

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

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## Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	1
List of Abbreviations.....	1
<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Criteria of the work and selection of the texts.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>I Presentation of the problem: Two meanings and two roots?.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>I.1 The Indo-European linguistic situation.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>I.2 Ṛgvedic evidences – <i>van</i><sub>3</sub>: Hypothesis of a nuclear meaning.....</b>	<b>7</b>
II The Ṛgvedic scenario.....	13
II.1 Functional analysis of the occurrences.....	13
a- Variant meaning “to possess”.....	13
b- Variant meaning “to conquer”.....	15
c- Absolute use of the present participle.....	17
<b>d- Nuclear meaning “to appropriate”.....</b>	<b>18</b>
e- Ritual meaning “to make s.o. enter the circle of sacrifice”.....	23
II.2 Avestan comparison.....	31
<b>II.3 Nuclear meaning, ritual meaning and the absence of “desire”.....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>III Post-Ṛgvedic developments: a diachronic analysis.....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>III.1 The context.....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>III.1.1 Relative chronology of the Post-Ṛgvedic sources.....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>III.1.2 The Ritual context.....</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>III.1.3 The Vedic web.....</b>	<b>39</b>
III.2 Occurrences: Ṛgvedic <i>mantras</i> , non-Ṛgvedic <i>mantras</i> and <i>brāhmaṇa</i> -portions.....	44
III.2.1 Samhitā occurrences.....	45
ṚV <i>mantras</i> .....	45
Non-ṚV <i>mantras</i> – Yajurveda prose.....	61
III.2.2 Brāhmaṇa occurrences.....	74
ṚV <i>mantras</i> .....	74
Non-ṚV <i>mantras</i> – Brāhmaṇa prose.....	86
<b>III.3 Analysis of the occurrences.....</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>III.3.1 The development of the nuclear and ritual meaning.....</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>III.3.2 <i>van</i>- / <i>van</i><sup>i</sup>- in the non-Ṛgvedic Passages: a Chronological Perspective.....</b>	<b>96</b>
IV “To desire”: a synchronic analysis.....	103
IV.1 Nominal derivatives.....	103
IV.1.1 Ṛgvedic occurrences.....	103
1- <i>vanús</i> - <i>vanuṣya</i> -.....	103
2- <i>vanú</i> -.....	114
3- Verbal adjectives.....	115
4- <i>vanín</i> -.....	117
5- Derivatives of problematic definition.....	121
a) <i>vānas</i> -.....	121
b) <i>vanánā</i> -.....	122
c) <i>vanīvan</i> -.....	122
d) <i>vānanvat</i> -.....	123
IV.1.2 Post-Ṛgvedic occurrences.....	127
IV.1.2.1 Derivatives that occur only as ṚV quotations.....	127
a) <i>vānas</i> -.....	127
b) <i>vanīvan</i> -.....	128
c) <i>vantṛ</i> -.....	128
d) <i>vanús</i> -.....	128
IV.1.2.2 Derivatives that occur both as ṚV quotations and not.....	129

a) <i>vanuṣya-</i> .....	129
ṚV <i>mantras</i> .....	129
non-ṚV <i>mantras</i> .....	132
b) <i>vānīyas-</i> .....	133
ṚV <i>mantras</i> .....	133
non-ṚV <i>mantras</i> .....	134
IV.1.2.3. Derivatives that occur only in the Post-Ṛgvedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas..	135
a) <i>vanuṣvat-</i> .....	135
b) <i>vaní-</i> .....	135
c) <i>vānya-</i> .....	138
d) <i>vantu-</i> .....	142
IV.1.3 Analysis of the nominal derivatives.....	143
IV.2 The Atharvaveda: diastatic evidences on <i>van-</i> / <i>vaní-</i> .....	144
IV.2.1 Atharvaveda occurrences.....	144
ṚV <i>mantras</i> .....	144
Non-ṚV <i>mantras</i> .....	149
IV.2.2 Analysis of the Atharvaveda occurrences.....	162
V Conclusions.....	166
V.1 Diachronic analysis: A ritual development.....	166
V.2 Diastatic analysis: A social counterpart?.....	167
VI Appendix.....	170
VI.1 Tables.....	170
VI.1.1 Laryngeal and non-laryngeal attestations of the verb in the <i>Ṛgveda Saṃhitā</i> .....	170
VI.1.2 Laryngeal and non-laryngeal attestations of the verb in the Post-Ṛgvedic Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and in the Atharvaveda (barring ṚV-quotations).....	179
VI.2 Data-base.....	184
VI.2.1 Objects of <i>van-</i> / <i>vaní-</i> in the <i>Ṛgveda Saṃhitā</i> .....	184
VI.2.2 Objects of <i>van-</i> / <i>vaní-</i> in the post-Ṛgvedic literature.....	189
Bibliography.....	193
Primary texts and translations.....	193
Secondary Literature.....	196
Index Locorum.....	207

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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: *Kaṇṇikā Saṃhitā*  
KS: *Kāṭha Saṃhitā*  
KauS: *Kauthuma Saṃhitā*  
KauB: *Kauṣṭhiki Brāhmaṇa*  
JAOS: *Journal of American Oriental Society*  
JS: *Jaiminīya Saṃhitā*  
MhB: *Mahābhārata*  
MS: *Maitrayāṇī Saṃhitā*  
RV: *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*  
TB: *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*  
TS: *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*  
ŚB: *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Mādhyam̐dina recension  
VS: *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, Mādhyam̐dina recension

## Introduction

The present research was conceived within the scope of an investigation on the Vedic verbal root *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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<sup>1</sup>; 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 *Ṛgveda 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 *van<sub>1</sub>* and *van<sub>2</sub>*) and the Vedic outcome (that we would than name *van<sub>3</sub>*), 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 *van<sub>3</sub>*.

The core of the work will focus on the semantics of the Vedic outcome; in the second chapter we will first pick over the *Ṛgvedic* occurrences of the verbal root *-van<sub>3</sub>*, henceforth also referred

1 As to the period of recasting within the Vedic time, see, among others, RENOUE 1947, WITZEL 1989 and 1997, PROFERES 2007. I will deal with this topic in Chapter 2.

to as *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*. The functional analysis let us pinpoint two type of readings: a nuclear meaning that is deployed in most of the occurrences of the *Ṛgveda 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-Ṛgvedic texts, analysing all its occurrences. This means to consider the uses of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* (*van<sub>3</sub>*) 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-Ṛgvedic 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 *Ṛgveda 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 Ṛgvedic evidences to shed a light on the duplicity of the Indo-European root *\*u<sub>en</sub>-*/*\*u<sub>en</sub>-H*; moreover, it deals with the development of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* along the Ṛgvedic and post-Ṛgvedic texts, charting the change in the use of the verb. Finally, it is concerned with a third aspect, namely the diastratic<sup>2</sup> 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<sup>3</sup> as a lexical field applied to some content domain, insofar as the meaning of a word is regarded as a cluster of semantic components<sup>4</sup>, has recently been

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.

3 The concept of semantic ‘field’ was introduced by Ipsen, for an history of this and other field concepts see GORDON 1982: 67-70.

4 Within this approach the terms “seme” and “sememe” have been coined for the semantic components and the

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, CHERCHIA 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 *Ṛgveda 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 *Ṛgveda 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 *Ṛgveda 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 *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*, even if the language in which they are preserved is later than that of the tenth *Ṛgvedic 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 diastatic approach, and we will not consider their data along a post-*Ṛgvedic* development, but rather beside it.

For the transliteration of the *Ṛgveda 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 *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* made by K.F. Geldner, L. Renou and to the most recent translation of the first five *maṇḍalas*<sup>5</sup> 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-*Ṛgvedic* occurrences at the beginning of every

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”.

5 The volumes already published should be the first of an editorial project aiming to present a new translation of the whole *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*.



school (cf. §III.2.1;2 and §IV.2.1).

All the occurrences of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* in the *Ṛgveda 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 *Ṛgvedic Scenario*. In contrast, the post-Ṛgvedic 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-ṚV 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-Ṛgvedic occurrences, the first division is between Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas.
- Within every group, first are presented the occurrences that are ṚV-*mantras* and after the passages that present non ṚV-*mantras* 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<sup>6</sup>, 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 Ṛgvedic 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-Ṛgvedic 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.

6 For this part it has been of great help BLOOMFIELD 1906.

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

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

The Indo-European root  $*\underline{u}en / *u\underline{e}n-H$ , 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’<sup>7</sup>. 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<sup>8</sup>, 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  $*\underline{u}en / *u\underline{e}n-H$ , as attested by the historical forms (ahd.) *gi-winnan*, *wunsc(h)* o (ai.) *vantý*, *váni-tr̥* where in fact we find the resulting vowel of the laryngeal ( $H^\circ > \circ$ ), what once was called *schwa indogermanium*, which is represented in the Indo-Iranian branch by the vowel *li* -, 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*  $*\underline{u}en$ , in fact, the meaning “to win”, “to conquer” is given, keeping it separate from the form *seṭ*  $*u\underline{e}n-H$ , 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<sup>9</sup>, 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<sup>10</sup> and POKORNY<sup>11</sup>, 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” [...] andererseits “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

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.

8 With regard to the theory of the laryngeals and with 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.

9 MAYRHOFER 1992-1996.

10 WALDE 1927-1932: I, 258-260.

11 POKORNY 1959-1969: 1146-7.

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<sup>12</sup> 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 Ṛgvedic Evidences – *van*<sub>3</sub>: 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* which can be traced back to the reconstructed Indo-European forms: *van-* < \**u<sub>en</sub>* and *van<sup>i</sup>-* < \**u<sub>en</sub>-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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*)? 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<sup>13</sup> 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<sup>14</sup>. If one takes up the idea advanced by MERINGER<sup>15</sup> 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 *Ṛgveda 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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 *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*, that

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).

13 MIGRON 1980: 269-282.

14 GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 1203-1204].

15 MERINGER 1904 : 101-196, in particular p. 179 ff.

is – the semantics of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>*- matches that of the English “to get”. Like MEILLET<sup>16</sup>, 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 vanvān surékṇāḥ* or R̥V 5.41.17b *dēvāso vānate mārtiyo va*, which may also be worth considering: “Another avenue has its starting-point in ‘make (a thing or person) one’s own’”<sup>17</sup>. 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<sup>18</sup>, who, however, studied the forms of the perfect to go on to hypothesise for *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>*- the base meaning “lieb gewinnen” (‘grew fond of’), much as TRIER<sup>19</sup> 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<sup>20</sup>, 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” *vāñcha-*<sup>ti</sup> “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 *van<sup>i</sup>*- 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-* (\**uṅh-é-*). A problem arising with this interpretative approach—the solution to which needs to be argued out at length—concerns *vanema*, the optative present 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl. Deriving from the stem *vana-* (1<sup>st</sup> 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 pūrvír aryó manīṣá* ). According to Gotō, who refers readers to the literature on the question<sup>21</sup>, 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-*

16 MEILLET 1896: 55-57.

17 MIGRON 1980: 275.

18 KÜMMEL 2000: 447-451.

19 TRIER 1963: 118-154.

20 GOTŌ 1987: 283-286.

21 On the thematic optative from an athematic form cf. RENOUE 1932: 5 - 30.

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

“gewinnen, überwältigen” mainly in the form of the present *vanóti*, etc., of the root and sigmatic aorist; 2) *van<sup>i</sup>*- “lieben” in the present stem *van<sup>i</sup>-a<sup>-tilte</sup>* and in the stem of the thematic aorist *vaná-*.

Also following this interpretative line is WERBA<sup>22</sup>, 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 analysis by HETRICH (2007); the scholar investigates the meanings of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>* especially in the *Ṛgvedasamhitā* and, maintaining the division between the two roots and the two meanings, proposes for *van-* a schema that 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 Verhältnis zwischen beiden könnte man als ‘pragmatische Implikation’ bezeichnen<sup>23</sup>”. 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā*. To some extent, their hypotheses anticipate the two illustrated above. Geldner makes use of both the meanings proposed for the verbal root *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>*-, 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 RV 1.31.13:

1.31.13 *t<sub>u</sub>vám agne yájyave pāyúr ántaro*  
*aniṣaṅgāya caturakṣá idhyase*  
*yó rātāhavyo avṛkāya dhāyase*  
*kīrés cin mántram mánasā vanóṣi tám*

You, o Agni, are kindled for the defenceless sacrificer, close protector, with four eyes; of him<sup>24</sup> who has offered the libations for nourishment free of danger, albeit weak<sup>25</sup>, *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

22 WERBA 1997: 232-3; 317.

23 HETRICH 2007: 133.

24 *yáh* – *tám* : the construction of the two *pādas* is ambiguous and not completely clear (GELDNER I 35, n. 13cd); we might consider *yáh* relative to *tám* and *kīrés cin mántram mánasā* parenthetical, as does GELDNER (I 35) “Wer Opfer spendet, um sich Sicherheit zu schaffen –auch des an Geist Armen Dichterspruch”; alternatively, *yáh* is relative to *kīréh* and so *tám* is adj. of *mántram*, as understood by ELIZARENKOVA 1995<sup>a</sup>: 62-3 and RENOU XII, 6. Both possibilities are presented by OLDENBERG 1906: 734.

25 *kīréh* (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.

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 (1995<sup>a</sup>: 62-3), unlike these two scholars takes the object of the verb to be *māntram* (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 1995<sup>a</sup>: 47). Unlike Geldner, the French scholar holds that in the *Ṛgveda Samhitā* the value of “to desire” is not to be found in the use of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* (cf. RENOUE 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 “agrée”. 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 ṚV 8.45.23 *mā tvā mūrā aviśyāvo mōpahāsvāna ā dabhan mākīm brahmadviśo vanah* – 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<sup>26</sup>, in his *Wörterbuch des Rigveda*, takes the *seṭ* and *aniṭ* forms of the verb *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* as different stems of one and the same root, suggesting for them a common, underlying and broader meaning: the various meanings of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*: “Die verschiedenen, zum Theil sich scheinbar wiederstreitenden Begriffe, welche diese Wurzel im Indischen, im Zend und im Germanischen vor Augen stellt, darf uns nicht verleiten, dieselbe in zwei ursprünglich gesonderte Wurzeln zu zerlegen” and more “Die vollkommene Uebereinstimmung der Form in allen ihren Entwicklungen [...] 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 *van<sub>3</sub>*, 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<sup>27</sup> of the attestations of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* in the *Ṛgvedasamhitā* 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 Ṛgvedic occurrences can be divided into five groups presenting different context-bound uses of the verb.

26 GRASSMANN 1875.

27 As to the notion of functional analysis, see Criteria.

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

- van*<sub>3</sub>: 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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: *ṛc-*, chants that man has not created but receives, and in turn appropriates, in accordance with a circular mechanism<sup>28</sup> frequent in the *Ṛgveda Samhitā* and typical of Vedic thought:

2.11.12 *t<sub>v</sub>vé indra ápi abhūma víprā  
dhíyaṃ vanema ṛtayá sápantaḥ  
avasyávo dhīmahi práśastim  
sadyás te rāyó dāvāne syāma*

In you we have gathered, o Indra, vibrant, may we make ours the poetic vision to honour you with a just vision,<sup>29</sup> let it be granted to us, desirous of protection, to obtain a eulogy,<sup>30</sup> in this moment to be those on whom you bestow riches.

*vanema*: opt. pres. 1\*pl. 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*: 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

28 On this point, see the extensive study by Gonda 1963.

29 *ṛtayá* Geldner (I, 288) and Gonda (1963) take the term as an adverb, although *ṛtayá* was originally a feminine instrumental, while the substantive from which (*ṛtá-*) should derive is neutral; in the present translation it is taken to be an adjective referring to an understood *dhīyā*, considering also that it is with the right vision, i.e. according to the *ṛtá-*, that the god is honoured.

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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā*. For this religious context, with particular reference to the role of “vision” (*dhī-*), cf. Gonda 1963.

Migron; that is, as the term to be used in all circumstances to translate the verb *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*.

The hypothesis is that the coalescence of the two Indo-European forms, *van<sub>3</sub>*, 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 1995<sup>a</sup>: 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*. 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 *hvi-* “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,

- van<sub>3</sub>* “to appropriate”(d): context bound -variant meaning/uses: a) “to possess”  
b) “to win / conquer”  
c) absolute  
e) ritual meaning

Thus, for *van<sub>3</sub>* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* in contrast with the desiderative<sup>31</sup> 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 Ṛgvedic occurrences in the next chapter.

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.



## II The Ṛgvedic 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 ṚV 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*<sup>32</sup>, 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 tād dhótarayā citánt,yā*  
*vanéma rayīm rayivaḥ suvīr,yam*  
*ranvām sāntam suvīr,yam*  
*durmánmānaṃ sumántubhir*  
*ā im iṣā p̄cīmahi*  
*ā satyābhīr índaram dyumnābhūtibhir*  
*yājatram dyumnābhūtibhiḥ*

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<sup>33</sup> with benevolent words as nourishment, satisfy *Indra* with luminous, true invocations, he who is worthy of sacrifice with luminous invocations.

2x *vanéma*: opt. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. I-VI cl.  
 GELDNER: I 181 “möchten gewinnen”  
 RENO: XVII 43 “gagner”  
 WITZEL-GOTŌ 2007: 241 “gewinnen möchten”

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.

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 RENO I 2 ff. On the binomial *\*su-* / *\*dus-* see COSTA 1990 for an interesting study on the original meaning of the two prefixes.

## II.1 Functional Analysis of the Occurrences

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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*, 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 *purūruṇā cid dhī āsti*  
*āvo nūnām vām varuṇa*  
*mītra vāmsi vām sumatīm*

Abundant now is your protection which manifests itself thanks to the ample space<sup>34</sup>, o Varuṇa, o Mitra, let me possess your benevolence.

*vāmsi*: inj. aor. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. sigmatic aorist  
GELDNER: II 76 “möchte gewinnen”  
RENOU: V 82 “je veux gagner”  
WITZEL-GOTŌ-SCARLATA 2013: 320 “hab vor zu gewinnen”

There are also requests (*van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*:

1.70.1-2 *vanéma pūrvī aryó manīṣā*  
*agnīḥ susóko víśvāni aśyāḥ*  
*ā dáivyaṇi vratā cikitvān*  
*ā mānuṣasya jānasya jānma*

Let us possess the many poetic inspirations<sup>35</sup> of the stranger<sup>36</sup>, Agni, who burns well, let him obtain everything, he who has knowledge<sup>37</sup> of the divine orders and the descent of the human race.

*vanéma*: opt. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> 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:

34 *purūruṇā*: *purū urūṇā, urūṇā* (instr. n. sing.) from *urú-* “ample”, the link between Mitra - Varuṇa and “the ample” (*urú-*) as opposed to the narrow confine (*ámhas*) 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”.

35 *manīṣā* (instr. f. sing.) from *manīṣā-*, as in Pp., cf. OLDENBERG 1909: 71; GELDNER (I 91) and RENOU (XII 20) read *manīṣāḥ*; retaining the form PP “we can with our poetic inspiration (*manīṣā*) 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.

36 *aryāḥ* (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.

37 *cikitvān* (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.).

*van-* / *vanī-*, 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 (1995<sup>a</sup>: 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-* / *vanī-* 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 *t<sub>v</sub>vám āyasám prāti vartayo góṛ*  
*divó ásmānam úpanītam řbhvā*  
*kútsāya yātra puruhūta vanvāñ*  
*chúṣṇam anantaīḥ pariyāsi vadhaīḥ*

You have rolled the iron-bearing stone away from the celestial cow<sup>38</sup>, the stone put down by the able one; When for the sake of Kutsa<sup>39</sup> you, much invoked, Śuṣṇa with countless bows surrounded conquering him.

*vanvān*: part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.  
 GELDNER: I 166 “Partei nehmend”  
 RENOU: XVII 41 “gagnant (la bataille pour K.)”  
 WITZEL-GOTO 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:

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 Śuṣṇa 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.

39 *ṛṣi* often associated in the *Ṛgveda Sambhitā* 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.

## II.1 Functional Analysis of the Occurrences

2.30.6 *prá hí krátum vṛháttho yám vanuthó*  
*radbrásya stho yájamānasya codau*  
*indrāsomā yuvām asmāñ aviṣṭam*  
*asmín bhayásthe kṛñutam u lokám*

“You two surely draw out the ability of the one<sup>40</sup> 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<sup>41</sup>.”

*vanutháh*: ind. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> 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-GOTÖ 2007: 401 “überwältigt”

There are only two cases in which other divinities are invoked. The first is 7.48.3, a hymn dedicated to the Ṛbhu, 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<sup>42</sup> was the promoter; thus we may imagine these elders, or those who had been before (*púrvāñ*), as persons or divinities far from this nascent cult (*yaviṣṭha*), and therefore arrogant:

10.69.10 *pitéva putrám abibhar upásthe*  
*t,vám agne vadhryáśvāḥ saparyán*  
*juṣāñó asya samídham yaviṣṭha*  
*utá púrvāñ avānor vrádhataś 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<sup>43</sup>.

*avānoḥ*: ind. impf. 2<sup>nd</sup> 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>*- 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:

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.

41 *lokám* (acc. m. sing.) from *loká-* “free space”, in this case free from dangers, and so “safe”.

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 vadhryaśvasya*, “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.

43 *vrádhataḥ*: (acc. m. pl.) present participle from *vrádh-* “stolz sein” cf. EWAia: II 597.

## II The Ṛgvedic Scenario

8.19.20 *bhadram mānaḥ kṛṇuṣva vṛtrātúr̥ye*  
*yēnā samātsu sāsābah*  
*āva sthirā tanuḥi bhūri śārdhatām*  
*vanēmā te abhīṣtibhiḥ*

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

*vanēma*: opt. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> 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 *sā asmākebhīr̥ etārī nā śūśair̥*  
*agnī ṣṭave dāma ā jātavedāḥ*  
*drúanno vanván krāt̥vā nā ārvā*  
*usrāḥ pitēva jārayāyi jajñāiḥ*

This Agni and Jatavedas, like the one who crosses<sup>48</sup>, raises<sup>49</sup> 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<sup>50</sup> 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*, to which are to be ascribed the compounds in *°vāta-*<sup>51</sup> (cf. *devāvātaḥ*), above all in developments of verbal root outside the

44 *mānaḥ* (acc. n. sing.) from *mānas-* “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.

45 RENO (XIII 149 n. 20): *sthirā tanuḥi scil. dhānvāni* and translates (XIII, 66) “Détends les (arcs) tendus”.

46 *sthirā* [...] *bhūri śārdhatām* “the many resistances of the defiants” is symmetrically associated with both *tanuḥi* and *vanēma*, i.e. both to the action of Indra and to that of men. GELDNER (II 321) and RENO (XIII 66) refer the syntagm to *tanuḥi* alone, and take *vanēma* with absolute value.

47 *abhīṣtibhiḥ* (instr. f. pl.) from *abhīṣti-* “protection”; here the plural has distributive value: “your help in every battle”.

48 *etārī* (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 RENO (XIII 132-3) takes it as a locative.

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.

50 “Receiving care like a lover (*jāra-*)”, for *jārayāyi* as causative or denominative cf. OLDENBERG 1901: 302-3.

51 See, for example, *vātāpiyam* 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 *vāta-* (m.) “wind” + *āpya-* (n.) “friendship” “alliance”: “mit dem Vāta befreundet (?)” or whether, against (??) Pp., *vātāpiyam* is to be separated, as argued in 1913: 216, in

*Ṛgveda Samhitā*<sup>52</sup>.

*d- Nuclear meaning “to appropriate”*

From the passages so far analysed we can draw an initial indication: the verbal root *van-* / *van-* 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 *vīprā yajñēṣu mānuṣeṣu kārū  
mānye vāṃ jātavedasā yājadhyaī  
ūrdhvām no adhvarām kṛtam hāveṣu  
tā devēṣu vanatho vārjāni*

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

*vanathah*: ind. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 *vēti āgrur jānivān vā āti spṛdhah  
samaryatā mānasā sūryah kavīh  
ghraṃsām rākṣantam pāri viśvāto gāyam*

*vātā(m) āpyam* and *vātām* a passive past participle from *van-* (vgl. *āvāta-*) referring to *āpyam* (“gesuchte Gesellschaft”); thus also RENO (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 (\**vātā-*) of *van-*: the adjective *āvāta-* (“that no one has ever appropriated”) or possible compounds in *-vata-* cannot be taken as final proof of the historical existence of the form *vātā-*, since these nominal forms could have been constructed by analogy on the basis of the paradigms *yuj-* / *yuktā-* / *āyukta-*.

52 With regard to this and the root compounds, see in particular MIGRON 1980.

53 *vīprā* (voc. m. du.) from *vīpra-* (m.f.n.) “inspired” (cf. GONDA 1963: 36-40) from the root *vip-* “to quiver”, from which also comes *vēpas-* “the quivering of divine inspiration”; for the perfective value of the term, see KÜMMEL 2000: 498-9.

54 *karū jātavedasā* (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 *vīprā*, as in RENO (XIV 46) “Vous deux (Oblateurs divins), orateurs-sacrés [...] vous (dont l’un est) barde, (l’autre) le Jātavedas [...]”.

55 *mānye* (pres. ind. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Ā, from root *man-* “to think”) - *yājadhyaī* (dat. inf., from root *yaj-* “to sacrifice”) GELDNER (II 182) “euch gedenke ich zu verehren”, RENO (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.

## II The Ṛgvedic Scenario

*asmākaṃ śārma vanavat suāvasuḥ*

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. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. VIII cl.  
GELDNER: II 48 “möge zuwenden”  
RENOU: V 26 “assure nous”  
WITZEL-GOTÖ-SCARLATA 2013: 279 “soll (für uns) gewinnen”

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 (*purūruṇā cid dhī āsti / āvo nūnāṃ vāṃ varuṇa / mitra vāṃsi vāṃ sumatīm*) “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 *mahās cit tvām indara yatā etān*  
*mahās cid asi tyājaso varūtā*  
*sā no vedho marūtām cikitvān*  
*sumnā vanuṣva tāva hī prēsthā*

You, great, o Indra, have held these back, truly you are, great, he who protects from isolation<sup>56</sup>; you who perform the distribution<sup>57</sup> for us, having understood, through the vision, the favours of the Marut appropriate<sup>58</sup>, your dearest.

*vanuṣva*: impv. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.  
GELDNER: I 246 “gewinn”  
RENOU: XVII 48 “gagne”  
WITZEL-GOTÖ 2007: 314 “gewinn”

5.65.4 *mitrō aṃhós cid ād urū*  
*kṣāyāya gātūṃ vanate*  
*mitrāsya hī pratūrvataḥ*  
*sumatīr āsti vidhatāḥ*

Mitra right from out of the narrow way appropriates, ample, the path<sup>59</sup> towards home, the benevolence of Mitra, who advances victorious<sup>60</sup>, comes in aid of the one who performs the distribution<sup>61</sup>.

56 *tyājasah* (abl. n. sing.) from *tyājas-* for the interpretation of this term as “isolation”, “abandonment”, and in this sense “danger” (isolation was a serious danger for Vedic man) cf. GONDA 1957: 52 ff.

57 *vedhaḥ* (voc. m. sing.) from *vedhás-* an epithet interpreted in various different ways cf. EWAia II 582; GELDNER (I 246): “Meister”, RENO (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.

58 “Make yours”, “for us” being understood: here returns the idea of transference from god to man.

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 (*āmbu-*).

60 *pratūrvataḥ* (gen. m. sing.) from *pratūrvat-*, for the meaning of the term we have followed the proposal of GOTÖ 1987: 163; appellative usually used for Indra, GELDNER (II 73) refers it to the one who obtains the favour of Mitra (*vidhatāḥ*), but also Mitra victoriously fight those who violate agreements, provoking war, which makes the way home narrow, cf. THIEME 1975: 21-39.

61 *vidhatāḥ* (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.

## II.1 Functional Analysis of the Occurrences

*vanate*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. I-VI cl.  
GELDNER: II 73 “gewinnt”  
RENOU: V 80 “gagne”  
WITZEL-GOTÖ-SCARLATA 2013: 316 “wird gewinnen”

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’ *vārya*) 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 (*āmbhu-*). 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 (*rāyē vājāya vanate maghāni*), where the idea of ‘donating’ is further suggested by the choice of the term *rāyē* ‘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* has a 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 nú té*  
*mártā amṛta mó té āmbha áran*  
*vāvandhí yájyūñr utá tēṣu dhebi*  
*ójo jáneṣu yēṣu te s,yāma*

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. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. double stem  
GELDNER: II 30 “begünstige”  
WITZEL-GOTÖ-SCARLATA 2013: 255 “hab gern”

*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 *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* the value ‘to love’ is not to be found for the verb *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* (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 *gírah*, ‘the chants’:

5.65.1 *yás cikéta sá sukrátur*  
*devatrā sá bravītu nah*  
*váruṇo yásya darsátó*  
*mitró vā vānate gírah*

He who has understood through the vision<sup>62</sup>, full of resources, in the divine world, let that one speak for us, that one in favour of whom Varuṇa appeared<sup>63</sup> or Mitra appropriates the chants.

