dawn, he is kept alive[[50]](#footnote-50) with sacrifices.

*vanván:* part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.

Geldner: II 104 “der gewinnt”

Renou: XIII 45 “gagnant”

When used with this value *vanvan-* it is almost always (exceptions are to be seen only in stanzas 6.12.4 and 2.21.2) brought into contrast with the adjective *avāta-* (6.16.20; 6.18.1; 9.89.7; 9.96.8; 9.96.11). This term (*a-*subtractive + *vāta-*) can clearly be traced back to the reconstructed form *\*vātaḥ,* passive past participle of the verbal root *van- / vani-*, to which are to be ascribed the compounds in *°vāta-**[[51]](#footnote-51)* (cf. *devávātaḥ*), above all in developments of verbal root outside the *R**̥gveda Saṃhitā[[52]](#footnote-52)*.

### *d- Nuclear meaning “to appropriate”*

From the passages so far analysed we can draw an initial indication: the verbal root *van- / vani-* appears to convey the idea of a “possession” which can also take on the characteristic of “domination”. However, not infrequently we come across the verb *van-* adopted in contexts showing a very different use, suggesting a very particular sense of “to possess”.

*d1-*A first type of this different news is well represented by stanzas like 7.2.7: here Agni is evoked in his role as intermediary between man and the gods, a fundamental function within the Vedic world:

7.2.7 *víprā yajñéṣu mā́nuṣeṣu kārū́*

*mánye vāṃ jātávedasā yájadhyai*

*ūrdhváṃ no adhvaráṃ kr̥taṃ háveṣu*

*tā́ devéṣu vanatho vā́riyāṇi*

O wise inspired ones[[53]](#footnote-53), during the sacrifices of men, I invoke you, you, the poet-priest and the Jatavedas[[54]](#footnote-54), let it be sacrificed for you[[55]](#footnote-55)! Raise up our offering during the invocations, amongst the gods you two appropriate these choice goods.

*vanathaḥ:* ind. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.

Geldner: II 182 “gewinnt”

Renou: XIV 46 “gagnez”

An identical invocation structure is also to be found in 1.31.14; 1.36.17; 3.19.1; 5.3.10; 5.4.3; 6.16.28; 7.17.5; 8.23.27; 8.60.14 and 8.103.9. The presence of Agni is dominant: only three stanzas of this type make reference to other divinities. In the first case it is Sūrya, invoked as intermediary, who is asked to “appropriate” a refuge:

5.44.7 *véti ágrur jánivān vā́ áti spŕ̥dhaḥ*

*samaryatā́ mánasā sū́riyaḥ kavíḥ*

*ghraṃsáṃ rákṣantam pári viśváto gáyam*

*asmā́kaṃ śárma vanavat suā́vasuḥ*

He outruns, unmarried and yet surrounded by women, the rivals through a mind inspired for competition, Sūrya, inspired sage, may he appropriate the home that protects the heat all around, a shelter for us, he possessing any good.

*vanavat*: subj. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.

Geldner: II 48 “möge zuwenden”

Renou: V 26 “assure nous”

While in the other two cases – quoted below – the divinities invoked are Indra in 1.169.1 and the couple Mitra-Varuṇa in 5.65.4, where, however, the stanza of interest to us addresses in particular Mitra, whose benevolence succours the sacrifice and is manifested in its ample path, as previously in 5.70.1 (*purūrúṇā cid dhí ásti / ávo nūnáṃ vāṃ varuṇa / mítra váṃsi vāṃ sumatím*) “abundant now is your protection which manifests itself thanks to the ample space, o Varuṇa, o Mitra, let me possess your benevolence”:

1.169.1 *maháś cit tvám indara yatá etā́n*

*maháś cid asi tyájaso varūtā́*

*sá no vedho marútāṃ cikitvā́n*

*sumnā́ vanuṣva táva hí préṣṭhā*

You, great, o Indra, have held these back, truly you are, great, he who protects from isolation[[56]](#footnote-56); you who perform the distribution[[57]](#footnote-57) for us, having understood, through the vision, the favours of the Marut appropriate[[58]](#footnote-58), your dearest.

*vanuṣva:* impv. pres. 2nd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Geldner: I 246 “gewinn”

Renou: XVII 48 “gagne”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 314“gewinn”

5.65.4 *mitró aṃhóś cid ā́d urú*

*kṣáyāya gātúṃ vanate*

*mitrásya hí pratū́rvataḥ*

*sumatír ásti vidhatáḥ*

Mitra right from out of the narrow way appropriates, ample, the path[[59]](#footnote-59) towards home, the benevolence of Mitra, who advances victorious[[60]](#footnote-60), comes in aid of the one who performs the distribution[[61]](#footnote-61).

*vanate:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. I-VI cl.

Geldner: II 73 “gewinnt”

Renou: V 80 “gagne*”*

Considering, now, this first group of stanzas, we are struck by a significant difference from the previous groups (*a- b- c-*). Significantly, the divinity to which most of these hymns are addressed is in fact Agni, the messenger, the fire to which are entrusted the offerings and prayers addressed to the gods. The requests made are in the interests of man, and even when this is not made explicit in the stanzas, we are, in any case, always confronted with ‘goods’ (often ‘choice goods’ *vā́rya*) for, and perceived as such by, man, whether as a matter of well-being or the favour of a god. Suffice it to recall, for example, the invocation to Mitra in 5 65.4: what this god appropriates is the broad path, in that it can lead man – not the god – out of the narrow confines. Mitra and Varuṇa are, in fact, they who dispense *urvī* *gavyūti* ‘ample pastures’, free from the narrow confines (*áṃhu*-). Again, Mitra, in particular, victoriously fights against those who violate agreements, provoking war, which makes their way home narrow (cf. Thieme 1975: 21-39). Another stanza – another of those cited above – where the goods which the gods ‘appropriate’ come into the hands of the divinities only to be passed on, into the hands of men, is 3 19.1d (*rāyé vā́jāya vanate maghā́ni*), where the idea of ‘donating’ is further suggested by the choice of the term *rāyé* ‘riches’, a substantive derived from the root *rā-* “to donate” -as in Renou (XII 63) “en vue de (donner) la richesse”. What we are dealing with here is not possession but transfer between god and man.

*d2-*Let us now turn our attention to a second category of stanzas, where the subject is again the divinity who, in this case, *van-,* ‘possesses’ ‘appropriates’ the part of the sacrifice which is the oblation, the offering to the god, which the poet evokes using various metaphors. In 1.48.11 and 6.48.4 the oblation is called *prize of victory*, elsewhere *the gift* (1.140.11), *the homage* (6.16.18) or *the reward* (3.13.3), while in 5.31.13 the god *van-* the sacrifice itself, in its totality, and here the perfect *vāvandhi* hasa resultative value –as logical perfect (cf. Di Giovine 1996, in particular 273 ff.): “that you may have appropriated the sacrifices” i.e. “have made them powerful”:

5.31.13 *yé cākánanta cākánanta nū́ té*

*mártā amr̥ta mó té áṃha ā́ran*

*vāvandhí yájyūm̐r utá téṣu dhehi*

*ójo jáneṣu yéṣu te siyā́ma*

Those who are welcome to you, again, those, mortals, let them be welcome, o immortal one, let them not fall into the narrow way; let you have appropriated the sacrifices and bestow vigour on these peoples among which we may be yours”.

*vāvandhi:* impv. perf. 2nd sing. double stem

Geldner: II 30 “begünstige”

*d3-*Before going on to draw further conclusions we must stop to consider a third use of our verb. In these stanzas the divinity ‘possesses’, we might be tempted to say, quite a different part of the rite – a part such that the idea of possession once again seems hardly relevant. In this group we find almost all the passages in which Renou, while maintaining that in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* the value ‘to love’ is not to be found for the verb *van- / vani-* (cf. Renou XII 77-78 n.13), seems to have to abandon his initial choice (*gagner*) and resort to “aimer, agréer” or verbs in one way or another pertaining to the sphere of ‘love’. Thus this type of attestation might well represent a keystone for the semantic and morphological alternation which we started from. To begin with, it is worth noting that the term that most frequently (1.3.2; 1.93.9; 2.6.1; 7.94.2) serves as direct object is *gíraḥ*, ‘the chants’:

5.65.1 *yáś cikéta sá sukrátur*

*devatrā́ sá bravītu naḥ*

*váruṇo yásya darśató*

*mitró vā vánate gíraḥ*

He who has understood through the vision[[62]](#footnote-62), full of resources, in the divine world, let that one speak for us, that one in favour of whom Varuṇa appeared[[63]](#footnote-63) or Mitra appropriates the chants.

*vánate:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl.

Geldner: II 73 “*gut aufnehmen”*

Renou: V 80 “*aime”*

In the following stanza the divinity and, in particular, the Aśvin who, as we have already seen, ‘appropriate the chants’, appropriate a particular chant, or, better, a chant of which a particular characteristic is emphasised: in *r̥tā́ vanatho* there is, in fact, a metaphorical use of the substantive. Lüders (1959: 437- 438), analysing the various attestations in which *r̥tá-* is used in the plural, sees this specific use of the term as corresponding to the substantive *gíraḥ* (the chants) and proposes translation as *Liedern* (*Kultlieder*, ‘ritual chants’), or in other words as ‘truths expressed in words’: the sacred verses of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* give expression to the *r̥tá-*; others (Atkins 1950: 30 “the right roads”*;* Geldner I 57 “die rechten Wegen” ) see the plural here not relating to the chants, but rather to the path that Aśvin’s chariot follows bringing day, taking the ways that are right because they set the right succession of day and might into motion. Also worth bearing in mind is the interpretation offered by Pirart (1995: 88), who sees *r̥tā́* as an instrumental case forming together with *vanatho* a syntagm, “user du charme que l’harmonie constitue”, also attestated in Old Avestan in the formula *aṣā van-*:

1.46.14 *yuvór uṣā́ ánu śríyam*

*párijmanor upā́carat*

*r̥tā́ vanatho aktúbhiḥ*

“Dawn approached your beauty following it, o wanderers[[64]](#footnote-64), at the end of the night[[65]](#footnote-65) you appropriate the ritual chants[[66]](#footnote-66)”.

*vanathaḥ:* ind. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.

Geldner: I 57 “gewinnet”

Renou: XVI 6 “gagnez”

Atkins 1950: 30 “gain”

Lüders 1959: 437-438 “habt ihr gefallen”

Pirart 1995: 88 “avez usé du charme (de cette beauté)”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 88 “gewinnt”

In other passages the god ‘appropriates’ something that is ever changing: in 6.38.1 as in 8.7.9 it is the *invocation*, in 1.31.13 it is the *verse* (*mántram*), in 3.8.2 it is the *sacred* *formulation* (*bráhma*), in 8.13.33 the *hymn of prayer*, while in 10.61.3 it is *inspired discourses* – always something having to do with a fundamental element of the rite, namely the word. In stanzas 4.11.2 the translation of *pāda* c-d retains the inverted structure of the Vedic original to convey a quasi-consecutive value which the text seems to have: ‘give us this “thing” which, by the very fact that you have appropriated it, has become *bhū́ri mánma* (the great invocation)’, as if to suggest that it is precisely the fact of going through the god that makes the word powerful and effective, and that it is therefore for this reason that the poet asks the god to ‘appropriate’ the invocation:

4.11.2 *ví ṣāhi agne gr̥ṇaté manīṣā́ṃ*

*kháṃ vépasā tuvijāta stávānaḥ*

*víśvebhir yád vāvánaḥ śukra devaís*

*tán no rāsva sumaho bhū́ri mánma*

Open, o Agni, to the singer, poetic inspiration[[67]](#footnote-67), the open way with the quivering[[68]](#footnote-68), you, great by nature, you, praised; that which together with the gods, you shining one, will have appropriated, grant this to us, o powerful one: the ample poetic invocation[[69]](#footnote-69).

*vāvánaḥ:* subj. perf. 2nd sing. double stem

Geldner: I 431 “aufnehmen wirst”

Renou: XIII 14 “auras gagnée”

From the latter category of passages, the image that emerges most clearly is that of the divinity who ‘*van-* the words of the sacrifice’, often ‘the chants’ (*gíraḥ*), but also the ‘invocation’ (*hávam*) or ‘sacred formulation’ itself (*bráhma*): the action performed by the god can, therefore, be seen as a “gut aufnehmen”, as in fact Geldner suggests, or as an “aimer” according to Renou: in other words, we can read into it the image of the god who “loves”, appreciates-accepts the words of man.

Thus we have here attestations of the verbal root in which the verb takes some on a value differing from that of the previous groups, which confronts us with a choice. Either we can suppose that there are, then, two different semantic areas, although they cannot clearly be traced back to the two roots, or we may take these passages to introduce new elements in relation to that “broader meaning” mentioned in the first pages of this text. Such broader meaning has referred to also by Elizarenkova in her study on terms endowed with conversive meaning: “all the “separate meanings” are really context-bound variants of a single syncretic invariant meaning” (cf. 1995a: 30).

We have already seen, in the first two categories of this third group of stanzas, the possibility arising of attributing to *van- / vani-* the meaning ‘to appropriate’, a term which, in certain areas of use, can be considered synonymous with ‘to possess’ or, better, ‘to acquire’. But in what sense can the syntagm ‘to appropriate’ be adopted here? In other words, what would be implied by the image of a god who appropriates the chants of man?

If we turn to stanza 2.5.7 we have a clear impression of a transference, also to be found in the previous stanzas (cf. *d1*); in this case it is the man who ‘appropriates’ the hymn and the sacrifice, and does so thanks alone to the presence of Agni. It is equally evident that we find ourselves here amid a sacrificial rite, an area also in common with the the passages of the second category. In confirmation of this we have the end of the passage in which divine intervention is invoked, the missing part, as counterpart to the action of man (“We have given, we!”) in keeping with the concept of co-participation between the human and divine sphere, the essential condition for sacrifice to be effective:

2.5.7 *suváḥ suvā́ya dhā́yase*

*kr̥ṇutā́m r̥tvíg r̥tvíjam*

*stómaṃ yajñáṃ ca ā́d áraṃ*

*vanémā rarimā́ vayám*

He himself, for his nourishment[[70]](#footnote-70), provides, as officiant, the officiant[[71]](#footnote-71), then a hymn and a sacrifice we can appropriate in the right way[[72]](#footnote-72). We have given, we[[73]](#footnote-73).

*vanéma:* opt. pres. 1st pl. I-VI cl.

Geldner: I 283 “mögen Gewinn haben”

Renou: XII 45 “gagner”

Oldenberg 1909: 192 n. 5,7 “mögen bemeistern”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 360 “gewinnen”

Similarly, in stanza 8.66.5, those who are making ready for the sacrifice prepare what Indra has already effectively appropriated, namely the sacrifice itself, the verse and the word, or we might say the primary elements of the rite. Here, too, the verb appears to express above all the idea of a transference.

8.66.5 *yád vāvántha puruṣṭuta*

*purā́ cic chūra nr̥̄ṇā́m*

*vayáṃ tát ta indara sám bharāmasi*

*yajñám uktháṃ turáṃ vácaḥ*

That which you, o much praised lord of men, have already first appropriated, this we, for you, o Indra, we prepare: the sacrifice, the verse, the word that runs on.

*vāvántha*: ind. perf. 2nd sing. double stem

Geldner: II 388 “verdient hast”

### *e- Ritual meaning “to make s.o. enter the circle of sacrifice”*

Continuing with our analysis, we address the passages in which *van- / vani-* is used in ways of less frequent occurrence than those as yet examined here. Here the verb is clearly used within an actual moment of the sacrifice, and either *van- / vani-* doesn’trequire any direct object (*e1*) or the stanzas display a construction which is “the man *van-* the god” (*e2*).

We propose to read in these cases a concrete ritual meaning of the verb and interpret it as: “to make someone enter into the circle of sacrifice”. Moreover, the desiderative form of the verb underpin this hypothesis *(e3).*

*e1***-** These stanzas are characterised, on the one hand, by the absence of a direct object and, on the other hand, by an enigmatic nature often associated with the ritual context: we have an example in 10.27.18 (as in 10.128.3):

10.27.18 *ví krośanā́so víṣuvañca āyan*

*pácāti némo nahí pákṣad ardháḥ*

*ayám me deváḥ savitā́ tád āha*

*drúvanna íd vanavat sarpírannaḥ*

Let those who weep separate going in opposite directions, one part cooks, let the other not cook, this I have been told by this god, Savitr̥; let he who feeds on wood and clarified butter appropriate.

*vanavat:* subj. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.

Geldner: III 168 “wird gewinnen”

Let us, then, take into consideration stanza 8.72.1: the situation is the commencement of the rite known as Agniṣṭoma, and, more precisely, close to the moment when the offering is called and called again, although the text is very elliptical and discontinuous in following the sacrifice. According to Geldner (II 397 n.1) and Renou (XIV 105 n. 1) in this stanza the object of *vanate* is Agni, while Oldenberg (1912: 134 n. 1) interprets it as self, “seiner”. Let us, however, try keeping the verb without any direct object, considering what more the ritual context can tell us than the verb itself:

8.72.1 *havíṣ kr̥ṇudhvam ā́ gamad*

*adhvaryúr vanate púnaḥ*

*vidvā́m̐ asya praśā́sanam*

Prepare the oblation, that it may come[[74]](#footnote-74), that the *adhvaryu* may appropriate again, being acquainted with the teaching concerning this[[75]](#footnote-75)

*vanate:* subj. aor. 3rd sing. Ā

Geldner: II 397 “verlangt”

Renou: XIV 36 “gagne a”(cf. 105 n. 1 “«réclamer; récupérer» ne s’ajuste pas au sens habituel”)

Oldenberg 1912: 134 n. 1 “bemächtigt sich”

The following stanza seems, in turn, to indicate three stages of the sacrifice, referring to so many priests and different ritual acts: we have the *hotr̥* who *van*-, the *udgatr̥* who chants, the *adhvaryu* who goes under the stream with the offering, which appears to bring out a further meaning of the ritual context: following the symmetry so apparent in these *padā,* we might take the action indicated by *van*- in these passages to be a ritual action, which can possibly, therefore, have no direct object:

5.37.2 *sámiddhāgnir vanavat stīrṇábarhir*

*yuktágrāvā sutásomo jarāte*

*grā́vāṇo yásya iṣiráṃ vádanti*

*áyad adhvaryúr havíṣā́va síndhum*

Let the one who has kindled Agni appropriate, he who has strewn the sacrificial grass, who moves stones and squeezes out the soma, let him chant; let the *adhvaryu,* whose rapid stones resound, with the offering[[76]](#footnote-76) go downwards into the current.

*vanavat:* subj. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.

Geldner: II 36 “den Vorrang gewinnen soll”

In 10.61.2, too, we may discern an action associated with the moment of sacrifice:

10.61.2 *sá íd dānā́ya dábhiyāya vanváñ*

*cyávānaḥ sū́dair amimīta védim*

*tū́rvayāṇo gūrtávacastamaḥ*

*kṣódo ná réta itáūti siñcat*

This Cyavana[[77]](#footnote-77), appropriating[[78]](#footnote-78) for a gift that can be destroyed, built the altar together with the distilled juices[[79]](#footnote-79); Turvayana, whose words are the most welcome, poured forth the seed lasting as a stream.

*vanván:* part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.

Geldner: III 227 “sich bemühte”

Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: I 74 “absah (auf ein betrügerisches Opfer)”

In stanza 7.35.5 the use of *van-* to indicate a sacrificial action is suggested by two elements: one, of less significance, is the lack of the direct object (we may possibly take it to be understood), while the other is the chiastic structure of the stanza. In the first part, in fact, mention is made of a *dāśvas-* receiving benefits from a Indra through visions (*dhībhíḥ*), and we are therefore in a ritual context. In the second part Indra is asked when we will receive part of the riches, we who – one is therefore led to suppose – have behaved much like the *dāśvas-*, or in other words have performed the ritual action to ‘appropriate’ (*vavanmā́*) with the helps and alliances (*yújiyābhir ūtī́*, again two instrumentals). It is also to be noted that *dāśvas-* is a perfect participle of the verbal root *dāś-* from which is also derived, through the substantive *dāś*, *daśasyeḥ* (2nd sing.) optative present of the denominative *dāśayati*, here referring to Indra:

7 37.5 *sánitāsi praváto dāśúṣe cid*

*yā́bhir víveṣo hariaśva dhībhíḥ*

*vavanmā́ nú te yújiyābhir ūtī́*

*kadā́ na indra rāyá ā́ daśasyeḥ*

You are the conqueror of the steeps*[[80]](#footnote-80)* for the sacrificer thanks to visions[[81]](#footnote-81) through which, o you who has red-coated horse, you operate; we have appropriated with your alliances and your helps[[82]](#footnote-82), when, o Indra, will you offer us part of the riches?.

*vavanmā́:* ind. perf. 1st pl. (only attestation in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*)

Geldner: II 219 “haben Gewinn gehabt”

Renou: V 43 “avons gagné”

Two elements emerge clearly from analysis of these passages. Here, unlike the previous cases, the verb does not require a direct object and can therefore be used with an absolute value; the subject of the action is always, bar one occurrence, a human being. Secondly, in all these cases we have distinctly ritual contexts; thus, it is an action performed in the course of the sacrifice that we are considering, a ritual action that has no direct object or, if it has, the link with the verb is such that it can remain unexpressed.

Keeping ‘to appropriate’ as the key term, let us try to see what ‘to appropriate’ as a ritual action may consist in and if the suggestion to understand these cases through the idea “to make s.o. enter the circle of sacrifice” holds true.

*e2-* In this group of verses the gods are the direct object of the verb *van- / vani-*: man ‘appropriates’ the god, as in 6.15.6 and 6.16.26, as well as 10.105.8b (*r̥cā́ vanema anŕ̥caḥ*), where it is asked to appropriate “those who are without sacred verses (*ŕ̥c*)”, possibly referring to the gods yet to be invoked with hymns; the same action is to be found in these two stanzas which are worth quoting:

5 41.17 *íti cin nú prajā́yai paśumátyai*

*dévāso vánate mártiyo va*

*ā́ devāso vanate mártiyo vaḥ*

*átrā śivā́ṃ tanúvo dhāsím asyā́*

*jarā́ṃ cin me nírr̥tir jagrasīta*

Thus the mortal, even now, appropriates you, o gods, for the offspring possessing cattle[[83]](#footnote-83), you, o gods, appropriates the mortal; here the goddess of destruction[[84]](#footnote-84)consumes my old age, benevolent dwelling[[85]](#footnote-85) of this body.

2x *vánate ā:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl.

Geldner: II 42 “gewinnt”

Renou: V 21 “gagner”

5.74.7 *kó vām adyá purūṇā́m*

*ā́ vavne mártiyānām*

*kó vípro vipravāhasā*

*kó yajñaír vājinīvasū*

Who of the mortals has truly, to this day, appropriated for himself you two, who, inspired sage, has appropriated you two who receive the offerings of the sage[[86]](#footnote-86), who with sacrifices you who are rich in horses?

*vavne ā:* ind. perf. 3rd sing. Ā

Geldner: II 78 *hat gewonnen*

*e3- Desiderative*

On the other hand, we cannot fail to take into account the fact that, alongside the uses already encountered for the main conjugation, the sense most commonly taken on by the desiderative of *van- / vani-* (*vivās-* stem of the desiderative, secondary conjugation) is in most cases far more appropriately translated with the verb ‘to summon’, ‘to invite’, ‘to invoke’, rather than with ‘the desire to appropriate’.[[87]](#footnote-87) Of 53 attestations of the stem of the desiderative, in 36 man *vivās-* the god, following a scheme that had hitherto been very rare. Therefore rather than ‘to desire to appropriate’, which is conjugated according to the context precisely in accordance with the same functional groups already seen for the primary conjugation, in by far the majority of cases we come up against the need to supply a different translation. In these cases Geldner uses the German “herbitten” or “einladen”. The object of this invitation is always the gods: man ‘summons to the rite’ the god. In this stanza the action is performed by Agni as divine *hotr̥* who, in fact, summons to the sacrifice, to the divine of the gods.

1.58.1 *nū́ cit sahojā́ amŕ̥to ní tundate*

*hótā yád dūtó ábhavad vivásvataḥ*

*ví sā́dhiṣṭhebhiḥ pathíbhī rájo mama*

*ā́ devátātā havíṣā vivāsati*

Never is the immortal born of force driven, for it was Hotr̥ aand messenger of Vivasvat[[88]](#footnote-88); he has measured celestial space by means of the most just (??) right (??) roads, he through the oblation summons to the rite for the divine [[89]](#footnote-89).

*ā́ vivāsati:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. from the desiderative stem *vivās-*

Geldner: I 74 “bittet […] her”

Renou: XII 10 “vise à gagner à soi (les dieux)”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 109 “zu gewinnen”

It already emerges clearly from this first example that the action indicated by the form of the desiderative, rather than ‘to appropriate for the divine ’, must be ‘to have arrive for the divine ’, ensure participation in this stage. In comparison with the forms of the principal conjugation, the verb serves here to indicate the initial moment, as it were, of the act ‘to appropriate’ – so too in 8.60.5 (and similarly in 1.41.8 and 1.12.9), where Agni it is invoked as incarnation of that order which the rite serves to re-found:

8.60.5 *tuvám ít sapráthā asi*

*ágne trātar r̥tás kavíḥ*

*tuvā́ṃ víprāsaḥ samidhāna dīdiva*

*ā́ vivāsanti vedhásaḥ*

You stretch out far[[90]](#footnote-90), you o Agni, o protector, you personified Order, you are the sage poet[[91]](#footnote-91); they who distribute the parts, inspired, summon [to the rite] you, o kindled one[[92]](#footnote-92), o shining one.

*ā́ vivāsanti:* ind. pres. 3rd pl. from the desiderative stem *vivās-*

Geldner: II 381 “bitten […] her”

Renou: XIII 75 “veulent gagner à eux”

In hymn 74 of the 5th book we had already encountered *van- / vani-*, and more precisely in the *pāda*s 7 a-b (*kó vām adyá purūṇā́m / ā́ vavne mártiyānām*), one of the few examples in which man ‘appropriates’ the god (cf. *supra*): if, at the beginning of the hymn, the poet asks where the two Aśvin are, that they listen since Atri summons them to the rite, he continues asking himself who among the mortals today “has appropriated” the two gods. Considering the hymn as a whole, then, we may take it that this “to appropriate” in the seventh stanza is to be understood in the context of the continual question, the invocation to take part in the rite: who, today, among the mortals has had the two Aśvin arrive here?

5.74.1 *kṹṣṭho devāv aśvinā*

*adyā́ divó manāvasū*

*tác chravatho vr̥ṣaṇvasū*

*átrir vām ā́ vivāsati*

Where are you today, o divine Aśvin, o celestial ones[[93]](#footnote-93), rich in devotion? Listen to this, rich in virility, Atri summons to the rite you two.

*ā́ vivāsati:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. from the desiderative stem *vivās-*

Geldner: II 79 “wünscht [..] her”

Within this group of attestations we find the frequent recurrence of the same syntactic structure, in which the verb is accompanied by an instrumental, in accordance with the paradigm – man *vivās* the god by means of “x” – where “x” can be the *chants* (8.15.1), the *poetic* *vision* (6.61.2), the *word* (6.62.5) or *devotion* as in 5.83.1 where the two verbs which precede *ā́ vivāsa* are *vada* and *stuhi,* “speak to the god and praise him”: these are the incitements, and it is at the close of this sequence that the poet has placed *ā́ vivāsa*-; in other cases it is *invocation* as in 6 66.11, where we find the same syntagm as 1.64.12, *rudrásya sūnúṃ havásā*, but instead of *ā́ vivāse* as here, in 1.64.12 we find *gr̥ṇīmasi* ‘to chant’, and in this recurrence of structures we find an evident link at the paradigmatic level between ‘to chant’ and the action indicated by *vivāse*, which is thus to be seen as an act of invocation: if the son of Rudra had previously been sung of, he is now similarly evoked, we might say, albeit in a different way:

6.66.11 *táṃ vr̥dhántam mā́rutam bhrā́jadr̥ṣṭiṃ*

*rudrásya sūnúṃ havásā́ vivāse*

*diváḥ śárdhāya śúcayo manīṣā́*

*giráyo ná ā́pa ugrā́ aspr̥dhran*

These troops of Marut which increase by themselves, with the shining spears, the son of Rudra[[94]](#footnote-94) with the invocation I summon to the rite, the brilliant poetic inspirations compete for the celestial troops like impetuous mountain streams[[95]](#footnote-95).

*ā́ vivāse:* ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā from the desiderative stem *vivās-*

Geldner: II 169 “bitte ich her”

Renou: X 41 “je veux l’attirer à moi”

The same meaning is taken on by *vivās-* in the following stanzas: here, as in those in *e1-*, the verb has no direct object and the action is clearly addressed to the gods. As in the case of stanzas 5.74.1 and 7, this can cast light on those passages where we have come across the same absolute use of the verb, bearing out the hypothesis that the action indicated by both *van- / van*i*-* and *vivās-*, when used in the absolute sense, is to be seen as addressed to the gods. It is in fact already clear in 6.52.17 that the direct object of the first two *pāda*s is made explicit in the second two. Like in the stanza 9.44.4, it is the gods, to whom the sacrifice has been made welcome, that the priest ‘summons to the rite’. Also to be noted in this first example is the spatial indication: here where the fire is lit and the place is ready to receive their presence, I invite, wish to have arrive, rather than possess the gods. The spatial indication evokes that outward movement as the first stage in the act of ‘to appropriate’ which we considered above, and with which we will deal at length in the following pages.

6 52.17 *stīrṇé barhíṣi samidhāné agnaú*

*sūkténa mahā́ námasā́ vivāse*

*asmín no adyá vidáthe yajatrā*

*víśve devā havíṣi mādayadhvam*

In the *barhís**[[96]](#footnote-96)* scattered on the ground, in the kindled fire, with a fine hymn, with great devotion I summon to the rite: in this distribution of ours[[97]](#footnote-97), today, o gods all, worthy of sacrifices, of the oblation, rejoice.

*vivāse:* ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā from the desiderative stem *vivās-*

Geldner: II 156 “lade […] ein”

Renou: V 38 “je cherche à (vous) gagner”

9 44.4 *sá naḥ pavasva vājayúś*

*cakrāṇáś cā́rum adhvarám*

*barhíṣmām̐ ā́ vivāsati*

You alone, purified for us, eager for the reward of victory[[98]](#footnote-98), having made the sacrifice welcome; he who has prepared the *barhís* summons to the rite.”

*ā́ vivāsati:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. from the desiderative stem *vivās-*

Geldner: III 35 “ladet ein”

Renou: VIII 25 “il cherche à gagner à soi (les dieux)”

This group of passages reveals some aspects of the verb which we had not encountered so far. Understood here is the idea of calling the gods, invoking their presence – meaning that is not totally removed from that “to appropriate”. We had already noted above that “to appropriate” is not exactly the same thing as ‘to possess’ or ‘to dominate’, but also in relation to man’s words or chants, ‘to have enter one’s own range of influence’. This invitation, then, to which the desiderative gives clear expression, represents the uncompleted aspect of that same action, stressing the outward movement, also opening up to a spatial dimension, to an outside from which the god’s arrival is sought after (very evident, for example, in 9.39.5).

We may, perhaps, also discern the same movement in certain passages like 10 27.12. This stanza has been interpreted in various different ways (cf. Oldenberg 1912: 228 n. 12). In the present translation we have followed the interpretation offered by Pischel (Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: I, 309-10), who suggests that *bhadrā́ vadhūḥ* serves to indicate the ‘hetaera’; whether this hypothesis is adopted, or the passage is interpreted as the description of the choice between suitors on the part of a marriageable maiden (as interpreted by Geldner: III, 167 and others), the important point to note is that in *pāda* d – and consensus is unanimous in this case – the woman, having prettied herself, chooses her companion among the people. Here, then, *van- / vani-* seems to be used precisely to indicate that movement ‘outwards to take to one’s self’ which, originating in a ritual context, is used more prosaically to indicate the action to choose – in colloquial language ‘to go and get’ – a companion:

10 27.12 *kíyatī yóṣā maryató vadhūyóḥ*

*páriprītā pányasā vā́riyeṇa*

*bhadrā́ vadhū́r bhavati yát supéśāḥ*

*svayáṃ sā́ mitráṃ vanute jáne cit*

How delighted is a maiden amid suitors by the truly wonderful gift of the lover? A woman is happy when, having prettied herself, she by herself appropriates the companion, people being there.

What young woman for the impassioned lover[[99]](#footnote-99) is most loveable as wonderful acquisition? It is the hetaera when she has prettied herself, she by herself appropriates the companion amidst the people.

*vanute:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Geldner: III 167 “gewinnt”

Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1989-1901: I 309 “sucht (sich selbst)”

The last category of stanzas offers some important evidence in an aspect of the verb that cannot be ignored: it remains in full evidence only in the desiderative, a verbal conjugation that indicates an action yet to be completed, with what we might call a non-perfective conative value. The verbal root *van- / vani-* appears in these verses to indicate an action implying outward movement. Such an action was hit upon by Pischel (Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: III, 198-204), who took the *Grundbedeutung* of the verb *van-* to be “auf etwas losgehen”. This could be a good starting point to conjecture the connection to the semantic area of desire, and the moment when the meaning of ‘desire’ assumes autonomy, precisely in the light of the two meanings that we encountered at the beginning of this paper, and above all in connection with the developments that the verb *van3* was to see right from the post-Vedic phase.

## II.2 Avestan Comparison

With regard to this type of movement, so clear in the desiderative, it is worth mentioning the interpretation conjectured by Schmidt[[100]](#footnote-100) on the Avestan outcome of the same Indo-European root. The passages taken into consideration in his article are indeed few: Schmidt goes no further than suggesting the presence of a possible unifying element for the various meanings which the Avestan verb *van-* encompasses. Nevertheless, following the examples quoted by a Schmidt, we come upon the very same functions we had identified for the Sanskrit verb.

Again, in fact, we find man turning to Anāhita[[101]](#footnote-101) (*Yašt* 5 130) to be able to make his a long list of goods that seem to evoke the land of plenty. In verse 58 of *Yašt* 14 the plea is to capture the enemy army, just as in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* man so often made his the foreigner, the other, and just as we noted in fact the conqueror par excellence in the Indian text was Indra, so here the plea is addressed to Vǝrǝθraγna, ‘he who destroys obstacles’, a divinity of manifold forms, all however associated with the warlike element – the Iranian version of that god-warrior and slayer of the dragon or serpent, present in many Indo-European cultures[[102]](#footnote-102), who must from the origins have held an important role which is clearly taken on by Indra in the Vedic pantheon. Another function we find again in the Iranian text is that by which the god appropriates a good for the sake of man: in *Yašt* 10 75 the good is not specified; and that which he takes away from the enemies and the god to whom he addresses prayer is Miθra, who, unlike his Vedic namesake, has a totally independent role and is, indeed, the most important divinity after Ahura Mazda[[103]](#footnote-103). The form of the present participle *vanvan-* as attribute ascribed to the divinity, who encompasses the concept of possession and domination, can be associated with the use of the Avestan verb in *Yašt* 13 68: the *Fravaṣi* are said to be ‘they who appropriate’. This divine group of guardian spirits holds three functions: they are the ancestral spirits, the soles of the forebears (cf. the Latin Manes or Indian Pitara), the spiritual element of the human being, one of the many souls known to the language of Zarathustra, but also a troop of warriors that protects the world and maintains the cosmic order. It is in this cosmogonic role that they are named, as warriors and helpers of Ahura Mazda in the creation and in the fight against the waters.

Let us, finally, consider the passage (*Yašt* 14 41 dedicated to Vǝrǝθraγna) taken by Schmidt as his starting point to propose a possible base-meaning of the Indo-European root precisely with reference to that outward movement we have already considered, and which returns in full evidence. Here the meaning of *ni- van* is far from clear, but the image it is involved in effectively suggests a spatially connoted movement: Schmidt suggests ‘to hurl’, a meaning which, he goes on to argue, can mutate into ‘to strike’ and thus ‘to conquer’, as in the Greek *βάλλω*, or in hurling oneself towards something (*an jdn sich werfen*), and again we find comparison with the Greek *ἴημι*, ‘to hurl oneself’, which can evolve into ‘the desire’:

14 41 *vǝrǝθraγnǝm ahuraδâtǝm yazamaide, vǝrǝθraγnô avi imaṯ*

*nmânǝm gaosurâbyô xvarǝnô pairi-vǝrǝnavaiti yaθa hâu maza mǝrǝγô saênô yaθa ave aβrå upâpå masitô gairîš nivânǝṇti.*

Let us sacrifice to Vǝrǝθraγna, created by Ahura, Vǝrǝθraγna wraps all round this house glory[[104]](#footnote-104) together with a wealth of cattle[[105]](#footnote-105), like that great bird, Saena, as those brimming with water stretch out over the mountains.

*ni vānǝṇti:* ind. pres. 3rd pl. I cl. fro the stem *vāna-*

Darmesteter 1883 : 242 “beat”

Geldner 1884 : 76 “bedecken”

Wolff 1924 : 263 “verhüllen”

Lommel 1927 : 140 “behüten”

Kellens 1974 : 80 “sont vainqueurs”

Malandra 1983 : 86 “envelop(?)”

Schmidt 1982 : 267 “hit (sprinkle, cover)”

## II.3 Nuclear Meaning, Ritual Meaning and the Absence of “desire”

Let us now try to map out our findings so far. With regard to the question we started with, about the possibility of reading two different forms (*\*u̯en / \*u̯en-H* ) endowed with two different meanings, on the evidence of the analysis made so far we must recognise that within the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* the outcome of the verbal root do not show any such symmetry between pseudo-morphologising phonetics and semantics. Thus it hardly appears appropriate to establish a biunique correspondence between the two meanings – or the different senses which the Sanskrit shows – and the morphological alternation.

The presence of the laryngeal, which is not made questionable but in fact borne out by certain Sanskrit forms, does not seem to imply a semantic value: there is an alternation, which cannot be seen as arbitrary or random, and which could – according to some authors – have its own distinctive role. On the other hand, on the evidence yielded by analysis of the attestations we cannot endorse Gotō’s hypothesis of a biunique relationship between the two root forms and the two semantic values. Taking the passages analysed as a whole, it will be seen that any choice between the two semantic areas depends on the context and is not based on the separation between the forms derived from the respective I.E. reconstructions. Nor can we determine any significant recurrences in the morphology, in part because we have relatively few cases, and in part due to the impossibility of determining with any certainty the presence of a laryngeal – a difficulty already pointed out by various scholars[[106]](#footnote-106).

Focusing on the Vedic outcome of the double root and its semantic in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*, we hypothesised a coalescence of the two reconstructed forms: ‘to desire’ and ‘to win’. The idea was then to replace this opposition with the nuclear meaning ‘to appropriate’- ‘to make one’s own’, which can both indicate the moment of transference and take on, in different contexts, a sense very close to what we term ‘to possess’ and ‘to dominate’, or in other words the other two senses we have found the verb assuming: I can, in fact, appropriate a good, or an enemy, just like a verse. A further conclusion is prompted by certain passages where the verb *van- / vani-* shows an interesting characteristic: on the one hand, it can be used with absolute value or addressed to the gods, while on the other hand, in the stem of the desiderative, it appears to take on the meaning “to invoke”, “to invite”, thereby revealing a spatial aspect of the action indicated by the verb, an inward movement. In both typologies we find a common characteristic: the stanzas are associated with a distinctly ritual context, with the moment when the sacrifice takes place.

“To appropriate”, proposed as nuclear meaning for our investigation into the verb *van- / vani-*, is thus modified or, better, expanded: in addition to the various senses of “to possess” and “to dominate”, the attestations analysed point to a far more specific and contingent meaning – “to have enter the circle of the sacrifice”. That there is a connection between these two values is beyond all doubt: the ritual action described above represents a realisation – one of the possible modalities of “making one’s own”. This meaning then, by extension, comes to indicate the same action, but dissociated from the ritual context (“to have enter one’s circle”, and so “to appropriate”), and is eventually specialised in various senses depending, in fact, on the contexts.

Thus we have for the verb *van- / vani-* on the one hand a base meaning, “to appropriate”, and, on the other hand, a specialised meaning, “to have enter the circle of the sacrifice”, to be found in the specifically ritualistic sections of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and associable with that “gestural language”, use of which was highly developed.

We can appropriately conclude this part by analysing a stanza we have already mentioned. These verses contain the two engines for this search, i.e. the semantic ambiguity of the verb *van- / vani-* and the magic-ritual context from which the verses were generated. The sense of this passage emerges from the fundamental centrality of the rite within Vedic culture: stanza 8.45.23 is difficult to translate if we take ‘to vanquish’ or ‘to conquer’ or even ‘to win’ as primary meaning of *van- / vani-*; obviously the recommendation not to vanquish the enemies of the *bráhman-* would hardly be reasonable, and in fact at this point Renou finds himself obliged to fall back on “n’attire pas à toi”. By the same token the translation offered by advocates of ‘to desire’ is far from convincing, for it would be a superfluous recommendation, and out of context. Why on earth should Indra “find pleasure in” or “desire” people who deride him, let alone people who hate the secret formulation – the sacrifice, that is – by virtue of which the god can be that which he is? If, however, we bear in mind a typical concern of Vedic man – the thought, that is, that the enemies (human and otherwise), the ungodly, those who practise black magic (possibly included in this category are the *mūrá-**[[107]](#footnote-107)*) might “enter into the rite” and so drive the gods away (cf. Gonda 1981: I, 74 ff.) – we could understand the reason of this plea. Indeed, putting at a distance is conveyed by the verb *ā́ dabhan**[[108]](#footnote-108)* which Insler (1969: 22-3) translates as “trick away (from us)”, then the sense of the passage could allude to this important magic- ritual precaution: to prevent the *mūrā́ḥ* from entering the sacrificial area.

8.45.23 *mā́ tvā mūrā́ aviṣyávo*

*mópahásvāna ā́ dabhan*

*mā́kīm brahmadvíṣo vanaḥ*

Let the voracious *mūrá-* not trick you away, not those who deride you, never “let into the circle of the sacrifice”[[109]](#footnote-109) the enemies of the *bráhman-**[[110]](#footnote-110)*.

*vanaḥ:* inj. pres. 2nd sing. I-VI cl.

Geldner: II 362 “vorziehen”

Renou: XII 77-8 n. 13 “n’attire pas à toi”

Hoffmann 1967: 87 “liebe”

Insler 1969: 22-3 “do not long for”

Migron 1980: 270 “get”

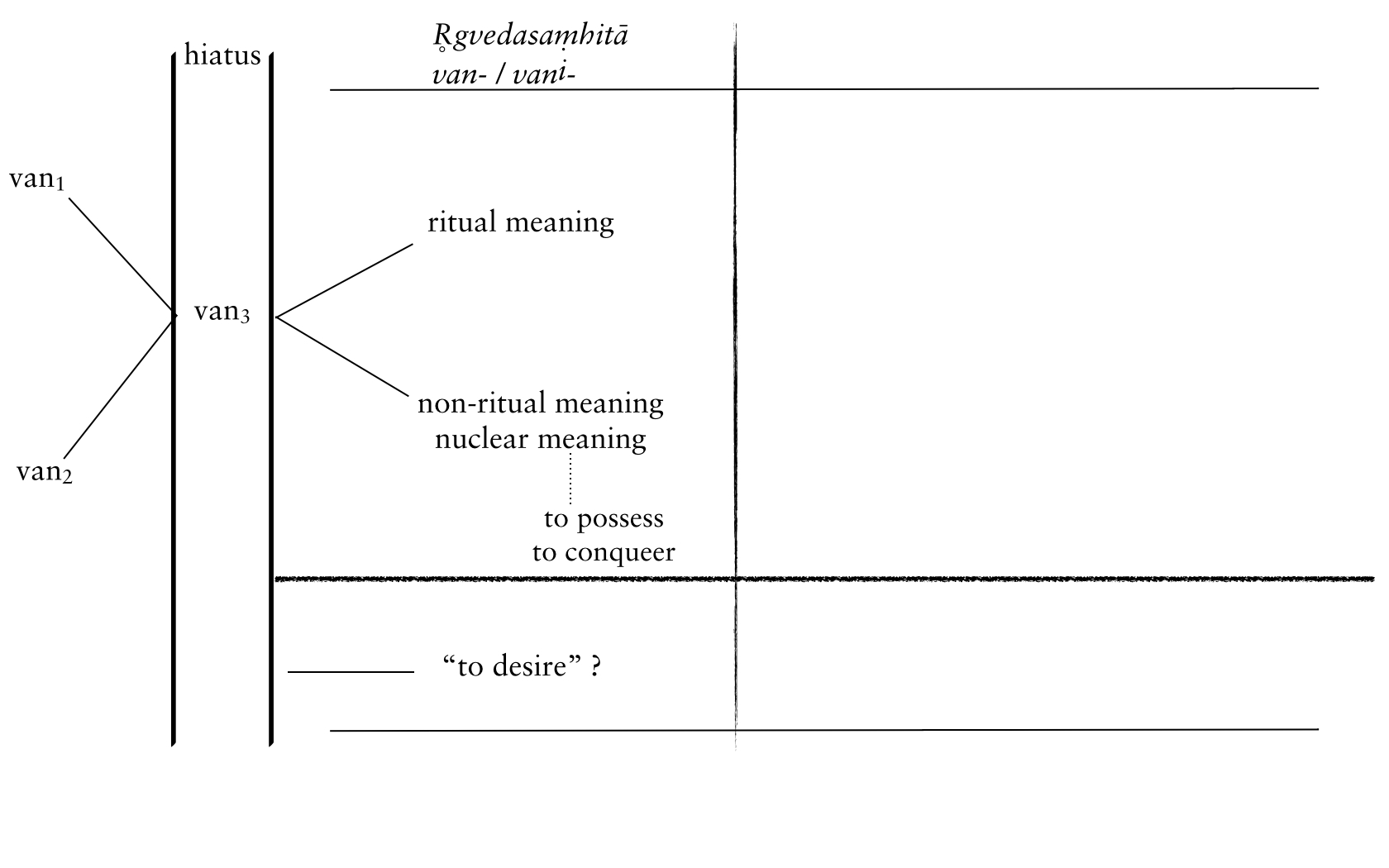
Gotō 1987: 284 “finde Gefallen”

Arguing along these lines we have taken a distance both from those who take the element of conquest, of victory, to be predominant and from those who lean towards the meaning “to desire”, which is undeniable, but develops more clearly in a later phase, as, e.g., in the Sanskrit term *vanitā*.

Considering the R̥V attestations of *van- / vani-*it seems reasonable to argue for the absence of the meaning “to desire”, and yet this element can be discerned *in nuce* even in this early phase: it is present in the very idea expressed by the verb and is clearly manifested in the desiderative, where the non-perfective aspect of this conjugation highlights an outward movement that is “straining towards”. It may even be present – as potential – in the principal conjugation. We shall then go on to investigate the transition when the meaning “to desire” appears clearly. It can be seen first in the nominal derivatives, *vāmá*- “that which is desirable” “good”, and it is also reflected in the verb *vā́ñch*- “to desire”. This derivative of *van- / vani-*is attested only once in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā –* significantly in book 10th, and it doesn’t represent an *hapax* in the Atharveda texts. Moreover, in this latter anthologies the primary verb itself takes on the meaning “to desire”. Any further speculation should be based on the following two points: the semantic field of desire is attested at the Indo-European level and there are evidence of the same meaning in the Atharvavedic tradition, though not in the R̥gvedic one. One possible scenario is that two linguistic traditions have developed independently one from the other: the one that came down to us through the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and the other one that is partially recorded in the Atharvedic sources. In the latter the meaning to desire is clearly present, while in the first one has almost disappeared. Nevertheless the linguistic tradition fragmentary attested in the Atharvaveda texts might trace back to the I.E. period and it is plausible to suppose that it has continued –although we have but scanty attestations of it – later on through the Vedic period up to the moment when Sanskrit appears. We could image it as hidden, submersed wave that comes rhapsodically to the surface.[[111]](#footnote-111)

On the basis of these considerations, two ways open before us. On the one hand, this semantic shift has to be read not only at the diachronic level, but also at the diastratic level, and this entails an analysis of the occurrences of the verb in the Atharvaveda along with that of the derivatives (Chapter IV). On the other hand, it proves indispensable to trace out in precise terms how the verb was used in the Brahmanical period, a period when the language was becoming increasingly specialised to arrive at an extreme ritualisation. This would mean verifying the hypothesis that it was precisely this ritual context, defined by Staal[[112]](#footnote-112) as “meaningless”, that led to the disappearance of the poetic-ritual value (“to have s.o. enter the circle of the sacrifice”), no longer functional in a language that had attained a higher degree of specialisation than before. In a linguistic situation of this type we could, then, identify one of the factors on account of which the abstract meaning, “to desire”, acquired in consequence ever greater force in later stages of the language.

The following chapter will focus on the texts of the post-R̥gvedic phase, and in particular the Brāhmaṇas and liturgical Saṃhitās, in order to map out the semantic shift to which it was precisely the more specific and ritualistic meaning that was lost, and thereby seeking to cast light on a change that, as we have seen, extended well beyond the verb to which our study is dedicated. This change can, in fact, be traced out in a broader linguistic transformation, which seems to suggest something of a break between the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and the successive Brāhmaṇas, which show a profoundly ritualised terminology characterised by a very high degree of abstraction. With this hypothesis we go further. Thus, in the next chapter we will take in consideration the development of the two meanings we detected (“to appropriate” and “to make s.o. enter the circle of sacrifice”), analysing all the occurrences of *van- / vani-* in the post-R̥gvedic Saṃhitās and in the Brāhmaṇas. What follows is a first scheme according to the data and hypothesis so far:



# III. Post-R̥gvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

## III.1 The Context

Before starting our discussion, we have to sketch the landscape we are going to move in, that is not to give an exhaustive description of the Vedic culture, but rather to focus on three aspects that will be of great value for the research. First, we must settle, within the absence of a clear and precise chronology of the texts we will analyse, yet the possibility to outline some rough division that will act as a good yardstick for discovering through a linguistic development also the historical development of the text layers. Along the social and political development that took place within this period, we will focus on the second relevant feature, namely the ritual development, which brought forth an enormous shift in the Vedic society. Eventually, we will try to outline how these changes affected the actual composing of the ritual *corpus* and how the different textual strata are interwoven with each other within a single work.

### III.1.1 Relative Chronology of the Post-R̥gvedic Sources

What we are mainly dealing with are the crucial and somehow obscure periods that can be first labelled according to the different language typologies, namely the Mantra (including the prose *mantra*, i.e. *yajus*), the Yajurveda and Brāhmaṇa ones.

As we have already mentioned in the Introduction, one salient distinction between the earliest text of the Vedic culture and the later ones is that while the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* is almost consisting of original compositions, the liturgical texts are an editorially constituted arrangement of R̥gvedic stanzas, used as *mantra*s*,* and “exegetical” parts.

Another important distinction is that the groups responsible for the production of those texts are different ones. While the creation and preservation of liturgical poetry in the R̥gvedic period was under the control of the kin group, the clan, the later liturgies were controlled by the “schools” - *śākhā*s[[113]](#footnote-113)*:* there has been a restructuring of the religious institutions entitled to control and produce those texts[[114]](#footnote-114). This process seems to overshadow a development within the society, and lets us speculate about different strata of textual evidences. Nonetheless, except for the general consensus on the predating of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā,* the chronological relation between the extant Vedic corpus is a very controversial one.

Notwithstanding the shortage of data, a relative chronology, according to the recent studies[[115]](#footnote-115), let us single out three moments with regard to the early Vedic period: a first one where the major clans were those of Yadu-Turvaśa , the following one of Bharata-Pūru, and after these individual lineage periods the Kuru hegemony, when the canon of *R̥gvedasaṃhitā* was arranged. There are two elements of these periods that should be borne in mind: the tribal political organisation and the segmentary structure[[116]](#footnote-116) of the society. These two features enable the Vedic society to switch between alternating moments of fix habitation (*kṣema*) and mobilisations through the unification between clans (*yoga*).[[117]](#footnote-117) This dynamic has been studied by anthropologists who called it “fission and fusion”: the political structure exists potentially within the lineage system, even though it is only realised when the society as a whole is faced with a challenge from outside itself[[118]](#footnote-118).

A big change happened during the time of the Kuru hegemony, when the society started shifting from the segmentarian-lineage structure to a more hierarchical and stratified one. A variegated landscape of sub-tribes is replaced by a new “super-tribe”, that of the Kuru. The clans, though still pastoral and semi-nomadic, were settling on the the rivers and practiced an extensive rice cultivation.

In this period, a common ritual set that could result in a standardisation-homologation of the different clan-based ritual activities was needed. The effort resulted in what we call the *śrauta* liturgy, namely the referent of all post-R̥gvedic texts. Already the liturgical hymns of *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā* were also an instrument to negotiate political claims. This attitude continued working underneath, thus affecting the whole enterprise, as Proferes (2007) has clearly argued; in this sense the post-R̥gvedic texts are important sources also to understand the ideals of sovereignty.

Within this lapse of time, which entails the construction of the classical ritual, we may try to outline a relative chronology of the texts we are going to analyse, according to the ample research of Witzel and to the studies of many scholars on single schools or texts[[119]](#footnote-119).

As it is well known, within the chronological relation between the texts, the scholars have made clear that the material within the single texts do come from different periods, and before going on, I would like to stress this division as long as we will deploy it further on during the analysis of the post-R̥gvedic occurrences. It is quite important to settle the different chronological layers of the occurrences in order not to handle the material as floating in an indefinite temporal (and geographical) vacuum, otherwise there is the unfashionable and concrete probability to compare attestations of two different historical moments as they were contemporary.

Especially concerning the Saṃhitā of the YV school (except for the White Yajurveda) we find a series of two types of texts: the *mantra* and the *brāhmaṇa*. The first type goes back to the period between the redaction of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and the composition of the earliest post-R̥gvedic Saṃhitās and which is called the Floating Mantra Period. Along Witzel’s[[120]](#footnote-120) division of the textual strata, this represents the second level after that of the R̥V and to this second level we can trace back the *mantra* parts of some Yajurvedic *śākhās*’ texts as part of the *Kāṭha Saṃhitā* and *Maitrayāṇī Saṃhitā*. The expository prose (the *brāhmaṇa* parts) of the YV represents the third level, while the early Brāhmaṇas are can be considered the fourth.

These levels can be subsumed under three major periods: the Old Vedic Period, which the R̥V language belongs to, Middle Vedic, containing the YV prose and the early Brāhmaṇas which can be traced back to the establishment and further enlargement of the Kuru territories, and to the union of this clan with the other Vedic tribal moiety, the Pañcāla. Right at the beginning of the Kuru hegemony stands the Mantra typology; finally, the third period is the late Vedic one with textual evidence of the late Brāhmaṇas, Araṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

Bharata-Pūru:

1. R̥V → 2-7 bulk + 1.51 – 1.191 & 8 (recast after the victory of the Bharata-Pūru)

- gap -

Kuru: Middle Vedic

1. Redaction and re-arrangement of the R̥V canon (close to the one we have, cf. *orthoepic* *diaskeuasis*)

2. Floating Mantra Period: formation of the *mantras* in the Ur-YV; Ur-Sāmaveda; Ur-Atharvaveda. → composition of MS, KS, PS (Mantra typology).

Kuru-Pañcāla: Middle Vedic

1. Mantra typology: TS, ŚS.

2. Yajurveda Prose (*brāhmaṇa*-prose)

3. Early Brāhmaṇas

Though this division needs much of fine tuning and, concerning the single text, is very provisional, we may dare to use the big division between a Mantra Language and a Prose Language including the expository prose of the Yajurveda Saṃhitās and the later Brāhmaṇa prose.

### III.1.2 The Ritual Context

The rituals we know are the legacy of tribes developing from nomadic and almost autonomous groups of clans, as suggested by the theory of fission and fusion, to a much more hierarchic and fixed society. Whereas the hymns do not give many clues as to the *realia,* i.e. to the actual world in which they have been composed, already the earlier social settlement we suggested is somehow mirrored in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*, e. g. the nomadic feature and the issue of a overwhelming warrior-god like Indra. We may go on speculating a correspondence between the alternating moments of *kṣema* and *yoga* and the interpretation of the relation between Indra and Varuṇa as proposed by Oberlies (1998): the alternation of these two deities and their systems, one of the main features of the Vedic pantheon, could mirror the political dynamics on which those tribes were founded. Furthermore, the settling of the Kuru-Pañcāla hegemony deeply affected the performance of the sacrifice and the requests it should fulfil. Then, the social and political change entailed a period of restructuring and transformation, where many things and aspects within the society were not settled; the social and religious structure itself was not established in the way we find afterwards: “The principal unit responsible for the transmission of the verse liturgies of this *śrauta* system is the *śākhā,* the “branch” or school, which defines itself by the peculiarities of its transmitted text. However it is significant that the institution of the *śākhā* is not recognised in any *śrauta* rite. […]. This strongly suggests that at the time of the creation of the prototype for the *śrauta* liturgy, the *śākhā* was not yet a recognised social unit”[[121]](#footnote-121). Indeed, in this unstable period of transition, religion played a significant role. As we said above, the need of a commonly shared ritual set, endowed the rite with an enormous power, and, at the same time, charged it with an increasing amount of implications and requirements, above all that of being regulated. Indeed, the rite was already the core of the R̥gvedic society[[122]](#footnote-122), sacrifice was the leading element within the world view of the Vedic man: it was the binding, mandatory condition in order to acquire any goods, it stood as the junction between the divine and the human realm; the presence of the gods was re-established in the sacrifice every time again, hence it was the prerequisite for their epiphany. It represented the layer in the middle, the intermediate stage between the human microcosm and the divine macrocosm, and at this meso-cosmic level, the man could rule over the scores of forces that he observed taking effect on a world where everything was linked and where the principle of analogy was working. The importance of the sacrifice cannot be overstressed, as well as the salient role of its main means: the speech. The speech is powerful, it is the ritual speech of the *r̥ca*-; nothing but the speech makes the sacrifice efficacious. Hence, the rite, the speech, the gods. The religious thought that already pervades the first Saṃhitā is based on the principle of analogy, and due to it, the three levels of the realty can communicate: Agni is the fire, the natural element, and yet the domestic fire of the hearth, as well as the priest introducing the sacrifice, and, in turn, the god that escorts the oblation into the divine realm. To sacrifice successfully means to have all these levels meet within the ritual ground, hence to perform an effective rite was a highly demanding issue. Already at the beginning of the Vedic culture, thus, the sacrifice was conceived as an entity in its own right, difficult to control, but along the political restructuring of the society, the capacity to rule the sacrifice has become more and more important, and the need to be able to assure its success was essential. What the sacerdotal groups came up with was, on one side, to make the sacrifice a god itself, a power to which even gods have to bend, but much more important, on the other side, to institutionalise it through a set of rules and a ramified knowledge; that process involved also the language that became extremely specialised, somehow approximating a technical jargon.

Indeed, according to the Vedic texts, there is only one way to control the sacrifice, and that is the knowledge of the *mantra*s that allow the sacrifice itself to come back, to be performed again and again; moreover, it is necessary to know how to employ the *mantra*s and what to do under every condition. This is the knowledge that the sacerdotal class could offer, the knowledge that could rule over sacrifice and let the world go on. Hence, a knowledge with a degree of complexity as high as it was possible to achieve.

Therefore, we are presented with a countless amount of rites and prescriptions[[123]](#footnote-123) of which the aim was to cover all possible topics and handle the ritual field throughout, and indeed, as it is well known, here we witness the dawning of one of the first attempt at a science of the rite[[124]](#footnote-124). The systematic and all-inclusive effort displayed by the redactors of the Vedic liturgy has a patent effect on the composition of the *corpus,* and the way they use the R̥gvedic stanzas, the *mantra*s, inserting them as a central component within this amazing enterprise. As we will see in the next paragraph, the shape of these texts is conforming to the main issue to originate a ritual science.

### III.1.3 The Vedic Web

Within this ritual context, we will try to give a picture of what may be the actual textual context, that is the way the stanzas of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* are employed and the connections between the different Vedic *śākhā*s and traditions. In the Vedic liturgical literature there are plenty of quotations from the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*. The stanzas are apportioned in each different rite to be recited within a precise moment of the ritual action. Those kinds of quotations are to be found especially in the Saṃhitā of the Yajurveda and in the Brāhmaṇas, where they are accompanied by exegetical comments in some point or other. Most of the time we are presented with a long sequel of stanzas from different hymns and the text looks like a patchwork of quotations. As to the cultural development that resulted in such a use of the hymns, one of the most intriguing questions is whether this is a mere redactional enterprise, or if a clear intention guided the choices that the creators of the liturgies have taken.

As it is well known, the relation between the *R̥gvedasaṃhitā* and the post-R̥gvedic literature is a much-disputed subject. The *R̥gvedasaṃhitā* is obviously older and was not composed for the same purpose or, more precisely, for the same ritual purpose of the following texts. Nonetheless, the question as to the real dimension of the gap between this two stages of the Vedic culture, is still open. All the other texts, at least in the extant editions, have been probably composed -not only collected- for the performances of rituals that can be traced back to the period of the Kuru and Kuru-Pañcāla hegemony.

During the development from a lineage-segmentarian society to a hierarchical one, there has also been a change in the ritual literature and in this period there could have taken place what has been called “Floating Mantra Period” and the redaction of the Sāṃhitās, especially that of the Yajurveda school.

Within this process of re-arrangement and adaptation, how deep was the consciousness of the redactors of the Vedic liturgy as to the poetic elements of the material they were dealing with? Connected with this controversial question, we will see three different cases of R̥gvedic material used in the redaction of the liturgy with an increasing level of manipulation and involving not only a single mantra but even a whole hymn.

**a-** As to the connection between different *śākhā,* we are going to see an example, where it is possible to see how a single *mantra* is to be found in different Yajurvedic traditions showing variants that do not really affect its meaning.

Underlined: variants.

**Bold**: words not present in all occurrences.

a1- “Water- *mantra*”, non-R̥V *mantra*

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: TS 1.8.12.1a-b; MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8; MS 4.4.251,8-10; KS 15.6: 213,9-10; VS 10.4.

Mantra and Prose: ŚB 5.3.4.27.

Prose: ŚB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

Rite

Rājasūya, the Abhiṣeka –the unction of the king during his consecration. This section deals with the preparation of the waters.

Waters from different sources are poured together into a single vessel. The mantra credits the waters with winning for the anointed on the power to rule –*varcás* “splendour”, cf. Proferes 2007: 80ff; Heesterman 1957: 70-74 and 114-22; see also Tsuchiyama 2005 for the Abhiṣeka in general and his post-Vedic development.

The collection and mixing of the waters.

Occurrences:

TS 1.8.12.1

a *dévīr āpaḥ sám mádhumatīr* ***mádhumatībhiḥ*** *sr*̥*jyadhvam máhi várcaḥ kṣatríyāya vanvānā́s /*

b *ánādhr*̥*ṣṭāḥ sīdatórjasvatīr máhi várcaḥ kṣatríyāya dadhátīs /*

“Divine water, full of sweet, be mingled with the full of sweet, appropriating for the king a great splendour; sit untouched, possessing the vital energy, putting a great splendour in to the king.”

MS 2.6.8

*dévīrāpo mádhumatīḥ sáṃsr̥jyadhvam máhi kṣatrám kṣatríyāya vanvānā́ḥ /*

*ánādhr̥ṣṭāḥ sīdatórjasvatīrmáhi várcaḥ kṣatríyāya dádhatīḥ//*

“O divine water, full of sweet, be mingled, appropriating for the king the great power to rule; sit untouched, possessing the vital energy, putting a great splendour into the king”

MS 4.4.2

*dévīrāpo mádhumatīḥ sáṃsr̥jyadhvam máhi kṣatrám kṣatríyāya vanvānā́* ***ítyetā́ hí kṣatrāsya******vantrī́r****ánādhr̥ṣṭāḥ sīdatórjasvatīrmáhi várcaḥ kṣatríyāya dádhatīr****ityetā́ hí kṣatrásya dhā́trīḥ***

“O divine waters, full of sweet, be mingled, appropriating for the king the great power to rule -so he says, for they, brilliant, are those who appropriate the power to rule- sit untouched, possessing the vital energy, putting the splendour into the king -so he says, for they are those who put the power to rule”

KS 15.6 = MS 2.6.8

VS 10.4

*mádhumatīr* ***mádhumatībhiḥ*** *pr̥cyantāṃ máhi kṣatráṃ kṣatríyāya vanvānā́ḥ \*

*ánādhr̥ṣṭāḥ sīdata saháujaso máhi kṣatráṃ kṣatríyāya dádhatīḥ \\*

“O full of sweet, be mixed with the full of sweet, appropriating the great power to rule for the king, sit untouched, with the vigour-juice, putting the great power to rule into the king”

ŚB 5.3.4.27

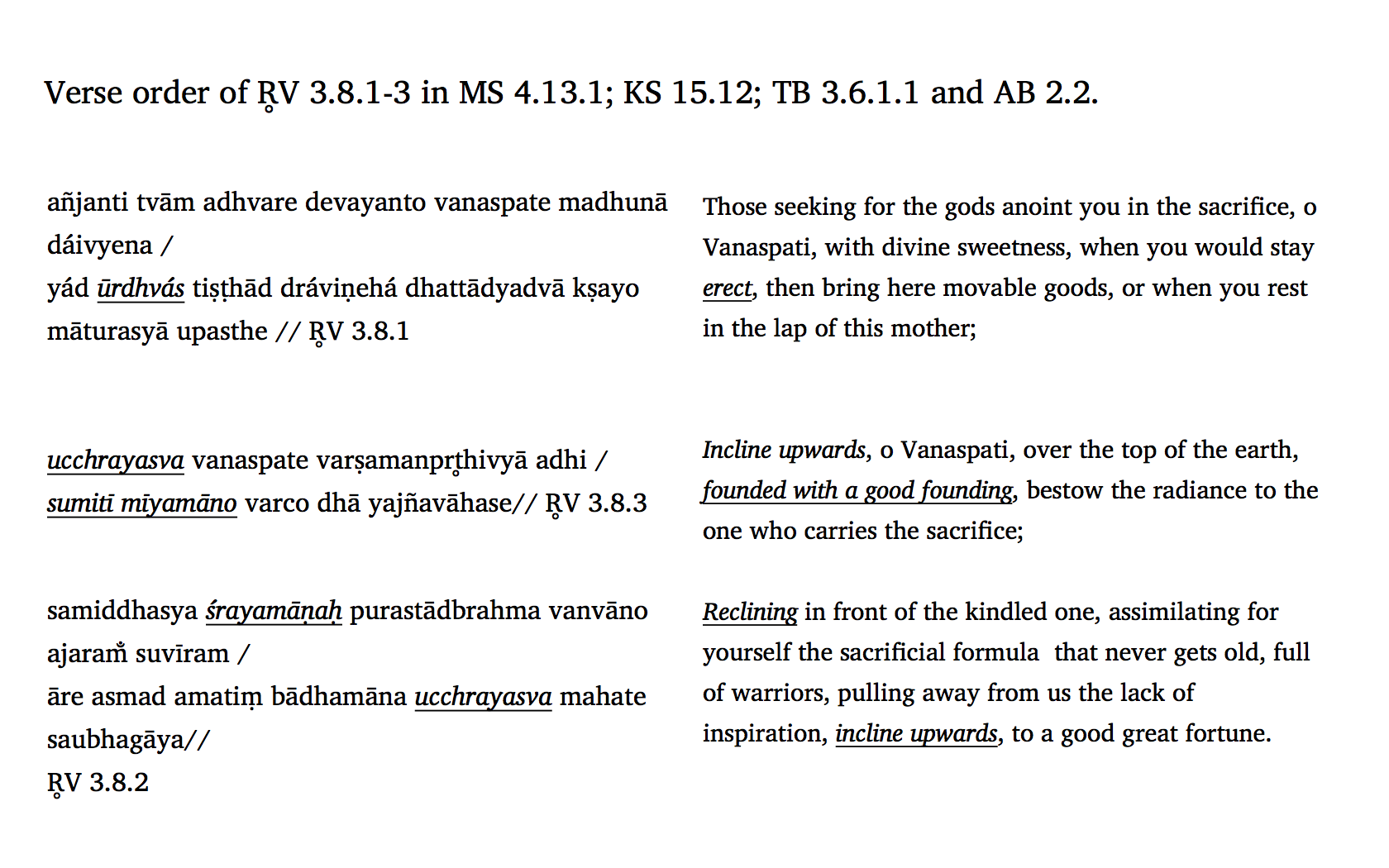
***tā́ḥ sārdhamaúdumbare pātre samávanayati*** */ mádhumatīr****mádhumatībhiḥ*** *pr̥cyantāmíti* ***rásavatī rásavatībhiḥ pr̥cyantāmítyevaìtádāha*** *máhi kṣatráṃ kṣatríyāya vanvānā* ***íti tátparó 'kṣaṃ yájamānāyāśíṣamā́śāste yadā́ha máhi kṣatráṃ kṣatríyāya vanvānā íti***

“He pours them together in equal share into an *udumbara* vessel ‘The full of sweet be mixed with the full of sweet’ ‘The full of sap be mixed with the full of sap’ so he says ‘Appropriating a great regal power for the king’ out of sight he prays a prayer asking this regal power for the sacrificer when he says ‘Appropriating a great regal power for the king’.”