*vānate*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā I-VI cl.  
 GELDNER: II 73 “*gut aufnehmen*”  
 RENO: V 80 “*aime*”  
 WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 316 “*begehrt*”

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 *ṛtā vanatho* there is, in fact, a metaphorical use of the substantive. LÜDERS (1959: 437- 438), analysing the various attestations in which *ṛtā-* is used in the plural, sees this specific use of the term as corresponding to the substantive *gírah* (the chants) and proposes translation as *Liedern* (*Kultlieder*, ‘ritual chants’), or in other words as ‘truths expressed in words’: the sacred verses of the *Ṛgveda Samhitā* give expression to the *ṛtā-*; 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 night into motion. Also worth bearing in mind is the interpretation offered by PIRART (1995: 88), who sees *ṛtā* as an instrumental case forming together with *vanatho* a syntagm, “user du charme que l’harmonie constitue”, also attested in Old Avestan in the formula *aṣā van-*:

1.46.14 *yuvór uṣā ánu śríyam*  
*párijmanor upācarat*  
*ṛtā vanatho aktúbhiḥ*

“Dawn approached your beauty following it, o wanderers<sup>64</sup>, at the end of the night<sup>65</sup> you appropriate the ritual chants<sup>66</sup>”.

*vanathah*: ind. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> du. I-VI cl.  
 GELDNER: I 57 “*gewinnet*”

62 *cikéta* (ind. perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.) from the root *cit-* “understanding through visual perception”, but also “to be visible” cf. *cétati dbíyā* “shows himself with vision” also referring to the gods, and in particular to Mitra and Varuṇa, who are in fact defined as *sukrātū* (8.25.8-9) cf. GONDA 1963: 99-100. Note the connection between *cit-* and the shining element.

63 *darsatāḥ* (nom. m. sing.) from *darsatā-* (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 RENO V 80 and LÜDERS 1959); in the present translation *darsatāḥ* is considered predicate of an understood copula, and consequently the secondary as a disjunctive relative.

64 *párijmanor* (gen. m. du.) from *párijman-* (m.f.n.) “which turns around, surrounds the earth (*kṣám-*)”.

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; RENO 1937: 6; THIEME 1949: 18.

66 *ṛtā* (acc. n. pl.) from *ṛtā-* a term which, mostly used in the singular, indicates a set of concepts which cannot easily be conveyed with a single corresponding term, *ṛtā-* is “order”, “law” “truth”, the ordering activity at the cosmic level of truth.

## II.1 Functional Analysis of the Occurrences

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 *bhúri 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 sāhi agne gṛnaté manīṣām*  
*khám vépasā tuvijāta stāvānaḥ*  
*vīśvebhīr yād vāvānaḥ śukra devāis*  
*tán no rāsva sumaho bhúri mánma*

Open, o Agni, to the singer, poetic inspiration<sup>67</sup>, the open way with the quivering<sup>68</sup>, 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<sup>69</sup>.

*vāvānaḥ*: subj. perf. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. double stem  
GELDNER: I 431 “aufnehmen wirst”  
RENOU: XIII 14 “auras gagnée”  
WITZEL-GOTŌ-SCARLATA 2013: 134 “lieben wirst”

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’ (*gīrah*), 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. 1995<sup>a</sup>: 30).

67 *manīṣām* (acc. f. sing.) from *manīṣā-*; for the meaning of the terms *manīṣā-* “poetic inspiration” and *mánas-* “thought, inspired thought”, from which *manīṣā-* is derived, see THIEME 1967: 99-106, GONDA 1963 and MAGGI 1989: 63-114.

68 *vépasā* (instr. n. sing.) from *vépas-* “the quivering of divine inspiration”, for the ingressive value of the term, see KÜMMEL 2000: 498-9.

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.

## II The Ṛgvedic Scenario

We have already seen, in the first two categories of this third group of stanzas, the possibility arising of attributing to *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>*- 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 *s<sub>u</sub>vāḥ s<sub>u</sub>vāya dhāyase*  
*kṛnutām ṛtvīg ṛtvījam*  
*stómam yajñām ca ád áram*  
*vanémā rarimá vayám*

He himself, for his nourishment<sup>70</sup>, provides, as officiant, the officiant<sup>71</sup>, then a hymn and a sacrifice we can appropriate in the right way<sup>72</sup>. We have given, we<sup>73</sup>.

*vanéma*: opt. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> 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 puruṣtuta*  
*purá cic chūra nñám*  
*vayám tát ta indara sám bharāmasi*  
*yajñám ukthám turám 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. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. double stem

GELDNER: II 388 “verdient hast”

70 *dhāyase* (dat. n. sing.) from *dhāyas-*, “the act of feeding” “nourishment”, here metaphorically referring to fire.

71 *ṛtvīj* - *ṛtvījam* (*polyptoton*) (nom. m. sing. and acc. m. sing.) from *ṛtvīj-* literally “he who sacrifices properly, according to the *ṛtá-*”.

72 *áram* (ind./adv.) “suitable”, “in the right way” for Agni himself is to be the priest.

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.

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

Continuing with our analysis, we address the passages in which *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* doesn't require 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 *vī krośanāso vīṣ,vañca āyan*  
*pācāti nēmo nabī pākṣad ardhāḥ*  
*ayām me devāḥ savitā tād āha*  
*dr,ṽanna id vanavat sarpīrannah*

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, Savitr; let he who feeds on wood and clarified butter appropriate.

*vanavat*: subj. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 Agniṣtoma, 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 *haviṣ kṛṇudhvam ā gamad*  
*adhvaryúr vanate pūnah*  
*vidvāñ asya praśāsanam*

Prepare the oblation, that it may come<sup>74</sup>, that the *adhvaryu* may appropriate again, being acquainted with the teaching concerning this<sup>75</sup>

*vanate*: subj. aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *hotṛ* who *van-*, the *udgatṛ* 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

74 According to GELDNER (II 397 n.1a) and RENOU (XIV 36) the subject of *ā gamad* is Agni, while according to OLDENBERG (1912: 134 n. 1) the subject is the *haviṣkṛt*, i.e. the ritual exclamation “*haviṣ kṛd éhi*” (for a description of the ritual cf. CALAND-HENRY 1906: 135 and HILLEBRANDT 1879: 29).

75 With regard to *haviṣkṛt-*, in the initial stage of the sacrifice, as interpreted by OLDENBERG 1912: 134 n. 1.

indicated by *van-* in these passages to be a ritual action, which can possibly, therefore, have no direct object:

5.37.2 *sámiddhāgnir vanavat stīrṇābarbir*  
*yuktāgrāvā sutāsomo jarāte*  
*grāvāṇo yāsya iṣirām vādanti*  
*āyad adhvaryúr haviṣāva 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<sup>76</sup> go downwards into the current.

*vanavat*: subj. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. VIII cl.

GELDNER: II 36 “den Vorrang gewinnen soll”

WITZEL-GOTÖ-SCARLATA 2013: 264 “wird gewinnen”

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

10.61.2 *sá id dānāya dābhyaṃ vanvān*  
*cyāvānaḥ súdair amimīta védim*  
*tūrvayāṇo gūrtāvacastamaḥ*  
*kṣódo ná réta itāūti síncat*

This Cyavana<sup>77</sup>, appropriating<sup>78</sup> for a gift that can be destroyed, built the altar together with the distilled juices<sup>79</sup>; Turvayana, whose words are the most welcome, poured forth the seed lasting as a stream.

*vanvān*: 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 chiasmic structure of the stanza. In the first part, in fact, mention is made of a *dāśvas-* receiving benefits from a Indra through visions (*dhībhīḥ*), 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’ (*vavanmā*) with the helps and alliances (*yújijābhir ūtī*, 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* (2<sup>nd</sup> sing.) optative present of the denominative *dāśayati*, here referring to Indra:

7.37.5 *sānitāsi pravāto dāśūse cid*

76 *haviṣāva*: *haviṣā ava*, *haviṣā* (instr. n. sing.) from *havis-* “oblation” “offering”, but also by metonymy “the container” which is placed under the offering itself, the soma which flows.

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 *dānāya dābhyaṃ vanvān*.

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’.

79 *sūdair* (instr. m. pl.) from *sūda-*, for the meaning of the term as “decoction” (*scil.* of soma) cf. Pischel (ibid. 74).

## II.1 Functional Analysis of the Occurrences

*yābbhir víveṣo hariaśva dhībhīḥ*  
*vavanmā nú te yújyābbhir ūtī*  
*kadā na indra rāyā ā daśasyeh*

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

*vavanmā*: ind. perf. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. (only attestation in the *Ṛgveda Samhitā*)  
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-* / *vanī-*: man ‘appropriates’ the god, as in 6.15.6 and 6.16.26, as well as 10.105.8b (*ṛcā vanema anīcaḥ*), where it is asked to appropriate “those who are without sacred verses (*ṛc*)”, 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 *īti cin nú prajāyāi paśumātyai*  
*dēvāso vānate mārtyo va*  
*ā dēvāso vanate mārtyo vaḥ*  
*ātrā śivām tanúvo dhāsīm asyā*  
*jarām cin me nīṛtīr jagrasīta*

Thus the mortal, even now, appropriates you, o gods, for the offspring possessing cattle<sup>83</sup>, you, o gods, appropriates the mortal; here the goddess of destruction<sup>84</sup>-consumes my old age, benevolent dwelling<sup>85</sup> of this body.

2x *vānate ā*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā I-VI cl.  
GELDNER: II 42 “gewinnt”  
RENOU: V 21 “gagner”

80 *pravāt-* (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.

81 *dhībhīḥ* (instr. f. pl.) from *dhī-*, 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) RENO (V 43): “poèmes”.

82 *ūtī* (instr. f. sing.) from *ūtī-* “help”, for *ūtī* used in the plural cf. DELBRÜCK 1888: 80, according to GELDNER (II 117): “Hilfen” and RENO (V 43): “allouées”.

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.

84 *Nīṛtī*, goddess of disorder, destruction and death, but also of non-death as ageing, cf. RENO 1978: 127-132.

85 *dhāsīm* (acc. f. sing.) from *dhāsī-* “place, dwelling”, but also “freshness, fount” cf. EWAia: I 790-1 and in particular JANERT 1956.

WITZEL-GOTŌ-SCARLATA 2013: 271 “will für sich gewinnen”

5.74.7 *kó vām adyá purūṇām*  
*ā vavne márt,yānām*  
*kó vípro vipravāhasā*  
*kó yajñair 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<sup>86</sup>, who with sacrifices you who are rich in horses?

*vavne ā*: ind. perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā  
 GELDNER: II 78 “hat gewonnen”  
 WITZEL-GOTŌ-SCARLATA 2013: 324 “hat für sich 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* (*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’.<sup>87</sup> 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 *hotṛ* who, in fact, summons to the sacrifice, to the divine ceremony of the gods.

1.58.1 *nū cit sahojā amṛto ní tundate*  
*hótā yád dūtó ābhavad vivāsvataḥ*  
*vī sādhiṣṭhebbhiḥ pathībhi rájo mama*  
*ā devātātā havīṣā vivāsati*

Never is the immortal born of force driven, for it was Hotṛ and messenger of Vivasvat<sup>88</sup>; he has measured celestial space by means of the most just (??) right (??) roads, he through the oblation summons to the rite for the divine ceremony<sup>89</sup>.

*ā vivāsati*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 ceremony’, must be ‘to have arrive for the divine ceremony’, ensure participation in this stage. In comparison with the forms of the

86 *vipravāhasā* (acc. m. du.) from *vipravāhas-* (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 *yajñā-vāha*, *stóma-vāha*.

87 The desiderative conjugation often implies a conative and non perfective value. As mentioned before, on desiderative see HEENEN 2006.

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.

89 For the causal value of the instrumental, cf. MACDONELL 1916: §199.3.

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 *t<sub>u</sub>vām ít sapráthā asi*  
*ágne trātar ṛtás kavíḥ*  
*t<sub>u</sub>vām víprāsah samidhāna dīdiva*  
*ā vivāsanti vedhāsah*

You stretch out far<sup>90</sup>, you o Agni, o protector, you personified Order, you are the sage poet<sup>91</sup>; they who distribute the parts, inspired, summon [to the rite] you, o kindled one<sup>92</sup>, o shining one.

*ā vivāsanti*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. from the desiderative stem *vivās-*  
 Geldner: II 381 “bitten [...] her”  
 Renou: XIII 75 “veulent gagner à eux”

In hymn 74 of the 5<sup>th</sup> book we had already encountered *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*, and more precisely in the *pādas* 7 a-b (*kó vām adyá purūṅám / ā 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 *kúṣṭho devāv aśvinā*  
*adyā divó manāvasū*  
*tác chravatho vṛṣanvasū*  
*átrir vām ā vivāsati*

Where are you today, o divine *Aśvin*, o celestial ones<sup>93</sup>, rich in devotion? Listen to this, rich in virility, Atri summons to the rite you two.

*ā vivāsati*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. from the desiderative stem *vivās-*  
 GELDNER: II 79 “wünscht [...] her”  
 WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 324 “wünscht [...] her”

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.

91 *ṛtás kavíḥ*: *ṛtás*: nom. masc. sing.; *ṛtá-*, 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 *ṛtás* (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.

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.

93 *divó scil. napātā*: “descendants of the heavens”, one of the epithets of the *Aśvin*.



## II The Ṛgvedic Scenario

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 *ā vivāsa* are *vada* and *stubi*, “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 *ā vivāsa*–; in other cases it is *invocation* as in 6.66.11, where we find the same syntagm as 1.64.12, *rudrāsya sūnūṃ havāsā*, but instead of *ā vivāse* as here, in 1.64.12 we find *gṛṇīmasi* ‘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 *tām vṛdhāntam mārutam bhrājadṛṣṭim*  
*rudrāsya sūnūṃ havāsā vivāse*  
*divāḥ śārdhāya śúcayo manīṣā*  
*girāyo nā āpa ugrā asṛḍhran*

These troops of Marut which increase by themselves, with the shining spears, the son of Rudra<sup>94</sup> with the invocation I summon to the rite, the brilliant poetic inspirations compete for the celestial troops like impetuous mountain streams<sup>95</sup>.

*ā vivāse*: ind. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> 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-* 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 *pādas* 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 *stīrné barhīsi samidhāné agnau*  
*sūktēna mahā nāmasā vivāse*  
*asmīn no adyā vidāthe yajatrā*  
*vīśve devā havīsi mādayadhvam*

In the *barhīs*<sup>96</sup> 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<sup>97</sup>, today, o gods all, worthy of sacrifices, of the oblation, rejoice.

94 Following the interpretation given in 1.64.12 the son of Rudra should be Agni, which hardly seems convincing here.

95 *girāyah*: nom. m. pl. from *giri-* “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 [...]”.

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.

97 *vidāthe* (loc. sing. n.) from *vidātha-*, a term of Vedic use and unclear meaning, possibly relating to the stage in

## II.1 Functional Analysis of the Occurrences

*vivāse*: ind. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> 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 vājayús*  
*cakrānás cārum adhvaram*  
*barhīsmāñ á vivāsati*

You alone, purified for us, eager for the reward of victory<sup>98</sup>, having made the sacrifice welcome; he who has prepared the *barhīs* summons to the rite.”

*á vivāsati*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *bhadrá 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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 *kīyatī yóṣā maryatō vadhūyóḥ*  
*páripṛitā pányasā vārṇeṇa*  
*bhadrá vadhūr bhavati yát supésāḥ*  
*svayám sá mitrām 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<sup>99</sup> is most loveable as wonderful acquisition? It is the hetaera when she has prettied herself, she by herself appropriates the companion amidst the people.

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.

98 Reference to Soma as the king who wins the chariot race is very frequent; see in this connection SPARREBOOM 1985: 21-23.

99 *maryatāḥ*: (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 *maryatāḥ* cf. OLDENBERG 1912: 228 n. 12.

## II The Ṛgvedic Scenario

*vanute*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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 *van<sub>3</sub>* 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<sup>100</sup> 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<sup>101</sup> (*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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* 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 Vərəθraϋna, ‘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<sup>102</sup>, 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<sup>103</sup>. 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

100 SCHMIDT 1982.

101 Divine female power associated with watercourses.

102 Cf. WATKINS 1995.

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 gauge the span between the two points in time), when the doctrine has already undergone modifications and adjustments from the initial form.

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 Vərəθraϥna) 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 ἵμι, ‘to hurl oneself’, which can evolve into ‘the desire’:

14 41 *vərəθraϥnəm ahuraδātəm yazamaide, vərəθraϥnô avi imaϥ  
nmânəm gaosurâbyô x<sup>v</sup>arənô pairi-vərənavaiti yaθa hâu maza mərəγô saênô yaθa ave aϣrâ upâpâ masitô  
gairiš nivânənti.*

Let us sacrifice to Vərəθraϥna, created by Ahura, Vərəθraϥna wraps all round this house glory<sup>104</sup> together with a wealth of cattle<sup>105</sup>, like that great bird, Saena, as those brimming with water stretch out over the mountains.

*ni vānənti*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 (*\* $\mu$ en / \* $\mu$ en-H*) endowed with two different meanings, on the evidence of the analysis made so far we must recognise that within the *R̥gveda Samhitā* 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

104 *xvarənō*: (acc. n. sing.) from *xvarənah-*, a term indicating the glory with which Vərəθraϥna is always surrounded.

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.

any certainty the presence of a laryngeal – a difficulty already pointed out by various scholars<sup>106</sup>.

Focusing on the Vedic outcome of the double root and its semantic in the *Ṛgveda Samhitā*, 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*, 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*; obviously the recommendation not to vanquish the enemies of the *bráhmaṇ-* 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 *mūrā*<sup>107</sup>) 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 *ā dabhan*<sup>108</sup> which INSLER (1969: 22-3) translates as

106 WALDE 1927-1932: I, 258-260; POKORNY 1959-1969: 1146-7; MIGRON 1980; KÜMMEL 2000: 447-451.

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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā*.

108 *ā dabhan* (subj. aor./inj. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl., cf. EWA I 694 and HOFFMANN 1967: 243), on the various meanings of the root *dabh-*, in relation to the form *dambhāyati*, see INSLER 1969, who hypothesises a verbal stem *dambhāya-*

“trick away (from us)”, then the sense of the passage could allude to this important magic-ritual precaution: to prevent the *mūrāḥ* from entering the sacrificial area.

8.45.23 *mā tvā mūrā aviśyāvo*  
*mōpahāsvāna ā dabhan*  
*mākīm brahmadviśo vanah*

Let the voracious *mūrā-* not trick you away, not those who deride you, never “let into the circle of the sacrifice”<sup>109</sup> the enemies of the *brāhman*-<sup>110</sup>.

*vanah*: inj. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. I-VI cl.  
 GELDNER: II 362 “vorziehen”  
 RENO: XII 77-8 n. 13 “n’attire pas à toi”  
 HOFFMANN 1967: 87 “liebe”  
 INSLEER 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 ṚV attestations of *van-* / *van-* 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, *vāmā-* “that which is desirable” “good”, and it is also reflected in the verb *vāñch-* “to desire”. This derivative of *van-* / *van-* is attested only once in the *Ṛgveda Samhitā* – significantly in book 10<sup>th</sup>, 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 Ṛgvedic 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* and the other one that is partially recorded in the Atharvavedic 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.<sup>111</sup>

On the basis of these considerations, two ways open before us. On the one hand, this

constructed on the adjective *dabhrā-* (in analogy with *randhāyati* : *radhrā-*) not related to the verbal root *dabh-*, to which he identifies three principal meanings including “to deceive”, “to convince with deception”.

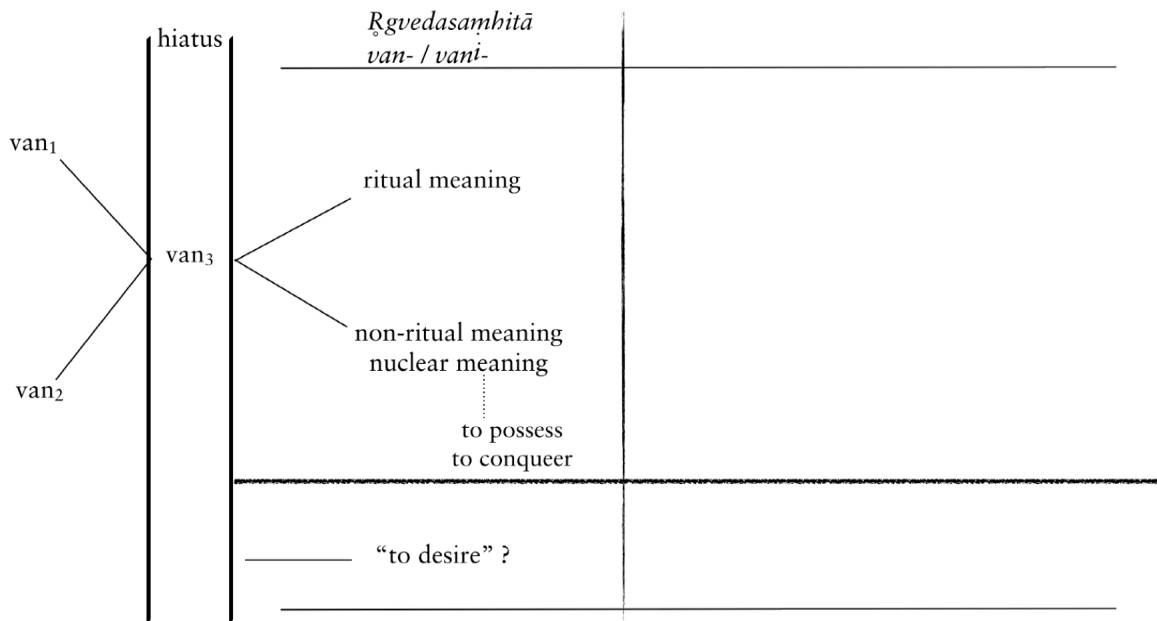
109 Note the binary structure *mākīm van – dvīś* comparable to the good-evil antithesis which we find at the basis of the thought of Zarathustra, and which recurs as a constant motive within the Gāthā.

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.

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.

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<sup>112</sup> 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-Ṛgvedic 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 *Ṛgveda 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* in the post-Ṛgvedic Saṃhitās and in the Brāhmaṇas. What follows is a first scheme according to the data and hypothesis so far:



112 STAAL 1989.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic 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-Ṛgvedic 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 *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* is almost consisting of original compositions, the liturgical texts are an editorially constituted arrangement of Ṛgvedic stanzas, used as *mantras*, 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 Ṛgvedic period was under the control of the kin group, the clan, the later liturgies were controlled by the “schools” - *śākhās*<sup>113</sup>: there has been a restructuring of the religious institutions entitled to control and produce those texts<sup>114</sup>. 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 *Ṛgveda 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<sup>115</sup>, 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 *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā* was arranged. There are two elements of these periods that should be borne in mind: the tribal political organisation and the segmentary structure<sup>116</sup> 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*).<sup>117</sup> 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

113 As to the role of the different schools within the creation of the Vedic corpus, see RENOUE 1947.

114 Cf. PROFERES 2003<sup>b</sup> and 2003<sup>c</sup>.

115 For this chronological division, see WITZEL 1997: 257-345 and 1989.

116 As to the concept of segmentarian lineage societies, see SAHLINS 1961.

117 As for the use of the terms *kṣema* and *yoga*, see OBERLIES 1998.



### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

only realised when the society as a whole is faced with a challenge from outside itself<sup>118</sup>.

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-Ṛgvedic texts. Already the liturgical hymns of *Ṛgvedasamhitā* 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-Ṛgvedic 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<sup>119</sup>.

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-Ṛgvedic 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 Samhitā 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* and the composition of the earliest post-Ṛgvedic Samhitās and which is called the Floating Mantra Period. Along Witzel’s<sup>120</sup> division of the textual strata, this represents the second level after that of the ṚV and to this second level we can trace back the *mantra* parts of some Yajurvedic *śākhās*’ texts as part of the *Kāṭha Samhitā* and *Maitrayānī Samhitā*. 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 ṚV 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, Aranyakas and Upaniṣads.

Bharata-Pūru:

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

- gap -

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.

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.

120 See WITZEL 1995 in particular pp. 2-8, and as to the Mantra language see also NARTEN 1968: 113-114.

### III.1 The Context

Kuru: Middle Vedic

1. Redaction and re-arrangement of the ṚV 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 *Ṛgveda 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”<sup>121</sup>. 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 Ṛgvedic society<sup>122</sup>, 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

121 PROFERES 2003a: 19. On the different Vedic *śākhās* see also RENOUE 1947.

122 Though we must never forget that the source we have, namely the *Ṛgveda 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.

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 *ṛca-*; nothing but the speech makes the sacrifice efficacious. Hence, the rite, the speech, the gods. The religious thought that already pervades the first *Samhitā* is based on the principle of analogy, and due to it, the three levels of the reality 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 *mantras* that allow the sacrifice itself to come back, to be performed again and again; moreover, it is necessary to know how to employ the *mantras* 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<sup>123</sup> 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 attempts at a science of the rite<sup>124</sup>. 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 Ṛgvedic stanzas, the *mantras*, 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* are employed and the connections between the different Vedic *śākhās* and traditions. In the Vedic liturgical literature there are plenty of quotations from the *Ṛgveda Samhitā*. The stanzas are apportioned in each different rite

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 *Darśapūrnamāseṣṭī* see HILLEBRANDT 1879, on the *Agniṣṭoma* CALAND-HENRY 1906, on the animal sacrifice see SCHWAB 1886.

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*.

### III.1 The Context

to be recited within a precise moment of the ritual action. Those kinds of quotations are to be found especially in the Sāṃhitā 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 *Ṛgvedasāṃhitā* and the post-Ṛgvedic literature is a much-disputed subject. The *Ṛgvedasāṃhitā* 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 Ṛgvedic 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-ṚV *mantra*

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 –*varcās* “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

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

a *dévīr āpah sām mádhumatīr mádhumatībhiḥ sṛiyadhvam máhi vārcāḥ kṣatṛiyāya vanvānās /*  
b *ánādhṛṣṭāḥ sīdatōrjasvatīr máhi vārcāḥ kṣatṛiyāya dadhātīs /*

“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 samsṛiyadhvam máhi kṣatṛám kṣatṛiyāya vanvānāḥ /*  
*ánādhṛṣṭāḥ sīdatōrjasvatīrmáhi vārcāḥ kṣatṛiyāya dādhatīḥ//*

“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 samsṛiyadhvam máhi kṣatṛám kṣatṛiyāya vanvānā ityētā hí kṣatṛāsya*  
*vantṛíránādhṛṣṭāḥ sīdatōrjasvatīrmáhi vārcāḥ kṣatṛiyāya dādhatīrityētā hí kṣatṛāsya dhātīḥ*

“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 pṛcyantām máhi kṣatṛám kṣatṛiyāya vanvānāḥ \*  
*ánādhṛṣṭāḥ sīdata sabáujaso máhi kṣatṛám kṣatṛiyāya dādhatīḥ \*

“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

*tāḥ sārdhamaúdumbare pātre samávanayati / mádhumatīrmádhumatībhiḥ pṛcyantāmít i rásavati*  
*rásavatībhiḥ pṛcyantāmityevaitádāha m á h i kṣatṛám kṣatṛiyāya vanvānā iti tátparó 'kṣam*  
*yájamānāyāsīsamāsāste yadāha máhi kṣatṛám kṣatṛiyāya vanvānā iti*

“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 Ṛgvedic 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 (2003<sup>b</sup>) has carried on a throughout analysis of this kind of process in the Yajurvedic *mantras* 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 Ṛgvedic stanzas culled here as mantras are RV 3.8.1-3 and 1.36.-13-14.

We chose to use this case here as a significant example of redactional manipulation of Ṛgvedic

### III.1 The Context

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.

Verse order of ṚV 3.8.1-3 in MS 4.13.1; KS 15.12; TB 3.6.1.1 and AB 2.2.

<p>añjanti tvām adhvare devayanto vanaspate madhunā dāivyena / yád <u>ūrdhvás</u> tiṣṭhād dráviṇehá dhattādyadvā kṣayo māturasyā upasthe // ṚV 3.8.1</p>	<p>Those seeking for the gods anoint you in the sacrifice, o Vanaspati, with divine sweetness, when you would stay <u>erect</u>, then bring here movable goods, or when you rest in the lap of this mother;</p>
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<p><u>ucchrayasva</u> vanaspate varṣamanprṭhivya adhi / <u>sumitī mīyamāno</u> varco dhā yajñavāhase// ṚV 3.8.3</p>	<p><u>Incline upwards</u>, o Vanaspati, over the top of the earth, <u>founded with a good founding</u>, bestow the radiance to the one who carries the sacrifice;</p>
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<p>samidhasya <u>śrayamānaḥ</u> purastādbrahma vanvāno ajaram̐ suvīram / āre asmad amatīm bādhamāna <u>ucchrayasva</u> mahate saubhagāya// ṚV 3.8.2</p>	<p><u>Reclining</u> in front of the kindled one, assimilating for yourself the sacrificial formula that never gets old, full of warriors, pulling away from us the lack of inspiration, <u>incline upwards</u>, to a good great fortune.</p>
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The rite concerned is the Installation of the Sacrificial Post, and the *mantras* are for the *hotṛ* to be recited when anointing and erecting the sacrificial post during the animal sacrifice. The stanzas of ṚV 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<sup>125</sup>) 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 *ūrdhvā* 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 mīyamānaḥ* “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 *ūrdhvā ū śú ṇa ūtāye tiṣṭhā devó ná savitá /*  
*ūrdhvó vājasya sánitā yád añjibhir / vāghádbhir vihváyāmahe //*  
1.36.14 *ūrdhvó naḥ pāby āmhaso ní ketúnā / vísvam sám atrínam̐ daha /*  
*kṛdhí na ūrdhvāñ caráthāya jivāse / vidā devēṣu no dúvaḥ //*

They were added just after the three stanzas of ṚV 3.8 partially because they had a similar formulary but also because the stanza 13 contained the formula traditionally mandated for the

<sup>125</sup> *devayantab:* in ṚV 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*.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

post liturgy: *vāghádbhīr vihváyāmahe*“(when) we contest verbally with poets/singers”<sup>126</sup>. 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 ṚV 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) *mantras* 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 ṚV stanza is that 10.96.1 is interpolated three times: *yá ṛtvíyaḥ*, *índro nā́ma* and *śrutó gaṇá* are inserted.

ṚV 10.96.1

prá te mahé vidáthe śamsiṣaṃ hári práte  
vanve vanúṣo haryatám mádam /  
ghṛtám ná yó háribhiś cāru sécata ā tvā  
viśantu hárivarpaṣaṃ gíraḥ//

TB 2.4.3.10-11; TB 3.7.9.6

*eṣá brahmá* prátemahé / vidáthe śamsiṣaṃ hári / *yá ṛtvíyaḥ*  
práte vanve / vanúṣo haryatám mádam / *índro nā́ma* ghṛtám ná  
yáḥ / háribhiś cāru sécate / *śrutó gaṇa* ā tvā viśantu  
hárivarpaṣaṃ gíraḥ // TB 2.4.3.10-11

prátemahé / vidáthe śamsiṣaṃ hári / *yá ṛtvíyaḥ* práte vanve /  
vanúṣo haryatám mádam / *índro nā́ma* ghṛtám ná yáḥ /  
háribhiś cāru sécate / *śrutó gaṇa* ā tvā viśantu hárivarpaṣaṃ  
gíraḥ // TB 3.7.9.6

“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, pours out; the chants should  
arrive to you who have the colour of gold.”

“**This one here is the Brahmán**, may I invoke in the great  
meeting [rite] your two steeds, I appropriate for my self the  
intoxicating drink dear to you who desire to appropriate it,  
**which is in proper time; Indra by name, famous in the troops**, is  
the one who, together with the bays ones, pours out what is  
dear as clarified butter; the chants should arrive to you who  
have the colour of gold.”

The meaning of the stanza is not extremely different from the Ṛgvedic 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 ṚV 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 brahmá*: what the anonymous redactor has attained is to create a clear connection within the ritual sequence (with *eṣá brahmá* and *yá ṛtvíyaḥ*) and to stress the presence of Indra as warrior with troops and horses with a clear sound-play as *índro nā́ma - 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.

126 The same is in ṚV 8.3.10 *śṛṅgānīvēc chṛṅgīnām sám dadṛśre caśálavantaḥ sváravah pṛthivyám / vāghádbhīr vā vihavé śróṣamāṇā asmāṃ avantu pṛtanājyeṣu*.

### III.1 The Context

In TS 4.7.14 the Ṛgvedic hymn is collected with the same order, only at the end there is the addition the Khila stanza, ṚVKh 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-Ṛgvedic stanza between 8 and 9 (cf. AV 5.3.7ab + AV 5.3.6cd) and by the addition of the same ṚV Khila (ṚVKh 10.128.1) stanza. In both cases the rite is the *Agnicayana*. These *mantras* 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 Ṛgvedic stanzas are changed into 11 by the expansion of stanza 5 into two (6-7) and by the same ṚV 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 *savitā* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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 Ṛgvedic 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: Ṛgvedic *mantras*, Non-Ṛgvedic *mantras* and *brāhmaṇa*-portions

The complete list of occurrences follows, first presenting those passages that are quotations of ṚV *mantras*. In order to analyse the semantic development of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* it is necessary to start by separating what has been taken from the *Ṛgveda 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 ṚV *mantras* 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 *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* has been analysed above, so here we will just consider the Brāhmaṇas of the ṚV school, which by the way has very few occurrences of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*. 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 *mantras* 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

#### ṚV mantras

#### YV Saṃhitā occurrences

The text of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* is taken from the edition by Albrecht Weber *Die Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, 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 Kāṭha-Śākha herausgegeben von Dr. Leopold von Schroeder*, Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1900. The text of the *Kaṣiṭhala Saṃhitā* is after *Kaṣiṭhala-Kāṭha-Saṃhitā, a Text of the Black Yajurveda, Critically edited for the first time by Raghū Vira*, Lachhmandas, Delhi, 1968. The text of the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* (Mādhyandina recension) is after the edition of Albrecht Weber, *The Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā in the Mādhyandina and the Kāṇva-Śākhā with the Commentary of Mahidhara*, Berlin 1849 / reprinted Varanasi 1972 .

#### Taittirīya occurrences

#### TS 2.3.14.1g-2h

2.3.14.1g-h *āgniṣomā sāvedasā sāvītī vanataṃ girāḥ / sām devatrā babbūvathuḥ // yuvām //*

2.3.14.2h *etāni divī rocanāny agnīś ca soma sákratū adhattam / yuvām síndhūmṛ abhīśaster avadyād āgnī ṣomāv amuñcatam gṛbhītān //*

O Agni and Soma, together invoked, having the same knowledge, appropriate the chants, you are<sup>127</sup> 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-*abhīśasti*-) and disgrace the the rivers which were held back.

*vanatam*: impv. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> du. I-VI cl.

KEITH 1914: 175 “accept”

GELDNER: I 120 “nehmet gut auf”

RENOU: IX 73 “trouvez-agréable”

WITZEL-GOTÖ 2007: 166 “liebt”

#### Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 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 Kāmyeṣṭiyājyās: offering to Agni as desire. The verses g-h are for the first offering to Agni and Soma.

<sup>127</sup> *babbūvathuḥ*: ind. perf. 2<sup>nd</sup> du. from *bbū*- “you have become”, it has here a perfective that with a resultative.

TS 2.6.12.1c-2c

2.6.12.1c *tváyā hí naḥ pitáraḥ soma pūrve kármāṇi cakrúḥ pavamána dhírāḥ / vanvánn ávātaḥ paridhīm̐r āporṇu vírēbhir ásvair maghāvā bhava*<sup>128</sup> // naḥ//

Through you, o Soma, our fathers, who got the vision, have formerly<sup>129</sup> accomplished the sacrifices, o Pavamāna; you, who appropriate without being appropriated, open the enclosures<sup>130</sup>, 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”

Vedic Web:

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

Rite

In TS, MS: Darśapurṇamāseṣṭī, Pitṛyajña, *puronuvākya* of the *hotṛ* to accompany the offering of a cake on 6 potsherds to Soma Pitṛmant.

In VS: Sautrāmaṇī, a ceremony 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 víšvag vátajūtāso agne bhámāsaḥ* //

3.3.11.2e *śuce śúcayaś caranti / tuvimrakṣāso divyā nāvagvā vānā vananti dhṛṣatā rujántaḥ* //

Shaken everywhere by the wind<sup>131</sup>, your gleaming/glowing flames, o gleaming/glowing Agni, are moving in every direction, big destroyers<sup>132</sup>, like the divine Navagva<sup>133</sup>, they appropriate the wood breaking them boldly.

*vananti*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. I-VI cl.

KEITH 1914: 264 “assail”

GELDNER: II 98 “überwinden”

RENOU: XIII 40 “triumphent”

128 ṚV *bhavāḥ*, subj. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing.; KS; MS and VS read as ṚV.

129 *pūrve*: 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 1995<sup>a</sup>: 202-206.

130 *paridhīm̐r* (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 *paridhī-*, which indicates also the enclosure around the cairns, cf. the funeral hymns 10.14-18.

131 *vátajūtāsaḥ*, from *vátajūta-* a *tatpuruṣa* whom second member is a PPP (*váta-* + *jūta-* <rad. *jū-* “to press forward, to excite”) cf. WHITNEY1888: §1273.

132 *tuvimrakṣāsaḥ*, from *tuvimrakṣāk-* a *karmadhāraya* (*tuvi-* “much” + *mṛakṣak-* “destroying”) that could have been chosen also for a sound-play, considering the remarkable heights of sophistication reached by Ṛgvedic poetry in using phonetic features as communicative means.

133 A family of mythical priests, named among the Fathers, and connected, as the Aṅgiras, to the myth of Indra and the cows of Paṇis, cf. MACDONELL 1898: §55B.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

#### Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 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 *kamyēṣṭi* 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 *agnis tigména śocīṣā yámsad víśvam ny àtrīnam / agnir no vam̐sate rayīm||*

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

*vam̐sate*: subj. sigmatic aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā

KEITH 1914: 364: “win for us”

#### Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 6.16.28 (*yásad* and *vanate* - subj. root aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā. GELDNER: II 111 “soll gewinnen”; RENOUE: XIII 50 “gagne”-); MS 2.10.2: 132,16-17; KpS 28.2: 140; VS 17,16 follow the Ṛgvedic 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, *mantras* 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 *sugávyam no vājī svásīyam puṁsáh putráṁ utá víśvāpūṣaṁ rayīm / anāgāstváṁ no áditih kṛṇotu kṣatrām no áśvo vanatām haviṣmān ||*

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<sup>134</sup>, may the horse endowed with oblations appropriate for us the lordship.

*vanatām*: impv. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā I-VI cl.

KEITH 1914: 380 “may win”

GELDNER: I 225 “soll erringen”

O’FLAHERTY 1984: 92 “achieve”

WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 292 “soll erringen”

#### Vedic Web

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 *saṁjāptaḥ paśuḥ*, and also the Greek term ἄγος 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.

Mantra: ṚV 1.162.22; VS 25.45; KS *Aśvamedha grantha* 6.5: III 176,2-3 (*vanate* subj. root aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.  $\bar{A}$ ).

#### Rite

*Aśvamedha*. The horse sacrifice occupies a special place in the TS which gives little more than the *mantras*. The VS deals with it in the later books, 23-25, and the ŚB in the book 13<sup>th</sup>. The two hymns clearly related to this sacrifice are ṚV 1.162 and 1.163 (also used ṚV 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 *māyi devā drāvīṇam ā yajantām māyy āśīr astu māyi devābūtiḥ / dāivyā hótārā vanīṣanta //*  
4.7.14.2c *pūrvéṣṭāḥ syāma tanūvā suvīrāḥ //*

May the gods bestow on me through sacrifice movable goods, may the prayer<sup>135</sup> be in me, may be in me the divine invocation; may the two former divine *hotṛ* appropriate for themselves, may we, through ourselves, be safe, rich of heroes.

*vanīṣanta*: subj. sigmatic aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl.  $\bar{A}$  I-VI cl.  
KEITH 1914: 386 “shall win for us”

#### Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 10.128.3 (*vanuṣanta* - inj. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl.  $\bar{A}$ , *hapax* cf. AiGr: II 2 §316.c; GELDNER: III 358 “sollen Partei nehmen”- and *hotāraḥ*); KS 40.10 (*vanīṣan* -subj. -iṣ aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl.- and *etad* instead of *pūrve*); AVŚ 5.3.5 (*saniṣan* instead of *vanīṣanta* and *etad* instead of *pūrve*) 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 ṚV, but there are quite few variants.

#### Maitrāyanī occurrences

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

2.10.2 *agnīstigmēna śocīṣā yāsadvīsvam nyàtrīṇam / agnīrno vanate rayīm//*

Agni with the sharpened flame may pass over<sup>136</sup> all evil, may Agni appropriate the richness for us.

*vanate*: subj. root aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.  $\bar{A}$

135 For the form *āśīr* 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.

136 *ni yā-* “to attack, assail, pass over”, like a carriage.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

GELDNER: II 111 “soll gewinnen”  
RENOU: XIII 50 “gagne”

#### Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 6.16.28; VS 17.16; KpS 28.2: 140; TS 4.6.1.5r; KS 18.1: 265,1-2 (TS; KS *yamsad* and *varsate* -subj. sigmatic aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā).  
Prose: TS 5.4.4.1-5.3.

#### Rite

Agnicayana. Preparation of the fire, *mantras* 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 *āgnīṣomā sávedasā sábhūtī vanataṃ girāḥ / sám devatrā babhūvathuḥ // yuvámetāni diví rocanānyagnīśca soma sákratū adhattam / yuvám síndhūmrabhísasteravadyádāgnīṣomā amuñcatam gr̥bhītān //*

O Agni and Soma, together invoked, having the same knowledge, appropriate the chants, you are<sup>137</sup> 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. 2<sup>nd</sup> du. I-VI cl.  
GELDNER: I 120 “nehmet gut auf”  
RENOU: IX 73 “trouvez-agréable”  
WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 166 “liebt”

#### Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 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, *mantras* of the *hotṛ* for Kāmyeṣṭiyājyās, offerings to Agni as desire.

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

4.10.6 *tváyā hí nah pítáraḥ soma pūrve kármāni cakrúḥ pavamāna dhírāḥ / vanvānn ávātaḥ paridhīmrapornu vīrēbhírāśvairmaghāvā bhavā nah //*

Through you, o Soma, our fathers, who got the vision, have formerly<sup>138</sup> accomplished the sacrifices, o Pavamāna; you, who appropriate without being appropriated, open the enclosures<sup>139</sup>, be for us liberal with heroes and horses.

137 *babhūvathuḥ*: ind. perf. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual from *bhū*- “you have become”, has here a perfective aspect- is resultative.  
138 *pūrve*: nom. masc. pl. referring to *pítáraḥ*, functions here as an apposition with adverbial meaning or maybe better as *rhema*. For this kind of usage of nominative, see, among others, ELIZARENKOVA 1995<sup>a</sup>: 202-206.  
139 *paridhín* (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.

### III.2 Occurrences: Ṛgvedic mantras, Non-Ṛgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

*vanván*: part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.  
*ávātah*: nom. m. sing. from *ávāta* (adj.)  
GELDNER: III 93 “überwinder unüberwundene”  
RENOU: IX 44 “qui gagnes sans que nul gagne contre toi”

Vedic Web:

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

Rite

In TS, MS: Darśapurnamāseṣṭī, Pitṛyajña, *puronuvākya* of the *hotṛ* to accompany the offering of a cake on 6 potsherds to Soma Pitṛmant.

In VS: Sautrāmaṇī, a ceremony 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 *añjānti tvám adhvaré devayántah / vānaspate mádhunā dáivyena / yád ūrdhvás tiṣṭhā dráviṇehá dhattāt / yád vā kṣáyo mātúr asyā upásthe<sup>140</sup> / úcchrayasva vanaspate / várṣaman pṛthivyā ádhi / súmitī mīyámānaḥ / vārco dhā yajñāvāhase<sup>141</sup> / sámiddhasya śráyamānaḥ purástāt / brāhma vanvánó ajáram suvīram // árē asmád ámatim bādbamānaḥ / úcchrayasva mahaté sáubhagāya<sup>142</sup> /*

Those seeking for the gods<sup>143</sup> anoint you in the sacrifice, o Vanaspati<sup>144</sup>, with divine sweetness<sup>145</sup>, 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<sup>146</sup>, bestow the radiance<sup>147</sup> to the one who carries the sacrifice; reclining in front of the kindled one<sup>148</sup>, **appropriating** for yourself the sacrificial formula<sup>149</sup> that never gets old, full of warriors, [.2] pulling away from us the lack of inspiration<sup>150</sup>, incline upwards, to a good great fortune.

140 *añjānti* [...] *upásthe* = ṚV 3.8.1

141 *úcchrayasva* [...] *yajñāvāhase* = ṚV 3.8.3

142 *sámiddhasya* [...] *sáubhagāya* = ṚV 3.8.2

143 *devayántah* is referring to the priests and probably the *yajamāna* and his wife who are performing the rite, see PROFERES 2003a: 323.

144 Vanaspati is the Lord of wood, of the forest but also the tree of desire; despite the homophony, the noun-root *vān-* 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).

145 *mádhv-* is sweetness connected with the honey, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra glosses with *madhurasā* “juice of honey”, while AB 2.2 explains the divine sweetness as clarified butter, *ājya-*.

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*.

147 About *vārcas-* “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see PROFERES 2007: 91 and 101-104; GONDA 1992: VI/2 366-376.

148 i.e. to the east.

149 *brāhmaṇ-*, here understood with the original value of “sacred formulation” (THIEME 1952: 91-129), see also GONDA 1950<sup>a</sup>.

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 *amāti-*: EWAia: I 95-96 “etwa’ Gebilde, Erscheinung, Bildnis”; GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 90] “Wucht, Gewalt”. The accent in the Ṛgvedic stanza speaks clearly for *ámati-*.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

*vanvānāḥ*: part. pres. nom. masc. sing. Ā VIII cl.  
GELDNER: I 345: “gewinnst”

#### Vedic Web

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

Mantra and Prose: AB 2.2

#### Rite

Mantras for the *hotṛ* in the animal sacrifice, *paśukahotraniruktiḥ*, *yūpasamkāraḥ* (TB 3.6.1). According to PROFERES (2003a: 322-329), the ṚV 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 *īndhāno agnīm vanavad vanuṣyatāḥ / kṛtābrahmā śūśuvad rātāhavya it / jātēna jātām āti sá prāsarsṛte / yāṃ yaṃ yūjaṃ kṛnuté brāhmaṇaspātīḥ.*

The one who kindles the fire would appropriate those who are eager to appropriate him; having performed the formula, he who offer the oblation<sup>151</sup> may get swollen, over the son born from the son survives whoever Brahmanaspati takes as an ally.

*vanavat*: subj. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. VIII cl.  
GELDNER: I 308 “überwinden”  
RENOU: XV 60 “vaincre”  
WITZEL-GOTŌ 2007: 392 “wird besiegen”

*vanuṣyatāḥ*: 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: ṚV 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 *mantras* to be recited during the sacrifice of a polled ox to Brahmanaspati.

Kāṭha occurrences.

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

4.15 *gómada dhíraṇyavad vásu yád vām áśvāvad ímahe / índrāgnī tād 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.

151 For *rātāhavya* see ELIZARENKOVA 1995<sup>a</sup>: 62-3.

### III.2 Occurrences: Ṛgvedic mantras, Non-Ṛgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

*vanemahi*: opt. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. I-VI cl.  
GELDNER: II 264: “möchten gewinnen”  
RENOU: XIV 56: “gagner (pour soi)”

Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 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 sáhūti vanataṃ girah / sám devatrā babbhūvathuḥ // yuvámetáni diví rocanānyagnísca soma sákratū adhattam / yuvám síndhūmrabhísasteravadyádágnīṣomā amuñcatam ḡrbhitán //*

O Agni and Soma, together invoked, having the same knowledge, appropriate the chants, you are<sup>152</sup> 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-*abhiṣasti*-) and disgrace the the rivers which were held back.

*vanatam*: impv. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> du. I-VI cl.  
GELDNER: I 120 “nehmet gut auf”  
RENOU: IX 73 “trouvez-agréable”  
WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 166 “liebt”

Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 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, *mantras* of the *hotṛ* for Kāmyeṣṭiyajyās, offerings to Agni as desire.

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

15.12 *añjanti tvām adhvare devayanto vanaspate madhunā dáivyena / yád ūrdhvás tiṣṭhādrávinehá dhattādyadvā kṣayo māturasyā upásthē<sup>153</sup> // ucchrayasva vanaspate varṣamanṛṭhivā adhi / sumitī mīyamāno varco dhā yajñāvāhase<sup>154</sup> // samiddhasya śrayamāṇaḥ purastādbrahma vanvāno ajarañ suvīram / āre asmad amatim bādhamāna ucchrayasva mahate saubhagāya<sup>155</sup> //*

Those seeking for the gods<sup>156</sup> anoint you in the sacrifice, o Vanaspati<sup>157</sup>, with divine sweetness<sup>158</sup>, when you

152 *babbhūvathuḥ*, ind. perf. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual from *bhū-* “you have become”, has here a perfective aspect and thus resultative.

153 *añjanti* [...] *upásthē* = ṚV 3.8.1

154 *ucchrayasva* [...] *yajñāvāhase* = ṚV 3.8.3

155 *samiddhasya* [...] *sáubhagāya* = ṚV 3.8.2

156 *devayántaḥ* is referring to the priests and probably the *yajamāna* and his wife who are performing the rite, see PROFERES 2003a: 323.

157 Vanaspati is the Lord of wood, of the forest but also the tree of desire; despite the homophony, the noun-root *vān-* 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).

158 *mādhu-* is sweetness connected with the honey, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra glosses with *madhurasā* “juice of



### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

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<sup>159</sup>, bestow the radiance<sup>160</sup> to the one who carries the sacrifice; reclining in front of the kindled one<sup>161</sup>, appropriating for yourself the sacrificial formula<sup>162</sup> that never gets old, full of warriors, [.2] pulling away from us the lack of inspiration<sup>163</sup>, incline upwards, to a good great fortune.

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

GELDNER: I 345: “gewinnst”

#### Vedic Web

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

Mantra and Prose: AB 2.2.

#### Rite

*Mantras* for the *hotṛ* in the animal sacrifice, from TB *paśukahotraniruktiḥ*, *yūpasamkārah* (TB 3.6.1). According to PROFERES (2003a: 322-329), the ṚV 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 śocísā yámsadvísvaṃ nyàtrīnam / agnírno vaṃsate rayím//*

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

*vaṃsate*: subj. sigmatic aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā

#### Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 6.16.28 (*yásad* and *vanate* - subj. root aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 Ṛgvedic version. TS 4.6.1.5r reads as the KS.

Prose: TS 5.4.4.1-.5.3.

#### Rite

Agnicayana. Preparation of the fire, *mantras* 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.

honey”, while AB 2.2 explains the divine sweetness as clarified butter, *ájya*-.

159 *súmiti*- “a well made fixing” (GRASSMANN 1875 [ed.1996: 555] “schöne Aufrichtung”). *Súmitī mīyamānaḥ* represents a frequent figura etymologica, being the noun a derivate of the same root as the part. pres. *mīyamānaḥ*.

160 About *vārcas*- “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see PROFERES 2007: 91 and 101-104; GONDA 1992: VI/2 366-376.

161 i.e. to the east.

162 *brāhman*-, here understood with the original value of “sacred formulation” (THEIEME 1952: 91-129), see also Gonda 1950<sup>a</sup>.

163 *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 *ásanāyā vai pāpmāmatī* “the *ámati*- is indeed the hunger, the evil”. There is also *amāti*-: EWAia: I 95-96 “etwa” Gebilde, Erscheinung, Bildnis”; GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 90] “Wucht, Gewalt”. The accent in the Ṛgvedic stanza speaks clearly for *ámati*-.

KS 20.14: 34,8-13

20.14 *nahí te pūrtám akṣipád bhúvan nemānām vaso / áthā dúvo vanavase*<sup>164</sup>// *āgniragāmi bhārato vṛtrahā purucetaṅḥ divodāsasya sapatih // sá hí vísvāti pāṛthivā rayim dāsan mahitvanā / vanvānn ávāto ástṛtaḥ*<sup>165</sup>//

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

*vanavase*: subj. pres. 2<sup>a</sup> sing. Ā, VIII cl.

GELDNER: II 110 “wirst gewinnen”

RENOU: XIII 49 “procureras”

*vanvān*: 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: ṚV 6.16.18-20.

Rite

According to Schroeder’s indication of MS 4.10.2 for this KS passage, these are *mantras* for the *hotṛ* to be recited at the animal sacrifice.

KS 21.14: 55,7-8

21.14 *tváyā hí naḥ pitāraḥ soma pūrve kármāṇi cakrúḥ pavamāna dhírāḥ / vanvānnávātaḥ paridhírāporna*<sup>170</sup> *vīrebhirásvairmaghāvā bhavā naḥ //*

Through you, o Soma, our fathers, who got the vision, have formerly<sup>171</sup> accomplished the sacrifices, o Pavamāna; you, who appropriate without being appropriated, open the enclosures<sup>172</sup>, be for us liberal with

164 *nahí te* [...] *vanavase* = ṚV 6.16.18.

165 *sá hí* [...] *ástṛtaḥ* = ṚV 6.16.20.

166 *Nemānām* (gen. m. pl.) from *néma-* EWAia: II 56 “einer, ein anderer, mancher”, cf. also OLDENBERG 1901: 315.

167 *bhārata-* is a frequent epithet of Agni, as well as *bharata-*, name of the ancestor of one of the mythical Vedic families.

168 Divodāsa is the name of many figures within the *Ṛgveda Samhitā*, often connected with Agni. See MAYRHOFER 2003: 44.

169 As to the use of double accusative with verbs of giving cf. WHITNEY 1888: §277.

170 *paridhír°* so in MSS (T<sub>1</sub>; Br<sub>1</sub>; Ch and W<sub>1</sub>) but in MS; TS and ṚV is *paridhír̥°*. Cf. SCHROEDER 1900: 21,14: 55 n. 3.

171 *pūrve*, nom. m. pl. referring to *pitāraḥ*, functions here as an apposition with adverbial meaning or maybe better as *rhema*. For this kind of usage of nominative, see, among others, ELIZARENKOVA 1995<sup>a</sup>: 202-206.

172 *paridhín* (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.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

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”

Vedic Web:

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

Rite

In TS, MS: Darśapurṇamāseṣṭī, Pitṛyajña, *puronuvākya* of the *hotṛ* to accompany the offering of a cake on 6 potsherds to Soma Pitṛmant.

In VS: Sautrāmaṇī, a ceremony 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<sup>173</sup> be mine, may be mine the divine invocation; may the divine *hotṛ* appropriate this here, may we, through ourselves, be safe, rich of heroes.

*vaniṣan*: subj. sigmatic aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl.

Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 10.128.3 Vivavya (?) (*vanuṣanta* - inj. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Ā, *hapax* cf. AiGr: II 2 §316.c; GELDNER: III 358 “sollen Partei nehmen”-and *pūrve* instead of *etad*); TS 4.7.14.1c (*vaniṣanta*, subj. sigmatic aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Ā -and *pūrve* 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 ṚV, 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 *návam nú stómamagnāye divásśyenāya jījanam / vásvaḥ kuvidvanāti nah*

173 For the form *āśīr* 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.

I want<sup>174</sup> to create a new laud for Agni, the eagle<sup>175</sup> of the sky, may it appropriate something good<sup>176</sup> for us.

*vanāti*: subj. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. I-VI cl.  
GELDNER: II 191 “wird erwirken”  
RENOU: XIII 62 “gagnera-t-il”  
GOTO 1987: 284 “wird uns lieben”\*

Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 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: *Darśapūrnāmāseṣṭi*. *Upahoma* (subsidiary) *mantras* 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 sarvamaṇyāgrayaṇsūktam*. The *āgrayaṇa* is the first libation of the evening Soma-pressure.

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

6.5 *sugavyam no vājī svásvyam puñsāḥ putráṃ utá viśvāpúṣaṃ rayim / anāgāstvām no áditiḥ kṛnotu kṣatrām no áśvo vanate haviṣmān //*

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

*vanate*: subj. root aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā  
GELDNER: I 225 “soll erringen”  
O’FLAHERTY 1984: 92 “achieve”  
Griffith in ARYA 1999: 373 “gain”

Vedic Web

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

Rite

Aśvamedha. The horse sacrifice occupies a special place in the TS which gives little more than

174 As to the use of injunctive to express the intention of the subject, see HOFFMANN 1967: 253.

175 *śyena*- indicates any bird within a praying context and especially the eagle that brings the *soma* to the men.

176 *vásvaḥ kuvíd*, *kuvíd* put an interrogative element into the sentence (cf. MACDONELL 1916: §180), the construction with the genitive partitive (*vásvaḥ*) creates a sound play with the verb *vanāti*. 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 *vanāti*.

177 *vājīn-*, 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.

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 *saṃjāptaḥ paśuḥ*, and also the Greek term ἄγος 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.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

the *mantras*. The VS deals with it in the later books, 23-25, and the ŚB in the book 13<sup>th</sup>. The two hymns clearly related to this sacrifice are ṚV 1.162 and 1.163 (also ṚV 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 yásad víśvaṃ ny àtrīṇam / agnír no vanate rayím//*

Agni with the sharpened flame may pass over<sup>179</sup> all evil, may Agni appropriate the richness for us.