**b-** As to the manipulation of R̥gvedic stanzas, we may take into consideration three examples, in order to see the actual structure of the texts we are dealing with:

b1- In some cases, the editorial process resulted in the changing of the stanzas’ order and the addition of stanzas from another hymn. Proferes (2003b) has carried on a throughout analysis of this kind of process in the Yajurvedic *mantra*s MS 4.13.1: 199,2-7; KS 15.12: 218,12-17; TB 3.6.1.1, that are also to be found in AB 2.2 where almost every *pāda* is followed by a sort of explanation or interpretation.The R̥gvedic stanzas culled here as mantras are R̥V 3.8.1-3 and 1.36.-13-14.

We chose to use this case here as a significant example of redactional manipulation of R̥gvedic stanzas, and, at the same time, as a clear evidence that the creation of the liturgical texts continued some poetical features of the earlier tradition.

The rite concerned is the Installation of the Sacrificial Post, and the *mantra*s are for the *hotr̥* to be recited when anointing and erecting the sacrificial post during the animal sacrifice. The stanzas of R̥V 3.8.1-3 provide us already with a picture of the sequences of discrete ritual actions involved in the procedure for installing the post, as we can see in first three stanzas where we have clearly the ritual participants (probably the priests with the patron and his wife[[125]](#footnote-125)) anointing the post with ghee as it lies on the ground. Furthermore, these stanzas reveal how particular formulas and poetic motifs are associated with particular ritual procedure: the adverb *ūrdhvá* and the verbs *śri- / ud-śri-* often repeated within these stanzas are evoking the erection and the inclining upwards of the post and the use of the root *mi*- in *súmitī* *mīyámānaḥ* “founded with a good founding”, a frequent figura etymologica, being the noun a derivative of the same root as the present participle *mīyamānaḥ*, also belong to the semantic field of the post installation.

Originally the stanzas 1.36.13-14 had nothing to do with the rite for the sacrificial post, being composed for the kindling of the sacred fire.

1.36.13 *ūrdhvá ū ṣú ṇa ūtáye tíṣṭhā devó ná savitā́ /*

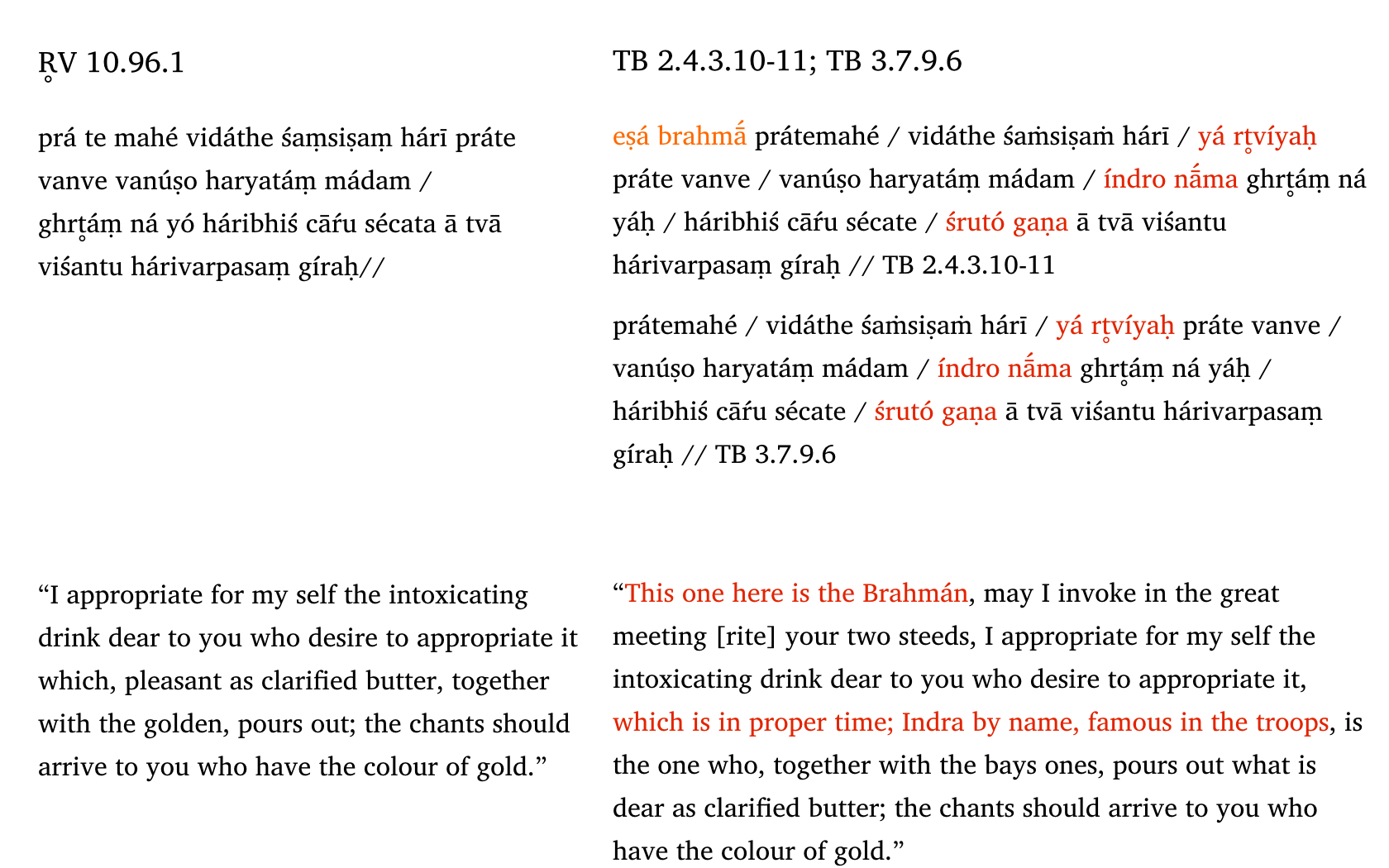
*ūrdhvó vā́jasya sánitā yád añjíbhir / vāghádbhir vihváyāmahe //*

1.36.14 *ūrdhvó naḥ pāhy áṃhaso ní ketúnā / víśvaṃ sám atríṇaṃ daha /*

*kr̥dhī́ na ūrdhvā́ñ caráthāya jīváse / vidā́ devéṣu no dúvaḥ //*

They were added just after the three stanzas of R̥V 3.8 partially because they had a similar formulary but also because the stanza 13 contained the formula traditionally mandated for the post liturgy: *vāghádbhir vihváyāmahe*“(when) we contest verbally with poets/singers”[[126]](#footnote-126) . We have to notice, that the brāhmaṇical justification as given in the AB passage, lying only on the presence of the idea of “stand up- right” (*ud- śri*) fails to fully capture the underlying rationale of the redactors of the classical liturgy. We have here a clear trace of the shift between what we called the Floating Mantra Period and the later Brāhmaṇa one, to which the AB belongs.

b2- In the second case, we have the first stanza of the hymn R̥V 10.96 addressed to Indra’s horses, which is used for two different rites and interestingly enough is interpolated both in TB 2.4.3.10 and in TB 3.7.9.6; TB 2.4.3.10 concerns the *Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi*. *Upahoma* (subsidiary) *mantra*s addressed to Indra, while in TB 3.7.96 the rites concerned are the offerings to Soma. The stanzas and formulas are to be recited to the *ṣodaśin* cup during the Ṣodaśin form of Jyotiṣtoma, a one-day sacrifice to Indra. If we look precisely what happens to the R̥V stanza is that 10.96.1 is interpolated tree times: *yá r̥tvíyaḥ, índro nāḿa* and *śrutó gaṇá* are inserted.



The meaning of the stanza is not extremely different from the R̥gvedic stanza, but indeed there is a clear modification of the original, as long as Indra becomes the subject of the second sentence and pours out “what is pleasant as the clarified butter”, while in R̥V 10.96.1 it was the *máda*-, pleasant as the clarified butter, which pours out. In TB 2.4.3.10 it is also preceded by the words *eṣá brahmā́*: what the anonymous redactor has attained is to create a clear connection within the ritual sequence (with *eṣá brahmā́* and *yá r̥tvíyaḥ*) and to stress the presence of Indra as warrior with troops and horses with a clear sound-play as *índro nāḿa* - *śrutó gaṇá*.

b3- The last example is the most manipulative one: the whole hymn 10.128 is to be found in two Sāmhitas of the YV school and in that of the AV school.

In TS 4.7.14 the R̥gvedic hymn is collected with the same order, only at the end there is the addition the Khila stanza, R̥VKh 10.128.1, while in KS 10.40 the stanzas are rearranged but almost in same order (1.2.3.4.6.7.5.8.X.9), and they are increased in number by the insertion of a non-R̥gvedic stanza between 8 and 9 (cf. AV 5.3.7ab + AV 5.3.6cd) and by the addition of the same R̥V Khila (R̥VKh 10.128.1) stanza. In both cases the rite is the *Agnicayana*. These *mantra*s are to be recited for placing the Vihavyā bricks on the Dhiṣṇya, the side altar (the bricks are called *vihavyā* after the name of the *sūkta*, *vihavyā*, and the supposed author of this hymn, Vihavya). In AVŚ 5.3 the order is quite different (1.6.2.4.3.5abX.5cdY.8.7.9), and here also the nine R̥gvedic stanzas are changed into 11 by the expansion of stanza 5 into two (6-7) and by the same R̥V Khila stanza addition. According to the *Kāuśika Sūtra*, the hymn is variously employed in the many *parvan* sacrifices (quarterly *haviryajña*).

Confronting the three versions of the whole hymn, apart from the stanza-order, we discover that the words are in some point or other changed. Most of the cases seem to be quite irrelevant (*nah* is turned into *me*; *havyā* becomes *iṣṭā*), other do not change the meaning of the stanza, but they rather look as an effort to make the comprehension easier, choosing more frequent expressions, as *savita*̄ instead of *trātāram*. Furthermore, one *mantra* undergoes significant modifications both in KS and AVŚ, in the stanza 3 of the hymn 10.128 the substitution of two words result in a change of the meaning.

We will analyse this significant manipulation later while dealing with the ritual meaning of the verb *van- / vani-* in §III.3.1,but anyway it is clear from these examples that we are dealing with texts that are the result of a wide redactional enterprise, and that is the effort to build the R̥gvedic material within a common ritual. This effort entailed a high average of manipulation along the different degrees of the language. Let us underpin this statement with the actual occurrences.

## III.2 Occurrences: R̥gvedic *mantra*s, Non-R̥gvedic *mantra*s and *brāhmaṇa*-portions

The complete list of occurrences follows, first presenting those passages that are quotations of R̥V *mantra*s. In oder to analyse the semantic development of *van- / vani-* it is necessary to start by separating what has been taken from the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* from the actual later compositions. Furthermore, the attestations have been divided between Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa. Within both groups, the texts are ordered along the different schools and traditions within the schools. The YV school is present most frequently. We will not take into account the AV-school here. As long as we want to analyse the ritual development in its more standardised attestation first, we will concentrate on the other three Veda. Therefore, the AV occurrences will be analysed in the next chapter. While the SV, as may be noticed easily, offers only quotations of the R̥V *mantra*s set alone to be used to chant, that is not inserted in a ritual discourse. This is of course not surprising for the SV texts are more or less just a “singing repertoire”. The *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* has been analysed above, so here we will just consider the Brāhmaṇas of the R̥V school, which by the way has very few occurrences of *van- / vani-.* This ends up in the overwhelming presence of texts of the YV-school, that are also the most interesting for the study of a ritual development because they represent the liturgical texts *par excellence*, containing not only *mantra*s and *yajus*  but, in the case of the Black YV already in the Saṃhitās texts, also plenty of commentaries and exegetical notations. The analysis of the occurrences is expounded upon in the following paragraph, III.3.

### III.2.1 Saṃhitā Occurrences

#### R̥V *mantra*s

#### YV Saṃhitā occurrences

* 1. The text of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* is taken from the edition by Albrecht Weber *Die Taittirîya-Saṃhitâ,* Leipzig: Brockhaus 1871-1872 (Indische Studien, 11-12). The text of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* is after the edition of Leopold von Schroeder, *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā herausgegeben von Dr. Leopold von Schroeder,* Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1881. The text of the *Kāṭha Saṃhitā* is after the edition of Leopold von Schroeder, *Kāṭhakam. Die Saṃhitā der Kaṭha-śākha* *herausgegeben von Dr. Leopold von Schroeder,* Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1900.The text of the *Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā* is after *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā, a Text of the Black Yajurveda, Critically edited for the first time by Raghu Vira,* Lachhmandas, Delhi, 1968. The text of the *Vājasaneya Saṃhitā* (Mādhyaṃdina recension) is after the edition of Albrecht Weber, *The Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā in the Mādhyandina and the Kānva-Śākhā with the Commentary of Mahidhara*, Berlin 1849 / reprinted Varanasi 1972 .

##### Taittirīya occurrences

##### TS 2.3.14.1g-2h

2.3.14.1g-h *ágnīṣomā sávedasā sáhūtī vanataṃ gíraḥ / sáṃ devatrā́ babhūvathuḥ // yuvám //*

2.3.14.2h *etā́ni diví rocanā́ny agníś ca soma sákratū adhattam / yuváṁ síndhūṁr abhíśaster avadyā́d ágnī ṣomāv amuñcataṃ gr̥bhītā́n //*

O Agni and Soma, together invoked, having the same knowledge, appropriate the chants, you are[[127]](#footnote-127) together in the divine world. You two put those lights in the sky, o Agni and Soma, you, with the same intention; You two, o Agni and Soma, released from curse (misfortune-*abhiśasti-*) and disgrace the the rivers which were held back.

*vanatam:* impv. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.

Keith 1914: 175 “accept”

Geldner: I 120 “nehmet gut auf”

Renou: IX 73 “trouvez-agréable”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 166 “liebt”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 1.93.9; .5; MS 4.10.1: 144,12-15; KS 4.16: 42,20-21; 43,1-2; TB 3.5.7.2.

Prose: TS 2.3.3.4.

Rite

Special Offerings, verses for the Kāmyeṣtiyājyās: offering to Agni as desire. The verses g-h are for the first offering to Agni and Soma.

##### TS 2.6.12.1c-2c

2.6.12.1c *tváyā hí naḥ pitáraḥ soma pū́rve kármāṇi cakrúḥ pavamāna dhī́rāḥ / vanvánn ávātaḥ paridhī́ṁr áporṇu vīrébhir áśvair maghávā bhava[[128]](#footnote-128) // naḥ//*

Through you, o Soma, our fathers, who got the vision, have formerly[[129]](#footnote-129) accomplished the sacrifices, o Pavamāna; you, who appropriate without being appropriated, open the enclosures[[130]](#footnote-130), be for us liberal with heroes and horses.

*vanván:* part. pres. nom. masc. sing. VIII cl.

*ávātaḥ*: nom. masc. sing. from *ávāta* (adj.)

Keith 1914: 220 “Conquering, untroubled”

Geldner: III 93 “überwinder unüberwundene”

Renou: IX 44 “qui gagnes sans que nul gagne contre toi”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 9.96.11; MS 4.10.6: 156,8-9; KS 21.14: 55,7-8; VS 19.53.

Rite

In TS, MS: Darśapurṇamāseṣṭī, Pitr̥yajña, *puronuvākya* of the *hotr*̥to accompany the offering of a cake on 6 potsherds to Soma Pitr̥mant.

In VS: Sautrāmaṇī, a constructed as a *surā* sacrifice to expiate the excessive consumption of Soma and then all other transgressions or mistakes. This *mantra* is a formula for oblation to the Fathers.

##### TS 3.3.11.1-2e

3.3.11.1e *ví te víṣvag vā́tajūtāso agne bhā́māsaḥ //*

3.3.11.2e *śuce śúcayaś caranti / tuvimrakṣā́so divyā́ návagvā vánā vananti dhr*̥*ṣatā́ rujántaḥ //*

Shaken everywhere by the wind[[131]](#footnote-131), your gleaming/glowing flames, o gleaming/glowing Agni, are moving in every direction, big destroyers[[132]](#footnote-132), like the divine Navagva[[133]](#footnote-133), they appropriate the wood breaking them boldly.

*vananti:* ind. pres. 3rd pl. I-VI cl.

Keith 1914: 264 “assail”

Geldner: II 98 “überwinden”

Renou: XIII 40 “triomphent”

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 6.6.3.

Mantra and Prose: ŚB 12.4.4.2.

Prose: TS 2.4.13.1; TS 3.4.9; TB 3.7.3.5*.*

Rite

Supplement of the Soma Sacrifices, special animal offerings: the *kamyeṣṭi* section. This *mantra* is used in the rite for Agni *vivici* (“the discerner”) (cf. TB 3.7.3.5).

##### TS 4.6.1.5r

4.6.1.5r *agnís tigména śocíṣā yáṁsad víśvaṃ ny àtríṇam / agnír no vaṁsate rayím//*

Agni with the sharpened flame may keep all evils away, may Agni appropriate for us the richness.

*vaṁsate:* subj. sigmatic aor. 3rd sing. Ā

Keith 1914: 364: “win for us”

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 6.16.28 (*yā́sad* and *vanate -* subj. root aor. 3rd sing. Ā. Geldner: II 111 “soll gewinnen”; Renou: XIII 50 “gagne”-); MS 2.10.2: 132,16-17; KpS 28.2: 140; VS 17,16 follow the R̥gvedic version. KS 18.1: 265,1-2 reads as the TS.

Prose: TS 5.4.4.1-5.3.

Rite

Agnicayana. Preparation of the fire, *mantra*s for the moistening of the fire and dragging of a frog, a reed and *avakā* (herbal plant) over the fire (Pariṣecana “sprinkling” and Vikarṣaṇa “dragging asunder” of the fire). The verse r is namely to accompany an oblation to Agni.

##### TS 4.6.9.4l

4.6.9.4l *sugávyaṃ no vājī́ sváśviyam puṁsáḥ putrā́ṁ utá viśvāpúṣaṁ rayím / anāgāstváṃ no áditiḥ kr*̥*ṇotu kṣatráṃ no áśvo vanatāṁ havíṣmān //*

Wealth of cattle may the steed / price-winner bring us, wealth of horses, sons and all sustaining riches; may Aditi make us free from sin[[134]](#footnote-134), may the horse endowed with oblations appropriate for us the lordship.

*vanatāṃ:* impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl.

Keith 1914: 380 “may win”

Geldner: I 225 “soll erringen”

O´Flaherty 1984: 92 “achieve”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 292 “soll erringen”

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 1.162.22; VS 25.45; KS Aśvamedha *grantha* 6.5: III 176,2-3 (*vanate* subj. root aor. 3rd sing. Ā).

Rite

Aśvamedha. The horse sacrifice occupies a special place in the TS which gives little more than the *mantra*s. The VS deals with it in the later books, 23-25, and the ŚB in the book 13th. The two hymns clearly related to this sacrifice are R̥V 1.162 and 1.163 (also used R̥V 6.75 and 6.47). Cf. Keith 1914: 132 ss.

This mantra is a praise for the steed near to be slaughtered.

##### TS 4.7.14.1c-2c

4.7.14.1c *máyi devā́ dráviṇam ā́ yajantām máyy āśī́r astu máyi deváhūtiḥ / dáivyā hótārā vaníṣanta //*

4.7.14.2c *pū́rvériṣṭāḥ syāma tanúvā suvī́rāḥ //*

May the gods bestow on me through sacrifice movable goods, may the prayer[[135]](#footnote-135) be in me, may be in me the divine invocation; may the two former divine *hotr̥* appropriate for themselves, may we, through ourselves, be safe, rich of heroes.

*vaniṣanta:* subj. sigmatic aor. 3rd pl. Ā I-VI cl.

Keith 1914: 386 “shall win for us”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 10.128.3 (*vanuṣanta -* inj. pres. 3rd pl. Ā, *hapax* cf. AiGr: II 2 §316.c*;* Geldner: III 358 “sollen Partei nehmen”- and *hotāraḥ*); KS 40.10 (*vaniṣan* -subj. *-iṣ* aor. 3rd pl.-and *etad* instead of *pū́rve*); AVŚ 5.3.5 (*saniṣan* instead of *vaniṣanta* and *etad* instead of *pū́rve*) so reads also AVP 5.4.5.

Prose: TS 5.4.11.3.

Rite

Agnicayana. *Mantra* used for placing the Vihavyā bricks on the Dhiṣṇya (the side altar). The bricks are called Vihavyā after the name of the *sūkta, vihavyā,* and the supposed author of this hymn, Vihavya. The whole hymn 10.128 is employed in this section, the stanzas are placed almost in the same order as in R̥V, but there are quite few variants.

##### Maitrāyanī occurrences

##### MS 2.10.2: 132,16-17

2.10.2 *agnístigména śocíṣā yā́sadvíśvaṃ nyàtríṇam / agnírno vanate rayím//*

Agni with the sharpened flame may pass over[[136]](#footnote-136) all evil, may Agni appropriate the richness for us.

*vanate:* subj. root aor. 3rd sing. Ā

Geldner: II 111 “soll gewinnen”

Renou: XIII 50 “gagne”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 6.16.28; VS 17.16; KpS 28.2: 140; TS 4.6.1.5r; KS 18.1: 265,1-2 (TS; KS *yaṃsad* and *vaṁsate -*subj. sigmatic aor. 3rd sing. Ā).

Prose: TS 5.4.4.1-5.3.

Rite

Agnicayana. Preparation of the fire, *mantra*s for the moistening of the fire and dragging of a frog, a reed and *avakā* (herbal plant) over the fire (Pariṣecana “sprinkling” and Vikarṣaṇa “dragging asunder” of the fire). This stanza is namely to accompany an oblation to Agni.

##### MS 4.10.1: 144,12-15

4.10.1 *ágnīṣomā sávedasā sáhūtī vanataṃ gíraḥ / sáṃ devatrā́ babhūvathuḥ //* *yuvámetā́ni diví rocanā́nyagníśca soma sákratū adhattam / yuváṁ síndhūṁrabhíśasteravadyā́dágnīṣomā amuñcataṃ gr̥bhītā́n //*

O Agni and Soma, together invoked, having the same knowledge, appropriate the chants, you are[[137]](#footnote-137) together in the divine world. You two put those lights in the sky, o Agni and Soma, you, with the same intention; you two, o Agni and Soma, released from curse (misfortune-*abhiśasti-*) and disgrace the rivers which were held back.

*vanatam:* impv. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.

Geldner: I 120 “nehmet gut auf”

Renou: IX 73 “trouvez-agréable”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 166 “liebt”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 1.93.9; .5; TS 2.3.14.1g-2h; KS 4.16: 42,20-21; 43,1-2 ; TB 3.5.7.2.

Prose: TS 2.3.3.4.

Rite

Special Offerings, *mantra*s of the *hotr*̥for Kāmyeṣtiyājyās, offerings to Agni as desire.

##### MS 4.10.6: 156,8-9

4.10.6 *tváyā hí naḥ pitáraḥ soma pū́rve kármāṇi cakrúḥ pavamāna dhī́rāḥ / vanvánn ávātaḥ paridhī́ṁráporṇu vīrébhiráśvairmaghávā bhavā naḥ //*

Through you, o Soma, our fathers, who got the vision, have formerly[[138]](#footnote-138) accomplished the sacrifices, o Pavamāna; you, who appropriate without being appropriated, open the enclosures[[139]](#footnote-139), be for us liberal with heroes and horses.

*vanván:* part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.

*ávātaḥ*: nom. m. sing. from *ávāta* (adj.)

Geldner: III 93 “überwinder unüberwundene”

Renou: IX 44 “qui gagnes sans que nul gagne contre toi”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 9.96.11; TS 2.6.12.1c; KS 21.14: 55,7-8; VS 19.53.

Rite

In TS, MS: Darśapurṇamāseṣṭī, Pitr̥yajña, *puronuvākya* of the *hotr*̥to accompany the offering of a cake on 6 potsherds to Soma Pitr̥mant.

In VS: Sautrāmaṇī, a constructed as a *surā* sacrifice to expiate the excessive consumption of Soma and then all other transgressions or mistakes. This *mantra* is a formula for oblation to the Fathers.

##### MS 4.13.1: 199,2-7

4.13.1 *añjánti tvā́m adhvaré devayántaḥ / vánaspate mádhunā dáivyena / yád ūrdhvás tiṣṭhā* *dráviṇehá dhattāt / yád vā kṣáyo mātúr asyā́ upásthe[[140]](#footnote-140) / úcchrayasva vanaspate / várṣaman pr̥thivyā́ ádhi / súmitī mīyámānaḥ / várco dhā yajñávāhase[[141]](#footnote-141) / sámiddhasya śráyamāṇaḥ purástāt / bráhma vanvānó ajáram̐ suvī́ram // āré asmád ámatiṃ bā́dhamānaḥ / úcchrayasva mahaté sáubhagāya[[142]](#footnote-142) /*

Those seeking for the gods[[143]](#footnote-143) anoint you in the sacrifice, o Vanaspati[[144]](#footnote-144), with divine sweetness[[145]](#footnote-145), when you would stay erect, then bring here movable goods, or when you rest in the lap of this mother; incline upwards, o Vanaspati, over the top of the earth, founded with a good founding[[146]](#footnote-146), bestow the radiance[[147]](#footnote-147) to the one who carries the sacrifice; reclining in front of the kindled one[[148]](#footnote-148), appropriating for yourself the sacrificial formula[[149]](#footnote-149) that never gets old, full of warriors, [.2] pulling away from us the lack of inspiration[[150]](#footnote-150), incline upwards, to a good great fortune.

*vanvānáḥ:* part. pres. nom. masc. sing. Ā VIII cl.

Geldner: I 345: “gewinnst”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 3.8.1-3; TB 3.6.1.1-(2); KS 15.12: 218,12-17.

Mantra and Prose: AB 2.2

Rite

*Mantra*s for the *hotr̥* in the animal sacrifice, *paśukahotraniruktiḥ, yūpasaṃkāraḥ* (TB 3.6.1).According to Proferes (2003a: 322-329), the R̥V stanzas 3.8.1-5 are used for the rite requiring a single post, while the following one are recited when more posts are to be displayed.

##### MS 4.14.10: 230,15-16

4.14.10 *índhāno agníṃ vanavad vanuṣyatáḥ / kr*̥*tábrahmā śūśuvad rātáhavya ít / jāténa jātám* *áti sá prásarsr*̥*te / yáṃ yaṃ yújaṃ kr*̥*ṇuté bráhmaṇaspátiḥ.*

The one who kindles the fire would appropriate those who are eager to appropriate him; having performed the formula, he who offer the oblation[[151]](#footnote-151) may get swollen, over the son born from the son survives whoever Brahmanaspati takes as an ally.

*vanavat:* subj. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.

Geldner: I 308 “überwinden”

Renou: XV 60 “vaincra”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 392 “wird besiegen”

*vanuṣyatáḥ:* part. pres. acc. masc. pl. from *vanuṣya* denominative of *vanús*

Geldner: I 308 “das Neider”

Renou: XV 60 “les (adversaires) cherchant-à-vaincre”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 392 “die Angreifenden”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 2.25.1; TB 2.8.5.2

Rite

Within the division of the text this section is indicated as *yājyānuvākya.*

In the TB commentary this section is for special prayers (*kāmya*), consisting of *mantra*s to be recited during the sacrifice of a polled ox to Brahmaṇaspati.

##### Kāṭha occurrences.

##### KS 4.15: 40,13-14

4.15 *gómad dhíraṇyavad vásu yád vām áśvāvad ī́mahe / índrāgnī tád vanemahi //*

This wealth made of cattle, gold and horses, we come to you praying for, o Indra and Agni, may we appropriate it for ourselves.

*vanemahi:* opt. pres. 1st pl. I-VI cl.

Geldner: II 264: “möchten gewinnen”

Renou: XIV 56: “gagner (pour soi)”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 7.94.9

Rite

Formulas addressed to Indrāgni, as the hymn 7.94.

##### KS 4.16: 42,20-43,1-2

4.16 *ágnīṣomā sávedasā sáhūtī vanataṃ gíraḥ / sáṃ devatrā́ babhūvathuḥ //* *yuvámetā́ni diví rocanā́nyagníśca soma sákratū adhattam / yuváṁ síndhūṁrabhíśasteravadyā́dágnīṣomā amuñcataṃ gr̥bhītā́n //*

O Agni and Soma, together invoked, having the same knowledge, appropriate the chants, you are[[152]](#footnote-152) together in the divine world. You two put those lights in the sky, o Agni and Soma, you, with the same intention; you two, o Agni and Soma, released from curse (misfortune-*abhiśasti-*) and disgrace the the rivers which were held back.

*vanatam:* impv. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.

Geldner: I 120 “nehmet gut auf”

Renou: IX 73 “trouvez-agréable”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 166 “liebt”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 1.93.9; .5; TS 2.3.14.1g-2h; MS 4.10.1: 144,12-15; TB 3.5.7.2.

Prose: TS 2.3.3.4.

Rite

Special Offerings, *mantra*s of the *hotr*̥for Kāmyeṣtiyajyās, offerings to Agni as desire.

##### KS 15.12: 218,12-17

15.12 *añjanti tvām adhvare devayanto vanaspate madhunā dáivyena / yád ūrdhvás tiṣṭhāddráviṇehá dhattādyadvā kṣayo māturasyā upasthe[[153]](#footnote-153) //ucchrayasva vanaspate varṣamanpr̥thivyā adhi / sumitī mīyamāno varco dhā yajñavāhase[[154]](#footnote-154) // samiddhasya śrayamāṇaḥ purastādbrahma vanvāno ajaram̐ suvīram / āre asmad amatiṃ bādhamāna ucchrayasva mahate saubhagāya[[155]](#footnote-155) //*

Those seeking for the gods[[156]](#footnote-156) anoint you in the sacrifice, o Vanaspati[[157]](#footnote-157), with divine sweetness[[158]](#footnote-158), when you would stay erect, then bring here movable goods, or when you rest in the lap of this mother; incline upwards, o Vanaspati, over the top of the earth, founded with a good founding[[159]](#footnote-159), bestow the radiance[[160]](#footnote-160) to the one who carries the sacrifice; reclining in front of the kindled one[[161]](#footnote-161), appropriating for yourself the sacrificial formula[[162]](#footnote-162) that never gets old, full of warriors, [.2] pulling away from us the lack of inspiration[[163]](#footnote-163), incline upwards, to a good great fortune.

*vanvānáḥ:* part. pres. nom. masc. sing. Ā VIII cl.

Geldner: I 345: “gewinnst”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 3.8.1-3; MS 4.13.1: 199,2-7; TB 3.6.1.1-(2).

Mantra and Prose: AB 2.2.

Rite

*Mantra*s for the *hotr̥* in the animal sacrifice, from TB *paśukahotraniruktiḥ, yūpasaṃkāraḥ* (TB 3.6.1)*.* According to Proferes (2003a: 322-329), the R̥V stanzas 3.8.1-5 are used for the rite requiring a single post, while the following one are recited when more posts are to be displayed.

##### KS 18.1: 265,1-2

18.1 *agnístigména śocíṣā yáṁsadvíśvaṃ nyàtríṇam / agnírno vaṁsate rayím//*

Agni with the sharpened flame may keep all evils away, may Agni appropriate for us the richness.

*vaṃsate:* subj. sigmatic aor. 3rd sing. Ā

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 6.16.28 (*yā́sad* and *vanate -* subj. root aor. 3rd sing. Ā. Geldner: II 111 “soll gewinnen”; Renou: XIII 50 “gagne”-); MS 2.10.2: 132,16-17; KpS 28.2: 140; VS 17,16 follow the R̥gvedic version. TS 4.6.1.5r reads as the KS.

Prose: TS 5.4.4.1-.5.3.

Rite

Agnicayana. Preparation of the fire, *mantra*s for the moistening of the fire and dragging of a frog, a reed and *avakā* (herbal plant) over the fire (Pariṣecana “sprinkling” and Vikarṣaṇa “dragging asunder” of the fire). This stanza is namely to accompany an oblation to Agni.

##### KS 20.14: 34,8-13

20.14 *nahí te pūrtám akṣipád bhúvan nemānāṃ vaso / áthā dúvo vanavase [[164]](#footnote-164)// āgniragāmi bhārato vr̥trahā purucetanaḥ divodāsasya sapatiḥ // sá hí víśvā́ti pā́rthivā rayíṃ dā́śan mahitvanā́ / vanvánn ávāto ástr̥taḥ[[165]](#footnote-165)//*

Be your reward not such that can fall into an eye, o Lord of someone[[166]](#footnote-166), in this way may you appropriate the homage; Agni, descended from the Bharata[[167]](#footnote-167), has arrived, the famous killer of Vr̥tra, the great protector of Divodāsa[[168]](#footnote-168); indeed may he grant rich to all terrestrial things[[169]](#footnote-169) through his greatness, he who appropriates without being appropriated, never beaten.

*vanavase:* subj. pres. 2a sing. Ā, VIII cl.

Geldner: II 110 “wirst gewinnen”

Renou:XIII49 *“*procureras”

*vanván:* part. pres. (nom. m. sing.) VIII cl.

Geldner: II 110 “Sieger”

Renou: XIII 50 “qui vainc”

*ávātaḥ:* nom. m. sing. from the adjective *ávāta-*

Geldner: II, 110 “unbesiegte”

Renou: XIII, 50 “sans être (jamais) vaincu”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 6.16.18-20.

Rite

According to Schroeder’s indication of MS 4.10.2 for this KS passage, these are *mantra*s for the *hotr̥* to be recitedat the animal sacrifice.

##### KS 21.14: 55,7-8

21.14 *tváyā hí naḥ pitáraḥ soma pū́rve kármāṇi cakrúḥ pavamāna dhī́rāḥ / vanvánnávātaḥ paridhī́ráporṇu[[170]](#footnote-170) vīrébhiráśvairmaghávā bhavā naḥ //*

Through you, o Soma, our fathers, who got the vision, have formerly[[171]](#footnote-171) accomplished the sacrifices, o Pavamāna; you, who appropriate without being appropriated, open the enclosures[[172]](#footnote-172), be for us liberal with heroes and horses.

*vanván:* part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.

*ávātaḥ*: nom. m. sing. from *ávāta* (adj.)

Geldner: III 93 “überwinder unüberwundene”

Renou: IX 44 “qui gagnes sans que nul gagne contre toi”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 9.96.11; TS 2.6.12.1c; MS 4.10.6: 156,8-9; VS 19.53.

Rite

In TS, MS: Darśapurṇamāseṣṭī, Pitr̥yajña, *puronuvākya* of the *hotr*̥to accompany the offering of a cake on 6 potsherds to Soma Pitr̥mant.

In VS: Sautrāmaṇī, a constructed as a *surā* sacrifice to expiate the excessive consumption of Soma and then all other transgressions or mistakes. This *mantra* is a formula for oblation to the Fathers.

##### KS 40.10: 144,1-2

40.10 *mayi devā draviṇamāyajantām mamāśīrastu mama devahūtiḥ / daivyā hotāro vaniṣann etadariṣṭāssyāma tanvā suvīrāḥ //*

May the gods bestow on me through sacrifice movable goods, may the prayer[[173]](#footnote-173) be mine, may be mine the divine invocation; may the divine *hotr̥* appropriate this here, may we, through ourselves, be safe, rich of heroes.

*vaniṣan:* subj. sigmatic aor. 3rd pl.

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 10.128.3 Vivavya (?) (*vanuṣanta -* inj. pres. 3rd pl. Ā, *hapax* cf. AiGr: II 2 §316.c*;* Geldner: III 358 “sollen Partei nehmen”-and *pū́rve* instead of *etad*); TS 4.7.14.1c (*vaniṣanta*, subj. sigmatic aor. 3rd pl. Ā -and *pū́rve* instead of *etad*); AVŚ 5.3.5 (*saniṣan* instead of *vaniṣanī*)so reads also AVP 5.4.5.

Prose: TS 5.4.11.3.

Rite

Agnicayana. *Mantra* used for placing the Vihavyā bricks on the Dhiṣṇya (the side altar). The bricks are called Vihavyā after the name of the *sūkta, vihavyā,* and the supposed author of this hymn, Vihavya. The whole hymn 10.128 is employed in this section, the stanzas are placed almost in the same order as in R̥V, but there are quite few variants, and the the number is changed from 9 to eleven by and the similar use is to be found in the other attestation of this hymn.

##### KS 40.14: 149,2-3

40.14 *návaṃ nú stómamagnáye diváśśyenā́ya jījanam / vásvaḥ kuvídvanā́ti naḥ*

I want[[174]](#footnote-174) to create a new laud for Agni, the eagle[[175]](#footnote-175) of the sky, may it appropriate something good[[176]](#footnote-176) for us.

*vanā́ti:* subj. pres. 3rd sing. I-VI cl.

Geldner: II 191 “wird erwirken”

Renou: XIII 62 “gagnera-t-il”

Gōto 1987: 284 “wird uns lieben”\*

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 7.15.4 Vasiṣṭha; TB 2.4.8.1.

Rite

KS 40.14 is a long series of *yājyānuvāka* at the end of *grantha* 40.

In TB: *Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi*. *Upahoma* (subsidiary) *mantra*s addressed to Agni, an additional offering within the Mitravindeṣṭi; cf. ŚB 11.4.3 -where is explained the myth connected with this rite, ŚB 11.4.3.20 “He finds Mitra, and his is the kingdom, he conquers the recurring death [...]”(trans. Eggeling) and cf. also ĀpŚS 2.21.2; Keith’s Summary (1914: 76-77) and Mylius 1995: 51. B.B. Miśra commentary: *aṣṭame‘nuvāke* *sarvamapyāgrayaṇsūktam.* The *āgrayaṇa* is the first libation of the evening Soma-pressure.

##### KS Aśvamedha *grantha* (5).6.5: III 276,2-3

6.5 *sugávyaṃ no vājī́ sváśvyaṃ pum̐sáḥ putrā́m̐ utá viśvāpúṣam̐ rayím / anāgāstváṃ no áditiḥ kr̥ṇotu kṣatráṃ no áśvo vanate havíṣmān //*

Wealth of cattle may the steed / price-winner[[177]](#footnote-177) bring us, wealth of horses, sons and all sustaining riches; may Aditi make us free from sin[[178]](#footnote-178), let the horse endowed with oblations appropriate for us the lordship.

*vanate:* subj. root aor. 3rd sing. Ā

Geldner: I 225 “soll erringen”

O´Flaherty 1984: 92 “achieve”

Griffith in Arya 1999: 373 “gain”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 1.162.22 Dīrghatamas; TS 4.6.9.4l; VS 25.45. All these attestations have *vanatām* (impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl.).

Rite

Aśvamedha. The horse sacrifice occupies a special place in the TS which gives little more than the *mantra*s. The VS deals with it in the later books, 23-25, and the ŚB in the book 13th. The two hymns clearly related to this sacrifice are R̥V 1.162 and 1.163 (also R̥V 6.75 and 6.47 are used). Cf. Keith 1914: 132 ff.

This mantra is a praise for the steed that has been slaughtered.

##### Kapiṣṭhala occurrences

##### KpS 28.2: 140.

28.2 *agnís tigména śocíṣā yā́sad víśvaṃ ny àtríṇam / agnír no vanate rayím//*

Agni with the sharpened flame may pass over[[179]](#footnote-179) all evil, may Agni appropriate the richness for us.

*vanate:* subj. root aor. 3rd sing. Ā

Geldner: II 111 “soll gewinnen”

Renou: XIII 50 “gagne”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 6.16.28; VS 17.16; MS 2.10.2: 132,16-17; TS 4.6.1.5r; KS 18.1: 265,1-2 (TS; KS *vaṁsate* and *yaṃsad*).

Prose: TS 5.4.4.1-5.3.

Rite

Agnicayana. Preparation of the fire, *mantra*s for the moistening of the fire and dragging of a frog, a reed and *avakā* (herbal plant) over the fire (Pariṣecana “sprinkling” and Vikarṣaṇa “dragging asunder” of the fire). This stanza is namely to accompany an oblation to Agni.

##### Vājasaneya occurrences (Mādhyaṃdina recension)

##### VS 7.17

7.17 *máno ná yéṣu hávaneṣu tigmáṃ vípaḥ śácyā vanuthó drávantā \ ā́ yáḥ śáryābis tuvinr̥mṇó asyā́śrīṇītādíśaṃ gábhastau[[180]](#footnote-180) \ eṣá te yóniḥ prajā́ḥ pāhi \ ápamr̥ṣṭo márkaḥ \ devā́s tvā manthipā́ḥ práṇayantu \ ánādhr̥ṣtāsi \\*

In the invocations of whom you both[[181]](#footnote-181), swift as mind, rushing to help, appropriate the inspired speech; the one who is very manly with arrows in his hand may burn the intention of this;[[182]](#footnote-182) this is your womb, protect the creature, Marka has been wiped off; may the gods, drinkers of Manthi, lead you forward, thus you are invincible.

*vanutháḥ:* ind. pres. 2nd du. VIII cl.

Geldner: III 227 “gut aufnehmet”

Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: I 74 “nahmet ihr”

Griffith in Arya 1999: 81-2 “welcomed eagerly”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 10.61.3.

Mantra and Prose: ŚB 4.2.1.12.

Rite

Agniṣṭoma. During the Great Pressing (Mahābhiṣava), two cups, Śukra -representing the sun- and Manthi -representing the moon-, are drawn for two Asura-Rakṣas, Saṇḍa and Marka, but then offered to gods for the libation (cf. ŚB 4.2.1-1-7). The Manthi cup, drawn for Marka, is mixed with barley meal and with these verses.

##### VS 15. 39-40

15.39 *bhadrā́ utá práśastayo bhadráṃ mánaḥ kr̥ṇuṣva vr̥tratū́rye \ yénā samátsu sāsáhaḥ \\*

15.40 *yénā samátsu sāsáhó ‘va sthirā́ tanuhi bhū́ri śárdhatām \ vanémā te abhíṣṭibhiḥ[[183]](#footnote-183) \\*

And may the prayers be auspicious; turn your auspicious mind[[184]](#footnote-184) to the victory on fiends; with that may you conquer in the battles, slacken the resistances, may we appropriate the many[[185]](#footnote-185) of the bolds with your protection[[186]](#footnote-186).

*vanémā:* opt. pres. 1st pl. I-VI cl.

Geldner: II 321 “möchten gewinnen”

Renou: XIII 66 “gagner”

Griffith in Arya 1999: 217 “vanquish”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 8-19-20; JS 3.56.17.

Rite

Agnicayana. *Mantra*s for the laying down of bricks during the building of the *uttaravedī.*

##### VS 17.16

17.16 *agnís tigména śocíṣā yā́sad víśvaṃ ny àtríṇam \ agnír no vanate rayím \\*

Agni with the sharpened flame may pass over[[187]](#footnote-187) all evil, may Agni appropriate the richness for us.

*vanate:* subj. root aor. 3rd sing. Ā

Geldner: II 111 “soll gewinnen”

Renou: XIII 50 “gagne”

Griffith in Arya 1999: 239 “win”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 6.16.28; MS 2.10.2: 132,16-17; KpS 28.2: 140; TS 4.6.1.5r; KS 18.1: 265,1-2 (TS; KS read *yaṃsad* and *vaṁsate -*subj. sigmatic aor. 3rd sing. Ā).

Prose: TS 5.4.4.1-5.3.

Rite

Agnicayana. Preparation of the fire, *mantra*s for the moistening of the fire and dragging of a frog, a reed and *avakā* (herbal plant) over the fire (Pariṣecana “sprinkling” and Vikarṣaṇa “dragging asunder” of the fire). This stanza is namely to accompany an oblation to Agni.

##### VS 19.53

19.53 *tváyā hí naḥ pitáraḥ soma pū́rve kármāṇi cakrúḥ pavamāna dhī́rāḥ \ vanvánn ávātaḥ paridhī́m̐r áporṇu vīrébhir áśvair maghávā bhavā naḥ \\*

Through you, o Soma, our fathers, who got the vision, have formerly[[188]](#footnote-188) accomplished the sacrifices, o Pavamāna; you, who appropriate without being appropriated, open the enclosures[[189]](#footnote-189), be for us liberal with heroes and horses.

*vanván:* part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.

*ávātaḥ*: nom. m. sing. from *ávāta* (adj.)

Geldner: III 93 “überwinder unüberwundene”

Renou: IX 44 “qui gagnes sans que nul gagne contre toi”

Griffith in Arya 1999: 288 “fighting unvanquished”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 9.96.11; TS 2.6.12.1c; KS 21.14: 55,7-8; MS 4.10.6: 156,8-9.

Rite

In VS: Sautrāmaṇī, a constructed as a *surā* sacrifice to expiate the excessive consumption of Soma and then all other transgressions or mistakes. This *mantra* is a formula for oblation to the Fathers.

In TS, MS: Darśapurṇamāseṣṭī, Pitr̥yajña, *puronuvākya* of the *hotr*̥to accompany the offering of a cake on 6 potsherds to Soma Pitr̥mant.

##### VS 25.45

25.45 *sugávyaṃ no vājī́ sváśvyaṃ pum̐sáḥ putrā́m̐ utá viśvāpúṣam̐ rayím \ anāgāstváṃ no áditiḥ kr̥ṇotu kṣatráṃ no áśvo vanatām̐ havíṣmān \\*

Wealth of cattle may the steed / price-winner[[190]](#footnote-190) bring us, wealth of horses, sons and all sustaining riches; may Aditi make us free from sin[[191]](#footnote-191), let the horse endowed with oblations appropriate for us the lordship.

*vanatām:* impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl.

Geldner: I 225 “soll erringen”

O´Flaherty 1984: 92 “achieve”

Griffith in Arya 1999: 373 “gain”

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 1.162.22 Dīrghatamas; TS 4.6.9.4l; KS Aśvamedha *grantha* 6.5: III 176,2-3 (*vanate* subj. root aor. 3rd sing. Ā).

Rite

Aśvamedha. The horse sacrifice occupies a special place in the TS which gives little more than the *mantra*s. The VS deals with it in the later books, 23-25, and the ŚB in the book 13th. The two hymns clearly related to this sacrifice are R̥V 1.162 and 1.163 (also R̥V 6.75 and 6.47 are used). Cf. Keith 1914: 132 ss. This *mantra* is a praise for the steed that has been slaughtered.

#### SV Saṃhitā occurrences

The text of the *Kauthumasaṃhitā* is after Ś. D. Sāntavalekara, *Sāmaveda Saṃhitā, mit Noten von śrīpāda Dāmodara Sāntavalekara*, Paraḍi, Bombay, 1946; and T. Benfey, *Hymnen des Sāma-Veda, herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Glossar versehen von Theodor Benfey*, Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1948. While the *Jaiminīyasaṃhitā* is after Raghu Vira, *Sāma Veda of the Jaiminīyas*, International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore, 1938.

##### *Jaiminīyasaṃhitā* (17) and *Kauthumasaṃhitā* (13)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| JS | KauS (KauS ^ JS) | R̥V | notes (JS ^ R̥V) |
| 1.3.2 | 22 =JS | 6.16.28 | *yaṃsad* ^ *yasād*  = VS 17.16; KpS 28.2 (=RV)  TS 4.6.1.5; KṭS 18.1 (=JS) |
| 1.14.4 | 128 (*yamat ^ yamata*) | 8.92.31 | *yamata* ^ *yaman* |
| 1.19.1 | 175 =JS | 10.153.1 | *vanvanāsaḥ* ^ *bhejānāsaḥ*  *suvīryam* ^ *nakirā* |
| 2.5.5 | I.8 (594) | 9.61.11 |  |
| 3.3.3 | II.24 (674) =RV | 9.61.11 | *viśvan* ^ *viśvāni* |
| 3.6.3 | II.57 (707) =JS | 6.16.18 | *pate* ^ *vaso* |
| 3.8.8 | II.82 (732) =JS | 8.45.23 | *brahmādviṣam* ^ *brahmādviṣaḥ* |
| 3.16.8 | II.170 (820) =JS | 9.101.7 | *vanāmahe* ^ *vanāmahai* |
| 3.20.13 | II.229 (879) | 8.103.9 |  |
| 3.20.19 | II.235 (885) | 8.95.6 |  |
| 3.22.14 | II.267 (917) | 7.94.2 |  |
| 3.28.1 |  | 5.13.2 | *vanāmahe* ^ *manāmahe* Kaut.S. II. 755 (1405) =RV |
| 3.28.7 | II.335 (985) | 5.70.1 |  |
| 3.44.7 |  | 9.61.24 | *kikaraḥ ^ āmuraḥ* |
| 3.56.17 | II,910 (1560) =JS | 8.19.20 | *sāsahiḥ ^ sāsahaḥ*  *abhiṣṭaye ^ abhiṣṭibhiḥ* |
| 4.6.4 |  | 8.60.14 |  |
| 4.6.8 | 22 =JS | 6.16.28 | = JS 1.3.2 |

#### Non-R̥V *mantra*s – Yajurveda prose

#### YV Saṃhitā occurrences

##### Taittirīya occurrences

##### TS 1.6.4.2o-3o

1.6.4.2 o *émā́ agmann āśíṣo dóhakāmā índravantaḥ //*

1.6.4.3 *vanāmahe dhukṣīmáhi prajā́m íṣam //*

Here have come the blessings[[192]](#footnote-192), eager for milking, possessing Indra, may we appropriate, may we milk offspring and food.

*vanāmahe:* subj. pres. 1st pl. Ā I-VI cl.

Keith 1914: 87 “may we win”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: TS 3.2.7.2i (*indriyā́vanto*).

Prose: TS 1.7.4.

Rite

Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi, this section gives the *mantra*s for the *anuyāja[[193]](#footnote-193)*- this verse is recited by the *yajamāna,* after the *adhvaryu* has called upon him.

##### TS 1.8.12.1a-b

TS 1.8.12.1a *dévīr āpaḥ sám mádhumatīr mádhumatībhiḥ sr*̥*jyadhvam máhi várcaḥ kṣatríyāya vanvānā́s /*

TS 1.8.12.1b *ánādhr*̥*ṣṭāḥ sīdatórjasvatīr máhi várcaḥ kṣatríyāya dadhátīs /*

Divine water, full of sweet, be mingled with the full of sweet, appropriating for the king[[194]](#footnote-194) a great splendour[[195]](#footnote-195); sit untouched, possessing the vital energy[[196]](#footnote-196), putting a great splendour in to the king.

*vanvānāḥ:* part. pres. nom. fem. pl. Ā VIII cl.

Keith 1914: 123 “Winning”

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8; MS 4.4.2: 51,8-10; KS 15.6: 213,9-10; VS 10.4; ŚB 5.3.4.27.

Mantra and Prose: ŚB 5.3.4.27.

Prose: ŚB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

Rite

Rājasūya, the Abhiṣeka –the unction of the king during his consecration. This section deals with the preparation of the waters.

Waters from diverse sources are poured together into a single vessel. (… more description in Proferes) The *mantra* credits the waters with winning for the anointed on the power to rule –*varcás* “splendour”, cf. Proferes 2007: 80ff; Heesterman 1975: 74-70 and 114-22; see also Tsuchiyama 2005 for the Abhiṣeka in general and his post-Vedic development.

The collection and mixing of the waters.

##### TS 2.4.5.1c

2.4.5.1c *dhātā́ dadātu no rayím ī́śāno jágatas pátiḥ / sá naḥ pūrṇéna vāvanat* //

May Dhātr̥ give us wealth, the Lord, the father of the living, may he have appropriated[[197]](#footnote-197) us completely[[198]](#footnote-198).

*vāvanat:* subj. perf. 3rd sing.

Keith 1914: 179 “May he favour us with a (full) gift”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: KS 13.16; AV 7.17.1 (*yachatu* instead of *vāvanat*).

Prose: TS 2.4.6.

Rite

Special Sacrifices

Citrā sacrifices (*cītra* is the earth, in the earth all things are produced, so the earth is variegated) cf. 2.4.6

##### TS 2.6.9.8

2.6.9.8 [*nā́ntár eti*][[199]](#footnote-199)

*tád agnír devó devébhyo vánate vayám agnér mā́nuṣā íty āhāgnír devébhyo vanuté vayám manuṣyèbhya íti vā́váitád āha \*

*ihá gátir vāmásyedáṃ ca námo devébhya íty āha yā́ś caivá devátā yájati yā́ś ca ná tā́bhya evóbhyáyībhyo námas karoty ātmánó 'nārtyai //*

*‘*May Agni, as god, appropriate this from gods, we, as men, from Agni.’ So he says. ‘Agni appropriates from gods, we from men.’ So indeed, this he says. ‘Here is the path of what is lovely and the homage to the gods.’ So he says. ‘The divinities, which he worships, and those, which not, to them of both kinds, indeed, he pays homage for the painlessness[[200]](#footnote-200) of himself.’

*vanate:* subj. aor. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl.

Keith 1914: 216 “shall win”

*vanute:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Keith 1914: 216 “wins”

*vāmásya:* gen. n. sing. from *vāmá*

Keith 1914: 216 “favour”

Vedic Web:

Mantra: MS 4.13.9: 212,10-13; ŚB 1.9.1.19; TB 3.5.10.5.

Rite

Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭī, explanation of *mantra*sof the *hotr*̥*:* Anuyājaḥ formulas (after offering) for the Sūktavāka (evocation of blessing) and Namovāka ceremonies (cf. Renou 1954)

##### TS 3.2.7.1h-2i

3.2.7.1h *śastrásya śastram*

3.2.7.2h *asy ū́rjam máhyaṁ śastráṃ duhām ā́ mā śastrásya śastráṃ gamyāt \*

3.2.7.2i *indriyā́vanto vanāmahe dhukṣīmáhi prajā́m íṣam /*

You are the *śastra* of the *śastra*, may the *śastra* milk for me the vital energy[[201]](#footnote-201), may the *śastra* of the *śastra* come to me, possessing the might may we appropriate, may we milk offspring and food.

*vanāmahe:* subj. pres. 1st pl. Ā I-VI cl.

Keith 1914: 247 “may we conquer”

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: TS 1.6.4.3o (*índravantaḥ*).

Prose: TS 1.7.4.

Rite

Supplement of the Agniṣṭoma, *stotra* and *śastra*, this *mantra* is recited by the sacrificer at the end of the *bahiṣpavamāna* *stotra*[[202]](#footnote-202), cf. ŚB 4.6.6.7.

##### Maitrāyanī occurrences

##### MS 2.1.2: 2,5-15

2.1.2 *agnáye vaiśvānarā́ya dvā́daśakapālaṃ nírvapetkā́māya saṃvatsaró vā́ agnírvaiśvānaráḥ saṃvatsaró kā́ma āpyate saṃvatsarámevā́patso ‘smai kā́mamāpnoti yátkāmo bhávatyagnáye vaiśvānarā́ya dvā́daśakapālaṃ nírvapetsámāntamabhidhrokṣyántsaṃvatsaró vā́ agnírvaiśvānaráḥ saṃvatsarā́ya sámamyate saṃvatsarámevā́ptvāvaruṇáṃ kā́mamabhídruhyatyagnáye vaiśvānarā́ya dvā́daśakapālaṃ nírvapetsaniṃ praiṣyántsaṃvatsaró vā́ agnírvaiśvānaráḥ saṃvatsarā́ya prátigr̥hyate saṃvatsarámevā́ptvā́ sātā́ṃ saníṃ vanute sá yadā́ vanvītā́thāgnáye vaiśvānarā́ya dvā́daśakapālaṃ nírvapetsaṃvatsaró vā́ agnírvaiśvānaráḥ saṃvatsarámeṣá práyuṅkte saṃvatsará etásmai vanute támevá bhāgínamakastáṃ vyamaugyáṃ dviṣyā́ttásmai dákṣiṇāṃ dadyātpā́śena vā́ eṣá carati támevā́sminprátimuñcatyékahāyano gaúrdákṣiṇā sá hí saṃvatsarásya pratimā //*

May he offer for a desire to Agni Vaiśvānara a sacrifice on 12 potsherds; indeed Agni Vaiśvānara is the year, within an year the wish is obtained; he, indeed, completed the year[[203]](#footnote-203), he[[204]](#footnote-204), for this one, gains the wish that he has[[205]](#footnote-205).

May he offer to Agni Vaiśvānara a sacrifice on 12 potsherds, he who wants to act with treachery against the common agreement[[206]](#footnote-206); indeed Agni Vaiśvānara is the year, on an year there is an agreement; having indeed completed the year, he acts with treachery at wish against what is not falling into Varuṇa power[[207]](#footnote-207).

May he offer to Agni Vaiśvānara a sacrifice on 12 potsherds, he who will go begging (who is eager to win wealth); indeed Agni Vaiśvānara is the year, for one year it[[208]](#footnote-208) is accepted; having indeed completed the year, he appropriates the reward gained.

When shall he appropriate for himself, then may he sacrifice to Agni Vaiśvānara on 12 potsherds; indeed Agni Vaiśvānara is the year, indeed this here yokes the year, the year appropriates for this here; indeed he made it[[209]](#footnote-209) partaking of the share, he unyoked it, to the one he may hate he shall give the sacrificial fee (*dakṣinā*). This here[[210]](#footnote-210) walks through a noose, he fixes this around it tight; the sacrificial fee is a one-year cow, for this is an image of the year.

*vanvīta:* opt. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Amano 2009: 432 “trägt”

2x *vanute:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Amano 2009: 432 “trägt […] davon”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: cf. TS 1.5.11 a-f.

Prose: cf. TS 2.2.5-6; KS 10.3: 127,1-13.

Rite

Special Offerings in connection with the animal sacrifice. *Kāmyā iṣṭayaḥ:* offerings to Aditi, Agni Vaiśvānara, Varuṇa. This part concerns the sacrifice to Agni Vaiśvānara for three different situations: first for the breaking up of a common agreement, second for one who wants to gain something and third for someone who wants to store his acquisition, cf. Caland 1908: 8-10.

##### MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8

* + 1. 2.6.8 *dévīrāpo mádhumatīḥ sáṃsr̥jyadhvam máhi kṣatrám kṣatríyāya vanvānā́ḥ /*

*ánādhr̥ṣṭāḥ sīdatórjasvatīrmáhi várcaḥ kṣatríyāya dádhatīḥ//*

O divine water, full of sweet, be mingled, appropriating for the king[[211]](#footnote-211) the great power to rule; sit untouched, possessing the vital energy[[212]](#footnote-212), putting a great splendour[[213]](#footnote-213) into the king.

*vanvānāḥ:* part. pres. nom. fem. pl. Ā VIII cl.

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: TS 1.8.12.1a-b; MS 4.4.2: 51,8-10; KS 15.6: 213,9-10; VS 10.4; ŚB 5.3.4.27.

Mantra and Prose: ŚB 5.3.4.27.

Prose: ŚB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

Rite

Rājasūya, the Abhiṣeka –the unction of the king during his consecration. This section deals with the preparation of the waters.

Waters from diverse sources are poured together into a single vessel. (… more description in Proferes) The *mantra* credits the waters with winning for the anointed on the power to rule –*varcás* “splendour”, cf. Proferes 2007 p. 80ff; Heesterman 1975 p.74-70 and 114-22; see also Tsuchiyama 2005 for the Abhiṣeka in general and his post-Vedic development.

The collection and mixing of the waters.

##### MS 3.6.9: 73,1-4

3.6.9 *nā́nyátradīkṣitaṃ dīkṣitavimitā́ntsū́ryo ‘bhinimrócennā́bhyúdiyāddīkṣitavratámevá tádyajñó vaí devā́nāṃ ná sámabhavattáṃ bhr̥tyā́ sámabhāvayanyádbhr̥tíṃ vanuté yajñásya sáṃbhūtyai rā́svéyatsométi yádbrūyā́detā́vadasya syát.*

May the sun do not set otherwise upon the consecrated, upon the temporary dwelling of the consecrated, while he is sleeping, may (the sun) not rise over this vow of the consecrated; the sacrifice did not fall to the share[[214]](#footnote-214) of gods, indeed, they furnished him[[215]](#footnote-215) with support when he appropriate the support for the production[[216]](#footnote-216) of the sacrifice ‘Give so much, o Soma’, be in his possession[[217]](#footnote-217) so much as he might have said.

*vanuté:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

Mantra: KS 2.4; TS 1.2.3.2e-f; MS 1.2.3.

Mantra and Prose: cf. KS 23.6: 81,19-82,2 .

Prose: TS 6.1.4.4-9.

Rite

Within Agniṣṭoma, the Dikṣa moment, the consecration of the sacrificer.

The brāhmaṇa-portion are the explanation of the restriction of the *dīkṣtita*, the *adhvarādīnāṃ trayāṇāṃ vidhi*.

Within the section more similar to KS 23.6, there are indeed four statements, where is worth noticing the repetition of the verb *saṃ bhū-,* *yajñó vaí devā́nāṃ ná sámabhavattáṃ bhr̥tyā́ sámabhāvayanyádbhr̥tíṃ vanuté yajñásya sáṃbhūtyai*: those statements present the whole sacrifice as bound in a circular movement between 3 entities, gods, men and the sacrificial substance. We are told that “the sacrifice did not prosper from the gods”, indeed they contribute the support but it is the consecrated that through this support “in this way puts together the sacrifice”.

##### MS 4.1.10: 12,16; 13,1-3

4.1.10 *óśadhīnāmáhim̐sāyaia vrajáṃ gacha gosthā́namíti chándām̐si vaí vrajó gosthā́naśchándām̐syevā́smai vrajáṃ gosthā́naṃ karoti várṣatu te parjányādevá vŕ̥ṣṭim̐ vanute badhāná deva savitaḥ śaténa pā́śaiḥ paramásyāṃ parāvátī́ti.*

‘For the safeness[[218]](#footnote-218) of herbs go into a fold serving as abode for cows’ he says, the metres are indeed a fold serving as abode for cows; he makes for him the metres exactly a fold serving as abode for cows; ‘may it rain for you through Parjanya, o god, he appropriates the rain for himself, bind[[219]](#footnote-219), o god Savitr̥, with a hundred of chains in the remotest distance’.

*vanute:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

Mantra and Prose: cf. MS 1.1.10; KS 31.8; TB 3.2.9.

Rite

In the Darśapurṇamāseṣṭī, the Puroḍāśīya.

##### MS 4.1.14: 19,18-19; 20,1-3

4.1.14 *marúto vaí vŕ̥ṣṭyā īṣate te ‘smai vŕ̥ṣṭiṃ nínayanti táto no vr̥ṣṭyā́vatéti marúdbhya evá vŕ̥ṣr̥iṃ vanute cakṣuṣpā́ agne ‘si cákṣurme pāhóti cákṣurevā́sya pāti //*

Marut indeed are master through the rain, they lead the rain to this one, from that ‘favour us with rain’ he says, from the Marut he appropriates for himself the rain, indeed; ‘o Agni, you are the protecting of the eyesight, protect my eyes’ he says, he protects indeed the eyes of this one.

*vanute:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

Mantra and Prose: cf. MS 1.1.13; KS 31.11.

Rite

In the Darśapurṇamāseṣṭī, the Puroḍāśīya.

##### MS 4.4.2: 51,8-10

4.4.2 *dévīrāpo mádhumatīḥ sáṃsr̥jyadhvam máhi kṣatrám kṣatríyāya vanvānā́ ítyetā́ hí kṣatrāsya vantrī́ránādhr̥ṣṭāḥ sīdatórjasvatīrmáhi várcaḥ kṣatríyāya dádhatīrityetā́ hí kṣatrásya dhā́trīḥ //*

‘O divine waters, full of sweet, be mingled, appropriating for the king[[220]](#footnote-220) the great power to rule’ so he says, for they, brilliant[[221]](#footnote-221), are those who appropriate the power to rule ‘sit untouched, possessing the vital energy[[222]](#footnote-222), putting the splendour[[223]](#footnote-223) into the king’ so he says, for they are those who put the power to rule.

*vantrī́ḥ:* nom. f. pl. from *vantr̥, nomen agentis* (rare in RV, only two occurrences with *rayaḥ*)

*vanvānāḥ:* part. pres. nom. fem. pl. Ā VIII cl.

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: TS 1.8.12.1a-b; MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8; KS 15.6: 213,9-10; VS 10.4; ŚB 5.3.4.27.

Mantra and Prose: ŚB 5.3.4.27.

Prose: ŚB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

Rite

The other occurrences of this formula are connected with:

Rājasūya, the Abhiṣeka –the unction of the king during his consecration. This section deals with the preparation of the waters.

Waters from diverse sources are poured together into a single vessel. The *mantra* credits the waters with winning for the anointed on the power to rule –*varcás* “splendour”, cf. Proferes 2007 p. 80ff; Heesterman 1975 p.74-70 and 114-22; see also Tsuchiyama 2005 for the Abhiṣeka in general and his post-Vedic development.

The collection and mixing of the waters.

##### MS 4.13.9: 212,10-13

4.13.9 *víśvaṃ priyám ā́śāste / yád anéna havíṣā ā́śāste / tád aśyāt tád r̥dhyāt / tád asmai devā́ rāsantām / tád agnír devó devébhyo vanutāṃ / vayám agnér mā́nuṣāḥ / iṣṭáṃ ca vītáṃ ca / ubhé ca no dyā́vāpr̥thivī́ ám̐hasaḥ pātām[[224]](#footnote-224) / ihá gatir vāmásya idáṃ/ námo devébhyaḥ //*

He prays[[225]](#footnote-225) for a future worship to the gods, he prays for a bigger preparation of the oblation, he prays for an heavenly abode, he prays for all that is dear; may he attain this, this he wants to accomplish[[226]](#footnote-226), which he prays for through his oblation, may the gods give this to him, do the god Agni appropriate this from the gods, we, man, from Agni; that which has been offered, that which has been craved for[[227]](#footnote-227), and let both the heaven and the earth protect us from the enclosure; here the procedure for what is desirable, this one[[228]](#footnote-228), honour to the gods.

*vanutāṃ:* impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

Mantra: TB 3.5.10.5 (*vánate* - subj. aor. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl. – *idám ca* instead of *idám*); ŚB 1.9.1.16; .19-20; cf. TS 2.6.9.8.

Rite

Darśapurṇamāseṣṭi. The after offering formulas, Anuyāja, of the *hotr*̥for the Suktāvāka, evocation of blessing.

##### Kāṭha occurrences

##### KS 10.3: 127,1-13

10.3 *agnáye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaṃ nirvapedyo ‘nannamadyādyo vā jighatsetsaṃvatsaro vā agnirvaiśvānarassaṃvatsarenaiva pūtam̐ svaditamatti yadi jagdhvā nirvapati saṃvatsara evāsmai jagdhvaṃ svadayatyagnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaṃ nirvapedyassamāntamabhidruhyedyo vābhidudrukṣetsaṃvatsaro vā agnirvaiśvānarassaṃvatsarāyaiṣa samamate yassamamate saṃvatsaramevāptvā kāmamavaruṇamabhidruhyatyagnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaṃ nirvapedyaḥ pratigr̥hītassyātsanikāmassaṃvatsaro vā agnirvaiśvānarassaṃvatsarāyaitaṃ pratigr̥hṇanti yaṃ pratigr̥hnanti saṃvatsaramevāptvā sātām̐ saniṃ vanute ‘gnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaṃ nirvapetsaniṃ nidadhatsaṃvatsaro vā agnirvaiśvānarassaṃvatsarameṣa prayuṅkte yo yācati saṃvatsarameva vimuñcati saṃvataro vā etadetasmai sanoti yadvanute*

May offer a sacrifice on 12 potsherds to Agni Vaiśvānara he who may eat the food, who wants to eat, Agni Vaiśvānara indeed is the year, through the year he eats indeed what is well prepared and purified, if, having eaten, he offers, the year indeed makes sweet for him what was eaten.

May offer to Agni Vaiśvānara a sacrifice on 12 potsherds he who may act with treachery against the common agreement[[229]](#footnote-229), who wants to act with treachery, Agni Vaiśvānara indeed is the year, who makes an agreement makes it for an year, after one year he acts with treachery on his will against what is not falling into Varuṇa power[[230]](#footnote-230).

May offer to Agni Vaiśvānara a sacrifice on 12 potsherds who, having accepted[[231]](#footnote-231), may be the one desirous of reward, Agni Vaiśvānara indeed is the year, on an year they accept whom they accept, after one year he appropriates the reward gained.

May offer to Agni Vaiśvānara a sacrifice on 12 potsherds he who should fix (preserve) the reward, Agni Vaiśvānara indeed is the year, this one who sacrifices yokes the year, he indeed unyokes the year and the year gains for this one what he appropriates.

2x *vanute:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

Mantra: cf. TS 1.5.11a-f.

Prose: cf. TS 2.2.6; MS 2.1.2: 2,5-15.

Rite

Special Offerings in connection with the animal sacrifice. *Kāmyā* *iṣṭayaḥ:* offerings to Aditi, Agni Vaiśvānara, Varuṇa. This part concerns the sacrifice to Agni Vaiśvānara for three different situations: first for the breaking up of a common agreement, second for one who wants to gain something and third for someone who wants to store his acquisition, cf. Caland 1908: 8-10.