*vanate*: subj. root aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā  
GELDNER: II 111 “soll gewinnen”  
RENOU: XIII 50 “gagne”

Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 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 *vānsate* and *yāmsad*).

Prose: TS 5.4.4.1-5.3.

Rite

Agnicayana. Preparation of the fire, *mantras* 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.

Vājasaneyya occurrences (Mādhyam̐dina recension)

VS 7.17

7.17 *māno ná yéṣu hávaneṣu tigmám vípaḥ śácyā vanuthó drávantā \ á yáḥ śáryābis tuvinṛmṇó asyáśrīṇītādīśam gábhastau<sup>180</sup> \ eśá te yóniḥ prajāḥ páhi \ ápamṛṣṭo márkah \ devás tvā manthipáḥ pránayantu \ ánādhṛṣṭāsi \*

In the invocations of whom you both<sup>181</sup>, 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;<sup>182</sup> 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.

179 *ni yā*- “to attack, assail”, like a carriage.

180 *māno ná* [...] *gábhastau* = ṚV 10.61.3.

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.

182 According to Pischel’s interpretation (*ibid.*), this passage is related to the myth of Indra, the very manly *par excellence*, weakening the will, the intention (*ādīśam*) of Cyavana. Cyavana stole the *soma* and tried to fool the god. Indra makes him bow to his power.

### III.2 Occurrences: Ṛgvedic mantras, Non-Ṛgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

*vanuthāh*: ind. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> 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”

Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 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 *bhadrá utá práśastayo bhadráṃ mánaḥ kṛṇuṣva vṛtratúr̥ye \ yénā samátsu sāsáhaḥ \*

15.40 *yénā samátsu sāsábó 'va sthirá tanuhi bhūri śárdhatām \ vanémā te abhíṣtibhiḥ<sup>183</sup> \*

And may the prayers be auspicious; turn your auspicious mind<sup>184</sup> to the victory on fiends; with that may you conquer in the battles, slacken the resistances, may we appropriate the many<sup>185</sup> of the bolds with your protection<sup>186</sup>.

*vanémā*: opt. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. I-VI cl.

GELDNER: II 321 “möchten gewinnen”

RENOU: XIII 66 “gagner”

Griffith in ARYA 1999: 217 “vanquish”

Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 8-19-20; JS 3.56.17.

Rite

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

#### VS 17.16

17.16 *agnís tigména śociśā yásad víśvaṃ ny àtrīnam \ agnír no vanate rayím \*

183 *bhadráṃ* [...] *abhíṣtibhiḥ* = ṚV 8.19.20

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.

185 *sthirá bhūri 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 “*sthirá tanuhi scil. dhánwāni*” and translates “Détends les (arcs) tendus”.

186 *abhíṣtibhiḥ*, (instr. f. pl.) from *abhíṣti-* “protection”, is employed here with a distributive connotation: “your protection in any battle”.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

Agni with the sharpened flame may pass over<sup>187</sup> all evil, may Agni appropriate the richness for us.

*vanate*: subj. root aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā  
GELDNER: II 111 “soll gewinnen”  
RENOU: XIII 50 “gagne”  
Griffith in ARYA 1999: 239 “win”

#### Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 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 *yamsad* and *vamsate* -subj. sigmatic aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā).

Prose: TS 5.4.4.1-5.3.

#### Rite

Agnicayana. Preparation of the fire, *mantras* 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 *tvāyā hī naḥ pitāraḥ soma pūrve kármāṇi cakrúḥ pavamāna dhīrāḥ \ vanvānn āvātaḥ paridhīm̐r āporṇu vīrēbhīr āśvair maghāvā bhavā naḥ \*

Through you, o Soma, our fathers, who got the vision, have formerly<sup>188</sup> accomplished the sacrifices, o Pavamāna; you, who appropriate without being appropriated, open the enclosures<sup>189</sup>, be for us liberal with heroes and horses.

*vanvān*: part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.  
*āvātaḥ*: nom. m. sing. from *āvāta* (adj.)  
GELDNER: III 93 “überwinder unüberwundene”  
RENOU: IX 44 “qui gagnes sans que nul gagne contre toi”  
Griffith in ARYA 1999: 288 “fighting unvanquished”

#### Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 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 ceremony 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, Pitṛyajña, *puronuvākya* of the *hotṛ* to accompany the offering of a cake on 6 potsherds to Soma Pitṛmant.

187 *ni yā-* “to attack, assail, pass over”, like a carriage.

188 *pūrve*: nom. masc. pl. referring to *pitāraḥ*, functions here as an apposition with adverbial meaning or maybe better as *rhema*. For this kind of usage of nominative, see, among others, ELIZARENKOVA 1995<sup>a</sup>: 202-206.

189 *paridhīm̐* (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 *paridhī-*, which indicates also the enclosure around the cairns, cf. the funeral hymns 10.14-18.

VS 25.45

25.45 *sugāvyaṃ no vājī svásvyaṃ puṃsáḥ putráṃ utá viśvāpúṣaṃ rayím \ anāgāstváṃ no áditih kṛnotu kṣatrām no áśvo vanatām haviṣmān \*

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

*vanatām*: impv. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā I-VI cl.  
 GELDNER: I 225 “soll erringen”  
 O’FLAHERTY 1984: 92 “achieve”  
 Griffith in ARYA 1999: 373 “gain”

Vedic Web

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

Rite

Aśvamedha. The horse sacrifice occupies a special place in the TS which gives little more than the *mantras*. The VS deals with it in the later books, 23-25, and the ŚB in the book 13<sup>th</sup>. The two hymns clearly related to this sacrifice are ṚV 1.162 and 1.163 (also ṚV 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 *Kauthumasamhitā* 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 *Jaiminīyasamhitā* is after Raghu Vira, *Sāma Veda of the Jaiminīyas*, International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore, 1938.

*Jaiminīyasamhitā* (17) and *Kauthumasamhitā* (13)

JS	KauS (KauS ^ JS)	ṚV	notes (JS ^ ṚV)
1.3.2	22 =JS	6.16.28	<i>yamsad</i> ^ <i>yasād</i> = VS 17.16; KpS 28.2 (=RV) TS 4.6.1.5; KṛS 18.1 (=JS)
1.14.4	128 ( <i>yamat</i> ^ <i>yamata</i> )	8.92.31	<i>yamata</i> ^ <i>yaman</i>
1.19.1	175 =JS	10.153.1	<i>vanvanāsaḥ</i> ^ <i>bhejānāsaḥ</i>

<sup>190</sup> *vājīn-*, 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.

<sup>191</sup> 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 *saṃjāptaḥ paśuḥ*, and also the Greek term ἄγος 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.



### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

			<i>svīryam ^ nakirā</i>
2.5.5	I.8 (594)	9.61.11	
3.3.3	II.24 (674) =RV	9.61.11	<i>viśvan ^ viśvāni</i>
3.6.3	II.57 (707) =JS	6.16.18	<i>ṣate ^ vaso</i>
3.8.8	II.82 (732) =JS	8.45.23	<i>brahmādvīṣam ^ brahmādvīṣaḥ</i>
3.16.8	II.170 (820) =JS	9.101.7	<i>vanāmabe ^ vanāmabai</i>
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	<i>vanāmabe ^ manāmabe</i> Kaut.S. II. 755 (1405) =RV
3.28.7	II.335 (985)	5.70.1	
3.44.7		9.61.24	<i>kikaraḥ ^ āmuraḥ</i>
3.56.17	II,910 (1560) =JS	8.19.20	<i>sāsahiḥ ^ sāsahaḥ</i> <i>abhiṣṭaye ^ abhiṣṭibhiḥ</i>
4.6.4		8.60.14	
4.6.8	22 =JS	6.16.28	= JS 1.3.2

Non-ṚV mantras – Yajurveda prose

YV Saṃhitā occurrences

Taittirīya occurrences

TS 1.6.4.2o-3o

1.6.4.2 o *émā agmann āśiṣo dóhakāmā índravantaḥ //*

1.6.4.3 *vanāmabe dhukṣīmábi prajám íṣam //*

Here have come the blessings<sup>192</sup>, eager for milking, possessing Indra, may we appropriate, may we milk offspring and food.

*vanāmabe*: subj. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Ā I-VI cl.

КЕИТ 1914: 87 “may we win”

Vedic Web:

Mantra: TS 3.2.7.2i (*indriyāvanto*).

<sup>192</sup> 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.

Prose: TS 1.7.4.

Rite

Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi, this section gives the *mantras* for the *anuyāja*<sup>193</sup>- 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 *dēvīr āpaḥ sām mādhumatīr mādhumatībhiḥ sṛjyadhvam māhi vārcaḥ kṣatṛiyāya vanvānās /*  
TS 1.8.12.1b *ānādbhṛṣṭāḥ sidatōrjasvatīr māhi vārcaḥ kṣatṛiyāya dadhātīs /*

Divine water, full of sweet, be mingled with the full of sweet, appropriating for the king<sup>194</sup> a great splendour<sup>195</sup>; sit untouched, possessing the vital energy<sup>196</sup>, putting a great splendour in to the king.

*vanvānāḥ*: part. pres. nom. fem. pl. Ā VIII cl.  
KEITH 1914: 123 “Winning”

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 Profereš) The *mantra* credits the waters with winning for the anointed on the power to rule – *vārcās* “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 *dhātā dadātu no rayīm īśāno jāgatas pātīḥ / sā naḥ pūrṇéna vāvanat //*

May Dhātṛ give us wealth, the Lord, the father of the living, may he have appropriated<sup>197</sup> us completely<sup>198</sup>.

*vāvanat*: subj. perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.  
KEITH 1914: 179 “May he favour us with a (full) gift”

193 In the Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi, the supplementary offerings, after the main one, are three: for *barhis*, *narāśamsa* and *sviṣṭakṛt*.

194 *kṣatṛiyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. PROFERES 2007: 97.

195 About *vārcas*- “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see PROFERES 2007: 91 and 101-104; GONDA 1992: VI/2 366-376.

196 As to the meaning of *úrjasvat*-, *úrj*- see Scharfe 1985: 545 and PROFERES 2007: 101.

197 The subjunctive can also have a future meaning, hence *vāvanat* can also be read as “he will have appropriated”.

198 *pūrṇéna*: from *pūrṇa*-, here the instrumental is used adverbially.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

Vedic Web:

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

Prose: TS 2.4.6.

Rite

Special Sacrifices

Citrā sacrifices (*citrā* 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 [*nāntār eti*]<sup>199</sup>

*tād agnīr devó devébhyo vānate vayám agnēr mānuṣā ity āhāgnīr devébhyo vanuté vayám manuṣyēbhya  
īti vāvātād āha \*  
*ihā gātīr vāmāsyedāṃ ca nāmo devébhya ity āha yās caivā devātā yājati yās ca ná tābhya  
evóbhyaībhya nāmas karoty ātmāno '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<sup>200</sup> of himself.'

*vanate*: subj. aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā I-VI cl.

KEITH 1914: 216 "shall win"

*vanute*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.

KEITH 1914: 216 "wins"

*vāmāsyā*: gen. n. sing. from *vāmā*

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 *mantras* of the *hotṛ*: Anuyājaḥ formulas (after offering) for the Sūktavāka (evocation of blessing) and Namovāka ceremonies (cf. RENO 1954)

#### TS 3.2.7.1h-2i

3.2.7.1h *śāstrāsyā śāstram*

3.2.7.2h *asy ūrjāṃ mābyāṃ śāstrām duhām ā mā śāstrāsyā śāstrām gamyāt \*

3.2.7.2i *indriyāvanto vanāmahe dhukṣimāhi prajāṃ iṣam /*

You are the *śāstra* of the *śāstra*, may the *śāstra* milk for me the vital energy<sup>201</sup>, may the *śāstra* of the *śāstra* come to me, possessing the might may we appropriate, may we milk offspring and food.

199 Although at the beginning of paragraph 8<sup>th</sup>, *nāntār eti* is the end of the preceding paragraph.

200 *anārti*-, PW "Leidlosigkeit", from *ārti*- PW: "übler Zufall, Unheil", EWAia: I 115-116 "Unheil, Leid", from the verbal root *ard*- "zerstieben, sich schütteln".

201 As to the meaning of *ūrj*-, see SCHARFE 1985: 545 and PROFERES 2007: 101.

### III.2 Occurrences: Ṛgvedic mantras, Non-Ṛgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

*vanāmahe*: subj. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> pl. Ā I-VI cl.  
KEITH 1914: 247 “may we conquer”

Vedic Web

Mantra: TS 1.6.4.3o (*indravantah*).

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*<sup>202</sup>, cf. ŚB 4.6.6.7.

Maitrāyaṇī occurrences

MS 2.1.2: 2,5-15

2.1.2 *agnāye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālam nīrvapetkāmāya saṃvatsaró vā agnīrvaiśvānarāḥ saṃvatsaró kāma āpyate saṃvatsarāmevāpatso ‘smai kāmamāpnoti yātkāmo bhāvatyagnāye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālam nīrvapetsāmāntamabhīdrokṣyāntsaṃvatsaró vā agnīrvaiśvānarāḥ saṃvatsarāya sāmamyate saṃvatsarāmevāptvāvaruṇām kāmamabhīdruhyatyagnāye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālam nīrvapetsanim praiśyāntsaṃvatsaró vā agnīrvaiśvānarāḥ saṃvatsarāya prātigṛhyate saṃvatsarāmevāptvā sātām sanīm vanute sá yadā vanvītāthāgnāye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālam nīrvapetsaṃvatsaró vā agnīrvaiśvānarāḥ saṃvatsarāmeśā prāyujkte saṃvatsarā etásmai vanute támevā bhāgínamakastām vyamaugyám dviśyāttásmai dáksīṇām dadyātpāsena vā eśā carati támevāsmínprātīmuñcatyékahāyano gaiúrdákṣiṇā sá hí saṃvatsarāsyā 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<sup>203</sup>, he<sup>204</sup>, for this one, gains the wish that he has<sup>205</sup>.

May he offer to Agni Vaiśvānara a sacrifice on 12 potsherds, he who wants to act with treachery against the common agreement<sup>206</sup>; 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<sup>207</sup>.

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<sup>208</sup> 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<sup>209</sup> partaking of the share, he unyoked it, to the one he may hate he shall give the sacrificial fee

202 One of the nine ‘verses’ -*stotra*- that the *udgatṛ* and his assistants sing in the morning pressing.

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.

204 Agni as the year.

205 In a sentence without a temporal degree *bhāvati* indicates a status, see AMANO 2009: 431 n.1691 “bhāvati [...] bedeutet ‘ist im gegebenen Fall’”. See also TICHY 2006: 70.

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.

207 The *bahuvrīhi avaruṇā-* 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)”.

208 What is received during the year is the purchase, that at the end is gained, see AMANO 2009: 432.

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.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

(*dakṣinā*). This here<sup>210</sup> 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.  
AMANO 2009: 432 “trägt”

2x *vanute*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.  
AMANO 2009: 432 “trägt [...] davon”

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 iṣṭayah*: 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

2.6.8 *dévīrāpo mádhumatīḥ sámśṛjyadhvam máhi kṣatráṃ kṣatríyāya vanvānāḥ /  
ánādhṛṣṭāḥ sīdatórjasvatīrmāhi vārcāḥ kṣatríyāya dádhatiḥ*//

O divine water, full of sweet, be mingled, appropriating for the king<sup>211</sup> the great power to rule; sit untouched, possessing the vital energy<sup>212</sup>, putting a great splendour<sup>213</sup> into the king.

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

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 – *vārcās* “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.

210 Here the cow is meant, as is clear from the following sentence.

211 *kṣatríyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. PROFERES 2007: 97.

212 As to the meaning of *úrjasvat-*, *úrj-* see Scharfe 1985: 545 and PROFERES 2007: 101.

213 About *vārcas-* “vitale power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see PROFERES 2007: 91 and 101-104; GONDA 1992: VI/2 366-376.

MS 3.6.9: 73,1-4

3.6.9 *nānyātradikṣitam dikṣitavimitāntśūryo 'bhinimrōcennābhyūdiyāddikṣitavratāmevā tādyajñō vai devānām nā sāmabhavattām bhṛtyā sāmabhāvayanyādbhṛtīm vanutē yajñāsya sāmhbūtyai rāsvéyatsomēti yādbrūyādetāvadasya syāt.*

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<sup>214</sup> of gods, indeed, they furnished him<sup>215</sup> with support when he appropriates the support for the production<sup>216</sup> of the sacrifice ‘Give so much, o Soma’, be in his possession<sup>217</sup> so much as he might have said.

*vanutē*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *dikṣita*, the *adhvarādīnām trayānām 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-*, *yajñō vai devānām nā sāmabhavattām bhṛtyā sāmabhāvayanyādbhṛtīm vanutē yajñāsya sāmhbūtyai*: 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 *ósadhīnāmāhīṃsāyaia vrajām gacha gosthānamīti chāndāṃsi vai vrajō gosthānaśchāndāṃsiyevāsmāi vrajām gosthānam karoti vārṣatu te parjanyaḍevā vṛṣṭim vanute badhānā deva savitaḥ śatēna pāsaiḥ paramāsyām parāvātīti.*

‘For the safeness<sup>218</sup> 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<sup>219</sup>, o god Savitṛ, with a hundred of

214 *saṃ 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.

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 *dikṣita* see among others, the analysis of HEESTERMAN 1964.

216 *sāmhbūtyai*, dat. sing. f. (for the dative in *-ai* in analogy with *-ī* declension, see MACDONELL 1916: §98b n.4) from *sāmhbūti* “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 ṚV (cf. GRASSMANN 1875).

217 Lit. “be of him”.

218 For not harming.

219 The object is not specified, for it is not important. What the *mantra* is expressing here is that Savitṛ should bind somewhere else, far from us.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

chains in the remotest distance’.

*vanute*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 vṛṣṭyā iṣate te ‘smāi vṛṣṭim nínayanti táto no vṛṣṭyávatéti marúdbhya evá vṛṣṭim vanute cakṣuṣpá agne ‘si cákṣurme pāhóti cákṣurevāsya 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 sámṣṭjyadhvam máhi kṣatráṃ kṣatríyāya vanvāná ityetá hí kṣatrāsya vantrírānādhṛṣṭāḥ sīdatórjasvatirmáhi vārcāḥ kṣatríyāya dádbhātírityetá hí kṣatrāsya dhātírīḥ //*

‘O divine waters, full of sweet, be mingled, appropriating for the king<sup>220</sup> the great power to rule’ so he says, for they, brilliant<sup>221</sup>, are those who appropriate the power to rule ‘sit untouched, possessing the vital energy<sup>222</sup>, putting the splendour<sup>223</sup> into the king’ so he says, for they are those who put the power to rule.

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

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

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.

220 *kṣatríyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. PROFERES 2007: 97.

221 *éta*: “of variegated colour, shining”. Worth noticing that both *éta* and *vārcās* are connected with the brilliance of light, which is one of the element used to describe the royal power.

222 As to the meaning of *úrjasvat*-, *úrj*- see Scharfe 1985: 545 and PROFERES 2007: 101.

223 About *vārcas*- “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see PROFERES 2007: 91 and 101-104; GONDA 1992: VI/2 366-376.

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 –*varcās* “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 *viśvaṃ priyām āśāste / yád anéna haviṣā āśāste / tād aśyāt tād ṛdhyāt / tād asmai devā rāsantām / tād agnir devó devébhyo vanutām / vayám agnér mānuṣāḥ / iṣṭām ca vītām ca / ubhé ca no dyāvāpṛthiví āmhasaḥ pātām*<sup>224</sup> / ihá gatir vāmāsya idám/ námo devébhyaḥ //

He prays<sup>225</sup> 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<sup>226</sup>, 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<sup>227</sup>, and let both the heaven and the earth protect us from the enclosure; here the procedure for what is desirable, this one<sup>228</sup>, honour to the gods.

*vanutām*: impv. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

Mantra: TB 3.5.10.5 (*vánate* - subj. aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *hotṛ* for the Suktāvāka, evocation of blessing.

224 *yád* [...] *pātām* = ŚB 1.9.1.16; .19-20.

225 *ā śas-* “pray for” but also “desire”.

226 *ṛdhyāt* optative to be distinguished from the preceding precative, *aśyāt*.

227 *iṣṭām ca vītām ca* is an ambiguous clause: *iṣṭām* could be interpreted as “what is desired” (cf. Eggeling 1900: 253) or “what is offered” (so glosses Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra: “yāganimittaṃ svargādikam”), while *vītām* from *vī-* means “to crave for”, cf. EWAia: II 509-510 “sich zuwenden, verfolgen”, but ŚB.1.9.1.20 reads *vittam* (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”.

228 Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra glosses “iha haviṣe vāmāsya vananīyasya dhanasya gātiḥ vyāptiḥ | idam ca etaddhavrīlakṣaṇam”: hence in the oblation this is the way to get the desirable prize, this is the sign of the oblation itself.



Kāṭha occurrences

KS 10.3: 127,1-13

10.3 *agnāye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaṃ nirvapedyo 'nannamadyādyo vā jighatssetsamvatsaro vā agnirvaiśvānarassamvatsarenaiva pūtaṃ svaditamatti yadi jagdhvā nirvapati samvatsara evāsmā jagdhvam svadayatyagnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaṃ nirvapedyassamāntamabhidruhyedyo vābbhidudruksetsamvatsaro vā agnirvaiśvānarassamvatsarāyaiṣa samamate yassamamate samvatsaramevāptvā kāmamavaruṇamabhidruhyatyagnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaṃ nirvapedyaḥ pratigrhīṭasyātsanikāmassamvatsaro vā agnirvaiśvānarassamvatsarāyāitāṃ pratigrhṇanti yaṃ pratigrhṇanti samvatsaramevāptvā sātāṃ sanim vanute 'gnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaṃ nirvapetsanim nidadhatsamvatsaro vā agnirvaiśvānarassamvatsarameṣa prayunkte yo yācati samvatsarameva vimuñcati samvataro 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<sup>229</sup>, 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<sup>230</sup>.

May offer to Agni Vaiśvānara a sacrifice on 12 potsherds who, having accepted<sup>231</sup>, 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 iṣṭayah*: 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 saptaviṃśatiṃ kurupañcāleṣu vatsatarānavanvata tānvako dālbhirbravīdyūyamevaitānvibhajdhvamimamaham dhr̥tarāṣṭram vaicitravīryam gamiṣyāmi sa mahyam gr̥hānkarīṣyatīti tamāgacchattannāsūrṣattam prakālayataitā gā brahmabandha ityabravītpaśupatirgā hanti tāḥ paraḥ pacamānaścāreti tāsāṃ devasūrme rājānnaṃ prāsuṣoditi sakhānyutkartamapacata*

229 For *sām am-*, “to swear”, see EWAia: I 96-97 and in particular HOFFMANN 1969: 193-215, for the verbal adjective *sāmānta-* see also DELBRÜCK 1888: 272.

230 The *bahuvrīhi avaruṇá-* can be a predicative referred to *sāmānta-* (the agreement that is not anymore under Varuṇa protection) or adverbially used, in this case meaning “without Varuṇa (interfering)”.

231 The object of the verbal adjective is expressed in TS 2.2.6.3-4 where the sacrificer accepts (*pratigrab-*) some animals (like a ship) and therefore has to offer to Agni Vaiśvānara.

### III.2 Occurrences: Ṛgvedic mantras, Non-Ṛgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

*tasminpacamāno vyadasyatso 'gnaye rudravate 'ṣṭākapālaṃ niravapatkṣṇānāṃ vrīhīṇāṃ tasya yatkimca dhṛtarāṣṭrasyāsittatsarvamavakarṇaṃ vidrāṇamabhivyaucchattā vipraśnikā avindanbrāhmaṇo vai tvāyamabbhicarati tasminnāthasveti*

The Naimiṣyas<sup>232</sup> celebrated a *sattra* sacrifice<sup>233</sup>, as they finished, they appropriated for themselves 27 young bulls among the Kuru-Pañcālas, Vaka Dālbhi<sup>234</sup> said: “You divide these ones and I will go to this Dhṛtarāṣṭra 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<sup>235</sup> let prepare for me the food of the king”; having cut off the thighs he cooked them; while he was cooking, it<sup>236</sup> came to an end; he sacrificed to Agni Rudravat eight potsherds of dark grains; whatever belonged to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, at the sunshine<sup>237</sup> was scattered<sup>238</sup> 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* mainly to Agni Pathikṛt to be praised in different cases (the verses commented on are *yājyās* and *puromuvākyās* 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 Rudravat for 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 ṛṣi Vaka (or Baka) Dālbhya and the king Dhṛtarāṣṭra. As to the connection with the *vrātyas*, see HEESTERMAN 1962: 29-31 and FALK 1986: 58-60.

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

13.16 *dhātā dadātu no rayīm īśāno jāgatas pātih / sā naḥ pūrṇēna vāvanat //*

232 For *naimiṣya*- see EWAia: II 57 *naimiṣa*- “Waldgebiet” *naimiṣya*- “dessen Bewohner” and MACDONELL-KEITH [1912] 1995: I 460. They are also mentioned in *Kauṣītiki Brāhmaṇa* 26.5; 28.4 and in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 1.2.13, being clearly of special sanctity.

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.

234 Name of a ṛṣi, descendant of Dālbha, cf. MACDONELL-KEITH [1912] 1995: II 236. According to KS he was engaged in a ritual dispute with the king Dhṛtarāṣṭra, cf. WEBER 1855: 469-71; CALAND 1908: 52-53; HEESTERMAN 1962: 29-31 and FALK 1986: 58-60.

235 The Devasū of the cows (*tāsām*) is Rudra Paśupati, Lord of the cattle, cf. TS 1.8.10.1 and ŚB 5.3.3.1; .7 regarding the Devasū oblations..

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.

237 As to *abhivivas*- with two verbal adjectives, see HOFFMANN 1960: 21 n. 12.

238 The text reads *avakarṇam* (with variants *arvakarna* and *arghakarna*), an *bapax*, that could be only connected to *avakarṇaprāvṛtā* (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 *-i-*, so that it should be read as *avakīrṇam*, is confirmed also by the MhB version and seems much more consistent with the context.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

May Dhātṛ give us wealth, the Lord, the father of the living, may he have appropriated<sup>239</sup> us completely<sup>240</sup>.

*vāvanat*: subj. perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.

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

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<sup>241</sup> 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 *mantras*, cf. WITZEL 1981; 1982.

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

15.6 *dévīrāpo mádhumatīssaṃśṛjyadhvam mahi kṣatram kṣatriyāya vanvānāḥ /  
anādhṛṣṭāssīdatorjasvatīrmahi varcaḥ kṣatriyāya dadatīḥ* //

O divine water, full of sweet, be mingled, appropriating for the king<sup>242</sup> the great power to rule; sit untouched, possessing the vital energy<sup>243</sup>, giving a great splendour<sup>244</sup> into the king.

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

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 –*varcās* “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.

239 The subjunctive can also have a future meaning, hence *vāvanat* can be also read as “he will have appropriated”.

240 *pūrṇéna*: from *pūrṇa*-, here the instrumental is used adverbially.

241 *iti śrīyajūṣi kāṭhake caraka* -branch of KYV whom rites and practices are different from the ŚYV- *sākhāyām iṭhimikāyām* (*iṭhimikā*: name of a section of KS) *paśubandham nāma trayodaśaṃ sthānakam sampūrṇam*.

242 *kṣatriyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. PROFERES 2007: 97.

243 As to the meaning of *úrjasvat*-, *úrj*- see SCHARFE 1985: 545 and PROFERES 2007: 101.

244 About *varcas*- “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see PROFERES 2007: 91 and 101-104; GONDA 1992: VI/2 366-376.

KS 23.6: 81,19-82,2

23.6 *pūṣā sanīnām̐ somo rādhasāmiti pūṣā hi sanīnāmīšo somo rādhasām rāsvetyatsometi somo vā etadetasmai rāsate yadvanute ā bhūyo bharetyāgame hyenam bhūyo devassavitā vasorvasudāveti savitṛprasūta eva pratigṛhṇātyātmano'hiṃsāyai devebhyo vai yajño na prābhavattam dakṣiṇobhissamabhāvayanyaddīkṣito bhṛtiṃ vanute yajñameva sambhāvayati tasmāddvādaśa rātrīrdīkṣito bhṛtiṃ vanvīta yāvāneva yajñastam sambhāvayati //*

‘Puṣan of rewards, Soma of gifts’ he says<sup>245</sup> for Puṣan is master of rewards, Soma of gifts. ‘Give o Soma so much’ he says, Soma shall indeed give to this one<sup>246</sup> what he appropriates. ‘Bring more hither’ he says, he indeed attained<sup>247</sup> more ‘God Savitṛ, good Givers of goods’ the one roused by Savitṛ receives for not hurting himself. The sacrifice did not originated from the gods, they affected<sup>248</sup> him with *dakṣiṇās* (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 (*sambhāvayati*) him.