##### KS 10.6: 130,8-16

10.6 *naimiṣyā vai satramāsata ta utthāya saptavim̐śatiṃ kurupañcāleṣu vatsatarānavanvata tānvako dālbhirbravīdyūyamevaitānvibhajadhvamimamahaṃ dhr̥tarāṣṭraṃ vaicitravīryaṃ gamiṣyāmi sa mahyaṃ gr̥hānkariṣyatīti tamāgacchattannāsūrkṣattaṃ prākālayataitā gā brahmabandha ityabravītpaśupatirgā hanti tāḥ paraḥ pacamānaścareti tāsāṃ devasūrme rājānnaṃ prāsuṣoditi sakthānyutkartamapacata tasminpacamāno vyadasyatso ‘gnaye rudravate ‘ṣṭākapālaṃ niravapatkr̥ṣṇānāṃ vrīhīṇāṃ tasya yatkiṃca dhr̥tarāṣṭrasyāsīttatsarvamavakarṇaṃ vidrāṇamabhivyaucchattā vipraśnikā avindanbrāhmaṇo vai tvāyamabhicarati tasminnāthasveti*

TheNaimiṣyas[[232]](#footnote-232) celebrated a *sattra* sacrifice[[233]](#footnote-233), as they finished, they appropriated for themselves 27 young bulls among the Kuru-Pañcālas, Vaka Dālbhi[[234]](#footnote-234) said: “You divide these ones and I will go to this Dhr̥tarāṣṭra son of Vicitravīrya, he will make houses for me”. He came to this one, this one did not care about him and pushed him forward “These cows here, o unworthy Brahmán” so he spoke, Paśupati kills the cows “Go away cooking” “Their Devasū[[235]](#footnote-235) let prepare for me the food of the king”; having cut off the thighs he cooked them; while he was cooking, it[[236]](#footnote-236) came to an end; he sacrificed to Agni Rudravat eight potsherds of dark grains; whatever belonged to Dhr̥tarāṣṭra, at the sunshine[[237]](#footnote-237) was scattered[[238]](#footnote-238) and spread away; the future-tellers discovered him “The Brahmán indeed makes witchcraft against you, seek his protection”.

*avanvata:* ind. impf. 3rd pl. Ā VIII cl.

Caland 1908: 52 “erbeuteten”

Falk 1986: 59 “verlangten (und erhielten)”

Vedic Web

∅

Rite

Paragraphs 10.5-7 are *brāhmaṇa*-passages comparable with TS 2.2.2 and MS 2.1.10-11, concerning the *kāmyā iṣṭayah* mainlyto Agni Pathikr̥t to be praised in different cases (the verses commented on are *yājyās* and *puronuvākyās* in TS 1.1.14; 1.2.14; 1.3.14). To Agni with the Rudras should be offered when practicing magic, *abhicāra* (TS 2.2.2.3), another occasion is when a battle is joined (TS 2.2.2.4).

This part is the explication of the *iṣṭi* on eight potsherds to Agni Rudravatfor someone who wants to damage the enemy, in the TS and MS corresponding sections is only short mentioned. The story, which can be found also later in MhB IX, 41, is that of the ritual dispute between the *r̥ṣi* Vaka (or Baka) Dālbhya and the king Dhr̥tarāṣṭra. As to the connection with the *vrātya*s*,* see Heesterman 1962: 29-31 and Falk 1986: 58-60.

##### KS 13.16: 200, 7-8

13.16 *dhātā́ dadātu no rayím ī́śāno jágatas pátiḥ / sá naḥ pūrṇéna vāvanat* //

May Dhātr̥ give us wealth, the Lord, the father of the living, may he have appropriated[[239]](#footnote-239) us completely[[240]](#footnote-240).

*vāvanat:* subj. perf. 3rd sing.

Keith: 179 “May he favour us with a (full) gift”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: TS 2.4.5.1c; AV 7.17.1 (*yachatu* instead of *vāvanat*).

Rite

Section of formulas for the Paśubandha rite, within the Caraka branch[[241]](#footnote-241) of the Kāṭha school. The Caraka Saṃhitā is older than the Maitrayāni and Kāṭha Saṃhitā but somehow near to these two. It belongs to a period when the Yajurvedic prose was not already set. The fragments we have show a *brāhmaṇa-*prose prior to the one of the YV and contemporary to the collection of the *mantra*s, cf. Witzel 1981; 1982.

##### KS 15.6: 213,9-10

* + 1. 15.6 *dévīrāpo mádhumatīssam̐sr̥jyadhvam mahi kṣatram kṣatriyāya vanvānāḥ /*

*anādhr̥ṣṭāssīdatorjasvatīrmahi varcaḥ kṣatriyāya dadatīḥ//*

O divine water, full of sweet, be mingled, appropriating for the king[[242]](#footnote-242) the great power to rule; sit untouched, possessing the vital energy[[243]](#footnote-243), giving a great splendour[[244]](#footnote-244) into the king.

*vanvānāḥ:* part. pres. nom. fem. pl. Ā VIII cl.

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: TS 1.8.12.1a-b; MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8; MS 4.4.2: 51,8-10; VS 10.4; ŚB 5.3.4.27.

Mantra and Prose: ŚB 5.3.4.27.

Prose: ŚB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

Rite

Rājasūya, the Abhiṣeka –the unction of the king during his consecration. This section deals with the preparation of the waters.

Waters from diverse sources are poured together into a single vessel. The *mantra* credits the waters with winning for the anointed on the power to rule –*varcás* “splendour”, cf. Proferes 2007 p. 80ff; Heesterman 1975 p.74-70 and 114-22; see also Tsuchiyama 2005 for the Abhiṣeka in general and his post-Vedic development.

The collection and mixing of the waters.

##### KS 23.6: 81,19-82,2

23.6 *pūṣā sanīnām̐ somo rādhasāmiti pūṣā hi sanīnāmīśo somo rādhasāṃ rāsvetyatsometi somo vā etadetasmai rāsate yadvanute ā bhūyo bharetyāgame hyenaṃ bhūyo devassavitā vasorvasudāveti savitr̥prasūta eva pratigr̥hṇātyātmano’him̐sāyai devebhyo vai yajño na prābhavattaṃ dakṣiṇobhissamabhāvayanyaddīkṣito bhr̥tiṃ vanute yajñameva saṃbhāvayati tasmāddvādaśa rātrīrdīkṣito bhr̥tiṃ vanvīta yāvāneva yajñastaṃ saṃbhāvayati //*

‘Puṣan of rewards, Soma of gifts’ he says[[245]](#footnote-245) for Puṣan is master of rewards, Soma of gifts. ‘Give o Soma so much’ he says, Soma shall indeed give to this one[[246]](#footnote-246) what he appropriates. ‘Bring more hither’ he says, he indeed attained[[247]](#footnote-247) more ‘God Savitr̥, good Givers of goods’ the one roused by Savitr̥ receives for not hurting himself. The sacrifice did not originated from the gods, they affected[[248]](#footnote-248) him with *dakṣinā*s (the cows), when the consecrated appropriates the support, in this way he puts together the sacrifice, therefore the consecrated shall appropriate as support the cows of 12 nights, in this way as much (*yāvān*) the sacrifice affects *(saṃbhāvayati)* him.

2x *vanute:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

*vanvīta:* opt. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

Mantra: KS 2.4; TS 1.2.3.2e-f; MS 1.2.3.

Mantra and Prose: cf. MS 3.6.9: 73,1-4.

Prose: TS 6.1.4.4-9.

Rite

Within the Agniṣṭoma, the Dikṣa moment, the consecration of the sacrificer. This passage and MS 3.6.9 are dealing with the same moment, and we find quite the same words used.

The brāhmaṇa-passages are the explanation of the restrictions of the *dīkṣtita*, the *adhvarādīnāṃ trayāṇāṃ vidhi*.

##### KS 30.8: 189,20-21

30.8 *paśupateḥ paśavo virūpāssadr̥śā uta / teṣāṃ yaṃ vavnire devāstam̐ svarāḍanumanyatām //*

Of Paśupati[[249]](#footnote-249) are the sacrificial animals, manifold and similar; of them[[250]](#footnote-250), what the gods have appropriated, this may the self-ruler[[251]](#footnote-251) approve/grant (*anu man-*).

*vavnire:* ind. perf. 3rd pl. Ā → *vanvire,* (so corr. Ch., cf. also Keith 1914: 226 n. 1) stative aor. 3rd pl. Ā

Vedic Web

Mantra: cf. TS 3.1.4.1b;

Prose: cf. TS 3.1.5 and KS 30.9.

Rite

Supplementary of Soma sacrifice: the measuring out of the Soma, anointing the oblation carts, fire for cooking the sacrificial animal. This *mantra* is to be used when the victim is touched with *barhis* and a twig of Plakṣa as a preparation for the sacrifice.

##### Vājasaneya occurrences (Mādhyaṃdina recension)

##### VS 10.4 (t-u)

* + 1. 10.4 *mádhumatīr mádhumatībhiḥ pr̥cyantāṃ máhi kṣatráṃ kṣatríyāya vanvānā́ḥ \ ánādhr̥ṣṭāḥ sīdata saháujaso máhi kṣatráṃ kṣatríyāya dádhatīḥ \\*

The full of sweet be mingled with the full of sweet, appropriating for the king[[252]](#footnote-252) the great power to rule; sit untouched, with the juicy vigour[[253]](#footnote-253), putting a great power to rule into the king.

*vanvānā́ḥ:* part. pres. nom. fem. pl. Ā VIII cl.

Griffith in Arya 1999: 124 “obtaining”

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: TS 1.8.12.1a-b; MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8; MS 4.4.2: 51,8-10; KS 15.6: 213,9-10; ŚB 5.3.4.27.

Mantra and Prose: ŚB 5.3.4.27.

Prose: ŚB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

Rite

Rājasūya, the Abhiṣeka –the unction of the king during his consecration. This section deals with the preparation of the waters.

Waters from diverse sources are poured together into a single vessel. The *mantra* credits the waters with winning for the anointed on the power to rule –*varcás* “splendour”, cf. Proferes 2007 p. 80ff; Heesterman 1975 p.74-70 and 114-22; see also Tsuchiyama 2005 for the Abhiṣeka in general and his post-Vedic development.

The collection and mixing of the waters.

### III.2.2 Brāhmaṇa Occurrences

#### R̥V *mantra*s

#### R̥V Brāhmana occurrences

Text of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is after The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of the R̥gveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇa Acharya, edited by Paṇḍit Satyavrata Samasrami, Satya Press, Calcutta, 1895 [Bibliotheca Indica Vol. 847, 849, 850, 852, 861], Voll.5. The edition Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Mit Auszügen aus dem Commentare con Sāyaṇācārya und andere Beilagen herausgegeben von Theodor Aufrecht, Adolph Marcus, Bonn, 1879 has been used also.

##### Aitareya occurrences

##### AB 1.25.7

1.25.7 *upasadyāya mīḷhuṣa[[254]](#footnote-254) imām me agne samidham imām upasadaṃ vaner[[255]](#footnote-255) iti / tisrastisraḥ sāmidhenyo rūpasamr̥ddhā etad vai yajñasya samr̥ddhaṃ / yad rūpasamr̥ddhaṃ yat karma kriyamāṇam r̥g abhivadati*

‘To the one who is to worship[[256]](#footnote-256), to the generous, may you appropriate, o Agni, this kindling stick of mine, this being by you (*upasad*) of mine’ three verses each[[257]](#footnote-257) are the kindling verse perfect in form, that of the sacrifice is perfect what is perfect in form, the verse describes the sacrifice[[258]](#footnote-258) which is being performed.

*vaneḥ:* opt. pres. 2nd sing. I-VI cl.

Geldner: I 283 “mögest du gern annehmen*”*

Renou: XII 45 “agréer*”*

Keith 1920: 126 “do accept”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 2.6.1ab; ĀŚS 4.8.11.

Rite

Soma sacrifice, the Upasad. The verses are considered a “kindling verse” (*sāmidhenī*) perfect in form. The whole section is an explanation of the Upasad and the verses to employ within the ritual.

##### AB 2.2

2.2.1-13 *añjmo yūpam, anubrūhīty āhādhvaryur / añjanti tvām adhvare devayanta ity anvāhā/dhvare hy enaṃ devayanto 'ñjanti / vanaspate madhunā daivyenety / etad vai madhu daivyaṃ yad ājyaṃ / yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā draviṇeha dhattād yad vā kṣayo mātur asyā upastha iti / yadi ca tiṣṭhāsi yadi ca śayāsai draviṇam evāsmāsu dhattād ity eva tad āho/c chrayasva vanaspata ity ucchrīyamāṇāyābhirūpā / yad yajñe 'bhirūpaṃ tat samr̥ddhaṃ / varṣman pr̥thivyā adhīty / etad vai varṣma pr̥thivyai / yatra yūpam unminvanti / sumitī mīyamāno varco dhā yajñavāhasa ity āśiṣam āśāste / samiddhasya śrayamāṇaḥ purastād īti / samiddhasya hy eṣa etat purastāc chrayate / brahma vanvāno ajaraṃ suvīram īty āśiṣam evāśāsta / āre asmad amatim bādhamāna ity. aśanāyā vaī pāpmāmatis, tām eva tad ārān nudate yajñāc ca yajamānāc co/c crayasva mahate saubhagāyety āśiṣam evāśāsta*

‘You do recite -we anoint the post-’ says the *adhvaryu* ‘Those seeking for the gods[[259]](#footnote-259) anoint you in the sacrifice’ he recites for indeed those seeking for the gods anoint this one in the sacrifice ‘O Vanaspati[[260]](#footnote-260), with divine sweetness[[261]](#footnote-261)’ indeed the divine sweetness is the clarified butter ‘When you would stay erect, then bring here movable goods, or when you rest in the lap of this mother’ ‘If you would stand or lay, give us movable goods’ this indeed he says ‘Incline upwards, o Vanaspati’ the appropriate (verse) for this being inclined upwards, what is appropriate in the sacrifice, that is perfect, ‘Over the top of the earth’ the top for the earth is that: where they set up right the post ‘Founded with a good founding[[262]](#footnote-262), bestow the radiance[[263]](#footnote-263) to the one who carries the sacrifice’ he prays this prayer[[264]](#footnote-264); ‘Reclining in front of the kindled one[[265]](#footnote-265)’ for he reclines in front of the kindled one ‘Appropriating for yourself the sacrificial formula[[266]](#footnote-266) that never gets old, full of warriors’ he prays this prayer ‘Pulling away from us the lack of inspiration[[267]](#footnote-267)’ the lack of inspiration is indeed the hunger, the evil, he pushes it away from the sacrifice and from the sacrificer ‘Incline upwards, to a good great fortune’ he prays this prayer.

*vanvānáḥ:* part. pres. nom. masc. sing. Ā VIII cl.

Geldner: I 345 “gewinnst”

Keith 1920: 135 “winning”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 3.8.1-3; TB 3.6.1.1-(2); KS 15.12: 218,12-17; MS 4.13.1: 199,2-7.

Rite

*Mantra*s for the *hotr̥* in the animal sacrifice, *paśukahotraniruktiḥ, yūpasaṃkāraḥ* (TB 3.6.1)*.* According to Proferes (2003a: 322-329), the R̥V stanzas 3.8.1-5 are used for the rite requiring a single post, while the following one are recited when more posts are to be displayed. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa almost every *pāda* is followed by a sort of explanation or interpretation.

#### YV Brāhmaṇa occurrences

For the text of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* the editions used are *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra*, ed. by A. Sastri Mahadeva – L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore, 1911-1921, Reprinted: 1985, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi; *The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya*, ed. by Rājendralāla Mitra, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1862. The e-text edited by Makoto Fushimi, Ōsaka; TITUS version by Jost Gippert, 7.12.2008. TITUS text collection (URL: <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexd.htm>) has been used also. The text of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is after Albrecht Weber, *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in the Mādhyandina-Śākhā with extracts from the Commentaries of Sāyaṇa, Harisvāmin and Dvivedaganga*, Berlin 1855 / repr. Harrassowitz, Leipzig 1924.

##### Taittirīya occurrences

##### TB 2.4.3.10-(11)

2.4.3.10 *imā́ dhānā́ ghr*̥*tasnúvaḥ / hárī ihá úpavakṣataḥ / índraṁ sukhátame ráthe[[268]](#footnote-268) // eṣá brahmā́ prá te mahé / vidáthe śaṁsiṣaṁ hárī / yá r*̥*tvíyaḥ prá te vanve / vanúṣo haryatáṃ mádam / índro nā́ma ghr*̥*táṃ ná yáḥ / háribhiś cā́ru sécate / śrutó gaṇá ā́ tvā viśantu //* [.11] *hárivarpasaṃ gíraḥ[[269]](#footnote-269) //*

These grains are sprinkled with ghee on the surface, the two yellowish steeds convey here Indra on the most swiftly running[[270]](#footnote-270) chariot, this one here is the Brahmán, may I invoke in the great meeting [rite][[271]](#footnote-271) your two steeds, I appropriate for my self the intoxicating drink dear to you who desire to appropriate it, which is in proper time[[272]](#footnote-272); Indra by name, famous in the troops, is the one who, together with the bays ones, pours out[[273]](#footnote-273) what is pleasant as clarified butter; the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold.

*prá vanve:* ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.

Geldner: III 304 “habe Gewinn”

*vanúṣaḥ:* gen. masc. sing. of *vanús*

Geldner: III 304 “Eifrigen”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 10.96.1; TB 3.7.9.6; AVŚ 20.30.1.

Rite

*Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi*. *Upahoma* (subsidiary) *mantra*s addressed to Indra, an additional offering within the Mitravindeṣṭi; cf. ŚB 11.4.3 -where is explained the myth connected with this rite, ŚB 11.4.3.20 “He finds Mitra, and his is the kingdom, he conquers the recurring death [...]”(trans. Eggeling) and cf. also Āp II 21.2; Keith’s Summary (Keith 1914: 76-77) and Mylius (1995: 51).

##### TB 2.4.5.5

2.4.5.5 *avavyáyann ásitaṃ deva vásvaḥ / dávidhvato raśmáyaḥ sū́ryasya / cárma\_iva\_ávādhus támo apsvàntaḥ[[274]](#footnote-274) // parjányāya prágāyata / divás putrā́ya mīḍhúṣe / sá no yavásam icchatu //ácchā vada tavásaṃ gīrbhír ābhíḥ[[275]](#footnote-275) / stuhí parjányaṃ námasā́ vivāsa / kánikradad vr*̥*ṣabhó jīrádānuḥ / réto dadhātv óṣadhīṣu gárbham[[276]](#footnote-276) //*

The good gods pull off the black, shaking violently the rays of light, the skin of the sun, they plunged the darkness into the water; would he begin to celebrate for Parjanya, son of the gods, generous bestower; he should desire for us a field of grass, salute the strong with these chants, extol Parjanya, desire to appropriate him with homage; the bull, shouting continuously[[277]](#footnote-277), dropping abundantly, should put his semen, the offspring, into the plants.

*vivāsa:* impv. pres. 2nd sing. I cl., from desiderative stem *vivās*

Geldner: II 86 “bitte her”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 4.13.4 Vamadeva; 5.83.1 Atri.

Rite

*Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi.* *Upahoma* (subsidiary) *mantra*s addressed to Parjanya, an additional offering within the Mitravindeṣṭi; cf. ŚB 11.4.3 -where is explained the myth connected with this rite, ŚB 11.4.3.20 “He finds Mitra, and his is the kingdom, he conquers the recurring death [...]”(trans. Eggeling) and cf. also Āp II 21.2; Keith’s Summary (Keith 1914: 76-77) and Mylius 1995: 51.

##### TB 2.4.6.2

2.6.4.2 *tád asya priyám abhí pā́tho aśyām / náro yátra devayávo mádanti / urukramásya sá hí bándhur itthā́ / víṣṇoḥ padé paramé mádhva útsaḥ*[[278]](#footnote-278) *// kratvā dā́ asthu śréṣṭhaḥ / adyá tvā vanvánt surékṇāḥ / márta ānāśa suvr*̥*ktím*[[279]](#footnote-279) *// imā́ brahma brahmavāha / priyā́ ta ā́ barhíḥ sīda / vīhí sūra puroḍā́śam //*

May I, a man, attain this agreeable place of him, where men are exhilarated; for this is the true connection of Viṣṇu of wide steps, a fountain of sweet in the foremost step; the giver should be[[280]](#footnote-280) the best here due to his skills, the mortal, rich in possession, appropriating you, has gained an excellent praise. The formulas, o you to whom the sacrificial formulas are offered, be dear to you, sit on the sacrificial grass, crave for[[281]](#footnote-281) the sacrificial cake.

*vanvánt:* part. pres. nom. masc. sing. VIII cl.

Geldner: II 111 “der […] gewinnt”

Renou: XIII 50 “gagnant”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 1.154.5 Dīrghatamas (*devatatā* Viṣṇu); 6.16.26 Bharadvāja (*devatatā* Agni).

Rite

*Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi*. *Upahoma* (subsidiary) *mantra*s addressed to Viṣṇu, an additional offering within the Mitravindeṣṭi; cf. ŚB 11.4.3 -where is explained the myth connected with this rite, ŚB 11.4.3.20 “He finds Mitra, and his is the kingdom, he conquers the recurring death [...]”(trans. Eggeling) and cf. also Āp II 21.2; Keith’s Summary (Keith 1914: 76-77) and Mylius 1995: 51.

##### TB 2.4.8.1

* + 1. 2.4.8.1 *sá pratnaván návīyasā / ágne dyumnéna saṃyátā / br*̥*hát tanantha bhānúnā[[282]](#footnote-282) / návaṃ nú stómam agnáye / diváḥ śyenā́ya jījanam / vásoḥ kuvíd vanā́ti naḥ[[283]](#footnote-283) / svāruhā́ yásya śríyo dr*̥*śé / rayír vīrávato yathā / ágre yajñásya cétataḥ //*

Indeed[[284]](#footnote-284), o Agni, as formerly, with a new splendour tied together, you have stretched out high, with brightness; I want[[285]](#footnote-285) to create a new laud for Agni, the eagle[[286]](#footnote-286) of the sky, may it appropriate something good[[287]](#footnote-287) for us; the firm rooted lights of this appearing sacrifice may become visible[[288]](#footnote-288), like a richness consisting of men.

*vanā́ti:* subj. pres. 3rd sing. I-VI cl.

Geldner: II 191 “wird erwirken”

Renou: XIII 62 “gagnera-t-il”

Gōto 1987: 284 “wird uns lieben”

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra and Sāyaṇa’s gloss: “ददाति”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 7.15.4 Vasiṣṭha; 6.16.21 Bharadvāja; KS 40.14.

Rite

*Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi.* *Upahoma* (subsidiary) *mantra*s addressed to Agni, an additional offering within the Mitravindeṣṭi; cf. ŚB 11.4.3 -where is explained the myth connected with this rite, ŚB 11.4.3.20 “He finds Mitra, and his is the kingdom, he conquers the recurring death [...]”(trans. Eggeling) and cf. also ĀpŚS 2.21.2; Keith’s Summary (Keith 1914: 76-77) and Mylius 1995: 51.

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra commentary: *aṣṭame‘nuvāke* *sarvamapyāgrayaṇsūktam.* The *āgrayaṇa* is the first libation of the evening Soma-pressure.

##### TB 2.8.5.2-3

* + 1. 2.8.5.2 *gharmásvedobhir dráviṇaṃ vyā̀naṭ[[289]](#footnote-289) / bráhmaṇaspáter abhavad yathāvaśám / satyó manyúr máhi kármā kariṣyatáḥ / yó gā́ udā́jat sá divé ví ca abhajat / mahí iva rītíḥ śávasā sarat[[290]](#footnote-290) pŕ*̥*thak[[291]](#footnote-291) / índhāno agníṃ vanavad vanuṣyatáḥ / kr*̥*tábrahmā śūśuvad rātáhavya ít / jāténa jātám áti sŕ*̥*t prásr*̥*m̐sate[[292]](#footnote-292) / yáṃ yaṃ yújaṃ kr*̥*ṇuté bráhmaṇaspátiḥ[[293]](#footnote-293) / bráhmaṇaspate suyámasya viśváhā //* [.3] *rāyáḥ syāma rathyò vívasvataḥ / vīréṣu vīrā́m̐ úpapr*̥*ṅgdhi nas tvám / yád ī́śāno bráhmaṇā véṣi me hávam[[294]](#footnote-294) / sá íj jánena sá viśā́ sá jánmanā / sá putráir vā́jaṃ bharate dhánā nŕ*̥*bhiḥ / devā́nāṃ yáḥ pitáram āvívāsati / śraddhā́manā havíṣā bráhmaṇaspátim[[295]](#footnote-295) / yás te pūṣan nā́vo antáḥ[[296]](#footnote-296) / śukráṃ te anyát[[297]](#footnote-297) pūṣā́ imā́ ā́śāḥ[[298]](#footnote-298) / prápathe pathā́m ajaniṣṭa pūṣā́[[299]](#footnote-299) //*

With those perspiring with heat he[[300]](#footnote-300) attained (movable) goods” “the ardour[[301]](#footnote-301) of Brahmanaspati, who is going to do a great sacrifice, as a desire[[302]](#footnote-302), became effective, he who expelled the cows, distributed to the sky, as an abundant stream flows apart mightily” “the one who kindles the fire would appropriate those who are eager to appropriate him; having performed the formula, he who offer the oblation[[303]](#footnote-303) may get swollen, over the son born from the son survives[[304]](#footnote-304) whoever Brahmanaspati takes as an ally” “of that easy to guide, o Brahmanaspati, always [.3] may we be the drivers of a chariot of shining[[305]](#footnote-305) wealth, add heroes after heroes for us, if you, master through the formula, enjoy the oblation of mine” “this one, indeed, with the people, this with the tribe, this through births, this with sons brings the victory[[306]](#footnote-306), prize of goods, to the men; this who, faithful, wants to appropriate Brahmanaspati, the father of gods, with the oblation” “o Puṣan, the navel of you which (goes) amongst” “brightness (*śukra*) one of your” “Puṣan these regions of the sky (*āśā*)[[307]](#footnote-307)” “Puṣan was born in the distance[[308]](#footnote-308) of paths.

*vanavat:* subj. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.

Geldner: I 308 “überwinden”

Renou: XV 60 “vaincra”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 392 “wird besiegen”

*vanuṣyatáḥ:* part. pres. acc. masc. pl. from *vanuṣya* denominative of *vanús*

Geldner: I 308 “das Neider”

Renou: XV 60 “les (adversaires) cherchant-à-vaincre”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 392 “die Angreifenden”

*ā vívāsati:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. form desiderative stem *vivās*

Geldner: I 309 “zu gewinnen sucht”

Renou: XV 61 “cherche à gagner à soi”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 393 “zu gewinnen sucht”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 10.67.7; 2.24.14; 2.25.1; 2.24.15; MS 4.14.10; R̥V 2.26.3; R̥V 6.58.3; .1; R̥V 10.17.6a.

Rite

Animal sacrifices with special prayers (*kāmya*).

As to 2.8.5.2, it consists of the *mantra*s to be recited during the sacrifice of a polled ox to Brahmaṇaspati.

As to 2.8.5.3 it consists of initial words or entire *mantra*s to be recited during the sacrifice of a black or a lean cow (the comment says only that has to be a female) to Puṣan.

##### TB 2.8.5.[7]-8-[9]

2.8.5.7 *yá índra śúṣmo maghavan te ásti //* [.8]*śíkṣā sákhibhyaḥ puruhūta nŕ*̥*bhyaḥ / tvám̐ hí dr*̥*ḍhā́ maghavan vícetāḥ / ápāvr*̥*dhi párivr*̥*tiṃ ná rā́dhaḥ[[309]](#footnote-309) / índro rā́jā jágataś carṣaṇīnā́m / ádhi kṣámi víṣurūpaṃ yád ásti / táto dadātu dāśúṣe vásūni / códad rā́dha úpastutaś cid arvā́k[[310]](#footnote-310) / tám u ṣṭuhi yó abhíbhūtyojāḥ / vanvánn ávātaḥ puruhūtá índraḥ / áṣāḍham ugrám̐ sáhamānam ābhíḥ //* [.9]*gīrbhír vardha vr*̥*ṣabháṃ carṣaṇīnā́m[[311]](#footnote-311) /*

The bosterousness[[312]](#footnote-312) that you have, o Indra, Maghavan, [.8]bestow on the friends, o much invoked, to the men for you the fixed, o wise, o Maghavan, reveal the gift somehow covered[[313]](#footnote-313); Indra, king of the world, of the people and of which is manifold in this earth, then, shall he give goods to the worshipper, he impels the favour in our direction after being praised; praise at him who has a superior power, Indra, who appropriates, without being appropriated, the much invoked, the invincible, vigorous[[314]](#footnote-314), victorious[[315]](#footnote-315) [.9] bull of the people increase with these chants.

*vanvánn:* part. pres. nom. masc. sing. VIII cl.

Geldner: II 115 “Sieger”

*ávātaḥ:* nom. masc. sing. from *ávāta*

Geldner: II 115 “unbesiegte”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 7.27.2; 7.27.3; 6.18.1.

Rite

Animal sacrifices with special prayer (*kāmya*).

*Mantra*s to be recited for the sacrifice to Indra of a brown ox, for invigorating the faculties.

##### TB 3.5.7.2

3.5.7.2 *vayám̐ syāma pátayo rayīṇā́m[[316]](#footnote-316) / sá veda putráḥ pitáram̐ sá mātáram / sá sūnúr bhuvat sá bhuvat púnarmaghaḥ / sá dyā́m áurṇod antárikṣam̐ sá súvaḥ / sá viśvā bhúvo abhavat sá ā́bhavat[[317]](#footnote-317) / ágnīṣomā sávedasā / sáhūtī vanataṃ gíraḥ / sáṃ devatrā́ babhūvathuḥ[[318]](#footnote-318) / yuvám etā́ni diví rocanā́ni / agníś ca soma sákratū adhattam[[319]](#footnote-319) //*

May we be master over goods, he, the son, knows the father, he knows the mother, he shall become son, this shall repeatedly grant gifts, he covered the sky, the atmosphere in between, he covered the sun, he became the whole air, he existed[[320]](#footnote-320); o Agni and Soma of equal knowledge, together invoked, appropriate the chants; you have become together in the divine world, you two put those lights in the sky, o Agni and Soma, you with the same intention.

*vanatam:* impv. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.

Geldner: I 120 “nehmet gut auf”

Renou: IX 73 “trouvez agréable”

Dumont 1960: 5 “do you accept”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 166 “liebt”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 4.50.6d[[321]](#footnote-321); TS 2.2.12.1a-d; AVŚ 7.1.2; R̥V 1.93.9; .5; TS 2.3.14.1g-2h; MS 4.10.1: 144,12-15; KS 4.16: 42,20-21; 43,1-2.

Rite

Darśapurṇamāseṣṭi. Special Offerings, *mantra*s of the *hotr̥: yājyā* for the oblation of clarified butter to Prajāpati and *puronuvākyā* of the *hotr*̥for the second offering of the rice cake to Agni and Soma.

##### TB 3.6.1.1-(2)

3.6.1.1 *añjánti tvā́m adhvaré devayántaḥ / vánaspate mádhunā[[322]](#footnote-322) dáivyena / yád ūrdhvás tiṣṭhād[[323]](#footnote-323) dráviṇā\_ihá dhattāt / yád vā kṣáyo mātúr asyā́ upásthe[[324]](#footnote-324) / úcchrayasva vanaspate / várṣaman pr̥thivyā́ ádhi / súmitī mīyámānaḥ / várco dhā yajñávāhase[[325]](#footnote-325) / sámiddhasya śráyamāṇaḥ purástāt / bráhma vanvānó ajáram̐ suvī́ram //* [.2] *āré asmád ámatiṃ bā́dhamānaḥ / úcchrayasva mahaté sáubhagāya[[326]](#footnote-326) /*

Those seeking for the gods[[327]](#footnote-327) anoint you in the sacrifice, o Vanaspati[[328]](#footnote-328), with divine sweetness[[329]](#footnote-329), when you would stay erect, then bring here movable goods, or when you rest in the lap of this mother; incline upwards, o Vanaspati, over the top of the earth, founded with a good founding[[330]](#footnote-330), bestow the radiance[[331]](#footnote-331) to the one who carries the sacrifice; reclining in front of the kindled one[[332]](#footnote-332), appropriating for yourself the sacrificial formula[[333]](#footnote-333) that never gets old, full of warriors, [.2] pulling away from us the lack of inspiration[[334]](#footnote-334), incline upwards, to a good great fortune.

*vanvānáḥ:* part. pres. nom. masc. sing. Ā VIII cl.

Geldner: I 345 “gewinnst”

Dumont 1962: 249 “winning”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 3.8.1-3; MS 4.13.1: 199,2-7; KS 15.12: 218,12-17.

Mantra and Prose: AB 2.2.

Rite

*Mantra*s for the *hotr̥* in the animal sacrifice, *paśukahotraniruktiḥ, yūpasaṃskāraḥ*. *Mantra*sto be recited when anointing and erecting the sacrificial post. According to Proferes (2003a: 322-329), the R̥V stanzas 3.8.1-5 are used for the rite requiring a single post, while the following one are recited when more posts are to be displayed.

##### TB 3.7.9.6

3.7.9.6 *prá te mahé vidáthe 'śam̐siṣam̐ hárī / yá r̥tvíyaḥ prá te vanve / vanúṣo haryatáṃ mádam / índro nā́ma ghr̥táṃ ná yáḥ / háribhiś cā́ru sécate / śrutó gaṇá ā́ tvā viśantu / hárivarpasaṃ gíraḥ[[335]](#footnote-335) / índrā́dhipaté 'dhipatis tváṃ devā́nām asi / ádhipatiṃ mā́m / ā́yuṣmantaṃ várcasvantaṃ manuṣyèṣu kuru[[336]](#footnote-336) //*

I invoked[[337]](#footnote-337) in the great meeting [rite][[338]](#footnote-338) your two steeds, I appropriate for my self the intoxicating drink dear to you who desire to appropriate it, which is in proper time[[339]](#footnote-339); Indra by name, famous in the troops, is the one who, together with the bays ones, pours out[[340]](#footnote-340) what is pleasant as clarified butter, the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold; O Indra, o ruler, you are the ruler of gods, make me life and bright-energy possessing[[341]](#footnote-341) ruler among the human beings.

*prá vanve:* ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.

Geldner: III 304 “habe Gewinn”

Dumont 1963: 453 “conquer”

*vanúṣaḥ:* abl. masc. sing. *vanús-*

Geldner: III 304 “Eifrigen”

Dumont 1963: 453 “the conquerer”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 10.96.1; TB 2.4.3.10; AVŚ 20.30.1; as to the final *mantra* ĀpŚS 14.3.5, and see also similar verses in TS 7.4.16.1; TB 3.9.16.2; KS 4.5 – Aśvamedhagrantha.

Rite

Soma offerings. Stanzas and formulas concerning the *ṣodaśin* cup of the Ṣodaśin form of Jyotiṣtoma, a one-day sacrifice to Indra, consisting *inter alia* of the sacrifices of two he-goats and a ram.

##### Śatapatha occurrences (Mādhyaṃdina recension)

##### ŚB 4.2.1.12

4.2.1.12 *sá śrīṇāti / máno na yéṣu hávaneṣu tigmaṃ vípaḥ śácyā vanutho drávantā ā yaḥ śáryābhistuvinr̥mṇó asyā́śrīṇītādíśaṃ gábhastāv[[342]](#footnote-342)eṣá te yóniḥ prajā́ḥ pāhī́ti[[343]](#footnote-343) sādayatyādyò hyetamánvādyā̀ hī̀mā́ḥ prajā víśastásmādāhaiṣá te yóniḥ prajā́ḥ pāhī́ti*

He mixes ‘In the invocations of whom you both[[344]](#footnote-344), swift as mind, rushing to help, appropriate the inspired speech; the one who is very manly with arrows in his hand may burn the intention of this;[[345]](#footnote-345)’ ‘This is your womb, protect the creatures’ he places it down; because the food correspond to this[[346]](#footnote-346), because these creatures, the people, are food, therefore he says ‘This is your womb, protect the creatures’.

*vanuthaḥ*: ind. pres. 2nd du. VIII cl.

Geldner: III 227 “gut aufnehmet”

Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: I 74 “nahmet ihr”

Eggeling 1882-1900: II 281 “accept with favour”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 10.61.3; VS 7.17.

Rite

Agniṣṭoma. During the Great Pressing (Mahābhiṣava), two cups, Sukra -representing the sun- and Manthi -representing the moon-, are drawn for two Asura-Rakṣas, Saṇḍa and Marka, but then offered to gods for the libation (cf. ŚB 4.2.1-1-7). The Manthi cup, drawn for Marka, is mixed with barley meal and with these verses.

A legend about Cyavana where the Aśvin are also involved is recalled at the end of the preceding *adhyāya* (ŚB 4.1.5.1-13).

##### ŚB 10.1.1.10

10.1.1.10 *eṣò atrā́pītiḥ / ná ha vā́ asyāputrátāyai kā́ caná śaṅkā́ bhavati yá evámetaú mithunā́vātmā́naṃ cāgníṃ ca vedā́nnaṃ ha tvèvā̀yámātmā dákṣiṇā́nnaṃ vanute yó na ātméti hyapyŕ̥ṣiṇābhyùktam*

This[[347]](#footnote-347) is also here indeed, there is absolutely no fear of him[[348]](#footnote-348) for the lack of offspring, for the one who knows indeed these two,the body (*ātmán*[[349]](#footnote-349)) and Agni being in pairs, but also the bodyis the food “Dakṣiṇa appropriates the food that is our vital breath (*ātman*)” indeed it has beed said by a seer.

*vanute:* ind. pres. 3rd Ā VIII cl.

Geldner: III 327 “bringtein”

Eggeling 1882-1900: IV 285 “winneth”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 10.107.7c

Rite

Agnicayana. In the construction of the Fire Altar the concept of *mithuna “*couple” plays an important role. Here this idea is deployed also to create the *bandhu*s which will explain the reason of the building itself. An example could be the triad “year-Prajāpati-Altar” corresponding to “days-those joint with him-bricks”.

In this part the vital fluid (made of *r̥c* and *sāman*) enters in the Fire Altar, which is Agni, itself consisting of many pairs (*mithuna*). The body of the vital fluid is also a pair, being the *mithuna* of *vāc* (f.) and *prāṇa* (m.).

##### ŚB 12.4.4.2

*tád ā́huḥ / yásyā́gnáyaḥ saṁsr̥jyéran kíṃ tátra kárma kā́ prā́yaścittir íti sá yádi parástā́d dáhann abhīyā́t tád vidyā́t parástā́n mā́ śukrám ā́gann úpa mā́ṃ devā́ḥ prā́bhūvañ chréyā́n bhaviṣyā́mī́ti yády u asya hŕ̥dayaṃ vy èvá likhéd agnáye vívicaye 'ṣṭā́kapā́laṃ puroḍā́śaṃ nírvapet tásyā́vŕ̥ttā́ evá saptádaśa sā́midhenī́r ánubrūyā́d vā́rtraghnā́v ā́jyabhā́gau virā́jau saṃyā́jyè áthaité yā́jyā́nuvā́kyè ví te víṣvag vā́tā́jūtā́so agne bhā́mā́saḥ śuce śucayaś caranti tuvimrakṣā́so divyā́ návagvā́ vánā́vananti dhr̥ṣatā́ rujánta[[350]](#footnote-350) íty átha yā́jyā̀ tvā́m agne mā́nuṣīr īḍate víśo hotrā́vídaṃ víviciṁ ratnadhā́tamam gúhā́ sántaṁ subhaga viśvádarśataṃ tuviṣvaṇásaṁ suyájaṃ ghr̥taśríyam íty átho ha yó dviṣató bhrā́tr̥vyā́d vyā́vívr̥tseta tátkā́ma etáyā́ yajeta ví haivā̀smā́d vartata etád evá tátra kárma //*

They say ‘If one’s fires may mingle, in that case which sacrifice, which expiation?’ If it comes burning from behind, he should know this ‘The light did not come from behind, the gods were there to help me, I will get more glorious’, if it wounds his heart, he should sacrifice a cake on eight potsherds to Agni Vivici, the procedure of this is: he should recite these seventeen *sāmidhenī[[351]](#footnote-351)* verses, the two portion of clarified butter are related to the slaying of Vr̥tra, the two formulas (*saṃyājyā[[352]](#footnote-352)*) are two *virāj[[353]](#footnote-353)* verses and these are the invitatory (*yājyā*) and offering *(anuvākyā)* formulas ‘Shaken everywhere by the wind[[354]](#footnote-354), your gleaming/glowing flames, o gleaming/glowing Agni, are moving in every direction, big destroyers[[355]](#footnote-355), like the divine Navagva[[356]](#footnote-356), they appropriate the wood breaking them boldly’ then the invitatory formula ‘You , o Agni, the human tribes invoke as the one who knows the sacrifice, who discerns, gives the greatest treasures, you who are secret and always visible giving good fortune, who resounds loud, sacrifices well and splendid of ghee’[[357]](#footnote-357) moreover one who wants to get rid of the hostile rival[[358]](#footnote-358) should sacrifice with this (formula), having this as desire, indeed he will turn away from him; this indeed is the sacrifice in that case.

*vananti:* ind. pres. 3rd pl. I-VI cl.

Geldner: II 98 “überwinden”

Renou: XIII 40 “triomphent”

Eggeling 1882-1900: V 192 “overpower”

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 6.6.3; TS 3.3.11.2e.

Brāhmaṇa: TB 3.7.3.5*.*

Rite

Within *sattra* sacrifices (*soma* sacrifices of 12 or more pressing days), the Agnihotra. Invitatory and offering formulas for an expiatory sacrifice to Agni *vivici* (“the discerner”), to be done in case two fires get mixed.

#### Non-R̥V *mantra*s – Brāhmaṇa prose

#### YV Brāhmaṇa occurrences

##### Taittirīya occurrences

##### TB 2.4.3.4-5 non-R̥V mantra and R̥V mantra

2.4.3.4 *agníś ca viṣṇo tápa uttamáṃ maháḥ[[359]](#footnote-359) / dīkṣāpāléb*h*yo vánataṁ hí śakrā́ / víśvair deváir yajñíyaiḥ saṃvidānáu / dīkṣā́m asmái yájamānāya d*h*attam // prá tád víṣṇuḥ stavate vīryā̀ya / mr*̥*gó ná b*h*īmáḥ kucaró giriṣṭhā́ḥ / yásya ūrúṣu triṣú vikrámaṇeṣu / ád*h*ikṣiyánti b*h*úvanāni víśvā[[360]](#footnote-360) // nū́ márto dayate saniṣyán yáḥ / víṣṇava urugāyā́ya dā́śat //* [.5] *prá yáḥ satrā́cā mánasā yájātai / etā́vantaṃ náryam āvívāsāt[[361]](#footnote-361) // vícakrame pr*̥*thivī́m eṣá etā́m / kṣétrāya víṣṇur mánuṣe daśasyán / dhruvā́so asya kīráyo jánāsaḥ / urukṣitíṁ sujánimā cakāra[[362]](#footnote-362) // trír deváḥ pr*̥*thivī́m eṣá etā́m / vícakrame śatárcasaṃ mahitvā́ / prá víṣṇur astu tavásas távīyān / tveṣáṃ hy asya sthávirasya nā́ma[[363]](#footnote-363) //*

O Viṣṇu, and Agni, appropriate for the protectors of the *dikṣa[[364]](#footnote-364)* the great highest heat, o you two indeed powerful[[365]](#footnote-365), jointed with the sacrifices to all gods, give the dikṣa to the sacrificer; Viṣṇu is praised for the heroic deed[[366]](#footnote-366), he, like the terrific antelope who walks around and lives in the mountain, in whose three wide strides all the creatures are settled; the mortal, willing to win, now shares, he who offers to Viṣṇu of wide strides, [.5] who wants to appropriate a powerfulness[[367]](#footnote-367) of such an extent, who will sacrifice with the whole spirit. This here strode through this earth, according it as land for Manu[[368]](#footnote-368), the people of this one, weak[[369]](#footnote-369), became steady, he, creating good things, made a spacious dwelling. Three times the god strode through this earth endowed with one hundred verses[[370]](#footnote-370), mighty, should Viṣṇu be superior, stronger than the strong, for the name of him, powerful-solid, is vehement[[371]](#footnote-371).

*vánatam:* impv. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra’s gloss: “याचतम्”

Mitra’s edition: “दीक्षापालेभ्योऽवनतँ - Sāyaṇa’s gloss: “अवनतं याचतम्”

*ā vívāsāt,* subj. pres. 3rd sing. I cl., from desiderative stem *vivās*

Geldner: II 269 “gewinnen möchte”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 1.154.2 Dīrghatamas; R̥V 7.100.1ab Vasiṣṭha (*devatatā* of both hymns is Viṣṇu).

Rite

*Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi.* *Upahoma* (subsidiary) *mantra*s addressed to Agni and Viṣnu, an additional offering within the Mitravindeṣṭi; cf. ŚB 11.4.3 -where is explained the myth connected with this rite, ŚB 11.4.3.20 “He finds Mitra, and his is the kingdom, he conquers the recurring death [...]”(trans. Eggeling) and cf. also Āp II 21.2; Keith’s Summary (Keith 1914: 76-77) and Mylius 1995: 51. The *mantra* 2.4.3.5 is applicable in the *yājamānajapa* (*japa*: “muttering, whispering”).

##### TB 3.5.10.5

3.5.10.5 *úttarāṃ devayajyā́m ā́śāste / bhū́yo haviṣkáraṇam ā́śāste / divyáṃ dhā́ma ā́śāste[[372]](#footnote-372) / víśvaṃ priyám ā́śāste / yád anéna havíṣā ā́śāste / tád aśyāt tád r̥dhyāt / tád asmai devā́ rāsantām / tád agnír devó devébhyo vánate / vayám agnér mā́nuṣāḥ / iṣṭáṃ ca vītáṃ ca / ubhé ca no dyā́vāpr̥thivī́ ám̐hasaḥ pātām[[373]](#footnote-373) / ihá gatir vāmásya idáṃ ca / námo devébhyaḥ[[374]](#footnote-374) //*

He[[375]](#footnote-375) prays[[376]](#footnote-376) for a future worship to the gods, he prays for a bigger preparation of the oblation, he prays for a heavenly abode, he prays for all that is dear; may he attain this, this he wants to accomplish[[377]](#footnote-377), which he prays for through this oblation, may the gods give this to him, may the god Agni appropriates this from the gods, we, man, from Agni; that which has been offered, that which has been craved for[[378]](#footnote-378), and let both the heaven and the earth protect us from the enclosure; here and this[[379]](#footnote-379) is the procedure for what is desirable , honour to the gods.

*vánate:* subj. aor. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl.

Eggeling 1882-1900: XII 253 “may solicit”

Dumont 1960: 9 “obtains”

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra’s gloss: “संभजते”

Vedic Web

Mantra: ŚB 1.9.1.14-16; .19-20; MS 4.13.9 (*vanutāṃ* – impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā - *idám* instead of *idám ca*).

Rite

Darśapurṇamāseṣṭi. The after offering formulas, *anuyāja*s of the *hotr*̥for the Suktāvāka, evocation of blessing. *Mantra*s to be repeated by the *hotr̥* when the *adhvaryu* is about to throw the Darbha grass into the fire.

##### Śatapatha occurrences (Mādhyaṃdina recension)

##### ŚB 1.9.1.19

1.9.1.19 *apīdvai kánīyasīḥ sapta / tádasmai devā́ rāsantāmíti tádasmai devā ánumanyantāmítyevaìtádāha tádāgnírdevó devébhyo vanutāṃ vayámagneḥ pári mā́nuṣā iti tádagnírdevó devébhyo vanutāṃ vayámagnerádhyasmā etádvanavāmahā[[380]](#footnote-380) ítyevaìtádāha*

Even less*[[381]](#footnote-381)* indeed, seven. “May the gods give this to him” “May the gods grant this to him” “May Agni, as god, appropriate this from the gods, we, as men, from Agni” “May Agni, as god, appropriate this from the gods, we would then appropriate it for this one from Agni” this he says.

2x *vanutāṃ:* impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Eggeling 1882-1900: I 253 “may solicit”

*vanavāmahai:* subj. pres. 1st pl. Ā VIII cl.

Eggeling 1882-1900: I 253 “will solicit”

Vedic Web

Mantra: TB 3.5.10.5; MS 4.13.9: 212,10-13; TS 2.6.9.8.

Rite

Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭī. The after offering formulas, Anuyāja, of the *hotr*̥for the Suktāvāka, evocation of blessing.

##### ŚB 3.8.2.22

3.8.2.22 *áthāha stokebhyó 'nubrūhī́ti / sá āgneyī stokebhyó 'nvāha tadyádāgneyī́ stokébhyo 'nvā́hetáḥpradānā vai vŕ̥ṣṭirito hyagnirvŕ̥ṣṭiṃ vanute sá etaí stokaíretā́ntstokā́nvanute tá eté stokā́ varṣanti tásmādāgneyī́ stokebhyó 'nvāha yadā́ śr̥tā bhávati*

Then he says “Recite at the two drops” he recites at the two drops verses addressed to Agni[[382]](#footnote-382); the reason why he recites verses for Agni at the two drops is that the rain exists through the oblation from this world[[383]](#footnote-383), for from here Agni appropriates the rain, he appropriates those drops with these two drops, and those drops rain down. For this reason he recites at the two drops verses addressed to Agni, when it[[384]](#footnote-384) becomes cooked / roasted.

2x *vanute:*  ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Eggeling 1882-1900: II 196 “obtains”

Vedic Web

∅

*van-* is used in connection with the rain only once in R̥V 10.98.3 where Devāpi is asking for the rain to come (*vr̥ṣṭíṃ śáṃtanave vánāva*).

Rite

Agniṣṭoma. Offering of the *omentum* (*vapā*) during the Animal Sacrifice (to Agni and Soma), cf. TS 1.3 and specially 1.3.9, which is about the cutting of the *omentum*; ĀŚS 3.4.1 and AB 2.12.

##### ŚB 5.3.4.27

*tā́ḥ sārdhamaúdumbare pātre samávanayati / mádhumatīrmádhumatībhiḥ pr̥cyantāmíti rásavatī rásavatībhiḥ pr̥cyantāmítyevaìtádāha máhi kṣatráṃ kṣatríyāya vanvānā íti tátparó 'kṣaṃ yájamānāyāśíṣamā́śāste yadā́ha máhi kṣatráṃ kṣatríyāya vanvānā íti*

He pours them[[385]](#footnote-385) together in equal share into an *udumbara[[386]](#footnote-386)* vessel ‘The full of sweet be mixed with the full of sweet’ ‘The full of sap[[387]](#footnote-387) be mixed with the full of sap’ so he says ‘Appropriating a great regal power for the king[[388]](#footnote-388)’ out of sight he prays a prayer asking[[389]](#footnote-389) this for the sacrificer when he says ‘Appropriating a great regal power for the king’.

*vanvānāḥ:* part. pres. nom. f. pl. Ā VIII cl.

Eggeling 1882-1900: III 80 “winning”

* + 1. Vedic Web

Mantra: TS 1.8.12.1a-b; MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8; MS 4.4.2: 51,8-10; KS 15.6: 213,9-10; VS 10.4.

Mantra and Prose: ŚB 5.3.4.27.

Prose: ŚB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

Rite

Rājasūya, the Abhiṣeka –the unction of the king during his consecration. This section deals with the preparation of the waters, the collection and mixing of the waters.

Waters from diverse sources are poured together into a single vessel. The *mantra* credits the waters with winning for the anointed on the power to rule –*varcás-* “splendour”, cf. Proferes 2007 p. 80ff; Heesterman 1975 p.74-70 and 114-22; see also Tsuchiyama 2005 for the Abhiṣeka in general and his post-Vedic development.

## III.3 Analysis of the Occurrences

### III.3.1 The Development of the Nuclear and Ritual Meanings

A first clue of the history of *van- / vani-* appears at a first glance already after gathering the occurrences in the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas. Here is a short list, the occurrences of derivatives are given in brackets:

R̥gveda schools: *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa:* 2 (1); *Kausitaki Brāhmaṇa*: (1).

Śuklayajurvedic school: *Vājasaneya Saṃhitā–mādhyaṃdina* rec.:7; –*kānvya* rec.: 6; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*: 6.

Kr̥ṣṇayajurveda schools: *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*: 15; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*: 17; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*: 18; *Kapiṣṭhalakaṭha Saṃhitā*: 1(2); *Kaṭha Saṃhitā*: 17.

Sāmaveda schools: *Kauthuma Saṃhitā:* 13 (4); *Jaiminīya Saṃhitā*: 17 (4).

Atharvavedic schools: *Śaunakīya Saṃhitā*: 33; *Paippalāda Saṃhitā*: 27.

Out of 95 attestations (63 YV; 30 SV; 2 R̥V) in the liturgical Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas there are 71 R̥V *mantra*s and 24 non-R̥V *mantra*s or prose. The first thing worth noticing is the striking exiguity of the occurrences of the verb, especially as to the Brāhmaṇas texts. Furthermore, a large majority of these cases are quotations of R̥gvedic stanzas or verses apportioned in different rites and in some point or other manipulated; this situation is partially due to the structure and the way those texts were composed as we said in the paragraphs above, and we have already analysed some interesting examples of this redactional work in what we named the “Vedic web” (§III.1.3). Nonetheless, the case of *van- / vani-* presents it at a very high degree.

Within this particular settlement, the two meanings of the verb have a slightly different development, although they both undergo a gradual vanishing that ends up in the absence of *van- / vani-* in the Upaniṣads. The ritual meaning, “to make someone enter the circle of sacrifice”, can be found actually only in the R̥gvedic *mantra*s, as we will see later, while the nuclear meaning, “to appropriate”, is used also in the prose passages and in the *yajus* as well. As to the latter meaning we find the same functional patterns we noticed in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā,* and we will use the same letters we used in §II.1 to indicate the same patterns and keep it along the Data-Base in the Appendix (§VI.2):

**a-** The first use of the verb we singled out in the R̥gvedic hymns was that most overlapping with the value “to possess”. The man *van-* goods, and mostly very **concrete** ones like ***rayi-***as it is the R̥V stanza 6.16.28 that is used five times in TS 4.6.1.5; MS 2.10.2; KS 18.1; KpS 28.2 and VS 17.16.

R̥V 6.16.28 *agnís tigména śocíṣā yā́sad víśvaṃ ny àtríṇam \ agnír no vanate rayím \\*

Agni with the sharpened flame may pass over[[390]](#footnote-390) all evil, may Agni appropriate the richness for us.

Another *mantra* quite often used is R̥V 1.162.22 quoted in TS 4.6.9; KSAśv. 6.5 and VS 25.45, all concerning the *Aśvamedha* ritual:

R̥V 1.162.22 *sugávyaṃ no vājī́ sváśvyaṃ pum̐sáḥ putrā́m̐ utá viśvāpúṣam̐ rayím \ anāgāstváṃ no áditiḥ kr̥ṇotu kṣatráṃ no áśvo vanatām̐ havíṣmān \\*

Wealth of cattle may the steed / price-winner[[391]](#footnote-391) bring us, wealth of horses, sons and all sustaining riches; may Aditi make us free from sin[[392]](#footnote-392), let the horse endowed with oblations appropriate for us the lordship.

In this occurrence the object of *van-* is the ***kṣatra****-* which is one of the most recurring object of this verb. We will find this word also in non-R̥V *mantra*s concerning the *Abhiṣeka* rite and it is used five times, namely in MS 2.6.8; MS 4.4.2; KS 15.6; VS 10.4 and ŚB 5.3.4.27. To this stanza also TS 1.8.12.1 is connected, where the object is ***varcas****-* the splendour, the vital power conceptually overlapping with the idea of “power to rule”. Together with ***nárya***- (see TB 2.4.3.5 quoting R̥V 7.100.1), all these 3 objects can be grouped together within the semantic field of power and the Vedic ideals for sovereignty, that, as said before, was one of the salient aspects within the poetical production too (see Proferes 2007).

Two times we find ***vasu-*** not understood as the group of gods but simply as the wealth, something good as in R̥V 7.15.4 quoted in KS 40.14 and in TB 2.4.8.1, as well as in R̥V 7.94.9 quoted in KS 4.15:

R̥V 7.94.9 *gómad dhíraṇyavad vásu yád vām áśvāvad ī́mahe / índrāgnī tád vanemahi //*

This wealth made of cattle, gold and horses, we come to you praying for, o Indra and Agni, may we appropriate it for ourselves.

Finally, the stanza R̥V 6.6.3, used in TS 3.3.11.1 as well as in ŚB 12.4.4.2, is a clear “para-etymological pun” with the word for wood ***vana****-:*

*ví te víṣvag vā́tajūtāso agne bhā́māsaḥ / śuce śúcayaś caranti / tuvimrakṣā́so divyā́ návagvā vánā vananti dhr*̥*ṣatā́ rujántaḥ*

Shaken everywhere by the wind, your gleaming/glowing flames, o gleaming/glowing Agni, are moving in every direction, big destroyers like the divine Navagva, they appropriate the wood breaking them boldly.

In the Brāhmaṇas we find again the very same concrete objects as the Saṃhitās: in TB 2.4.3.10 and TB 3.7.9.6 quoting the R̥V *mantra* 10.96.1 the intoxicating drink (***máda****-*) of which Indra is so eager is the object of this verses, that we have already analysed for the interpolation it has undergone (cf. § III.1.3).

In the same way, in ŚB 10.1.1.10 quoting R̥V 10.107.7 the object of the verb is the food (***anna****-*), whereas it is clearly connected with the central idea of the *ātmán* as the breath and the self:

10.1.1.10 *eṣò atrā́pītiḥ / ná ha vā́ asyāputrátāyai kā́ caná śaṅkā́ bhavati yá evámetaú mithunā́vātmā́naṃ cāgníṃ ca vedā́nnaṃ ha tvèvā̀yámātmā dákṣiṇā́nnaṃ vanute yó na ātméti hyapyŕ̥ṣiṇābhyùktam*

This[[393]](#footnote-393) is also here indeed, there is absolutely no fear of him[[394]](#footnote-394) for the lack of offspring, for the one who knows indeed these two,the body (*ātmán*[[395]](#footnote-395)) and Agni being in pairs, but also the bodyis the food “Dakṣiṇa appropriates the food that is our vital breath (*ātman*)” indeed it has beed said by a seer.

**b /c-** As we discovered in the functional analysis of the R̥gvedic passages, there are occurrences where the man *van-* the **enemy;** in the later Saṃhitās and in the Brāhmaṇas this function of the nuclear meaning is the one the most decreasing one. In the R̥gvedic text this idea is deployed in two ways: the first one involves the simple verb and the direct object, that is the enemy, “the other”; we find it in VS 15.39-40 quoting R̥V 8.19.20 as well as in MS 4.14.10; TB 2.8.5.2 both quoting R̥V 2.25.1.

R̥V 2.25.1 *índhāno agníṃ vanavad vanuṣyatáḥ / kr*̥*tábrahmā śūśuvad rātáhavya ít / jāténa jātám* *áti sá prásarsr*̥*te / yáṃ yaṃ yújaṃ kr*̥*ṇuté bráhmaṇaspátiḥ.*

The one who kindles the fire would appropriate those who are eager to appropriate him; having performed the formula, he who offer the oblation[[396]](#footnote-396) may get swollen, over the son born from the son survives whoever Brahmanaspati takes as an ally.

The other way is the use of the syntagma *vanvan avāta-* as divine attribute, a structure conveying both the idea of a conquest against someone and the gaining of some goods; it is so in R̥V 6.18.1 that we find in TB 2.8.5.7-8; in R̥V 6.16.20 quoted by KS 20.14 and in R̥V9.96.11 which is used four times: in TS 2.6.12.1-2; MS 4.10.6; KS 21.14; VS 19.53. It is worth noticing that both these uses of the verb, approximating the idea of a conquest, of a war-like appropriation, though quite frequent in the hymns, are rarely used in the liturgical texts and are to be found in R̥gvedic quotations only.

**d-** The fourth group, represent those occurrences where the men *van-* an **element of the rite**: the most frequent word is still ***gíra****-,* the chant -often related to Agni: the R̥V stanzas1.93.9 and 5 are quoted four times in KS 4.16; MS 4.10.1; TS 2.3.14.1 and in TB 3.5.7.2 (TS and KS use also stanzas 1, 6 and 7 of the same hymn):

R̥V 1.93.9 *ágnīṣomā sávedasā sáhūtī vanataṃ gíraḥ / sáṃ devatrā́ babhūvathuḥ //* *yuvámetā́ni diví rocanā́nyagníśca soma sákratū adhattam / yuváṁ síndhūṁrabhíśasteravadyā́dágnīṣomā amuñcataṃ gr̥bhītā́n //*

O Agni and Soma, together invoked, having the same knowledge, appropriate the chants, you are[[397]](#footnote-397) together in the divine world. You two put those lights in the sky, o Agni and Soma, you, with the same intention; you two, o Agni and Soma, released from curse (misfortune-*abhiśasti-*) and disgrace the rivers which were held back.

Here Agni and Soma are asked to appropriate the chants, and the great deeds of the two deities together are evoked. It is worth noticing that the syntagma *van- girah,* frequently used in the R̥gvedic text, is strikingly decreasing in the post R̥gvedic attestations: in the R̥V it occurs 6 times, while only *rayím* and *vā́ryāni* -both concrete objects- are more frequent, occurring 7 and 6 times each (cf. Data-base in §VI.2). While ***dúvas*** as a metaphor for the oblation though it is the object of *van-* only in R̥V 6.16.18, nonetheless it is to be found quoted in KS 20.14:

20.14 *nahí te pūrtám akṣipád bhúvan nemānāṃ vaso / áthā dúvo vanavase [[398]](#footnote-398)// āgniragāmi bhārato vr̥trahā purucetanaḥ divodāsasya sapatiḥ // sá hí víśvā́ti pā́rthivā rayíṃ dā́śan mahitvanā́ / vanvánn ávāto ástr̥taḥ[[399]](#footnote-399)//*

Be your reward not such that can fall into an eye, o Lord of someone[[400]](#footnote-400), in this way may you appropriate the homage; Agni, descended from the Bharata[[401]](#footnote-401), has arrived, the famous killer of Vr̥tra, the great protector of Divodāsa[[402]](#footnote-402); indeed may he grant rich to all terrestrial things[[403]](#footnote-403) through his greatness, he who appropriates without being appropriated, never beaten.

Interestingly enough, we are often presented with R̥gvedic stanzas where the word standing as object of *van-* is used only once as object of *van-* in the original anthology of hymns, while the very stanza is quoted quite few times in the liturgical texts. This happens with ***bráhman****-* that is used only once in the R̥V 3.8.2*,* but this same stanza is quoted four times in MS 4.13.1; KS 15.12; AB 2.2 and in TB 3.6.1.1, all concerning the Sacrificial Post in the animal sacrifice. ***Vípas*** also occurs only once in R̥V and the related stanza, 10.61.3, addressed to the Aśvin, is quoted two times, in VS 7.17 and in the cognate Brāhmaṇa, ŚB 4.2.1.12.

Also ***samídha***together with ***upasáda*** appearsonly once in R̥V 2.6.1a-b and is used in AB 1.25.7 for the *Upasad*[[404]](#footnote-404) in the Soma sacrifice (*samidham imām upasadaṃ vaneḥ*).

To sum up, if we confront the features of this group with the corresponding one in the R̥gvedic functional analysis, we may notice that it is possible to outline the same patterns as in the R̥gvedic text, although some are strikingly decreasing, namely just those connected with the semantic field of chanting, of the inspired world -a fundamental tool of the sacrifice, being it *hava-,* *mantra-* *manma-* or *pratiṣṭuti-.* Moreover, an important feature is almost missing: the idea of a passage, which will though come up again quite clearly among the occurrences which are non-R̥gvedic quotations.

**e-** While the non-ritual meaning continues, as we have seen, through the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, both in R̥V *mantra*s as well as in non-R̥V *mantra*s and prose, the ritual meaning vanishes.

**Out of 71 R̥V-mantras (**56 Saṃhitās [30 SV; 26 YV] - 15 Brāhmaṇas):

Ritual meaning: 6 Non-ritual meaning: 65

*Saṃhitās:*

**JS 3.8.8** (R̥V 8.45.23) *van-* without object - not significantly modified

(*brahmādviṣam* ^ *brahmādviṣaḥ)*

**KS 40.10** (R̥V 10.128.3) *van-* without object, modified

**TS 4.7.14.1** (R̥V 10.128.3) *van-* without object, not modified

*Brāhmaṇas:*

**TB 2.4.6.2** (R̥V 6.16.26) *van-* the god

**TB 2.8.5.3** (R̥V 2.26.3) *ā vivās-* the god

**TB 2.4.5.5** (R̥V 5.83.1) *vivās-* the god

**Out of 24 non-R̥V mantras or prose** (19 Saṃhitās - 5 Brāhmaṇas):

Ritual meaning: 2 Non-ritual meaning: 22

**TS 1.6.4.2; .3:** non-R̥V mantra in YV-Level

**TS 3.2.7.2** = TS 1.6.4.2; .3

As to the Saṃhitās’ texts, we can find the ritual meaning in the quotations of the R̥V *mantra* 8.45.23*,* which indeed is a very important one, but we find it only in JS 3.8.8: it is, thus, a “pure” quotation of a *mantra* that has to be chanted and this occurrence does not tell us much as to the level of the language.

The other quotation is from R̥V 10.128, a hymn that we have already analysed as a whole in §III.1.3 and it gives us quite interesting informations: we know that it is used three times, in TS 4.7.14.1, in KS 10.40 and in AVŚ 5.3. Besides all the variations we outlined in the previous paragraph, we will consider here only one *mantra* in particular which undergoes slight but significant modifications.

The stanza 3 of the hymn 10.128, addressed to all gods, reads as follows:

10.128.3 *máyi devā́ dráviṇam ā́yajantām*

*máyy āśī́r astu máyi deváhūtiḥ*

*daívyā hótāro vanuṣanta pū́rve*

*áriṣṭāḥ syāma tanúvā suvī́rāḥ*

May the gods bestow on me through sacrifice movable goods, may the prayer[[405]](#footnote-405) be in me, may be in me the divine invocation; may the two former divine *hotr̥* appropriate for themselves, may we, through ourselves, be safe, rich of heroes.

In KS 40.10, where many of the stanzas of 10.128 are quoted as *mantra*s during the construction of the altar, namely during the laying down of the bricks on the *dhiṣnya* altar, the stanza 3, right at the beginning of this section, undergoes two variations: the first is the substitution of *vanuṣanta* with *vaniṣan*, so a subjunctive aorist instead of a present injunctive: this variation does not convey a real change in the understanding of the stanza, and it is easy to trace back the reason of the change to the oddness of the *R̥gvedic* *hapax[[406]](#footnote-406)*, namely *vanuṣanta*. The second variation is the substitution of *pū́rve*, “sacrificed” in order to put *etad* instead, a neuter accusative of the determinative pronoun, that is an element that can be deployed as object of the verb, when no object was “available”. In the *R̥gvedic* occurrences, as said before, we have found *van-* without an explicit object, and we have proposed that in those cases the object implied were “the gods” and that the verb could mean “to make some enter into the circle of sacrifice”. Thus, this substitution could be the sign of a loss of functionality of the specific ritual meaning of the verb: that is, the use *van-* as “to make some enter into the circle of sacrifice” is not clear anymore, therefore the verb needs an object in order to be understood. The object is furnished to the detriment of the adjective. Moreover, the deictic pronoun is usually pointing, within a ritual context, to some concrete instrument involved in the action. This could then lead to the hypothesis that the loss of functionality develops into a new use of *van-*: the verb loses its first ritual meaning, which was connected with the poetic effort of actually evoking gods, and flows into another meaning, which is still rooted into the ritual moment, but is pointing to a concrete action within the pragmatic and prescribed sequence. We will consider all the Atharvavedic occurrences in the next chapter, nonetheless it is useful to take into consideration here this single case. In the AVŚ -whose redaction is by general consensus a later one- the corresponding *pāda* reads as follow: *daivā́ḥ hótāraḥ saniṣan na etád.* The shift is completed: the verb *van-* was understood as to “win” “possess” and therefore substituted with the verb usually conveying this meaning, *san-.*

With regard to the Brāhmaṇas’ texts, there are only three R̥gvedic quotations approximating what we called “the ritual meaning” and they all present the same syntactic structure: the man *van-* the gods. The first, *tvā vanvánt surékṇāḥ márta,* is R̥V 6.16.26 and is to be found in TB 2.4.6.2*,* while the second one isin TB 2.8.5.3 quoting R̥V 2.26.3

TB 2.8.5.3 *sá íj jánena sá viśā́ sá jánmanā / sá putráir vā́jaṃ bharate dhánā nŕ*̥*bhiḥ / devā́nāṃ yáḥ pitáram āvívāsati / śraddhā́manā havíṣā bráhmaṇaspátim*

This one, indeed, with the people, this with the tribe, this through births, this with sons brings the victory[[407]](#footnote-407), prize of goods, to the men; this who, faithful, wants to appropriate Brahmanaspati, the father of gods, with the oblation.

Here indeed the man “wants to appropriate” the god and so it is in TB 2.4.5.5 quoting R̥V 5.83.1:

2.4.5.5 *avavyáyann ásitaṃ deva vásvaḥ / dávidhvato raśmáyaḥ sū́ryasya / cárma\_iva\_ávādhus támo apsvàntaḥ[[408]](#footnote-408) // parjányāya prágāyata / divás putrā́ya mīḍhúṣe / sá no yavásam icchatu //ácchā vada tavásaṃ gīrbhír ābhíḥ[[409]](#footnote-409) / stuhí parjányaṃ námasā́ vivāsa / kánikradad vr*̥*ṣabhó jīrádānuḥ / réto dadhātv óṣadhīṣu gárbham[[410]](#footnote-410) //*

The good gods pull off the black, shaking violently the rays of light, the skin of the sun, they plunged the darkness into the water; would he begin to celebrate for Parjanya, son of the gods, generous bestower; he should desire for us a field of grass, salute the strong with these chants, extol Parjanya, desire to appropriate him with homage; the bull, shouting continuously[[411]](#footnote-411), dropping abundantly, should put his semen, the offspring, into the plants.

It is worth noticing that in this structure the desiderative of the verb is used two times out of three: a sentence where the subject is the men and the object the gods is common for the desiderative as much as it is uncommon in the primary conjugation, as we have already seen in the R̥V, where the desiderative conveys the idea of non-perfective action, that is “to desire to make enter into the circle of sacrifice” and this idea can be translated also as “to invite”[[412]](#footnote-412).