2x *vanute*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.

*vanvīta*: opt. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *dīkṣita*, the *adhvarādīmāṃ trayāṇām vidhi*.

KS 30.8: 189,20-21

30.8 *paśupateḥ paśavo virūpāssadṛśā uta / teṣāṃ yaṃ vavnire devāstaṃ svarāḍanumanyatām //*

Of Paśupati<sup>249</sup> are the sacrificial animals, manifold and similar; of them<sup>250</sup>, what the gods have appropriated,

245 *iti*

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.

247 *āgame*, stative aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.

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 *dakṣiṇāḥ* (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.

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.

250 *sadṛśā uta / teṣāṃ* could be also interpreted referring *teṣāṃ* to *sadṛśāḥ* (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

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

this may the self-ruler<sup>251</sup> approve/grant (*anu man-*).

*vanvire*: ind. perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Ā → *vanvire*, (so corr. Ch., cf. also KEITH 1914: 226 n. 1) stative aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.

Vājasaneyya occurrences (Mādhyam̐dina recension)

VS 10.4 (t-u)

10.4 *mádhumatīr mádhumatībhiḥ pṛcyantām máhi kṣatrām kṣatríyāya vanvānáḥ \ ánādhṛṣṭāḥ sīdata sabhájaso máhi kṣatrām kṣatríyāya dádhatiḥ \*

The full of sweet be mingled with the full of sweet, appropriating for the king<sup>252</sup> the great power to rule; sit untouched, with the juicy vigour<sup>253</sup>, putting a great power to rule into the king.

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

Griffith in ARYA 1999: 124 “obtaining”

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.

(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.

251 *svarāj-* 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 (*ānu manyasva*). According to TS what Agni should approve is the sacrificial action itself performed by the priests.

252 *kṣatríyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. PROFERES 2007: 97.

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.

### III.2.2 Brāhmaṇa Occurrences

#### ṚV mantras

#### ṚV Brāhmaṇa occurrences

Text of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is after The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* of the Ṛgveda 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 mīlhuṣa*<sup>254</sup> *imām me agne samidham imām upasadam vaner*<sup>255</sup> *iti / tisrastisrah sāmīdhenyo rūpasamṛddhā etad vai jajñasya samṛddham / yad rūpasamṛddham yat karma kriyamānam ṛg abhivadati*

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

*vaneḥ*: opt. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. I-VI cl.

GELDNER: I 283 “mögest du gern annehmen”

RENOU: XII 45 “agréer”

KEITH 1920: 126 “do accept”

Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 2.6.1ab; ĀŚS 4.8.11.

Rite

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

254 *upasadyāya mīlhuṣa* = ṚV 7.15.1

255 *imām* [...] *vaner* ṚV 2.6.1ab

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 *upasadam*.

257 *tisrastisrah*, 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 ṚV 7.15.1 and 2.6.1.

258 *karman*, “action” and “sacrifice” as the pivotal action, is the cognate object of *kriyamānam*, the etymologic accusative cannot be reproduced in the translation, unless with an hazard: “the sacrifice which is being sacrificed”.

AB 2.2

2.2.1-13 *añjmo yūpam, anubrūhīty āhādhvaryur / añjanti tvām adhvare devayanta ity anvāhādhvare hy enam devayanto 'ñjanti / vanaspate madhunā daivyenety / etad vai madhu daivyam yad ājyam / yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā dravineha 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 ucchrīyamānāyābhirūpā / yad yajñe 'bhirūpaṃ tat samṛddham / varṣman pṛthivyā adhīty / etad vai varṣma pṛthivyai / yatra yūpam unminvanti / sumitī miyamāno varco dhā yajñāvāhasa ity āśīṣam āśāste / samiddhasya śrayamānaḥ purastād iti / samiddhasya hy eṣa etat purastāc chrayate / brahma vanvāno ajaram suvīram ity āśīṣam evāśāsta / āre asmad amatim bādhamāna ity. aśanāyā vai pāpmāmatis, tām eva tad ārān nudate yajñāc ca yajamānāc colc crayasva mahate saubhagāyety āśīṣam evāśāsta*

‘You do recite -we anoint the post-’ says the *adhvaryu* ‘Those seeking for the gods<sup>259</sup> anoint you in the sacrifice’ he recites for indeed those seeking for the gods anoint this one in the sacrifice ‘O Vanaspati<sup>260</sup>, with divine sweetness<sup>261</sup>’ 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<sup>262</sup>, bestow the radiance<sup>263</sup> to the one who carries the sacrifice’ he prays this prayer<sup>264</sup>; ‘Reclining in front of the kindled one<sup>265</sup>’ for he reclines in front of the kindled one ‘Appropriating for yourself the sacrificial formula<sup>266</sup> that never gets old, full of warriors’ he prays this prayer ‘Pulling away from us the lack of inspiration<sup>267</sup>’ 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.

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

GELDNER: I 345 “gewinnst”

KEITH 1920: 135 “winning”

Vedic Web

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

Rite

259 *devayāntaḥ* is referring to the priests and probably to the *yajamāna* and his wife who are performing the rite, see PROFERES 2003a: 323.

260 Vanaspati is the Lord of wood, of the forest but also the tree of desire; despite the homophony, the noun-root *vān-* 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).

261 *mādhv-* is sweetness connected with the honey, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra, in his commentary to the TB, glosses with *madhurasā* “juice of honey”, while AB 2.2 explains the divine sweetness as clarified butter, *ājya-*.

262 *sūmiti-* “a well made fixing” (GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 555] “schöne Aufrichtung”). *Sūmitī miyamānaḥ* represents a frequent figure of speech (a figura etymologica) being the noun a derivate of the same root as the part. pres. *mīyamānaḥ*.

263 About *vārcas-* “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see PROFERES 2007: 91 and 101-104; GONDA 1992: VI/2 366-376.

264 *āśīṣam āśāste*, the verb *āśams-* is used here with *āśīṣam* as cognate object or etymologic accusative.

265 i.e. to the east.

266 *brāhman-*, here understood with the original value of “sacred formulation” (THIEME 1952: 91-129), see also GONDA 1950<sup>a</sup>.

267 *āmāti-*, KEITH (1920: 135) translates the word *āmāti-* 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 *āmāti-* is indeed the hunger, the evil”. There is also *amāti-*: EWAia: I 95-96 “etwa” Gebilde, Erscheinung, Bildnis”; GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 90] “Wucht, Gewalt”. The accent in the Ṛgvedic stanza speaks clearly for *āmāti-*.

Mantras for the *hotṛ* in the animal sacrifice, *paśukahotraniruktiḥ*, *yūpasamkāraḥ* (TB 3.6.1). According to PROFERES (2003a: 322-329), the ṚV 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 *imā dhānā gḥṛtasnūvaḥ / hārī ihā upavakṣataḥ / indram sukhātame rāthe<sup>268</sup> // eśā brahmā prā te mahé / vidāthe śamsiśam hārī / yā ṛtvīyaḥ prā te vanve / vanúšo baryatām mádam / indro náma gḥṛtām ná yāḥ / hāribhiś cāru sécate / śrutó gaṇā á tvā viśantu // [.11] hārivarpasam girah<sup>269</sup> //*

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

*prā vanve*: ind. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.  
GELDNER: III 304 “habe Gewinn”

*vanúśaḥ*: gen. masc. sing. of *vanús*  
GELDNER: III 304 “Eifrigen”

#### Vedic Web

268 *imā dhānā* [...] *rāthe* = ṚV 1.16.2.

269 *prā te mahé* [...] *hārī*; *prā te vanve* [...] *mádam*; *gḥṛtām ná* [...] *sécate* and *á tvā* [...] *gírah* = ṚV10.96.1. The stanza 10.96.1 is intermingled three times, *yā ṛtvīyaḥ*, *indro náma* and *śrutó gaṇā* are inserted, and it ends in the following paragraph (*anuvāka*). The meaning of the verses is not extremely different from the Ṛgvedic 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 ṚV 10.96.1 it is the *máda*-, pleasant as the clarified butter, which pours out.

270 About the interpretation of the word *sukhā-* see Rossi 2003.

271 As to the exact meaning of *vidātha-* 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.

272 Miśra glosses *prāptakālaḥ madah*, and Sāyaṇa also *vasantādyṛtukāle prāptah*.

273 DUMONT 1963: 453 “pours out”, both Miśra and Sāyaṇa gloss *samavaiti* “to mix together”.



Mantra: ṚV 10.96.1; TB 3.7.9.6; AVŚ 20.30.1.

Rite

*Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi*. *Upahoma* (subsidiary) *mantras* 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 ásitam deva vásvaḥ / dávidhvato raśmáyaḥ súrasya / cárma\_iva\_ávādhvas támo apsvántaḥ*<sup>274</sup> // *parjányāya prágāyata / divás putráya mīdhūse / sá no yavásam icchatu //ácchā vada tavásam gīrbhīr ābhīḥ*<sup>275</sup> // *stuhī parjányam námasā vivāsa / kánikradad vṛṣabhó jīradānuḥ / rēto dadbātu oṣadhīṣu gārbham*<sup>276</sup> //

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<sup>277</sup>, dropping abundantly, should put his semen, the offspring, into the plants.

*vivāsa*: impv. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. I cl., from desiderative stem *vivās*  
GELDNER: II 86 “bitte her”

Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 4.13.4 Vamadeva; 5.83.1 Atri.

Rite

*Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi*. *Upahoma* (subsidiary) *mantras* 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 abhī pátho ásyām / náro yátra devayávo mādanti / urukramásya sá hí bándhur itthā / víṣṇoḥ padé paramé mádhva útsaḥ*<sup>278</sup> // *kratvā dā asthu śréṣṭhaḥ / adyá tvā vanvánt suréknāḥ / máрта ānāśa suvrktīm*<sup>279</sup> // *imā brahma brahmavāha / priyá ta ā barbhīḥ sīda / víhī sūra puroḍāsam //*

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<sup>280</sup> the best here due to his skills, the mortal, rich in possession, appropriating you, has gained an excellent praise. The formulas, o you to

274 *avavyáyann ásitam* [...] *apsvántaḥ* = ṚV 4.13.4b-d.

275 BS: *ābhī*.

276 *ácchā vada* [...] *gārbham* = ṚV 5.83.1.

277 *kánikradad*, pres. part. of the intensive form of *krand* “to cry out”.

278 *tád asya* [...] *útsaḥ* = ṚV 1.154.5.

279 *kratvā dā* [...] *suvrktīm* = ṚV 6.16.26.

280 *asthu* Sāyaṇa: “*astu*” and so reads also Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra.

### III.2 Occurrences: Ṛgvedic mantras, Non-Ṛgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

whom the sacrificial formulas are offered, be dear to you, sit on the sacrificial grass, crave for<sup>281</sup> the sacrificial cake.

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

GELDNER: II 111 “der [...] gewinnt”

RENOU: XIII 50 “gagnant”

Vedic Web

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

Rite

*Darśapūrnamāseṣṭi*. *Upahoma* (subsidiary) *mantras* 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

2.4.8.1 *sá pratnaván nāvīyasā / ágne dyumnéna samyátā / byhát tanantha bhānúnā*<sup>282</sup> / *návam nú stómam agnáye / diváh śyenāya jījanam / vásoḥ kuvíd vanáti nah*<sup>283</sup> / *svāruhā yásya śríyo dṛśé / rayír vīravato yathā / ágre yajñásya cétataḥ* //

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

*vanáti*: subj. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. I-VI cl.

GELDNER: II 191 “wird erwirken”

RENOU: XIII 62 “gagnera-t-il”

GOTO 1987: 284 “wird uns lieben”

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra and Śāyaṇa’s gloss: “ददाति”

Vedic Web

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

Rite

*Darśapūrnamāseṣṭi*. *Upahoma* (subsidiary) *mantras* 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.

281 *vīhí*, from *vī-* EWAia: II 509: “sich zuwenden, streben”.

282 *sá pratnaván* [...] *bhānúnā* = ṚV 6.16.21.

283 *návam nú* [...] *nahī* = ṚV 7.15.4; KS 40.14.

284 *sá* referred to a 2<sup>nd</sup> person can be considered as an emphatic particle.

285 As to the use of injunctive to express the intention of the subject, see HOFFMANN 1967: 253.

286 *śyena-* indicates any bird within a praying context and especially the eagle that brings the *soma* to the men.

287 *vásōḥ 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 *vanáti* (Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra: *dadāti*) The use of the genitive creates a sound play with the verb.

288 *dṛśé* scil. ‘*bhavanti*’, literally “are at seeing”, cf. the commentaries: Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra *dṛśe darśanīyāḥ bhavanti*; Śāyaṇa *dṛśe darśanāya nāśriyo bhavanti*.

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra commentary: *aṣṭame'nuvāke sarvamapyāgrayansūktam*. The *āgrayana* is the first libation of the evening Soma-pressure.

TB 2.8.5.2-3

2.8.5.2 *gharmāsvedobhir drāviṇaṃ vyānaṭ*<sup>289</sup> / *brāhmaṇaspāter abhavad yathāvaśām* / *satyó manyúr mábi kármā kariṣyatāḥ* / *yó gá udājat sá divé ví ca abhajat* / *máhi iva rītiḥ śávasā sarat*<sup>290</sup> *pṛthak*<sup>291</sup> / *indhāno agnīm vanavad vanuṣyatāḥ* / *kṛtābrahmā śūśuvad rātāhavya ít* / *jāténa jātám áti sṛt prásarsate*<sup>292</sup> / *yám yaṃ yújaṃ kṛnuté brāhmaṇaspātiḥ*<sup>293</sup> / *brāhmaṇaspate suyāmasya viśvāhā* // [.3] *rāyāḥ syāma rathyò vívasvataḥ* / *viréṣu virām̐ úpapṛṅgdhi nas tvám* / *yád īśāno brāhmaṇā véṣi me hávam*<sup>294</sup> / *sá ij jánena sá viśá sá jánmanā* / *sá putráir vájaṃ bharate dhánā nṛbhiḥ* / *devānām yáḥ pitáram āvivāsati* / *śraddhāmanā havíṣā brāhmaṇaspātim*<sup>295</sup> / *yás te pūṣan nāvo antāḥ*<sup>296</sup> / *śukráṃ te anyát*<sup>297</sup> *pūṣā imā āśāḥ*<sup>298</sup> / *prápathe pathām ajanīṣṭa pūṣā*<sup>299</sup> //

With those perspiring with heat he<sup>300</sup> attained (movable) goods” “the ardour<sup>301</sup> of Brahmanaspati, who is going to do a great sacrifice, as a desire<sup>302</sup>, 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<sup>303</sup> may get swollen, over the son born from the son survives<sup>304</sup> 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<sup>305</sup> 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<sup>306</sup>, 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*)<sup>307</sup>” “Puṣan was born in the distance<sup>308</sup> of paths.

*vanavat*: subj. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. VIII cl.

GELDNER: I 308 “überwinden”

RENOU: XV 60 “vaincra”

WITZEL-GOTŌ 2007: 392 “wird besiegen”

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

289 *gharmāsvedobhir* [...] *vyānaṭ* = ṚV 10.67.7d, *pādas* a-c are quoted in the preceding paragraph.

290 Dumont: *śávasā 'sarat*.

291 *brāhmaṇaspāter* [...] *pṛthak* = ṚV 2.24.14.

292 Dumont: *áti sá prásarsṛte*, probably based upon ṚV 2.25.1, so reads also MS 4.14.10.

293 *indhāno* [...] *brāhmaṇaspātiḥ* = ṚV 2.25.1; MS 4.14.10.

294 *brāhmaṇaspate* [...] *hávam* = ṚV 2.24.15 (*váyasvataḥ*, gen. sing. from *váyasvat* “mächtig, labungsreich” Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 1215]).

295 *sá ij* [...] *brāhmaṇaspātim* = ṚV 2.26.3.

296 *yás te* [...] *antāḥ* = *pratika* of ṚV 6.58.3a (here *samudre* is left).

297 *śukráṃ te anyát* = *pratika* of ṚV 6.58.1a.

298 *pūṣā imā āśāḥ* = ŚŚ 6.10.4.

299 *prápathe* [...] *pūṣā* = ṚV 10.17.6a.

300 The subject is Brahmanaspati and those ‘perspiring with heat’ are the bulls, cf. the end of the paragraph before.

301 For *manyú-* see EWAia: II 313 “erregter Sinn, Eifer”.

302 *yathāvaśām*: “as a desire” or “at will”.

303 For *rātāhavya* see ELIZARENKOVA 1995<sup>a</sup>: 62-3.

304 This translation follows Dumont’s emendation, being *áti sá prásarsṛte* to be found also in MS 4.14.10

305 Or “of Vivasvat”, for the connection between Vivasvat and the sun, see MACDONELL 1898: §18.

306 *vāja-* “Wettkampf, Sieg, Lohn” EWAia: II 540.

307 These (*yás te* [...] *pūṣā*) are three different *mantras* that are to be recited as *puronuvākya* -according to Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra. They are indeed fragments of Ṛgvedic *ṛcā*, probably used as *pratikas*. For *āśā-* see GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 187] “Weltgegend, Himmelsrichtung”.

308 *prápatha-* “in die Ferne führender Weg” GRASSMANN [1875] ed. 1996: 876.

### III.2 Occurrences: Ṛgvedic mantras, Non-Ṛgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

GELDNER: I 308 “das Neider”  
RENOU: XV 60 “les (adversaires) cherchant-à-vaincre”  
WITZEL-GOTÓ 2007: 392 “die Angreifenden”

*ā vivāsati*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. form desiderative stem *vivās*  
GELDNER: I 309 “zu gewinnen sucht”  
RENOU: XV 61 “cherche à gagner à soi”  
WITZEL-GOTÓ 2007: 393 “zu gewinnen sucht”

#### Vedic Web

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

#### Rite

Animal sacrifices with special prayers (*kāmya*).

As to 2.8.5.2, it consists of the *mantras* to be recited during the sacrifice of a polled ox to Brahmanaspati.

As to 2.8.5.3 it consists of initial words or entire *mantras* 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 indra súṣmo maghavan te ásti // [.8]śíkṣā sákhibhyaḥ puruhūta nṛbhyaḥ / tvám hí dṛḍhá maghavan vícetāḥ / ápāvṛdhi párivṛtim ná rádhah<sup>309</sup> / indro rájā jágataś carṣanínám / ádhi kṣámi vísurūpaṃ yád ásti / táto dadātu dásúṣe vásūni / códad rádha úpastutaś cid arvāk<sup>310</sup> / tám u ṣṭuhi yó abhíbhūtyojāḥ / vanván̄ avātaḥ puruhūtá indraḥ / áṣādham ugrám̄ sáhamānam ābhīḥ // [.9]gīrbhír vardha vṛṣabhám̄ carṣanínám<sup>311</sup> /*

The bosterousness<sup>312</sup> 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<sup>313</sup>; 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<sup>314</sup>, victorious<sup>315</sup> [.9] bull of the people increase with these chants.

*vanván̄*: part. pres. nom. masc. sing. VIII cl.  
GELDNER: II 115 “Sieger”

*avātaḥ*: nom. masc. sing. from *avāta*  
GELDNER: II 115 “unbesiegte”

#### Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 7.27.2; 7.27.3; 6.18.1.

#### Rite

Animal sacrifices with special prayer (*kāmya*).

309 *yá indra* [...] *rádhah* = ṚV 7.27.2.

310 *indro rájā* [...] *arvāk* = ṚV 7.27.3.

311 *tám u* [...] *carṣanínám* = ṚV 6.18.1.

312 *súṣma*- “Prasseln, Ungestüm” EWAia: II 649.

313 *párivṛtim*, ṚV 7.27.2 reads *párivṛtam*, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mísra glosses with *parivāra* “cover, surrounding”.

314 *ugrá-* is connected with the same root of *ójas-* “juice” and the vigour that comes from the juice.

315 *sáhamānam* can be read as part. pres. nom. masc. sing. *Ā* from *sab-* “to prevail”, as well as a compound: “full of *manas-*”. Here I would think both meaning are intended.

*Mantras* 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 *vayám syāma pátayo rayīnám*<sup>316</sup> / *sá veda putráḥ pitáraṁ sá mātáram / sá sūnúr bhuvat sá bhuvat púnarmaghaḥ / sá dyām áurṇod antárikṣaṁ sá súvaḥ / sá viśvā bhúvo abhavat sá ábhavat*<sup>317</sup> / *ágniṣomā sávedasā / sáhūtī vanataṁ gíraḥ / sám devatrā babbhuvathuḥ*<sup>318</sup> / *yuvám etáni diví rocanáni / agnís ca soma sákratū adhattam*<sup>319</sup> //

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<sup>320</sup>; 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. 2<sup>nd</sup> du. I-VI cl.  
GELDNER: I 120 “nehmet gut auf”  
RENOU: IX 73 “trouvez agréable”  
DUMONT 1960: 5 “do you accept”  
WITZEL-GOTÓ 2007: 166 “liebt”

Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 4.50.6d<sup>321</sup>; TS 2.2.12.1a-d; AVŚ 7.1.2; ṚV 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, *mantras* of the *hotṛ*: *yājyā* for the oblation of clarified butter to Prajāpati and *puronuvākyā* of the *hotṛ* for the second offering of the rice cake to Agni and Soma.

TB 3.6.1.1-(2)

3.6.1.1 *añjānti tvām adhvaré devayántaḥ / vánaspate mádhunā*<sup>322</sup> *dáiviyena / yád ūrdhvás tiṣṭhād*<sup>323</sup> *dráviṇā ihā dhattāt / yád vā kṣáyo mātúr asyā upásthe*<sup>324</sup> / *úcchrayasva vanaspatē / vārṣaman pṛthivyā ádhi / súmitī mīyamānaḥ / vārco dhā yajñāvāhase*<sup>325</sup> / *sámiddhasya śráyamānaḥ purástāt / bráhma vanvánó ajáraṁ suvīram* // [2] *āre asmád ámatim bádhamānaḥ / úcchrayasva mahatē sáubhagāya*<sup>326</sup> //

316 *vayám syāma* [...] *rayīnám* = ṚV 4.50.6d, this is a recurring *pāda* cf. ṚV 5.55.10d; 8.40.12d; 8.48.13d; 10.121.10d.

317 *sá* [...] *ábhavat* = TS 2.2.12.1a-d where is referred to Agni; AVŚ 7.1.2.

318 *ágniṣomā* [...] *babbhuvathuḥ* = ṚV 1.93.9; TS 2.3.14.1g; MS 4.10.1; KS 4.16.

319 *yuvám* [...] *adhattam* = ṚV 1.93.5a-b; TS 2.3.142a; MS 4.10.1; KS 4.16.

320 *ábhavat* WHITNEY 1905: VII 389 “he came to be here”.

321 This is a recurring *pāda* within the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, cf. ṚV 5.55.10d; 8.40.12d; 8.48.13d; 10.121.10d.

322 BI *mádhunā*.

323 DUMONT (1962: 248) corrects *tiṣṭhā* according to the reading of ṚV 3.8.1.

324 *añjānti* [...] *upásthe* = ṚV 3.8.1

325 *úcchrayasva* [...] *yajñāvāhase* = ṚV 3.8.3

326 *sámiddhasya* [...] *sáubhagāya* = ṚV 3.8.2

### III.2 Occurrences: Ṛgvedic mantras, Non-Ṛgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

Those seeking for the gods<sup>327</sup> anoint you in the sacrifice, o Vanaspati<sup>328</sup>, with divine sweetness<sup>329</sup>, 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<sup>330</sup>, bestow the radiance<sup>331</sup> to the one who carries the sacrifice; reclining in front of the kindled one<sup>332</sup>, appropriating for yourself the sacrificial formula<sup>333</sup> that never gets old, full of warriors, [.2] pulling away from us the lack of inspiration<sup>334</sup>, incline upwards, to a good great fortune.

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

GELDNER: I 345 “gewinnst”

DUMONT 1962: 249 “winning”

#### Vedic Web

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

Mantra and Prose: AB 2.2.

#### Rite

*Mantras* for the *hotṛ* in the animal sacrifice, *paśukahotraniruktiḥ*, *yūpasamṣkārah*. *Mantras* to be recited when anointing and erecting the sacrificial post. According to PROFERES (2003a: 322-329), the ṚV 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 'śaṁśiṣaṁ hári / yá ṛtvíyaḥ prá te vanve / vanúṣo haryatám mádam / índro nāma ghytám ná yāḥ / háribhiś cāru sécate / śrutó ganá á tvā visantu / háriverpasam gírah<sup>335</sup> / índrādhipaté 'dhipatis tvám devānām asi / ádhipatiṁ mām / áyusmantam várcasvantam manuṣyèṣu kuru<sup>336</sup> //*

327 *devayántaḥ* is referring to the priests and probably the *yajamāna* and his wife who are performing the rite, see PROFERES 2003a: 323.

328 Vanaspati is the Lord of wood, of the forest but also the tree of desire; despite the homophony, the noun-root *vān-* 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).

329 *mādhu-* is sweetness connected with the honey, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra glosses with *madhurasā* “juice of honey”, while AB 2.2 explains the divine sweetness as clarified butter, *ājya-*.

330 *sūmiti-* “a well made fixing” (GRASSMANN 1875 [ed.1996: 555] “schöne Aufrichtung”). *Sūmiti mīyamānaḥ* represents a frequent figura etymologica, being the noun a derivate of the same root as the part. pres. *mīyamānaḥ*.

331 About *vārcas-* “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see PROFERES 2007: 91 and 101-104: GONDA 1992: VI/2 366-376.

332 i.e. to the east.

333 *brāhman-*, here understood with the original value of “sacred formulation” (THIEME 1952: 91-129), see also GONDA 1950<sup>a</sup>.

334 *āmāti-*: KEITH (1920: 135) translates, in the same passage in AB 2.2, the word *āmāti-* with “misfortune”; PROFERES (2003a: 324) prefers “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 *āsanāyā vai pāpmāmatis* “the *āmāti-* is indeed the hunger, the evil”. There is also *amāti-*: EWAia: I 95-96 “etwa’ Gebilde, Erscheinung, Bildnis”; GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 90] “Wucht, Gewalt”. The accent in the Ṛgvedic stanza speaks clearly for *āmāti-*.

335 *prá te* [...] *mádam*; *ghytám ná* [...] *sécate* and *á tvā visantu* = ṚV 10.96.1. The stanza 10.96.1 is intermingled tree times: *yá ṛtvíyaḥ*, *índro nāma* and *śrutó ganá* are inserted. The meaning of this passage is not extremely different from the Ṛgvedic 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 ṚV 10.96.1 it is the *máda-*, pleasant as the clarified butter, which pours out.

336 *índrādhipaté* [...] *kuru* = ApSS 14.3.5.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

I invoked<sup>337</sup> in the great meeting [rite]<sup>338</sup> your two steeds, I appropriate for my self the intoxicating drink dear to you who desire to appropriate it, which is in proper time<sup>339</sup>; Indra by name, famous in the troops, is the one who, together with the bays ones, pours out<sup>340</sup> 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<sup>341</sup> ruler among the human beings.

*prá vanve*: ind. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> 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: ṚV 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 (Mādhyam̐dina recension)

##### ŚB 4.2.1.12

4.2.1.12 *sá śrīnāti / máno na yéṣu hávaneṣu tigmaṃ vípaḥ śácya vanutho drávantā ā yah śáryābhīstuvīṃṣṇó asyáśrīnitādísam gábhastāv<sup>342</sup>eṣá te yóniḥ prajāḥ pāhīti<sup>343</sup> sādātyādyò hyetamánvādyā himāḥ prajā vísastásmādāhīśá te yóniḥ prajāḥ pāhīti*

He mixes ‘In the invocations of whom you both<sup>344</sup>, 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;<sup>345</sup> ‘This is your womb, protect the creatures’ he places it down; because the food correspond to this<sup>346</sup>, because these creatures, the people, are food, therefore he says ‘This is your womb, protect the creatures’.

337 *prá aśam̐śiṣam*, ind. aor. while in TB 2.4.3.10 following ṚV 10.96.1 there is the inj. pres. *śam̐śiṣam*.

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.

339 Míśra glosses *prāptakālah madah*, and Sāyaṇa also *vasantādyrtukāle prāptah*.

340 DUMONT 1963: 453 “pours out”, both Míśra and Sāyaṇa glosse *samavaiti* “to mix together”.

341 *āyusmantam vārcasvantam*: the first adjective is a common one for a king. As to the second adjective, see Gonda’s study on *vārcas-* (GONDA 1992: VI/2 366-376) for the connection with the sun having a brightening effect and for the frequency of the couple *āyus – vārcas*.

342 *máno ná* [...] *gábhastau* = ṚV 10.61.3.

343 *máno ná* [...] *pāhi* = VS 7.17.

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.

345 According to Pischel’s interpretation (*ibid.*), this passage is related to the myth of Indra, the very manly *par excellence*, weakening the will, the intention (*ādísam*) of Cyavana. Cyavana stole the *soma* and tried to fool the god. Indra makes him bow again to his power.