The only occurrences that are non-R̥V *mantra*s where the ritual meaning can be detected are TS 1.6.4.2; .3:

TS 1.6.4.2; .3 *émā́ agmann āśíṣo dóhakāmā índravantaḥ // vanāmahe dhukṣīmáhi prajā́m íṣam*

Here have come the blessings, eager for milking, possessing Indra, may we appropriate, may we milk offspring and food.

and TS 3.2.7.2:

TS 3.2.7.2, *śastrásya śastram / asy ū́rjam máhyaṁ śastráṃ duhām ā́ mā śastrásya śastráṃ gamyāt / indriyā́vanto vanāmahe dhukṣīmáhi prajā́m íṣam*

You are the *śastra* of the *śastra*, may the *śastra* milk for me the vital energy, may the *śastra* of the *śastra* come to me, possessing the might may we appropriate, may we milk offspring and food.

They deploy exactly the same *mantra* with a small variation, while TS 1.6.4.2 reads *índravantaḥ,* TS 3.2.7.2 has *indriyā́vanto* instead. They are apportioned in different rites: both *mantra*sare to be recited by the sacrificer, but the first occurrence is for the after-offerings in the Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi, whereas the second one is at the end of the *bahiṣpavamāna stotra* during theAgniṣṭoma. Moreover they are at the YV-Level, being *mantra*s of the Taittirīya school, so we may think that we are now observing an earlier moment of the process or, at least, the first traces of the development of the language. They are not at all a clear attestation of a ritual meaning, they indeed have no object, but the verses are quite ambiguous. The two passages seem clearly related, being in both involved Indra and the idea of milking.

The absence of an actual use of the ritual meaning out of R̥igvedic quotations, the shortage of occurrences among the quotations as well, and finally the manipulation of the redactors are all hints pointing to a semantic shift. We may go on speculating and considering a larger hypothesis: is it possible to maintain a loss of functionality, which would be overshadowed by the vanishing of the term conveying the idea “to have someone enter into the circle of sacrifice”? We are dealing with quite a concrete action linked to a extremely meaningful moment of the so-called R̥gvedic rite: to have the actual presence of the gods; indeed, only if the gods take part in the rite, the rite itself is then efficacious. The loss of functionality, which *van- / vani-* undergoes, can be traced back to the change in the perception of the rite: the action of “having the gods enter the circle of sacrifice” vanishes and is not an important passage within the sacrifice anymore, due to a “standardisation” of the procedure of the rite itself. The sacrifice of the post-R̥gvedic period has to be predictable, and every step, provided that is performed as prescribed, should bring the same result, while the action of evoking entails the possibility of failure. Along this development, whatever is connected with the semantic area of the poetic inspiration, would be also fading out. As long as we consider also the development of words like *dhī*-, *vipas-* or *gir-* either disappearing as object of the verb or undergoing strong modifications,they altogether seem to be a consistent proof that the different use of *van- / vani-* is not to be seen as an isolated development of the verb, but rather as a part of the wider phenomenon.

### III.3.2 *van- / vani-* in the Non-R̥gvedic Passages: a Chronological Perspective

As to the change in the ritual language between the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and the Brāhmaṇas, the data we have analysed with so far, shows us that the ritual meaning seems to lose the specific function connected with the action of making the gods enter into the circle of sacrifice -in other words with that kind of appropriation that we have seen in R̥V-period being so deeply connected with the poetic skill and the inspiration of the priests performing the sacrifice.

On the other side, the common meaning shows no particular features, keeping the uses we detected already in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* in a decreasing number, as we have already said. Along the process of a standardisation of the ritual language and the necessity to create a common, specific vocabulary of the liturgy, *van- / vani****-***cannot fulfil the new requirements and faded. Within this hypothesis, it may be interesting to look at some occurrences more carefully, using another perspective: to take into account only those which are not quotations of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and analyse them along the different linguistic levels they belong to*.* This will show us maybe something more as to the actual understanding of the verb in the post-R̥gvedic time.

From the point of view of linguistic development and hence historical layers of the texts, we will distinguish between two types (see also the problem of relative chronology in § III.1.1). First, the Mantra-Language, that is the *mantra* sections of the Saṃhitās (here we will consider especially the YV-*mantra*)and eventually the *mantra*s of the Brāhmaṇas which are to be considered anyway later ones and, as we will see, always tracing back to the cognate Saṃhitā’s text, therefore they just stand as a sub-level of the first one. A second clear level is that of the prose passages, where we have the expository prose of the Yajurveda Saṃhitā texts, which already belong to the later linguistic level as that of the *mantra*s and the prose passages of the Brāhmaṇa texts themselves, which of course represent a further development.

* Mantra-Language:

At the level of the YV-*mantra* there are 13 non-R̥V *mantra*s

In those occurrences we can still outline some of the functional patterns met so far, but there is a strong predominance in the use of *van-* of the semantic context of sharing, that is an appropriation that has its focus on the passage of the objects between different subjects.

In most of the occurrences the verb conveys the idea of appropriating a particular kind of object, that is connected with the idea of power; most of the times (4 occurrences out of 5: MS 2.6.8; MS 4.4.2; KS 15.6; VS 10.4) this idea is deployed through the word *kṣatrá-* and only once with *várcas-* (TS 1.8.12.1ab)*.* All these occurrences concern the Abhiṣeka rite – the unction of the king during his consecration – when waters from diverse sources are poured together into a single vessel. In these cases the *mantra* to be recited is indeed the same one with slight variations, lets see for instance MS 4.4.2:

MS 4.4.2 *dévīrāpo mádhumatīḥ sáṃsr̥jyadhvam máhi kṣatrám kṣatríyāya vanvānā́ ítyetā́ hí kṣatrāsya vantrī́ránādhr̥ṣṭāḥ sīdatórjasvatīrmáhi várcaḥ kṣatríyāya dádhatīrityetā́ hí kṣatrásya dhā́trīḥ.*

‘O divine waters, full of sweet, be mingled, appropriating for the king[[413]](#footnote-413) the great power to rule’ so he says, for they, brilliant[[414]](#footnote-414), are those who appropriate the power to rule ‘sit untouched, possessing the vital energy[[415]](#footnote-415), putting the splendour into the king’ so he says, for they are those who put the power to rule.

The main theme are the waters, of course the purified waters prepared for the king to be anointed with and the *mantra* credits the waters with “winning” for the anointed on the power to rule or the *várcas-[[416]](#footnote-416)* “splendour” which the king will be endowed with having gone through the ritual bath. Thus, the power to rule is passing through the waters to the king.

In one case the object is the rain *vŕ̥ṣṭi-:*

MS 4.1.10 *óśadhīnām áhim̐sāyaia vrajáṃ gacha gosthā́namíti chándām̐si vaí vrajó gosthā́naśchándām̐syevā́smai vrajáṃ gosthā́naṃ karoti várṣatu te parjányādevá vŕ̥ṣṭim̐ vanute badhāná deva savitaḥ śaténa pā́śaiḥ paramásyāṃ parāvátī́ti*

‘For the safeness of herbs go into a fold serving as abode for cows’ he says, the metres are indeed a fold serving as abode for cows; he makes for him the metres exactly a fold serving as abode for cows ‘May it rain for you through Parjanya, o god, he appropriates the rain for himself, bind, o god Savitr̥, with a hundred of chains in the remotest distance’.

We will find the rain again in the next groups, but we can already notice that neither the rain nor the power are objects one can actually possess, but rather be granted of, and the preceding *mantra* indeed says *várṣatu te parjányā:* may it rain for you *through* Parjanya, which is the rain-cloud, but also the god of the rain. Elsewhere another kind of power is the object of *van-,* namely in TB 2.4.3.4, the object is the *tapas-,* the ascetic power.

Two times *van-* is deployed to express just the idea of a passage between men and gods: the god *van-* for the men and Agni stands in the middle representing the messenger, the trait d’union. Within the idea of a passage sure enough is Agni the god involved in this mutual exchange, as in TS 2.6.9.8:

TS 2.6.9.8 *tád agnír devó devébhyo vánate vayám agnér mā́nuṣā íty āhāgnír devébhyo vanuté vayám manuṣyèbhya*

*‘*May Agni, as god, appropriate this from gods, we, as men, from Agni.’ So he says. ‘Agni appropriates from gods, we from men’

MS 4.13.9 deploys the same structure and the same content, Agni *van-* from the gods and the men *van-* from Agni. Something similar we find in KS 30.8:

KS 30.8 *paśupateḥ paśavo virūpāssadr̥śā uta / teṣāṃ yaṃ vavnire devāstam̐ svarāḍanumanyatām*

Of Paśupati are the sacrificial animals, manifold and similar; of them, what the gods have appropriated, this may the self-ruler approve.

*Svarā́j*- is the subject of the verb *anumanyatām* and is an epithet of Agni who is also Lord of the animals; in the same passage, in TS 3.1.4.1b, Agni is just the subject and the same verb is used (*ánu manyasva*). According to TS what Agni should approve is the sacrificial action itself performed by the priests. Though the syntax[[417]](#footnote-417) of the *mantra* is not to be interpreted univocally, here again we see an exchange between the gods and Agni with regard to the sacrifice. This is a structure we have already mentioned in the functional analysis of the nuclear meaning of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and the same one seems to spread within the non-R̥gvedic *mantra*s; furthermore, we will find it again in the Brāhmaṇa-prose (cf. TB 3.5.10.5 and ŚB 3.8.2.22).

Elsewhere, the verb is employed without an object, namely in one *mantra* that is to be found two times, in TS 1.6.4.2; .3 and TS 3.2.7.1, and this case has already been discussed above within the development of the ritual meaning (cf. §III.3.1).

Finally, KS 13.16 and TS 2.4.5.1 deploy exactly the same *mantra:*

*dhātā́ dadātu no rayím ī́śāno jágatas pátiḥ / sá naḥ pūrṇéna vāvanat*

May Dhātr̥ give us wealth, the Lord, the father of the living, may he have appropriated us completely.

The subject is the god Dhatr̥ who appropriates the men. This is the only occurrence where such a use of the verb is to be found, and Keith (1914: 179) translates it with “to favour”: “may he favour us with a (full) gift”. Indeed, what seems to be conveyed here is the idea of sharing, of making us partake in something good or to appropriate us completely: in the corresponding passage in AVŚ 7.17.1 *vāvanat* is indeed substituted with *yachatu* “to grant”. This semantic shift should not be puzzling, if we read it as a further development of the idea of passage, or in other words the action of appropriating something for someone else. Moreover, the verb *van- / vani-* is often glossed with “to share” or “to grant”.

At the level of the Brāhmaṇa-*mantra* there are only 4 non-R̥V *mantra*s. In TB 2.4.3.4, the object is the *tapas-,* the ascetic power, while TB 3.5.10.5 and ŚB 1.9.1.19 deploy Agni as the means of a passage, and this is the same idea displayed in TS 2.6.9.8 and in MS 4.13.9, both presenting the same structure of *mantra*s, thus suggesting that this entire segment originates in YV*-mantra* Level. The last occurrence of this group is ŚB 5.3.4.27[[418]](#footnote-418), the “water *mantra*”. It is clearly connected with the same *mantra*s in the Saṃhitās that we considered at the beginning of the paragraph: MS 2.6.8; MS 4.4.2; KS 15.6; VS 10.4 and TS 1.8.12.1ab (one may take notice of the fact that while the ŚB occurrence has the word *kṣatrá-* as object of *van-,* while the cognate *Saṃhitā* reads -the only one- *varcas-*), all concerning, as we said, the Abhiṣeka rite and the ŚB occurrence too. Therefore, we can also trace it back to YV-*mantra* level and include this occurrence among the considerations we speculated above.

* Prose layers:

At the level of the YV expository prose, there are five passages, where *van-* always takes the *ātmanepada* endings. MS 2.1.2 and KS 10.3 concern the *Kāmyeṣṭi* sacrifice on 12 potsherds to Agni Vaiśvānara for three different situations[[419]](#footnote-419): first for the breaking-up of a common agreement, second for one who wants to gain something, and third for someone who wants to store his acquisition. The portion where *van-* is used two (in KS) and three times (in MS) is clearly the second one, and in both Saṃhitās the first occurrence of the verb has as object *sani-,* namely *sātām̐ saniṃ* “the gained reward” -a clear *figura etymologica* build around the root *san*-, while in the following ones the object is not specified. Here, the meaning that the verb seems to convey is that of an appropriation with regard to something concrete, though the final part of KS 10.3 *etadetasmai sanoti yadvanute* could also be a clue for a slightly different meaning of *van-,* as long as the idea of a positive possession is already expressed by the verb *san-* fromwhich the noun *sani-* is derived,indeedAmano (2009: 432) translates *van-* with the german verb “zu tragen”, “to carry” “to convey”, that is a meaning nearer to a moment of transference than to a condition of possessing.

MS 3.6.9 and KS 23.6 are both dealing with the Agniṣṭoma, and in particular with the section of the *dīkṣā* moment*,* the consecration of the sacrificer. The two *brāhmaṇa-*passages are the explanation of the restrictions of the *dīkṣita*, the *adhvarādīnāṃ trayāṇāṃ vidhi,* and we find that almost the same words have been used in both occurrences.

MS 3.6.9 *nā́nyátradīkṣitaṃ dīkṣitavimitā́ntsū́ryo ‘bhinimrócennā́bhyúdiyāddīkṣitavratámevá tádyajñó vaí devā́nāṃ ná sámabhavattáṃ bhr̥tyā́ sámabhāvayanyádbhr̥tíṃ vanuté yajñásya sáṃbhūtyai rā́svéyatsométi yádbrūyā́detā́vadasya syát.*

May the sun do not set otherwise upon the consecrated, upon the temporary dwelling of the consecrated, while he is sleeping, may (the sun) not rise over this vow of the consecrated; the sacrifice did not fall to the share[[420]](#footnote-420) of gods, indeed, they furnished him[[421]](#footnote-421) with support when he appropriate the support for the production[[422]](#footnote-422) of the sacrifice ‘Give so much, o Soma’, be in his possession[[423]](#footnote-423) so much as he might have said.

In KS 23.6, the first part deals with the question whether the sacrificer should sacrifice or not, and the tricky solution is the sacrifice of the breaths, which is somehow a way to sacrifice and not to sacrifice at the same time. Afterwards there is the part we have here with the *mantra*s “*pūṣā sanīnām̐ somo rādhasām*” (cf. also TS 1.2.3 and KS 2.4), which concerns the ritual bestowing of gifts and the dedication to the deities of any cow which may be injured or lost.

23.6 *pūṣā sanīnām̐ somo rādhasāmiti pūṣā hi sanīnāmīśo somo rādhasāṃ rāsvetyatsometi somo vā etadetasmai rāsate yadvanute ā bhūyo bharetyāgame hyenaṃ bhūyo devassavitā vasorvasudāveti savitr̥prasūta eva pratigr̥hṇātyātmano’him̐sāyai devebhyo vai yajño na prābhavattaṃ dakṣiṇobhissamabhāvayanyaddīkṣito bhr̥tiṃ vanute yajñameva saṃbhāvayati tasmāddvādaśa rātrīrdīkṣito bhr̥tiṃ vanvīta yāvāneva yajñastaṃ saṃbhāvayati //*

‘Puṣan of rewards, Soma of gifts’ he says[[424]](#footnote-424) for Puṣan is master of rewards, Soma of gifts. ‘Give o Soma so much’ he says, Soma shall indeed give to this one[[425]](#footnote-425) what he appropriates. ‘Bring more hither’ he says, he indeed attained[[426]](#footnote-426) more ‘God Savitr̥, good Givers of goods’ the one roused by Savitr̥ receives for not hurting himself. The sacrifice did not originated from the gods, they affected[[427]](#footnote-427) him with *dakṣinā*s (the cows), when the consecrated appropriates the support, in this way he puts together the sacrifice, therefore the consecrated shall appropriate as support the cows of 12 nights, in this way as much (*yāvān*) the sacrifice affects *(saṃbhāvayati)* him.

Within the section which is more similar in the two occurrences, there are indeed four statements, *devebhyo vai yajño na prābhavattaṃ dakṣiṇobhis samabhāvayanyad dīkṣito bhr̥tiṃ vanute yajñameva saṃbhāvayati tasmād,* that seem to establish that the whole sacrifice is bound in a circular movement between 3 entities: gods, men and the sacrificial substance. We are even told that “the sacrifice did not prosper from the gods”, indeed they contribute the support but it is the consecrated that through this support “(in this way) puts together the sacrifice”. Here, the repetition in these sentences of the verb *saṃ bhū-* is also worth noticing: this verb means “to affect s.o. (acc.) with (instr.)”, and this supports the idea of a circularity. The production of the sacrifice is not directly connected with gods: the gods give the *dakṣināḥ* (nourishment) or, more generally, the support (*bhr̥tí-*) to the consecrated. With that he generates the sacrifice, and the sacrifice will, at the end, reach the gods.

In KS 10.6 theNaimiṣyas[[428]](#footnote-428) celebrated a *sattra* sacrifice[[429]](#footnote-429), and, as they finished, they appropriated for themselves 27 young bulls among the Kuru-Pañcālas. The story, which can be found also later in MhB IX, 41, is that of the ritual dispute between the *r̥ṣi* Vaka (or Baka) Dālbhya and the king Dhr̥tarāṣṭra. Although Falk (1986: 59) translates the verb *avanvata* with “verlangten”, it seems quite probable that the Namiṣyas appropriated the bulls.

The last occurrence is the rain (*vŕ̥ṣṭi-*) that is appropriated by the man from the Maruts.

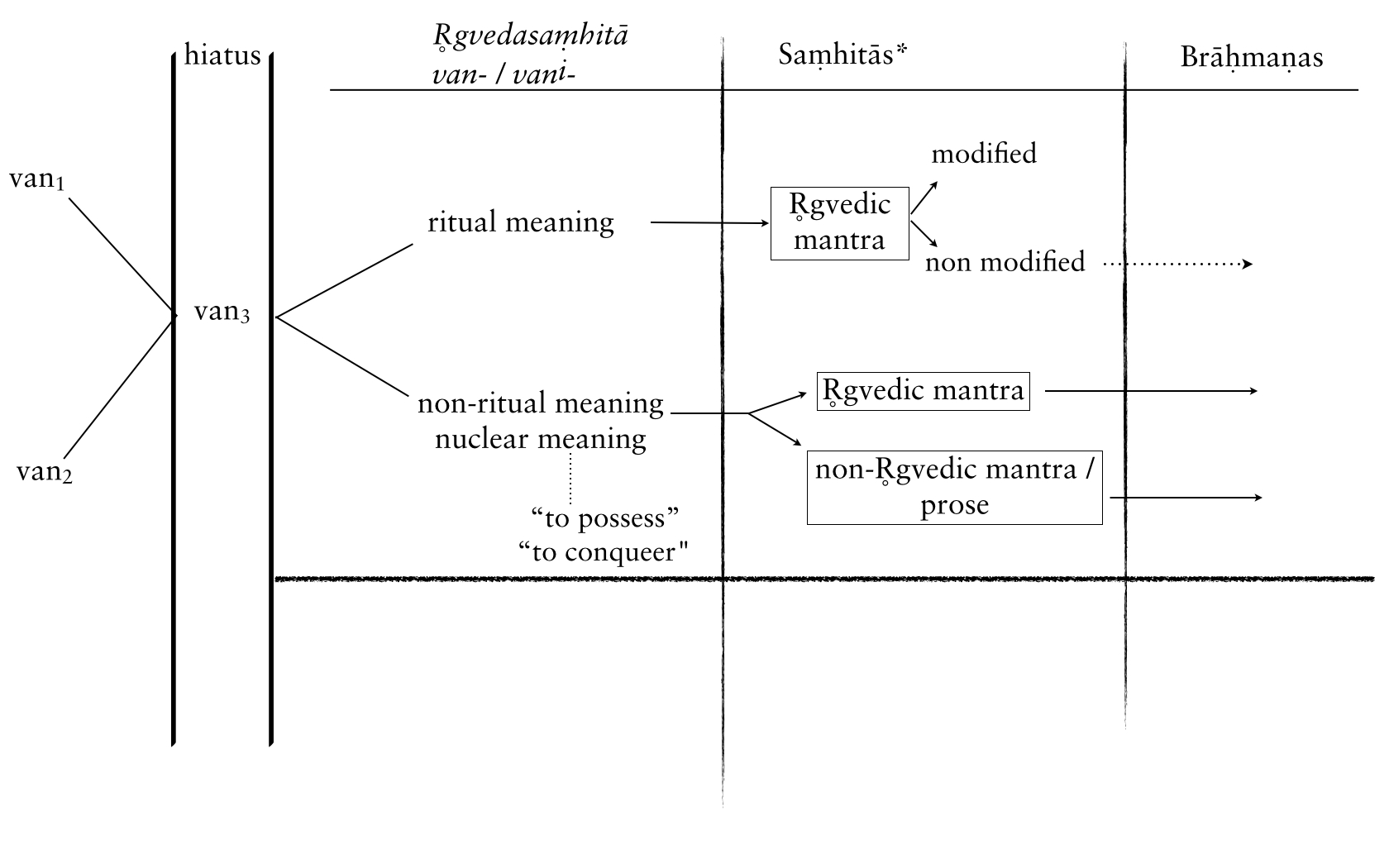
MS 4.1.14: *marúto vaí vŕ̥ṣṭyā īṣate te ‘smai vŕ̥ṣṭiṃ nínayanti táto no vr̥ṣṭyā́vatéti marúdbhya evá vŕ̥ṣr̥iṃ vanute cakṣuṣpā́ agne ‘si cákṣurme pāhóti cákṣurevā́sya pāti*

Marut indeed are master through the rain, they lead the rain to this one, from that ‘favour us with rain’ he says, from the Marut he appropriates for himself the rain, indeed; ‘o Agni, you are the protecting of the eyesight, protect my eyes’ he says, he protects indeed the eyes of this one.

We find the rain as object of *van-* again in the the Brāhmaṇa-Level, where there is only one attestation of the verb, namely in ŚB 3.8.2.2. Here the object is once more the rain (*vŕ̥ṣṭi-*) appropriated by Agni appropriating the two drops (*stoká-*); as we have seen in MS 4.1.10 (non-R̥V *mantra*)and MS 4.1.14 (expository prose), both concerning a request for water, here it is again a matter of “passage” rather than of possessing.

In conclusion, considering all the passages we have analysed among the *mantra* and prose level, we may realise two aspects. Interestingly enough, what we labelled as “the elements of the rite” are not used anymore as object of *van-.* The verb does not only lose the specific ritual meaning, it also has no longer a significant connection with what concerns the condition of being inspired, as it was in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and in the R̥gvedic quotations within the liturgical texts. We may say that the nuclear meaning is shifting in its use and in the linguistic perception. It stands for the appropriation of some goods, a material one, like in KS 10.6; 10.3; MS 2.1.2 as well as in MS 4.1.14 and in ŚB 3.8.2.22 it is the rain, or something connected with the power, that of the king (like “water *mantra*” ŚB 5.3.4.27 which is to be found often also in the Saṃhitās and it is maybe to be reckoned into the YV-Level) or that of the ascetic (TB 2.4.3.4, *tapas-*). There is still the idea of a passage between the micro- and the macrocosmos, like in TB 3.5.10.5 and ŚB 1.9.1.19, where Agni is the messenger; we can see the power of the idea of a continuous exchange between men and gods also in MS 3.6.9 and KS 23.6, where *van- / vani-* is still used in relation to what will be the support of the sacrifice, the *dakṣiṇāḥ*, the cows, and the sacrifice is the result of what the gods furnish the man with which will then be used by the men to create the sacrifice that eventually will reach, on turn, the gods. Moreover, the nuclear meaning of the verbseems, in these occurrences, to convey almost always the idea of the passage, and moreover this meaning is somehow overlapping and taking over that of possessing. This aspect of the verb was a component of the idea of appropriating already in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* where we can often find *van- / vani-* together with the benefactive dative- *dativus commodi*. Moreover, the commentators often gloss the verb with *dā-* “to give” (cf. TB 2.4.8.1) or *sambhaj-* “to grant” “to distribute” (cf. TB 3.5.10.5): that is an idea of sharing rather than possessing. As an example, in TB 2.4.3.4-5, both Bhaṭṭa Bhaskara Miśra and Sāyaṇa gloss with *yācate* “to ask” “to beg”. So we should strongly consider if the non-R̥V occurrences besides showing the absence of the “elements of the rite” as object of the verb and thus confirming the loss of the ritual meaning, they witness also the shift of the verb which is going into the direction of a kind of “extreme” sharing, which will result in the meaning “to give”. The idea of possessing is almost completely lost (as we will also see in the Atharvavedic and classic Sanskrit occurrences) and slowly develops the idea of sharing which can be conceived as a development of the idea of “passage” that we saw as a fundamental feature of the nuclear meaning already in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*.

To sum up, it seems that in the post R̥gvedic period the rite is gaining a new and stronger position. It must be able to assure a convenient result. Moreover it has to present itself as a procedure whose steps can be completely controlled. The language to talk about this is conforming itself to the new issues. The inspiration and the skills of a single individual cannot play anymore a significant role within the whole process. Thus, the words referring to such an uncontrollable ingredient as inspiration cannot be a significant part of the ritual language. The verb *van- / vani-* is fading, as most of its occurrences are R̥gvedic quotations. What survives, is the nuclear meaning, though leaning towards the idea of giving more than possessing, while its ritual meaning and the connection with the semantic field of inspiration is lost. Here an implementation of the scheme proposed in §II.3:



# IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

Going back to our considerations at the end of the analysis of the R̥gvedic attestations, we must take notice of another piece of information of the survey done with so far. Through all these occurrences the semantic field of “desire” is completely absent, still this sense is to be speculated as one of the meaning of the Indo-European antecedents of the Vedic verbal root. Moreover we have already said that as soon as the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* a nominal derivative of the root, *vāmá-,* conveys this sense. We speculated (§ II.3) two linguistic traditions, one attested through the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and the other through the Atharvavedic anthologies. It would be then useful to proceed focusing on the R̥gvedic and the post-R̥gvedic attestations of the primary derivatives in order to see if it is possible to spot this meaning in these occurrences also. This avenue has its starting-point in the possibility that the semantic field of desire was first expressed in nominal stems.

On the other side, if only *vāmá-* is conveying the idea of desire, we should then verify in which degree the verbal root conveys this meaning in the Atharvavedic texts, and the extent of this use. This part of the work aims to verify whether the semantic field of desire is to be regarded as a nominal development or as a synchronic meaning of the verb *van- / vani-* as far as the Vedic period is concerned. Therefore we have to deploy a different prospective, which is not anymore focused on the chronological development of the root but rather on the different layers of the society that produced the Vedic *corpus;* that entails a diastratic prospective, through which we should try to outline which role the meaning “to desire” plays beside the linguistic development we have just described*.*

Due to the two textual analysis, this chapter is thus structured in two paragraphs: The first one (IV.1) will focus on the primary derivatives, and it begins (IV.1.1) with the R̥gvedic attestations followed by the analyses the post-R̥gvedic passages (IV.1.2). In the second half (IV.2) we will survey the occurrences of the verbal root in the Saṃhitās of the Atharvaveda.

## IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

The first part of the chapter takes into consideration each primary derivatives separately and examines the possible connection with the meaning “to desire”.

### IV.1.1 R̥gvedic occurrences

#### 1- v*anús- vanuṣya*-

Let us begin with the two derivatives of most frequent occurrence in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*: *vanús-*, adjective, secondary derivative of the verb root *van- / vani-*, and the denominative *vanuṣya-*, which take on a sense that it is almost always negative.

For the adjective *vanús-* we have no corresponding substantive, although we may conjecture, like Renou (1939: 181), an intermediary *nomen actionis* *\*vánus* “contro-partie funeste”of *vánas-* (by analogy with the paradigmatic sequence *táras-* *tárus- tarús-*); with regard to this hypothesis, see also AiGr: II 2 §316β, where in fact Debrunner deals with this form among the terms in *us-* which also show a corresponding form in *as-.*

The negative value taken on by these two derivatives – a value which Renou (ibid.) sees as the outcome of transition through the ambiguous *vánus-* – can be understood as developing from one of the specific values with which we saw the verb root employed: suffice it to recall the many passages in which man or the god "appropriates" the enemy. In these cases, therefore, "to appropriate" takes on the sense of conquest and control: I have it enter into my circle and so I dominate.

In the adjective and the denominative derived from it, which bring an element of desire into the sigmatic suffix (Migron 1980: 272), we see a very clear semantic shift: this action is accomplished or desired by the "other" – other, that is, than the speaker – it is the enemy, who stands on the opposite side and wishes to perform the action of which, at this point, the "I" who speaks would be the victim. Of necessity, therefore, the very action itself becomes negative and the desire to perform it is to be punished.

If we consider all the attestations of the two derivatives, the “*vanúsāḥ”*, like the “*vanuṣyataḥ”*,are almost always enemies to destroy, and the god being asked to vanquish them or to sap their strength, for it is they who wish to take possession of us. Out of 32 occurrences, 24 clearly point to a the hostility of person referred to, as in 8.25:

8.25.15 *té hí ṣmā vanúṣo náro*

*abhímātiṃ káyasya cit*

*tigmáṃ ná kṣódaḥ pratighnánti bhū́rṇayaḥ*

These heroes, truly, shatter, ever moving[[430]](#footnote-430) like a rapid stream, the assault of the one who wishes to appropriate them[[431]](#footnote-431), whoever he may be.

*vanúṣaḥ*: genitive masc. singular, from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 334 “Eifersuchtig*”*

Renou: V 92 “rival”

In 7.82.1, as in 6.68.6, Indra and Varuṇa are evoked against those foes; similarly, in 6.62.10 the Aśvins are requested the heads of the *vanuṣyataḥ*:

6.62.10 *ántaraiś cakraís tánayāya vartír*

*dyumátā́ yātaṃ nr̥vátā ráthena*

*sánutyena tyájasā mártiyasya*

*vanuṣyatā́m ápi śīrṣā́ vavr̥ktam*

With inner wheels approach, you two, the circuit[[432]](#footnote-432), with the chariot rich in heroes and shining, in favour of our descent; thanks to secret isolation[[433]](#footnote-433) of the mortal grant us the heads of those who wish to appropriate us.

*vanuṣyatām:* present participle (gen. m. pl.), denominative from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 164 “Neider”

In 9.91.5 the enemy should not be destroyed, but rather annihilated in front of the victories of those who have new hymns.

9.91.5 *sá pratnaván návyase viśvavāra*

*sūktā́ya patháḥ kr̥ṇuhi prā́caḥ*

*yé duḥṣáhāso vanúṣā br̥hántas*

*tā́ṃs te aśyāma purukr̥t purukṣo*

It is you, as in past times, who make the paths ready for the new hymns, O you who give all goods; may we obtain from you[[434]](#footnote-434) the lofty[[435]](#footnote-435) that are unbearable to those wishing to appropriate us, O you who act well and are rich in cattle.

*vanúṣā:* instrumental masculine singular, from *vanús-*

Geldner: III 88 “Neider”

Renou: IX 40-1 “ennemi”

In the following two the same syntagma is repeated, with an identical plea: and that is that “the weapon of the mortal foe to us”, “the weapon with which he can appropriate us”, should be destroyed.

4.22.9 *asmé várṣiṣṭhā kr̥ṇuhi jyáyiṣṭhā*

*nr̥mṇā́ni satrā́ sahure sáhāṃsi*

*asmábhyaṃ vr̥trā́ suhánāni randhi*

*jahí vádhar vanúṣo mártiyasya*

For us you bring together the highest heroic virtues, able to dominate, victories O victorious one; subdue the enemies so that we may easily defeat them, destroy the weapon of the mortal wishing to appropriate us.

*vanúṣah*: genitive masculine singular, from *vanús-*

Geldner: I 449 “neidisch”

7.25.3 *śatáṃ te śiprin ūtáyaḥ sudā́se*

*sahásraṃ śáṃsā utá rātír astu*

*jahí vádhar vanúṣo mártiyasya*

*asmé dyumnám ádhi rátnaṃ ca dhehi*

A hundred are your aids for Sudas[[436]](#footnote-436), may the prayers and gifts number a thousand, destroy the weapon of the mortal wishing to appropriate us, place splendour and riches for us.

*vanúṣaḥ*: genitive masculine singular, from *vanús-*

Geldner: II, 204 “neidischen”

In some cases the plea is not explicitly for destruction of the enemy, but an invocation for the god to protect those who pray to him, or indeed the prayer itself, from whomsoever is intent on appropriation.

6.15.12 *tuvám agne vanuṣyató ní pāhi*

*tuvám u naḥ sahasāvann avadyā́t*

*sáṃ tvā dhvasmanvád abhí etu pā́thaḥ*

*sáṃ rayí spr̥hayā́yiyaḥ sahasrī́*

It is indeed you, O Agni, who protect from those who wish to appropriate us, and you, victorious, protect us from censure; thanks to you the pasturage gathers[[437]](#footnote-437) endowed with shade[[438]](#footnote-438), wealth gathers a thousand times that which is desired.

*vanuṣyatáḥ****:*** present participle (abl. masc. sing.), denominative from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 108 “Neider”

Renou: XIII 48 “qui jalouse”

Schimdt 1973: 24 “the greedy”

7.1.15  *séd agnír yó vanuṣyató nipā́ti*

*sameddhā́ram áṃhasa uruṣyā́t*

*sujātā́saḥ pári caranti vīrā́ḥ*

This Agni, who protects from those who wish to appropriate us, defend from the narrow strait him who kindles fire, the heroes of fine character serve him.

*vanuṣyatáḥ***:** present participle (abl. masc. sing.), denominative from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 181 “Neider”

Renou: XIII 53 “rival-jaloux”

7.56.19 *imé turám marúto rāmayanti*

*imé sáhaḥ sáhasa ā́ namanti*

*imé śáṃsaṃ vanuṣyató ní pānti*

*gurú dvéṣo áraruṣe dadhanti*

These Marut halt the rapid, bend the force of force, these protect prayer from those who wish to appropriate it, bring about heavy hostility for the envious.

*vanuṣyatáḥ*: present participle (gen. m. sing.), denominative from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 232 “Neidischen”

Renou: X 43 “rival”

In the following passages we find the poet himself elaborating a word play that is both phonetic and semantic, bringing together, in the same *padā,* one of the two derivatives of the verb *van- / vani-* in the sense of “to dominate”, and, exploiting the semantic shift, turning the very same action against those who wish to perform it on “us”.

1.132.1 *tváyā vayám maghavan pū́rviye dhána*

*índratvotāḥ sāsahyāma pr̥tanyató*

*vanuyā́ma vanuṣyatáḥ*

*nédiṣṭhe asmín áhani*

*ádhi vocā nú sunvaté*

*asmín yajñé ví cayemā bháre kr̥táṃ*

*vājayánto bháre kr̥tám*

Through you, O Indra, bestower of gifts, may we, the first prize being there to be won, helped by you overwhelm those who attack us, appropriate those who wish to appropriate us; the day being close, speak in favour of the one who squeezes out the soma; now being the sacrifice, may we distinguish the decisive act in the contest, we who aim for the prize, the decisive act in the contest.

*vanuyā́ma*: present optative 1st pl. VIII cl.

Geldner: I 185 “wollen übertrumpfen”

Renou: XVII 46 “vaincre”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 247 “möchten überwältigen”

*vanuṣyatáḥ***:** present participle (acc. m. pl.), denominative from *vanús-*

Geldner: I 185 “Eifersüchtigen”

Renou: XVII 46 “qui cherchent à (nous) vaincre”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 247 “die zu gewinnen suchen”

2.25.1-2  *índhāno agníṃ vanavad vanuṣyatáḥ*

*kr̥tábrahmā śūśuvad rātáhavya ít*

*jāténa jātám áti sá prá sarsr̥te*

*yáṃ-yaṃ yújaṃ kr̥ṇuté bráhmaṇas pátiḥ //*

*vīrébhir vīrā́n vanavad vanuṣyató*

*góbhī rayím paprathad bódhati tmánā*

*tokáṃ ca tásya tánayaṃ ca vardhate*

*yáṃ yaṃ yújaṃ kr̥ṇuté bráhmaṇas pátiḥ*

Let him who kindles Agni appropriate those who wish to appropriate him, let him who offers oblations and accomplishes the sacred formulation wax great; besides the son born of the son, anyone whom Br̥haspati has made an ally survives.

With the male children let him appropriate the male children of whomsoever wishes to appropriate him, let him have a great wealth with cows[[439]](#footnote-439)- and of himself present[[440]](#footnote-440); he whom Br̥haspati has made an ally increases his offspring and that of his family.

*vanavat*: present subjunctive 3rd sing., VIII cl.

Geldner: I 308 “wird überwinden”

Renou: XV 59-60 “vaincra”

Sani 2000: 90 “vincerà”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 392 “wird besiegen”

*vanuṣyatáḥ*: present participle (acc. m. pl.) denominative from *vanús-*

Geldner: I 308 “Neider”

Renou: XV 59-60 “les (adversaires) cherchant-à-vaincre”

Sani 2000: 90 “desiderando vincerlo”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 392 “die Angrefenden”

*vanavat*: present subjunctive 3rd sing. VIII cl.

Geldner I 308 *wird überwinden*

Renou XV 60: *vaincra*

Sani 2000: 91: “vincerà”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 392 “wird besiegen”

*vanuṣyatáḥ*: present participle (gen. m. sing.) denominative from *vanús-*

Geldner: I 308 “des Neider”

Renou: XV 60 “les (adversaires) cherchant-à-vaincre”

Sani 2000: 91 “colui che lo vuol vincere”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 392 “die Angrefenden”

2.26.1 *r̥júr íc cháṃso vanavad vanuṣyató*

*devayánn íd ádevayantam abhy àsat*

*suprāvī́r íd vanavat pr̥tsú duṣṭáraṃ*

*yájvéd áyajyor ví bhajāti bhójanam*

Let him who rightly prays[[441]](#footnote-441) appropriate those who wish to appropriate him, let him who belongs to the gods overwhelm those who are lacking; let him who is a very zealous[[442]](#footnote-442) appropriate in battles even those who are difficult to overwhelm, the priest distributes the food[[443]](#footnote-443) of the impious.

*vanavat*: subjunctive present 3rd sing. VIII cl.

Geldner: I, 309 “wird überwinden”

Renou: XV, 61 “vaincra”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 393 “wird besiegen”

*vanuṣyatáḥ:* present participle (acc. m. pl.) denominative from *vanús-*

Geldner: I 309 “die Neider”

Renou: XV 61 “les (adversaires) cherchant-à-vaincre”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 393 “die Angreifenden”

8.40.7 *yád indrāgnī́ jánā imé*

*vihváyante tánā girā́*

*asmā́kebhir nŕ̥bhir vayáṃ*

*sāsahyā́ma pr̥tanyató*

*vanuyā́ma vanuṣyató*

*nábhantām anyaké same*

When, oh Indra and Agni, these peoples invoke on various sides with a sustained chant, we wish with our men to defeat the attackers, to appropriate those who wish to appropriate us, let all the others crumble away.

*vanuyā́ma*: present optative 1st pl., VIII cl.

Geldner: II 353-4: *wollen überbieten*

Renou: XIV 58: *vaincre*

*vanuṣyatáḥ*: present participle (acc. m. pl.) denominative from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 353-4 “Eifer”

Renou: XIV 58 “qui cherchent à vaincre”

9.77.4 *ayáṃ no vidvā́n vanavad vanuṣyatá*

*índuḥ satrā́cā mánasā puruṣṭutáḥ*

*inásya yáḥ sádane gárbham ādadhé*

*gávām urubjám abhí árṣati vrajám*

Let this one, who has knowledge, appropriate those who wish to appropriate us, this drop[[444]](#footnote-444), thanks to the perfectly whole poetic thought much praised, that has placed the embryo in the lap of the strong[[445]](#footnote-445) and flows towards the opened enclosure[[446]](#footnote-446) of the cows.

*vanavat*: present subjunctive 3rd sing., VIII cl.

Geldner: III 72 “soll überbieten”

Renou: IX 26 “l’emporte”

*vanuṣyatáḥ*: present participle (acc. m. pl.) denominative from *vanús-*

Geldner: III 72 “Neider”

Renou: IX 26 “qui nous jalousent”

In the passage that follows, the poet succeeds in recreating the same semantic play, in this case bringing into contraposition the adjective and the denominative itself: wishing to appropriate those who wish to appropriate us, Agni is asked to consume the adversaries with fire (*spŕ̥dho vanuṣyán vanúṣo ní jūrva*).

6.6.6 *ā́ bhānúnā pā́rthivāni jráyāṃsi*

*mahás todásya dhr̥ṣatā́ tatantha*

*sá bādhasva ápa bhayā́ sáhobhi*

*spŕ̥dho vanuṣyán vanúṣo ní jūrva*

Courageous, you have set out[[447]](#footnote-447) with the light of the great Instigator the earthly ranges, you, indeed, dispel fears with your powers, wishing to appropriate those who wish to appropriate us, consume the adversaries with fire.

*vanuṣyán*: present participle (nom. m. sing.) denominative from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 99 “eifernd”

Renou: XIII 41 “vainquant”

*vanúṣah*: accusative masculine plural from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 99 “die Eiferer”

Renou: XIII 41 “qui jalousent”

In particular, moreover, we see that in certain passages *vanús-* takes on a more precise meaning when occurring in the binomial *arí-/ vanús-*: the outer, foreign enemy and the inner enemy (cf. Renou VII, 84); this contraposition between within and without also recurs taking on different forms at other points, one of which being the form cited above, adopted in these four stanzas.

7.21.9 *sákhāyas ta indra viśváha syāma*

*namovr̥dhā́so mahinā́ tarutra*

*vanvántu smā te ávasā samīké*

*abhī́tim aryó vanúṣāṃ śávāṃsi*

Let it be granted to us, oh Indra, to be your companions forever, we who greatly strengthen you with devotion, conqueror; in the clash, with your protection, let those[[448]](#footnote-448) appropriate the attack of the foreigner[[449]](#footnote-449), the strength of those who wish to appropriate them.

*vanvántu*: imperative present 3rd pl., VIII cl.

Geldner: II 201-2 “sollen überwinden”

*vanúṣām*: genitive masculine plural, from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 201-2“Neider”

7.83.5 *índrāvaruṇāv abhí ā́ tapanti mā*

*aghā́ni aryó vanúṣām árātayaḥ*

*yuváṃ hí vásva ubháyasya rā́jatho*

*ádha smā no avatam pā́riye diví*

Oh Indra and Varuna, the foreigner’s evil acts are rekindled[[450]](#footnote-450), the evil intentions of those wishing to appropriate us; you two rule both the realms[[451]](#footnote-451), so, truly, grant us your favour, it being the decisive day.

*vanúṣām*: genitive masculine plural, from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 255 “Neider”

Renou: V 100 “envieux”

In these two cases in particular we find the last two *pāda*s, practically as if a formula, repeated identically in both stanzas.

4.50.11 *bŕ̥haspata indara várdhataṃ naḥ*

*sácā sā́ vāṃ sumatír bhūtu asmé*

*aviṣṭáṃ dhíyo jigr̥tám púraṃdhīr*

*jajastám aryó vanúṣām árātīḥ*

Oh Br̥haspati, oh Indra, let us prosper together, let this benevolence of yours be in us, protect the sights, reawaken abundance[[452]](#footnote-452), wear down the foreigner's evil intentions[[453]](#footnote-453), of those who wish to appropriate us.

*vanúṣām:* genitive masculine plural, from *vanús-*

Geldner: I 481 “Eifersüchtigen”

Renou: XV 65 “des envieux”

Sani 2000: 89 “i rivali”

7.97.9 *iyáṃ vām brahmaṇas pate suvr̥ktír*

*bráhma índrāya vajríṇe akāri*

*aviṣṭáṃ dhíyo jigr̥tám púraṃdhīr*

*jajastám aryó vanúṣām árātīḥ*

For you two, oh Br̥haspati and Indra, this fine hymn, for Indra, possessor of the thunderbolt, the sacred formulation has been accomplished; protect the sights, reawaken abundance, wear down the foreigner's evil intentions, of those who wish to appropriate us.

*vanúṣām*: genitive masculine plural, from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 267-8 “Eifersüchtiger”

Renou: XV 69 “des envieux”

There are, however, also various other binomials to be interpreted as the same contraposition taking on different forms: thus, for example, the syntagma *jāmī́m̐r ájāmīn* “relatives and non-relatives”, which we find in 6.19.8, where the derivative *vanús* does not appear, but the verb root *van- / vani-* is nevertheless there, and the plea is in fact to be able to appropriate the enemies, be they relatives are not, while we also find the same binomial together with the adjective *vanús* used in 6.25.3.

6.19.8 *ā́ no bhara vŕ̥ṣaṇaṃ śúṣmam indra*

*dhanaspŕ̥taṃ śūśuvā́ṃsaṃ sudákṣam*

*yéna váṃsāma pŕ̥tanāsu śátrūn*

*távotíbhir utá jāmī́m̐r ájāmīn*

Bring us, oh Indra, a lowing bull, which bears away the booty, well fattened and very strong, with which we wish to appropriate with your aids in the battles the enemies, relatives and non-relatives.

*váṃsāma*: subjunctive aorist 1st pl.

Geldner: II 117 “können überwinden”

6.25.3 *índra jāmáya utá yé 'jāmayo*

*arvācīnā́so vanúṣo yuyujré*

*tuvám eṣāṃ vithurā́ śávāṃsi*

*jahí vŕ̥ṣṇyāni kr̥ṇuhī́ párācaḥ*

Oh Indra, those who, relatives or strangers, turned against, wishing to appropriate us, have taken up arms, of these make the strength unsound, lay waste all their courage, keep them far away.

*vanúṣaḥ*: nominative masculine plural from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 124 “Neider”

Another form taken on by this contraposition is to be seen in the binomial near enemy-far enemy (*ántaro vanuṣyā́t - sánutyaḥ)* as in 6.5.4.

6.5.4 *yó naḥ sánutyo abhidā́sad agne*

*yó ántaro mitramaho vanuṣyā́t*

*tám ajárebhir vŕ̥ṣabhis táva svaís*

*tápā tapiṣṭha tápasā tápasvān*

He who, far away, may attack us, oh Agni, he who, nearby, wants to appropriate us, oh you who have the greatness of Mitra[[454]](#footnote-454), with your bulls that never grow old, make him burn, O you who burn more than all, with fierce heat, you have fierce heat.

*vanuṣyā́t*: subjunctive present 3rd sing., denominative from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 98 “sollte eifern”

Renou: XIII 40 “jalouse”

As we have seen, in all the stanzas quoted so far the two derivatives take on a clearly negative sense; the only passages where a positive value is to be found come to four, and the use made of *vanús-* (in three cases) as of *vanuṣya-* is again to be associated with the other functions we have identified for the verbal root.

More precisely, in 1.150.3 and 3.27.11 we find reference to the ritual action, to having the god come into the circle of the sacrifice (as in certain attestations of the verb root, cf. 9.7.6; 6.16.26 or 5.74.7); here, then, it is a matter of the wish to accomplish such an action – an undoubtedly just desire, to be welcomed.

1.150.3 *sá candró vipra mártiyo*

*mahó vrā́dhantamo diví*

*prá prét te agne vanúṣaḥ siyāma*

Oh inspired sage, this luminous mortal is great, is that which has grown most in the heavens; may we, wishing to appropriate you[[455]](#footnote-455), stand, oh Agni, before all.

*vanúṣah*: nominative masculine plural from *vanús-*

Geldner: I 208 “eifrig (Verehrer)”

Renou: XII 39 “(nous qui sommes) gagnés à toi”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 276 “Anhänger”

3.27.11 *agníṃ yantúram aptúram*

*r̥tásya yóge vanúṣaḥ*

*víprā vā́jaiḥ sám indhate*

Agni, the guide, he who overtakes the waters[[456]](#footnote-456), the inspired sages, wishing to appropriate him, in application of the order, kindle him with the rewards of battle.

*vanúṣah*: nominative masculine plural from *vanús-*

Geldner: I 361 “eifrig”

Renou: XII 68 “qui veulent te gagner”

In 10.96.1 it is Indra who is eager to appropriate elation; just as in the earlier verbal attestations we encountered at the beginning of the functional analysis of the verbal root in the R̥gvedic and post-R̥gvedic occurrences, what this god appropriated was *soma* (cf. 10 105.5c *vanóti śíprābhyāṃ śipríṇīvān*), so now we see him eager for that state of exaltation which the drink brings on.

10.96.1 *prá te mahé vidáthe śaṃsiṣaṃ hárī*

*prá te vanve vanúṣo haryatám mádam*

*ghr̥táṃ ná yó háribhiś cā́ru sécata*

*ā́ tvā viśantu hárivarpasaṃ gíraḥ*

May I invoke in the great meeting [rite][[457]](#footnote-457) your two steeds, I appropriate for my self the intoxicating drink dear to you who desire to appropriate it which, pleasant as clarified butter, together with the golden ones[[458]](#footnote-458), pours out; the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold.

*vanve**pra*: present indicative 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.

Geldner: III 304 “habe Gewinn”

*vanúṣaḥ*: ablative masculine singular from *vanús-*

Geldner: III 304 “Eifrigen”

Finally, in 9.7.6 the priest wishes to “appropriate” with “poetic work”, *vanuṣyate matī́*, following a pattern similar to *ā́ vaṃsad dhītíbhiḥ* in 10.26.2 and *gīrbhiḥ* *vívasāta* in 6.15.6: here we have an absolute use of the denominative in a very precise ritual context – a use that lent itself to analysis in certain attestations of *van- / vani-* and in particular of the stem of the desiderative (6.15.6 is an example). Murmuring prayers, the priest wishes to have the god enter the circle of the sacrifice. In this stanza there is also another element to point out, namely the phonetic play the poet artfully creates bringing together the verb *vanuṣyate* in *pāda* c and the substantive *vána-* (“wood”, “tree”, “forest”) in the previous *pāda*, a paronomasia which we will encounter again, still more forcefully, where it is used both with the adjective *vanin*- and, subsequently, with the rarer derivatives in order to bring out and possibly meld the very meaning of the two roots.

9.7.6 *ávyo vā́re pári priyó*

*hárir váneṣu sīdati*

*rebhó vanuṣyate matī́*

The beloved steed[[459]](#footnote-459) sits on the [pieces of] wood, all around the threads of wool[[460]](#footnote-460); he who prays “wishes to have enter the circle of the rite” thanks to the poetic work[[461]](#footnote-461).

*vanuṣyate*: present indicative 3rd sing. Ā, denominative from v*anús-*

Geldner: III 15“wetteifert”

Renou: VIII 6 “est mis-en-état-de-grâce”

Besides stanza 4.44. 3, in which *van- / vani-* is associated with the term *r̥tá-*, there remain two attestations of the adjective *vanús-* that are quite enigmatic.

The first is in an invocation to be listened to and protected, for the Shielding Goddess, like the other divinities whose identity cannot be clearly defined. The divine beings Ekadhenu are attested only here, while the appellation for Rudra, *ahir budhnya,* is less mysterious, but still somehow out of place in a hymn dedicated to Savitr̥. The people described as *mitho vanuṣāḥ,* whether we take it in the sense of Geldner, or of Renou, are hardly identifiable.

7.38.5  *abhí yé mithó vanúṣaḥ sápante*

*rātíṃ divó rātiṣā́caḥ pr̥thivyā́ḥ*

*áhir budhníya utá naḥ śr̥ṇotu*

*várūtrī ékadhenubhir ní pātu*

They who wish to appropriate from each others take ahead the gift of the heavens and the earth, having the gift as attribute[[462]](#footnote-462), and may Ahir Budhnya[[463]](#footnote-463) listen to us, may the Shielding Goddess[[464]](#footnote-464) with the Ekadhenu[[465]](#footnote-465) protect us.

*vanúṣaḥ***:** nominative masculine plural, from *vanús-*

Geldner: II 220 “gegenseitig eifersuchtig”

Renou: XV 29 “à l’envi les uns des autres”

The second attestation is, in the first two *pāda*s, fairly clear: we are in the context, already familiar to us through other occurrences, of the rite of clarification of *soma* and in particular, as is indicated by the terms often used for *soma*, in the figural field of the horse race. The last part of the stanza, however, is not so clear: the meaning of *pāda* c, *sī́danto vanúṣo yathā,* has been interpreted in various ways, but always through an interpolation: Renou (VIII, 39) takes there to be a principal “s’ asseyant au séjour du Rta” ; Geldner (III, 50) substitutes *sīdantaḥ* with *sādinaḥ:* “wetteifernden Reiter”; but a third interpretation also seems possible: the *vanúṣaḥ* “those who wish to appropriate” are, in the most frequent sense of *vanús-*, the eneimies, the antagonists (rather than the devout), while the seated posture (*sī́dantaḥ -* present participle-) of the *vanúṣaḥ* seems to take on a very clear significance when seen in contrast to the movement of the *soma* (*akramīt –*aorist-), which in fact “leapt” on the prize of victory; all this seems to suggest that the soma, rapid as it is, having gained victory, its enemies find themselves, in every sense, seated.

9.64.29 *hinvānó hetŕ̥bhir yatá*

*ā́ vā́jaṃ vājī́ akramīt*

*sī́danto vanúṣo yathā*

Incited by the inciters, held, the racer leapt on the prize of victory, so that those who wished to appropriate it found themselves seated.

*vanúṣaḥ*: nominative masculine plural from *vanús*

Geldner: III 50 “Wetteifernden”

Renou: VIII 39 “dévots”

#### 2- v*anú*-

Another derivative which can be taken to be much the same as *vanús-* (cf. AiGr: III §151α) and at the same time associated with the verbal adjectives *vánīyas- / vániṣṭha-* (cf. AiGr: II 2 §273c), is the adjective *vanú-*.

Renou (1939: 182) finds in this derivative the same ambivalence encountered, albeit to a considerably lesser extent, as we have seen, with the adjective *vanús-*, while Mayrhofer (“Die Altiranische namen” point 72) translates it with the German “begehrend”. This difference is due to two factors which make it very difficult to arrive at a definitive solution to the question.

The first factor is, in fact, the scant number of attestations, granting little support to any hypothesis: this adjective is to be found only in two points in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*. To this is added the second factor: in one of the two attestations (4.30.5) the adjective *vanú-* has a clearly negative value, despite the fact that Migron (1980: 278 n. 47) translates the adjective with “(previously) victorious”, associating it with the gods “once victorious” and now defeated by Indra, while in the second attestation (10.74.1) we can hardly help reading it in the positive sense with which it is used. Bearing in mind the indeterminate (unpredictable) nature of the situation, following Renou’s hypothesis of a recurrence here of the ambiguity detected in the adjective *vanús-*, we can only look to the attestations where this adjective takes on a positive sense or, better, return to that aspect of the verb root which the poet adopted in these cases, and see whether we might take the negative sense as being due, in analogy with *vanús-*, to the meaning “to conquer” “to dominate”, and the positive sense thus arising from the “sacrificial” value of *van- / vani-*, which we have in fact seen also occurring in some of the “positive” attestations of di *vanús-* (cf. 1.150.3 and 3.27.11). However, we still have the great stumbling block consisting in the fact that there are only two attestations: for any hypothesis we may venture, the possibility of comparison and confirmation or exclusion lies only in indirect comparison with other forms among the derivatives of *van- / vani-* or any possible paradigmatic comparisons.

4.30.5 *yátra devā́m̐ r̥ghāyató*

*víśvām̐ áyudhya éka ít*

*tuvám indra vanū́m̐r áhan*

Where you fought the gods who attacked you with violence, all, you alone; you, Indra, killed those who wished to appropriate you.

*vanū́n:* accusative masculine plural

Geldner: I 458 “Vanu’s”

10.74.1 *vásūnāṃ vā carkr̥ṣe íyakṣan*

*dhiyā́ vā yajñaír vā ródasīyoḥ*

*árvanto vā yé rayimántaḥ sātaú*

*vanúṃ vā yé suśrúṇaṃ suśrúto dhúḥ*

Desiring, the Vasu[[466]](#footnote-466) I pray with the sight, with the sacrifices the two worlds I pray; let the steeds that are endowed with wealth, let them send in victory 'him who appropriates' let those who listen make 'him who appropriates’[[467]](#footnote-467) well listened to.[[468]](#footnote-468)

*vanúm***:** accusative masculine singular

Geldner: III 254 “Eifrigen”

Oldenberg 1912: 227 n. 1 “Eifrigen”

#### 3- Verbal adjectives

Deriving from the root *van- / vani-* are also the two verbal adjectives *vánīyas-*, in the comparative, and *vániṣṭha-*, in the superlative, attested in four occurrences evenly and, curiously, symmetrically distributed within the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*: in both cases the comparative is used in relation to man while the superlative refers to the divinity.

In all four attestations the verbal adjectives appear, however, to take on the same sense we had identified in the present participle of the verb root, i.e. *vanvan-* as divine attribute: the god is in fact “he who appropriates” par excellence, and as we have seen the participle, in these cases, combines the two meanings of “to dominate” and “to possess”.

That it is used in this sense also with reference to man is hardly very surprising if we consider that in both cases man is not *vánīyān,* but can become so once he has adopted the right behaviour, sacrificing at the right moment or performing “good” deeds: by acting according to the established rules he can be made better than other men at “appropriating” and so to a certain extent like one who is truly powerful. Of course, this is not to say he is elevated to a divine level, but he can certainly be made more able than others (and not “the most able”) “to appropriate” both the enemy and material and “spiritual” riches.

On the verbal adjectives in the comparative and superlative, see also AiGr: II 2 § 272.

5.77.2  *prātár yajadhvam aśvínā hinota*

*ná sāyám asti devayā́ ájuṣṭam*

*utā́nyó asmád yajate ví cā́vaḥ*

*pū́rvaḥ pūrvo yájamāno vánīyān*

Sacrifice in the early morning! Set in motion the Aśvin. The evening, unpleasing, is not the time to seek the gods: also another, other than us, sacrifices and dawns whenever[[469]](#footnote-469) early in the morning there is the sacrificer: it is he who appropriates more than others.

*vánīyān*: nominative masculine singular from *vánīyas-*

Geldner: II 82 “desto mehr gewinnt er”

10.117.7 *kr̥ṣánn ít phā́la ā́śitaṃ kr̥ṇoti*

*yánn ádhvānam ápa vr̥ṅkte carítraiḥ*

*vádan brahmā́ ávadato vánīyān*

*pr̥ṇánn āpír ápr̥ṇantam abhí ṣyāt*

The ploughshare that ploughs completes the road that opens with his legs[[470]](#footnote-470); the Brahmán who speaks excels those who do not speak, the ally who lavishes excels the one that does not lavish: it is they who appropriate more than others[[471]](#footnote-471).

*vánīyān*: nominative masculine singular from *vánīyas-*

Geldner: III 343 “gewinnt mehr als”

Ambrosini 1981: 108 “vale di più”

O’Flaherty 1984: 69 “is better than”

Sani 2000: 205 “vale di più”

7.10.2 *súvar ṇá vástor uṣásām aroci*

*yajñáṃ tanvānā́ uśíjo ná mánma*

*agnír jánmāni devá ā́ ví vidvā́n*

*dravád dūtó devayā́vā vániṣṭhaḥ*

[Agni] like a sun lit up the dawn as day rose; like the Uśij[[472]](#footnote-472) who extend the sacrifice, the poetic invocation; Agni, the god able to discern between the generations, is the racer, the messenger who reaches the gods, he who appropriates more than others.

*vániṣṭhaḥ*: nominative masculine singular, from *vániṣṭha-*

Geldner: II, 189 “der am meisten erwirkt”

Renou: XIII, 60 “procurant (aux hommes des biens) par excellance”

7.18.1 *tuvé ha yát pitáraś cin na indra*

*víśvā vāmā́ jaritā́ro ásanvan*

*tuvé gā́vaḥ sudúghās tvé hí áśvās*

*tuváṃ vásu devayaté vániṣṭhaḥ*

For you being there, oh Indra, our bard fathers obtained all desirable goods, then you being the cows are easy to milk, you being there horses are there, you are the one who more than others appropriates well-being for whomsoever loves the gods.

*vániṣṭhaḥ*: nominative masculine singular, from *vániṣṭha-*

Geldner: II 194 “du bringst am meisten Gut ein”

*vāmā́*: accusative neuter plural, adjective functioning as noun from \**vani* -*ma*  (cf. EWAia: II 544)

Geldner: II 194 “Gute”

#### 4- v*anín-*

While Lubotsky (1997: 1230) lists all the attestations of *vanín* under a single stem, most of the scholars seem to distinguish two or possibly even three stems:

1- *vanín-,* deverbal adjective derived from the stem *van-* with suffix *–ín*, indicating person or thing “that brings to completion the concept expressed by the verb”, “den Verbalbegriff vollziehend” as Debrunner put it (in AiGr: II 2 §216), translating *vanín-*as “verlangend” (ibid. γ).

2- *vanín-,* denominative adjective with suffix *–ín*, from *vána-* “wood”, “tree”, “forest”, means “den Begriff des Grundworts an sich habend, damit versehen” (AiGr: II 2 §213) or, according to Thieme (1971: 191) “der Besitzer (im weitesten Sinne) von einer ihm eigentümlichen Sache (die durch den dem Formans vorausgehenden Nominalstamm bezeichnet ist) charakterisiert”.

The existence of this second stem, which is not attested in the dictionaries – Böhtlingk-Roth (1885-1875: 676) records in the first instance only the deverbal adjective and the substantive – is borne out by Geldner’s translations (1 139.10; 1 180.3; 3 40.7) and successive outcomes attributed to the substantive *vánin-* (kl. *vanin-* “im waldbewohnender Brahmane” (AiGr: II 2 §215d.).

3- *vanín-* (Grassmann, Elizarenkova 1995b: 37, AiGr II 2 §214) or *vánin-*  (Böhtlingk-Roth ibid.), substantive, is the term of early formation whose etymology, as well its precise connection with the substantive *vána-* and the noun root *van-* remain truly obscure[[473]](#footnote-473); for a study on the meaning of this substantive, see Elizarenkova 1995b: 32-43.

On the meaning and development of the suffix *–ín*, in concurrence with the suffixes*–vant- -mant-*,reference is made not only to AiGr: II 2 §212-217, but also to Thieme 1971: 661-695 and Tucker 2006.

Of the three stems postulated above, here we take into account only those attestations which are not considered, at least by the majority of scholars, to be traceable to the third stem in our list, *vanin-* substantive, since this is beyond the scope of our analysis of the verb root derivatives, and also in view of the fact that between this and the noun root the connection is purely homophonic – a connection that proves very productive, but which obviously belongs to a later development of the language.

As for the first two stems, on the other hand, the situation is a little more confused: in fact, two adjectives are postulated, derived respectively from the verb and noun stems, but the distinction seems to rest solely on the context in which we find use of the term *vanín-*, so that precisely which of the two stems the poet meant to use may equally prove unequivocal or questionable, and the context does not always turn out to be decisive here.

Let us begin with the stanzas in which it seems possible to determine the meaning attributed to *vanín-* beginning, in fact, from the context in which it appears:

1.119.1 *ā́ vāṃ rátham purumāyám manojúvaṃ*

*jīrā́śuvaṃ yajñíyaṃ jīváse huve*

*sahásraketuṃ vanínaṃ śatádvasuṃ*

*śruṣṭīvā́naṃ varivodhā́m abhí práyaḥ*

The chariot of you two, that of the many arts, swift like the inspired mind, with winged horses, to which sacrifice needs to be made, I invoke to live; that of the thousand forms, he who is endowed with wood[[474]](#footnote-474), with a hundred goods, ready to listen, and who grants room I invoke to the libation[[475]](#footnote-475).

*vanínam*: accusative masculine singular

Geldner: I 161 “sieggewohnte”

Pirart 1995 : 244 “enchanté” The author (ibid. 245) suggests – in this case alone, however – taking it here as a derivative from \**vána-* = *vánas-*, a term of decidedly obscure meaning or which he proposes the French substantive “charme”.

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 217 “gewinnenden”

1.180.3 *yuvám páya usríyāyām adhattam*

*pakvám āmā́yām áva pū́rviyaṃ góḥ*

*antár yád vaníno vām r̥tapsū*

*hvāró ná śúcir yájate havíṣmān*

You two have placed the milk in the cow and that which was first of the cow, cooked, in the raw; it is this that he who offers the oblation, shiny like a serpent, sacrifices in what is made of wood[[476]](#footnote-476), for you two, whose breath proceeds in order[[477]](#footnote-477).

*vanínaḥ*: genitive masculine singular

Geldner: I 258 “im Holzgefässe”

Pirart 1995 : 331 “(fils) de l’arbre” (considering it a patronymic genitive)

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 328 “zwischen den Baümen”

3.40.7 *abhí dyumnā́ni vanína*

*índraṃ sacante ákṣitā*

*pītvī́ sómasya vāvr̥dhe*

The splendours[[478]](#footnote-478), indestructible, of him who is endowed with wood[[479]](#footnote-479) proceed towards Indra; having drunk the soma, he has grown greater.

*vanínaḥ*: genitive masculine singular

Geldner: I 382 “Holzgefässe”

Renou: XVII 83 “du (soma) sis dans (le cuves de) bois”

Oldenberg 1090: 250 n. 40,7 “die Gewinnenden”

8.3.5 *índram íd devátātaya*

*índram prayatí adhvaré*

*índraṃ samīké vaníno havāmaha*

*índraṃ dhánasya sātáye*

We invoke Indra for the divine office, Indra we invoke, the sacrifice begins, Indra to obtain victory, Indra in the clash we invoke thanks to him who is endowed with wood[[480]](#footnote-480).

*vanínaḥ***:** nominative masculine plural

Geldner: II 286 “eifrig” referring to Indra; evidently, reads vanínam

Pirart 1995 : 245 “nous qui disposons d’un charme”

In 1.64.12 the problem is whether to take the first two *pāda* to refer to Agni, son of Rudra and certainly endowed with wood; here, however, it seems that the subject are the Marut, and the supposition is borne out by another attestation (6.66.11) were the same syntagma (*rudrásya sūnúṃ*) unmistakably refers to this divine group. Can it then be that the Marut are endowed with wood? This attribute is certainly not totally unfounded if we recall that the Marut are the lords of the tempest, which manifests itself with all its power in the forests, striking the trees with its thunderbolts.

1.64.12  *ghŕ̥ṣum pavākáṃ vanínaṃ vícarṣaṇiṃ*

*rudrásya sūnúṃ havásā gr̥ṇīmasi*

*rajastúraṃ tavásam mā́rutaṃ gaṇám*

*r̥jīṣíṇaṃ vr̥ṣaṇaṃ saścata śriyé*

The vital, pure one, he who is endowed with wood[[481]](#footnote-481), the one whose bounds are wide[[482]](#footnote-482), son of Rudra we sing with the invocation[[483]](#footnote-483); to have fortune follow the troops that belong to the Marut, who crosses through the ether, powerful, the bull that receives the residue of the soma.

*vanínam***:** accusative masculine singular

Geldner: I 85 “sieggewohnte”

Renou: X 17 “victorieux”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 122 “unersättlichen”

So far the attestations we have analysed can clearly be traced back to *vanín-* as adjective derived from the substantive *vána-*. Actually, there remains one attestation that can be interpreted in a different way, and it is stanza 1.139.10.

Here the intention may be to include both meanings, or to evoke one through the other, playing on the homophony of the two roots, with the sort of play already encountered in 9 7.6 b-c (*hárir váneṣu sīdati rebhó vanuṣyate matī*) and which becomes all the more forceful with the use of other derivatives.

In this stanza, in fact, we encounter a whole series of ambiguities, also at the level of grammatical interpretation, which make it very difficult to provide a definitive translation. In *vaníno vanta vā́ryam*, for example, the phonetic play (paronomasia or etymological figure) employed here is quite evident, regardless of whether we consider *vaníno* and *vanta* to derive from the same root (Renou V 9 and Migron 1980: 279 n. 48) or not (Geldner I 194). If *vaníno* is genitive singular we can consider its position as *apò koinù* between the two verbs, which also seems to be suggested by the symmetrical structure that takes shape in the two phrases. At the same time, however, a verb form is used – deliberately, in my opinion – which could equally well be third person singular (and so have as subject the *hotr̥*) or third person plural, thus referring to *vanínaḥ* as nominative plural. There is no evidence leading us to opt for either of the two possible interpretations.

1.139.10 *hótā yakṣad vaníno vanta vā́riyam*

*bŕ̥haspátir yajati vená ukṣábhiḥ*

*puruvā́rebhir ukṣábhiḥ*

*jagr̥bhmā́ dūráādiśaṃ*

*ślókam ádrer ádha tmánā*

*ádhārayad araríndāni sukrátuḥ*

*purū́ sádmāni sukrátuḥ*

The *hotr̥*[[484]](#footnote-484) shall sacrifice for the *vanín-*, for the *vanín-* appropriates the well chosen[[485]](#footnote-485), Br̥haspati, attentive, performs sacrifices with the herds, herds rich with gifts: we, by ourselves, have grasped the rhythm of the stone which arrives afar; he who is full of resources has arranged the many places for the sacrifice ...[[486]](#footnote-486), he full of resources.

*vanta*: -injunctive aorist 3rd sing. Ā, I-VI cl.

Geldner: I 194 “beansprucht”

Oldenberg 1909: 142 n. 10 contemplates both and seems to favour this, but offers no translation

Migron 1980: 279 n. 48 “shall get”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 260 “gewinnt sich”

-injunctive present 3rd pl. (from *vananta*) Ā, I-VI cl.

Renou V 9 “gagnent”

*vanínaḥ*: -nominative plural masculine

Renou: V 9 “qui veulent gagner”

-genitive singular masculine

Geldner: I 194 “des Holzgefässes”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 260 “eines Begehrenden”

Migron 1980: 279 n. 48 “the conquering one’s”

At this point we can try to draw some conclusions: we started out from the fact that in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* the attestations of *vanín-* as derived from the verb *van-* (Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 1209]) or at any rate that cannot be traced back to the substantive *vanín-* number six: in five the term can, quite clearly, be taken as an adjective derived from the substantive *vána-* (“wood” “tree”, “forest”), while 1 139.10 is the only passage where it could have been used as deriving from *van-;* however, interpretation of this stanza must remain open – it is so rich in ambiguity that no support, nor indeed starting point, can be drawn from it for any firm hypothesis.

All this, then, suggests that no verbal derivative *vanín-* from *van-* finds a place in the  *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*, or at least we may say that there are no passages in which it is clearly and unequivocally employed.

#### 5- Derivatives of problematic definition.

The derivatives we are about to analyse are assembled in a single group to bring out two elements common to them. The first is very rare use in the text of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*, which is also characteristic of the two verbal adjectives and the adjective *vanú-*, and in fact here it is a characteristic that is associated with a further point of interest: the second common element lies in the fact that we have no attestations of this group of derivatives within the so-called “family books”, with the exception of *vananvati* in 7.81.3, and the seventh book may be the most recent between the second and seventh *manḍala*.

#### a) *vánas-*

Of this substantive, derived in –*as* from the verb root[[487]](#footnote-487), we have only one occurrence in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* in 10.172.1.

The translations and interpretations proposed for the term *vánas* are many and varied*,* given that this substantive, while being a *hapax*, plays an important role in the debate on the relationship between the two meanings we have seen attributed to the verbal root itself (“to desire”- “to conquer”), above all in the light of the undeniable affinity between *vánas-* and the Latin substantive *venus-*[[488]](#footnote-488). Thus we find the same division previously noted in the first Chapter and in the various translations offered by the two great scholars, Renou and Geldner, who follow also here the two different interpretative lines in the respective translations (cf. §I.2). In fact, the German scholar (III 396) uses the term *Vorliebe* (preference), while Renou (XII 77-8 n. 13) continues with the French *gain*. Oldenberg (1912: 363 n. 1), too, is of the opinion that a meaning associated with the sphere of desire was not to be read into this term, proposing *splendour*, and making reference to Keith (1909 [ed. 1995: 284]), he uses the same term. There are also, however, a number of scholars who look to the sphere of desire and love, foremost among which Böhtlingk-Roth (1855-1875: 673) *etwa.* *Verlangen, Anhänlichkeit oder Lieblichkeit*, as also Nowicki (1976: 109) in his interesting study on the sigmatic neuter stems; considering *vánas* a *nomen actionis*, he glosses it with the German *Verlangen, Lust*. Similarly Ambrosini (1981: 147) uses the Italian term “amore”: the scholar interprets the entire hymn as a dialogue between the narrator-sacrificer and fire (Agni) as the sun rises, when in fact one of the most important sacrifices took place, performed in support of re-establishment of the cosmic order as the new day comes into being; in this stanza the cows are, then, the sunbeams that follow the same path as Uṣas (dawn) and the poet begins the hymn invoking the presence (*ā́ yāhi*) of Agni, fire, which was in fact kindled as the first light appeared.

Here we have sought to follow the hypothesis proposed by Renou (1939: 181) that there exists a *\*vánus-* “contro-partie funeste” of *vánas-* (hence the adjective *vanús-*, in analogy with *táras-* *tárus- tarús-*) and that, therefore, reversing the order *vánas-* is a *nomen actionis* (“Vollzug des Verbalbegriff” cf. AiGr: II 2 §127b.α) not connoted qualitatively: thus the term would be taken to indicate literally “appropriation”, or better, given the ritual value of the verb root, the action of having the gods enter the circle of the rite, upon which the god arrives.

10.172.1 *ā́ yāhi vánasā sahá*

*gā́vaḥ sacanta vartaníṃ yád ū́dhabhiḥ*

Come here together, on the act of having enter the circle of the rite, the cows follow the course of the chariot when they are with full udders.

*vánasā*: instrumental neuter singular

#### b) v*anánā-*

This, too, like the previous case, is a substantive attested in one point alone in the text of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*. As a derivative with suffix in *-ana* it is to be considered a “Verbalabstrakta” which Debrunner translates as “Wunsch” (cf. AiGr: II 2 §85 and in particular γ). Renou (IX 99 n. 40) here conceives of a *\*vanan-*, allomorph of *vánas-* in relation to *\*vanar,* of which *vanánās* is an “extension”. Again, we are up against the impossibility of formulating a definitive solution, and can only note this “extension” which the stem seems to undergo, given that we will also find it in other derivatives of decidedly rare use and later than the early Vedic *corpus*.

9.86.40 *ún mádhva ūrmír vanánā atiṣṭhipad*

*apó vásāno mahiṣó ví gāhate*

*rā́jā pavítraratho vā́jam ā́ruhat*

*sahásrabhr̥ṣṭir jayati śrávo br̥hát*

The wave of honey has raised our own things, the buffalo clothing himself with waters plunges into it; the king who has as chariot the filter obtains the prize of victory, the king of a thousand points gains high glory[[489]](#footnote-489)”

*vanánāḥ*: accusative feminine plural

Geldner: III 83 “Begehren”

Renou: IX 36 “les aspirations”

#### c) *vánīvan-*

Grassmann (1875 [ed. 1996: 1209]) traces this form to the root *van- / vani-*, deriving it from the aorist stem (*vani*-) with primary suffix serving as *nomen agentis* (as also Geldner III 205), in analogy with forms like *yaj-van-* “sacrificer”, “who is sacrificing”, while Böhtlingk-Roth (1885-1875: 677) takes *vánīvan-* to derive from the form of the intensive (see also Macdonell 1916: §172-3 and Whitney 1888: §1002 f-g), translating with the German “heischend”. Another possibility is to consider the term as secondary derivative from the adjective *vanín-* with suffix *-van* (and lengthening of the short vowel cf. Whitney 1888: §1234), which would thus mean “mit dem Begriff des Grundworts versehen” (for the value of this type of derivative, see AiGr: II 2 §718, in particular b).

Apart from this one occurrence in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*, a further attestation is to be found in a passage (IV 14. 8) of the *Maitrayāṇīsaṃhitā*, the collection of formulas handed down, in fact, by one of the schools of the black Yajurveda: while this passage makes clear the ritual moment in which this *mantra* is adopted, it is of scant relevance to our aim to clarify the possible meaning of the term *vánīvan-*.

10.47.7 *vánīvāno máma dūtā́sa índraṃ*

*stómāś caranti sumatī́r iyānā́ḥ*

*hr̥dispŕ̥śo mánasā vacyámānā*

*asmábhyaṃ citráṃ vŕ̥ṣaṇaṃ rayíṃ dāḥ*

Appropriating, my messengers, the hymn, come to Indra asking for[[490]](#footnote-490) favourable inspirations; Oh you who touch the heart, thanks to inspired thought that has taken the form of words, give us a shining wealth, a bull.

*vánīvānaḥ*: nominative masculine plural

Geldner: III 205 “werbende”

#### d) *vánanvat-*

Of this term, entailing difficulties also at the level of grammatical and morphological analysis, we have five attestations. We shall look at them considering the terms with which *vánanvat-* is associated.

1. 7.81.3: *úṣaḥ vananvati*

7.81.3 *práti tvā duhitar diva*

*úṣo jīrā́ abhutsmahi*

*yā́ váhasi purú spārháṃ vananvati*

*rátnaṃ ná dāśúṣe máyaḥ*

We awakened you, oh Uṣas, daughter of the heavens, oh swift one, you who to whomsoever has honoured you bring as a desired treasure much joy, oh you who truly appropriate.

*vananvati*: vocative feminine singular

Geldner: II 252 “Wagensitzende”

Renou: III 102-3 “ô gracieuse”

Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1989-1901: III, 200 “o du geile”

1. 8.1.31: *áśvān vánanvataḥ*

8.1.31 *ā́ yád áśvān vánanvataḥ*

*śraddháyāháṃ ráthe ruhám*

*utá vāmásya vásunaś ciketati*

*yó ásti yā́duvaḥ paśúḥ*

When I am mounted, by the chariot, on the horses of him who truly appropriates[[491]](#footnote-491), thanks to the act of faith[[492]](#footnote-492), may also the cattle, which are of Yadu, perceive[[493]](#footnote-493) the desirable well-being.

*vánanvataḥ*: accusative masculine plural

Geldner: II 281 “ans Holz gespannten”

Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1989-1901: III, 200 “begierigen (Rosse)”

*vāmám*: accusative neuter singular, adjective used as noun from *\*van-h ma* (EWAia: II 544)

Geldner: II 281 “Gute”

1. 8 6.34: *vánanvatī matíḥ*

8.6.34 *abhí káṇvā anūṣata*

*ápo ná pravátā yatī́ḥ*

*índraṃ vánanvatī matíḥ*

The Kanva like the waters that flow torrential raised cries of joy to Indra, the poetic work[[494]](#footnote-494) it is it who truly appropriates.

*vananvatī*: nominative feminine singular

Geldner: II 297 does not translate, but in II, 252 n. 3c conjectures “Holzkufe”

Renou: III 103 n. 3c “cherchant à plaire ou: à gagner”

Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: III, 200 “verlangende”

1. 8.102.19: *svádhitir vánanvati*

8.102.19 *nahí me ásti ághniyā*

*ná svádhitir vánanvati*

*áthaitādŕ̥g bharāmi te*

I have no cow[[495]](#footnote-495) nor does the axe appropriate[[496]](#footnote-496); so, then, in this way I offer to you.

*vananvati***:** locative masculine singular

Geldner: II 433 “Holzbesitzer”

Renou: XIII 82 “sur l’arbre”

>ī: nominative feminine singular

Oldenberg 1912: 57 n. 3 “schnedig”

3rd sing. present indicative

Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: III, 201 “fällt (Bäume)”

1. 10.92.15: *svádhitir vánanvati*

10.092.15 *rébhad átra janúṣā pū́rvo áṅgirā*

*grā́vāṇa ūrdhvā́ abhí cakṣur adhvarám*

*yébhir víhāyā ábhavad vicakṣaṇáḥ*

*pā́thaḥ sumékaṃ svádhitir vánanvati*

The first Angira sings here from birth; the raised stones looked on the sacrifice, stones thanks to which the shining becomes vigorous; the place is well-established, the axe appropriates[[497]](#footnote-497).

*vánanvati***:** locative masculine singular

Geldner: III 291 “Holzbesitzer”

>ī: nominative feminine singular

Oldenberg 1912: 57 n. 3 “schnedig”

3rd sing. present indicative

Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: III, 204: “fällt (Bäume)”

What in fact emerges clearly in comparison between the passages quoted is that in the first three attestations the term is employed as an adjective applied to gods or “divine” powers (on the role of the “powers” and functions as autonomous entities in the Vedic world, see Gonda 1981: I 64 ff. and in particular 1957b), while in the last two it is somehow applied to or at any rate associated with the axe *(svádhiti-)*.

Beyond this little is certain, and proceeding with our analysis we will endeavour to make clear, also in visual terms, the range of possibilities opening out. The interpretations offered in the case of *vánanvat-* differ from both the grammatical and semantic points of view (cf. AiGr: II 2 §80 γ and §713 γ). There are two questions to consider.

1. The first, at the semantic level, is a matter of the root to which the term *vánanvat-* is to be traced, or in other words

**a**- whether this derivative is to be traced to *vána-* (“wood” “tree”, “forest”), as is done by Geldner, who sees it as an adjective with suffix *–va(n)t-*.

**b**- or whether it is to be considered a derivative of the verb root *van- / vani-*.

The first three attestations suggest the latter of these hypotheses, not only on account of the difficulty of associating “wood” with Uṣas or *matí-*, but above all because the function taken on by *vánanvat-* at the three points mentioned seems to be meant to evoke that of the present participle of the verb *van- (vanvan-)* which is employed in most of the attestations with absolute value, becoming a divine attribute (cf. 2.21.2; 5 29.9 and 6.12.4), often in contrast with *ávāta-* (6.16.20; 6.18.1; 9.89.7; 9.96.8 and 11). *Vánanvat-* appears, then, to be a form “enhanced” by repetition from the participle *vanvan-.*

1. The second, more strictly morphological question is, at this point:

**a**- whether *vánanvat-* may not be an adjective derived with suffix *-va(n)t*, as conjectured by Oldenberg (1912: 57 n. 3) and Grassmann (1875 [ed. 1996: 1208]), who denies the possibility of a verbal form, there being no similar attestations for the purpose of comparison, and as also argued by Renou (III 103 n. 3c), who conjectures the existence of a \**vanan-* allomorph of *vánas-* in relation to \**vanar* (cf. *ahán/ahás* < \**ahar*), also to be traced in the substantive *vánanā.*

However, this proposal entails some difficulties in interpretation of the latter two attestations, compelling Renou (XIII 82) to trace *vánanvati* to *vána-* in stanza 8 102.9, and Oldenberg (1912: 57 n. 3) to read in both occurrences *vánanvatī* instead of *vánanvati*.

**b**- Thus there is room for the hypothesis that we have here a verb form (cf. also Böhtlingk-Roth 1855-1875: 669-670) *vánanu-*, which appears in the first three attestations in the present participle and in the last two in the indicative present, 3rd person singular, with *svádhiti-* as subject. This interpretative proposal calls for further consideration on how such a verb form came about.

· Pischel (Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: III §22, 198-204) conjectures a denominative from *\*vananú-* = rad. *van* + *-anu-* suffix, in analogy with *krandanú nadanú nabhanú vibhañjanú* and, starting from “auf etwas losgehen” as *Grundbedeutung* of the verb *van-* proposes translation of the two attestations with “fällt”, conjecturing a semantic shift recalling the shift Schmidt proposed for the Avestan verb *van-*; this hypothesis was previously mentioned in analysis of the desiderative forms of the verb root, precisely on account of the outward movement they also seemed to show.

· Another morphological hypothesis may lie in contemplating a verb formation beginning directly from the root *van-* in which the suffix of the stem of the present is “doubled”, or rather using both the suffixes with which the two stems of the present of the basic level root, and so conjecturing a form \**van- a- no/nu-*.

Surveying the range of possibilities we are faced with like a map, almost, there is clearly no decisive evidence in favour of either of the hypotheses. The translations of the five passages given above follow, in the case of the first three stanzas, the hypothesis that here, at the semantic level, we have a parallel, extended form of *vanvan-*, while for the last two support is found in the hypothesis argued by Pischel (ibid.), with which, from the semantic point of view, the hypothesis argued in this work shows some affinity. What appears evident in the last two attestations, which are moreover the most difficult to explain, is the choice made by the poet to use the root *van- / vani-*, a choice that must surely depend on an evocative intention, through paronomasia exploiting the homophonic connection between the verb and noun roots.

Analysing this last group of derivatives, a significant stumbling block lies, as we have seen, in the difficulty in detecting decisive evidence to determine the meaning. With regard to the first two substantives, the fact that the attestations are isolated cases is crucial, leaving no room for comparison. Turning, then, to the other two derivatives, what we seem to have here is the intention to expand the word with a number of suffixes, as we began to see in the case of *vánīvan*. In the case of *vánanvat-*, this intention combines with the evocative play previously noted in the use of the adjective *vanín-* which, quite explicitly, is also present among the attestations of the verb root. Let us take a stanza that seems to be a perfect example: in 6.6.3, in fact, the image is of fire eating wood and the poet uses the two homophonic roots to create with juxtaposition of *vánā* and *vananti,* that phonetic play we discuss before, here even more readily to be appreciated.

6.6.3 *ví te víṣvag vā́tajūtāso agne*

*bhā́māsaḥ śuce śúcayaś caranti*

*tuvimrakṣā́so diviyā́ návagvā*

*vánā vananti dhr̥ṣatā́ rujántaḥ*

Stirred on every side by the wind[[498]](#footnote-498), oh shining Agni, your shining flames move in all directions, destroyers[[499]](#footnote-499), like the divine Navagva[[500]](#footnote-500), appropriate the wood breaking it with force.

*vananti:* indicative present 3rd pl., I/ VI class

Geldner: II 98: *überwinden*

Renou: XIII 40: *triomphent*

### IV.1.2 Post-R̥gvedic occurrences

Within this second group there is a subdivision according to type of the occurrence: to try to understand the presence of the meaning “to desire” and the distribution of the derivatives along the different linguistic strata we have divided into three type of attestations: derivatives that occur only in R̥gvedic quotations (§IV.1.2.1), derivatives that occur both in R̥gvedic quotations and non-R̥V quotations –i.e. non-R̥gvedic *mantra*s and Brāhmana passages–(§IV.1.2.2), derivatives that occur only in non-R̥V quotations (§IV.1.2.3).

#### IV.1.2.1 Derivatives that occur only in R̥Vquotations

#### *a) vánas*-

##### KauB 26.10

26.10 *āyāhi vanasā saheti dvipadvā āvadāvadvai prathamasyāhno rūpam*

‘Come hither with *vanas’* is made of two *pāda*s, it has the word hither, indeed what contains the word ‘hither’ is a symbol of the first day.

*vánasā:* instr. n. sing.

Keith 1920: 501 “beauty”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 10.172.1a

Rite

*Agniṣṭoma*, the *chandomas:* the 7th and 8th days of the *dvādaśaha* rite. Here the suffix *ā-* is here explained as the connection between this hymn and the first day.

##### JS 1.46.7 = KauS 443

1.46.7 = 443 *ā yāhi vanasā saha gāvaḥ sacanta vartaniṃ yad ūdhabhiḥ*

Come here together, on the act of having enter the circle of the rite, the cows follow the course of the chariot when they are with full udders.

*vánasā:* instr. n. sing.

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 10.172.1a

Rite

*Agniṣṭoma*, the *chandomas*: the 7th and 8th days of the *dvādaśaha* rite. Here the suffix *ā-* is here explained as the connection between this hymn and the first day.

#### *b) vanīvan*-

The only occurrence is MS 4.14.8: 227, 9-10, quoting R̥V 10.47.7 that we have analysed within the R̥V occurrences of the primary derivatives. See above § 3.1.1.

#### *c) vantr̥*-

##### KS 8.17: 203,21-22

8.17 *svastáye vājíbhiśca praṇetassáṃ yán mahī́riṣá āsátsi pūrvī́ḥ / rāyó vantā́ro br̥hatássyāmāsmé astu bhága indra prajā́vān //*

For a good fortune, when you, o driver, sit with the steeds near to many large refreshments, may we be those who appropriate a wide richness, O Indra, let the part rich of offspring belong to us.

*vantā́raḥ:* nom. masc. pl. of *vantr̥-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 3.30.18

#### *d) vanús*-

##### JS 3.1.7 = KauS II.5

JS 3.1.7= KauS II,5 *hinvānó hetŕ̥bhir yatá ā́ vā́jaṃ vājī́ akramīt / sī́danto vanúṣo yathā //*

Incited by the inciters, held, the racer leapt on the prize of victory, so that those who wished to appropriate it found themselves seated.

*vanúṣaḥ:* nom. m. pl. of *vanús*

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 9.64.29; KauS II.5.

##### AVŚ 20.30.1

20.30.1 *prá te mahé vidáthe śaṃsiṣaṃ hárī prá te vanve vanúṣo haryatám mádam / ghr̥táṃ ná yó háribhiścā́ru sécata ā́ tvā viśantu hárivarpasaṃ gíraḥ*

May I invoke in the great meeting [rite][[501]](#footnote-501) your two steeds, I appropriate for my self the intoxicating drink dear to you who desire to appropriate it which, pleasant as clarified butter, together with the golden ones[[502]](#footnote-502), pours out; the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold.

*vanve pra:* ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.

Sāyaṇa: *prayāce*

*vanúṣaḥ:* gen. masc. sing. of *vanús*-

* + 1. Vedic Web:
    2. Mantra: R̥V 10.96.1; TB 2.4.3.10-(11); TB 3.7.9.6.

Rite

*Mantra*s to be recited in the *Atirātra.*

##### AVŚ 20.143.3

20.143.3 *kó vām adyā́ karate rātáhavya ūtáye vā sutapéyāya vārkaíḥ / r̥tásya vā vanúṣe pūrviyā́ya námo yemānó aśvinā́ vavartat*

Who, now, offering libations, shall sacrifice to you with hymns for protection or for drinking soma, or (who) will turn you here, o Aśvin, paying homage to the one who wishes to appropriate the Cosmic Order?

*vanúṣe:* dat. masc. sing. of *vanús*-

* + 1. Vedic Web:
    2. Mantra: R̥V 4.44.3.

Rite

* + 1. *Mantra*s to be recited in the *Atirātra* as *paridhānīyāśastrayāja,* the final verses of the litany recited by the *hotr̥*.

#### IV.1.2.2 Derivatives that occur both in R̥Vquotations and in non-R̥V quotations

#### *a) vanuṣya*-

#### R̥V *mantra*s

##### JS 3.36.8 = KauS II.483

JS 3.36.8 = KauS II.483 *avyo vāre pari priyo harir vaneṣu sīdati / rebho vanuṣyate matī //*

The beloved steed[[503]](#footnote-503) sits on the [pieces of] wood, all around the threads of wool[[504]](#footnote-504); he who prays wishes to have enter the circle of the rite thanks to the poetic work[[505]](#footnote-505).

*vanuṣyate:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā of the denominative *vanuṣya-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:
    2. Mantra: R̥V 9.7.6.

##### TS 2.5.12.2-3t

2.5.12.2t *índrāvarunā yuvám adhvarā́ya naḥ //*

3t *viśé jánāya máhi śárma yachatam / dīrgháprayajyum áti yó vanuṣyáti vayáṃ jayema pŕ̥tanāsu dūḍhyàḥ //*

O Indra and Varuna extend over our sacrifice, over the tribe, over the people great protection; whomsoever wishes to appropriate the man who perseveres in sacrifices, those who have bad visions, may we conquer them in battles.

*vanuṣyati:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. of the denominative *vanuṣya-*

Keith 1914: 204 “is fain to overpower”

* + 1. Vedic Web:
    2. Mantra: R̥V 7.82.1; MS 4.12.4: 187,1-2.
    3. Prose: TS 2.3.13.

Rite

*Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭī*, *mantra*s to be recited by the *hotr̥* for the *Kamyeṣṭi* for one long diseased and for one desiring life.

##### MS 4.12.4: 187,1-2

4.12.4 *índrāvarunā yuvám adhvarā́ya no viśé jánāya máhi śárma yachatam / dīrgháprayajyumáti yó vanuṣyáti vayáṃ jayema pŕ̥tanāsu dūḍhyàḥ //*

O Indra and Varuna extend over our sacrifice, over the tribe, over the people great protection; whomsoever wishes to appropriate the man who perseveres in sacrifices, those who have bad visions, may we conquer them in battles.

*vanuṣyati:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. of the denominative *vanuṣya-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:
    2. Mantra: R̥V 7.82.1; TS 2.5.12.2-3t.
    3. Prose: TS 2.3.13.

Rite

*Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭī*, *mantra*s to be recited by the *hotr̥* for the *Kamyeṣṭi* for one long diseased and for one desiring life.

##### MS 4.14.18: 247,13-14

4.14.18 *imé turám marúto rāmayantīmé sáhaḥ sáhasā ā́namanti / imé śáṃsaṃ vanuṣyató nípānti gurú dvéṣo áraruṣe dadhanti*

These Marut halt the rapid, bend the force of force, these protect prayer from those who wish to appropriate it, bring about heavy hostility for the envious.

*vanuṣyataḥ:* pres. part. (abl. m. sing.) of the denominative *vanuṣya-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:
    2. Mantra: R̥V 7.56.19; TB 2.8.5.6.

Rite

*Kamyeṣṭi, mantra*s to be recited on the sacrifice to the Maruts of a cow that has brought forth only once. *Anuvākyā* verses.

##### KpS 48.13

48.13 *yo naḥ sanutyo abhidāsadagne yo antaro mitramaho vanuṣyāt / tamajarebhirvr̥ṣabhistava svaistapā tapiṣṭha tapasā tapasvān //*

He who, far away, may attack us, oh Agni, he who, nearby, wants to appropriate us, oh you who have the greatness of Mitra[[506]](#footnote-506), with your bulls that never grow old, make him burn, O you who burn more than all, with fierce heat, you have fierce heat.

*vanuṣyāt:* subj*. pres.* 3rd sing. of the denominative *vanuṣya-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:
    2. Mantra: R̥V 6.5.4.

##### AB 1.10

1.10 *sed agnir agnīm̐r aty astv anyān sed agnir yo vanuṣyato nipātī[[507]](#footnote-507)ty ete*

This Agni here may be over those other Agnis, this Agni here who protects from those who desire to appropriate.

*vanuṣyataḥ:* pres. part. (abl. masc. sing.) of the denominative *vanuṣya-*

Keith 1920: 114 “from the foe”

* + 1. Vedic Web:
    2. Mantra: R̥V 7.1.15a

Rite

Within the introductory sacrifice of the *Agniṣṭoma,* invitatory and offering verses for the oblation to Agni Sviṣṭakr̥t. The *Sviṣṭakr̥t* is an offering that makes the sacrifice perfect.

##### TB 2.8.5.6

2.8.5.6 *vákṣaḥsu rukmā́ úpaśiśriyāṇā́ḥ / ví vidyúto ná vyr̥ṣṭíbhī rucānā́ḥ / ánu svadhā́m ā́yudhair yácchamānāḥ[[508]](#footnote-508) /yā́ vaḥ śárma śaśamānā́ya sánti / tridhā́tūni dāśúṣe yacchata\_ádhi / asmábhyaṃ tā́ni maruto víyanta / rayíṃ no dhatta vr̥ṣaṇaḥ suvī́ram[[509]](#footnote-509) / imé turáṃ marúto rāmayanti / imé saháḥ sáhasa ā́namanti / imé śám̐saṃ vanuṣyató nípānti[[510]](#footnote-510) //*

‘Gold ornaments are on the breast[[511]](#footnote-511), fitting closely, glittering, shining like with the excellent swords[[512]](#footnote-512), brandishing weapons willingly’ ‘Those shelter, which you have for the zealous, grant them threefold to the worshipper, o Maruts, spread those out for us, give us, o bulls, a richness consisting of warriors’ ‘These Maruts make the quick stop, these bend the greatest strength, these protect the praise from who desires to appropriate it’.

*vanuṣyatáḥ:* pres. part. (abl. masc. sing.) of the denominative *vanuṣya-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:
    2. Mantra: R̥V 1.85.12; 7.56.13; .19; MS 4.14.18: 247,13-14.

Rite

*Kamyeṣṭi, mantra*s to be recited on the sacrifice to the Maruts of a cow that has brought forth only once.

#### non-R̥V mantras

##### JS 1.35.5 = KauS 336

JS 1.35.5= KauS 336 *yo no vanuṣyannabhidāti marta ugaṇā vā manyamānasturo vā / kṣidhī yudhā śavasā vā tam indrābhī ṣyāma vr̥ṣamaṇas tvotāḥ //*

The mortal, who, desiring to appropriate, is after us[[513]](#footnote-513), thinking to be powerful[[514]](#footnote-514) or quick, destroy him in the battle or with the strength, may we overcome him, o courageous, Indra, through your help.

*vanuṣyan:* part. pres. (nom. masc. sing.) denominative of *vanus*

Benfey 1848: 229 “kriegeslustig”

Narten 1963: 61 “anfeindend”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

∅

#### *b) vánīyas-*

#### R̥V *mantra*s

##### MS 4.12.6: 195,16-17

4.12.6 *prātáryajadhvam aśvínā hinota / ná sāyámasti devayā́ ájuṣṭam / utā́nyó asmádyajate vícāyaḥ / pū́rvaḥ pūrvoyájamānovánīyān//*

Sacrifice in the early morning! Set in motion the Aśvin. The evening, unpleasing, is not the time to seek the gods: also another, other than us, sacrifices and dawns whenever[[515]](#footnote-515) early in the morning there is the sacrificer: it is he who appropriates more than others.

*vánīyān:* nom. masc. sing. of *vanīyas-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 5.77.1-2; TB 2.4.3.13.

Rite

Soma sacrifice. *Kamyeṣṭī* sacrifice.

##### TB 2.4.3.13

2.4.3.13 *índrāgahi prathamó yajñíyānām[[516]](#footnote-516) / yā́ te kākút súkr̥tā yā́ váriṣṭhā / yáyā śáśvat píbasi mádhva ūrmím / táyā pāhi prá te adhvaryúrasthāt / sánte vájro vartatām indra gavyúḥ[[517]](#footnote-517) / prātaryújā víbodhaya / áśvinā védá[[518]](#footnote-518) gacchatam / asyá sómasya pītáye[[519]](#footnote-519) / prātaryā́vāṇā prathamā́ yajadhvam / purā́ gŕ̥dhrādáraruṣaḥ pibāthaḥ / prātárhí yajñámaśvínā dádhāte / práśam̐santi kaváyaḥ pūrvabhā́jaḥ[[520]](#footnote-520) / prātáryajadhvam aśvínā hinota / ná sāyámasti devayā́ ájuṣṭam / utā́nyó asmádyajate vícāyaḥ / pū́rvaḥ pūrvoyájamānovánīyān[[521]](#footnote-521) //*

Come here, o Indra, as the first of the those worthy of worship, your mouth with which, well arranged, widest, you drink always again the wave of the sweet drink[[522]](#footnote-522)*,* with it drink! The *adhvaryu* has stood up, the clubs, o Indra, desirous of cows, should come with; wake up those yoked early, the Aśvin should come here, give to drink with this *soma;* they should drink before the illiberal vulture, they indeed perform the sacrifice early at morning, the poet-seers pray those receiving the first share; ‘Sacrifice in the early morning! Set in motion the Aśvin. The evening, unpleasing, is not the time to seek the gods: also another, other than us, sacrifices and dawns whenever[[523]](#footnote-523) early in the morning there is the sacrificer: it is he who appropriates more than others.’

*vánīyān:* nom. masc. sing. of *vanīyas-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: R̥V 1.22.1; 5.77.1-2; 6.41.1d-2; MS 4.12.6: 195, 16-196,2.

Rite

*Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭī. Upahoma mantra*s, subsidiary *mantra*s foran additional offering within the *Mitravindeṣṭi*, here addressed to the *hotr̥* and the Aśvin.

#### non-R̥V *mantra*s

##### AVP(K.) 19.38.16

19.38.16 *kavir yajñasya pra tanoṣi panthām <nā>kasya pr̥ṣṭhe abhi dīdhyānaḥ / yena havyaṃ vahasi devadūta itaḥ pracetā amuto vanīyān//*

The sage stretches the path of the sacrifice on the back of the firmament, towards the shining ones, whereby you carry the offering, as messenger, hence attentive, thence with more gain.

*vánīyān:* nom. masc. sing. of *vanīyas-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:
    2. Mantra: cf. TS 3.5.5.3.

Keith commentary on the corresponding TS section: “Curiously enough the other texts have no parallel”. The only one, we have to add, is in AV tradition.

##### AVP(K.) 19.40.11

19.40.11 *svādīyasī surāyā lavaṇā cārur madhurā / gobhyo vanīyasī ca me //*

The salt is more sweet than the wine, it is agreeable, pleasant and more desirable than the cows for me.

*vanīyāsī:*  nom. fem. sing. of *vanīyas-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:
    2. ∅

*svādoḥ svādīyasī bhava madhormadhutarā bhava* AVP.8.12.3. (referred to the *surā).*

#### IV.1.2.3. Derivatives that occur only in non-R̥V quotations

#### *a) vanuṣvat*-

The term *vanuṣvat-* is an *hapax* in Brāhmaṇas and Saṃhitās. The R̥V 1.44.11c stanza reads *manuṣvat*- The interchange between *m-* and *v-* is already an old Indo-Aryan phenomenon, and especially the roots *man-* and *van-* interchange a number of times already in the R̥gvedic text. Therefore, this occurrence should maybe be considered a wrong writing for *manuṣvat-*.

##### TB 2.7.12.6

2.7.12.6 *diví śrávo dadhire yajñíyāsaḥ / náktā ca cakrúr uṣásā vírūpe / kr̥ṣṇáṃ ca várṇamaruṇáṃ ca sáṃdhuḥ / tvā́m agna ādityā́sa āsyàm / tvā́ṃ jihvā́m̐ śúcayaścakrire kave / tvā́m̐ rātiṣā́co adhvaréṣu saścire / tvé devā́ havír adanty ā́hutam // ní tvā yajñásya sā́dhanam / ágne hótāramr̥tvíjam / vanuṣváddeva dhīmahi prácetasam / jīráṃ dūtám ámartyam[[524]](#footnote-524) //*

Those who is worthy of worship have set the sound in the sky and combined the nights with the wheel of morning and night, the two variegated colour, the black and the reddish colour; the Adityas, blazing, have done (sacrificed) you, o Agni, the mouth, your tongue, o inspired sage*;* they, liberal in gifts, have served you in the sacrifices, through you, o god, they eat the sacrificed oblation; may we deploy you, the stick/success of the sacrifice, o Agni, you as *hotr̥* sacrificing at proper time, o god *vanuṣvat,* you as attentive, quick and immortal messenger.

*vanuṣvát:* voc. masc. sing. of *vanuṣvat-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: cf. R̥V 1.44.11c reads *manuṣvat* instead of *vanuṣvat.*

Rite

*Sava*, a one-day Soma sacrifice for the fulfilment of a defined desire, implying also an *Abhiṣeka*,in this case the *sava* is performed for attaining offspring. *Mantra*s to be recited when sprinkling the sanctified fluid.

#### *b) vaní*-

According to Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 1209] *váni-* “Heischen, Begehren, Wunsch” occurs only in these passages of the Atharvaveda Saṃhitās, while in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* it is present only within the compound *upamāti-váni* etc.

##### AVŚ 5.7.2

5.7.2 *yám arāte purodhatsé púruṣaṃ parirāpíṇam / námas te tásmai kr̥ṇmo mā́ vaníṃ vyathayīr máma //*

The calumnious[[525]](#footnote-525) man that you make the Purohita, o Arāti[[526]](#footnote-526), to this one of you we pay the homage, may you do not cause my desire/earnings to fall.

*vaním:* acc. masc. sing. of *vaní-*

Whitney 1905: 232 “winning”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: AVP 7.9.2

Rite

The verses are used in the *nirr̥tikarman* with an offering of rice-grains and in other rites. The hymn as a whole an euphemistic offering of reverence to appease Arāti “Miserliness” (see also note to the translation).

##### AVŚ 5.7.3

5.7.3 *prá ṇo vanír devákr̥tā dívā náktaṃ ca kalpatām / árātim anuprémo vayáṃ námo astv árātaye //*

Let the earnings/desire made by the gods prosper for us by day and night, we follow Arāti, homage be to Arāti.

*vanír:* nom. masc. sing. of *vaní-*

Whitney 1905: 232 “winning”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: AVP 7.9.4.

Rite

See above.

##### AVŚ 5.7.6

5.7.6  *mā́ vaníṃ mā́ vā́caṃ no vī́rtsīr ubhā́v indrāgnī́ ā́ bharatāṃ no vásūni /sárve no adyá dítsantó 'rātiṃ práti haryata //*

Do not wish to vanish[[527]](#footnote-527) our desire/earnings, nor our speech, let both Indra and Agni bring us goods; all those who wants to give to us today, let them welcome Arāti.

*vaním:* acc. masc. sing. of *vaní-*

Whitney 1905: 233 “winning”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: AVP 7.9.8.

Rite

See above.

##### AVŚ 12.4.11

12.4.11 *yá enāṃ vaním āyánti téṣāṃ devákr̥tā vaśā́* / *brahmajyéyaṃ tád abruvan yá enāṃ nipriyāyáte //*

The cow made by the gods is of those who go to the appropriation of her, when someone keeps her in his own possession, they call it oppression of Brahmans.

*vaním:* acc. masc. sing. of *vaní-*

Whitney 1905: 695 “winning”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

AVP(K.) 17.17.1.

Rite

The cow as belonging only to the Brahmán. The verses are not used in the ritual manuals, except once, where they have to be spoken by the giver of a cow after sprinkling it.

##### AVP 7.9.2

7.9.2 *yam arāte purodhatse puruṣaṃ +parirāpiṇam / namas te tasmai kr̥ṇmo mā vaniṃ mama vivyathaḥ //*

The calumnious[[528]](#footnote-528) man that you make the Purohita, o Arāti, to this one of you we pay the homage, may you do not cause my desire/appropriation to fall*[[529]](#footnote-529)*.

*vanim:* acc. masc. sing. of *vaní-*

Griffiths 2009: 335 “earnings”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: AVŚ 5.7.2.

Rite

Hymn to appease Arāti, see AVŚ 5.7.2. As to the whole hymn, see also Griffiths 2009: 334.

##### AVP 7.9.4

7.9.4 *pra ṇo vanir devakr̥tā divā naktaṃ ca sidhyatu / arātim anupremo vayaṃ namo astuv arātaye //*

Let the appropriation/desire made by the gods be successful for us by day and night, we follow Arāti, homage be to Arāti.

*vanír:* nom. masc. sing. of *vaní-*

Griffiths 2009: 338 “earnings”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: AVŚ 5.7.3.

Rite

See above.

##### AVP 7.9.8

7.9.8 *mā vaniṃ mā vācaṃ no +viīrtsīr ugrāv indrāgnī nā bhajatāṃ vasūni /sarve no adya ditsanto arātiṃ prati haryata //*

Do not wish to vanish[[530]](#footnote-530) our desire/appropriation, nor our speech, let the terrible Indra and Agni grant[[531]](#footnote-531) us goods; all those who wants to give to us today, let them welcome Arāti.

*vaním:* acc. masc. sing. of *vaní-*

Griffiths 2009: 342 “earnings”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: AVŚ 5.7.6.

Rite

See above.

##### AVP(K.) 17.17.1

17.17.1 *ya enāṃ vanim āyanti teṣāṃ devakr̥tā vaśā / vrahmajyeyaṃ tad avruvan ya enāṃ nu priyāyate//*

The cow made by the gods is of those who go to the appropriation of her, when someone does not treat her kindly[[532]](#footnote-532), they call it oppression of Brahmans.

*vanim:* acc. masc. sing. of *vaní-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:

AVŚ 12.4.11

#### *c) ványa-*

As to this derivative, we find it indeed in two passages that are repeated in the texts of the different schools: in one case it is clearly connected with the wood or the forest (*vanín*-) and we find this passage in TS 4.5.6.1i-k; MS 2.9.6; KS 17.14; KpS 27.4; VS 16.34 . While in the other attestation, which occurs nearly the same in TS 5.5.9.1-2f; MS 2.13.12 and KS 40.3, the meaning is more doubtful, and indeed Keith translates it with “desirable”; nonetheless, it could possibly mean “the one abiding in the wood”. If we settle for considering also this second case as connected with *vána-* “wood”, then this derivative should fall out of our investigation. The occurrence in AVŚ 6.20.3, although is not matching any of the preceding passages, can be positively reckoned among those connected with *vána- - vanín,* as long as the adjective is referred to a disease, which is reddish, makes pale and is by no means “desirable”. It is worth to be noticed that in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* this adjective occurs only once meaning “wooden” (R̥V 9.97.45 *sómaḥ sutó dhā́rayā́tyo ná hítvā síndhur ná nimnám abhí vājy àkṣāḥ / ā́ yóniṃ ványam asadat punānáḥ sám índur góbhir asarat sám adbhíḥ //),* characterising the vesselwhere the *soma* goes, here referred to as *yoni*.

##### TS 5.5.9.1-2f

5.5.9.1 *ágna udadhe yā́ ta íṣur yuvā́ nā́ma táyā no mr̥ḍa tásyās te námas tásyās ta úpa jī́vanto bhūyāsama* / *ágne dudhra / gahya / kiṁśila / vanya yā́ ta íṣur yuvā́ nā́ma táyā no mr̥ḍa tásyās te námas tásyās ta úpa jī́vanto bhūyāsma / páñca vā́ etè 'gnáyo yác cítaya udadhír evá nā́ma prathamó dudhráḥ //* [2f] *dvitī́yo gáhyas tr̥tī́yaḥ kiṁśiláś caturthó ványaḥ pañcamás tébhyo yád ā́hutīr ná juhuyā́d adhvaryúṃ ca yájamānaṃ ca prá daheyur yád etā́ ā́hutīr juhóti bhāgadhéyenaiváināñ chamayati nā́rtim ā́rchaty adhvaryúr ná yájamānas* /

O Agni, ocean, with your arrow, named the young, be gentle to us, homage of this to you, may we continue to exist living upon this of you; o Agni the violent, the unfathomable, the gravelly, the one abiding in woods; with your arrow, named the young, be gentle to us, homage of this to you, may we continue existing living upon this of you; indeed these five Agnis are the layers, the first is named the ocean, the second the violent, the third the unfathomable, the fourth the gravelly, the fifth the wooden (one abiding in the wood), if he would not offer the oblations to them, they would burn the *adhvaryu* and the sacrificer (*yajamāna*), if he offers these oblations, he indeed appeases them with the share, the *adhvaryu* doesn’t fall in pain neither the sacrificer.

2x *ványaḥ:*  nom. masc. sing. of *ványa-*

Keith 1914: 448 “desirable”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: cf. MS 2.3.12: 162,6-8; KS 40.3: 237,10-11.

Rite

*Agnicayana.* *Mantra*s and *brāhmaṇa*s for the five oblations to the five Agnis.

##### TS 4.5.6.1i-k

4.5.6.1i-k *námo ványāya ca kákṣyāya ca / námaḥ śravā́ya ca pratiśravā́ya ca* //

Homage to the one abiding in the wood, and to the one abiding in the shrubs, homage to the sound and to echo.

*ványāya:* dat. masc. sing. of *ványa-*

Keith 1914: 358 “him in the wood”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: MS 2.9.6: 125.7; KS 17.14: 257,11-12; KpS 27.4 135,2-3; VS 16.34.

Rite

*Agnicayana.* *Mantra*s of the *śatarudrīya* litany, for theofferings on the fire to Rudra.

##### MS 2.9.6: 125.7

2.9.6 *námo ványāya ca kákṣyāya ca námaḥ śravā́ya ca pratiśravā́ya ca //*

Homage to the one abiding in the wood, and to the one abiding in the shrubs, homage to the sound and to echo.

*ványāya:* dat. masc. sing. of *ványa-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: TS 4.5.6.1i-k; KS 17.14: 257,11-12; KpS 27.4 135,2-3; VS 16.34.

Rite

*Agnicayana.* *Mantra*s of the *śatarudrīya* litany, for theofferings on the fire to Rudra.

##### MS 2.13.12: 162,6-8

2.13.12 *yávā áyavā úmā évā ábdaḥ ságaraḥ sumékó ‘gne kahyā́gne kim̐śilā́gne dudhrā́gne vanyā́gne kakṣyá yā́ tā íṣuryuvā́ nā́ma táyā vidhema tásyai te námas //*

Just like the first half of the moon, the dark half, the *umā[[533]](#footnote-533),* the year, o Agni, o unfathomable[[534]](#footnote-534) Agni, o gravelly Agni, o violent Agni, o Agni of the wood, o you abiding in the shrubs, your arrow, named the young, with this we worship you, homage to this of you.

*vanyā́gne:* voc. masc. sing. of the compound *vanyā́gni*

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: cf. TS 5.5.9.1-2f; KS 40.3: 237,10-11.

##### KS 17.14: 257,11-12

17.14 *námo ványāya ca kákṣyāya ca námo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya* *//*

Homage to the one abiding in the wood, and to the one abiding in the shrubs, homage to the kettle-drum and to the one beating (the drum).

*ványāya:* dat. masc. sing. of *ványa-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: TS 4.5.6.1i-k; MS 2.9.6: 125,7; KpS 27.4: 135,2-3; VS 16.34.

Rite

*Agnicayana*. *Mantra*s of the *śatarudrīya* litany, for theofferings on the fire to Rudra.

##### KS 40.3: 237,10-11

40.3 *agne dudhrāgne kahyāgne kim̐śilāgne vanyāgne kakṣya yā ta iṣuryuvā nāma tasyai te vidhema tayā naḥ pāhi tasyai te svāhā* //

O Agni, o violent Agni, o unfathomable[[535]](#footnote-535) Agni, o gravelly Agni, o Agni of the wood, o you abiding in the shrubs, your arrow, named the young, this of you we worship, protect us with it, blessing *(svāhā)* to this of you.

*vanyāgne:* voc. masc. sing. of the compound *vanyā́gni*

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: cf. TS 5.5.9.1-2f; MS 2.13.12: 162,6-8.

Rite

∅

##### KpS 27.4: 135,2-3

27.4 *namo kakṣyāya ca vanyāya ca namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya* *ca //*

Homage to the one abiding in the shrubs , and to the one abiding in the wood, homage to the kettle-drum and to the one beating (the drum).

*vanyāya:* dat. masc. sing. of *ványa-*

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: TS 4.5.6.1i-k; MS 2.9.6: 125,7; KS 17.14: 257,11-12; VS 16.34.

Rite

*Agnicayana*. *Mantra*s of the *śatarudrīya* litany, for theofferings on the fire to Rudra.

##### VS 16.34

16.34  *námo ványāya ca kákṣyāya ca námaḥ śravā́ya ca pratiśravā́ya ca náma āśúṣeṇāya cāśúrathāya ca námaḥ śū́rāya cāvabhedíne ca //*

Homage to the one abiding in the wood, and to the one abiding in the shrubs, homage to the sound and to echo and homage to the one with swift arrows and with a fast chariot and homage to the hero and to the splitting one.

*ványāya:* dat. masc. sing. of *ványa-*

Griffith in Arya 1999: 230 “him in the wood”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: TS 4.5.6.1i-k; MS 2.9.6: 125,7; KS 17.14: 257,11-12; KpS 27.4: 135,2-3.

Rite

*Agnicayana.* *Mantra*s of the *śatarudrīya* litany, for theofferings on the fire to Rudra.

##### AVŚ 6.20.3

6.20.3  *ayáṃ yó abhiśocayiṣṇúr víśvā rūpā́ṇi háritā kr̥ṇóṣi / tásmai te 'ruṇā́ya babhráve námaḥ kr̥ṇomi ványāya takmáne //*

You here who burning make every shape get pale yellow, to this here, to you, the reddish, the brown the disease abiding in the wood we pay homage.

*ványāya:* dat. masc. sing. of *ványa*

Whitney 1905: 295 “woody”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

∅

Rite

Against the disease *takmán.*

#### *d) vantu*-

This derivative is an *hapax legomenon* and we must consider here the noun *mantu-,* as long as the corresponding R̥gvedic stanza 9.73.6 reads *mántavaḥ;* as we said also with regards to another *hapax, vanuṣvat-,* the interchange between the roots *man-* and *van-* is particularly frequent already at the R̥gvedic level.Moreover, this word occurs in a *mantra* whose general sense is not clear at all, and this makes quite difficult to understand the context and speculate on the meaning of the derivative; indeed the translation of the whole stanza is after Griffiths 2009: 138.

##### AVP 6.11.3

6.11.3 *pratnān mānāt pari ye saṃbabhūvuḥ / ślokavantaḥ saumanasasya vantavaḥ / apānakṣāso badhirā ahāsata- / -r̥tasya panthāṃ na taranti duṣkr̥taḥ //*

Those renowned ones who have assembled from the old building, the winners (?) of favour – the blind, the deaf ones have stayed behind, the evil ones do not cross the path of order.

*vantavaḥ:* nom. masc. pl. of *vantu-*

Griffiths 2009: 138 “the winners”

* + 1. Vedic Web:

Mantra: cf. R̥V 9.73.6 reads *mántavaḥ* instead of *vantavaḥ.*

Rite

Hymn for safe entrance to the altar ground, for a throughout analysis of the hymn, see Griffiths 2009: 132-134. The stanza 3 is anyway particularly difficult, as long as it has no parallel in AVŚ nor in the *śrauta*-texts and, unlike the stanzas 1 up to 5, it doesn’t contain material that could match with other liturgical passages.

### IV.1.3 Analysis of the nominal derivatives

We begun this survey with the question whether the semantic field of desire was present in the nominal derivatives. In the R̥gvedic occurrences we did not find any trace of this sense. Looking back to the first part of the chapter and the first derivatives we analysed, the situation looks rather differentiated and we may say that there is all the more justification for the attempt to trace back the senses and values underlying the meanings taken on by the various terms with a fair degree of clarity. These sense and values can in all cases be seen to follow on from those identified for the verbal root, like “to dominate” in *vanús-* and *vanuṣya-*, or “to possess – to conquer” in the two verbal objectives (*vánīyas-* and *vániṣṭha-*) or the ritual action of “having enter the circle of the sacrifice” in some senses of the two most frequent derivatives, as indeed in the adjective *vanú-*. Once we mapped a similar semantic distribution for the primary derivatives in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* as that of the verbal root, we still miss the meaning “to desire”: that seems to imply that this sense was not conveyed in the nominal derivatives.

With regard to the post-R̥gvedic attestations, the first thing to be noticed is that some derivatives are to be found only in passages quoting the R̥gvedic stanzas like the noun *vanas-,* the *nomen agentis vantr̥-* and also the term *vanīvan-.* As to the the adjective *vanús-,* though we find it only in R̥gvedic quotations, yet we can spot its denominative *vanuṣya-* which is used also in an non R̥gvedic *mantra* in Sāmavedic Saṃhitās, and in both cases it conveys the same meaning as in all other occurrences (“to wish to appropriate”). The only derivative that is more frequent (two times out of three) in non R̥gvedic quotations is *vanīyas-:* we find it twice, in both cases in the nineteenth book of the *Atharvaveda Paippalāda*, clearly conveying the idea of appropriation as in AVP(K) 19.38.16 where it substitutes *sanīyan* in the corresponding *mantra* of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (TS 3.5.5.3). Therefore, except for some doubtful cases, we may say that these derivatives are employed exactly as in the R̥gvedic occurrences. With regard to the derivatives that are not to be found in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā,* the possibility to speculate cannot go much further on. In fact, two terms out of four are *hapax legomena* and the third one is *vanya,* which is probably to be taken out of consideration, as long as we settle for considering it as always connected with *vána-* “wood”. The last derivative is *vaní-:* this noun is employed in four stanzas which are to be found identical in both Atharvaveda Saṃhitās. Though Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 1209] suggests for *váni-* “Heischen, Begehren, Wunsch”, both Whitney and Griffiths translate it with “earnings”; indeed in all the occurrences it can be translated both ways and it is indeed not possible to settle for one or the other option.

To sum up, here, once more, we have the evidence that the semantic field of desire is almost absent in the primary derivatives. Only in few cases it can be speculated as a possible meaning, besides, these occurrences are either quite controversial or they belong to the Atharvavedic anthologies; from them we cannot endorse the hypothesis of a nominal development of the meaning “to desire”. The only noun that clearly conveys this idea is *vāmá-,* that seems to stand alone among all the other attestations of the root *van- / vani-.* Finally, we may conclude that the sense of desirewas not mainly conveyed by nominal stems. In the last part of this chapter we will verify the hypothesis we speculated upon at the beginning of the work (§II.3), that is if “to desire” represent a synchronic meaning of the verbal root that survived only in a parallel linguistic tradition attested only in the Atharvavedic texts.

## IV.2 The Atharvaveda: Diastratic Evidences on *van*- */ vani-*

Considering the few hints on the presence of the semantic field of desire within the primary derivatives of *van- / vani-,* we will analyse here the attestations of the verb within the Atharvaveda school. Indeed we find occurrences of itonly in the Saṃhitās, in the Śaunaka and Paippalāda recensions. This group of texts represents a different tradition from that of the texts met so far; though the extant texts of this school are clearly a young product, they contain data that can be traced back to a period even older than that of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā.* Both Saṃhitās are of considerable age, but the differences in certain *mantra*s cannot be declared to be earlier or later in one or the other *śākhā.* Many studies have been carried on about this subject[[536]](#footnote-536), and in particular, there is a on-going stream of research with regards to the Paippalāda recension, due to the discovery of some Oriya manuscripts of the Paippalādin school[[537]](#footnote-537).

As we said at the beginning of this work, materials from different social groups are collected in the Atharvavedic texts. They are not concerned with the classical public cults, and moreover, they do not only represent the priestly class which was responsible for all the Vedic canon. Therefore, these texts cannot be mapped into the Brahmanical ritual development because they stand somehow outside the classical liturgical tradition to which all other texts belong.The so called *vrātya*-element is one of the most interesting example: whether we consider this group following the interpretation of Falk or that of Heesterman,[[538]](#footnote-538) it seems quite reasonable to speculate that they did represent -though at different degrees- a part of the society that was neglected by almost all the other Vedic literature and their presence has been clearly stated and even sustained only in the Atharvavedic texts. Indeed, these texts could grant us different informations about the use of the verb *van- / vani-,* involving a different social and linguistic cross-section.

### IV.2.1 Atharvaveda Occurrences

Here follows the complete list of occurrences of *van- / vani-* in the Atharvaveda Saṃhitās, first those of the Śaunaka recension and after those of the Paippalāda. Within both groups the attestations are divided between R̥gvedic *mantra*s and non-R̥gvedic *mantra*s as in the paragraphs §III.2.1;.2 entailing the post-R̥gvedic attestations of the verbal root.

#### R̥V *mantra*s

The text of the *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā,* Śaunaka recension (AVŚ), is after *Atharva Veda Sanhita. Herausgegeben von R. Roth und W.D. Whitney, zweite verbesserte Auflage besorgt von Dr. Max Lindenau,* Ferd. Dümmlers, Berlin, 1924 and *Atharvaveda (Śaunaka) with The pada-pāṭha and Sāyaṇācārya’s Commentary, edited by Vishva Bandhu,* Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1960.

The text of the *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā,*  Paippalāda recension (AVP), is after *Paippalāda-Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda. Volume one, consisting of the first fifteen Kāṇḍās,* and *Volume two, consisting of the Sixteenth Kāṇḍa. Critically edited from palmleaf manuscripts in the Oriya script discovered by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya and one Śaradā manuscript,* ed. by Dipak Bhattacharya, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1997 and 2008, or, for the Kāṇḍās seventeenth to twentieth after *The Kashmirian Atharva Veda,* ed by L.C. Barret, 1905-1940. The Kashmir ms. readings are indicated by K.

Note.

The stanza 20.127.14 of AVŚ (quoted in Vishva Bandhu within the occurrences of *van-*) has not been taken into consideration. Although the Visvha Bandhu edition reads in 20.127.14.c *vanādadhidhvano”* this *pāda* seems corrupted. Bloomflield (Vedic Concordance) reads as the other manuscripts: *do cano dadhiṣva no giro*.

The stanza 1.19.4 of the AVP reads

*eṣāṃ yajñamuta varco dade bharehaṃ rāyaspoṣamuta vittānyagne /*

*sapalā asmaddhare bhavantūttame devā jyotiṣi dhattanemam //*

and K. is quite corrupted, Barret supplied the words with the corresponding Śaunaka (AVŚ 1.9.4). Only the Śārada ms reads *varco vaneyaṃ* in a. Therefore this attestation, though given in Vishva Bandhu, has not been taken into consideration.

The stanza AVP 8.9.8= K. 8.9.7 (again quoted in Vishva Bandhu within the occurrences of *van-*)has also not been taken into consideration. Although the Kashmir ms reads *sādaṃ vanati*, this *pāda* seems corrupted. The Bhattacharya edition reads *śīram vahati*.

##### **Śaunaka occurrences**

##### AVŚ 20.22.2

20.22.2  *mā́ tvā mūrā́ aviṣyávo mópahásvāna ā́ dabhan /*

*mā́kīṃ brahmadvíṣo vanaḥ //*

May not trick you away[[539]](#footnote-539) the vehement *mura*[[540]](#footnote-540), nor who laughs at you, never let enter in the circle of sacrifice[[541]](#footnote-541) the brahma-haters[[542]](#footnote-542).

*vanaḥ:* inj. pres. 2nd sing. I-VI cl.

Sāyaṇa: “mā vanaḥ mā bhajetāḥ”

Geldner: II 362 “vorziehen”

Renou: XII 77-8 N. 13 “n’attire pas à toi”

Migron 1980: 270 “get”

Gotō 1987: 284 “finde Gefallen”

Hoffmann 1967: 87 “liebe”. He also speculates the thematization of an ancient root aorist that would then convey a prohibitive-preventiv meaning: “finde nicht Gefall an”

Insler 1969: 22-3 “do not long for”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 8.45.23; SV 2.82.

Rite

*Atirātra*, a form of Soma sacrifice mainly to Indra.

This stanza is the one we have already found when we analysed the ritual meaning within the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā,* and we have noticed that in this case the others meaning given for the verb *van-* (to win, to desire) were quite not matching the context of the verses.

##### AVŚ 20.30.1

20.30.1  *prá te mahé vidáthe śaṃsiṣaṃ hárī prá te vanve vanúṣo haryatáṃ mádam /*

*ghr̥táṃ ná yó háribhiścā́ru sécata ā́ tvā viśantu hárivarpasaṃ gíraḥ //*

May I invoke in the great meeting [rite][[543]](#footnote-543) your two steeds, I appropriate for my self the intoxicating drink dear to you who desire to appropriate it which, pleasant as clarified butter, together with the golden ones[[544]](#footnote-544), pours out; the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold.

*prá vanve:* ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.

Sāyaṇa: “pra vanve prayāce”

Geldner: III 304 “habe Gewinn”

*vanúṣaḥ:* gen. masc. sing. from *vanús*

Sāyaṇa: “śatruhiṃsakasya yācyamānasya vā”

Geldner: III 304 “Eifrigen”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 10.96.1; TB 2.4.3.10-(11); TB 3.7.9.6.

Rite

*Atirātra*, a form of Soma sacrifice mainly to Indra.

##### AVŚ 20.35.15

20.35.15  *asmā́ ídu tyádánu dāyyeṣām éko yád vavné bhū́rerī́śānaḥ /*

*praítaśaṃ sū́rye paspr̥dhānáṃ saúvaśvye súṣvimāvad índraḥ //*

To this one may it be given back[[545]](#footnote-545) that[[546]](#footnote-546) what he, the lord of the abundant, the only one between them, hasappropriated; Indra protected Etaśa[[547]](#footnote-547), the soma presser[[548]](#footnote-548), who fought in the horse race, Sūrya being present.

*vavné:* ind. perf. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.

Geldner: I 79 “errungen hat”

Renou: XVII 25 “a gagné”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 115 “gewonnen hat”

Sāyaṇa: *yācitavān* “to ask”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 1.61.15.

Rite

*Mādyhaṃdinasavana* (the middle pressing of the *soma*) in the *Aptoryāma* sacrifice, a development of *Agniṣṭoma*.

##### AVŚ 20.67.1

20.67.1  *vanóti hí sunván kṣáyaṃ párīṇasaḥ sunvānó hí ṣmā yájaty áva dvíṣo devā́nām áva dvíṣaḥ /*

*sunvāná ít siṣāsati sahásrā vājy ávr̥taḥ /*

*sunvānā́yéndro dadāty ābhúvaṃ rayíṃ dadāty ābhúvam //*

Indeed who presses the *soma* appropriates an abode of abundance, indeed who presses the *soma* for himself get rid of the enemies of the gods by means of a sacrifice, rid of the enemies; this who presses *soma* for himself desires to win, thousand times unchecked winner; to who presses the *soma* Indra gives a efficacious[[549]](#footnote-549) treasure, efficacious.

*vanóti:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.

Sāyaṇa:∅

Geldner: I 187 “gewinnt”

Renou: XVII 48 “gagne”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 249 “gewinnt”

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 1.133.7.

Rite

*Pr̥ṣṭhya* *saḍaha*, a group of rites consisting of one *Agniṣṭoma*, two *Ukthya*, one *Ṣoḍaśin* and one more *Ukthya*.

##### AVŚ 20.75.3

20.75.3 *ā́d ít te asyá vīryàsya carkiran mádeṣu vr̥ṣann uśíjo yád ā́vitha sakhīyató yád ā́vitha /*

*cakártha kārám ebhyaḥ pŕ̥tanāsu právantave /*

*té anyā́manyāṃ nadyàṃ saniṣṇata śrávasyántaḥ saniṣṇata //*

Thereupon may they commemorate your heroic deed in exhilaration, o bull, when you protected the Uśij[[550]](#footnote-550) who attend you as friend, when you protected; for them you did the action, for them to appropriate you in the battles, for you they gain one river after another going to the glory, they keep gaining.

*právantave:* inf. dat., cf. Whitney 1888: §982.a

Geldner: I 185 “den Sieg gewinnen”

Renou: XVII 46 “gagnent”

Witzel-Gotō 2007: 246 “gewinnen”

Sāyaṇa:∅

\*The prefix *pra* is used only here and in R̥V 10.96.1b, which is quoted in AVŚ 20.30.1. In that case the man appropriates the *soma,* which is the drink of Indra, who indeed by means of this magic plant performs heroic deeds. As there the men *pra-van-* the *soma* that gives strength, imitating Indra, in the same way here the Uśij *pra-van-* Indra who makes them stronger. Indeed Indra is the god that both armies address before the battle: to whom Indra may grant his favour, that is the winner. Here *van-* expresses the idea of making someone else enter into a circle of friendship, and that is a peculiar feature of the relationship between Indra and his *sakhi:* “they appropriate you and therefore they are your mates”.

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 1.131.5.

Rite

*Pr̥ṣṭhya saḍaha*, a group of rites consisting of one *Agniṣṭoma*, two *Ukthya*, one *Ṣoḍaśin* and one more *Ukthya*.

##### AVŚ 20.143.2

20.143.2 *yuváṃ śríyam aśvinā devátā tā́ṃ dívo napātā vanathaḥ śácībhiḥ /*

*yuvór vápur abhí pŕ̥kṣaḥ sacante váhanti yát kakuhā́so ráthe vām //*

You, o Aśvin, among gods, appropriate this beauty[[551]](#footnote-551) with your powers, o sons of the sky, the nourishments follows your your form when the tall horses[[552]](#footnote-552) pull your chariot.

*vanathaḥ:* ind. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.

Geldner: I 476 “habt Gewinn”

Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 4.44.2.

Rite

*Atirātra*.

##### AVŚ 6.126.1

6.126.1 *úpa śvāsaya pr̥thivī́mutá dyā́ṃ purutrā́ te vanvatāṃ víṣṭhitam jágat /*

*sá dundubhe sajū́ríndreṇa devaírdūrā́ddávīyo ápa sedha śátrūn //*

Fill with roaring the earth and the heaven, let the creatures scattered in many places appropriate for themselves for you / of you; o drum, o you, at the same time together with Indra and the gods, drive away the enemies, farther than far.

*vanvatāṃ:* impv. pres. 3rd pl. Ā VIII cl.

Whitney 1905: 375 “win”; Whitney translates “let them win for the scattered living creatures”, commenting that the translation is “according to the reading of our text”. In the R̥V *mantra* the living creatures are the subject of the sentence, and they think, commemorate *(manutām)* the drum; I think here also the meaning should be maintained, *van-* meaning perhaps something different as “to win”. To be noticed that in this case the verb is used for the second time with the genitive.

Sāyaṇa: *vanutām sambhajatām | vana ṣaṇa sambhaktau*

Vedic Web

Mantra: R̥V 6.47.29; AVP 15.11.9; VS 29.55; TS 4.6.6.6a MS 3.16.3: 187.8 (*saṃ* instead of *sa*); KS Aśvamedha *grantha* 6.1: III 174,5-6. All the *mantra*s read *manutām* instead of *vanvatām.* In AVP Bhattacharya edition “tena sunutām”.

Rite

To the drum: for success against the foe.

#### Non-R̥V *mantra*s

##### **Śaunaka occurrences**

##### AVŚ 1.34.4

1.34.4 *mádhorasmi mádhutaro madúghānmádhumattaraḥ /*

*mā́mít kíla tváṃ vánāḥ śā́khāṃ mádhumatīmiva //*

I am sweeter than the sweet, possessing more sweet than the Madugha plant, may you desireme indeed as a branch full of sweet.

*vánāḥ:* subj. pres. 2nd sing. I-VI cl.

Whitney 1905: 35 “shalt thou be fond (?*van*)”

Sāyaṇa: *sambhajeḥ* “to share, to join in” and he regards the plant as also addressed in the final *pāda*s.

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVP 1.55.4.

Rite

Love-spell with a sweet herb. In Kāuśika Sūtra is used for superiority in disputation and in nuptial ceremonies.

##### AVŚ 4.15.10

4.15.10 *apā́magnístanū́bhiḥ saṃvidānó yá óṣadhīnāmadhipā́ babhū́va /*

*sá no varṣáṃ vanutāṃ jātávedāḥ prāṇáṃ prajā́bhyo amŕ̥taṃ divás pári //*

This Agni united with the bodies of the waters who has become the king of the herbs, he, the Jātavedas, should appropriate for us the rain, the breath for the offspring, the immortality[[553]](#footnote-553) (*amŕ̥ta)* from the sky.

*vanutāṃ:* impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Whitney 1905: 174 “win (*van*)”

Sāyaṇa: *prayacchatu* “to stretch forth, to present, to grant”

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVP 5.7.8.

Rite

This hymn is used to get abundant rain. This and stanza 11 are used specifically with oblations to Agni and Prajāpati in expiation of the portent of inundations, see Whitney 1905: 172.

##### AVŚ 4.15.15

4.15.15 *khaṇvakhā́ i khaimakhā́ i mádhye taduri /*

*varṣáṃ vanudhvaṃ pitaro marútāṃ mána icchata //*

O Khaṇvakhā, o khaimakhā, in the middle o Taduri[[554]](#footnote-554)! appropriate (for yourselves) the rain, o fathers, seek the spirit[[555]](#footnote-555) of the Marut!

*vanudhvaṃ:* impv. pres. 2nd pl. Ā VIII cl.

Whitney 1905: 175 “won”

Sāyaṇa: “prayacchata”

Vedic Web

∅

Rite

This hymn is used to get abundant rain.

##### AVŚ 5.4.3-4

5.4.3 *aśvatthó devasádanastr̥tī́yasyāmitó diví /*

*tátrāmŕ̥tasya cákṣaṇaṃ devā́ḥ kúṣṭhamavanvata //*

[4] *hiraṇyáyī naúracaraddhíraṇyabandhanā diví /*

*tátrāmŕ̥tasya púṣyaṃ devā́ḥ kúṣṭhamavanvata //*

The holy fig tree, seat of the gods, is in the third heaven from here; there the gods appropriated (for themselves) the appearing (the image)[[556]](#footnote-556) of immortality, the *kuṣṭha* plant.

The golden boat with golden bands moved about in the heaven; there the gods appropriated (for themselves) the blossom of immortality, the *kuṣṭha* plant.

2x *avanvata:* ind. impf. 3rd pl. Ā VIII cl.

Whitney 1905: 227 “won”

Sāyaṇa ∅

Vedic Web

Mantra: = AVŚ 6.95.1

Rite

This hymn is dedicated to the plant *kuṣṭha,* that is invoked against a fever (*takmán*). The plant is described as born in the north, in the mountain and brought down to men. These verses are connected with the divine aspect of the plant, and in this section (st. 3-5) the word “gold” is repeatedly used. In the last part the attention is on the man that has to be healed by the plant.

##### AVŚ 5.20.9

5.20.9 *saṃkrándanaḥ pravadó dhr̥ṣṇúṣeṇaḥ pravedakŕ̥dbahudhā́ grāmaghoṣī́ /*

*śríyo vanvanó vayúnāni vidvā́nkīrtím bahúbhyo ví hara dvirājé //*

Roaring drum[[557]](#footnote-557), with bold army, making known in many directions, sounding among men, appropriating glory (power), knowing the ways[[558]](#footnote-558), do distribute[[559]](#footnote-559) the glory to many in the battle of the two kings.

*vanvanáḥ:* part. pres. nom. m. sing. Ā VIII cl.

Whitney 1905: 256 “winning”

Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web

Mantra: cf. AVP 9.27.9

Rite

Hymn to the war drum. This hymn is quoted by Kāuśika Sūtra in a battle rite, for infusing terror into a hostile army and in Vāitāna Sūtra with beating of a drum in a *sattra* sacrifice.

##### AVŚ 6.9.3

6.9.3 *yā́sāṃ nā́bhir āréhaṇaṃ hr̥dí saṃvánanaṃ kr̥tám gā́vo ghr̥tásya mātáro ‘mū́ṃ sáṃ vānayantu me* //

Whose navel is a kissing[[560]](#footnote-560), in whose heart there is the subduing /charming (the mutual fondness), let the cows, mothers of the clarified butter, make her there love me.

*sáṃ vānayantu:* impv. pres. 3rd pl. of the causative *vānaya-*

Whitney 1905: 288 “conciliate”

Sāyaṇa *vaśīkurvantu “*make fascination-subduing”

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVP 2.90.4

Rite

To win a woman’s love. The whole hymn is used together with 6.8 to bring a woman under one’s control.

##### AVŚ 6.82.1

6.82.1 *āgáchata ā́gatasya nā́ma gr̥hṇāmyāyatáḥ /*

*índrasya vr̥traghnó vanve vāsavásya śatákratoḥ //*

I take the name of the arriving, of the arrived, of the one who is coming near; I appropriatefor myself (the name) of Indra, the Vr̥tra-slayer, the one related to the Vasu, the one with hundred skills.

*vanve:* ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.

Whitney 1905: 342 “win”, and considered *índrasya* as object of the verb and noticed the construction of *van-* + gen. as elsewhere unknown and of doubtful meaning.