346 Scil. *grāha*, the cup for the libation.

*vanuthab*: ind. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> 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: ṚV 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 atrāpītiḥ / ná ha vā asyāputrātāyai ká caná śaṅká bhavati yá evámetaú mithunāvātmānaṃ cāgnīm ca vedānnaṃ ha tvèvāyāmātmā dáksīnānnaṃ vanute yó na ātméti hyapyṣiṇābhyūktam*

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

*vanute*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ā VIII cl.  
GELDNER: III 327 “bringt ein”  
EGGELING 1882-1900: IV 285 “winneth”

Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 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 *bandhus* 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 *ṛc* 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.).

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).

348 Agni.

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 *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* it mostly means “vital breath” or “self” and this older meaning is meant in the Ṛgvedic *pāda*, quoted at the end; therefore there the word *ātmán*- has been translated with “vital breath”.



ŚB 12.4.4.2

*tād āhuḥ | yāsyāgnāyaḥ saṃsṛjyēran kīm tātra kārma kā prāyaścittir iti sā yādi parāstād dābann abhīyāt tād vidyāt parāstān mā śukrām āgann ūpa mām devāḥ prābhūvañ chrēyāñ bhaviṣyāmīti yādy u asya hīdayam vy evā likhéd agnāye vivicaye 'stākāpālam puroḍāsam nīrvapet tāsyaāvṛttā evā saptādaśa sāmīdhenīr ānubrūyād vārtraghnāv ājyabhāgau virājau samyājyè āthaité yājyānuvākyaè vi te viśvag vātājūtāso agne bhāmāsah śuce śucayaś caranti tuvimrakṣāso divyā nāvagvā vānāvānanti dhṛṣatā rujānta<sup>350</sup> ity ātha yājyā tvām agne mānuṣīr īdate viśo hotrāvīdam vivicim ratnadhātām gūhā sāntam subhaga viśvādarsatam tuviśvanāsam suyājam ghṛtaśrīyam ity ātho ha yó dviṣatō bhrātṛvyād vyāvīrṭseta tātkāma etāyā yajeta vi haivāsmād vartata etād evā tātra kārma //*

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 *sāmīdhenī*<sup>351</sup> verses, the two portion of clarified butter are related to the slaying of Vṛtra, the two formulas (*samyājyā*<sup>352</sup>) are two *virāj*<sup>353</sup> verses and these are the invitatory (*yājyā*) and offering (*anuvākya*) formulas ‘Shaken everywhere by the wind<sup>354</sup>, your gleaming/glowing flames, o gleaming/glowing Agni, are moving in every direction, big destroyers<sup>355</sup>, like the divine Navagva<sup>356</sup>, 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<sup>357</sup> moreover one who wants to get rid of the hostile rival<sup>358</sup> 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. I-VI cl.  
 GELDNER: II 98 “überwinden”  
 RENO: XIII 40 “triumphent”  
 EGELING 1882-1900: V 192 “overpower”

Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 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.

350 *vi te* [...] *rujānta* = ṚV 6.6.3; TS 3.3.11.2e.

351 Verses recited while the fire is kindled.

352 *samyājyā*- term for *anuvākya* and *yājyā* mantras.

353 The *virāj* is a metre of 10 or a multiple of ten *pādas*.

354 *vātājūtāsah*, from *vātājūta*- a *tatpuruṣa* whom second member is a PPP (*vāta*- + *jūta*- <rad. *jū*- “to press forward, to excite”) cf. WHITNEY 1888: §1273.

355 *tuvimrakṣāsah*, from *tuvimrakṣāk*- a *karmadhāraya* (*tuvi*- “much” + *mṛakṣak*- “destroying”) that could have been chosen also for a sound-play, considering the remarkable heights of sophistication reached by Ṛgvedic poetry in using phonetic features as communicative means.

356 A family of mythical priests, named among the Fathers, and connected, as the Angiras, to the myth of Indra and the cows of Panis, cf. MACDONELL 1898: §55B.

357 This formula is the stanza ṚV 5.8.3.

358 Literally a cousin, a son of a father’s brother: *bhrātṛvya*-.

Non-ṚV mantras – Brāhmaṇa prose

YV Brāhmaṇa occurrences

Taittirīya occurrences

TB 2.4.3.4-5

non-ṚV mantra and ṚV mantra

2.4.3.4 *agnís ca viṣṇo tápa uttamám maháḥ*<sup>359</sup> / *dīkṣāpālēbhyo vānataṃ hí śakrá / víśvair deváir yajñīyaiḥ samvidānāu / dīkṣām asmái yajamānāya dhattam // prá tád viṣṇuḥ stavate víryāya / mṛgó ná bhímáḥ kucaró giriṣṭhāḥ / yásya úruśu trīṣu vikrámaneṣu / ádhikṣiyānti bhúvanāni víśvā*<sup>360</sup> // *nú mártō dayate saniṣyān yáḥ / víṣṇava urugāyāya dáśat // [.5] prá yáḥ satrácā mánasā yájātai / etávantaṃ náryam ávivāsāt*<sup>361</sup> // *vícakrame pṛthivīm eśá etām / kṣétrāya viṣṇur mánuṣe daśasyān / dhruvāso asya kīráyo jánāsaḥ / urukṣitīm sujānimā cakāra*<sup>362</sup> // *trír deváḥ pṛthivīm eśá etām / vícakrame śatārcasaṃ mahitvā / prá viṣṇur astu tavāsaḥ távíyān / tveṣám hy asya sthāvīrasya náma*<sup>363</sup> //

O Viṣṇu, and Agni, appropriate for the protectors of the *dīkṣā*<sup>364</sup> the great highest heat, o you two indeed powerful<sup>365</sup>, jointed with the sacrifices to all gods, give the *dīkṣā* to the sacrificer; Viṣṇu is praised for the heroic deed<sup>366</sup>, 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<sup>367</sup> of such an extent, who will sacrifice with the whole spirit. This here strode through this earth, according it as land for Manu<sup>368</sup>, the people of this one, weak<sup>369</sup>, became steady, he, creating good things, made a spacious dwelling. Three times the god strode through this earth endowed with one hundred verses<sup>370</sup>, mighty, should Viṣṇu be superior, stronger than the strong, for the name of him, powerful-solid, is vehement<sup>371</sup>.

*vānataṃ*: impv. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> du. I-VI cl.

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra's gloss: “याचतम्”

Mitra's edition: “दीक्षापालेभ्योज्वनते - Sāyaṇa's gloss: “अवनते याचतम्”

*ā vivāsāt*, subj. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. I cl., from desiderative stem *vivās*

359 *agnís ca* [...] *maháḥ* = AB 1.4.8

360 *prá tád* [...] *bhúvanāni víśvā* = ṚV 1.154.2 (*vīryeṇa*).

361 *nú mártō* [...] *āvivāsāt* = ṚV 7.100.1.

362 *vícakrame pṛthivīm* [...] *cakāra* = ṚV 7.100.4.

363 *trír deváḥ* [...] *nāma* = ṚV 7.100.3.

364 *dīkṣāpāla*, “guardian of the initiation”, usually said of Agni and Viṣṇu, cf. PW: III 643.

365 *śakrá*, dual referred to Agni and Viṣṇu, the two gods are here, as the comment of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra suggests (*īndrasamānau yuvām*), compared with Indra, to which the semantic field of the root *śac-* is often connected.

366 *vīryāya*, the comment of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra says: *tasminkarmāni yajamānānām vīryārtha*, while ṚV 1.154.2 has *vīryeṇa* (Geldner “ob seiner Heldentat”) and the AV Śaunaka recension has *vīryāni*. 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.

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” (*etávantaṃ*). What the man wants to appropriate through the sacrifice is, then, the presence, the power of the god.

368 The primordial man, the Man.

369 As to the meaning of the world *kīrī-* “poet” or “humble” cf. Pischel in PISCHEL-GELDNER 1889-1901: 216-228; KEWA: I 215 and EWAia: I 357. Here, in opposition to *dhruvā*, *kīrī-* 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.

370 *śatārcas-*, Ṛgvedic *hapax*, GRASSMAN 1875 [ed1996: 1375] “hundertfach zu preisen” and so GELDNER “die hundert Sānger hat”, suggesting a connection with *anṛce* in ṚV 1.160.4d.

371 *tveṣá-* EWAia: I 686 “erregt sein, ungestüm”

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

GELDNER: II 269 “gewinnen möchte”

#### Vedic Web

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

#### Rite

*Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi*. *Upahoma* (subsidiary) *mantras* addressed to Agni and 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. The *mantra* 2.4.3.5 is applicable in the *yājamānaja* (*jaḥa*: “muttering, whispering”).

#### TB 3.5.10.5

3.5.10.5 *úttarām devayajyām āśāste / bhūyo haviṣkāraṇam āśāste / divyām dhāma āśāste<sup>372</sup> / vísvam priyām āśāste / yād anēna haviṣā āśāste / tād aśyāt tād ṛdhyāt / tād asmai devā rāsantām / tād agnir devó devébhyo vānate / vayām agnēr mānuṣāḥ / iṣṭām ca vītām ca / ubhé ca no dyāvāpṛthivī áṁhasaḥ pātām<sup>373</sup> / ihá gatir vāmāsya idām ca / námo devébhyaḥ<sup>374</sup> //*

He<sup>375</sup> prays<sup>376</sup> 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<sup>377</sup>, 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<sup>378</sup>, and let both the heaven and the earth protect us from the enclosure; here and this<sup>379</sup> is the procedure for what is desirable, honour to the gods.

*vānate*: subj. aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā I-VI cl.

EGGELING 1882-1900: XII 253 “may solicit”

DUMONT 1960: 9 “obtains”

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra’s gloss: “संभजते”

#### Vedic Web

Mantra: ŚB 1.9.1.14-16; .19-20; MS 4.13.9 (*vanutām* – impv. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā - *idām* instead of *idām ca*).

#### Rite

*Darśapurṇamāseṣṭi*. The after offering formulas, *anuyājas* of the *hotṛ* for the Suktāvāka,

372 *úttarām* [...] *āśāste* cf. ŚB 1.9.1.14-16.

373 *yād* [...] *pātām* cf. ŚB 1.9.1.16; .19-20.

374 *vísvam* [...] *devébhyaḥ* = MS 4.13.9 (*vanutām* and *idām*)

375 i.e. the sacrificer.

376 *ā śas-* “pray for” but also “desire”.

377 *ṛdhyāt* optative to be distinguished from the preceding precative, *aśyāt*.

378 *iṣṭām ca vītām ca* is an ambiguous clause: *iṣṭām* could be interpreted as “what is desired” (cf. EGGELING 1900: 253) or “what is offered” (so glosses Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra: *yāganimitām svargādikam*), while *vītām* from *vī-* means “to crave for”, cf. EWAia: II 509-510 “sich zuwenden, verfolgen”, but ŚB.1.9.1.20 reads *vittām* (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”.

379 Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra glosses *ihá haviṣe vāmāsya vananīyasya dhanasya gātiḥ vyāptiḥ | idām ca etaddhāvirlakṣaṇam*, 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”.

evocation of blessing. *Mantras* to be repeated by the *hotṛ* when the *adhvaryu* is about to throw the Darbha grass into the fire.

Śatapatha occurrences (Mādhyam̐dina recension)

ŚB 1.9.1.19

1.9.1.19 *apīdvai kánīyasīḥ sapta / tādasmai devā rāsantāmīti tādasmai devā anumanyantāmītyevaitādāha tādāgnīrdevó devébhyo vanutām vayāmagneḥ pári mánuṣā iti tādagnīrdevó devébhyo vanutām vayāmagnerádhyasmā etádvānavāmāhā<sup>380</sup> ityevaitādāha*

Even less<sup>381</sup> 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 *vanutām*: impv. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.  
EGGELING 1882-1900: I 253 “may solicit”

*vanavāmāhai*: subj. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> 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 *hotṛ* for the Suktāvāka, evocation of blessing.

ŚB 3.8.2.22

3.8.2.22 *áthāha stokebhyó 'nubrūhīti / sá āgneyī stokebhyó 'nvāha tadyádāgneyī stokebhyo 'nvāhetāḥpradānā vai vṛṣṭirito hyagnīrvṛṣṭim vanute sá etai stokāretántstokānvanute tá eté stokā varṣanti tasmādāgneyī stokebhyó 'nvāha yadā śṛtā bhāvati*

Then he says “Recite at the two drops” he recites at the two drops verses addressed to Agni<sup>382</sup>; the reason why he recites verses for Agni at the two drops is that the rain exists through the oblation from this world<sup>383</sup>, 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<sup>384</sup> becomes cooked / roasted.

2x *vanute*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.  
EGGELING 1882-1900: II 196 “obtains”

380 *tādasmai* [...] *etádvānavāmāhā* cf. TB 3.5.10.5; MS 4.13.9: 212,10-13 and *tādāgnīrdevó* [...] *etádvānavāmāhā* cf. TS 2.6.9.8.

381 *kánīyasīḥ*, from *kánīyas-* “smaller, less”, *scil. āśīṣaḥ*.

382 The *mantras* to be recited are ṚV 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 *stokā-* is repeated through all the 5 stanzas.

383 *itāḥpradāna-*, “offering from here”.

384 the *omentum*.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

#### Vedic Web

∅

*van-* is used in connection with the rain only once in ṚV 10.98.3 where Devāpi is asking for the rain to come (*vṛṣṭīm śám̐tanave 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

*tāḥ sārdbhamaúdumbare pātre samávanayati / mádhumatīrmádhumatībhiḥ pṛcyantāmīti rásavatī rásavatībhiḥ pṛcyantāmītyevaitádāha máhi kṣatrām̐ kṣatríyāya vanvānā iti tát̐paró 'kṣam̐ yájamānāyāsīsamāśāste yadāha máhi kṣatrām̐ kṣatríyāya vanvānā iti*

He pours them<sup>385</sup> together in equal share into an *udumbara*<sup>386</sup> vessel ‘The full of sweet be mixed with the full of sweet’ ‘The full of sap<sup>387</sup> be mixed with the full of sap’ so he says ‘Appropriating a great regal power for the king<sup>388</sup>’ out of sight he prays a prayer asking<sup>389</sup> 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”

#### 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 –*varcās-* “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.

385 He pours together the waters that are before divided in sixteen different kinds.

386 A vessel made with the wood of the *udumbara* plant (*Ficus Glomerata*).

387 *rásavat-*, from *rása-* “sap, juice, essence”, in ŚB 5.3.4.3 is compared to *urjasvat-*

388 *kṣatríyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. PROFERES 2007: 97.

389 *āsīsamāśāste*, the verb *āsams-* is used here both as “to pray” “to ask for” with two object: *āsīsam* (cognate object or etymologic accusative) and *tāt*.

### 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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:

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

Śuklayajurvedic school: *Vājasaneyya Saṃhitā*–*mādhyamīna* rec.:7; *–kāṇvya* rec.: 6; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*: 6.

Kṛṣṇayajurveda schools: *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*: 15; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*: 17; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*: 18; *Kaṣīṭhalakāṭha 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 RV) in the liturgical Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas there are 71 ṚV *mantras* and 24 non-ṚV *mantras* 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 Ṛgvedic 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* in the Upaniṣads. The ritual meaning, “to make someone enter the circle of sacrifice”, can be found actually only in the Ṛgvedic *mantras*, 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 *Ṛgveda 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 Ṛgvedic 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 ṚV 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.

RV 6.16.28 *agnis tigmeṇa śociṣā yāsad viśvaṃ ny ātrīnam \ agnir no vanate rayīm \*

Agni with the sharpened flame may pass over<sup>390</sup> all evil, may Agni appropriate the richness for us.

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

RV 1.162.22 *sugavyaṃ no vājī svāśvyam puṃsāḥ putrāṃ utā viśvāpūṣaṃ rayīm \ anāgāstvam no āditiḥ kṛṇotu kṣatram no āśvo vanatām haviṣmān \*

390 *ni yā-* “to attack, assail, pass over”, like a carriage.

### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

Wealth of cattle may the steed / price-winner<sup>391</sup> bring us, wealth of horses, sons and all sustaining riches; may Aditi make us free from sin<sup>392</sup>, 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-ṚV *mantras* 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 *nārya-* (see TB 2.4.3.5 quoting ṚV 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 ṚV 7.15.4 quoted in KS 40.14 and in TB 2.4.8.1, as well as in ṚV 7.94.9 quoted in KS 4.15:

ṚV 7.94.9 *gómāḍ dhíran̄yavad vāsu yád vām ásvāvad ímahe / índrāgnī tād 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 ṚV 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-*:

*vī te víšvag vātajūtāso agne bhámāsaḥ / śuce śúcayaś caranti / tuvimrakṣāso divyā nāvagvā vānā vananti dhṛṣatā rujāntaḥ*

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 ṚV *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 ṚV 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 atrāpītiḥ / ná ha vā asyāputrātāyayī ká caná śānká bhavati yá evámetaú mithunāvātmānaṃ cāgnūm ca vedānaṃ ha tvèvāyāmātmā dākṣiṇānnaṃ vanute yó na ātméti hyapyṣiṇābhbyūktam*

This<sup>393</sup> is also here indeed, there is absolutely no fear of him<sup>394</sup> for the lack of offspring, for the one who knows indeed these two, the body (*ātmán*<sup>395</sup>) and Agni being in pairs, but also the body is the food “Dakṣiṇa

391 *vājīn-*, 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.

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 *saṃjāptaḥ paśubḥ*, and also the Greek term *āyos* 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.

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).

394 Agni.

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 *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* it mostly means “vital breath” or “self” and this older meaning is

appropriates the food that is our vital breath (*ātman*)” indeed it has been said by a seer.

**b /c-** As we discovered in the functional analysis of the Ṛgvedic 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 Ṛgvedic 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 ṚV 8.19.20 as well as in MS 4.14.10; TB 2.8.5.2 both quoting ṚV 2.25.1.

ṚV 2.25.1 *indhāno agnīm vanavad vanuṣyatāḥ / kṛtābrahmā śūśuvad rātāhavya it / jātēna jātām āti sā pāsarsṛte / yām yaṃ yūjam kṛnuté brāhmanaspātīḥ.*

The one who kindles the fire would appropriate those who are eager to appropriate him; having performed the formula, he who offer the oblation<sup>396</sup> 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 ṚV 6.18.1 that we find in TB 2.8.5.7-8; in ṚV 6.16.20 quoted by KS 20.14 and in ṚV 9.96.11 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 Ṛgvedic quotations only.

**d-** The fourth group, represent those occurrences where the men *van-* an **element of the rite**: the most frequent word is still *gīra-*, the chant -often related to Agni: the ṚV stanzas 1.93.9 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):

ṚV 1.93.9 *āgnīṣomā sāvedasā sāvātī vanataṃ gīraḥ / sām devatrā babhūvathuḥ // yuvāmetāni divī rocanānyagnīśca soma sākṛatū adhattam / yuvām sīndhūmrabhīśasteravadyādāgnīṣomā amuñcatam grbhītān //*

O Agni and Soma, together invoked, having the same knowledge, appropriate the chants, you are<sup>397</sup> 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 Ṛgvedic text, is strikingly decreasing in the post Ṛgvedic attestations: in the ṚV it occurs 6 times, while only *rayīm* and *vāryāni* -both concrete objects- are more frequent, occurring 7 and 6 times each (cf. Data-base in §VI.2). While *dūvas* as a metaphor for the oblation though it is the object of *van-* only in ṚV 6.16.18, nonetheless it is to be found quoted in KS 20.14:

20.14 *nahī te pūrtām akṣipād bhūvan nemānām vaso / āthā dūvo vanavase* <sup>398</sup>// *āgniragāmi bhārato vṛtrahā*

meant in the Ṛgvedic *pada*, quoted at the end; therefore there the word *ātman-* has been translated with “vital breath”.

396 For *rātāhavya* see ELIZARENKOVA1995<sup>a</sup>: 62-3.

397*babhūvathuḥ*: ind. perf. 2<sup>nd</sup> dual from *bhū-* “you have become”, has here a perfective aspect- is resultative.

398 *nahī te* [...] *vanavase* = ṚV 6.16.18.



### III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

*purucetanaḥ divodāsasya sapatih // sá hí víśvāti pārthivā rayim dāsan mahitvanā / vanvānm āvāto ástṛtaḥ*<sup>399</sup>//

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

Interestingly enough, we are often presented with Ṛgvedic 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 *brāhman-* that is used only once in the ṚV 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. *Vīpas* also occurs only once in ṚV 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 *samidha* together with *upasāda* appears only once in ṚV 2.6.1a-b and is used in AB 1.25.7 for the *Upasad*<sup>404</sup> in the Soma sacrifice (*samidham imām upasadam vaneḥ*).

To sum up, if we confront the features of this group with the corresponding one in the Ṛgvedic functional analysis, we may notice that it is possible to outline the same patterns as in the Ṛgvedic 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-Ṛgvedic quotations.

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

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

Ritual meaning: 6

Non-ritual meaning: 65

*Saṃhitās:*

JS 3.8.8 (ṚV 8.45.23) *van-* without object - not significantly modified  
(*brahmādviṣam* ^ *brahmādviṣaḥ*)

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

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

*Brāhmaṇas:*

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

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

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

399 *sá hí* [...] *ástṛtaḥ* = ṚV 6.16.20.

400 *Nemānām* (gen. m. pl.) from *néma-* EWAia: II 56 “einer, ein anderer, mancher”, cf. also OLDENBERG 1901: 315.

401 *bhārata-* is a frequent epithet of Agni, as well as *bharata-*, name of the ancestor of one of the mythical Vedic families.

402 Divodāsa is the name of many figures within the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*, often connected with Agni. See MAYRHOFER 2003: 44.

403 As to the use of double accusative with verbs of giving cf. WHITNEY 1888: §277.

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.

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

Ritual meaning: 2

Non-ritual meaning: 22

TS 1.6.4.2; .3: non-ṚV 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 ṚV *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 ṚV 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 devá drávinam áyajantām*  
*máyy āśír astu máyi deváhūtiḥ*  
*daivyā hótāro vanuṣanta pūrve*  
*āriṣṭāḥ syāma tanúvā suvirāḥ*

May the gods bestow on me through sacrifice movable goods, may the prayer<sup>405</sup> be in me, may be in me the divine invocation; may the two former divine *hotṛ* 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 *mantras* during the construction of the altar, namely during the laying down of the bricks on the *dhiṣṇya* 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 Ṛgvedic *hapax*<sup>406</sup>, namely *vanuṣanta*. The second variation is the substitution of *pūrve*, “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 Ṛgvedic 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

405 For the form *āśír* 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.

406 Cf. GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 1205].

case. In the AVŚ -whose redaction is by general consensus a later one- the corresponding *pāda* reads as follow: *daiváḥ 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 Ṛgvedic 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 suréḅnāḥ mārta*, is ṚV 6.16.26 and is to be found in TB 2.4.6.2, while the second one is in TB 2.8.5.3 quoting ṚV 2.26.3

TB 2.8.5.3 *sá ij jānena sá viśá sá jānmanā / sá putráir vājam bharate dhánā nṅbhiḥ / devánāḃ yáḥ pitáram ávivāsati / śraddhāmanā haviṣā brāhmaṇaspátim*

This one, indeed, with the people, this with the tribe, this through births, this with sons brings the victory<sup>407</sup>, 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 ṚV 5.83.1:

2.4.5.5 *avavyáyann ásitam deva vásvaḥ / dávidhvato raśmáyaḥ sūryasya / cárma\_iva\_ávādhus támo apsvántaḥ<sup>408</sup> // parjányāya práḅyāta / divás putráya miḅhúṣe / sá no yavásam icchatu //ácchā vada tavásam gīrbhír ābhíḥ<sup>409</sup> / stuhí parjányam námasā vivāsa / kánikradad vṣabhó jīrādānuḥ / réto dadhāt v oṣadhīṣu gárbham<sup>410</sup> //*

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<sup>411</sup>, 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 ṚV, 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”<sup>412</sup>.

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

TS 1.6.4.2; .3 *émá agmann áśíṣo dóhakāmā índravantaḥ // vanāmahe dhukṣīmāhi prajám ísam*

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 úrjam máhyam śastrám duhām á mā śastrásya śastrám gamyāt / indriyāvanto vanāmahe dhukṣīmāhi prajám ísam*

407 *vāja-* “Wettkampf, Sieg, Lohn” EWAia: II 540.

408 *avavyáyann ásitam* [...] *apsvántaḥ* = ṚV 4.13.4b-d.

409 BS: *ābhí*

410 *ácchā vada* [...] *gárbham* = ṚV 5.83.1.

411 *kánikradad*, pres. part. of the intensive form of *krand* “to cry out”.

412 Cf. Geldner’s translations of the desiderative occurrences with “einladen” or “her bitten”.

### III.3 Analysis of the Occurrences

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 *indravantah*, TS 3.2.7.2 has *indriyāvanto* instead. They are apportioned in different rites: both *mantras* are to be recited by the sacrificer, but the first occurrence is for the after-offerings in the Darśapūrnamāseṣṭi, whereas the second one is at the end of the *bahiṣpavamāna stotra* during the Agniṣṭoma. Moreover they are at the YV-Level, being *mantras* 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 Ṛgvedic 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 Ṛgvedic 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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-Ṛgvedic 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* in the Non-Ṛgvedic Passages: a Chronological Perspective

As to the change in the ritual language between the *Ṛgveda Samhitā* 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 ṚV-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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* 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-Ṛgvedic 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 *mantras* 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 *mantras* 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-ṚV *mantras*

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 *ṣatrá-* and only once with *vārcas-* (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, let's see for instance MS 4.4.2:

MS 4.4.2 *dévīrāpo mádhumatīḥ sámsṛjyadhvam máhi ṣatráṃ ṣatríyāya vanvāná ityetá hí ṣatrásya vantrírānādhṣṭāḥ sīdatórjasvatirmáhi vārcāḥ ṣatríyāya dádhātírityetá hí ṣatrásya dhātīḥ.*

‘O divine waters, full of sweet, be mingled, appropriating for the king<sup>413</sup> the great power to rule’ so he says, for they, brilliant<sup>414</sup>, are those who appropriate the power to rule ‘sit untouched, possessing the vital energy<sup>415</sup>, 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 *vārcas-*<sup>416</sup> “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 *vṛṣṭi-*:

MS 4.1.10 *ósadhīnām áhiṃsāyaia vrajám gacha gosthānamíti chándāṃsi vai vrajó gosthānaśchándāṃsyevāsmāi vrajám gosthānam karoti vārṣatu te parjānyādevá vṛṣṭim vanute badhāná deva savitāḥ śatēna páśaiḥ paramásyām parāvátīti*

‘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 Savitr, 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

413 *ṣatríyāya* “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. PROFERES 2007: 97.

414 *éta:* “of variegated colour, shining”. Worth noticing that both *éta* and *vārcas* are connected with the brilliance of light, which is one of the element used to describe the royal power.

415 As to the meaning of *úrjasvat-*, *úrj-* see Scharfe 1985: 545 and PROFERES 2007: 101.

416 About *vārcas-* “vital power, brilliance” EWAia: II 516 “Glanz”, see PROFERES 2007: 91 and 101-104; GONDA 1992: VI/2 366-376.

### III.3 Analysis of the Occurrences

*mantra* indeed says *várṣatu te parjanya*: 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 agnir devó devébhyo vānate vayám agnér mānuṣā ity āhāgnir devébhyo vanuté vayám manuṣyēbhya*

'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 virūpāssadṛśā uta / teṣāṃ yaṃ vavnire devāstaṃ svarādanumanyatām*

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

*Svarāj-* 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 (*ānu manyasva*). According to TS what Agni should approve is the sacrificial action itself performed by the priests. Though the syntax<sup>417</sup> 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* and the same one seems to spread within the non-*Ṛgvedic mantras*; 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*:

*dhātā dadātu no rayīm íśāno jāgatas pātīḥ / sá nah pūrñéna vāvanat*

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

The subject is the god Dhātṛ 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

417 *sadṛśā uta / teṣāṃ* could be also interpreted referring *teṣāṃ* to *sadṛśāḥ* (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.

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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* is often glossed with “to share” or “to grant”.

At the level of the Brāhmaṇa-*mantra* there are only 4 non-ṚV *mantras*. 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 *mantras*, thus suggesting that this entire segment originates in YV-*mantra* Level. The last occurrence of this group is ŚB 5.3.4.27<sup>418</sup>, the “water *mantra*”. It is clearly connected with the same *mantras* 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 *ḥṣatrā-* 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<sup>419</sup>: 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 *sātāṃ sanim* “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-* from which the noun *sani-* is derived, indeed AMANO (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 *adhvarādīnām trayāṇām vidhi*, and we find that almost the same words have been used in both occurrences.