Sāyaṇa: *aham abhimataphalaṃ yāchāmi*

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVP 19.17.4 *rajño* instead of *vanve*.

Rite

To obtain a wife. The hymn is used by Kāuśika Sūtra in a *kāmya* rite by one desiring a wife, and in nuptial ceremonies. It consist in 3 stanzas, and Indra is addressed to assign the wife by means of his golden hook (*aṅkuśa*).

##### AVŚ 6.95.1-2

6.95.1 *aśvatthó devasádanastr̥tī́yasyāmitó diví /*

*tátrāmŕ̥tasya cákṣaṇaṃ devā́ḥ kúṣṭhamavanvata //*

[2] *hiraṇyáyī naúracaraddhíraṇyabandhanā diví /*

*tátrāmŕ̥tasya púṣpaṃ devā́ḥ kúṣṭhamavanvata //*

The holy fig tree, seat of the gods, is in the third heaven from here; there the gods appropriated (for themselves) the appearing (the image)[[561]](#footnote-561) of immortality, the *kuṣṭha* plant.

The golden boat with golden bands moved about in the heaven; there the gods appropriated (for themselves) the blossom of immortality, the *kuṣṭha* plant.

2x *avanvata:* ind. impf. 3rd pl. Ā VIII cl.

Whitney 1905: 350 “won”

Sāyaṇa ∅

Vedic Web

Mantra: =AVŚ 5.4.3-4

Rite

For relief from disease with *kuṣṭha.* It is included in the same passage of 5.4, and these two stanzas are exactly the same as 5.4.3-4 except for *puṣpam* instead of *puṣyam,* whereasboth words mean “flower, blossom” and the Sanskrit writing in this case could be misleading (as also in 5.4.4, some manuscripts read *puṣpam*). In the third and last stanza the plant is addressed as young, as coming from the snowy mountain and it is asked to relieve man from disease.

##### AVŚ 7.103.1

7.103.1  *kó asyā́ no druhó 'vadyávatyā únneṣyati kṣatríyo vásya ichán /*

*kó yajñákāmaḥ ká u pū́rtikāmaḥ kó devéṣu vanute dīrghám ā́yuḥ //*

Who will lead us out of this disgraceful harm (offence – harmful situation)? the *kṣatriya* (the king) seeking after an increasing wealth? who, the one desiring the sacrifice or that desiring the reward, who appropriates a long life-time among the gods?

*vanute:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Whitney 1905: 462 “wins”

Sāyaṇa: *sambhajate | vana ṣaṇa sambhaktau*

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVP(K.) 20.3.5.

Rite

For betterment. Probably a Brahmánseeking employment. *ātmadaivatam* (worshipping one’s self – having one’s self as god?).

##### AVŚ 8.2.13

8.2.13 *agnéṣṭe prānámamŕ̥tādā́yuṣmato vanve jātávedasaḥ /*

*yáthā ná ríṣyā amŕ̥taḥ sajū́rásastátte kr̥ṇomi tádu te sámr̥dhyatām //*

I appropriate (in myself) for you the breath from Agni, the immortal, the long lived, the Jātavedas, so that you may not be hurt and at the same time be immortal, that I make for you, let that be accomplished on your behalf.

*vanve:* ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.

Whitney 1905: 478 “win”

Sāyaṇa: *yāce* (for Sāyaṇa is even not achieved, it is still a asked). It is very clear here that the meaning of *van-* conveys an idea of passage, rather than a posses, as it is also pointed out by the occurrences in the R̥V where Agni takes (*van-*) goods in order to held them down to men.

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVP 16.4.3.

Rite

To prolong someone’s life. Together with hymn 8.1 is used in the *upanayana* , and vss. 12-13 are specifically prescribed in case of family quarrel.

The hymn is a pray against death and diseases in a very concrete way (food and drink as poison-less) but still connected with cosmological powers etc.

##### AVŚ 9.1.14

9.1.14 *mádhu janiṣīya mádhu vaṃsiṣīya /*

*páyasvān agna ā́gamaṃ táṃ mā sáṃ sr̥ja várcasā //*

May I generate honey, may I appropriate honey; o Agni, I have come here full of milk, mix this me with the splendour (*varcas*).

*vaṃsiṣīya:* opt. aor. 1st sing. Ā sigmatic aorist (-*sīṣ*)

Whitney 1905: 520 “may I win”

Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVP 16.33.4.

Rite

To the honey-whip (*madhumatī káśā*). In Vaitāna Sūtra it accompanies the mixing of *soma* in the Agniṣṭoma rite. It is reckoned to the *varcasya gaṇa.* The *madhumatī kaśā* is in R̥V 1.22.3; 1.157.4; Oldenberg (1894: 209) thinks it refers to the morning dew, cf. Macdonell 1898: §21.

The hymn is a description and extoll of the honey-whip that is also compared to an embryo.

##### AVŚ 12.1.58

12.1.58 *yád vádāmi mádhumat tád vadāmi yád ī́kṣe tád vananti mā /*

*tvíṣīmān asmi jūtimā́n ávānyā́n hanmi dódhataḥ //*

What I speak, I speak it sweet; what I see, (is) that they desire me; shining I am, being impetuous I smite the others that are violent (fierce).

*vananti:* ind. pres. 3rd pl. I-VI cl.

Whitney 1905: 671 “win”. He translates the final part of *padā* b “that they win (? *van*) me”

Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVP 17.6.5 *vadantu* instead of *vananti.*

Rite

To the earth. It is used in for giving firmness to the building (*vastoṣpatya*), or for safety from earthquake. The whole hymn is extolling the earth while asking, in the final verses, all kind of goods and protection, especially from enemies.

##### AVŚ 12.2.36

12.2.36 *yát kr̥ṣáte yád vanute yác ca vasnéna vindáte /*

*sárvaṃ mártyasya tán nā́sti kravyā́c céd ánirāhitaḥ //*

What one ploughs, what one appropriates and what one finds by paying, all that is not of a mortal if the flesh-eating one is not taken away.

*vanute:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Whitney 1905: “wins (*van*)

Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web

Mantra: ∅ – AVP has the same hymn (17.33) but this stanza is missing.

Rite

The flesh-eating and the householder’s fire. It is used in of preparing the house fire.

The hymn deals with all the moments of this procedure with much of attention and the author is not extolling the god Agni, but he is rather worried that something may disappoint the fires, the ritual and the non-ritual ones.

##### AVŚ 12.3.53

12.3.53 *varṣáṃ vanuṣvā́pi gacha devā́ṃstvacó dhūmáṃ páryút pātayāsi /*

*viśvávyacā ghr̥tápr̥ṣṭho bhaviṣyántsáyonirlokámúpa yāhyetám //*

Appropriate the rain, also, reach the gods, make the smoke fly up from the hide; you who are going to embrace all[[562]](#footnote-562), to have the back shining with ghee, you of the same origin, go up to that world.

*vanuṣva:* impv. pres. 2nd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Whitney 1905: 692 “win”

Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web

Mantra: cf. AVP(K.) 17.41.3

Rite

Cremation as sacrifice, *sava* . The hymn often refers to two people, Whitney suggests it might be the husband and the wife.

##### AVŚ 16.9.4

16.9.4  *vasyobhū́yāya vásumān yajñó vásu vaṃsiṣīya vásumān bhūyāsaṃ vásu máyi dhehi //*

For the increasing wealth, the sacrifice is rich in goods, may I appropriate goods, may I be rich in goods, put goods in me.

*vaṃsiṣīya:* opt. aor. 1st sing. Ā sigmatic aorist

Whitney 1905: 803 “may I win (*van*?)

Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web

∅

Rite

*Paryāya* (a regularly recurring series of formula, especially in the *atirātra*) the ninth.

##### AVŚ 20.132.6-7

20.132.6 *ugráṃ vaniṣádātatam //*

[7] *ná vaniṣadánātatam //*

May he desire it[[563]](#footnote-563) powerful and stretched; may it not desire it un-stretched.

2x *vaniṣád:* subj. aor. 3rd sing sigmatic aorist

Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web

∅

Rite

The hymns concerns the preparation and use of some instruments, as a lute, a drum and a nest.

##### **Paippalāda occurrences**

##### AVP 1.55.4

1.55.4 *madhumanmama nīsanaṃ jaghanaṃ madhumanmama /*

*māmit kila tvaṃ vāvanaḥ śākhāṃ madhumatīmiva //*

Full of sweet is my bottom[[564]](#footnote-564)full of sweet are my hips, may you have desiredme indeed as a branch full of sweet.

*vāvanaḥ:* subj. perf. 2nd sing. I-VI cl.

Vedic Web

Mantra: cf. AVŚ 1.34.4cd *vanāḥ* instead of *vāvanaḥ* (K. *sām atikr̥tvaṁ* instead of *māmit kila tvaṃ*).

Rite

A love-charm.

##### AVP 2.33.1

2.33.1 *ūdhnā vana hr̥dā vana mukhena jihvayā vana /*

*prapīnā payasā vana //*

Let you desire with the breast, let you desire with the heart, let you desire with the mouth, with the tongue, let you desire with the swollen out / overflowed vital fluid[[565]](#footnote-565).

4x *vana:* impv. pres. 2nd sing. I-VI cl.

Zehnder 1999: 92 “liebe”

Vedic Web

∅

Rite

Hymn of love.

##### AVP 2.90.4

2.90.4 *yāsāṃ nābhir ārehaṇaṃ hr̥di saṃvananaṃ kr̥tam gāvo ghr̥tasya mātaro ‘mūṃ saṃ vānayantu me* //

Whose navel is a kissing[[566]](#footnote-566), in whose heart there is the subduing /charming (the mutual fondness), let the cows, mothers of the clarified butter, make her there love me.

*sáṃ vānayantu:* impv. pres. 3rd pl. of the causative *vānaya-*

Zehnder 1999: 197 “zugeneigt machen”

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVŚ 6.9.3.

Rite

To win a woman’s love, cf. AVŚ 6.9.3.

##### AVP 5.7.8

5.7.8 *apāmagnistanūbhiḥ saṃvidāno ya oṣadhīnāmadhipā babhūva /*

*sá no varṣaṃ vanutāṃ jātavedāḥ prāṇaṃ prajābhyo amr̥taṃ divas pari //*

This Agni united with the bodies of the waters who has become the king of the herbs, he, the Jātavedas, should appropriate for us the rain, the breath for the offspring, the immortality[[567]](#footnote-567) (*amr̥ta)* from the sky.

*vanutāṃ:* impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Lubotksy 2002: 34 “let get”

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVŚ 4.15.10.

Rite

Hymn for abundant rain.

##### AVP 5.37.8

5.37.8 *vanve te putraṃ pari devatābhyo anu manyantāṃ marutaḥ pr̥śnimātaraḥ /*

*garbhas tvā daśamāsyaḥ pra viśatu kumāraṃ jātaṃ pipr̥tām[[568]](#footnote-568) upasthe //*

“I appropriate for myself a son from the divinities, let the Marut, sons of Pr̥śni, approve; let the embryo of ten months enter into you, let these two protect the child born in the lap.””

*vanve:* ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.

Lubotsky 2002: 133 “ask”

Vedic Web

∅

Rite

Hymn for the birth of a son.

##### AVP 7.15.5

7.15.5 *annena prāṇaṃ vanute tiro dhatte paridhānena yakṣmam*

*hiraṇyamaśvaṃ gāṃ dadat kr̥ṇute varma dakṣiṇām*

He appropriates for himselfthe breath by means of the food, he removes the sickness by means of the garment, may he grant-pay (granting) a cow, a golden horse, he makes for himself the ritual fee (*dakṣinā*) a shelter.

*vanute:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Griffiths 2009: 406 “gains”

Vedic Web

∅

##### AVP 9.27.9

9.27.9 *saṃkrandanaḥ pravedo dhr̥ṣṇuṣeṇaḥ pravedakr̥dbahudhā grāmaghoṣī /*

*śreyo vanvano vayunāni vidvānkīrtim bahubhyo vi bhaja dvirāje //*

Roaring drum[[569]](#footnote-569), with bold army, making known in many directions, sounding among men, appropriating the better position, knowing the ways[[570]](#footnote-570), do distribute[[571]](#footnote-571) the glory to many in the battle of the two kings.

*vanvanaḥ:* part. pres. nom. m. sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

Mantra: cf. AVŚ 5.20.9

##### AVP 16.4.3

16.4.3 *agneṣṭe prānamamr̥tādāyuṣmato manave jātavedasaḥ /*

*yathā na riṣyā amr̥taḥ sajūrasastatte kr̥ṇomi tadu te samr̥dhyatām //*

I comprehend for you the breath from Agni, the immortal, the long lived, the Jātavedas, so that you may not be hurt and at the same time be immortal, that I make for you, let that be accomplished on your behalf.

K. reads *vanave* instead of *manave.*

AVŚ reads *vavne.*

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVŚ 8.2.13.

##### AVP 16.33.4

16.33.4 *madhu janiṣīya madhu maṃsiṣīya /*

*payasvānagna ā́gamaṃ taṃ mā saṃ sr̥ja varcasā //*

May I generate honey, may I perceive honey; o Agni, I have come here full of milk, mix this me with the splendour (*varcas-*).

AVŚ reads *vaṃsiṣīya* instead of *maṃsiṣīya.*

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVŚ 9.1.14

##### AVP(K.) 17.41.3

17.41.3 *varṣaṃ vaniṣvāpi gaccha devāṃs tato dhūmaṃ pari utpātayāmi /*

*viśvavyacā viśvakarma svargas sayoniṃ lokaṃ upa yāhy etam //*

Appropriate the rain, also, reach the gods, make the smoke fly up from here; you embracing all[[572]](#footnote-572), accomplishing everything, going to heaven, you of the same origin, go up to that world.

AVŚ reads *vanuṣva* (impv. pres. 2nd sing. Ā VIIIcl.) instead of *vaniṣva.* Barret reads *vaniṣva* (ind. aor. 1st du. -*iṣ* aorist).The original *śarada* manuscript reads *vanuṣvāpi* [f227b].

Vedic Web

Mantra: cf. AVŚ 12.3.53

##### AVP(K.) 19.26.5

19.26.5 *vanuṣva viśvadeveṣu vanuṣva tvaṃ vr̥haspatāu / ghr̥tena prajāṃ vanute ghr̥tena rayim aṣnute //*

Appropriate among all the gods, appropriate among Br̥haspati,[[573]](#footnote-573) you, he appropriates the offspring through the clarified butter, he obtains the richness with the clarified butter.

2x *vanuṣva:* impv. pres. 2nd sing. Ā VIII cl.

*vanute,* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

∅

##### AVP(K.) 19.26.6

19.26.6 *ghr̥tenāyuṣyaṃ varcasyaṃ devebhyo vanute pari / parjanyaḥ pippalaṃ tuṣyān nadyo garbhaṃ svastaye //*

With the clarified butter he appropriates what gives a long life and the vital power, may the rain-cloud satisfy Pippala, offspring of the river, for a good fortune.

*vanute:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

∅

##### AVP(K.) 19.26.10

19.26.10 *indrasya prathamaṃ vaco devānām aparaṃ vacaḥ / tr̥tīyam aśvinor vacas tena gāṃ vānayāmasi //*

The first speech is that of Indra, later the speech of the gods, third the speech of the Aśvin, with this we make the cow/you (if along Barret we read *tvam* (Agni) instead of *gāṃ* ) desirous.

*vānayāmasi:* ind. pres. 1st pl. of the causative *vānaya-*

EWAia: II 501 “lieben machen” cf. Jamison 1983: 89f.

Vedic Web

∅

##### AVP(K.) 20.3.5

20.3.5 *ko no asya druho avadyavatyā unneṣyati kṣatriyo vasya icchan /*

*kaṣ pūrtikāmaṣ ko u yajñakāmaṣ ko deveṣu vanute dīrgham āyuḥ //*

Who will lead us out of this disgraceful harm (offence – harmful situation)? The *kṣatriya* (the king) seeking after an increasing wealth? Who, the one desiring the reward or that desiring the sacrifice, who appropriates for himself a long life-time among the gods?

*vanute:* ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVŚ 7.103.1

##### AVP(K.) 20.24.4

20.24.4 *indras tvāgre vānayat savitā tvā tato ‘paraḥ / tr̥tīyam aśvinā tvāgre vaṃsataḥ //*

Let Indra first make you desirous, then Savitr̥ later, third the Aśvin may appropriate you.

*vānayat:* inj. pres. 3rd sing. of the causative *vānaya-*

*vaṃsataḥ,* subj. root aor. 3rd du.

Vedic Web

∅

##### AVP(K.) 20.61.11

20.61.11 *śālālā tvaṃ saṃvananaṃ vanād vananam ādr̥tam / yena gayo gandharvo ‘psarasāṃ samavānayat / tenāham amūm iha vā nayāmy ā mr̥tyor ā parāvataḥ //*

You the house (?), may he appropriate the attentive desire causing mutual fondness, with which the *gandharva* Gaya made the *apsaras* love, with that I lead her here from the death, from the distance (or : from the distance of death).

*vanād:* subj. pres. 3rd sing. I-VI cl.

*samavānayat,* ind. impf. 3rd sing of the causative *vānaya-*

*saṃvananaṃ,* acc. sing. neu. of *saṃvanana-,* adj. “propitiating, causing mutual fondness” cf. *saṃ-vānaya-*

*vananam,* acc. neu. sing. of *vanana* n. (Nir. .. ) there is *vananā* f. “wish, desire” (R̥V 9.86.40)

Vedic Web

∅

### IV.2.2 Analysis of the Atharvaveda Occurrences

In the first place, we may notice that, unlike all other post-R̥gvedic texts, there are few R̥gvedic quotations among the occurrences of *van- / vani-* in the Atharvaveda Saṃhitās. This is not surprising as long as we bear in mind that the fourth Veda doesn’t belong to the same tradition as the others, as mentioned before. Nonetheless, we can again find the verb used to convey the idea of a possession as in AVŚ 16.9.4 which is very similar to many R̥gvedic attestations:

AVŚ 16.9.4  *vasyobhū́yāya vásumān yajñó vásu vaṃsiṣīya vásumān bhūyāsaṃ vásu máyi dhehi //*

For the increasing wealth, the sacrifice is rich in goods, may I appropriate goods, may I be rich in goods, put goods in me.

On the other side, here the verb is also deployed within the semantic field of “to love, to desire” and the appropriation, in many cases, seems to be almost connected with a “love-conquest”.

If we systematically consider the attestations of the verb, we may outline three types of occurrences: firstly, those where the meaning is still “to appropriate”*,* like the previous example or -a frequent case- those where the object is the rain (AVŚ 4.15.10 = AVP 5.7.8; AVŚ 4.15.15; 12.3.53; AVP 17.41.3), and this is an object we have already seen in the liturgical texts. Secondly, a group of occurrences that leaves room for speculating, because in these cases is not easy to settle for “to appropriate”, and the meaning of the verb seems to shift to the idea of sharing or granting, it is worth noticing that we already noticed a similar development in the post-R̥gvedic occurrences:

AVŚ 7.103.1  *kó asyā́ no druhó 'vadyávatyā únneṣyati kṣatríyo vásya ichán /*

*kó yajñákāmaḥ ká u pū́rtikāmaḥ kó devéṣu vanute dīrghám ā́yuḥ //*

“Who will lead us out of this disgraceful harm (offence – harmful situation)? the *kṣatriya* (the king) seeking after an increasing wealth? who, the one desiring the sacrifice or that desiring the reward, who appropriates a long life-time among the gods?”

The hymn AVŚ 7.103 is for improving one’s own condition and is probably referring to a Brahmán, hence we may think that he wouldn’t simply appropriate a long life-time but rather appropriate and grant it to his patron, that is to share it; the stanza AVP 19.26.6 conveys a similar idea. Finally, we can spot a third group where “to desire” seems to be just the meaning intended. The stanza AVŚ 6.82.1 may not be considered a positive example, but the syntactical construction of the *pāda* c seems to point to a different interpretation of *van- / vani-* other than “to appropriate” :

AVŚ 6.82.1 *āgáchata ā́gatasya nā́ma gr̥hṇāmyāyatáḥ /*

*índrasya vr̥traghnó vanve vāsavásya śatákratoḥ //*

I take the name of the arriving, of the arrived, of the one who is coming near; I appropriate for myself (the name) of Indra, the Vr̥tra-slayer, the one related to the Vasu, the one with hundred skills.

Here the verbtakes the genitive of the object, and Whitney noticed that this verb has never been used that way; it is of course possible to settle for inserting *nā́ma* from the *pāda* a. On the other side, we may explain this construction in analogy with that of desiderative verbs, often accompanied by the genitive. The meaning of the *pāda* could thus be “I desire for me Indra, the Vr̥tra-slayer”. There is only one other occurrences where *van- / vani-* takes the genitive, in AVŚ 6.126.1, but this stanza is a R̥gvedic quotation and R̥V 6.47.29 reads *manutām* instead of *vanvatāṃ,* it is thus difficult to settle for maintaining the reading of the text, being the interchange between *-v-* and *-m-* an old Indo-Iranian phenomenon that occurs especially with the two roots *van-* and *man-* and their derivatives already in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā[[574]](#footnote-574).*

6.126.1 *úpa śvāsaya pr̥thivī́mutá dyā́ṃ purutrā́ te vanvatāṃ víṣṭhitam jágat /*

*sá dundubhe sajū́ríndreṇa devaírdūrā́ddávīyo ápa sedha śátrūn //*

Fill with roaring the earth and the heaven, let the creatures scattered in many places “appropriate” for you / of you; o drum, o you, at the same time together with Indra and the gods, drive away the enemies, farther than far.

Much more revealing is the stanza AVP 2.33.1, a hymn of love.

2.33.1 *ūdhnā vana hr̥dā vana mukhena jihvayā vana /*

*prapīnā payasā vana //*

Let you desire with the breast, let you desire with the heart, let you desire with the mouth, with the tongue, let you desire with the swollen out / overflowed vital fluid.

The same use of *van- / vani-* is to be found also elsewhere, e.g. in AVŚ 1.34.4 and in AVP 1.55.4 where is deployed in a love charm, and the request in the second half of the stanza goes as follows: *māmit kila tvaṃ vāvanaḥ śākhāṃ madhumatīmiva “*full of sweet are my hips, may you have desiredme indeed as a branch full of sweet”. As a further development of this semantic field, we can see the use of a causative form that emerges only in the Atharvaveda. The verb, often connected with the noun-adj. *saṃvanana-*, clearly conveys the idea “to make desirous”, and we find it also as *sam-vānaya-*

20.61.11 *śālālā tvaṃ saṃvananaṃ vanād vananam ādr̥tam / yena gayo gandharvo ‘psarasāṃ samavānayat / tenāham amūm iha vā nayāmy ā mr̥tyor ā parāvataḥ //*

You the house (?), may he appropriate the attentive desire causing mutual fondness, with which the *gandharva* Gaya made the *apsaras* love, with that I lead her here from the death, from the distance (or : from the distance of death).

We may go on speculating and consider if the verb, together with the prefix *saṃ,* could even have a “perfective” meaning, that is “to make (s.o.) love”. It is worth noticing that *saṃ-van-* is used in two occurrences out of four (in 19.26.10 and 20.24.4 we find *vānayāmasi* and *vānayat*), while throughout the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* the verb occurs with the prefix *sam* only once in 5.7.3, where it conveys the idea of the complete fulfilment of the action.In the following stanza, it is also clear that the aim is to get a woman’s love and the semantic context is that of desire, expressed also by the noun *samvánana-.*

6.9.3 *yā́sāṃ nā́bhir āréhaṇaṃ hr̥dí saṃvánanaṃ kr̥tám gā́vo ghr̥tásya mātáro ‘mū́ṃ sáṃ vānayantu me //*

Whose navel is a kissing, in whose heart there is the subduing /charming (the mutual fondness), let the cows, mothers of the clarified butter, make her there love me.

Moreover, if we take into consideration the hymn AVŚ 6.9 (= AVP 2.90.2-4) we also find another derivative of *van- / vani-* which is quite interesting, namely *vāñch-,* a verbal derivative whose meaning is clearly “to wish” “to desire”[[575]](#footnote-575). This verb occurs almost only in the texts of the Atharvaveda school, for we find it only once in R̥V 10.173.1, where the verb already conveys the same idea we will meet in the Atharvavedic passages:

10.173.1 *ā́ tvāhārṣam antár*

*edhi dhruvás tiṣṭhā́vicācaliḥ*

*víśas tvā sárvā vāñchantu*

*mā́ tvád rāṣṭrám ádhi bhraśat*

I fetched you, be among [us], stand unchangeable and firm, let all the tribes desire you, may the kingdom never abandon you.

The same stanza is then quoted, with different degrees of manipulation, in TS 4.2.1.4; 5.2.1.4; MS 2.7.8; KS 16.8; 19.11; KpS 31.1 as well as in VS 12.11 and ŚB 6.7.3.7, all concerning the preparation of the fire ground and the placing of the fire in the pan on the throne during the *Agnicayana*. While in KS 37.9; AVŚ 4.8.4 and in TB 2.7.15.4 the stanza is used to accompany the consecration of the king (cf. Proferes 2007: 124). The corresponding AVP 4.2.5, and AVP 4.27.4, have *āyantu* instead of *vāñchantu*. AVŚ 6.87.1; KS 35.7; KpS 48.9 and TB 2.4.2.8 are also connected with kingship, and the first three stanzas of R̥V 10.173 are indeed used to establish one’s sovereignty.

We find the same royal context outlined above in the liturgical use of the R̥gvedic stanza also in AVP 10.26.6-7:

AVP 10.2.6-7 *tubhyaṃ saṃ yantu valayastubhyaṃ śulkaḥ pra vīyatām / tubhyaṃ virāṭ payo duhāṃ tvāṃ vāñchantu viśo mahīḥ // 6*

*vāñchatu tvā br̥hadrāṣṭram tviṣiste mukha āhitā / tvaṃ devānāṃ bhava priyastvayi gāvo adhi śritāḥ // 7*

6. Let the gifts arrive to you, let the price be strived after (*pravīyatām*) for you, let the vital power of the milking ones shine forth for you, let the tribes, the earth desire you. 7. Let a wide kingdom desire you, let the vehemence be placed in your mouth, be the dear among gods, let the cows be attached to you.

Except for the quotations of the R̥gvedic stanza, we find the verb *vāñch-* outside the Atharvaveda tradition only in KauB 25.15. This passage concerns the *Agniṣṭoma*, and in particular the one-day soma sacrifice *viśvajit.*

25.15 *vatsachavīṃ paridadhīta riricāna iva vā etasyā ātmā bhavati yaḥ sarvaṃ dadāti vatsaṃ vai paśavo vāñchanti punarmā paśavo vāñchāniti*

May he wear the skin of a calf, and emptied, as it were, becomes the Self of the one who gives everything ‘The cattle desire the calf, further may the cattle desire me’.

Here the verb is used within the ritual procedure, as part of a *yajus* that the sacrificer has to think while wearing the calfskin. Both in this occurrence as in the previous ones, though the context is not that of love or physical desire, nonetheless the verb conveys the idea of a tension, a kind of attraction which will link the king to his kingdom or the sacrificer to the cattle. The context of next passages is a different one; let us start with the hymn AVŚ 6.9[[576]](#footnote-576).

6.9 *vā́ñcha me tanvàṃ pā́dau vā́ñchākṣyaù vā́ñcha sakthyaù /akṣyaù vr̥ṣaṇyántyāḥ kéśā mā́ṃ te kā́mena śuṣyantu // 1*

*máma tvā́ doṣaṇiśríṣaṃ kr̥ṇómi hr̥dayaśríṣam / yáthā máma krátāv áso máma cittám upā́yasi* // 2

*yā́sāṃ nā́bhir āréhaṇaṃ hr̥dí saṃvánanaṃ kr̥tám gā́vo ghr̥tásya mātáro ‘mū́ṃ sáṃ vānayantu me* // 3

1. Desire the body of me, desire the feet, desire the eyes, the thigh; let the eyes and the hairs of you lusting[[577]](#footnote-577) for me[[578]](#footnote-578) dry up with love. 2. I make you clasp to my forearm, to my heart; so that you may be in my power, that you may fall into my intention. 3. Whose navel is a kissing, in whose heart there is the subduing /charming (the mutual fondness), let the cows, mothers of the clarified butter, make her there love me.

This hymn is used to win a woman’s love: the expressions are all very physical and point to the importance of “kindling” the desire, which will enable the man to have the woman in his power, and in fact the word *saṃvánana* conveys this tension, which is invoked three times at the very beginning through the verb *vāñch-:* this seems to confirm the hypothesis that here the root *van- / vani-* is mainly connected with the idea of desire, concerning both its nominal and verbal derivatives. The hymn 2.33 belongs to the same context; it is a hymn to love, and here again the same stanza as in 6.9.1 occurs in 2.33.2, while in the first verse of the hymn we again find *van*-.

AVP 2.33.1 *ūdhnā vana hr̥dā vana mukhena jihvayā vana / prapīnā payasā vana //* 1

*vāñcha pado vāñcha tvacaṃ / vāñchakṣyau vāñcha sakthyau /vatsamanu pra te mano nimnaṃ vāriva dhāvatu //* 2

1. Do love with the breast, do love with the heart, do love with the mouth, with the tongue, do love with the overflowed vital fluid. 2. Desire [my] feet, desire [my] skin, desire [my] thigh; let your spirit run after [me] the calf[[579]](#footnote-579) like the water in the hollow.

It is worth noting that in most of the occurrences this verb appears together with *van- / vani-* or with another derivative of the verb, linking the primary verbal root and its cognates within the semantic field of desire. If we take the points we made with regard to the Atharvaveda occurrences in conjunction with the uses of the verb *vāñch-[[580]](#footnote-580),* we may go on to conjecture that the meaning of the verb *van- / vani-* “to desire” was not only present in the Atharvaveda, but was in fact a rather strong feature of its semantic field. Additionally, we have seen that, among the derivatives of *van- / vani-,* the attestations showing a possible link to this meaning are to be found once again in the Atharvaveda texts.

To sum up, we may settle that in fact it is just in the Atharvaveda that we can clearly spot the meaning “to desire” and reckon it as positive meaning of the verb *van- / vani-,* which is though still conveying the idea of possession and also that of sharing. It is then worth noticing that “to desire” does not rule out the other meanings of the verb, but is rather coincident. If we consider this and the peculiar position of the Atharvaveda, e.g. its manifold chronological strata, we may conclude that “to desire” and “to appropriate” are to be considered as a concurrent meanings, with a different development.

# V. Conclusions

## V.1 Diachronic Analysis: A ritual Development

The research has focused on the uses of the verbal root *van- / vani-* throughout the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas. I set out to investigate the semantic changes within the first steps of the Vedic ritual language, and I chose a verb that, given its own semantic duplicity already at an Indo-European level, would provide us with an interesting complexity.

With regard to the question we first addressed, about the possibility of reading two different forms (*\*u̯en / \*u̯en-H* ) endowed with two different meanings, on the evidence of the analysis of the occurrences within the Vedic texts the outcome of the verbal root and its derivatives do not show any such symmetry between pseudo-morphologising phonetics and semantics. As we have already said, we may conclude that it hardly appears appropriate to establish a biunique correspondence between the two meanings – or the different senses which the Sanskrit shows – and the morphological alternation. The presence of the laryngeal, which is transparent from an Indo-European point of view, does not seem to imply a semantic value: there is an alternation, which cannot be seen as arbitrary or random, and which could – according to some authors – have its own distinctive role. The shortcoming of occurrences where the presences of a laryngeal is beyond doubts makes any conclusive statement rather elusive. As to the R̥gvedic and post R̥gvedic liturgical texts we shall speculate a coalescence of the reconstructed I.E. verbal root, assuming a hiatus between the two I.E. forms and the Vedic outcome.

Moreover, through a functional analysis of the R̥gvedic attestations we charted two usages of the verb. In most of the occurrences of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā van- / vani-* shows different nuances ofa single nuclear meaning “to appropriate”, that has to be understood differently according to the various contexts. We proposed three main context-bound variants of the nuclear meaning, namely “to possess” “to win / to conquer” and “to appropriate” on behalf of someone, the last one implying a further act of sharing. On the other side, a ritual value is attached to the verb when the action is bound to an actual moment of the sacrifice and conveys the idea of letting some one enter in the sacrificial area; this second aspect of the verb entails the one most basic aspect of the Vedic culture, namely the sacrifice.

In the post-R̥gvedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas the verb hardly keeps its ritual value; it is rather employed to express the idea of a possessing, or an appropriation and even a sharing, as a further development of the idea of transference and exchange, in any case no longer involving a ritual exchange. Indeed, the non-R̥V occurrences besides showing the absence of the ritual meaning, they witness the shift of the verb toward an “extreme” sharing, which will result in a giving, as it is also hinted at by the commentators who gloss the verb with *dā*- “to give” or *sambhaj*- “to grant” “to distribute”. The idea of possessing is almost completely lost (as we will also see in the Atharvavedic and classic Sanskrit occurrences). The different uses which *van- / vani-*undergoes, can be traced back to a change in the perception of the rite. In fact, the model and purpose of the Vedic ritual is to produce an epiphany, to bring the gods to the humans’ ritual ground in order to partake of the oblations and to satisfy the requests. Nevertheless, the R̥gvedic and post R̥gvedic passages present us with a different scenarios; in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* the verb *van- / vani-* is often used at the moment of evoking the gods an its ritual meaning is deeply connected with the semantic field of inspiration, that is with the supremely important skill to have the presence of gods. Indeed, within the hymns, the semantic field of inspiration is very frequent (see, e.g., the presence of words like *dhī́* or *vipas*), and the *topos* of getting the inspiration, the “inspired chant”, can be reckoned as one of the central subjects of the first Saṃhitā.On the other side, in the later texts, the action of having the gods enter the circle of sacrifice no longer represents an important stage in the sacrifice. Due to a “standardisation” of the procedure of the rite itself, it is then necessary to be in command of the sacrificial result and to be able to guarantee its success, therefore the uncertainty that the idea of inspiration entails could no longer play a major role. Within this development, whatever was connected with the semantic area of the poetic inspiration would also be fading out. The sacrifice of the post-R̥gvedic period had to be predictable, and every step, provided that is performed as prescribed, should bring the same result, while the action of evoking entails the possibility of failure. The inspiration and the skills of a single individual cannot play anymore a significant role within the whole process. Finally, we may consider the ritual development, or in other words the development of the verb in the compositions of the Brahmanical part of Vedic corpus, as a “path” where *van- / vani-* loses the concrete ritual aspect and the functional meanings we detected in the *R̥gvedasāṃhitā,* whereas the strong need for a precise specialist vocabulary drove the word towards the idea of sharing which can be conceived as a development of the idea of “passage” that we saw as a potentiality of the nuclear meaning.

## V.2 Diastratic Analysis: A Social Counterpart?

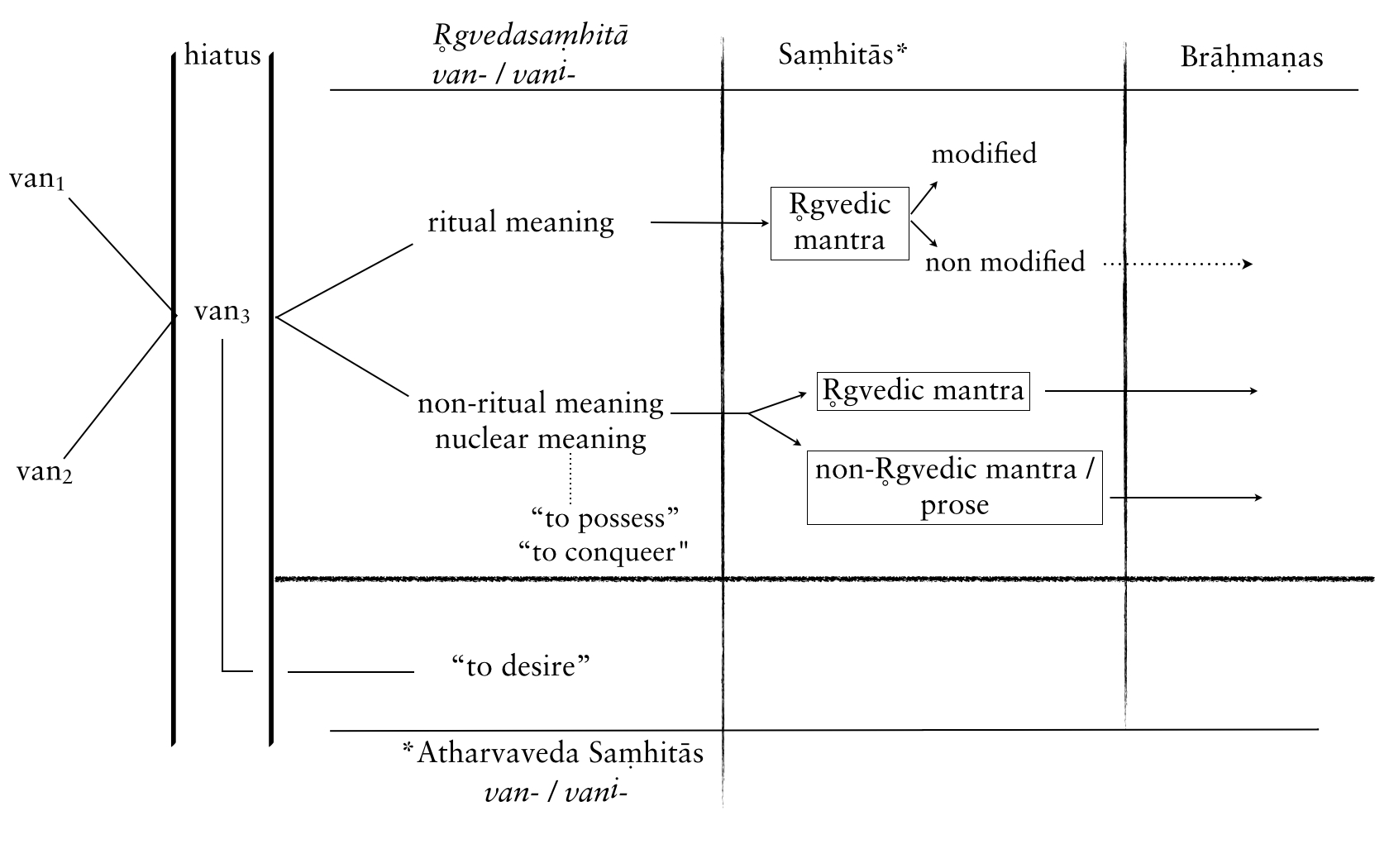
The semantic field of desire, though it could be arguably considered as absent in the R̥gvedic occurrences of the verb, is attested at the Indo-European level and in the Atharvavedic tradition. The hypothesis that this work has presented is that the two linguistic traditions have survived independently one from the other: the one that came down to us through the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and the other one that is partially recorded in the Atharvedic sources. In the latter the meaning to desire is clearly present, while in the first one has almost disappeared. Nevertheless the linguistic tradition fragmentary attested in the Atharvaveda texts might date back to the I.E. period and it is plausible to suppose that it has continued –although we have but scanty attestations of it – later on through the Vedic period up to the moment when Sanskrit appears. The shift in meaning between the two groups of texts is not a development to be caught within a diachronic perspective alone, but rather as a differentiation/dissimilation that takes place on a social level, a synchronic polysemy to be analysed with a diastratic frame of reference. As we have seen, in the Atharvaveda occurrences the semantic field of desire plays a relevant role: this meaning, given in the etymological Lexicon for the Indo-European reconstructed root *\*u̯en / \*u̯en-H,* occurs in all the other textual evidences only as a secondary development among the derivatives, but in fact the Atharvaveda setting is quite different. As it is evident from the attestations, in this tradition the meaning “to desire” is a primary one.

It would then be possible to speculate that what we see in the Atharvaveda occurrences is a social counterpart of the ritual meaning eventually lost in the Brāhmaṇas. Hints, traces, of this are to be found, as we have seen, also in the noun derivative, both in the post-R̥gvedic occurrences as well as in the *R̥gvedasaṃhitā* itself. Nonetheless it is precisely only in the fourth Veda that we are confronted with so many cases where the verb *van-* is positively pointing to the value “to desire” “to love”. With regard to the relevant social features of the substratum of the Atharvavedic texts as a different one from that of the so called Brahmanical tradition, there is not much to be disputed, whereas we are unable to describe the non-Brahmanical elements that affected these texts with any precision, and a clear picture of that substratum is far from being traced out. In addition, the extant Atharvaveda texts contain variegated material partially hailing from elder strata of the Indo-Aryan waves of migrations.[[581]](#footnote-581)

Within this broad picture, we can settle on an interpretation of the semantic differentiation following a pattern that could be “that which I have enter my circle, I make mine” / “that which is good” > “that which is desirable, the good which I stretch out to”, not really as a diachronic development, but rather as the different outcomes of two concurrent meanings. One spreads in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and in the liturgical texts, leaving no room for the other which is, instead, positively present in the Atharvaveda together with the first one. In this analysis it is worth noting that in the post-R̥gvedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas the school where we find the highest number of occurrences of *van- / vani-* is the Atharvaveda one. Moreover, among the liturgical texts the R̥gvedic quotations account for the majority of the occurrences, while the opposite situation is to be seen in the Atharvaveda. This could suggest, as already mentioned, that the nuclear meaning, and even more the ritual meaning, which were alive in the R̥gvedic period, fade away in the Brahmanical period, i.e. when the redactional enterprise to create a common rite took place, while the meaning “to desire” which was at the very outset not connected with this part of the society, escaped, as it were, this vanishing process. In conclusion, we may say that the analysis of the texts where the meaning “to desire” occurs sheds light on the different strata of Vedic society and seems to suggest that this sense does not represent a secondary development of the idea of appropriating, but is rather a concurrent meaning which might have been widespread among a group or groups other than the sacerdotal – Brahmanical class, and which were clearly part of the Vedic society, though perhaps not belonging to the same wave of migrations as that of the R̥gvedic one.

To sum up, we started, at the Indo-European level with two possible meanings “to desire” “to win” and we decided to replace this opposition with the nuclear meaning ‘to appropriate’- ‘to make one’s own’; besides this meaning we also detected a ritual meaning, and we followed its development within the liturgical texts of the Yajurveda school in particular. Throughout this analysis the meaning “to desire” was totally absent, except for few derivatives. The Atharvaveda occurrences prove the meaning “to desire” not to be a secondary derivation of the nuclear meaning, but rather a concurrent meaning that develops beside the other. The examination of the root *van- / vani-* furnished us with a deeper understanding of the perception of ritual within the passages between the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā,* the first Yajurveda Saṃhitās and the later Brāhmaṇas; on the top of it, has provided important elements on the strong presence within the Vedic society of what may be called “heterodox” groups leaving their traces within the texts. The present work has only analysed a portion of the Vedic corpus, but it could be meaningful to enlarge the research, not only going further and surveying the Śrauta Sūtra manuals, but also going “back”, that is to concentrate on the Indo-European level. Considering the frequency of the laryngeal form (cf. §5.1.2), it could be interesting to investigate the occurrences of the verbal root in the other Indo-European languages focusing on the percentage of the form *\*u̯en-H.* In the Vedic corpus it’s not possible to detect a sharp semantic division between *van-* and *vani-*, nonetheless, the outcomes of the laryngeal form seem to increase in the later verbal and nominal derivatives. Analysing the extant outcomes of the Indo-European root under this perspective may lead to discover if there is any kind of significant division in the usage of *\*u̯en* and *\*u̯en-H* at a earlier level of the language. With regard to the semantic shift we outlined for the ritual meaning, between the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* and Brāhmaṇas, it is worth underling once more that the shift took place within a change in the perception of the rite that especially involved the role of inspiration. A wide survey of other terms belonging to the semantic area of inspiration would also be very important. Finally, the heterodox elements within the Atharvaveda tradition are an important field of research that still need to be investigated -when it comes to the data, and that can shed a light on those parts of the Vedic society which didn’t belong to the Brahmanical group.

In the effort to have a clearer idea of the different usages of the verbal root *van- / vani-* and its developments, we try to represent them all in a scheme, and thus attempt to resume the intricate avenues of this work in one and the same draw to be used as a map of the labyrinth, which forms, as always, at the end.



# VI. Appendix

## VI.1 Tables

### VI.1.1 Laryngeal and non-laryngeal attestations of the verb in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*

**a- Laryngeal**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Verbal form | *pāda* | translation Geldner-Renou | I.E. root |
| **Indicative** |  |  |  |
| *vananti*  (ind. pres. 3rd pl. I-VI cl.) | 6.6.3d *vánā vananti dhr̥ṣatā́ rujántaḥ* | überwinden  triomphent | \*u̯en-H-e- |
| *vanate*  (ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl.) | 5.65.1d *mitró vā vánate gíraḥ*  5.65.4b *kṣáyāya gātúṃ vanate*  6.38.1d  *jánasya rātíṃ vanate sudā́nuḥ*  10.53.11d *(abhí) siṣāsánir vanate kārá íj jítim*  5.41.17c *ā́ devāso vanate mártiyo vaḥ*  6.15.6d-e *devó devéṣu vánate hí vā́riyaṃ*  *devó devéṣu vánate hí no dúvaḥ* (-c *úpa vo gīrbhír amŕ̥taṃ vivāsata*)  6 20.9a  *sá īṃ spŕ̥dho vanate ápratīto*  6.25.4a *śū́ro vā śū́raṃ vanate śárīrais*  3.19.1d  *rāyé vā́jāya vanate maghā́ni* | gut auf nehmen  aimée  gewinnt  gagne  begehert  pflegt den Sieg zu erringen  gagnera  gewinnt  gagner  gewinnt  gagne  überwinden  überwindet  erwirkt  gagne | \*u̯en-H-e- |
| *vanase*  (ind. pres. 2nd sing. Ā I-VI cl.) | 1.140.11d *ténāsmábhyaṃ vanase rátnam ā́ tuvám* | gewinnst  gagnes | \*u̯en-H-e- |
| *vanāmahe*  (ind. pres. 1st pl. Ā I-VI cl.) | 5.7.3a *sáṃ yád iṣó vánāmahe*  8.95.6d *síṣāsanto vanāmahe*  9.61.11c *síṣāsanto vanāmahe*  1.15.8c *devéṣu tā́ vanāmahe* | zusammen bringen  gagnons ensemble  sind siegreich  sind siegreich  voulons gagner  erwirken | \*u̯en-H-e- |
| *vanathaḥ*  (ind. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.) | 4.44.2b *dívo napātā vanathaḥ* *śácībhiḥ*  1.46.14c *r̥tā́ vanatho aktúbhiḥ*  7.2.7d *tā́ devéṣu vanatho vā́riyāṇi* | habt Gewinn  gewinnet  gagnez  gewinnt  gagnez | \*u̯en-H-e- |
| *vāvā́na*  (ind. perf. 3rd sing.) | 6.23.5a *ásmai vayáṃ yád vāvā́na tád viviṣma*  10.74.6a *yád vāvā́na purutámam purāṣā́ḷ* | verdient hat (guadagnare)  gewonnen hat | \*u̯e- u̯ónH / u̯nH- |
| **Subjunctive** |  |  |  |
| *vanā́ti*  (subj. pres. 3rd sing. I-VI cl.) | 7.15.4c *vásvaḥ kuvíd vanā́ti naḥ* | erwinken  gagnera-t-il | \* u̯énH- |
| *vánāmahai*  (subj. pres. 1st pl. Ā I-VI cl.) | 9.101.9d  *rayíṃ yéna vánāmahai* | Sieger sein werden  serons vainqueurs | \* u̯énH- |
| *vánāva*  (subj. pres. 1st du. I-VI cl.) | 10.98.3c  *yáyā vr̥ṣṭíṃ śáṃtanave vánāva* | können gewinnen | \* u̯énH- |
| **Imperative** |  |  |  |
| *vánatam*  (impv. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.) | 1.3.2c *dhíṣṇiyā vánataṃ gíraḥ*  7.94.2b *índrāgnī vánataṃ gíraḥ*  1.93.9b *sáhūtī vanataṃ gíraḥ* | nehmet gut auf  nehmet gut auf  gagnez (a votre cause)  nehmet gut auf  trouvez agréable | \* u̯en-H |
| *vanata*  (impv. pres.  2nd pl. I-VI cl.) | 8.7.9c *(vanatā metri causa) imám me vanatā hávam* | nehmet gut auf  agréer | \* u̯en-H |
| *vanatām*  (impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl.) | 1.162.22d *kṣatráṃ no áśvo vanatāṃ havíṣmān* | soll erringen | \* u̯en-H |
| *vāvandhi*  (impv. perf. 2nd sing.) | 5.31.13c *vāvandhí yájyūm̐r utá téṣu dhehi* | begünstige | \*u̯e- u̯ónH/ u̯ṇH-  (?) |
| **Injunctive** |  |  |  |
| *vanaḥ*  (inj. pres. 2nd sing.  I\VI cl.) | 8.45.23c *mā́kīm brahmadvíṣo vanaḥ* | vorziehen  n’attire pas à toi | \* u̯en-H |

**b- Non-Laryngeal**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Verbal form | *pāda* | translation Geldner-Renou | I.E. root |
| **Indicative** |  |  |  |
| *vanve*  (ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.) | 10.96.1b *prá te vanve vanúṣo haryatám mádam* | habe Gewinn | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *vanóṣi*  (ind. pres. 2nd sing. VIII cl.) | 1.31.13d *kīréś cin mántram mánasā vanóṣi tám*  1.31.14b *spārháṃ yád rékṇaḥ paramáṃ vanóṣi tát* | begehrst  gagne en ton cor  gewinnst  gagne | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *vanóti*  (ind. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.) | 1.133.7a *vanóti hí sunván kṣáyam párīṇasaḥ*  4.23.10a  *r̥táṃ yemāná r̥tám íd vanoti*  10.105.5c *vanóti śíprābhyāṃ śipríṇīvān* | gewinnt  gagne  hat Gewinn von der Wahrheit  verlangt | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *vanutháḥ*  (ind. pres. 2nd du. VIII cl.) | 2.30.6a *prá hí krátuṃ vr̥hátho yáṃ vanuthó*  10.61.3b *vípaḥ śáciyā vanuthó drávantā* | abgesehen habt auf  gut aufnehmet | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *vanute*  (ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.) | 10.27.12d *svayáṃ sā́ mitráṃ vanute jáne cit*  10.107.7c  *dákṣiṇā́nnaṃ vanute yó na ātmā* | gewinnt  bringt ein | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *avanvan*  (ind. impf. 3rd pl. VIII cl.) | 1.51.2 *abhī́m avanvan suabhiṣṭím ūtáyo* | bevorzugten  ont gagné à eux | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *avanoḥ*  (ind. impf. 2nd sing. VIII cl.) | 5.29.9d *kútsena devaír ávanor ha śúṣṇam*  6.18.3b *ékaḥ kr̥ṣṭī́r avanor ā́riyāya*  10.69.10d *utá pū́rvām̐ avanor vrā́dhataś cit* | hattest überwunden  gewannst  hast überwunden  as gagné à toi | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *vavne*  (ind. perf. 3rd sing Ā double stem) | 1.36.17a *agnír vavne suvī́riyam*  1.61.15b *éko yád vavné bhū́rer ī́śānaḥ*  5.74.7b *ā́ vavne mártiyānām* | gewann  a gagné  errungen hat  a gagné  hat gewonnen | \*u̯en |
| *vavanmā́*  (ind. perf. 1 pl. double stem) | 7.37.5c *vavanmā́ nú te yújiyābhir ūtī* | haben Gewinn gehabt  avons gagné | \*u̯e u̯ón / u̯n- |
| *vāvántha*  (ind. perf. 2nd sing. double stem) | 8.13.33 c *vāvántha hí prátiṣṭutiṃ vŕ̥ṣā hávaḥ*  8.66.5 a  *yád vāvántha puruṣṭuta* | hast Ausspruch  verdient hast | \*u̯e u̯ón / u̯n- |
| **Subjunctive** |  |  |  |
| *vanavat*  (subj. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.) | 2.25.1a *índhāno agníṃ vanavad vanuṣyatáḥ*  2.25.2a *vīrébhir vīrā́n vanavad vanuṣyató*  2.26.1c *suprāvī́r íd vanavat pr̥tsú duṣṭáraṃ*  5.3.5d *sá yajñéna vanavad deva mártān*  5.37.2a *sámiddhāgnir vanavat stīrṇábarhir*  5.44.7d *asmā́kaṃ śárma vanavat suā́vasuḥ*  6.33.1c *saúvaśviyaṃ yó vanávat suáśvo*  9.77.4a *ayáṃ no vidvā́n vanavad vanuṣyatá*  10.27.18d *drúanna íd vanavat sarpírannaḥ* | wird überwinden  vaincra  wird überwinden  vaincra  wird überwinden  vaincra  wird überbieten  l’emportera sur  den Vorrang gewinnen soll  möge zuwenden  assure nous  gewinnt  soll überbieten  l’emporte  wird gewinnen | \* u̯en |
| *vanavase*  (subj. pres. 2nd sing. Ā VIII cl.) | 6.16.18c *áthā dúvo vanavase* | wirst gewinnen  procureras | \* u̯en |
| *vanate*  (subj. aor. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.) | 5.3.10d *sumnám agnír vanate vāvr̥dhānáḥ*  5.4.3d *sá devéṣu vanate vā́riyāṇi*  6.16.28c *agnír no vanate rayím*  8.72.1b *adhvaryúr vanate púnaḥ* | wird gewinnen  gagnera  erlangen  gagne  soll gewinnen  gagne  verlangt  gagne | \* u̯en |
| *váṃsāma*  (subj. aor. 1st pl. ) | 6.19.8c  *yéna váṃsāma pŕ̥tanāsu śátrūn*  8.60.12a *yéna váṃsāma pŕ̥tanāsu śárdhatas* | können überwinden  überwinden  puissions vaincre | \* u̯en |
| *váṃsat*  (subj. aor. 3rd sing.) | 6.68.5d *váṃsad rayíṃ rayivátaś ca jánān*  10.26.2c *vípra ā́ vaṃsad dhītíbhiś* | soll gewinnen  gagne  möchte gewinnen  souhaite gagner | \* u̯en |
| *vāvánaḥ*  (subj. perf. 2nd sing. double stem) | 4.11.2c *víśvebhir yád vāvánaḥ śukra devaís* | aufnehmen wirst  auras gagnée | \*u̯e- u̯ón / u̯n- |
| **Optative** |  |  |  |
| *vaneḥ*  (opt. pres. 2nd sing. I\VI cl.) | 2.6.1b *imā́m upasádaṃ vaneḥ* | mögest du gern annehmen  agréer | \*u̯en (thematic opt. from athematic aor.) |
| *vanemahi*  ( opt. pres. 1st pl. Ā I\VI cl.) | 7.94.9 c *índrāgnī tád vanemahi* | möchten gewinnen  gagner (pour soi) | \*u̯en (thematic opt. from athematic aor.) |
| *vanema*  (opt. pres. 1st pl.  I/VI cl.) | 8.92.31c *tuvā́ yujā́ vanema tát*  1.129.7a *vanéma tád dhótarayā citántiyā*  2.5.7d *vanémā rarimā́ vayám*  1.70.1a *vanéma pūrvī́r aryó manīṣā́*  8.19.20 d  *vanémā te abhíṣṭibhiḥ*  7.47.1d *ghr̥taprúṣam mádhumantaṃ vanema*  2.11.2b  *dhíyaṃ vanema r̥tayā́ sápantaḥ*  10.105.8b  *r̥cā́ vanema anŕ̥caḥ* | wollen gewinnen  möchten gewinnen  gagner  mögen Gewinn haben  gagner  überbieten  souhaitons emporter  möchten gewinnen  gagner (assoluto)  gewinnen  gagner  wollen Gewinn haben  gagner  wollen überbieten | \*u̯en (thematic opt. from athematic aor.) |
| *vanuyāmā*  (opt. pres. 1st pl. VIII cl.) | 1.73.9b *vīraír vīrā́n vanuyāmā tuvótāḥ*  1.132.1c *vanuyā́ma vanuṣyatáḥ*  5.3.6 a *vayám agne vanuyāma tuvótā*  8.40.7e *vanuyā́ma vanuṣyató*  10.38.3 d *tváyā vayáṃ tā́n vanuyāma saṃgamé* | überbieten  vaincre  wollen übertrumpfen  vaincre  wollen überbieten  pouissions l’emporter  wollen überbieten  vaincre  wollen überwinden | \*u̯en |
| *vaṃsīmáhi*  (opt. aor. 1st pl. double stem) | 6.19.10 b *vaṃsīmáhi vāmáṃ śrómatebhiḥ*  9.72.8d *rayím piśáṅgam bahuláṃ vasīmahi* | möchten gewinnen  möchten uns umgeben  revêtir | \*u̯en |
| **Imperative** |  |  |  |
| *vanuṣva*  (imp. pres. 2nd sing. Ā VIII cl.) | 1.169.1d *sumnā́ vanuṣva táva hí práyiṣṭhā* | gewinn  gagne | \*u̯en |
| *vanvántu*  (imp. pres. 3rd pl. VIII cl.) | 7.21.9c  *vanvántu smā te ávasā samīké*  10.32.2d *té sú vanvantu vagvanā́m̐ arādhásaḥ* | sollen überwinden  sollen überbieten | \*u̯en |
| *váṃsva*  (imp. aor. 2nd sing. Ā double stem) | 1.48.11 a *úṣo vā́jaṃ hí váṃsuva*  6.48.4d  *rā́sva vā́jotá vaṃsuva*  7.17.5a *váṃsva víśvā vā́riyāṇi pracetaḥ*  8.23.27a-b *váṃsvā no vā́riyā purú / váṃsva rāyáḥ puruspŕ̥haḥ*  8.60. 14d  *váṃsvā no vā́riyā purú* | gewinne  gagne  erwirke  gagne  erwerke  gagne  erwirk / erwirke  gagne  gewinn  gagne | \*u̯en |
| **Injunctive** |  |  |  |
| *váṃsi*  (inj. aor. 1st sing. double stem) | 5.70.1c  *mítra váṃsi vāṃ sumatím* | möchte gewinnen  je veux gagner | \*u̯en |
| *vanvan*  (inj. pres. 3rd pl. VIII cl.) | 7.48.3b  *víśvām̐ aryá uparátāti vanvan* | übertrumpfen  vainquent | \*u̯en |
| *vanuṣanta*  (inj. pres. 3rd pl. double stem) | 10.128.3c *daívyā hótāro vanuṣanta pū́rve* | sollen Partei nehmen | \*u̯en |
| **Infinite** |  |  |  |
| *vántave*  (dative) | 1.131.5e  *pŕ̥tanāsu právantave* | den Sieg gewinnen  gagnent | \*u̯en |
| **Precative** |  |  |  |
| *vaniṣīṣta* (prec. pres. 3rd sing. Ā ) | 1.127.7g  *ā́ vaniṣīṣṭa médhiraḥ* | möge überwinden  puisse conquérir | \*u̯en |
| **Participle** |  |  |  |
| *vanván*  (part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.) | 1.121.9c *kútsāya yátra puruhūta vanváñ*  6.12.4c *drúanno vanván krátuvā ná árvā*  6.16.20c *vanvánn ávāto ástr̥taḥ*  6.16.26 b *adyá tvā vanván surékṇāḥ*  6.18.1b *vanvánn ávātaḥ puruhūtá índraḥ*  8.31.3c *víśvā vanvánn amitríyā*  9.89.7a *vanvánn ávāto abhí devávītim*  9.96.8a *sá matsaráḥ pr̥tsú vanvánn ávātaḥ*  9.96.11c *vanvánn ávātaḥ paridhī́m̐r áporṇu*  10.61.2a *sá íd dānā́ya dábhiyāya vanváñ* | Partei nehmend  gagnant la battaille  der gewinnt  gagnant  Sieger  qui vainc  der [...] gewinnt  gagnant  Sieger  überwindend  überwinder  qui gagnes  überwinder  qui gagnes  überwinder  qui gagnes  sich bemühte | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *vanvántaḥ*  (part. pres. nom. m. pl. VIII cl.) | 2.4.9b *gúhā vanvánta úparām̐ abhí ṣyúḥ*  6.16.27d *vanvánto aryó árātīḥ*  9.61.24b *syā́ma vanvánta āmúraḥ* | überbieten  en gagnant  die […] überwinden  vainquant  wollen überwinden  qui vainquent | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *vanvaté*  (part. pres. dat. m. sing. VIII cl.) | 2.21.2 a *abhibhúve abhibhaṅgā́ya vanvate* | gewinnenden  vainqueur | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *vanvántā*  (part. pres. nom. m. du. VIII cl.) | 7.83.4b *bhedáṃ vanvántā prá sudā́sam āvatam* | überwandet  vainquant | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *vanvānáḥ*  (part. pres. nom. m. sing. Ā VIII cl.) | 3.8.2b *bráhma vanvānó ajáraṃ suvī́ram*  5.29.9 c  *vanvānó átra saráthaṃ yayātha + avanoḥ* cf. | gewinnst  der überwinder | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *vanvānā́ḥ*  (part. pres. nom. m. pl. Ā VIII cl.) | 7.88.7c *ávo vanvānā́ áditer upásthād* | gewinnend  gagnant | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *vavanvā́n*  (part. perf. nom. m. sing.) | 10.27.9d *átho áyuktaṃ yunajad vavanvā́n* | der Sieger | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |
| *vavanvā́ṃsā* (part. perf. voc. m. du.) | 10.61.4d *vavanvā́ṃsā ná íṣam ásmr̥tadhrū* | die Gewinner | \*u̯ṇ -néu̯ / nu- |

### VI.1.2 Laryngeal and non-laryngeal attestations of the verb in the post-R̥gvedic Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and in the Atharvaveda (barring R̥V-quotations)

**a-Laryngeal**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Verbal form | occurrence | translation | I.E. root |
| **Indicative** |  |  |  |
| *vananti*  (ind. pres. 3rd pl. I/VI cl.) | AVŚ 12.1.58 *yád vádāmi mádhumat tád vadāmi yád ī́kṣe tád vananti mā* | Whitney 1905: 671 “win” | \*u̯en-H-e- |
| **Subjunctive** |  |  |  |
| *vanāmahe*  (subj. pres. 1st pl. Ā I/VI cl.) | TS 1.6.4.2-3o *émā́ agmann dóhakāmā índravantaḥ* / *vanāmahe dhukṣimáhi prajā́m íṣam*  TS 3.2.7.1-2h *indriyā́vanto vanāmahe dhukṣimáhi prajā́m íṣam* | Keith 1914: 87 “may we win”  Keith 1914: 247 “may we conquer” | \*u̯en-H-e- |
| *vanāḥ*  (subj. pres. 2nd sing.  I\VI cl.) | AVŚ 1.34.4 *mā́mít kíla tváṃ vánāḥ śā́khāṃ mádhumatīmiva* | Whitney 1905: 35 “shalt thou be fond” | \* u̯en-H-e- |
| *vanād*  (subj. pres. 3rd sing. I/VI cl.) | AVP 20.61.11 *śālālā tvaṃ saṃvananaṃ vanād vananam ādr̥tam* |  | \* u̯en-H-e- |
| **Imperative** |  |  |  |
| *vanatam*  (impv. pres. 2nd du. I/VI cl.) | TB 2.4.3.4-5 *dīkṣāpālébhyo vánataṃ hí śakrā́* |  | \*u̯en-H-e- |
| *vana*  (impv. pres. 2nd sing. I/VI cl.) | AVP 2.33.1 *ūdhnā vana hr̥dā vana mukhena jihvayā vana /*  *prapīnā payasā vana* |  | \*u̯en-H-e- |

**b-Non-Laryngeal**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Verbal form | occurrence | translation | I.E. root |
| **Indicative** |  |  |  |
| *vanute*  (ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.) | KS 10.3 (2x) *sātāṃ saniṃ vanute* […]*etad etasmai sanoti yad vanute*  MS 2.1.2 (2x) *sātāṃ saniṃ vanute* [...] *saṃvatsará etásmai vanute*  MS 3.6.9 *bhr̥tiṃ vanute yajñasya*  KS 23.6 (2x) *rāsate yadvanute* […] *dīkṣito bhr̥tiṃ vanute*  MS 4.1.10 *te parjányādevá vŕ̥ṣṭim̐ vanute*  MS 4.1.14 *marúdbhya evá vŕ̥ṣr̥iṃ vanute*  TS 2.6.9.8 *āhāgnír devébhyo vanuté*  ŚB 3.8.2.22 (2x) *agnirvŕ̥ṣṭiṃ vanute sá etaí stokaíretā́ntstokā́nvanute*  AVŚ 7.103.1 *kó yajñákāmaḥ ká u pū́rtikāmaḥ kó devéṣu vanute dīrghám ā́yuḥ*  AVŚ 12.2.36 *yát kr̥ṣáte yád vanute yác ca vasnéna vindáte*  AVP 7.15.5 *annena prāṇaṃ vanute tiro dhatte paridhānena yakṣmam*  AVP 19.26.5 *ghr̥tena prajāṃ vanute ghr̥tena rayim aṣnute*  AVP 19.26.6*ghr̥tenāyuṣyaṃ varcasyaṃ devebhyo vanute pari*  AVP 20.3.5 *kaṣ pūrtikāmaṣ ko u yajñakāmaṣ ko deveṣu vanute dīrgham āyuḥ* | Keith 1914: 219 “wins”  Eggeling 1882: II 196 “obtains”  Whitney 1905: 462 “wins”  Whitney 1905: “wins”  Griffiths 2009: 406 “gains” | \*u̯en- |
| *vanve*  (ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.) | AVŚ 6.82.1 *índrasya vr̥traghnó vanve vāsavásya śatákratoḥ*  AVŚ 8.2.13 *agnéṣṭe prānámamŕ̥tādā́yuṣmato vanve jātávedasaḥ*  AVP 5.37.8 *vanve te putraṃ pari devatābhyo anu manyantāṃ marutaḥ pr̥śnimātaraḥ* | Whitney 1905: 342 “win”  Whitney 1905: 478 “win”  Lubotsky 2002: 133 “ask” | \*u̯en- |
| *avanvata* (ind. impf. 3rd pl. Ā VIII cl.) | KS 10.6 *kurupañcāleṣu vatsatarānavanvata*  AVŚ 5.4.3 *tátrāmŕ̥tasya cákṣaṇaṃ devā́ḥ kúṣṭhamavanvata*  AVŚ 5.4.4 *tátrāmŕ̥tasya púṣyaṃ devā́ḥ kúṣṭhamavanvata*  AVŚ 6.95.1 *tátrāmŕ̥tasya cákṣaṇaṃ devā́ḥ kúṣṭhamavanvata*  AVŚ 6.95.2 *tátrāmŕ̥tasya púṣpaṃ devā́ḥ kúṣṭhamavanvata* | Whitney 1905: 227 “won”  Whitney 1905: 227 “won”  Whitney 1905: 350 “won”  Whitney 1905: 350 “won” | \*u̯en- |
| *vavnire*  (ind. perf. 3rd pl. Ā) | KS 30.8 *teṣāṃ yaṃ vavnire devāstam̐ svarāḍanumanyatām* |  | \*u̯en- |
| **Optative** |  |  |  |
| *vanvīta* (opt. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.) | MS 2.1.2 *yadā́ vanvīta*  KS 23.6 *rātrīrdīkṣito bhr̥tiṃ vanvīta* |  | \*u̯en- |
| *vaṃsiṣīya,* (opt. aor. 1st sing. Ā sigmatic aorist) | AVŚ 9.1.14 *mádhu janiṣīya mádhu vaṃsiṣīya*  AVŚ 16.9.4 *vasyobhū́yāya vásumān yajñó vásu vaṃsiṣīya vásumān bhūyāsaṃ vásu máyi dhehi* | Whitney 1905: 520 “may I win”  Whitney 1905: 803 “may I win” | \*u̯en- |
| **Subjunctive** |  |  |  |
| *vanavāmahai* (subj. pres. 1st pl. Ā VIII cl.) | ŚB 1.9.1.19 *vayámagnerádhyasmā etádvanavāmahā* | Eggeling 1882: I 253 “will solicit” | \*u̯en- |
| *vanate* (subj. aor. 3rd sing.) | TS 2.6.9.8 *tád agnír devó devébhyo vánate*  TB 3.5.10.5 tád agnír devó devébhyo vánate | Keith 1914: 216 “shall win” | \*u̯en- |
| *vaniṣád*  (subj. aor. 3rd sing. sigmatic aorist) | AVŚ 20.132.6 *ugráṃ vaniṣádātatam*  AVŚ 20.132.7 *ná vaniṣadánātatam* |  | \*u̯en- |
| *vaṃsataḥ*  (subj. aor. 3rd du. root aorist) | AVP 20.24.4 *tr̥tīyam aśvinā tvāgre vaṃsataḥ* |  | \*u̯en- |
| *vāvanat* (subj. perf. 3rd sing.) | KS 13.16 *sa naḥ pūrṇena vāvanat*  TS 2.4.5.1 *sa naḥ pūrṇena vāvanat* | Keith 1914: 179 “May favour us” | \*u̯en- |
| *vāvanaḥ* (subj. perf.  2nd sing.) | AVP 1.55.4 *māmit kila tvaṃ vāvanaḥ śākhāṃ madhumatīmiva* |  | \*u̯en- |
| **Participle** |  |  |  |
| *vanvānāḥ* (part. pres. nom. f. pl. Ā VIII cl.) | TS 1.8.12.1 *várcaḥ kṣatríyāya vanvānā́s*  MS 2.6.8 *kṣatrám kṣatríyāya vanvānā́ḥ*  MS 4.4.2 *kṣatrám kṣatríyāya vanvānā́*  VS 10.4 *kṣatrám kṣatríyāya vanvānā́ḥ*  KS 15.6 *kṣatrám kṣatríyāya vanvānā́ḥ*  ŚB 5.3.4.27 *kṣatrám kṣatríyāya vanvānā* | Keith 1914: 123 “Winning”  Eggeling 1882: III 80 “winning” | \*u̯en- |
| *vanvanáḥ* (part. pres. nom. m. sing. Ā VIII cl.) | AVŚ 5.20.9 *śríyo vanvanó vayúnāni vidvā́nkīrtím bahúbhyo ví hara dvirājé*  AVP 9.27.9 *śreyo vanvano vayunāni vidvānkīrtim bahubhyo vi bhaja dvirāje* | Whitney 1905: 256 “winning” | \*u̯en- |
| **Imperative** |  |  |  |
| *vanutāṃ* (impv. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.) | MS 4.13.9 *agnír devó devébhyo vanutāṃ*  ŚB 1.9.1.19 *agnírdevó devébhyo vanutāṃ*  AVŚ 4.15.10 *sá no varṣáṃ vanutāṃ jātávedāḥ prāṇáṃ prajā́bhyo amŕ̥taṃ divás pári*  AVP 5.7.8 *sá no varṣaṃ vanutāṃ jātavedāḥ prāṇaṃ prajābhyo amr̥taṃ divas pari* | Eggeling 1882: I 253 “may solicit”  Whitney 1905: 174 “win”  Lubotksy 2002: 34 “let get” | \*u̯en- |
| *vanudhvaṃ*(impv. pres. 2nd pl. Ā VIII cl.) | AVŚ 4.15.15 *varṣáṃ vanudhvaṃ pitaro marútāṃ mána icchata* | Whitney 1905: 175 “won” | \*u̯en- |
| *vanuṣva*  (impv. pres. 2nd sing. Ā VIII cl.) | AVŚ 12.3.53 *varṣáṃ vanuṣvā́pi gacha devā́ṃstvacó dhūmáṃ páryút pātayāsi*  AVP 19.26.5 *vanuṣva viśvadeveṣu vanuṣva tvaṃ vr̥haspatāu* | Whitney 1905: 692 “win” | \*u̯en- |

## VI.2 Data-base

### VI.2.1 Objects of *van*- */ vani-* in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*

• = indicates that the subject/object is implied within the verse,when a pronoun referring to it is present, it is indicated.