MS 3.6.9 *nānyātradīkṣitaṃ dīkṣitavimitāntśūryo 'bhiniṃrōcennābhyūdiyāddīkṣitavratāmevā tādyajñō vai devānām nā śāmbhavattām bhṛtyā śāmbhāvayanyādbhṛtīm vanutē yajñāsya śāmbhūtyai rāsvēyatsomēti yādbrūyādetāvadasya syāt.*

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<sup>420</sup> of gods, indeed, they furnished him<sup>421</sup> with support when he appropriate the support for the

418 *mādhumatīrmādhumatībhiḥ pṛcyaṅtāmīti rāsavatī rāsavatībhiḥ pṛcyaṅtāmītyevaitādāha māhi ḥṣatrām ḥṣatṛīyāya vanvānā iti tātparō 'kṣaṃ yājamānāyāśīśamāsāste yadāha māhi ḥṣatrām ḥṣatṛīyāya vanvānā.*

419 Cf. CALAND 1908: 8-10.

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.

421 The object of the sentence is the consecrated and, according to the KS, what they give to him is the *dakṣinā*.

### III.3 Analysis of the Occurrences

production<sup>422</sup> of the sacrifice ‘Give so much, o Soma’, be in his possession<sup>423</sup> 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 *mantras* “*pūṣā sanīnāṁ 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 sanīnāṁ somo rādhasāmiti pūṣā hi sanīnāmīso somo rādhasām rāsvetyatsometi somo vā etadetasmai rāsate yadvanute ā bhūyo bharetyāgame hyenam bhūyo devassavitā vasorvasudāveti savitr̥prasūta eva pratigṛhṇātātmano’hiṁsāyai devebhyo vai yajño na prābhavattam dakṣiṇobhissamabhāvayanyaddīkṣito bhṛtiṁ vanute yajñameva sambhāvayati tasmāddvādaśa rātrīrdīkṣito bhṛtiṁ vanvīta yāvāneva yajñastam sambhāvayati //*

‘Puṣan of rewards, Soma of gifts’ he says<sup>424</sup> for Puṣan is master of rewards, Soma of gifts. ‘Give o Soma so much’ he says, Soma shall indeed give to this one<sup>425</sup> what he appropriates. ‘Bring more hither’ he says, he indeed attained<sup>426</sup> more ‘God Savitr̥, good Givers of goods’ the one roused by Savitr̥ receives for not hurting himself. The sacrifice did not originate from the gods, they affected<sup>427</sup> him with *dakṣiṇās* (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 (*sambhāvayati*) him.

Within the section which is more similar in the two occurrences, there are indeed four statements, *devebhyo vai yajño na prābhavattam dakṣiṇobhis samabhāvayanyad dīkṣito bhṛtiṁ vanute yajñameva sambhāvayati 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 *saṁ 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 *dakṣiṇāḥ* (nourishment) or, more generally, the support (*bhṛti-*) to the consecrated. With that he generates the sacrifice, and the sacrifice will, at the end, reach the gods.

In KS 10.6 the Naimiṣyas<sup>428</sup> celebrated a *sattra* sacrifice<sup>429</sup>, and, as they finished, they

As to the *dīkṣita*, see, among others, the analysis of HEESTERMAN 1964.

422 *sāmbhūtyai*, dat. sing. f. (for the dative in *-ai* in analogy with *-ī* declension, see MACDONELL 1916: §98b n.4) from *sāmbhūti* “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 ṚV (cf. GRASSMANN 1875).

423 Lit. “be of him”.

424 *iti*

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.

426 *āgame*, stative aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. cf. KÜMMEL 1996. See also AVŚ 6.8.1.2c where *āgame* is quite unclear, cf. WHITNEY-LANMAN 1905: I 341-2 for possible interpretations of the word.

427 *saṁ 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 *dakṣiṇāḥ* (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.

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 Brāhmaṇa* 26.5; 28.4 and in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 1.2.13, being clearly of special sanctity.

429 *satramāsata*: it is maybe worth noticing the use of the verb *ās-* “to sit” together with *sattrā-* which literally means “session” deriving from the root *sad-* (cf. EWAia: II 690). For *satrā* instead of *sattrā*, 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.



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 ṛṣi Vaka (or Baka) Dālbhya and the king Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Although FALK (1986: 59) translates the verb *avanvata* with “verlangten”, it seems quite probable that the Namīśyas appropriated the bulls. The last occurrence is the rain (*vṛṣṭi-*) that is appropriated by the man from the Maruts.

MS 4.1.14: *marúto vai vṛṣṭyā īṣate te 'smai vṛṣṭim nīnayanti táto no vṛṣṭyávatéti marúdbhya evá vṛṣṭim vanute cakṣuṣpá agne 'si cakṣurme pāhóti cakṣurevāśya 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.

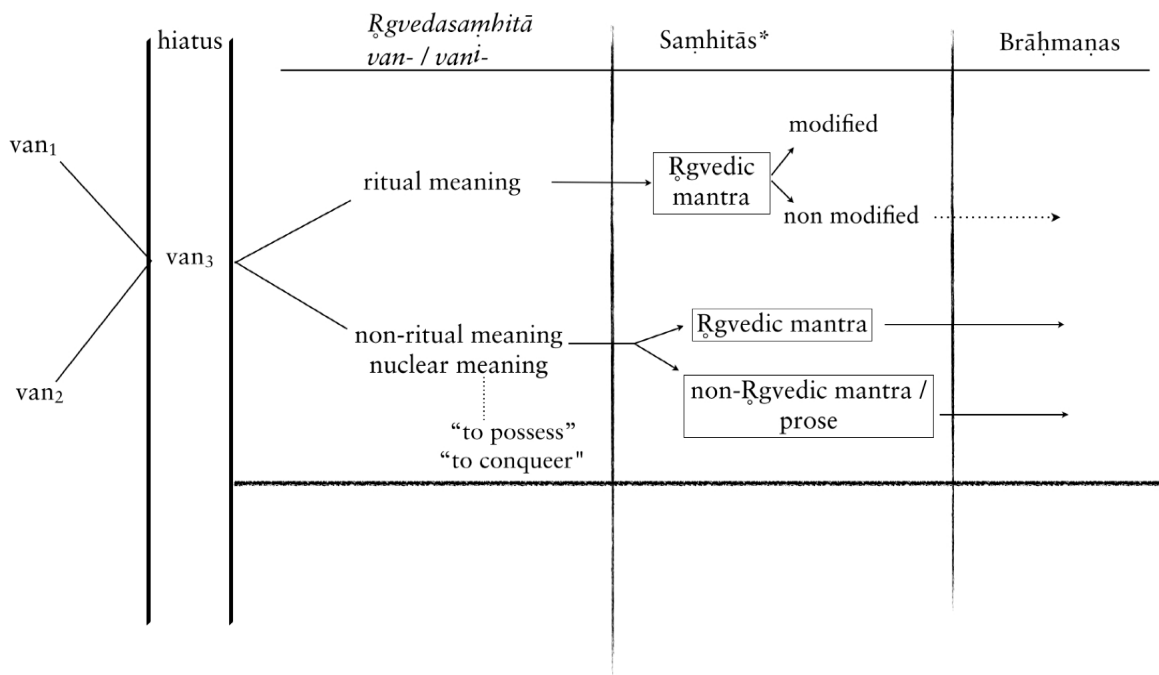
We find the rain as object of *van-* again in the the Brāhmaṇa-Level, where there is only one attestation of the verb, namely in ŚB 3.8.2.2. Here the object is once more the rain (*vṛṣṭi-*) appropriated by Agni appropriating the two drops (*stoká-*); as we have seen in MS 4.1.10 (non-ṚV *mantra*) and 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* and in the Ṛgvedic 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 *Samhitās* 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 verb seems, 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* 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 Mīśra and Sāyaṇa gloss with *yācate* “to ask” “to beg”. So we should strongly consider if the non-ṚV 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā*.

To sum up, it seems that in the post Ṛgvedic period the rite is gaining a new and stronger

### III.3 Analysis of the Occurrences

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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* is fading, as most of its occurrences are Ṛgvedic 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 Ṛgvedic 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 *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* a nominal derivative of the root, *vāmá-*, conveys this sense. We speculated (§ II.3) two linguistic traditions, one attested through the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* and the other through the Atharvavedic anthologies. It would be then useful to proceed focusing on the Ṛgvedic and the post-Ṛgvedic 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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 diastatic 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 Ṛgvedic attestations followed by the analyses the post-Ṛgvedic 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 Ṛgvedic occurrences

##### 1- *vanús-* *vanuṣya-*

Let us begin with the two derivatives of most frequent occurrence in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*: *vanús-*, adjective, secondary derivative of the verb root *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*, 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 RENO (1939: 181), an intermediary *nomen actionis* *\*vānus* “contro-partie funeste” of *vānas-* (by analogy with the paradigmatic sequence *tāras-* *tārus-* *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 RENO (ibid.) sees as the outcome of transition through the ambiguous *vānus-* – 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 śmā vanúšo náro*  
*abhímātim kāyasya cit*  
*tigmām ná kṣódaḥ pratighnānti bhúrṇayaḥ*

These heroes, truly, shatter, ever moving<sup>430</sup> like a rapid stream, the assault of the one who wishes to appropriate them<sup>431</sup>, whoever he may be.

*vanúṣaḥ*: genitive masc. singular, from *vanús-*  
 GELDNER: II 334 “Eifersüchtig”  
 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*  
*dyumátā yātam nṛvátā ráthena*  
*sánutyena tyájasā márt,yasya*  
*vanuṣyatām ápi śírśá vavrktam*

With inner wheels approach, you two, the circuit<sup>432</sup>, with the chariot rich in heroes and shining, in favour of our descent; thanks to secret isolation<sup>433</sup> 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*  
*sūktíyā patháḥ kṛṇubi prácaḥ*  
*yé duḥśáhāso vanúsā bṛhántas*  
*táms te áśyāma purukṛt purukṣo*

430 *bhúrṇayaḥ* (nom. m. pl.) from *bhúrṇi-* adjective derived from the root *bhur-* “to move compulsively and continuously” cf. Lat. *furere*.

431 *vanúṣaḥ* to be seen as genitive rather than accusative in analogy with *vanúsām árātīḥ* cf. 4.50.11.

432 Or in other words: start the journey in the sky; the Aśvins are addressed here.

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 1957<sup>a</sup>: 52 ff.

#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

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<sup>434</sup> the lofty<sup>435</sup> 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 kṛṇuhi jyáyiṣṭhā*  
*nṛmṇāni satrá sabhure sáhāmsi*  
*asmábhyaṃ vṛtrá subānāni randhi*  
*jabí vādhar vanúṣo mártṛasya*

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.

*vanúṣab*: genitive masculine singular, from *vanús-*  
GELDNER: I 449 “neidisch”  
WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 156 “begehrenden”

7.25.3 *śatám te śiprin ūtáyaḥ sudāse*  
*sahásvam sámsā utá rátir astu*  
*jabí vādhar vanúṣo mártṛasya*  
*asmé dyumnám ádhi rátnaṃ ca dhehi*

A hundred are your aids for Sudas<sup>436</sup>, 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 *t<sub>v</sub>vám agne vanuṣyató ní pāhi*  
*t<sub>v</sub>vám u naḥ sahasāvann avadyāt*  
*sám tvā dhvasmanvād abhí etu pāthah*  
*sám rayí sphayáyaḥ sahasrī*

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<sup>437</sup> endowed with shade<sup>438</sup>, wealth gathers a thousand times

434 In your honour.

435 Vgl. “victories” cf. *vājān* in *pāda* 9 91.4b *punāná inda ūrṇuhi ví vājān*.

436 One of the kings of the tribe of the Tṛtsu, companion to Indra, cf. MACDONELL- KEITH [1912] 1995: II 454.

437 *pāthah* (acc. n. sing.) from *pāthas-* 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 *pāthas-* see also OLDENBERG 1900: 599-608 [note *pāthah* (acc. m. pl.) from *pānthā* “road” only in 2 2.4].

438 *dhvasmanvād* (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

#### IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

that which is desired.

*vanuṣyatāḥ*: 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 nīpāti*  
*sameddhāram āmbasa uruṣyāt*  
*sujātāsah pári caranti vīrāḥ*

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.

*vanuṣyatāḥ*: 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 sábah sáhasa á namanti*  
*imé śámsam 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.

*vanuṣyatāḥ*: 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-* / *van-* 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 pūrvye dhána*  
*índratvotāḥ sāsahyāma pṛtanyató*  
*vanuṣyāma vanuṣyatāḥ*  
*nēdiṣṭhe asmín áhani*  
*ádhi vocā nú sunvaté*  
*asmín yajñé ví cayemā bhāre kṛtām*  
*vājayánto bhāre kṛtām*

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.

*vanuṣyāma*: present optative 1<sup>st</sup> pl. VIII cl.  
GELDNER: I 185 “wollen übertrumpfen”  
RENOU: XVII 46 “vaincre”  
WITZEL-GOTÓ 2007: 247 “möchten überwältigen”

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. SCHIMDT 1973: 1-39 and in particular 24.

#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

*vanuṣyatāḥ*: present participle (acc. m. pl.), denominative from *vanús-*  
 GELDNER: I 185 “Eifersüchtigen”  
 RENOUE: XVII 46 “qui cherchent à (nous) vaincre”  
 WITZEL-GOTÖ 2007: 247 “die zu gewinnen suchen”

2.25.1-2 *indhāno agnīm vanavad vanuṣyatāḥ*  
*kṛtābrahmā sūśuvad rātābhavya it*  
*jāténa jātām āti sá prá sarsyete*  
*yām-yam yujam kṛnuté brāhmaṇas pātīḥ //*  
*vīrébhir vīrān vanavad vanuṣyató*  
*góbhī rayīm paprathad bódhati tmánā*  
*tokām ca tāsya tánayam ca vardhate*  
*yām yam yujam kṛnuté brāhmaṇas pātīḥ*

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 Bṛhaspati 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<sup>439</sup>- and of himself present<sup>440</sup>; he whom Bṛhaspati has made an ally increases his offspring and that of his family.

*vanavat*: present subjunctive 3<sup>rd</sup> sing., VIII cl.  
 GELDNER: I 308 “wird überwinden”  
 RENOUE: XV 59-60 “vaincre”  
 SANI 2000: 90 “vincerà”  
 WITZEL-GOTÖ 2007: 392 “wird besiegen”

*vanuṣyatāḥ*: present participle (acc. m. pl.) denominative from *vanús-*  
 GELDNER: I 308 “Neider”  
 RENOUE: XV 59-60 “les (adversaires) cherchant-à-vaincre”  
 SANI 2000: 90 “desiderando vencerlo”  
 WITZEL-GOTÖ 2007: 392 “die Angreifenden”

*vanavat*: present subjunctive 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. VIII cl.  
 GELDNER I 308 *wird überwinden*  
 RENOUE XV 60: *vaincre*  
 SANI 2000: 91: “vincerà”  
 WITZEL-GOTÖ 2007: 392 “wird besiegen”

*vanuṣyatāḥ*: present participle (gen. m. sing.) denominative from *vanús-*  
 GELDNER: I 308 “des Neider”  
 RENOUE: XV 60 “les (adversaires) cherchant-à-vaincre”  
 SANI 2000: 91 “colui che lo vuol vincere”  
 WITZEL-GOTÖ 2007: 392 “die Angreifenden”

2.26.1 *ṛjúr ic chāṃso vanavad vanuṣyató*  
*devayānn id ádevayantam abhy āsat*  
*suprāvīr id vanavat pṛtsú duṣṭāram*  
*yájvéd áyajyor ví bhajāti bhójanam*

Let him who rightly prays<sup>441</sup> appropriate those who wish to appropriate him, let him who belongs to the gods

439 *paprathad* (perf. subj. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.) from the root *prath-* “to expand” “to extend”, perfect with resultative value - logical perf. (cf. DI GIOVINE 1996, in particular 273 ff.).

440 *bódhati* (ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.) from the root *budh-* “to be present” “to be self aware”, in RENOUE (XV 60) “veille-t-il sur lui-même”.

441 *ṛjúr ic chāṃsaḥ*: *tnesis* of *ṛjúrśāṃsaḥ* (nom. m. sing.) *bahuvrīhi* from *karmadhāraya* (*ṛjú-* “just, righteous” +

#### IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

overwhelm those who are lacking; let him who is a very zealous<sup>442</sup> appropriate in battles even those who are difficult to overwhelm, the priest distributes the food<sup>443</sup> of the impious.

*vanavat*: subjunctive present 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. VIII cl.

GELDNER: I, 309 “wird überwinden”

RENOU: XV, 61 “vaincre”

WITZEL-GOTÓ 2007: 393 “wird besiegen”

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

GELDNER: I 309 “die Neider”

RENOU: XV 61 “les (adversaires) cherchant-à-vaincre”

WITZEL-GOTÓ 2007: 393 “die Angreifenden”

8.40.7 *yád indrāgní jánā imé*

*vihváyante tánā girā*

*asmākebhīr nṛbhīr vayám*

*sāśahyāma pṛtanyatō*

*vanuṣyāma vanuṣyatō*

*nābhantām 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.

*vanuṣyāma*: present optative 1<sup>st</sup> pl., VIII cl.

GELDNER: II 353-4: *wollen überbieten*

RENOU: XIV 58: *vaincre*

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

GELDNER: II 353-4 “Eifer”

RENOU: XIV 58 “qui cherchent à vaincre”

9.77.4 *ayám no vidvān vanavad vanuṣyatā*

*īnduḥ satrācā mānasā puruṣtutāḥ*

*ināsya yāḥ sādane gārbham ādadhé*

*gāvām urubjām abhī āṛṣati vrajām*

Let this one, who has knowledge, appropriate those who wish to appropriate us, this drop<sup>444</sup>, thanks to the perfectly whole poetic thought much praised, that has placed the embryo in the lap of the strong<sup>445</sup> and flows towards the opened enclosure<sup>446</sup> of the cows.

*vanavat*: present subjunctive 3<sup>rd</sup> sing., VIII cl.

GELDNER: III 72 “soll überbieten”

RENOU: IX 26 “l'emporte”

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

*śāmsa-* “prayer”) “ he who rightly prays”.

442 *suprāvīr* (nom. m. sing.) from *suprāvī-* “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: *suprāvī* 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.

443 For the extremely extensive use of the term *bhójana-* “nourishment” in Hinduism cf. RENOU XV 61.

444 Of soma.

445 Metaphor for kindling fire, while according to GELDNER (III 72 n. 4c) what is strong (*ināsya*) is Soma itself.

446 *Urubjām* (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”.



IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

GELDNER: III 72 “Neider”

RENOU: IX 26 “qui nous jalouset”

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 (*spṛdho vanuṣyān vanúṣo ní jūrva*).

6.6.6 á bhānúnā pāṛthivāni jṛyāmsi  
mahās todāsya dhṛṣatā tatantha  
sā bādhasva āpa bhayā sáhobhi  
spṛdho vanuṣyān vanúṣo ní jūrva

Courageous, you have set out<sup>447</sup> 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.

*vanuṣyān*: 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 jalouset”

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  
namovṛdhāso mahinā tarutra  
vanvántu smā te ávasā samiké  
abhītim aryó vanuṣāṃ śávāmsi

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<sup>448</sup> appropriate the attack of the foreigner<sup>449</sup>, the strength of those who wish to appropriate them.

*vanvántu*: imperative present 3<sup>rd</sup> pl., VIII cl.

GELDNER: II 201-2 “sollen überwinden”

*vanuṣāṃ*: genitive masculine plural, from *vanús-*

447 “You have spread light on the earth” *tatantha* (ind. perf. 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 havīṣā devá 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”.

448 *vanvántu* (impv. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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?).

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: ‘*arí-vanús-*’: the outside enemy, foreigner, and the internal enemy (cf. RENOU VII 84).

## IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

GELDNER: II 201-2 “Neider”

7.83.5 *īndrāvaruṇāv abhī ā tapanti mā*  
*aghāni aryó vanúśām árātayaḥ*  
*yuvām hí vásva ubhāyasya rájatho*  
*ádha smā no avatam párye divi*

Oh Indra and Varuna, the foreigner’s evil acts are rekindled<sup>450</sup>, the evil intentions of those wishing to appropriate us; you two rule both the realms<sup>451</sup>, so, truly, grant us your favour, it being the decisive day.

*vanúśām*: genitive masculine plural, from *vanús-*  
GELDNER: II 255 “Neider”  
RENOU: V 100 “envieux”

In these two cases in particular we find the last two *pādas*, practically as if a formula, repeated identically in both stanzas.

4.50.11 *bṛhaspata indara vārdhataṃ naḥ*  
*sácā sá vām sumatír bhūtu asmé*  
*aviṣṭám dhíyo jigṛtám púramdhír*  
*jajastám aryó vanúśām árātīḥ*

Oh Bṛhaspati, oh Indra, let us prosper together, let this benevolence of yours be in us, protect the sights, reawaken abundance<sup>452</sup>, wear down the foreigner’s evil intentions<sup>453</sup>, of those who wish to appropriate us.

*vanúśām*: genitive masculine plural, from *vanús-*  
GELDNER: I 481 “Eifersüchtigen”  
RENOU: XV 65 “des envieux”  
SANI 2000: 89 “i rivali”  
WITZEL-GOTÖ-SCARLATA 2013: 199 “begehrenden”

7.97.9 *iyám vām brahmanas pate suvṛktír*  
*bráhma índrāya vajrīne akāri*  
*aviṣṭám dhíyo jigṛtám púramdhír*  
*jajastám aryó vanúśām árātīḥ*

For you two, oh Bṛhaspati 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.

*vanúśām*: 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 *jāmíṃr ájāmīn* “relatives and non-relatives”, which we find in 6.19.8, where the derivative *vanús* does not appear, but the verb root *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* is nevertheless there, and the plea is in fact to be able to appropriate the enemies, be

450 *aryáh* (gen. m. sing., Vedic form cf. WHITNEY 1888: §340.e) from *arí-* “enemy”, cf. previous note.

451 The earthly ones and the heavenly ones.

452 Here abundance of inspiration.

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).

they relatives are not, while we also find the same binomial together with the adjective *vanús* used in 6.25.3.

6.19.8 *á no bhara vṛṣaṇam śúsman indra  
dhanaspṛtam śúsuvāmsam sudákṣam  
yéna vámsāma pṛtanāsu sátrūn  
távotíbhīr utá jāmūṁr ajāmīn*

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.

*vāmsāma*: subjunctive aorist 1<sup>st</sup> pl.  
GELDNER: II 117 “können überwinden”

6.25.3 *indra jāmayā utá yé 'jāmayo  
arvācīnāso vanúṣo yuyujré  
t,vám eṣāṁ vithurá śávāmsi  
jahí vṛṣṇyāni kṛnuhí páraçaḥ*

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 vanuṣyāt - sánutyah*) as in 6.5.4.

6.5.4 *yó naḥ sánutyo abhidásad agne  
yó ántaro mitramaho vanuṣyāt  
tám ajárebhir vṛṣabhis táva sváis  
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<sup>454</sup>, 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*: subjunctive present 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 márt,yo  
mahó vrādhantamo diví*

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 (*sánutyah*) and the enemy nearby (*ántaro vanuṣyāt*): for both Agni is invoked, but with different function and attributes.

*prá prēt 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<sup>455</sup>, stand, oh Agni, before all.

*vanúṣaḥ*: nominative masculine plural from *vanús-*  
 GELDNER: I 208 “eifrig (Verehrer)”  
 RENO: XII 39 “(nous qui sommes) gagnés à toi”  
 WITZEL-GOTÖ 2007: 276 “Anhänger”

3.27.11 *agnīm yantúram aptúram*  
*ṛtásya yóge vanúṣaḥ*  
*víprā vājaiḥ sám indbate*

Agni, the guide, he who overtakes the waters<sup>456</sup>, the inspired sages, wishing to appropriate him, in application of the order, kindle him with the rewards of battle.

*vanúṣaḥ*: nominative masculine plural from *vanús-*  
 GELDNER: I 361 “eifrig”  
 RENO: XII 68 “qui veulent te gagner”  
 WITZEL-GOTÖ-SCARLATA 2013: 48 “eifrig”

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 Ṛgvedic and post-Ṛgvedic occurrences, what this god appropriated was *soma* (cf. 10 105.5c *vanóti śíprābhyām śíprīñvān*), so now we see him eager for that state of exaltation which the drink brings on.

10.96.1 *prá te mahé vidáthe śamsīsaṃ hári*  
*prá te vanve vanúṣo haryatám mádam*  
*ghṛtām ná yó háribhiś cáru sécata*  
*á tvā víśantu hárivarpasaṃ gíraḥ*

May I invoke in the great meeting [rite]<sup>457</sup> 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<sup>458</sup>, pours out; the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold.

*vanve pra*: present indicative 1<sup>st</sup> 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 matí*, following a pattern similar to *á vamsad dhítibhiḥ* in 10.26.2 and *gṛbhiḥ 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-* / *van-* 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

455 “To have you enter the circle of the sacrifice”.

456 *aptúram* (acc. m. sing.) from *aptúr-* (m. f. n.); interpretation of the term as derived from *áp-* “water” + root *tṛ-* “to cross” see THIEME 1952: 7 and LÜDERS 1951-1959: 235.

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.

458 “The golden” are the drops of Soma.

phonetic play the poet artfully creates bringing together the verb *vanuṣyate* in *pāda c* and the substantive *vāna-* (“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 váre pári priyó*  
*hárir váneṣu sīdati*  
*rebhó vanuṣyate matí*

The beloved steed<sup>459</sup> sits on the [pieces of] wood, all around the threads of wool<sup>460</sup>; he who prays “wishes to have enter the circle of the rite” thanks to the poetic work<sup>461</sup>.

*vanuṣyate*: present indicative 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.  $\bar{A}$ , denominative from *vanús-*  
 GELDNER: III 15 “wetteifert”  
 RENO: VIII 6 “est mis-en-état-de-grâce”

Besides stanza 4.44. 3, in which *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* is associated with the term *ṛtá-*, 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 vanuṣāḥ sápane*  
*rātīm divó rātiśācaḥ pṛthivyáḥ*  
*áhir budhnya utá naḥ śṛnotu*  
*várūtri 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<sup>462</sup>, and may Ahir Budhnya<sup>463</sup> listen to us, may the Shielding Goddess<sup>464</sup> with the Ekadhenu<sup>465</sup> protect us.

*vanuṣāḥ*: nominative masculine plural, from *vanús-*  
 GELDNER: II 220 “gegenseitig eifersüchtig”  
 RENO: XV 29 “à l’envi les uns des autres”

The second attestation is, in the first two *pādas*, 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*, *sīdanto vanuṣo yathā*, has been

459 The horse of the sacrifice.

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.

461 On the meaning of *matí-* “poetic thought expressed” (< root *man-* from which also *mānas-*) cf. GONDA 1963; MAGGI 1989: 63-114 and RENO I 2 ff.

462 Here with the ambiguity between the objective and subjective value of the compound adjective is deliberately maintained.

463 Appellation of Rudra ( “serpent that stays on the ground” or “serpent ( of the depths)” cf. GONDA 1980: I 63).

464 *várūtri* (nom. f. sing.) is one of the appellations of the Goddess.

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.

interpreted in various ways, but always through an interpolation: RENOUE (VIII, 39) takes there to be a principal “s’ asseyant au séjour du Rta” ; GELDNER (III, 50) substitutes *sīdantaḥ* with *sādinah*: “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 enemies, the antagonists (rather than the devout), while the seated posture (*sīdantaḥ* - 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 hetṛbhir yatá*  
*ā vājaṃ vājī akramīt*  
*sīdanto 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”  
 RENOUE: VIII 39 “dévots”

## 2- *vanú-*

Another derivative which can be taken to be much the same as *vanús-* (cf. AiGr: III §151a) and at the same time associated with the verbal adjectives *vānīyas-* / *vāniṣṭha-* (cf. AiGr: II 2 §273c), is the adjective *vanú-*.

RENOUE (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 “begehrnd”. 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā*. 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 RENOUE’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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*, which we have in fact seen also occurring in some of the “positive” attestations of *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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* or any possible paradigmatic comparisons.

4.30.5 *yátra devāṃ ṛghāyató*

#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

*vísuvāñ áyudhya éka ít  
tuvám indra vanúñr áhan*

Where you fought the gods who attacked you with violence, all, you alone; you, Indra, killed those who wished to appropriate you.

*vanún*: accusative masculine plural  
GELDNER: I 458 “Vanu’s”  
WITZEL-GOTÖ-SCARLATA 2013: 165 “Begehrenden”

10.74.1 *vásunām vā carkṛṣe íyakṣan  
dhiyā vā yajñair vā ródasīyoḥ  
árvanto vā yé rayimántaḥ sātáú  
vanúñ vā yé suśrúnaṃ suśrúto dhúḥ*

Desiring, the Vasu<sup>466</sup> 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<sup>467</sup> well listened to.<sup>468</sup>

*vanúm*: accusative masculine singular  
GELDNER: III 254 “Eifrigen”  
OLDENBERG 1912: 227 n. 1 “Eifrigen”

### 3- Verbal adjectives

Deriving from the root *van-* / *van-* 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 *Ṛgveda 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 devayā ájuṣṭam  
utányó asmád yajate ví cávaḥ  
púrvaḥ pūrvo yájamāno váníyān*

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.