Ø = the subject is the generic human side of the rite: “we”- “I”(all occ. are 1st person, except one, which is nonetheless referring to the priests of the sacrifice).

a- “goods”

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| object | Q. | occurrences | *van- / vani-* | subject/ notes |
| *ánnam* | 2 | 10.107.7  10.61.4 | *vanute*  *vavanvā́ṃsa* | Dakṣina  Aśvin |
| *áyuktam* | 1 | 10.27.9 | *vavanvā́n* | Indra• (horse•) |
| *kuvíd (váśvaḥ)* | 1 | 7.15.4 | *vanā́ti (naḥ)* | Agni |
| *kṣáyam* | 1 | 1.133.7 | *vanoti* | *sunvan* |
| *gáyam* | 1 | 5.44.7 | *vanavat (asmā́kaṃ)* | Surya |
| *gātúm* | 1 | 5.65.4 | *vanate* | Mitra |
| *jítim* | 1 | 10.53.11 | *vanate* | *sáḥ* |
| *dúvas* | 2 | 6.15.6  6.16.18 | *vánate (náḥ)*  *vanavase* | Agni  Agni•(as metaphor for oblation) |
| *yáśaḥ* | 1 | 8.103.9 | *ā́ vaṃsate* | Agni• |
| *rayím* | 7 | 6.16.28  1.129.7  6.68.5  9.72.8  9.101.9  3.30.18  7.8.3 | *vanate (náḥ)*  *vanema*  *váṃsad*  *vasīmahi*  *vánāmahai*  *vantā́raḥ (syāma)*  *vantā́raḥ (bhavema)* | Agni  Ø  *sáḥ*  Ø  Ø  Ø  Ø |
| *vásūni*  *vásu* | 2 | 1.15.8  7.94.9 | *vanāmahe*  *vanemahi* | Ø  Ø |
| *vā́ryāni*  *vā́ryam* | 6 | 5.4.3  7.17.5  7.2.7  8.23.27  8.60.14  6.15.6 | *vanate*  *váṃsva*  *vanathaḥ*  *vamsvā (náḥ)*  *vamsvā (náḥ)*  *vánate* | Agni  Agni•  Agni (poet and Jataveda)•  Agni•  Agni  Agni (+*duvas)* |
| *vr̥ṣtím* | 1 | 10.98.3 | *vanāva* | Ø |
| *suvī́ryam* | 1 | 1.36.17 | *vavne (káṇvāya)* | Agni |
| Soma*• yád*  • *tád*  *•* | 3 | 1.61.15  6.23.5  10.105.5 | *vavné*  *vāvā́na*  *vanóti* | Indra  Indra  Indra• |
| *śríyam* | 1 | 4.44.2 | *vanathaḥ* | Aśvin |

b- a conquest

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| object | Q. | occurrences | *van- / vani-* | subject / notes |
| *amitríyā* | 1 | 8.31.1 | *vanván* | *ráthaḥ* |
| *arādhásaḥ* | 1 | 10.32.2 | *vanvantu* | *té* (Indra’s horses•) |
| *aryáḥ*  *\*manīṣā́*  *árātīḥ*  *śárdhataḥ*  *dyumnā́ni*  *tā́n* | 1  5 | 7.48.3  1.70.1  6.16.27  8.60.12  9.61.11  10.83.3 | *vanvan*  *vanema*  *vanvántaḥ*  *vaṃsāma*  *vanāmahe*  *vanuyāma* | R̥bhu•  Ø (*aryáḥ* -gen.)  *té* (men) (*aryáḥ*  -gen.)  Ø (*táranto aryá ā́díśaḥ*)  Ø (*aryáh*  -gen.*)*  *vayám (yó no dā́sa ā́ryo vā)* |
| *āmúraḥ* | 1 | 9.61.24 | *vanvántaḥ* | Ø |
| *kr̥ṣṭī́h* | 1 | 6.18.3 | *avanoḥ* | Indra |
| *purutámam* | 1 | 10.74.6 | *vavā́na* | Indra• |
| *pū́rvān* | 1 | 1.69.10 | *avanoḥ* | Agni |
| *brahmadvíṣaḥ* | 1 | 8.45.23 | *vanaḥ* | Indra• ritual action |
| *bhedám* | 1 | 7.83.4 | *vanvántā* | Indra Varuṇa |
| *mártān* | 2 | 5.3.5  5.3.6 | *vanavad*  *vanuyāma* | *sáḥ*  *vayám* |
| *mitrám* | 1 | 10.27.12 | *vanute* | *sā́* |
| *yám* | 1 | 2.30.6 | *vanuthaḥ* | Indra Soma |
| *vīrā́n* | 1 | 1.73.9 | *vanuyāmā* | Ø |
| *vr̥trā́* | 1 | 6.33.1 | *vanávat* | *yáḥ* (Indra’s *mádaḥ*) |
| *śúṣṇa* | 2 | 1.121.9  5.29.9 | *vanán*  *avanoḥ* | Indra•  Indra• |
| *sthirā́* | 1 | 8.19.20 | *vanémā* | Ø |
| *spŕ̥dhaḥ* | 1 | 6.20.9 | *vanate* | Indra |

d2- “results” of the sacrifice or metaphor for oblation

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| object | Q. | occurrences | *van- / vani-* | subject / notes |
| *ávas* | 1 | 7.88.7 | *vanvānā́ḥ* | Ø |
| *tát* | 1 | 8.92.31 | *vanema* | Ø (*tát* i.e. the absence of threat) |
| *\*maghám*  *maghā́ni* | 2 | 3.13.3  3.19.1 | *vánitā*  *vanate* | Agni (as oblation)  Agni (for the man) |
| *mahitvám* | 1 | 10.26.2 | *ā́ vaṃsad* | *jánaḥ* |
| *\*rátnam* | 1 | 1.140.11 | *vanase* | Agni |
| *rékṇaḥ* | 1 | 1.13.14 | *vanóṣi (vāgháte)* | Agni |
| *\*vā́jam*  *vā́jā* | 2 | 1.48.11  6.48.4 | *váṃsva*  *vaṃsva* | Uṣas  Agni |
| *sumatím* | 1 | 5.70.1 | *váṃsi* | Ø |
| *sumnám*  *sumnā́* | 2 | 5.3.10  1.169.1 | *vanate*  *vanuṣva* | Agni  Indra |

d3- rite’s element - components

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| object | Q. | occurrences | *van- / vani-* | subject / notes |
| *apidhī́n* | 1 | 1.127.7 | *vaniṣīṣṭa* | *médhira* (2x, 2nd : ā-) |
| *iláḥ(ūrmím)* | 1 | 7.47.1 | *vanema* | *vayam* |
| *iṣáḥ* | 1 | 5.7.3 | *vanāmahe* | Ø |
| *upasádam* | 1 | 2.6.1 | *vaneḥ* | Agni |
| *r̥tá*  *r̥tā́* | 2 | 4.23.10  1.46.14 | *vanoti*  *vanthaḥ* | *yemānáḥ*  *Aśvin* |
| *gíraḥ*  *upasádam* | 5  \*6 | 1.3.2  1.93.9  7.94.2  5.65.1  8.7.9  \*2.6.1 | *vánatam*  *vanata,*  *vánatam*  *vánate*  *vanatā*  *vaneḥ* | Aśvin  Agni Soma  Indra Agni  Mitra  Marut (+*hávam*)  Agni (\**śrudhī gíraḥ*) |
| *dhíyam* | 1 | 2.11.2 | *vanema* | Ø |
| *dhītím* | 1 | 6.38.1 | *vanate* | Agni• |
| *prátiṣṭutim* | 1 | 8.13.33 | *vāvantha* | Indra |
| *bráhma* | 1 | 3.8.2 | *vanvānáḥ* | Sacrificial Pillar• |
| *mádam* | 1 | 10.96.1 | *pra vavne* | Ø |
| *manīṣā́* | 1 | 1.70.1 | *vanema (aryáḥ)* | Ø |
| *mántram* | 1 | 1.31.13 | *vanoṣi* | Agni |
| *mánma* | 1 | 4.11.2 | *vāvanaḥ* | Agni |
| *yajñám*  *(yajñám)yát* | 2 | 2.5.7  8.66.5\* | *vanema*  *vāvántha* | *vayám*  Indra |
| *yájyūn* | 1 | 5.31.13 | *vāvandhi* | Indra• |
| *(ukhtám)yát* | 1 | 8.66.5 | *vāvántha* | Indra |
| *(vácaḥ)yát* | 1 | 8.66.5 | *vāvántha* | Indra |
| *vánā* | 1 | 6.6.3 | *vananti* | Agni (*bhā́māsaḥ* of Agni) |
| *vípah* | 1 | 10.61.3 | *vanuthaḥ* | Aśvin• |
| *samídham* | 1 | 2.6.1 | *vaneḥ* | Agni |
| *stómam* | 1 | 2.5.7 | *vanema* | *vayám* |
| *hávam* | 1 | 8.7.9 | *vanatāḥ* | Marut |
| *havyā́* | 1 | 5.7.3 | *vanāmahe* | *Ø* |

e- the gods – ritual action

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| object | Q. | occur. | *van- / vani-* | instrument | subject- notes |
| *anŕ̥caḥ* R̥V *hapax* | 1 | 10.105.8 | *vanema* | *rcā́* | Ø |
| *amŕ̥tam* | 1 | 6.15.6 | *úpa vivāsata* | *gīrbhír* | Ø |
| *Indra•*  *(ī́m-índram)* | 2 | 1.131.5  1.51.2 | *právantave*  *avanvan* |  | Uśij  *ūtáyaḥ-r̥bhávaḥ* |
| *tvā* | 1 | 6.16.26 | *vanván* | *krátvā́* | *dā́* |
| *dévāsaḥ* | 1 | 5.41.17 | *vanate* |  | *mártyaḥ* |
| *vām* (Aśvin) | 1 | 5.74.7 | *ā́ vavne* | *yajñaíḥ* | *káḥ* |

c/e- no object

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| “use of *van-*” | Q. | occur. | *van- / vani-* | *instrument* | subject / notes |
| c- divine attribute | 7 | 6.12.4  2.21.2.  6.16.20  6.18.1  9.89.7  9.96.8  9.96.11 | *vanván*  *vanván*  *vanván -ávātaḥ*  *vanván -ávātaḥ*  *vanván -ávātaḥ*  *vanván -ávātaḥ*  *vanván -ávātaḥ* |  | Agni  Indra  Agni•  Indra  Soma  *sáh*(*índuḥ* -of Soma)  Soma |
| e- ritual action | 6 | 10.128.3  10.27.18  8.72.1  5.37.2  10.61.2  7.37.5 | *vanuṣanta*  *vanavat*  *vanate*  *vanavat*  *vanván*  *vavanmā́* | *yújiyābhir ūtī́ (dhībhíḥ)* | *hótāraḥ*  Agni•  *adhvaryúḥ*  *sámiddhagniḥ*  *sáḥ* (Cyavana)  Ø |

It may be worth noticing some words on account of these criteria:

* 1. those, which are object of *van-* meaning a ritual action
  2. out of quantity
  3. object involved in the ritual action

Excluding criteria:

* 1. pronouns
  2. names of gods
* *devá-* (a)
* *amŕ̥tam* (a)
* *brahmádviṣ-* (a)
* *gír-* (b) (c)
* *vā́rya-*(b)
* *raí-* (b)
* *dhī*́- (c)
* *r̥cá*- (c)
* *yajñá-* (c)

### VI.2.2 Objects of *van- / vani-* in the post-R̥gvedic literature

R̥V occ. → all post-R̥V correspondences:

a- “goods”

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| object | Q. | R̥V occ. | post- R̥V correspondences | *van- / vani-* |
| *ánnam* | 1 | 10.107.7c | ŚB 10.1.1.10 | *vanute* |
| *kṣatrá* | 2 | 1.162.22 | TS 4.6.9.4l; VS 25.45;  KSAśv 6.5 | *vanatāṃ*  *vanate* |
| *narya* | 1 | 7.100.1 | TB 2.4.3.5 | *ā vivāsāt* |
| *mádam* | 2 | 10.96.1 | TB 3.7.9.6; TB 2.4.3.10-(11) | *pra vanve* |
| *raí* | 5 | 6.16.28 | MS 2.10.2; KpS 28.2; VS 17.16  KS 18.1; TS 4.6.1.5r | *vanate*  *vaṃsate* |
| *vána* | 2 | 6.6.3 | TS 3.3.11.1-2e; ŚB 12.4.4.2 | *vananti* |
| *vásu* | 3 | 7.15.4  7.94.9 | KS 40.14; TB 2.4.8.1  KS 4.15 | *vanā́ti (kuvíd)*  *vanemahi* |

b- a conquest

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| object | Q. | R̥V occ. | post- R̥V correspondences | *van- / vani-* |
| *sthirā́* | 1 | 8.19.20 | VS 15.39-40 | *vanéma* |
| *vanuṣya* | 2 | 2.25.1 | MS 4.14.10; TB 2.8.5.2-3 | *vanavat* |

d3- rite’s element - components

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| object | Q. | R̥V occ. | post- R̥V correspondences | *van- / vani-* |
| *bráhman* | 3 | 3.8.2 | MS 4.13.1; KS 15.12; AB 2.2; 3.6.1.1 | *vanvānáḥ* |
| *gíra* | 3 | 1.93.9 | KS 4.16; MS 4.10.1; TS 2.3.14.1-2; TB 3.5.7.2; | *vanatam* |
| *dúvas* | 1 | 6.16.18 | KS 20.14 | *vanavase* |
| *vípa* | 1 | 10.61.3 | VS 7.17; ŚB 4.2.1.12; | *vanutháḥ* |
| *samidha* | 1 | 2.6.1ab | AB 1.25.7 | *vaneḥ* |

e- the gods – ritual action

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| object | Q. | R̥V occ. | post- R̥V correspondences | *van- / vani-* |
| Parjanya | 1 | 5.83.1 | TB 2.4.5.5 | *vivāsa* |
| Viṣṇu | 1 | 6.16.26 | TB 2.4.6.2 | *vanvánt* |
| Brahmanaspati | 1 | 2.26.3 | TB 2.8.5.3 | *ā vívasati* |

c/e- no object

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| “use of *van-”* | Q. | R̥V occ. | post- R̥V correspondences | *van- / vani-* |
| divine attribute | 3 | 7.23.3  9.96.11 | TB 2.8.5.7-8  VS 19.53; KS 21.14; MS 4.10.6; TS 2.6.12.1 | *vanván -ávātaḥ* |
| e- ritual action | 2 | 10.128.3 | KS 40.10; TS 4.7.14.1 | *vaniṣan; vaniṣanta* |

Non-R̥gvedic occurrences:

a- “goods”

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| object | Q. | occurrences | *van- / vani-* | subject / notes |
| *kṣatra* | 5 | KS 15.6  VS 10.4  MS 2.6.8  MS 4.4.2  ŚB 5.3.4.27 | *vanvānāḥ*  *vanvānāḥ*  *vanvānāḥ*  *vanvānāḥ*  *vanvānāḥ* | *devīrāpaḥ*  *madhumatīr (devīrāpaḥ)*  *devīrāpaḥ*  *devīrāpaḥ*  *madhumatīr (devīrāpaḥ)* |
| *bhr̥ti* | 2 | MS 3.6.9  KS 23.6 | *vanute*  *vanute* | *•* (the sacrificer)  • (the sacrificer) |
| *tapas* | 1 | TB 2.4.3.4 | *vanatam* | Agni and Viṣṇu |
| *vatsatara* | 1 | KS 10.6 | *avanvata* | Naimiṣya |
| *varcas* | 1 | TS 1.8.12.1a-b | *vanvānāḥ* | *devīr āpaḥ* |
| *vr̥ṣṭi* | 3 | MS 4.1.14  MS 4.1.10  ŚB 3.8.2.22 | *vanute*  *vanute*  *vanute* | • (the sacrificer)  • (the sacrificer)  Agni (+ *stoka*) |
| *sani* | 2 | MS 2.1.2  KS 10.3 | *vanute*  *vanute* | • (the sacrificer)  • (the sacrificer) |
| *•*(this) | 4 | TS 2.6.9.8  MS 4.13.9  TB 3.5.10.5  ŚB 1.9.1.19 | *vanute; vanate*  *vanutām*  *vanate*  *vanutām; vanavāmahai* | \*Agni (for us): passage |
| *•*(this) | 1 | KS 30.8 | *vavnire* | \*Paśupati-Agni (for us): passage |

e- no object

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| “use of *van-”* | Q. | occurrences | *van- / vani-* | subject / notes |
| e- ritual action | 2 | TS 1.6.4.2  TS 3.2.7.1 | *vanāmahe*  *vanāmahe* | Ø  Ø |

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| “use of *van-”* | Q. | occurrences | *van*-/ *vani-* | subject / notes |
| god *van-* us | 2 | TS 2.4.5.1c  KS 13.16 | *vāvanat* | Dhātr̥ |

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1. As to the period of recasting within the Vedic time, see, among others, Renou 1947, Witzel 1989 and 1997, Proferes 2007. I will deal with this topic in Chapter 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Whereas, since Saussure, the two main approaches to languages were the synchronic and diachronic ones, the linguist E. Coseriu (see Coseriu 1970) has proposed a third method based on the idea that different linguistic social strata are synchronically embedded within a language. He developed his theory from that of Flydal (1951) who termed this kind of analysis as “diastratic”. I would like to thank Carla Miotto (Romanische Seminar, Tübingen) for drawing my attention to Flydal’s work. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. The concept of semantic ‘field’ was introduced by Ipsen, for an history of this and other field concepts see Gordon 1982: 67-70. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Within this approach the terms “seme” and “sememe” have been coined for the semantic components and the component clusters in analogy to structural phonology. With regard to the further applications of the field theory see Lehrer Kittay 1992 within the volume they edited on the concepts of “frame”, “fields” and “contrast”. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. The volumes already published should be the first of an editorial project aiming to present a new translation of the whole *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. For this part it has been of great help Bloomfield 1906. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. See the major etymological lexicons and dictionaries, such as Walde 1927-1932: I, 258-260; Pokorny 1959-1969: 1146-7 and LIV 680-683. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. With regard to the theory of the laryngeals and the more recent developments, see Sturtevant 1942, Szmerényi 1967 and 1973, Jonsson 1978, Lindemann 1987, Bammesberger 1988. For a more general picture cf. Szmerényi 1989 and, more recently, Mayrhofer 2005. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Mayrhofer 1992-1996. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Walde 1927-1932: I, 258-260. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Pokorny 1959-1969: 1146-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. The semantic ambivalence at the Indo-European level can be read as a metonymic shift and this was to be the main argument of Migron in his analysis on the Sanskrit outcome (cf. Migron 1980). [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Migron 1980: 269-282. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 1203-1204]. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Meringer 1904 : 101-196, in particular p. 179 ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Meillet 1896: 55-57. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Migron 1980: 275. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Kümmel 2000: 447-451. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Trier 1963: 118-154. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Gotō 1987: 283-286. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. On the thematic optative from an athematic form cf. Renou 1932: 5 - 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Werba 1997: 232-3; 317. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Hettrich 2007: 133. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. *yáḥ – tám* : the construction of the two *pāda*s is ambiguous and not completely clear (Geldner I 35, n. 13cd); we might consider *yáḥ* relative to *tám* and *kīréś cin mántram mánasā* parenthetical, as does Geldner (I 35) “Wer Opfer spendet, um sich Sicherheit zu schaffen –auch des an Geist Armen Dichterspruch”; alternatively, *yáḥ* is relative to *kīréḥ* and so *tám* is adj. of *mántram*, as understood by Elizarenkova 1995a: 62-3 and Renou XII, 6. Both possibilities are presented by Oldenberg 1906: 734. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. *kīréḥ* (gen. m. sing.) from *kīrí*-, for the use of *kīrí*- as substantive, “poet”, and adjective, “weak”, see EWAia: I 357 and Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: I 216-228. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Grassmann 1875. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. As to the notion of functional analysis, see Criteria. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. On this point, see the extensive study by Gonda 1963. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. *r̥tayā́* Geldner (I, 288) and Gonda (1963) take the term as an adverb, although *r̥tayā́* was originally a feminine instrumental, while the substantive from which (*r̥tá*-) should derive is neutral; in the present translation it is taken to be an adjective referring to an understood *dhiyā*, considering also that it is with the right vision, i.e. according to the *r̥tá*-, that the god is honoured. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Not as a sign of esteem on the part of the god, but as an act of prayer which man first receives from the god and then, giving it form (in words, in sounds), “uses” to pray to the same god: consider the non-human origin of the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā.* For this religious context, with particular reference to the role of “vision” (*dhī-*), cf. Gonda 1963. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. The desiderative often implies a conative aspect of the action in contrast with the resultative one. On desiderative, see Heenen 2006. A thorough examination is in §II.1e. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. *Dakṣiṇā* from *dákṣiṇā*- “right” (as opposite to left), a term of very broad application, also indicating a sacrificial offering presented to the officiant, at the completion of the rite and a stage of it; here, personified, is the *devavatā* of the hymn. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. *durmánmānaṃ* (acc. m. sing.) from *dur-mánman-*, *mánman*- is “thought”, but also “poetic invocation”, which seems to be the most appropriate translation here, given the contrast with *sumántubhir* (instr. m. pl.) from *su-mántu*- “good advice – word” (*su* + *mántu* < *man*- the same root as *mánman*-) (cf. EWAia: II 305-6), with which, by contrast, Indra is satisfied: the contrast is highlighted by the juxtaposition of the two terms. For *mánman*- cf. Gonda 1963 and Renou I 2 ff. On the binomial *\*su- / \*dus*- see Costa 1990 for an interesting study on the original meaning of the two prefixes. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. *purūrúṇā*: *purū urúṇā, urúṇā* (instr. n. sing.) from *urú-* “ample”, the link between Mitra - Varuṇa and “the ample” (*urú*-) as opposed to the narrow confine (*áṃhas*) is also to be seen in 5.65.1-4: Mitra and Varuṇa are they whose protection is manifested through ample space, in liberation from the narrow confine; for Geldner (II 76) “eure Gnade gewiss mehr als ausgedehnt”. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. *manīṣā́* (instr. f. sing.) from *manīṣā*-, as in Pp., cf. Oldenberg 1909: 71; Geldner (I 91) and Renou (XII 20) read *manīṣā́ḥ*; retaining the form PP “we can with our poetic inspiration (*manīṣā́*) appropriate the many (‘poetic inspirations’ is understood) of the foreigner”, the sense remains unchanged. For the meaning of the terms *manīṣā*- “poetic inspiration” and *manas-* “thought, inspired thought”, from which *manīṣa*- derives, see Thieme 1967: 99-106, Gonda 1963 and Maggi 1989: 63-114. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. *aryáh* (gen. m. sing., the Vedic form cf. Whitney 1888: §340.e) from *arí*- “enemy”: for the present translation the interpretation proposed by Thieme (1938) is followed; see also Oldenberg 1900: 167-180 and EWAia: I 111-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. *cikitvā́n* (part. perf., nom. m. sing.) from the root *cit*- “understanding through visual perception”, perfect with resultative value – logical perf. (cf. Di Giovine 1996, in particular 273 ff.). [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. The sense of *pāda* a-b does not seem clear: Geldner (I 166 n. 9 ab/b) hypothesises that reference is to the weapon wielded by Indra in the clash with Śuṣna but “warscheinlich durfte Indra [..] nicht den eigentlich vajra gebrauchen”, while Renou (XVII 41) “C’est toi qui fis rebrousser-chemin au (fouche) d’airain, fronde du ciel (à courroie de cuir) de vache, qui avait été amené par l’habile”, a translation based on the hypothesis advanced by Schmidt (1968: 147) with reference here to the setting free of the cows achieved by Indra, and the two following *pāda* refer to another feat of Indra, namely the fight against Śuṣṇa; see also Oguibénine 1988: 184 and Srinivasan 1979: 9 and 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. *r̥ṣi* often associated in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* with Indra and the defeat of the demon Śuṣṇa, in the struggle for the sun, cf. Macdonell- Keith [1912] 1995: I 160 and Macdonell 1898: §58 A and §69 A. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. *yám* (acc. m./ n. sing.) from *ya*- relative pronoun, referring to those whom the gods annihilate sucking out to their strength, in contrast to the one who obediently promotes the sacrifice. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. *lokám* (acc. m. sing.) from *loká*- “free space”, in this case free from dangers, and so “safe”. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Father of Divodāsa and in fact one of the “promoters” of the cult of Agni, i.e. of the ancestors who, according to the tradition, first kindled the sacrificial fire, which is in fact called in the first stanza *agnér vadhriaśvásya*, “fire of Vadhryaśva”, just as elsewhere we find mention of a fire of Bharata (2.7.1 and 7.8.4), of Divodāsa (8.92.2) or of Devavāta (3.23.3) cf. Macdonell 1898: §35, 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. *vrā́dhataḥ*: (acc. m. pl.) present participle from *vrā́dh*- “stolz sein” cf. EWAia: II 597. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. *mánaḥ* (acc. n. sing.) from *mánas*- “thought, inspired thought”, but also “mental impulse”; for the meaning and interpretation of this term, see Thieme 1967: 99-106, Gonda 1963 and Maggi 1989: 63-114. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Renou (XIII 149 n. 20): *sthirā́ tanuhi scil. dhánvāni* and translates (XIII, 66) “Détends les (arcs) tendus”. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. *sthirā́* […] *bhūri śárdhatām* “the many resistances of the defiants” is symmetrically associated with both *tanuhi* and *vanéma*, i.e. both to the action of Indra and to that of men. Geldner (II 321) and Renou (XIII 66) refer the syntagm to *tanuhi* alone, and take *vanéma* with absolute value. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. *abhíṣṭibhiḥ* (instr. f. pl.) from *abhíṣṭi*- “protection”; here the plural has distributive value: “your help in every battle”. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. *etárī* (nom. m. sing.) a very rare term of uncertain etymology, probably derived from the root i- “to go” cf. EWAia I 265; Oldenberg 1901: 302; AiGr: III §107c, while Renou (XIII 132-3) takes it as a locative. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. To be understood as “raises our hymns to the gods”, we also find here once again the role of Agni as intermediary between gods and man. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. “Receiving care like a lover (*jā́ra*-)”, for *jārayā́yi* as causative or denominative cf. Oldenberg 1901: 302-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. See, for example, *vātā́piyam* in 10.62.2: Geldner (III 163 n. a b) wonders if, as in 10.93.5, might be a possessive compound (*bahuvrīhi*) derived from *vā́ta*- (m.) “wind” + *ā́pya*- (n.) “friendship” “alliance”: “mit dem Vāta befreundet (?)” or whether, against (??) Pp., *vātā́piyam* is to be separated, as argued in 1913: 216, in *vātá*(m) *āpyam* and *vātám* a passive past participle from *van*- (vgl. *ávāta*-) referring to *āpyam* (“gesuchte Gesellschaft”); thus also Renou (XV 152-3) “l’amitié digne d’être gagnée”, while Oldenberg (1912: 225 n. 26,2) finds this hypothesis unconvincing, considering the term a secondary adjective, possessive compound from a *tatpuruṣa* (determinative compound): “who has the friendship of Vāta (the wind as personified element)”. There exists no certain attestation of the form of the passive past participle (\**vātá*-) of *van*-: the adjective *ávāta*- (“that no one has ever appropriated”) or possible compounds in –*vata*- cannot be taken as final proof of the historical existence of the form *vātá*-, since these nominal forms could have been constructed by analogy on the basis of the paradigms *yuj- / yuktá- / áyukta*-. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. With regard to this and the root compounds, see in particular Migron 1980. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. *víprā* (voc. m. du.) from *vípra*- (m.f.n.) “inspired” (cf. Gonda 1963: 36-40) from the root *vip*- “to quiver” , from which also comes *vépas*- “the quivering of divine inspiration”; for the perfective value of the term, see Kümmel 2000: 498-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. *karū́* *jātávedasā* (voc. m. du.) can be considered an elliptical dual (Geldner II 182 “Die beiden beredten Dichter [...] die beiden Jātavedas.”) or a separate *dvandva*, as in the present translation, referring to both *viprā,* as in Renou (XIV 46) “Vous deux (Oblateurs divins), orateurs-sacrés [...] vous (dont l’un est) barde, (l’autre) le Jātavedas [...]. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. *mánye* (pres. ind. 1st sing. Ā , from root *man-* “to think”) - *yájadhyai* (dat. inf., from root *yaj*- “to sacrifice”) Geldner (II 182) “euch gedenke ich zu verehren”, Renou (XIV 46) “je pense (à vous): sacrifiez!” (cf. Renou XIV, 117-118 for the independent value of the infinitive in -*dhyai*); in the present translation the infinitive has been rendered with exhortative value, cf. Macdonell 1916: §211.γ. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. *tyájasaḥ* (abl. n. sing.) from *tyájas*- for the interpretation of this term as “isolation”, “abandonment”, and in in this sense “danger” (isolation was a serious danger for Vedic man) cf. Gonda 1957: 52 ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. *vedhaḥ* (voc. m. sing.) from *vedhás*- an epithet interpreted in various different ways cf. EWAia II 582; Geldner (I 246): “Meister”, Renou (XVII 48): “ordonnateur”; the present translation is based on a hypothetical link with the root *vidh*- “to distribute the parts in the sacrifice” cf. Crevatin 1982-83: 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. “Make yours”, “for us” being understood: here returns the idea of transference from god to man. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. The way is to be understood both in a metaphorical sense, cf. analogy with the chants in the first stanza of the hymn, and in the concrete sense, given that Mitra guarantees that the space around the house be ample, devoid of dangers, cf. Thieme (1971: 1112) Mitra and Varuṇa are they who dispense *urvī gavyūti* “ample pastures” with release from the narrow confines (*áṃhu*-). [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. *pratū́rvataḥ* (gen. m. sing.) from *pratū́rvat*-, for the meaning of the term we have followed the proposal of Gotō 1987: 163; appellative usually used for Indra, Geldner (II 73) refers it to the one who obtains the favour of Mitra (*vidhatáḥ*), but also Mitra victoriously fight those who violate agreements, provoking war, which makes the way home narrow, cf. Thieme 1975: 21-39. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. *vidhatáḥ* (pres. part. gen. m. sing.) from *vidh*- “to honour, to sacrifice”, and more precisely “divide, distribute the parts during the sacrifice” cf. Crevatin 1982-83: 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. *cikéta* (ind. perf. 3rd sing.) from the root *cit*- “understanding through visual perception”, but also “to be visible” cf. *cétati dhíyā* “shows himself with vision” also referring to the gods, and in particular to Mitra and Varuṇa, who are in fact defined as *sukrátū* (8.25.8-9) cf. Gonda 1963: 99-100. Note the connection between *cit*- and the shining element. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. *darśatáḥ* (nom. m. sing.) from *darśatá*- (m. f. n.) “visible” “beautiful”, Geldner (II 73) translates the term as attribute (“gernsehen”) and consequently considers the secondary as non-disjunctive relative (as also do Renou V 80 and Lüders 1959); in the present translation *darśatáḥ* is considered predicate of an understood copula, and consequently the secondary as a disjunctive relative. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. *párijmanor* (gen. m. du.) from *párijman*- (m.f.n.) “which turns around, surrounds the earth (*kṣám*-)”. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. *aktúbhiḥ* (instr. m. pl.) da *aktú*-, vox media, which indicates a kind of colour of light, translatable according to the context as “sunset” or “dawn”, or, according to some authors, as “night” cf. Atkins 1950: 24 ff. ; EWAia I 40; Kuiper 1997: 81-2; Renou 1937: 6; Thieme 1949: 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. *r̥tā́* (acc. n. pl.) from *r̥tá*- a term which, mostly used in the singular, indicates a set of concepts which cannot easily be conveyed with a single corresponding term, *r̥tá*- is “order”, “law” “truth”, the ordering activity at the cosmic level of truth. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. *manīṣā́ṃ* (acc. f. sing.) from *manīṣā́*-; for the meaning of the terms *manīṣā́*- “poetic inspiration” and *mánas*- “thought, inspired thought”, from which *manīṣā́*- is derived, see Thieme 1967: 99-106, Gonda 1963 and Maggi 1989: 63-114. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. *vépasā* (instr. n. sing.) from *vépas*- “the quivering of divine inspiration”, for the ingressive value of the term, see Kümmel 2000: 498-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. *mánma* (acc. n. sing.) from *mánman*- Geldner (I 431) “Gedanken”, Renou (XIII 14 and in particular I 2ff.) “évocation poétique”; followed in the present translation is the interpretation by Gonda 1963. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. *dhā́yase* (dat. n. sing.) from *dhā́yas*-, “the act of feeding” “nourishment”, here metaphorically referring to fire. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. *r̥tvij* - *r̥tvíjam* (*polyptoton*) (nom. m. sing. and acc. m. sing.) from *r̥tvíj*- literally “he who sacrifices properly, according to the *r̥tá*-”. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. *áram* (ind./ adv.) “suitable”, “in the right way” for Agni himself is to be the priest. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. The human part has been completed, divine intervention is wanting, invoked. Again we have the concept of co-participation between the human and divine spheres, co-participation being the indispensable basis for the sacrifice. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. According to Geldner (II 397 n.1a) and Renou (XIV 36) the subject of *ā́ gamad* is Agni, while according to Oldenberg (1912: 134 n. 1) the subject is the *haviṣkr̥t*, i.e. the ritual exclamation “*haviṣ kr̥d éhi*” (for a description of the ritual cf. Caland-Henry 1906: 135 and Hillebrandt 1879: 29). [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. With regard to *haviṣkr̥t-*, in the initial stage of the sacrifice, as interpreted by Oldenberg 1912: 134 n. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. *havíṣā́va: havíṣā ava, havíṣā* (instr. n. sing.) from *havís*- “oblation” “offering”, but also by metonymy “the container” which is placed under the offering itself, the soma which flows. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. A seer associated with the Aśvin and opposed to Tūrvayāṇa, a prince associated with Indra, cf. Macdonell- Keith [1912] 1995: I 264-5 and above all Pischel (in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: I, 71-77), according to whom these particularly obscure verses refer to an ancient saga, a few details of which are given in MBh. 3, 122-124, in which Cyavana, having taken the soma, offered a sacrifice to the Aśvin against the will of Indra, attempting to trick him, and so relying on a dishonest sacrifice; in this sense Cyavana *dānā́ya dábhyāya vanván*. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. The interpretation that Pischel (ibid. 74) offers of the passage seems itself to suggest the meaning of *van*- as a ritual action ‘to appropriate’, ‘to have enter the circle of the rite’ ‘to have [the gods] enter the circle of the rite’. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. *sū́dair* (instr. m. pl.) from *sū́da*-, for the meaning of the term as “decoction” (*scil*. of soma) cf. Pischel (ibid. 74). [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. *pravát-* (f.): Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 880-881]: “Bergabhang […] abwärts führender Weg” Geldner II 42: “Vorsprung”, whereas EWAia: II 183 “Vorwärtsdrang [] InstrSg mit Vorwärtsdrang, in vollem Lauf (u.a. von Flüssen)”. The present translation tries to give back what could be the core of the world, that is the speed and precipitate movement, being it connected with waters or not. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. *dhībhíḥ* (instr. f. pl.) from *dhī́*-, there is no general agreement on the meaning of the term; the present translation follows the interpretation proposed by Gonda (1963, in particular 68-169), Geldner (II 219): “Absichten” (intenzioni) Renou (V 43): “poèmes”. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. *ūtī́* (instr. f. sing.) from *utí*- “help”, for *ūtī́* used in the plural cf. Delbrück 1888: 80, according to Geldner (II 117): “Hilfen” and Renou (V 43): “allouées”. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. It is the offspring and cattle that make old age benevolent, and the mortal brings the gods to his side to obtain these assets. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. *Nírr̥ti*, goddess of disorder, destruction and death, but also of non-death as ageing, cf. Renou 1978: 127-132. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. *dhāsím* (acc. f. sing.) from *dhāsí*- “place, dwelling”, but also “freshness, fount” cf. EWAia: I 790-1 and in particular Janert 1956. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. *vipravāhasā* (acc. m. du.) from *vípravāhas*- (m. f. n.) “who receives the offerings of the wise one”, Geldner II 78 “für welche die Redekundigen eine Anziehungskraft (force of attraction) haben”, according to Renou (XVI 39) it is a substantive constructed on the model of *yajñá-vāha, stóma-vāha*. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. The desiderative conjugation often implies a conative and non perfective value. As mentioned before, on desiderative see Heenen 2006. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. One of the divinities of the Vedic pantheon, father of the Aśvin and of Yama, among the first to whom Agni manifests himself, and of whom, as here, he becomes messenger, see Macdonell 1898: §18. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. For the causal value of the instrumental, cf. Macdonell 1916: §199.3. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. *sapráthā* *asi*: “you are vast (*sapráthāḥ* nom. m. sing.)” and so also “known”, hence for Geldner (II 381) “weitbekannt”; our preference here is to maintain the spatial value. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. *r̥tás kavíḥ: r̥tás*: nom. masc. sing.; *r̥tá*- , a term with a wide range of meanings, here in a particularly rare form: it cannot, in fact, be considered a neutral substantive, but either an adjective derived from it and referring to *kavíḥ* (the just *kavíḥ*), or a masculine substantive, and so on in apposition to *kavíḥ.* *Kavíḥ* is, in turn, a substantive by no means easy to translate: often rendered with the terms “poet” or “inspired sage”, it is in fact he who is acquainted with the structure of the world, of the rite, and of the hymn. It is in this latter sense that we should perhaps understand the use of this substantive referring to Agni, he who is certainly acquainted with the structure of the rite and of the world, and as such, then, is also *r̥tás* (thus to be taken as a substantive), order personified, through a very particular construction which the poet may possibly have devised to underline the unique nature of the message. This hypothesis on the term *kaví*- is an outcome of the research carried out by Dr. Frank Köhler, Eberhardt Karl Universität, Tübingen. For the results of this investigation, trying to outline the basic concept underneath this variety of meanings, see Köhler 2011. About the role of poetry in Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature and the relation between these two periods, see, among others, Jamison 2007 . [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. *samidhāna*: present participle Ā from *sam*- *idh*-: “to set fire”; the use of the participle with the vocative is very rare, generally indicating something that happens at that moment and not a state, but here it is justified by the connection between this verb and Agni: it is a typical characteristic of Agni to be *samidhāna*, just as Soma is *pavamāna* (present participle Ā from the root *pū*- “to purify”), soma during the process of depuration. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. *divó* *scil.* *napā́tā*: “descendants of the heavens”, one of the epithets of the Aśvin. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. Following the interpretation given in 1.64.12 the son of Rudra should be Agni, which hardly seems convincing here. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. *giráyaḥ*: nom. m. pl. from *girí*- “mountain”; followed here is the interpretation by Geldner (II 169: “Bergwasser”) who explains quite clearly in the note (II 169 n. 11d): “wörtlich: wie die Berge, die Gewässer. Asyndeton statt Genitivverhältnis […]”. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. A mixture of leaves and above all dry grass which was scattered in the precise point where would be accommodated the divinity who, being invoked, would arrive to take part in the sacrifice. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. *vidáthe* (loc. sing. n.) from *vidátha*-, a term of Vedic use and unclear meaning, possibly relating to the stage in the rite when the priest “distributed the parts” cf. EWAia II 554. The gods rejoice in the distribution of the oblations which the priests have performed, and in the oblation in itself. See Gonda 1992: VI/1 310-337, Kuiper 1974: 129-132 and Oldenberg 1900: 608-611. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. Reference to Soma as the king who wins the chariot race is very frequent; see in this connection Sparreboom 1985: 21-23. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. *maryatáḥ*: (abl. m. sing.) a derivative term in –*ta*- from *márya*- “mortal” but also “young” “lover”, here taken as the adjective “impassioned”. For the various derivations of *maryatáḥ* cf. Oldenberg 1912: 228 n. 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Schmidt 1982. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Divine female power associated with watercourses. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Cf. Watkins 1995. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. This, obviously, was subsequent to the rise of the doctrine of Zoroastrianism: a hymn dedicated to Miθra is in fact perfectly possible in the Yašt, but not in the earlier Yasna or the Gāθā, i.e. in the Old Avestan texts, which set out the early Mazdean doctrine; in this case we are confronted with a subsequent period (although as of yet it has not been possible to guage the span between the two points in time), when the doctrine has already undergone modifications and adjustments from the initial form. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. *xvarǝnō*: (acc. n. sing.) from *xvarǝnah*- , a term indicating the glory with which Vǝrǝθraγna is always surrounded. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. *gaosurābyō*: (dat./ abl. n. pl.) from *gaosurā*- “wealth in cattle”, followed here is the interpretation by Kellens (1974: 78), who considers this an instrumental of company with dative/ablative ending. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Walde 1927-1932: I, 258-260; Pokorny 1959-1969: 1146-7; Migron 1980; Kümmel 2000: 447-451. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. A term that seems to refer to a category of persons excluded from the Brahmanical religion – the persons we would call “heretics”, or perhaps simply people considered too stupid, who do not come up to the standards necessary to have access to the right, an interpretation that still fits in with the idea of error (“he who fails”), suggested by Peca Conti 1982-83: 41-51. However, the meaning of the term remains somewhat unclear in the light of analysis of all its attestations in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. *ā́ dabhan* (subj. aor./inj. 3rd pl., cf. EWA I 694 and Hoffmann 1967: 243), on the various meanings of the root *dabh*-, in relation to the form *dambháyati*, see Insler 1969, who hypothesises a verbal stem *dambháya*- constructed on the adjective *dabhrá*- (in analogy with *randháyati* : *radhrá*-) not related to the verbal root *dabh*- , to which he identifies three principal meanings including “to deceive”, “to convince with deception”. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. Note the binary structure *mā́kīm van – dvíś* comparable to the good-evil antithesis which we find at the basis of the thought of Zarathustra, and which recurs as a constant motive within the Gāθā. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Here understood not only with the original value of “sacred formulation” (Thieme 1952: 91-129), but also in its broader meaning of universal principle; on the various interpretations proposed for this term, see Gonda 1950. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. On the hypothesis of submersed linguistic traditions see Trümpy 1986. I would like to especially thank Professor Butzenberger for his enlightening suggestions on this matter. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Staal 1989. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. As to the role of the different schools within the creation of the Vedic corpus, see Renou 1947. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. Cf. Proferes 2003b and 2003c. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. For this chronological division, see Witzel 1997: 257-345 and 1989. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. As to the concept of segmentarian lineage societies, see Sahlins 1961. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. As for the use of the terms *kṣema* and *yoga,* see Oberlies 1998. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. See in particular the interesting and stimulating work of Proferes (2007) on the political developments and the different aspects of the Vedic ideals of sovereignty within the construction of a leading role. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. See, as already said, Witzel 1997 and 1999. As to single texts, see already Keith 1914 (on TS); Schroeder 1879 (on MS); Griffiths-Schmiedchen 2007 (on AVP), as well as the specific editions mentioned in the Bibliography, Primary texts and translations. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. See Witzel 1995 in particular pp. 2-8, and as to the Mantra language see also Narten 1968: 113-114. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Proferes 2003a: 19. On the different Vedic *śākhā*s see also Renou 1947. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Though we must never forget that the source we have, namely the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā,* is one-sided source, being affected just by a strong religious-ritual bias, yet this element should have been a salient feature of that culture too. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. For a general overview see Hillebrandt 1897 and the useful dictionary by Mylius 1995. As to the single studies on the Vedic rituals, we will recall here only the principal ones; on the *Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭī* see Hillebrandt 1879, on the *Agniṣṭoma* Caland-Henry 1906, on the animal sacrifice see Schwab 1886. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. However we may consider this kind of literature, already the first anthropologist noticed its systematic issue and the effort of its authors for an all-inclusive presentation of the topics (see, e.g., Hubert – Mauss 1899). Also Oldenberg underlined this characteristic of the liturgical texts with the title itself of his work on Brāhmaṇas: *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft. Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa- Texte*. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. *devayantah*: in R̥V the term is applied to officiants but also to the patron and Baudhāyana states that the anointing is carried out by the *adhvaryu*, the *yajamāna* and the *patnī.* [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. The same is in R̥V 8.3.10 *śŕ̥ṅgāṇīvéc chr̥ṅgíṇāṃ sáṃ dadr̥śre caṣā́lavantaḥ sváravaḥ pr̥thivyā́m / vāghádbhir vā vihavé śróṣamāṇā asmā́m̐ avantu pr̥tanā́jyeṣu.* [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. *babhūvathuḥ*: ind. perf. 2nd du. from *bhū-* “you have become”, it has here a perfective that with a resultative. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. R̥V *bhavāḥ*, subj. pres. 2nd sing.; KS; MS and VS read as R̥V. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. *pū́rve*: nom. m. pl. referring to *pitáraḥ*, functions here as an apposition with adverbial meaning or maybe better as *rhema.* For this kind of usage of nominative, see, among others, Elizarenkova 1995a: 202-206. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. *paridhī́n* (acc. m. pl.): a circular channel was made by digging around the fire, and three boughs were used to mark it. These three boughs are called *paridhí-,* which indicates also the enclosure around the cairns, cf. the funeral hymns 10.14-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. *vā́tajūtāsaḥ,* from *vā́tajūta-* a *tatpuruṣa* whom second member is a PPP (*vā́ta-* + *jūta- <*rad. *jū-* “to press forward, to excite”) cf. Whitney1888: §1273. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. *tuvimrakṣā́saḥ,* from *tuvimrakṣák-* a *karmadhāraya (tuví*- “much” + *mr̥akṣak*- “destroying”) that could have been chosen also for a sound-play, considering the remarkable heights of sophistication reached by R̥gvedic poetry in using phonetic features as communicative means. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. A family of mythical priests, named among the Fathers, and connected, as the Aṇgiras, to the myth of Indra and the cows of Paṇis, cf. Macdonell 1898: §55B. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. The sin, the contamination, dwells within the action that is going to be performed: the slaughtering of the horse; the ritual effort of taking any possible sin away plays an important role within the whole sacrifice. In order to avoid the contamination involved in the slaughtering act, it is often said that the victim agrees with what is happening (cf. the expression *saṃjãptaḥ paśuḥ*, and also the Greek term  *ἂγος* EWAia: I 159) and the actions during the cutting asunder seem to have a peculiar goal: to give new life to the animal. As for this aspect in the rituals of ancient India see Malamoud 1994 and Gonda 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. For the form *āśī́r* from *āśiṣ-*, f. “prayer” but also “wish” see EWAia: I 178 “Bitte, Wunsch beim Opfer”and AiGr: I 42f.; II, 2 21; III 229, 248, 596. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. *ni yā-* “to attack, assail, pass over”, like a carriage. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. *babhūvathuḥ*: ind. perf. 2nd dual from *bhū-* “you have become”, has here a perfective aspect- is resultative. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. *pū́rve*: nom. masc. pl. referring to *pitáraḥ*, functions here as an apposition with adverbial meaning or maybe better as *rhema.* For this kind of usage of nominative, see, among others, Elizarenkova 1995a: 202-206. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. *paridhī́n* (acc. m. pl.): a circular channel was made by digging around the fire, and three boughs were used to mark it. These three boughs are called *paridhí-,* which indicates also the enclosure around the cairns, cf. the funeral hymns 10.14-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. *añjánti* […] *upásthe* = R̥V 3.8.1 [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. *úcchrayasva* […] *yajñávāhase* = R̥V 3.8.3 [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. *sámiddhasya* […] *sáubhagāya* = R̥V 3.8.2 [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. *devayántaḥ* is referring to the priests and probably the *yajamāna* and his wife who are performing the rite, see Proferes 2003a: 323. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. Vanaspati is the Lord of wood, of the forest but also the tree of desire; despite the homophony, the noun-root *ván-* should still not be considered as a derivate from the verbal root *van-*: the relation between the two roots is quite uncertain (see EWAia: II 500). [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. *mádhu*- is sweetness connected with the honey, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra glosses with *madhurasa* “juice of honey”, while AB 2.2 explains the divine sweetness as clarified butter, *ā́jya*-. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. *súmiti*- “a well made fixing” (Grassmann 1875 [ed.1996: 555] “schöne Aufrichtung”). *Súmitī mīyámānaḥ* represents a frequent figura etymologica, being the noun a derivate of the same root as the part. pres. *mīyamānaḥ*. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. About *várcas-* “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see Proferes 2007: 91 and 101-104; Gonda 1992: VI/2 366-376. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. i.e. to the east. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. *bráhman*-, here understood with the original value of “sacred formulation” (Thieme 1952: 91-129), see also Gonda 1950a. [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. *ámati*-: Keith (1920: 135) translates, in the same passage in AB 2.2, the word *ámati*- with “misfortune”; Proferes (2003a: 324) prefers “indigence”. This translation follows Mayrhofer (EWAia: I 95) who reads it as \**a*-*mati*, giving as meaning “Mangel, Dürftigkeit, ratlos”. The same meaning is given by Grassmann (1875 [ed. 1996: 90]), although he suggests a different derivation, namely “von *am*- im passiven Sinne”. The explanation in AB 2.2 is “aśanāyā vai pāpmāmatis” “the *ámati*- is indeed the hunger, the evil”. There is also *amáti*-: EWAia: I 95-96 “etwa’ Gebilde, Erscheinung, Bildnis”; Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 90] “Wucht, Gewalt”. The accent in the R̥gvedic stanza speaks clearly for *ámati*-. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. For *rātáhavya* see Elizarenkova 1995a: 62-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. *babhūvathuḥ,* ind. perf. 2nd dual from *bhū-* “you have become”, has here a perfective aspect and thus resultative. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. *añjánti* […] *upásthe* = R̥V 3.8.1 [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. *úcchrayasva* […] *yajñávāhase* = R̥V 3.8.3 [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. *sámiddhasya* […] *sáubhagāya* = R̥V 3.8.2 [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. *devayántaḥ* is referring to the priests and probably the *yajamāna* and his wife who are performing the rite, see Proferes 2003a: 323. [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. Vanaspati is the Lord of wood, of the forest but also the tree of desire; despite the homophony, the noun-root *ván-* should still not be considered as a derivate from the verbal root *van-*: the relation between the two roots is quite uncertain (see EWAia: II 500). [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. *mádhu*- is sweetness connected with the honey, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra glosses with *madhurasa* “juice of honey”, while AB 2.2 explains the divine sweetness as clarified butter, *ā́jya*-. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. *súmiti*- “a well made fixing” (Grassmann 1875 [ed.1996: 555] “schöne Aufrichtung”). *Súmitī mīyámānaḥ* represents a frequent figura etymologica, being the noun a derivate of the same root as the part. pres. *mīyamānaḥ*. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. About *várcas-* “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see Proferes 2007: 91 and 101-104; Gonda 1992: VI/2 366-376. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. i.e. to the east. [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. *bráhman*-, here understood with the original value of “sacred formulation” (Thieme 1952: 91-129), see also Gonda 1950a. [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. *ámati*-: Keith (1920: 135) translates, in the same passage in AB 2.2, the word *ámati*- with “misfortune”; Proferes (2003a: 324) preferes “indigence”. This translation follows Mayrhofer (EWAia: I 95) who reads it as \**a*-*mati*, giving as meaning “Mangel, Dürftigkeit, ratlos”. The same meaning is given by Grassmann (1875 [ed. 1996: 90]), although he suggests a different derivation, namely “von *am*- im passiven Sinne”. The explanation in AB 2.2 is *aśanāyā vai pāpmāmatis* “the *ámati*- is indeed the hunger, the evil”. There is also *amáti*-: EWAia: I 95-96 “etwa’ Gebilde, Erscheinung, Bildnis”; Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 90] “Wucht, Gewalt”. The accent in the R̥gvedic stanza speaks clearly for *ámati*-. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. *nahí te* […] *vanavase =* R̥V 6.16.18. [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. *sá hí* […] *ástr̥taḥ* = R̥V 6.16.20. [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. *Nemānāṃ* (gen. m. pl.) from *néma-* EWAia: II 56 “einer, ein anderer, mancher”, cf. also Oldenberg 1901: 315. [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. *bhārata*- is a frequent epithet of Agni, as well as *bharata*-, name of the ancestor of one of the mythical Vedic families. [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. Divodāsa is the name of many figures within the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*, often connected with Agni. See Mayrhofer 2003: 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. As to the use of double accusative whith verbs of giving cf. Whitney 1888: §277. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. *paridhī́r°* so in MSS (T1; Brl; Ch and W1) but in MS; TS and R̥V is *paridhī́m̐r°.* Cf. Schroeder 1900: 21,14: 55 n. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. *pū́rve,* nom. m. pl. referring to *pitáraḥ*, functions here as an apposition with adverbial meaning or maybe better as *rhema.* For this kind of usage of nominative, see, among others, Elizarenkova 1995a: 202-206. [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. *paridhī́n* (acc. m. pl.): a circular channel was made by digging around the fire, and three boughs were used to mark it. These three boughs are called *paridhí-,* which indicates also the enclosure around the cairns, cf. the funeral hymns 10.14-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. For the form *āśī́r* from *āśiṣ-*, f. “prayer” but also “wish” see EWAia: I 178 “Bitte, Wunsch beim Opfer”and AiGr: I 42f.; II,2 21; III 229, 248, 596. [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. As to the use of injunctive to express the intention of the subject, see Hoffmann 1967: 253. [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. *śyena-* indicates any bird within a praying context and especially the eagle that brings the *soma* to the men. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. *vásvaḥ kuvíd,* *kuvíd* put an interrogative element into the sentence (cf. Macdonell 1916: §180), the construction with the gentive partitive (*vásvaḥ*) creates a sound play with the verb *vanā́ti*. As to the partitive genitive with verbs of giving and asking, cf. Whitney 1924: §297.b and Macdonell 1916: §202.e, see also above, the gloss about the verb *vanā́ti.*  [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. *vājin*-, Geldner “siegesgewohnte”; O’Flaherty “racehorse”. This term conveys the swift of the animal and its power. Is the steed that wins the prize of the race. [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. The sin, the contamination, dwells within the action that is going to be performed: the slaughtering of the horse; the ritual effort of taking any possible sin away plays an important role within the whole sacrifice. In order to avoid the contamination involved in the slaughtering act, it is often said that the victim agrees with what is happening (cf. the expression *saṃjãptaḥ paśuḥ*, and also the Greek term *ἂγος* EWAia: I 159) and the actions during the cutting asunder seem to have a peculiar goal: to give new life to the animal. As for this aspect in the rituals of ancient India see Malamoud 1994 and Gonda 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. *ni yā-* “to attack, assail”, like a carriage. [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. *máno ná* […] *gábhastau* = R̥V 10.61.3. [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. Along the interpretation of Pischel (Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: I 74), the subject are the Aśvin invoked by Cyavana. The myth of Cyavana can be found also in Mbh 3.122-124. As to the different interpretations of the relative pronouns and thus of the verse itself, see Oldenberg 1912: 264 n.3 and Geldner: III 227. [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
182. According to Pischel’s interpretation (*ibid.*), this passage is related to the myth of Indra, the very manly *par excellance*, weakening the will, the intention (*ādiśam*) of Cyavana. Cyavana stole the *soma* and tried to fool the god. Indra makes him bow to his power. [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
183. *bhadráṃ* […] *abhíṣṭibhiḥ* = R̥V 8.19.20 [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
184. *mánas-* is the inspired mind, the inner impulse, the mental tension toward something, see Thieme 1967: 99-106, Gonda 1963, Maggi 1989: 63-114. [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. *sthirā́ bhū́ri śárdhatām* is referred both to *tanuhi* and to *vanémā,*  that is to the action of Agni and to that of men. The first one displays his power on the macro-cosmic level, while the humans operate on the micro-cosmic level, nonetheless they both perform the same action: “to slacken the numerous resistances of the bolds”. This connection between these two levels is one the main effort of the Vedic culture and represent the grid through which the world can be interpreted. Geldner and Renou refer the syntagma only to *tanuhi* and translate *vanémā* as used in the absolute sense. Renou: XIII 149 “*sthirā́ tanuhi scil*. *dhánvāni*” and translates “Détends les (arcs) tendus”. [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
186. *abhíṣṭibhiḥ,* (instr. f. pl.) from *abhíṣṭi-* “protection”, is employed here with a distributive connotation: “your protection in any battle”. [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
187. *ni yā-* “to attack, assail, pass over”, like a carriage. [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
188. *pū́rve*: nom. masc. pl. referring to *pitáraḥ*, functions here as an apposition with adverbial meaning or maybe better as *rhema.* For this kind of usage of nominative, see, among others, Elizarenkova 1995a: 202-206. [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
189. *paridhī́n* (acc. m. pl.): a circular channel was made by digging around the fire, and three boughs were used to mark it. These three boughs are called *paridhí-,* which indicates also the enclosure around the cairns, cf. the funeral hymns 10.14-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
190. *vājin*-, Geldner “siegesgewohnte”; O’Flaherty “racehorse”. This term conveys the swift of the animal and its power. Is the steed that wins the prize of the race. [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
191. The sin, the contamination, dwells within the action that is going to be performed: the slaughtering of the horse; the ritual effort of taking any possible sin away plays an important role within the whole sacrifice. In order to avoid the contamination involved in the slaughtering act, it is often said that the victim agrees with what is happening (cf. the expression *saṃjãptaḥ paśuḥ*, and also the Greek term *ἂγος* EWAia: I 159) and the actions during the cutting asunder seem to have a peculiar goal: to give new life to the animal. As for this aspect in the rituals of ancient India see Malamoud 1994 and Gonda 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
192. The blessings are the two deities mentioned in the verses before (TS 1.6.4.2n): Indra and Agni. Cf. TS 1.7.4.3, where is said that the sacrificer indeed milks the gods, which he prays, and the sacrifice on both sides. [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
193. In the Darśapurṇamāseṣṭī, the supplementary offerings, after the main one, are three: for *barhis, narāśaṃsa* and *sviṣṭakr̥t.* [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
194. *kṣatríyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. Proferes 2007: 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
195. About *várcas-* “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see Proferes 2007: 91 and 101-104; Gonda 1992: VI/2 366-376. [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
196. As to the meaning of *ū́rjasvat-, ū́rj-* see Scharfe 1985: 545 and Proferes 2007: 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
197. The subjunctive can also have a future meaning, hence *vāvanat* can also be read as “he will have appropriated”. [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
198. *pūrṇéna*: from *pūrṇa*-, here the instrumental is used adverbially. [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
199. Although at the beginning of paragraph 8th, *nā́ntár eti* is the end of the preceding paragraph. [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
200. *anārti-,* PW “Leidlosigkeit”, from *ārti-* PW: “übler Zufall, Unheil”, EWAia: I 115-116 “Unheil, Leid”, from the verbal root *ard-* “zerstieben, sich schütteln”. [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
201. As to the meaning of *ū́rj-,* see Scharfe 1985: 545 and Proferes 2007: 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
202. One of the nine ‘verses’ -*stotra-* that the *udgatr̥* and his assistants sing in the morning pressing. [↑](#footnote-ref-202)
203. He fulfilled the year, the year has gone by. The same structure is repeated four times: the prescription of the sacrifice, the identity of Agni Vaiśvānara and the year, the action the sacrificer has not accomplish during the year to gain his desire. [↑](#footnote-ref-203)
204. Agni as the year. [↑](#footnote-ref-204)
205. In a sentence without a temporal degree bhávati indicates a status, see Amano 2009: 431 n.1691 “bhávati […] bedeutet ‘ist im gegebenen Fall’”. See also Tichy 2006: 70. [↑](#footnote-ref-205)
206. For *sám am-*, “to swear”, see EWAia: I 96-97 and in particular Hoffmann 1969: 193-215, for the verbal adjective sámānta- see also Delbrück 1888: 272. [↑](#footnote-ref-206)
207. The bahuvrīhi avaruṇá- can be a predicative referred to sámānta- (the agreement that is not anymore under Varuṇa protection) or adverbially used, in this case meaning “without Varuṇa (interfering)”. [↑](#footnote-ref-207)
208. What is received during the year is the purchase, that at the end is gained, see Amano 2009: 432. [↑](#footnote-ref-208)
209. The sacrificer that has yoked the year, after the year, must unyoke the year itself, otherwise it could be dangerous, see TS 2.2.6.4. [↑](#footnote-ref-209)
210. Here the cow is meant, as is clear from the following sentence. [↑](#footnote-ref-210)
211. *kṣatríyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. Proferes 2007: 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-211)
212. As to the meaning of *ū́rjasvat-, ū́rj-* see Scharfe 1985: 545 and Proferes 2007: 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-212)
213. About *várcas-* “vitale power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see Proferes 2007: 91 and 101-104; Gonda 1992: VI/2 366-376. [↑](#footnote-ref-213)
214. *sam bhū-*, “to fall to the share” + gen. The idea expressed here is that the production of the sacrifice is not directly connected with gods: the gods give the *dakṣinās* (nourishment) to the consecrated. With that he generates the sacrifice. The sacrifice will, at the end, reach the gods. The image underlying the whole passage is that of circular passage between gods and men. [↑](#footnote-ref-214)
215. The object of the sentence is the consecrated and, according to the KS, what they give to him is the *dakṣinā.* As to the *dīkṣita* see among others, the analysis of Heesterman 1964. [↑](#footnote-ref-215)
216. *sáṃbhūtyai*, dat. sing. f. (for the dative in -*ai* in analogy with -ī declension, see Macdonell 1916: §98b n.4) from *sáṃbhūti* “birth, production”. The possibility of an infinite dative is less probable within the construction of the sentence, moreover there is no attestation of this form in the R̥V (cf. Grassmann 1875). [↑](#footnote-ref-216)
217. Lit. “be of him”. [↑](#footnote-ref-217)
218. For not harming. [↑](#footnote-ref-218)
219. The object is not specified, for it is not important. What the *mantra* is expressing here is that Savitr̥ should bind somewhere else, far from us. [↑](#footnote-ref-219)
220. *kṣatríyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. Proferes 2007: 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-220)
221. *éta:* “of variegated colour, shining”. Worth noticing that both *éta* and *varcás* are connected with the brilliance of light, which is one of the element used to describe the royal power. [↑](#footnote-ref-221)
222. As to the meaning of *ū́rjasvat-, ū́rj-* see Scharfe 1985: 545 and Proferes 2007: 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-222)
223. About *várcas-* “vitale power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see Proferes 2007: 91 and 101-104; Gonda 1992: VI/2 366-376. [↑](#footnote-ref-223)
224. *yád* […] *pātām* = ŚB 1.9.1.16; .19-20. [↑](#footnote-ref-224)
225. *ā śas-* “pray for” but also “desire”. [↑](#footnote-ref-225)
226. *r̥dhyāt* optative to be distinguished from the preceding precative, *aśyāt*. [↑](#footnote-ref-226)
227. *iṣṭáṃ ca vītáṃ ca* is an ambiguous clause: *īṣṭaṃ* could be interpreted as “what is desired” (cf. Eggeling 1900: 253) or “what is offered” (so glosses Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra: “yāganimittaṃ svargādikam”), while *vītáṃ* from *vī-* means“to crave for”, cf. EWAia: II 509-510 “sich zuwenden, verfolgen”, but ŚB.1.9.1.20 reads *vittaṃ* (while TB.3.5.10.5 read as MS 4.13.9: 212,12) from *vid*- “to find”, hence Eggeling “what was searched for and found”. Anyway Eggeling 1900: 253 n. 2 suggests the TB-variant to be the original one and translates it as follows “what has been offered and accepted”. [↑](#footnote-ref-227)
228. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra glosses “iha haviṣe vāmasya vananīyasya dhanasya gātiḥ vyāptiḥ | idaṃ ca etaddhavirlakṣaṇaṃ”: hence in the oblation this is the way to get the desireable prize, this is the sign of the oblation itself. [↑](#footnote-ref-228)
229. For *sám am*-, “to swear”, see EWAia: I 96-97 and in particular Hoffmann 1969: 193-215, for the verbal adjective sámānta- see also Delbrück 1888: 272. [↑](#footnote-ref-229)
230. The *bahuvrīhi* *avaruṇá*- can be a predicative referred to *sámānta-* (the agreement that is not anymore under Varuṇa protection) or adverbially used, in this case meaning “without Varuṇa (interfering)”. [↑](#footnote-ref-230)
231. The object of the verbal adjective is expressed in TS 2.2.6.3-4 where the sacrificer accepts (*pratigrah-*) some animals (like a ship) and therefore has to offer to Agni Vaiśvānara. [↑](#footnote-ref-231)
232. For *naimiṣya-* see EWAia: II 57 *naimiṣa-* “Waldgebiet” *naimiṣya-* “dessen Bewohner” and Macdonell-Keith [1912] 1995: I 460. They are also mentioned in *Kauṣītaki* *Brāmaṇa* 26.5; 28.4 and in *Chāndogya* *Upaniṣad* 1.2.13, being clearly of special sanctity. [↑](#footnote-ref-232)
233. *satramāsata:* it is maybe worth noticing the use of the verb *ās-* “to sit” together with *sattrá-* which literally means “session” deriving from the root *sad-* (cf. EWAia: II 690). For *satrá* instead of *sattrá,* cf. AiGr: I 114 and I,1 62. The *sattra* sacrifice is a *soma* sacrifices of 12 or more pressing days. [↑](#footnote-ref-233)
234. Name of a *r̥ṣi*, descendant of Dālbha, cf. Macdonell-Keith [1912] 1995: II 236. According to KS he was engaged in a ritual dispute with the king Dhr̥tarāṣṭra, cf. Weber 1855*:* 469-71; Caland 1908: 52-53; Heesterman 1962: 29-31 and Falk 1986: 58-60. [↑](#footnote-ref-234)
235. The Devasū of the cows *(tāsāṃ)* is Rudra Paśupati, Lord of the cattle, cf. TS 1.8.10.1 and ŚB 5.3.3.1; .7 regarding the Devasū oblations.. [↑](#footnote-ref-235)
236. The verb *vidas-* is referred to a bad witchcraft in Ks 10. In KS 10.7 and here it is without subject and it refers to Rudra who stops killing the cows. [↑](#footnote-ref-236)
237. As to *abhvivas-* with two verbal adjectives, see Hoffmann 1960: 21 n. 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-237)
238. The text reads *avakarṇam* (with variants *arvakarṇa* and *arghakarṇa*), an *hapax,* that could be only connected to *avakarṇaprāvr̥tā* (Āpastambha ŚS 13.15.5, cf. AiGr: II 1 282)*.* The suggestion made by Hoffmann (1960: 21 n.12) that the liquid vowel traces back to an original -*ī-,* so that it should be read as *avakīrṇam,* is confirmed also by the MhB version and seems much more consistent with the context. [↑](#footnote-ref-238)
239. The subjunctive can also have a future meaning, hence *vāvanat* can be also read as“he will have appropriated”. [↑](#footnote-ref-239)
240. *pūrṇéna*: from *pūrṇa*-, here the instrumental is used adverbially. [↑](#footnote-ref-240)
241. *iti śrīyajuṣi kāṭhake caraka* -branch of KYV whom rites and practices are different from the ŚYV- *śākhāyām iṭhimikāyāṃ* (*iṭhimikā*: name of a section of KS) *paśubandhaṃ nāma trayodaśaṃ sthānakaṃ sampūrṇam.* [↑](#footnote-ref-241)
242. *kṣatríyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. Proferes 2007: 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-242)
243. As to the meaning of *ū́rjasvat-, ū́rj-* see Scharfe 1985: 545 and Proferes 2007: 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-243)
244. About *várcas-* “vitale power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see Proferes 2007: 91 and 101-104; Gonda 1992: VI/2 366-376. [↑](#footnote-ref-244)
245. *iti* [↑](#footnote-ref-245)
246. *etasmai* (dat. m. sing. from the determinative pronoun *eṣas*-) “to the consecrated”, as to the role of the *dīkṣita* see among others, the analysis of Heesterman 1964. [↑](#footnote-ref-246)
247. *āgame*, stative aor. 3rd sing. cf. Kümmel 1996. See also AVŚ 6.81.2c where *āgame* is quite unclear, cf. Whitney-Lanman 1905: I 341-2 for possible interpretations of the word. [↑](#footnote-ref-247)
248. *saṃ bhū-*, “to affect s.o. (acc) with (instr.)”. The idea expressed here is that the production of the sacrifice is not directly connected with gods: the gods give the *dakṣināḥ* (nourishment) to the consecrated. With that he generates the sacrifice. The sacrifice will, at the end, reach the gods. The image underlying the whole passage is that of circular passage between gods and men. [↑](#footnote-ref-248)
249. Lord of animals, Paśupati can be an epithet applied to many deities, for eg. Rudra, who is the Lord of the cattle *par excellence,* but it can also represent a god himself*.*  [↑](#footnote-ref-249)
250. *sadr̥śā uta / teṣāṃ* could be also interpreted referring *teṣāṃ* to *sadr̥śāḥ* (plus gen.), the animals are, thus, similar to these here -the men or maybe the animals that are actually to be sacrificed (*paśu*-)-: “The animals of Paśupati are manifold and similar to these here”. On the other hand, the animals can be manifold and though similar along the contradictory speech which is common in the Vedic logic.The genitive plural of the demonstrative pronoun is then referred to the priests performing the rite (cf. TS 3.1.4.1b). Moreover the symmetrical structure with the two genitives suggests the presence of two level: what belongs to divine level (the macro-cosmic one) and what belongs to the ritual level (the meso-cosmic one). The animal, symbol of the sacrifice, shares both the levels. [↑](#footnote-ref-250)
251. *svarā́j*- is the subject of the action and is an epithet of Agni who is also Lord of the animals, cf. the same passage in TS 3.1.4.1b where the subject is Agni and the same verb is used (*ánu manyasva*). According to TS what Agni should approve is the sacrificial action itself performed by the priests. [↑](#footnote-ref-251)
252. *kṣatríyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. Proferes 2007: 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-252)
253. *ojas-* is “vigour” as well as “juice”, therefore the translation tries to keep also the material tinge-shade that this word conveys within the idea of vigour. [↑](#footnote-ref-253)
254. *upasadyāya* *mīḷhuṣa* = R̥V 7.15.1 [↑](#footnote-ref-254)
255. *imām* […] *vaner* R̥V 2.6.1ab [↑](#footnote-ref-255)
256. *upasadya-,* “to be worshipped, to be addressed with respect” is the gerundive of the verb *upasad-* “to seat near, to approach respectfully” and the same root is used in the next verses as abstract noun, as the god is asked to appropriate *samidham* and *upasadaṃ.* [↑](#footnote-ref-256)
257. *tisrastisraḥ,* the repetition of the cardinal has a distributive force. As also Sāyaṇa explains the sentence, the kindling verses are thus the three verses of each hymn quoted through the first *pāda* *(pratīka*), namely R̥V 7.15.1 and 2.6.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-257)
258. *karman,* “action” and “sacrifice” as the pivotal action,is the cognate object of *kriyamāṇam,*  the etymologic accusative cannot be reproduced in the translation, unless with an hazard: “the sacrifice which is being sacrificed”. [↑](#footnote-ref-258)
259. *devayántaḥ* is referring to the priests and probably to the *yajamāna* and his wife who are performing the rite, see Proferes 2003a: 323. [↑](#footnote-ref-259)
260. Vanaspati is the Lord of wood, of the forest but also the tree of desire; despite the homophony, the noun-root *ván-* should still not be considered as a derivate from the verbal root *van-*: the relation between the two roots is quite uncertain (see EWAia: II 500). [↑](#footnote-ref-260)
261. *mádhu*- is sweetness connected with the honey, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra, in his commentary to the TB, glosses with *madhurasa* “juice of honey”, while AB 2.2 explains the divine sweetness as clarified butter, *ā́jya*-. [↑](#footnote-ref-261)
262. *súmiti*- “a well made fixing” (Grassmann 1875 [ed.1996: 555] “schöne Aufrichtung”). *Súmitī mīyámānaḥ* represents a frequent figure of speech (a figura etymologica) being the noun a derivate of the same root as the part. pres. *mīyamānaḥ*. [↑](#footnote-ref-262)
263. About *várcas-* “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see Proferes 2007: 91 and 101-104; Gonda 1992: VI/2 366-376. [↑](#footnote-ref-263)
264. *āśíṣam āśāste*, the verb *āśaṃs-* is used here with *āśiṣam* as cognate object or etymologic accusative*.* [↑](#footnote-ref-264)
265. i.e. to the east. [↑](#footnote-ref-265)
266. *bráhman*-, here understood with the original value of “sacred formulation” (Thieme 1952: 91-129), see also Gonda 1950a. [↑](#footnote-ref-266)
267. *ámati*-, Keith (1920: 135) translates the word *ámati*- with “misfortune”; Proferes (2003a: 324) prefers “indigence”. This translation follows Mayrhofer (EWAia: I 95) who reads it as \**a*-*mati*, giving as meaning “Mangel, Dürftigkeit, ratlos”. The same meaning is given by Grassmann (1875 [ed. 1996: 90]), although he suggests a different derivation, namely “von *am*- im passiven Sinne”. The explanation in AB 2.2 is *aśanāyā vai pāpmāmatis* “the *ámati*- is indeed the hunger, the evil”. There is also *amáti*-: EWAia: I 95-96 “etwa’ Gebilde, Erscheinung, Bildnis”; Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 90] “Wucht, Gewalt”. The accent in the R̥gvedic stanza speaks clearly for *ámati*-. [↑](#footnote-ref-267)
268. *imā́ dhānā* […] *ráthe* = R̥V 1.16.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-268)
269. *prá te mahé* […] *hárī; prá te vanve* […] *mádam; ghr̥táṃ ná* […] *sécate* and *ā́ tvā* […] *gíraḥ* = R̥V10.96.1. The stanza 10.96.1 is intermingled three times, *yá r*̥*tvíyaḥ,* *índro nā́ma* and *śrutó gaṇá* are inserted, and it ends in the following paragraph (*anuvāka*). The meaning of the verses is not extremely different from the R̥gvedic stanza, but indeed there is a clear modification of the original, as long as Indra becomes the subject of the second sentence and pours out “what is pleasant as the clarified butter”, while in R̥V 10.96.1 it is the *máda-,* pleasant as the clarified butter,which pours out. [↑](#footnote-ref-269)
270. About the interpretation of the word *sukhá-* see Rossi 2003. [↑](#footnote-ref-270)
271. As to the exact meaning of *vidátha-* as already a ritual fest or just as social meeting, see Gonda 1992: VI/1 310-337, Kuiper 1974: 129-132 and Oldenberg 1900: 608-611. [↑](#footnote-ref-271)
272. Miśra glosses *prāptakālaḥ madaḥ*, and Sāyaṇa also *vasantādyr̥tukāle prāptaḥ.* [↑](#footnote-ref-272)
273. Dumont 1963: 453 “pours out”, both Miśra and Sāyaṇa gloss *samavaiti* “to mix together”. [↑](#footnote-ref-273)
274. *avavyáyann ásitaṃ* […] *apsvàntaḥ* = R̥V 4.13.4b-d. [↑](#footnote-ref-274)
275. BS: *ābhí*. [↑](#footnote-ref-275)
276. *ácchā vada* […] *gárbham* = R*̥*V 5.83.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-276)
277. *kánikradad*, pres. part. of the intensive form of krand “to cry out”. [↑](#footnote-ref-277)
278. *tád asya* […] *útsaḥ* = R̥V 1.154.5. [↑](#footnote-ref-278)
279. *kratvā dā*́ […] *suvr̥ktím* = R̥V 6.16.26. [↑](#footnote-ref-279)
280. *asthu* Sāyaṇa: “*astu”* and so reads also Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra. [↑](#footnote-ref-280)
281. *vīhí*, from *vī*- EWAia: II 509: “sich zuwenden, streben”. [↑](#footnote-ref-281)
282. *sá pratnaván* […] *bhānúnā* = R̥V 6.16.21. [↑](#footnote-ref-282)
283. *návaṃ nú* […] *naḥī* = R̥V 7.15.4; KS 40.14. [↑](#footnote-ref-283)
284. *sá* referred to a 2nd person can be considered as an emphatic particle. [↑](#footnote-ref-284)
285. As to the use of injunctive to express the intention of the subject, see Hoffmann 1967: 253. [↑](#footnote-ref-285)
286. *śyena-* indicates any bird within a praying context and especially the eagle that brings the *soma* to the men. [↑](#footnote-ref-286)
287. *vásoḥ kuvíd,* as to the partitive genitive with verbs of giving and asking, cf. Whitney 1924: §297.b and Macdonell 1916: §202.e, see also above the gloss of the verb *vanā́ti* (Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra: *dadāti*)The use of the genitive creates a sound play with the verb. [↑](#footnote-ref-287)
288. *dr*̥*śé* scil*.* ‘*bhavanti*’, literally “are at seeing”, cf. the commentaries: Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra *dr*̥*śe darśanīyāḥ bhavanti*; Sāyaṇa *dr*̥*śe darśanāya nāśriyo bhavanti*. [↑](#footnote-ref-288)
289. *gharmásvedobhir* […] *vyā̀naṭ* = R̥V 10.67.7d, *pāda*s a-c are quoted in the preceding paragraph. [↑](#footnote-ref-289)
290. Dumont: *śávasā 'sarat.* [↑](#footnote-ref-290)
291. *bráhmaṇaspáter* […] *pŕ*̥*thak* = R̥V 2.24.14. [↑](#footnote-ref-291)
292. Dumont: *áti sá prásarsr*̥*te*, probably based upon R̥V 2.25.1, so reads also MS 4.14.10. [↑](#footnote-ref-292)
293. *índhāno* […]*bráhmaṇaspátiḥ* = R̥V 2.25.1; MS 4.14.10. [↑](#footnote-ref-293)
294. *bráhmaṇaspate* […] *hávam* = R̥V 2.24.15 (*váyasvataḥ,* gen. sing. from *váyasvat* “mächtig, labungsreich” Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 1215]). [↑](#footnote-ref-294)
295. *sá íj* […] *bráhmaṇaspátim* = R̥V 2.26.3. [↑](#footnote-ref-295)
296. *yás te* […] *antáḥ* = *pratīka* of R̥V 6.58.3a (here *samudre* is left). [↑](#footnote-ref-296)
297. *śukráṃ te* *anyát* = *pratīka* of R̥V 6.58.1a. [↑](#footnote-ref-297)
298. *pūṣā́ imā́ ā́śāḥ* = ŚŚ 6.10.4. [↑](#footnote-ref-298)
299. *prápathe* […] *pūṣā* = R̥V 10.17.6a. [↑](#footnote-ref-299)
300. The subject is Brahmanaspati and those ‘perspiring with heat’ are the bulls, cf. the end of the paragraph before. [↑](#footnote-ref-300)
301. For *manyú-* see EWAia: II 313 “erregter Sinn, Eifer”. [↑](#footnote-ref-301)
302. *yathāvaśám:* “as a desire” or “at will”. [↑](#footnote-ref-302)
303. For *rātáhavya* see Elizarenkova 1995a: 62-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-303)
304. This translation follows Dumont’s emendation, being *áti sá prásarsr*̥*te* to be found also in MS 4.14.10 [↑](#footnote-ref-304)
305. Or “of Vivasvat”, for the connection between Vivasvat and the sun, see Macdonell 1898: §18. [↑](#footnote-ref-305)
306. *vā́ja-* “Wettkampf, Sieg, Lohn” EWAia: II 540. [↑](#footnote-ref-306)
307. These (*yás te* […] *pūṣā*)are three different *mantra*s that are to be recited as *puronuvākya* -according to Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra. They are indeed fragments of R̥gvedic *r̥cā,* probably used as *pratīka*s. For *āśā-* see Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 187] “Weltgegend, Himmelsrichtung”. [↑](#footnote-ref-307)
308. *prápatha-* “in die Ferne führender Weg” Grassmann [1875] ed. 1996: 876. [↑](#footnote-ref-308)
309. *yá índra* […] *rā́dhaḥ* = R̥V 7.27.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-309)
310. *índro rā́jā* […] *arvā́k* = R̥V 7.27.3. [↑](#footnote-ref-310)
311. *tám u* […] *carṣaṇīnā́m* = R̥V 6.18.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-311)
312. *śúṣma*- “Prasseln, Ungestüm” EWAia: II 649. [↑](#footnote-ref-312)
313. *párivr*̥*tiṃ,* R̥V 7.27.2 reads *párivr*̥*taṃ,* Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra glosses with *parivāra* “cover, surrounding”. [↑](#footnote-ref-313)
314. *ugrá*- is connected with the same root of ójas- “juice” and the vigour that comes from the juice. [↑](#footnote-ref-314)
315. *sáhamānam* can be read as part. pres. nom. masc. sing. Ā from *sah-* “to prevail”, as well as a compound: “full of *manas*-”. Here I would think both meaning are intended. [↑](#footnote-ref-315)
316. *vayám̐ syāma* […] *rayīṇā́m* = R̥V 4.50.6d, this is a recurring *pāda* cf. R̥V 5.55.10d; 8.40.12d; 8.48.13d; 10.121.10d. [↑](#footnote-ref-316)
317. *sá […] ā́bhavat* = TS 2.2.12.1a-d where is referred to Agni; AVŚ 7.1.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-317)
318. *ágnīṣomā* […] *babhūvathuḥ* = R̥V 1.93.9; TS 2.3.14.1g; MS 4.10.1; KS 4.16. [↑](#footnote-ref-318)
319. *yuvám* […] *adhattam =* R̥V 1.93.5a-b; TS 2.3.142a; MS 4.10.1; KS 4.16. [↑](#footnote-ref-319)
320. *ā́bhavat* Whitney 1905: VII 389 “he came to be here”. [↑](#footnote-ref-320)
321. This is a recurring *pāda* within the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā,* cf. R̥V 5.55.10d; 8.40.12d; 8.48.13d; 10.121.10d. [↑](#footnote-ref-321)
322. BI *mádhúnā*. [↑](#footnote-ref-322)
323. Dumont (1962: 248) corrects *tíṣṭhā* according to the reading of R̥V 3.8.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-323)
324. *añjánti* […] *upásthe* = R̥V 3.8.1 [↑](#footnote-ref-324)
325. *úcchrayasva* […] *yajñávāhase* = R̥V 3.8.3 [↑](#footnote-ref-325)
326. *sámiddhasya* […] *sáubhagāya* = R̥V 3.8.2 [↑](#footnote-ref-326)
327. *devayántaḥ* is referring to the priests and probably the *yajamāna* and his wife who are performing the rite, see Proferes 2003a: 323. [↑](#footnote-ref-327)
328. Vanaspati is the Lord of wood, of the forest but also the tree of desire; despite the homophony, the noun-root *ván-* should still not be considered as a derivate from the verbal root *van-*: the relation between the two roots is quite uncertain (see EWAia: II 500). [↑](#footnote-ref-328)
329. *mádhu*- is sweetness connected with the honey, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra glosses with *madhurasa* “juice of honey”, while AB 2.2 explains the divine sweetness as clarified butter, *ā́jya*-. [↑](#footnote-ref-329)
330. *súmiti*- “a well made fixing” (Grassmann 1875 [ed.1996: 555] “schöne Aufrichtung”). *Súmitī mīyámānaḥ* represents a frequent figura etymologica, being the noun a derivate of the same root as the part. pres. mīyamānaḥ. [↑](#footnote-ref-330)
331. About *várcas-* “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see Proferes 2007: 91 and 101-104: Gonda 1992: VI/2 366-376. [↑](#footnote-ref-331)
332. i.e. to the east. [↑](#footnote-ref-332)
333. *bráhman*-,here understood with the original value of “sacred formulation” (Thieme 1952: 91-129), see also Gonda 1950a. [↑](#footnote-ref-333)
334. *ámati*-: Keith (1920: 135) translates, in the same passage in AB 2.2, the word *ámati*- with “misfortune”; Proferes (2003a: 324) preferes “indigence” and Dumont (1962: 249)“poverty”. This translation follows Mayrhofer (EWAia: I 95) who reads it as \**a*-*mati*, giving as meaning “Mangel, Dürftigkeit, ratlos”. The same meaning is given by Grassmann (1875 [ed. 1996: 90]), although he suggests a different derivation, namely “von am- im passiven Sinne”. The explanation in AB 2.2 is *aśanāyā vai pāpmāmatis* “the *ámati*- is indeed the hunger, the evil”. There is also *amáti*-: EWAia: I 95-96 “etwa’ Gebilde, Erscheinung, Bildnis”; Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 90] “Wucht, Gewalt”. The accent in the R̥gvedic stanza speaks clearly for *ámati*-. [↑](#footnote-ref-334)
335. *prá te* […] *mádam; ghr̥táṃ ná* […] *sécate* and *ā́ tvā viśantu* = R̥V 10.96.1. The stanza 10.96.1 is intermingled tree times: *yá r*̥*tvíyaḥ,* *índro nā́ma* and *śrutó gaṇá* are inserted. The meaning of this passage is not extremely different from the R̥gvedic stanza, but indeed there is a clear modification of the original, as long as Indra becomes the subject of the second sentence and pours out “what is pleasant as the clarified butter”, while in R̥V 10.96.1 it is the *máda-,* pleasant as the clarified butter,which pours out. [↑](#footnote-ref-335)
336. *índrā́dhipaté* […] *kuru* = ApŚS 14.3.5. [↑](#footnote-ref-336)
337. *prá aśam̐siṣam,* ind. aor. while in TB 2.4.3.10 following R̥V 10.96.1 there is the inj. pres. *śaṃsiṣam.* [↑](#footnote-ref-337)
338. As to the exact meaning of *vidátha-* as already a ritual fest or just as social meeting, see Gonda 1992: VI/1 310-337, Kuiper 1974: 129-132 and Oldenberg 1900: 608-611. [↑](#footnote-ref-338)
339. Miśra glosses *prāptakālaḥ madaḥ*, and Sāyaṇa also *vasantādyr̥tukāle prāptaḥ.* [↑](#footnote-ref-339)
340. Dumont 1963: 453 “pours out”, both Miśra and Sāyaṇa glosse *samavaiti* “to mix together”. [↑](#footnote-ref-340)
341. *ā́yuṣmantaṃ várcasvantaṃ*: the first adjective is a common one for a king. As to the second adjective, see Gonda’s study on *várcas-* (Gonda 1992: VI/2 366-376) for the connection with the sun having a brightening effect and for the frequency of the couple *ā́yus – várcas.* [↑](#footnote-ref-341)
342. *máno* *ná* […] *gábhastau* = R̥V 10.61.3. [↑](#footnote-ref-342)
343. *máno ná* […] *pāhi* = VS 7.17. [↑](#footnote-ref-343)
344. Along the interpretation of Pischel (Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: I 74), the subject are the Aśvin invoked by Cyavana. The myth of Cyavana can be found also in Mbh 3.122-124. As to the different interpretations of the relative pronouns and thus of the stanza itself, see Oldenberg 1912: 264 n.3 and Geldner: III 227. [↑](#footnote-ref-344)
345. According to Pischel’s interpretation (*ibid.*), this passage is related to the myth of Indra, the very manly *par excellance*, weakening the will, the intention (*ādiśam*) of Cyavana. Cyavana stole the *soma* and tried to fool the god. Indra makes him bow again to his power. [↑](#footnote-ref-345)
346. Scil. *gráha*, the cup for the libation. [↑](#footnote-ref-346)
347. The mated body of the vital fluid entering the Fire Altar, which has been said being composed of speech and breath (ŚB 10.1.1.9). [↑](#footnote-ref-347)
348. Agni. [↑](#footnote-ref-348)
349. *ātmán*- already in the Brāhmaṇa period means the Self and also the body, as it is used here all over this chapter. Whereas in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* it mostly means “vital breath” or “self” and this older meaning is meant in the R̥gvedic *pāda*, quoted at the end; therefore there the word *ātmán*- has been translated with “vital breath”. [↑](#footnote-ref-349)
350. *ví te* […] *rujánta* = R̥V 6.6.3; TS 3.3.11.2e. [↑](#footnote-ref-350)
351. Verses recited while the fire is kindled. [↑](#footnote-ref-351)
352. *saṃyājyā*- term for *anuvākyā* and *yājyā* mantras. [↑](#footnote-ref-352)
353. The *virāj* is a metre of 10 or a multiple of ten *pāda*s*.* [↑](#footnote-ref-353)
354. *vā́tajūtāsaḥ,* from *vā́tajūta-* a *tatpuruṣa* whom second member is a PPP (*vā́ta-* + *jūta- <*rad. *jū-* “to press forward, to excite”) cf. Whitney 1888: §1273. [↑](#footnote-ref-354)
355. *tuvimrakṣā́saḥ,* from *tuvimrakṣák-* a *karmadhāraya (tuví*- “much” + *mr̥akṣak*- “destroying”) that could have been chosen also for a sound-play, considering the remarkable heights of sophistication reached by R̥gvedic poetry in using phonetic features as communicative means. [↑](#footnote-ref-355)
356. A family of mythical priests, named among the Fathers, and connected, as the Aṇgiras, to the myth of Indra and the cows of Paṇis, cf. Macdonell 1898: §55B. [↑](#footnote-ref-356)
357. This formula is the stanza R̥V 5.8.3. [↑](#footnote-ref-357)
358. Literally a cousin, a son of a father’s brother: *bhrā́tr̥vya-.* [↑](#footnote-ref-358)
359. *agníś ca* […] *maháḥ* = AB 1.4.8 [↑](#footnote-ref-359)
360. *prá tád* […] *bhúvanāni víśvā* = R̥V 1.154.2 (*vīryèṇa*). [↑](#footnote-ref-360)
361. *nū́ márto* […] *āvívāsāt* = R̥V 7.100.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-361)
362. *vícakrame pr̥thivī́m* […] *cakāra* = R̥V 7.100.4. [↑](#footnote-ref-362)
363. *trír deváḥ* […] *nā́ma* = R̥V 7.100.3. [↑](#footnote-ref-363)
364. *dīkṣāpāla,* “guardian of the initiation”, usually said of Agni and Viṣṇu, cf. PW: III 643. [↑](#footnote-ref-364)
365. *śakrā́*, dual referred to Agni and Viṣṇu, the two gods are here, as the comment of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra suggests (*indrasamānau yuvāṃ*), compared with Indra, to which the semantic field of the root *śac-* is often connected. [↑](#footnote-ref-365)
366. *vīryā̀ya,* the comment of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra says: *tasminkarmāni yajamānānāṃ vīryārtha*, while R̥V 1.154.2 has *vīryèṇa* (Geldner “ob seiner Heldentat”) and the AV Śaunaka recension has *vīryāṇi*. This variations seem to suggest that the interpretation of the original *vīryeṇa* was already uncertain at that time. If we translate as Geldner and understand the dative as referred to Viṣṇu, the heroic deed is probably that described immediately after. [↑](#footnote-ref-366)
367. *nárya-* “manly, powerful, suitable for man” often “goods” or “food”. Here is likely referred to Viṣṇu, who represent indeed a power which is “so great” (*etā́vantaṃ*). What the man wants to appropriate through the sacrifice is, then, the presence, the power of the god. [↑](#footnote-ref-367)
368. The primordial man, the Man. [↑](#footnote-ref-368)
369. As to the meaning of the world *kīrí-* “poet” or “humble” cf. Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: 216-228; KEWA: I 215 and EWAia: I 357. Here, in opposition to *dhruvá, kīrí-* conveys the idea of a lack of fix dwelling. Thank to Viṣṇu the people of Manu got, for the first time, a land to live in. [↑](#footnote-ref-369)
370. *śátarcas-,* R̥gvedic *hapax,* Grassman 1875 [ed1996: 1375] “hundertfach zu preisen” and so Geldner “die hundert Sänger hat”, suggesting a connection with *ānr̥ce* in R̥V 1.160.4d. [↑](#footnote-ref-370)
371. *tveṣá-* EWAia: I 686 “erregt sein, ungestüm” [↑](#footnote-ref-371)
372. *úttarāṃ* […] *ā́śāste* cf. ŚB 1.9.1.14-16. [↑](#footnote-ref-372)
373. *yád* […] *pātām* cf. ŚB 1.9.1.16; .19-20. [↑](#footnote-ref-373)
374. *víśvaṃ* […] *devébhyaḥ* = MS 4.13.9 (*vanutāṃ* and *idám*) [↑](#footnote-ref-374)
375. i.e. the sacrificer. [↑](#footnote-ref-375)
376. *ā śas-* “pray for” but also “desire”. [↑](#footnote-ref-376)
377. *r̥dhyāt* optative to be distinguished from the preceding precative, *aśyāt*. [↑](#footnote-ref-377)
378. *iṣṭáṃ ca vītáṃ ca* is an ambiguous clause: *īṣṭaṃ* could be interpreted as “what is desired” (cf. Eggeling 1900: 253) or “what is offered” (so glosses Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra: *yāganimittaṃ svargādikam*), while *vītáṃ* from *vī-* means“to crave for”, cf. EWAia: II 509-510 “sich zuwenden, verfolgen”, but ŚB.1.9.1.20 reads *vittaṃ* (while MS.4.13.9; .212.12; read as TB.3.5.10.5) from *vid*- “to find”, hence Eggeling “what was searched for and found”. Anyway Eggeling 1900: 253 n. 2 suggests the TB-variant to be the original one and translates it as follows “what has been offered and accepted”. [↑](#footnote-ref-378)
379. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra glosses *iha haviṣe vāmasya vananīyasya dhanasya gātiḥ vyāptiḥ | idaṃ ca etaddhavirlakṣaṇaṃ*, hence in the oblation is the way to get the desirable prize, this is the sign of the oblation itself. Dumont 1960: 9 considers it as an adverb “right now”. [↑](#footnote-ref-379)
380. *tádasmai* […] *etádvanavāmahā* cf. TB 3.5.10.5; MS 4.13.9: 212,10-13 and *tádāgnírdevó* […] *etádvanavāmahā* cf. TS 2.6.9.8. [↑](#footnote-ref-380)
381. *kánīyasīḥ*, from *kánīyas*- “smaller, less”, *scil.* *āśiṣaḥ*. [↑](#footnote-ref-381)
382. The *mantra*s to be recited are R̥V 1.75.1 and the whole hymn 3.21, both addressed to Agni. In 3.21 Agni is asked to taste the drops of clarified butter and the word *stoká-* is repeated through all the 5 stanzas. [↑](#footnote-ref-382)
383. *itáḥpradāna*-, “offering from here”. [↑](#footnote-ref-383)
384. the *omentum*. [↑](#footnote-ref-384)
385. He pours together the waters that are before divided in sixteen different kinds. [↑](#footnote-ref-385)
386. A vessel made with the wood of the *udumbara* plant (Ficus Glomerata). [↑](#footnote-ref-386)
387. *rásavat-,* from *rása-*”sap, juice, essence”, in ŚB 5.3.4.3 is compared to *urjasvat-*  [↑](#footnote-ref-387)
388. *kṣatríyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. Proferes 2007: 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-388)
389. *āśíṣamā́śāste*, the verb *āśaṃs-* is used here both as “to pray” “to ask for” with two object: *āśiṣam* (cognate object or etymologic accusative)and *tát.* [↑](#footnote-ref-389)
390. *ni yā-* “to attack, assail, pass over”, like a carriage. [↑](#footnote-ref-390)
391. *vājin*-, Geldner “siegesgewohnte”; O’Flaherty “racehorse”. This term conveys the swift of the animal and its power. Is the steed that wins the prize of the race. [↑](#footnote-ref-391)
392. The sin, the contamination, dwells within the action that is going to be performed: the slaughtering of the horse; the ritual effort of taking any possible sin away plays an important role within the whole sacrifice. In order to avoid the contamination involved in the slaughtering act, it is often said that the victim agrees with what is happening (cf. the expression *saṃjãptaḥ paśuḥ*, and also the Greek term *ἂγος* EWAia: I 159) and the actions during the cutting asunder seem to have a peculiar goal: to give new life to the animal. As for this aspect in the rituals of ancient India see Malamoud 1994 and Gonda 1960. [↑](#footnote-ref-392)
393. The mated body of the vital fluid entering the Fire Altar, which has been said being composed of speech and breath (ŚB 10.1.1.9). [↑](#footnote-ref-393)
394. Agni. [↑](#footnote-ref-394)
395. *ātmán*- already in the Brāhmaṇa period means the Self and also the body, as it is used here all over this chapter. Whereas in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* it mostly means “vital breath” or “self” and this older meaning is meant in the R̥gvedic *pada*, quoted at the end; therefore there the word *ātmán*- has been translated with “vital breath”. [↑](#footnote-ref-395)
396. For *rātáhavya* see Elizarenkova1995a : 62-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-396)
397. *babhūvathuḥ*: ind. perf. 2nd dual from *bhū-* “you have become”, has here a perfective aspect- is resultative. [↑](#footnote-ref-397)
398. *nahí te* […] *vanavase =* R̥V 6.16.18. [↑](#footnote-ref-398)
399. *sá hí* […] *ástr̥taḥ* = R̥V 6.16.20. [↑](#footnote-ref-399)
400. *Nemānāṃ* (gen. m. pl.) from *néma-* EWAia: II 56 “einer, ein anderer, mancher”, cf. also Oldenberg 1901: 315. [↑](#footnote-ref-400)
401. *bhārata*- is a frequent epithet of Agni, as well as *bharata*-, name of the ancestor of one of the mythical Vedic families. [↑](#footnote-ref-401)
402. Divodāsa is the name of many figures within the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā*, often connected with Agni. See Mayrhofer 2003: 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-402)
403. As to the use of double accusative with verbs of giving cf. Whitney 1888: §277. [↑](#footnote-ref-403)
404. The *Upasad* is connected with the mythological eternal fight between gods and Asuras, as the gods expelled the Asuras out of the three worlds with three Upasads, then the Asuras took refuge in the seasons and the gods again banished them also from the season, then also from the days, and so on. This myth is told in many parts of the Vedic corpus. [↑](#footnote-ref-404)
405. For the form *āśī́r* from *āśiṣ-*, f. “prayer” but also “wish” see EWAia: I 178 “Bitte, Wunsch beim Opfer”and AiGr: I 42f.; II, 2 21; III 229, 248, 596. [↑](#footnote-ref-405)
406. Cf. Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 1205]. [↑](#footnote-ref-406)
407. *vā́ja-* “Wettkampf, Sieg, Lohn” EWAia: II 540. [↑](#footnote-ref-407)
408. *avavyáyann ásitaṃ* […] *apsvàntaḥ* = R̥V 4.13.4b-d. [↑](#footnote-ref-408)
409. BS: *ābhí*  [↑](#footnote-ref-409)
410. *ácchā vada* […] *gárbham* = R*̥*V 5.83.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-410)
411. *kánikradad*, pres. part. of the intensive form of krand “to cry out”. [↑](#footnote-ref-411)
412. Cf. Geldner’s translations of the desiderative occurrences with “einladen” or “her bitten”. [↑](#footnote-ref-412)
413. *kṣatríyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. Proferes 2007: 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-413)
414. *éta:* “of variegated colour, shining”. Worth noticing that both *éta* and *varcás* are connected with the brilliance of light, which is one of the element used to describe the royal power. [↑](#footnote-ref-414)
415. As to the meaning of *ū́rjasvat-, ū́rj-* see Scharfe 1985: 545 and Proferes 2007: 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-415)
416. About *várcas-* “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see Proferes 2007: 91 and 101-104; Gonda 1992: VI/2 366-376. [↑](#footnote-ref-416)
417. *sadr̥śā uta / teṣāṃ* could be also interpreted referring *teṣāṃ* to *sadr̥śāḥ* (plus gen.), the animals are, thus, similar to these here -the men or maybe the animals that are actually to be sacrificed (*paśu*-)-: “The animals of Paśupati are manifold and similar to these here”. On the other hand, the animals can be manifold and though similar along the contradictory speech which is common in the Vedic logic.The genitive plural of the demonstrative pronoun is then referred to the priests performing the rite (cf. TS 3.1.4.1b). Moreover the symmetrical structure with the two genitives suggests the presence of two level: what belongs to divine level (the macro-cosmic one) and what belongs to the ritual level (the meso-cosmic one). The animal, symbol of the sacrifice, shares both the levels. [↑](#footnote-ref-417)
418. *mádhumatīrmádhumatībhiḥ pr̥cyantāmíti rásavatī rásavatībhiḥ pr̥cyantāmítyevaìtádāha máhi kṣatráṃ kṣatríyāya vanvānā íti tátparó 'kṣaṃ yájamānāyāśíṣamā́śāste yadā́ha máhi kṣatráṃ kṣatríyāya vanvānā.* [↑](#footnote-ref-418)
419. Cf. Caland 1908: 8-10. [↑](#footnote-ref-419)
420. *sam bhū-*, “to fall to the share” + gen. The idea expressed here is that the production of the sacrifice is not directly connected with gods: the gods give the *dakṣinās* (nourishment) to the consecrated. With that he generates the sacrifice. The sacrifice will, at the end, reach the gods. The image underlying the whole passage is that of circular passage between gods and men. [↑](#footnote-ref-420)
421. The object of the sentence is the consecrated and, according to the KS, what they give to him is the *dakṣinā.* As to the *dīkṣita,* see, among others, the analysis of Heesterman 1964. [↑](#footnote-ref-421)
422. *sáṃbhūtyai*, dat. sing. f. (for the dative in -*ai* in analogy with -ī declension, see Macdonell 1916: §98b n.4) from *sáṃbhūti* “birth, production”. The possibility of an infinite dative is less probable within the construction of the sentence, moreover there is no attestation of this form in the R̥V (cf. Grassmann 1875). [↑](#footnote-ref-422)
423. Lit. “be of him”. [↑](#footnote-ref-423)
424. *iti* [↑](#footnote-ref-424)
425. *etasmai* (dat. m. sing. from the determinative pronoun *eṣas*-) “to the consecrated”, as to the role of the *dīkṣita* see among others, the analysis of Heesterman 1964. [↑](#footnote-ref-425)
426. *āgame*, stative aor. 3rd sing. cf. Kümmel 1996. See also AVŚ 6.81.2c where *āgame* is quite unclear, cf. Whitney-Lanman 1905: I 341-2 for possible interpretations of the word. [↑](#footnote-ref-426)
427. *saṃ bhū-*, “to affect s.o. (acc.) with (instr.)”. The idea expressed here is that the production of the sacrifice is not directly connected with gods: the gods give the *dakṣināḥ* (nourishment) to the consecrated. With that he generates the sacrifice. The sacrifice will, at the end, reach the gods. The image underlying the whole passage is that of circular passage between gods and men. [↑](#footnote-ref-427)
428. For *naimiṣya-* see EWAia: II 57 *naimiṣa-* “Waldgebiet” *naimiṣya-* “dessen Bewohner” and Macdonell-Keith [1912] 1995: I 460. They are also mentioned in *Kauṣītaki* *Brāmaṇa* 26.5; 28.4 and in *Chāndogya* *Upaniṣad* 1.2.13, being clearly of special sanctity. [↑](#footnote-ref-428)
429. *satramāsata:* it is maybe worth noticing the use of the verb *ās-* “to sit” together with *sattrá-* which literally means “session” deriving from the root *sad-* (cf. EWAia: II 690). For *satrá* instead of *sattrá,* cf. AiGr: I 114 and I,1 62. The *sattra* sacrifice is a *soma* sacrifices of 12 or more pressing days. See also Falk 1986. [↑](#footnote-ref-429)
430. *bhū́rṇayaḥ* (nom. m. pl.) from *bhū́rṇi-* adjective derived from the root *bhur-* “to move compulsively and continuously” cf. Lat. *furere.* [↑](#footnote-ref-430)
431. *vanúṣaḥ* to be seen as genitive rather than accusative in analogy with *vanúṣām árātīḥ* cf. 4 50.11. [↑](#footnote-ref-431)
432. Or in other words: start the journey in the sky; the Aśvins are addressed here. [↑](#footnote-ref-432)
433. *tyájasā* (instr. n. sing.) from *tyájas-* ; for interpretation of this term as “isolation” “abandonment” and in this sense “danger” (isolation is a serious danger for Vedic man) cf. Gonda 1957a: 52 ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-433)
434. In your honour. [↑](#footnote-ref-434)
435. Vgl*.* “victories” cf. *vā́jān* in *pāda* 9 91.4b *punāná inda ūrṇuhi ví vā́jān*. [↑](#footnote-ref-435)
436. One of the kings of the tribe of the Tr̥tsu, companion to Indra, cf. Macdonell- Keith [1912] 1995: II 454. [↑](#footnote-ref-436)
437. *pā́thaḥ* (acc. n. sing.) from *pā́thas-* generically “place”; in the present translation we follow the interpretation by Schmidt 1973: 1-39 and in particular 24, Geldner (II 108) “Zuflucht” and Renou (XIII 48) “pacage”; on *pā́thas-* see also Oldenberg 1900: 599-608 [note *pā́thaḥ* (acc. m. pl.) from *pánthā* “road” only in 2 2.4]. [↑](#footnote-ref-437)
438. *dhvasmanvád* (nom. n. sing.) from *dhvasmánvat-* (m.f.n.) “endowed with dark” for *dhvasmán-* “something dirty, decayed” but also “which darkens”; see Renou X 75 (*souillure* “stain”), Oldenberg 1900: 606 n. 1, and in particular Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: II, 102. In the present translation the pasture is “endowed with shade” as being “covered with dust”, “hard to see” or because “darkening”, and so comparison is suggested between the herd advancing and a grey cloud darkening the sky, cf. Schmidt 1973: 1-39 and in particular 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-438)
439. *paprathad* (perf. subj. 3rd sing.) from the root *prath-*  “to expand” “to extend”, perfect with resultative value - logical perf. (cf. Di Giovine 1996, in particular 273 ff.). [↑](#footnote-ref-439)
440. *bódhati* (ind. pres. 3rd sing.) from the root *budh-* “to be present” “to be self aware”, in Renou (XV 60) “veille-t-il sur lui-même” . [↑](#footnote-ref-440)
441. *r̥júr íc cháṃsaḥ*: *tmesis* of *r̥júrśáṃsaḥ* (nom. m. sing.) *bahuvrīhi from karmadhāraya* (*r̥jú-* “ just, righteous” + *śáṃsa-* “prayer”) “ he who rightly prays”. [↑](#footnote-ref-441)
442. *suprāvī́r* (nom. m. sing.) from *suprāvī́-* “very attentive”; a somewhat unclear interpretation is given by Geldner, (I 309 n. 1c) “Wer gut zuredet”, who, in the note, refers to the verb *prá vihi* in the following stanza: *suprāvī́* derives from *su* “well” and *pra-avī* < rad*. av-* “to protect” while the verb *pra–vī-* “to hasten, set moving” “to inspire”, from which *prá vihi*, has no connection with this root. [↑](#footnote-ref-442)
443. For the extremely extensive use of the term *bhójana*- “nourishment” in Hinduism cf. Renou XV 61. [↑](#footnote-ref-443)
444. Of soma. [↑](#footnote-ref-444)
445. Metaphor for kindling fire, while according to Geldner (III 72 n. 4c) what is strong (*inásya*) is Soma itself. [↑](#footnote-ref-445)
446. *Urubjám* (acc. m. sing.) from *urubjá-*, adjective of uncertain etymology, see EWAia: I 223; other interpretations in Oldenberg 1912, 173 n. 4 and in Renou IX 88; the term clearly contains the idea of “that which is opened”. [↑](#footnote-ref-446)
447. “You have spread light on the earth” *tatantha* (ind. perf. 2nd sing.) from *tan-* “to extend, to spread” here used with a sense much as in the tenth *maṇḍala* (cf. 10 90.6 a-b *yát púruṣeṇa havíṣā devā́ yajñám átanvata*) where it is the sacrifice that is “extended”, “prepared” thanks to man, and just as there is no sacrifice without *puruṣa*, so here there is no earth without light; on this point see also Malamoud (1994: 223) “To accomplish the sacrifice […] is to open it out: give it its entire extension while preserving its continuity”. [↑](#footnote-ref-447)
448. *yanvántu* (impv. pres. 3rd pl.) from the root *van-*; while in the two previous *pāda* the verb has as subject an “us”, here the subject is clearly a group other than that which is performing the rite, possibly a group in attendance or for whom the rite is performed (warriors going into battle?). [↑](#footnote-ref-448)
449. *aryáh* (gen. m. sing., Vedic form cf. Whitney 1888: §340.e) from *arí-* “enemy”; for the present translation we follow the interpretation proposed by Thieme 1938; see also Oldenberg 1900: 167-180 and EWAia: I 111-2. To be noted here in particular is the contraposition: *‘ari-vanús-’:* the outside enemy, foreigner, and the internal enemy (cf. Renou VII 84). [↑](#footnote-ref-449)
450. *aryáh* (gen. m. sing., Vedic form cf. Whitney 1888: §340.e) from *arí-* “enemy”, cf. previous note. [↑](#footnote-ref-450)
451. The earthly ones and the heavenly ones. [↑](#footnote-ref-451)
452. Here abundance of inspiration. [↑](#footnote-ref-452)
453. *aryáh* (gen. m. sing., Vedic form cf. Whitney 1888: §340.e) from *arí-* “enemy”; for the present translation we have followed the interpretation proposed by Thieme 1938; see also Oldenberg 1900: 167-180 and EWAia: I 111-2. To be noted here in particular is the contraposition: *‘ari-vanús-’:* the outside enemy, foreigner, and the internal enemy (cf. Renou VII 84). [↑](#footnote-ref-453)
454. To be noted between Agni as sacrificial fire and Agni associated with Mitra (with the “Pact”) a division of tasks symmetrical to the contraposition between the distant enemy (*sánutyaḥ*) and the enemy nearby (*ántaro vanuṣyā́t*): for both Agni is invoked, but with different function and attributes. [↑](#footnote-ref-454)
455. “To have you enter the circle of the sacrifice”. [↑](#footnote-ref-455)
456. *aptúram* (acc. m. sing.) from *aptúr-* (m. f. n.); interpretation of the term as derived from *áp-* “water” + root *tr̥-*  “to cross” see Thieme 1952: 7 and Lüders 1951-1959: 235. [↑](#footnote-ref-456)
457. As to the exact meaning of *vidátha-* as already a ritual fest or just as social meeting, see Gonda 1992: VI/1 310-337, Kuiper 1974: 129-132 and Oldenberg 1900: 608-611. [↑](#footnote-ref-457)
458. “The golden” are the drops of Soma. [↑](#footnote-ref-458)
459. The horse of the sacrifice. [↑](#footnote-ref-459)
460. In these first two *pāda* what is described is the place where the sacrifice is being performed; the threads of wool were used to filter the juice obtained by squeezing the soma plant. [↑](#footnote-ref-460)
461. On the meaning of *matí-*  “poetic thought expressed” (< root *man-* from which also *mánas-*)cf. Gonda 1963; Maggi 1989: 63-114 and Renou I 2 ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-461)
462. Here with the ambiguity between the objective and subjective value of the compound adjective is deliberately maintained. [↑](#footnote-ref-462)
463. appellation of Rudra ( “serpent that stays on the ground” or “serpent of the depths” cf. Gonda 1980: I 63). [↑](#footnote-ref-463)
464. *várūtri* (nom. f. sing.) is one of the appellations of the Goddess. [↑](#footnote-ref-464)
465. *ékadhenubhir* (instr. m. pl.) from *ékadhenu-* literally “who possesses the only cow” Geldner (II 220 n. 5d) “die eine einzige oder eine gemeinsame Milchkuh [die Wunschkuh ?] haben”; here it is used as a proper noun for divine entities otherwise unknown. [↑](#footnote-ref-465)
466. Appellation of the gods, from *vásu-*  (m.f.n.) “good” (cf. *vásu-* (n.) “well-being”), but also a of divine beings consisting of Agni and seven other gods (earth, wind, atmosphere, sun, sky, moon, stars) cf. Gonda 1981: 133 n. 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-466)
467. *vanúm*, whatever it may mean, is in a position central to the two symmetrical propositions and is to be taken in relation to both verbs. [↑](#footnote-ref-467)
468. The many *vā* present in the stanza have more the value of a list than of a series of disjunctive elements. [↑](#footnote-ref-468)
469. The repetition of a term can take on a distributed value, to be understood in this case as “every time that” cf. Withney 1888: §1257. [↑](#footnote-ref-469)
470. Geldner (III, 343) “wer mit den Beinen ausschreitet, beendet seinen Weg”, and thus according to Sani (2000: 205) and Ambrosini (1981: 108), while for O’Flaherty (1984: 69) it is “the legs that walk put the road behind them”. [↑](#footnote-ref-470)
471. *vánīyān* is in a position central to the two symmetrical propositions and is to be taken in relation to both verbs. [↑](#footnote-ref-471)
472. Class of persons not well defined; this term is used not only as proper noun but also as an epithet for the sacrificer and indeed Agni himself (cf. EWAia: I 234-5); Geldner in I 185 conjectures that it is the name of a family of priests, although here (II 189) he translates it is a common noun (“Fürbitter (?)”). [↑](#footnote-ref-472)
473. Cf. AiGr: II 2 §214. [↑](#footnote-ref-473)
474. Agni, fire, is by his very nature “endowed with wood” or “characterised by wood”, as is, of course, the chariot, through *vanín-* “having wood” cf. Tucker 2006. [↑](#footnote-ref-474)
475. While the first two *pāda* clearly refer to the chariot of the Aśvin, the second two can be understood as referring to Agni, fire, which has in fact countless forms and heeds the prayers of men. They can, moreover, also refer to the chariot, for Agni is hardly likely to be named in hymns addressed to the Aśvin. [↑](#footnote-ref-475)
476. Made of wood is the bowl into which the clarified butter was poured before being thrown into the fire, through *vanín-* “having wood” cf. Tucker 2006. [↑](#footnote-ref-476)
477. *r̥tapsū* (voc. m. du.) from *r̥tapsu-* (m.f.n.) *bahuvrīhi* of *karmadhāraya,* “those whose breath is the truth” from *r̥tá-* “order, law, truth” and *psu-* “breath” (cf. *ψῡχή* in Greek), a substantive present only in the R̥gvedic compounds (EWAia: II 199); for interpretation of the termcf. Renou III 29 and Thieme 1971: 72-81 in particular 77-79. [↑](#footnote-ref-477)
478. *dyumnā́ni* (nom. n. pl.) from *dyumná-*  “splendour, light”, but also “power”, “glory” Geldner (I 382) “Herrlichkeiten”, Renou (XVII 83) “formes-(éclatantes)”; in the present translation the splendours are understood as flames, the little flashes produced by fire (Agni) to which the adjective *vanínaḥ* refers*.* [↑](#footnote-ref-478)
479. Agni, fire, is by his very nature “endowed with wood” or “characterised by wood”, as is, of course, the chariot, through *vanín-* “having wood” cf. Tucker 2006. [↑](#footnote-ref-479)
480. *vaníno: vanínā u* against Pp.: *vanínaḥ,* the choice is dictated by the strangeness of the form within the *pāda* (Geldner II 286 in fact reads it as *vanínam*) and we follow the hypothesis that *vanín-* is Agni, fire, by his very nature “endowed with wood” or “characterised by wood”, as is, of course, the chariot, through *vanín-* “having wood” cf. Tucker 2006. [↑](#footnote-ref-480)
481. Through *vanín-* “having wood” cf. Tucker 2006. [↑](#footnote-ref-481)
482. As to the meaning of  *vícarṣaṇi,* see Thieme 1967a. [↑](#footnote-ref-482)
483. *havásā gr̥ṇīmasi:* cf. 6.66.11 (hymn to the Marut) *havasā*́ *vivāse* “I call here with the invocation” (present indicative 1st sing. Ā from *vivās-*, stem of the desiderative from *van-*); in this case, too, the object of the action is the son of Rudra. [↑](#footnote-ref-483)
484. The *hotr̥* is in this case both the human priest and Agni, and begins the sacrifice and the chants uttering the sacred words; similarly, maintaining the human world–divine world symmetry, Br̥haspati is both the Bráhman (Geldner I 194 n.10b) and the *adhvaryu*, the human corresponding to the Lord of the formula. [↑](#footnote-ref-484)
485. *vā́riyam*  (acc. n. sing.) from *vā́rya-* “treasure” “asset which entails choice” from the root *vr̥-* “to choose” cf. *vāra-* “choice”. [↑](#footnote-ref-485)
486. *araríndāni* (acc. n. pl. ?) *hapax*, here, as in Geldner (I 194) and Renou (V 9), is not translated. Renou suggests taking the term to be in apposition to *sádmāni*, but it does not seem to be possible to attempt a plausible translation; on this, see Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 104]; EWAia: I 110; AiGr: II 2 §164 and 224; Oldenberg 1909: 142 n. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-486)
487. On the neuter substantives in *-as* see AiGr: II 2 §122-132 and the study by Nowicki 1976. [↑](#footnote-ref-487)
488. On the various interpretations of the term *vánas* see also the bibliography in EWAia: II 500. [↑](#footnote-ref-488)
489. The king who has as chariot the filter *(rā́jā pavítraratho)* is *soma*, the liquid squeezed from the plant of the same name and then filtered; in this image, however, there is reference to a precise stage in the sacrifice of the soma: the chariot race in which the king has in fact to defeat Soma; on the connection between these three elements, see Sparreboom 1985: 21-23. [↑](#footnote-ref-489)
490. *iyānā́ḥ* (nom. f. pl. pres. part. Ā) from the root *i-* “to go” but also, in the Ā forms, in fact, “to approach to ask”. [↑](#footnote-ref-490)
491. Indra, who in 10.27.9d is he who yokes horses *(áyuktaṃ yunajad vavanvā́n)*, is “he who appropriates”. In the present translation *vánanvatah* is interpreted as genitive (of position, referring to *áśvān*) in consideration of the structure of the entire stanza, which draws a parallel between the *paśúḥ* *yā́duvaḥ* (Yadu’s cattle) and the *áśvān vánanvataḥ* (the horses of him who appropriates). [↑](#footnote-ref-491)
492. For the importance of *śraddhā́-*, as sacrifice in the cult of the dead and as divinity, cf. Gonda 1980 and 1981: I 80-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-492)
493. *cikétati* (subj. perf. 3rd sing) from the root *cit-* which expresses the idea of understanding through visual perception, perfect with resultative value – logical perf. (cf. Di Giovine 1996, in particular 273 ff.). [↑](#footnote-ref-493)
494. On the meaning of *matí-* (f.) “poetic thought expressed” (< root *man-* from which also *mánas-*)cf. Gonda 1963, Maggi 1989: 63-114 and Renou I 2 ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-494)
495. *ághniyā* (nom. f. sing.) from *ághniyā-* “cow”, from *\*a-ghn- ii̯ā/ă*: *a*-subtractive + root *ghn/han-* “to kill” : “the one not to kill”. [↑](#footnote-ref-495)
496. *Scil.* wood, to honour Agni. [↑](#footnote-ref-496)
497. Cf. previous note. [↑](#footnote-ref-497)
498. *vā́tajūtāso* (nom. m. pl.) from *vā́tajūta-,* compound *tatpuruṣa* the second member of which is a passive past participle (*vā́ta-* “wind” + *jūta-* < root *jū-* “to drive ahead, hasten”) cf. Withney 1888: §1273. [↑](#footnote-ref-498)
499. *tuvimrakṣā́saḥ* (nom. m. pl.) from *tuvimrakṣák-* compound *karmadhāraya* (*tuví-* “much” + *mrakṣak-* “that destroys”), note the sound value of this term. [↑](#footnote-ref-499)
500. Family of mythical priests, named among the Fathers, connected, like the Aṇgiras, to Indra in the myth of the cows of Paṇis cf. Macdonell 1898: §55B. [↑](#footnote-ref-500)
501. As to the exact meaning of *vidátha-* as already a ritual fest or just as social meeting, see Gonda 1992: VI/1 310-337, Kuiper 1974: 129-132 and Oldenberg 1900: 608-611. [↑](#footnote-ref-501)
502. “The golden” are the drops of Soma. [↑](#footnote-ref-502)
503. The horse of the sacrifice. [↑](#footnote-ref-503)
504. In these first two *pāda* what is described is the place where the sacrifice is being performed; the threads of wool were used to filter the juice obtained by squeezing the soma plant. [↑](#footnote-ref-504)
505. On the meaning of *matí-*  “poetic thought expressed” (< root *man-* from which also *mánas-*)cf. Gonda 1963; Maggi 1989: 63-114 and Renou I 2 ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-505)
506. To be noted between Agni as sacrificial fire and Agni associated with Mitra (with the “Pact”) a division of tasks symmetrical to the contraposition between the distant enemy (*sánutyaḥ*) and the enemy nearby (*ántaro vanuṣyā́t*): for both Agni is invoked, but with different function and attributes. [↑](#footnote-ref-506)
507. *sed agnir yo* […] *nipāti* =R̥V 7.1.15a. [↑](#footnote-ref-507)
508. *vákṣaḥsu* […] *yácchamānāḥ* = R̥V 7.56.13b-d. [↑](#footnote-ref-508)
509. *yā* […] *suvī́ram* = R̥V 1.85.12. [↑](#footnote-ref-509)
510. *imé* […] = R̥V 7.56.19a-c. [↑](#footnote-ref-510)
511. The breast of the Maruts as it is clear with regard to the end of the preceding paragraph which is the first *pāda* of the stanza 7.56.13. [↑](#footnote-ref-511)
512. *vyr̥ṣṭí-* (R̥V reads *vr̥ṣṭibhī* “through the rain”) is the proper name of an excellent like a sword or a spear. Miśra glosses *āyudhaviśeṣair vyr̥ṣṭyākhyair viśeṣeṇa rocamānāḥ.* [↑](#footnote-ref-512)
513. *abhidāti,* Benfey 1848: 229 “nachstellt” and in the note 5 “*abhidāti = asmākam adattvānyebhyo dadātīti arthaḥ* (SvC.)”; the commentator gloss the verb with *dā* “to give”, using the form *dadāti,* which indeed is ind. pres. while *dāti* should be a subj. root aor.; moreover the current meaning of the verb doesn’t seem to fit the context, and the twisting interpretation is rather doubtful. The form *abhidāti* could also be understood as ind. pres. from *dā-* “to divide” which could suggest an action whose result is not quite fair for the receiver, but indeed *dā* doesn’t seem to be used that way elsewhere. Not feeling able to reach an entirely certain conclusion, I settle for translating as “to be after so”, following Benfey’s interpretation. See also Narten (1963) with regard to the relation between *abhidā-* and *abhidhā́sati.* [↑](#footnote-ref-513)
514. *ugaṇā,* EWAia: II 211 “machtvoll […] auch -ā Nom Sing”, cf. also Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: II 192. [↑](#footnote-ref-514)
515. The repetition of a term can take on a distributed value, to be understood in this case as “every time that” cf. Withney 1888: §1257. [↑](#footnote-ref-515)
516. *índrāgahi* […] *yajñíyānām* = R̥V 6.41.1d. [↑](#footnote-ref-516)
517. *yā* […] *gavyúḥ* = R̥V 6.41.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-517)
518. Aufrecht reads *áśvināv éhá* as R̥V 1.22.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-518)
519. *prātaryújā* […] *pītáye* = R̥V 1.22.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-519)
520. *prātaryā́vāṇā* […] *pūrvabhā́jaḥ* = R̥V 5.77.1; MS 4.12.6: 196.1-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-520)
521. *prātáryajadhvam* […] *vánīyān* = R̥V 5.77.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-521)
522. *mádhu-* could be milk, honey, the *soma,* it is a sweets or a sweet drink, cf. EWAia: II 302-303 [↑](#footnote-ref-522)
523. The repetition of a term can take on a distributed value, to be understood in this case as “every time that” cf. Withney 1888: §1257. [↑](#footnote-ref-523)
524. *ní tvā* […] *ámartyam =* R̥V 1.44.11, R̥V *manuṣvat* instead of *vanuṣvat.* [↑](#footnote-ref-524)
525. As to the actual meaning of *parirāpín-* and the different explanations of the possible paradoxical intention within the *pāda,* see Griffiths (2009: 335-336) whose translation has been followed here also. The noun is clearly connected with the root-noun *parirā́p*- and the verbal root *rap-* “to talk”. [↑](#footnote-ref-525)
526. Arāti is one of the personification of evil qualities, that are to be found especially in the Atharvaveda, it means “miserliness, failure”, on the word *árāti-* see Kuiper 1961-62: 50 n. 10 “the negative power which detains the gifts of the nether world” as antagonist to *púraṃdhi-* “the cosmic power of present-giving”. [↑](#footnote-ref-526)
527. *vī́rtsīr,* inj. -*iṣ* aor. of the desiderative form of *vi- r̥dh-*. The whole *pāda* is clearly not well preserved, see also AVP 7.9.8. [↑](#footnote-ref-527)
528. As to *parirāpin-* and Arāti, see note on AVŚ 5.7.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-528)
529. *vivyathaḥ,* red. subj. aor. with a causative meaning. See also Griffiths 2009: 336. [↑](#footnote-ref-529)
530. *vī́rtsīr,* inj. -*iṣ* aor. of the desiderative form of *vi- r̥dh-*. The whole *pāda* is clearly not well preserved, cf. Griffiths 2009: 342-343. [↑](#footnote-ref-530)
531. Bhattacharya edits *adhi dipsanto* instead of *adhya* *ditsanto,* on the problematic desiderative participle of *dabh-* “to injure” and how it entered the transmission, see Griffiths 2009: 343. [↑](#footnote-ref-531)
532. The second half of the *pāda* is not clear, after Barret edition, it can be speculated that *vrahmajyeyaṃ* can be read as *brahma0* and *avruvan* as *abruvan; nu priyāyate* is very questionable: *priyāya*- “mit Liebe behalten” (PW) can also be regarded as wrong reading for *nipriyāya-,* cf*.* in AVŚ 12.4.11. [↑](#footnote-ref-532)
533. *úmā-*, EWAia: I 225 “etwa: Flachs […] Weiteres bleibt unklar”. [↑](#footnote-ref-533)
534. *kahyā́gni* = *gahyā́gni* one of the epithet of Agni, probably connected with *gáhana* EWAia: I 481 “Abgrund, Tiefe, Versteck” and *gāh-* EWAia: I 486 “eindringen, eintreten”, cf. also *durgáha*. [↑](#footnote-ref-534)
535. *kahyā́gni* = *gahyā́gni* one of the epithet of Agni, probably connected with *gáhana* EWAia: I 481 “Abgrund, Tiefe, Versteck” and *gāh-* EWAia: I 486 “eindringen, eintreten”, cf. also *durgáha*. [↑](#footnote-ref-535)
536. See Bloomfield 1899; Whitney 1905 and more recently Witzel 1997: 275-283. See also Parpola 1983, 2012 for the different waves of migrations. [↑](#footnote-ref-536)
537. See, among others, Bhattacarya 1997 and 2008; Zehnder 1999; Griffiths-Schmiedchen 2007 and Griffiths 2009. [↑](#footnote-ref-537)
538. Falk 1986 and Heesterman 1962. See also Vassilkov 1995. [↑](#footnote-ref-538)
539. *ā́ dabhan,* subj. aor. or inj. 3rd pl., cf. EWAia: I 694 and Hoffmann 1967: 243; as to the different meanings of the root *dabh-,* and the form *dambháyati,* we follow Insler (1969). According to his work, there could be a verbal theme *dambháya*- buid on the adjective *dabhrá*- (by analogy with *randháyati* : *radhrá*-) therefore not connected with *dabh*-; for the verbal root he suggests three meaning, the first being is “to trick” “persuade through deceive”; the translation Insler (1969: 22-3 “trick away (from us)”) proposes for *ā dabh*- seems to catch a common worry of Vedic men, that the enemies or the ‘heretics’ may drive away the gods with their presence. [↑](#footnote-ref-539)
540. This noun seems to be referred to a group of people that falls apart the Brahmanic religion, so to say, representing the ‘heretics’, a meaning which is not too far from the idea of mistake (“some who fails”) as suggested by Peca Conti 1982-83: 41-51. The meaning of this term is although not clearly established for all the occurrences. [↑](#footnote-ref-540)
541. This binary structure *mā́kīm van – dviś* can be compared with the antinomy good-evil that can be traced allover the thought of Zarathustra as a *leitmotiv* of the Gāthas. [↑](#footnote-ref-541)
542. Here the term means not only “holy formula” (Thieme 1952: 91-129), but is already referring to the wider implications as “universal principle” and spirit of the whole; for a bibliography on this term, see Gonda 1950. [↑](#footnote-ref-542)
543. As to the exact meaning of *vidátha-* as already a ritual fest or just as social meeting, see Gonda 1992: VI/1 310-337, Kuiper 1974: 129-132 and Oldenberg 1900: 608-611. [↑](#footnote-ref-543)
544. “The golden” are the drops of Soma. [↑](#footnote-ref-544)
545. *Dāyi,* from *dā-,* ind. aor. 3rd sing. passive, without augment, conveying an injunctive aspect cf. Macdonell 1916: §155 and Whitney 1888: §844.c. [↑](#footnote-ref-545)
546. *Tyád,* (acc. n. sing.) from *syá-,* the dimostrative pronoun here refers to what is peculiar to Indra: the *soma*. [↑](#footnote-ref-546)
547. As to the contest between Sūrya and Etaśa and Indra’s help, see Macdonell- Keith [1912] 1995: I 120; Etaśa could also be the horse of Indra, a horse of variegated colour (*éta-* (m.f.n.) “of variegated colour”. [↑](#footnote-ref-547)
548. *súṣvi-,* indeed “pressing out”. [↑](#footnote-ref-548)
549. *ābhúvam* (acc. m. sing.) from *ābhū́-* (m. f. n.) < root *bhū-*, “present”, PW: “tüchtig, wirksam”, as a continuos presence that comes every time in to existence and is efficacious. [↑](#footnote-ref-549)
550. The term is usually used as epithet os the sacrificer as well as of Agni (cf. EWAia: I 234-5), Geldner (I 185) suggests it is the name of a priests family. [↑](#footnote-ref-550)
551. *śrī* “beauty, grace, light”, is here the splendour of the light of the sun and the dawn, coming right after the chariot of the Aśvin. [↑](#footnote-ref-551)
552. *kakuhā́saḥ* (nom. m. sing.) *kakuhá*- (m. f. n.) “lofty, prominent, tall” from *kakúbh*- “peak”, cf. Macdonell-Keith [1912] 1995 : I 131. [↑](#footnote-ref-552)
553. Sāyaṇa paraphrases “*amŕ̥tam*” with “*amr̥tatvaprāpakam*”, it is not the immortality but rather what leads to it; as to the connection between *amŕ̥ta-* and ambrosia, see Lazzeroni 1998: 65-80. [↑](#footnote-ref-553)
554. These are names of female frogs. During the hymns the beings invoked for bringing the rain are the Marut, Agni, Prajāpati, Parjanya, Varuṇa and, at the end, these female frogs (vss. 14-15). [↑](#footnote-ref-554)
555. *mánas-* means “thought” “mind”*.* Whitney (1905: 175) translates it as “favour”, but maybe here is meant the spirit of the Marut, that is needed to get the rain. [↑](#footnote-ref-555)
556. As to the meaning of *cakṣanaṃ* in this context, see also R̥V 1.170.4 *tatrāmr̥tasya cetanam*. [↑](#footnote-ref-556)
557. *pravadá-,* PW: “einen Laut von sich gebend: Trommel.” [↑](#footnote-ref-557)
558. For *vayuná* as “path” but also “way, art” see Pischel in Pischel-Geldner (1889-1901: I 295-308) 297 “die Arten des Kampfes”, and EWAia: II 510. [↑](#footnote-ref-558)
559. *ví hara,* impv. pres. 2nd sing. is referred to the drum mentioned in the first part within a metonymy for the fighting armies. [↑](#footnote-ref-559)
560. *āréhaṇa,* Sāyaṇa explains it with *āsvādanīyam* “something to be enjoyed by tasting”, cf. *rih-* “to lick, to kiss”. [↑](#footnote-ref-560)
561. As to the meaning of *cakṣanaṃ* in this context, see also R̥V 1.170.4 *tatrāmr̥tasya* *cetanam*. [↑](#footnote-ref-561)
562. *viśvávyacā* is usually referred to Aditi, cf. in this hymn st. 12-13. In this stanza the person addressed is probably the corpse, the body of the dead man, that will become as Agni -usually described as *ghr̥tápr̥ṣṭho-* and Aditi. He will go reach the other world and he is *sáyoniḥ,* that is he has the same origin. [↑](#footnote-ref-562)
563. Scil. *kulāya*, ‘nest’ which is mentioned in the preceding *pāda:* *kúlāyaṃ kr̥ṇavādíti*. [↑](#footnote-ref-563)
564. As to the interpretation of the word *nīsanam* as “the bottom”, it is a conjecturaleffortto explain this *hapax.* The conjectural hypothesis is the i.e. root \**h1eh1s*, (see EWAia: I 181) plus the prefix *ni-* and the *kr̥t-*suffix -*ana*, which is used to create denominatives (cf. AiGr: II 2 ): *\*ni Has-ana > \*ni Hs-ana* (zero grade)> \**ni-hs-ana* (therefore no cerebralization of the following sibilant and the lengthening of the previous vowel) *> nīsana,* instead of the regular *ni.āsana > nyāsana.* I owe much of this hypothesis to Rainer Kimmig, who gave me important and decisive suggestions. [↑](#footnote-ref-564)
565. The etymological pun with the root *pyai-* involves the verb *prapyai-* and the derivate noun *payas-,* the fluid that has swollen up and then has flowed, cf. EWAia: II 83 “Milch, Milchstrom (übertragen auch ‘Saft, Samen, Lebenskraft’ u.a.)”. [↑](#footnote-ref-565)
566. *āréhaṇa,* Sāyaṇa explains it with *āsvādanīyam* “something to be enjoyed by tasting”, cf. *rih-* “to lick, to kiss”. [↑](#footnote-ref-566)
567. Sāyaṇa paraphrases “amŕ̥tam” with “amr̥tatvaprāpakam”, it is not the immortality but rather what leads to it; as to the connection between *amŕ̥ta-* and ambrosia, see Lazzeroni 1998: 65-80. [↑](#footnote-ref-567)
568. *pipr̥tām,* impv. pres. 3rd du. (K. reads *pipr̥tāt*) since *pr̥-* is always active, it may refer to Agni and Prajāpati or to Aditi and Prajāpati who are mentioned in the preceding verses. [↑](#footnote-ref-568)
569. *pravedo,* wrong reading for *pravadá-,* PW: “einen Laut von sich gebend: Trommel.” [↑](#footnote-ref-569)
570. For *vayuná-* as “path” but also “way, art” see Pischel in Pischel-Geldner (1889-1901: I 295-308) 297 “die Arten des Kampfes”, and EWAia: II 510. [↑](#footnote-ref-570)
571. *vi bhaja,* impv. pres. 2nd sing. is referred to the drum mentioned in the first part within a metonymy for the fighting armies. [↑](#footnote-ref-571)
572. *viśvávyacā* is usually referred to Aditi, cf. AVŚ 12.3.12-13. In this stanza the person addressed is probably the corpse, see note to AVŚ 12.3.53. [↑](#footnote-ref-572)
573. *vr̥haspatāu* wrong writing for *br̥haspatāu.* [↑](#footnote-ref-573)
574. See Griffiths 2009: 139. [↑](#footnote-ref-574)
575. See PW: 901 “begehren, wünschen, lieben, mögen” as well as EWAia II 501. [↑](#footnote-ref-575)
576. Cf. AVP 2.90.2-4: *vāñcha me pādau tanvaṃ vāñchākṣyau vāñcha sakthyau /akṣyau vr̥ṣaṇyantyāḥ keśā oṣṭhau māṃ te kāmena śuṣyatām // 2 mayi tvā doṣaṇiśliṣaṃ kr̥ṇomi hr̥dayaśliṣam / yathā mama kratāvaso mamāścedasīdapi // 3 yā́sāṃ nābhirārehaṇaṃ hr̥di saṃvananaṃ kr̥tam gāvo ghr̥tasya mātaro ‘mūṃ saṃ vānayantu me // 4* [↑](#footnote-ref-576)
577. *vr̥ṣaṇy-* EWAia: II 577 “brünstig sein”. [↑](#footnote-ref-577)
578. *mā́ṃ* can be also translated together with *kā́mena* “through loving me” cf. Whitney 1888: § 272. [↑](#footnote-ref-578)
579. Here the calf is the men speaking, as also confirmed by the parallel R̥V 10.145.6c-e *mā́m ánu prá te máno vatsáṃ gaúr iva dhāvatu pathā́ vā́r iva dhāvatu.*  [↑](#footnote-ref-579)
580. In this section all the occurrences of the verb *vāñch-* have been taken into account except for AVP(K.) 20.23.4 *eṣa te agne vatsa taṃ vāñcchas taṃ satyam agniṃ vrūmaḥ.* Its meaning is quite unclear and does not seem to add any interesting information to the analysis. [↑](#footnote-ref-580)
581. As to the chronologically and socially variegated components of the Atharvaveda Saṃhitās, see above §IV.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-581)