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.

468 The many *vā* present in the stanza have more the value of a list than of a series of disjunctive elements.

#### IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

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<sup>469</sup> early in the morning there is the sacrificer: it is he who appropriates more than others.

*vānīyān*: nominative masculine singular from *vānīyas-*

GELDNER: II 82 “desto mehr gewinnt er”

WITZEL-GOTÖ-SCARLATA 2013: 328 “um so mehr gewinnt er”

10.117.7 *kṛṣānn it phāla āśitam kṛṇoti*  
*yānn ādhvānam āpa vṛṅkte caritraiḥ*  
*vādan brahmā āvadato vānīyān*  
*ṛṇānn āpīr āṛṇantam abhī śyāt*

The ploughshare that ploughs completes the road that opens with his legs<sup>470</sup>; the *Brahmān* 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<sup>471</sup>.

*vānīyān*: nominative masculine singular from *vānīyas-*

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 ná vāstor uśásām aroci*  
*yajñām tanvāná usíjo ná mánma*  
*agnír jánmāni devá ā ví vidvān*  
*dravád dūtó devayāvā vāniṣṭhaḥ*

[Agni] like a sun lit up the dawn as day rose; like the *Uśij*<sup>472</sup> 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.

*vāniṣṭhaḥ*: nominative masculine singular, from *vāniṣṭha-*

GELDNER: II, 189 “der am meisten erwirkt”

RENOU: XIII, 60 “procurant (aux hommes des biens) par excellence”

7.18.1 *tuvé ha yát pitáraś cin na indra*  
*víśvā vāmā jaritāro āsanvan*  
*tuvé gāvah sudúghās tvé bí ásvās*  
*tuvām vāsu devayaté vāniṣṭhaḥ*

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.

469 The repetition of a term can take on a distributed value, to be understood in this case as “every time that” cf. WITNEY 1888: §1257.

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”.

471 *vānīyān* is in a position central to the two symmetrical propositions and is to be taken in relation to both verbs.

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 (?)”).



#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

*vāniṣṭhaḥ*: nominative masculine singular, from *vāniṣṭha-*  
GELDNER: II 194 “du bringst am meisten Gut ein”

*vāmā*: accusative neuter plural, adjective functioning as noun from \**vanī -ma* (cf. EWAia: II 544)  
GELDNER: II 194 “Gute”

#### 4- *vanín-*

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-*, deverbial 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 deverbial 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 *vānin-* (kl. *vanin-* “im waldbewohnender Brahmane” (AiGr: II 2 §215d.).

3- *vanín-* (GRASSMANN, ELIZARENKOVA 1995<sup>b</sup>: 37, AiGr II 2 §214) or *vānin-* (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<sup>473</sup>; for a study on the meaning of this substantive, see ELIZARENKOVA 1995<sup>b</sup>: 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 *ā vāṃ rátham purumāyám manojúvaṃ*  
*jīráśuvaṃ yajñíyaṃ jīvāse huve*  
*sahásraketuṃ vanínaṃ śatáduvasuṃ*  
*śruṣṭivānaṃ varivodbhām abhí práyaḥ*

473 Cf. AiGr: II 2 §214.

## IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

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<sup>474</sup>, with a hundred goods, ready to listen, and who grants room I invoke to the libation<sup>475</sup>.

*vanínāḥ*: accusative masculine singular

GELDNER: I 161 “siegewohnte”

PIRART 1995 : 244 “enchanté” The author (ibid. 245) suggests – in this case alone, however – taking it here as a derivative from \**vána-* = *vānas-*, a term of decidedly obscure meaning or which he proposes the French substantive “charme”.

WITZEL-GOTŌ 2007: 217 “gewinnenden”

1.180.3 *yuvām páya usrīyāyām adhattam*  
*pakvām āmāyām āva pūrvīyaḥ góḥ*  
*antár yád vaníno vām ṛtapsū*  
*hvāró ná súcir yájate havīsmān*

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<sup>476</sup>, for you two, whose breath proceeds in order<sup>477</sup>.

*vanínāḥ*: 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 Bäumen”

3.40.7 *abhí dyumnāni vanína*  
*índram sacante áksitā*  
*pītvī sómasya vāvṛdhe*

The splendours<sup>478</sup>, indestructible, of him who is endowed with wood<sup>479</sup> proceed towards Indra; having drunk the soma, he has grown greater.

*vanínāḥ*: 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”

WITZEL-GOTŌ-SCARLATA 2013: 75 “Begehrenden”

### 8.3.5 *índram íd devátātaya*

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.

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.

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.

477 *ṛtapsū* (voc. m. du.) from *ṛtapsu-* (m.f.n.) *bahuvrīhi* of *karmadhāraya*, “those whose breath is the truth” from *ṛtá-* “order, law, truth” and *psu-* “breath” (cf. *ψῦξ* in Greek), a substantive present only in the R̥gvedic compounds (EWAia: II 199); for interpretation of the term cf. RENOU III 29 and THIEME 1971: 72-81 in particular 77-79.

478 *dyumnāni* (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 *vanínāḥ* refers.

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.

#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

*īndram prayatī adbhvaré*  
*īndram samiké vanīno havāmaha*  
*īndram dhānasya sātāye*

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<sup>480</sup>.

*vanīnaḥ*: nominative masculine plural

GELDNER: II 286 “eifrig” referring to Indra; evidently, reads *vanīnam*

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 (*rudrāsya sūnūm*) 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 *ghīsum pavākām vanīnam vicarṣaṇim*  
*rudrāsya sūnūm havāsā gṛṇīmasi*  
*rajastūram tavāsam mārutam gaṇām*  
*rjīṣīnam vṛṣaṇam saścata śriyē*

The vital, pure one, he who is endowed with wood<sup>481</sup>, the one whose bounds are wide<sup>482</sup>, son of Rudra we sing with the invocation<sup>483</sup>; 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.

*vanīnam*: accusative masculine singular

GELDNER: I 85 “siegewohnte”

RENOU: X 17 “victorieux”

WITZEL-GOTŌ 2007: 122 “unersättlichen”

So far the attestations we have analysed can clearly be traced back to *vanīn-* as adjective derived from the substantive *vāna-*. 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 (*hārir vāneṣu 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 *vanīno vanta vāryam*, for example, the phonetic play (paronomasia or etymological figure) employed here is quite evident, regardless of whether we consider *vanīno* and *vanta* to derive from the same root (RENOU V 9 and MIGRON 1980: 279 n. 48) or not (GELDNER I 194). If *vanīno* is

480 *vanīno*: *vanīnā u* against Pp.: *vanīnaḥ*, the choice is dictated by the strangeness of the form within the *pāda* (GELDNER II 286 in fact reads it as *vanīnam*) and we follow the hypothesis that *vanīn-* is Agni, fire, by his very nature “endowed with wood” or “characterised by wood”, as is, of course, the chariot, through *vanīn-* “having wood” cf. TUCKER 2006.

481 Through *vanīn-* “having wood” cf. TUCKER 2006.

482 As to the meaning of *vicarṣaṇi*, see THIEME 1967<sup>a</sup>.

483 *havāsā gṛṇīmasi*: cf. 6.66.11 (hymn to the Marut) *havāsā 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.

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 *hotṛ*) or third person plural, thus referring to *vanínah* 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 vāriyam*  
*bṛhaspátir yajati vená ukṣábbhiḥ*  
*puruvārebhir ukṣábbhiḥ*  
*jaḡrbhmā dūrāādīśam*  
*ślókam ádrer ádha tmánā*  
*ádharayad araríndāni sukrátuḥ*  
*purú sádmāni sukrátuḥ*

The *hotṛ*<sup>484</sup> shall sacrifice for the *vanín-*, for the *vanín-* appropriates the well chosen<sup>485</sup>, Bṛhaspati, 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 ...<sup>486</sup>, he full of resources.

*vanta*: -injunctive aorist 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.  $\bar{A}$ , 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-GOTÖ 2007: 260 “gewinnt sich”

-injunctive present 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. (from *vananta*)  $\bar{A}$ , I-VI cl.

RENOU V 9 “gagnent”

*vanínah*: -nominative plural masculine

RENOU: V 9 “qui veulent gagner”

-genitive singular masculine

GELDNER: I 194 “des Holzgefäßes”

WITZEL-GOTÖ 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* 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.

484 The *hotṛ* 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, Bṛhaspati is both the Bráhmaṇ (GELDNER I 194 n.10b) and the *adhvaryu*, the human corresponding to the Lord of the formula.

485 *vāriyam* (acc. n. sing.) from *vārya-* “treasure” “asset which entails choice” from the root *vṛ-* “to choose” cf. *vāra-* “choice”.

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.

All this, then, suggests that no verbal derivative *vanín-* from *van-* finds a place in the *Ṛgveda 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 *Ṛgveda 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 *mandala*.

##### a) *vánas-*

Of this substantive, derived in *-as* from the verb root<sup>487</sup>, we have only one occurrence in the *Ṛgveda 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*-<sup>488</sup>. 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, Anhänglichkeit 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 (*ā 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 *\*vānus-* “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

487 On the neuter substantives in *-as* see AiGr: II 2 §122-132 and the study by NOWICKI 1976.

488 On the various interpretations of the term *vánas* see also the bibliography in EWAia: II 500.

Verbalbegriff” cf. AiGr: II 2 §127b.a) 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 *á yāhi vānasā sahá  
gāvah sacanta vartanīm yád údhabhiḥ*

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.

*vānasā*: instrumental neuter singular

#### b) *vanánā-*

This, too, like the previous case, is a substantive attested in one point alone in the text of the *Ṛgveda Samhitā*. 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). RENOUE (IX 99 n. 40) here conceives of a *\*vanan-*, allomorph of *vānas-* 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 vāsāno mahiṣó ví gāhate  
rájā pavitraratho vājam áruhat  
sahásrabhṣṭir jayati śrávo brhát*

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<sup>489</sup>”

*vanánāḥ*: accusative feminine plural  
GELDNER: III 83 “Begehren”  
RENOUE: IX 36 “les aspirations”

#### c) *vānīvan-*

GRASSMANN (1875 [ed. 1996: 1209]) traces this form to the root *van-* / *van-*, 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 BÖHLINGK-ROTH (1885-1875: 677) takes *vānīvan-* 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).

489 The king who has as chariot the filter (*rájā pavitraratho*) 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.

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 *vānīvan-*.

10.47.7 *vānīvāno māma dūtāsa indram  
stómāś caranti sumatīr iyānāḥ  
hṛdispṛśo mānasā vacyāmānā  
asmābhyaṃ citrāṃ vṛṣaṇaṃ rayīm dāḥ*

Appropriating, my messengers, the hymn, come to Indra asking for<sup>490</sup> 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.

*vānīvānaḥ*: nominative masculine plural  
GELDNER: III 205 “werbende”

#### d) *vānanvat-*

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 *vānanvat-* is associated.

##### 1) 7.81.3: *úṣaḥ vananvati*

7.81.3 *prāti tvā duhitar diva  
úṣo jīrā abhutsmahi  
yā vābasi purú spārhām vananvati  
rátanaṃ ná dāsúṣe 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”

##### 2) 8.1.31: *ásvān vānanvataḥ*

8.1.31 *á yád ásvān vānanvataḥ  
śraddháyāhām ráthe ruhām  
utá vāmāsya vāsunaś ciketati  
yó ásti yāduvaḥ paśúḥ*

When I am mounted, by the chariot, on the horses of him who truly appropriates<sup>491</sup>, thanks to the act of

490 *iyānāḥ* (nom. f. pl. pres. part. Ā) from the root *i-* “to go” but also, in the Ā forms, in fact, “to approach to ask”.

491 Indra, who in 10.27.9d is he who yokes horses (*áyuktaṃ yunajad vānanvān*), is “he who appropriates”. In the present translation *vānanvataḥ* is interpreted as genitive (of position, referring to *ásvān*) in consideration of the structure of the entire stanza, which draws a parallel between the *paśúḥ yāduvaḥ* (Yadu’s cattle) and the *ásvān vānanvataḥ* (the horses of him who appropriates).

#### IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

faith<sup>492</sup>, may also the cattle, which are of Yadu, perceive<sup>493</sup> the desirable well-being.

*vānanvataḥ*: 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-b ma* (EWAia: II 544)

GELDNER: II 281 “Gute”

#### 3) 8.6.34: *vānanvatī matīḥ*

8.6.34 *abhi kánvā anūṣata*

*ápo ná pravátā yatīḥ*

*índram vānanvatī matīḥ*

The Kanva like the waters that flow torrential raised cries of joy to Indra, the poetic work<sup>494</sup> it is it who truly appropriates.

*vānanvatī*: 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”

#### 4) 8.102.19: *svádhitiṛ vānanvati*

8.102.19 *nahí me ásti ághniyā*

*ná svádhitiṛ vānanvati*

*áthaitādīḡ bharāmi te*

I have no cow<sup>495</sup> nor does the axe appropriate<sup>496</sup>; so, then, in this way I offer to you.

*vānanvati*: locative masculine singular

GELDNER: II 433 “Holzbesitzer”

RENOU: XIII 82 “sur l’arbre”

>ī: nominative feminine singular

OLDENBERG 1912: 57 n. 3 “schnedig”

3<sup>rd</sup> sing. present indicative

PISCHEL in PISCHEL-GELDNER 1889-1901: III, 201 “fällt (Bäume)”

#### 5) 10.92.15: *svádhitiṛ vānanvati*

10.92.15 *rēbhad átra janúṣā púrvo ángirā*

492 For the importance of *śradhbhā-*, as sacrifice in the cult of the dead and as divinity, cf. GONDA 1980 and 1981: I 80-1.

493 *cikētati* (subj. perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.).

494 On the meaning of *matī-* (f.) “poetic thought expressed” (< root *man-* from which also *mānas-*) cf. GONDA 1963, MAGGI 1989: 63-114 and RENOU I 2 ff.

495 *ághniyā* (nom. f. sing.) from *ághniyā-* “cow”, from \**a-g<sup>h</sup>n- iḡā/ā:* *a*-subtractive + root *ghn/han-* “to kill” : “the one not to kill”.

496 *Scil.* wood, to honour Agni.



#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

*grāvāṇa ūrdhvā abhī cakṣur adhvarām  
yēbhīr viḥāyā ābhavad vicakṣanāḥ  
pāṭhaḥ sumékam svādhitir vānanvati*

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<sup>497</sup>.

*vānanvati*: locative masculine singular  
GELDNER: III 291 “Holzbesitzer”

>ī: nominative feminine singular  
OLDENBERG 1912: 57 n. 3 “schnedig”

3<sup>rd</sup> 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 1957<sup>b</sup>), while in the last two it is somehow applied to or at any rate associated with the axe (*svādhitī-*).

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 *vānanvat-* 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 *vānanvat-* is to be traced, or in other words

a- whether this derivative is to be traced to *vāna-* (“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-* / *vanī-*.

The first three attestations suggest the latter of these hypotheses, not only on account of the difficulty of associating “wood” with Uṣas or *matī-*, but above all because the function taken on by *vānanvat-* 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 *āvāta-* (6.16.20; 6.18.1; 9.89.7; 9.96.8 and 11). *Vānanvat-* appears, then, to be a form “enhanced” by repetition from the participle *vanvan-*.

2. The second, more strictly morphological question is, at this point:

a- whether *vānanvat-* 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 RENOUE (III 103 n. 3c), who conjectures the existence of a *\*vanan-* allomorph of *vānas-* in relation to *\*vanar* (cf. *ahán/ahás* < *\*ahar*), also to be traced in the substantive *vānanā*.

However, this proposal entails some difficulties in interpretation of the latter two attestations, compelling RENOUE (XIII 82) to trace *vānanvati* to *vāna-* in stanza 8 102.9, and OLDENBERG (1912:

497 Cf. previous note.

57 n. 3) to read in both occurrences *vānanvatī* instead of *vānanvati*.

b- Thus there is room for the hypothesis that we have here a verb form (cf. also BÖHTLINGK-ROTH 1855-1875: 669-670) *vānanu-*, which appears in the first three attestations in the present participle and in the last two in the indicative present, 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, with *svādhitī-* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*, 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 *vānīvan*. In the case of *vānanvat-*, 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 *vānā* and *vananti*, that phonetic play we discuss before, here even more readily to be appreciated.

6.6.3 *vī te vísvag vātajūtāso agne*  
*bhāmāsaḥ śuce śúcayaś caranti*  
*tuvimrakṣāso diviyā nāvagvā*  
*vānā vananti dhṛṣatā rujāntaḥ*

Stirred on every side by the wind<sup>498</sup>, oh shining Agni, your shining flames move in all directions, destroyers<sup>499</sup>,

498 *vātajūtāso* (nom. m. pl.) from *vātajūta-*, compound *tatpuruṣa* the second member of which is a passive past participle (*vāta-* “wind” + *jūta-* < root *jū-* “to drive ahead, hasten”) cf. WITHNEY 1888: §1273.

499 *tuvimrakṣāsaḥ* (nom. m. pl.) from *tuvimrakṣāk-* compound *karmadhāraya* (*tuvī-* “much” + *mraṣak-* “that destroys”), note the sound value of this term.

#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

like the divine Navagva<sup>500</sup>, appropriate the wood breaking it with force.

*vananti*: indicative present 3<sup>rd</sup> pl., I/ VI class

GELDNER: II 98: *überwinden*

RENOU: XIII 40: *trionphent*

#### IV.1.2 Post-Ṛgvedic 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 Ṛgvedic quotations (§IV.1.2.1), derivatives that occur both in Ṛgvedic quotations and non-ṚV quotations –i.e. non-Ṛgvedic *mantras* and Brāhmana passages– (§IV.1.2.2), derivatives that occur only in non-ṚV quotations (§IV.1.2.3).

#### IV.1.2.1 Derivatives that occur only in ṚV quotations

a) *vānas-*

#### KauB 26.10

26.10 *āyāhi vanasā saheti dvīpadvā āvadāvadvai prathamasyāhno rūṣam*

‘Come hither with *vanas*’ is made of two *pādas*, it has the word hither, indeed what contains the word ‘hither’ is a symbol of the first day.

*vānasā*: instr. n. sing.

KEITH 1920: 501 “beauty”

Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 10.172.1a

Rite

*Agniṣṭoma*, the *chandomas*: the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> 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.

500 Family of mythical priests, named among the Fathers, connected, like the Angiras, to Indra in the myth of the cows of Paṇis cf. MACDONELL 1898: §55B.

## IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

*vānasā*: instr. n. sing.

Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 10.172.1a

Rite

*Agniṣṭoma*, the *chandomas*: the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> 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 ṚV 10.47.7 that we have analysed within the ṚV occurrences of the primary derivatives. See above § 3.1.1.

c) *vanṭṛ-*

KS 8.17: 203,21-22

8.17 *svastāye vājibhiśca praṇetassām yān mahīriṣā āsātsi pūrvīḥ / rāyó vantāro bṛhatāssyāmāsmé astu bhága indra prajāvān //*

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.

*vantārah*: nom. masc. pl. of *vanṭṛ-*

Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 3.30.18

d) *vanús-*

JS 3.1.7 = KauS II.5

JS 3.1.7 = KauS II,5 *hinvāno hetṛbhir yatá á vājaṃ vājī akramīt / sīdanto vanúšo 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.

*vanúśah*: nom. m. pl. of *vanús*

Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 9.64.29; KauS II.5.

#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

##### AVŚ 20.30.1

20.30.1 *prá te mahé vidáthe śamsiṣaṃ hári prá te vanve vanúšo haryatám mádam / ghṛtám ná yó háribhiścáru sécata á tvā viśantu hárivarpasam girah*

May I invoke in the great meeting [rite]<sup>501</sup> 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<sup>502</sup>, pours out; the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold.

*vanve pra*: ind. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.  
Sāyaṇa: *prayāce*

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

Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 10.96.1; TB 2.4.3.10-(11); TB 3.7.9.6.

Rite

Mantras to be recited in the *Atirātra*.

##### AVŚ 20.143.3

20.143.3 *kó vām adyá karate rātāhavya útāye vā sutapéyāya vārkaīḥ / ṛtāsya vā vanúše pūrviyāya námo yemānó aśviná 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?

*vanúše*: dat. masc. sing. of *vanús-*

Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 4.44.3.

Rite

Mantras to be recited in the *Atirātra* as *paridhānīyāśastrayāja*, the final verses of the litany recited by the *hotṛ*.

#### IV.1.2.2 Derivatives that occur both in ṚV quotations and in non-ṚV quotations

a) *vanuṣya-*

ṚV mantras

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.

502 “The golden” are the drops of Soma.

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<sup>503</sup> sits on the [pieces of] wood, all around the threads of wool<sup>504</sup>; he who prays wishes to have enter the circle of the rite thanks to the poetic work<sup>505</sup>.

*vanuṣyate*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā of the denominative *vanuṣya-*

Vedic Web:

Mantra: RV 9.7.6.

TS 2.5.12.2-3t

2.5.12.2t *indrāvarunā yuvām adhvārāya naḥ //*

3t *viśé jánāya mábi śárma yachatam / dīrgháprayajyum áti yó vanuṣyáti vayám jayema p̥ṭtanāsu 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of the denominative *vanuṣya-*  
KEITH 1914: 204 “is fain to overpower”

Vedic Web:

Mantra: RV 7.82.1; MS 4.12.4: 187,1-2.

Prose: TS 2.3.13.

Rite

*Darśapūrnamāseṣṭī*, mantras to be recited by the *hotṛ* for the *Kamyēṣṭi* for one long diseased and for one desiring life.

MS 4.12.4: 187,1-2

4.12.4 *indrāvarunā yuvām adhvārāya no viśé jánāya mábi śárma yachatam / dīrgháprayajyumáti yó vanuṣyáti vayám jayema p̥ṭtanāsu 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of the denominative *vanuṣya-*

Vedic Web:

503 The horse of the sacrifice.

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.

505 On the meaning of *matī-* “poetic thought expressed” (< root *man-* from which also *mānas-*) cf. GONDA 1963; MAGGI 1989: 63-114 and RENOU I 2 ff.

#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

Mantra: ṚV 7.82.1; TS 2.5.12.2-3t.

Prose: TS 2.3.13.

Rite

*Darśapūrnamāseṣṭī*, mantras to be recited by the *hotṛ* 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 rāmayantimé sáhaḥ sáhasā ānamanti / imé śámsaṃ 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-*

Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 7.56.19; TB 2.8.5.6.

Rite

*Kamyeṣṭi*, mantras 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 / tamajarebhirvṛṣabbhistava 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<sup>506</sup>, 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of the denominative *vanuṣya-*

Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 6.5.4.

#### AB 1.10

1.10 *sed agnir agnūm̐r aty astv anyān sed agnir yo vanuṣyato nípātī<sup>507</sup>ty ete*

This Agni here may be over those other Agnis, this Agni here who protects from those who desire to

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 (*sánutyah*) and the enemy nearby (*ántaro vanuṣyāt*): for both Agni is invoked, but with different function and attributes.

507 *sed agnir yo [...] nípātī* =ṚV 7.1.15a.

## IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

appropriate.

*vanuṣyataḥ*: pres. part. (abl. masc. sing.) of the denominative *vanuṣya-*  
KEITH 1920: 114 “from the foe”

Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 7.1.15a

Rite

Within the introductory sacrifice of the *Agniṣṭoma*, invitatory and offering verses for the oblation to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. The *Sviṣṭakṛt* is an offering that makes the sacrifice perfect.

### TB 2.8.5.6

2.8.5.6 *vākṣaḥsu rukmā úpaśiśriyānāḥ / ví vidyúto ná vyṣṭībhi rucānāḥ / ánu svadhám áyudhair yácchamānāḥ*<sup>508</sup> *lyá vaḥ śárma śásamānāya sánti / tridhātūni dāsúṣe yacchata ádhi / asmábhyam táni maruto víyanta / rayiṃ no dhatta vṛṣanaḥ suvīram*<sup>509</sup> */ imé turám marúto rāmayanti / imé sabáḥ sáhasa ánamanti / imé śáṃsam vanuṣyató nípānti*<sup>510</sup> //

‘Gold ornaments are on the breast<sup>511</sup>, fitting closely, glittering, shining like with the excellent swords<sup>512</sup>, 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’.

*vanuṣyatāḥ*: pres. part. (abl. masc. sing.) of the denominative *vanuṣya-*

Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 1.85.12; 7.56.13; .19; MS 4.14.18: 247,13-14.

Rite

*Kamyeṣṭi*, *mantras* to be recited on the sacrifice to the Maruts of a cow that has brought forth only once.

### **non-ṚV mantras**

#### JS 1.35.5 = KauS 336

JS 1.35.5 = KauS 336 *yo no vanuṣyannabhidāti marta ugaṇā vā manyamānasturo vā / kṣībhī yudhā śavasā vā tam indrābhī śyāma vṛṣamaṇas tvotāḥ //*

508 *vākṣaḥsu* [...] *yácchamānāḥ* = ṚV 7.56.13b-d.

509 *yā* [...] *suvīram* = ṚV 1.85.12.

510 *imé* [...] = ṚV 7.56.19a-c.

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.

512 *vyṣṭī-* (ṚV reads *vṛṣṭībhi* “through the rain”) is the proper name of an excellent like a sword or a spear. Mīśra glosses *áyudhaviśeṣair vyṣṭīyākbyair viśeṣeṇa rocāmānāḥ*.



#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

The mortal, who, desiring to appropriate, is after us<sup>513</sup>, thinking to be powerful<sup>514</sup> 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”

Vedic Web:

∅

b) *vānīyas-*

RV *mantras*

MS 4.12.6: 195,16-17

4.12.6 *prātāryajadhvam aśvīnā hinota / nā sāyāmasti devayā ājuṣtam / utānyó asmādyajate vicāyaḥ / pūrvah  
pūrvoyājamānovānīyān//*

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<sup>515</sup> early in the morning there is the sacrificer: it is he who appropriates more than others.

*vānīyān*: nom. masc. sing. of *vānīyas-*

Vedic Web:

Mantra: RV 5.77.1-2; TB 2.4.3.13.

Rite

Soma sacrifice. *Kamyēṣṭī* sacrifice.

TB 2.4.3.13

2.4.3.13 *indrāgahi prathamó yajñīyānām<sup>516</sup> / yā te kākút súkṛtā yā váriṣṭhā / yáyā śásvat pībasi mádhva  
ūrmím / táyā pāhi prá te adhvaryúrasthāt / sante vājro vartatām indra gavyúḥ<sup>517</sup> / prātaryújā víbodhaya /*

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 *abhidhāsati*.

514 *uganā*, EWAia: II 211 “machtvoll [...] auch -ā Nom Sing”, cf. also Pischel in PISCHEL-GELDNER 1889-1901: II 192.

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.

516 *indrāgahi* [...] *yajñīyānām* = RV 6.41.1d.

517 *yā* [...] *gavyúḥ* = RV 6.41.2.

## IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

*ásvinā védá<sup>518</sup> gacchatam / asyá sómasya pītáye<sup>519</sup> / prātaryāvānā prathamā yajadhvam / purá  
g̃dhrādáruṣaḥ pibāthaḥ / prātárbi yajñamaśvínā dádbāte / prásaṃsanti kaváyaḥ pūrvabhājah<sup>520</sup> /  
prātáryajadhvam ásvínā hinota / ná sāyámasti devayá ájuṣtam / utānyó asmádyajate vícāyaḥ / pūrvāḥ  
pūrvoyájamānovānīyān<sup>521</sup> //*

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<sup>522</sup>, with it drink! The *adhvaryu* has stood up, the clubs, o Indra, desirous of cows, should come with; wake up those yoked early, the *Ásvin* 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 *Ásvin*. The evening, unpleasing, is not the time to seek the gods: also another, other than us, sacrifices and dawns whenever<sup>523</sup> early in the morning there is the sacrificer: it is he who appropriates more than others.’

*vānīyān*: nom. masc. sing. of *vānīyas*-

Vedic Web:

Mantra: ṚV 1.22.1; 5.77.1-2; 6.41.1d-2; MS 4.12.6: 195, 16-196,2.

Rite

*Darśapūrnamāseṣṭī*. *Upahoma mantras*, subsidiary *mantras* for an additional offering within the *Mitravindeṣṭi*, here addressed to the *hotṛ* and the *Ásvin*.

non-ṚV *mantras*

AVP(K.) 19.38.16

19.38.16 *kavir yajñasya pra tanoṣi panthām <nā>kasya pṛṣṭhe abhi didhyānaḥ / yena havyam vahasi  
devadūta itaḥ pracetā amuto vānīyān//*

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.

*vānīyān*: nom. masc. sing. of *vānīyas*-

Vedic Web:

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.

518 Aufrecht reads *ásvināv éhá* as ṚV 1.22.1.

519 *prātaryújā* [...] *pītáye* = ṚV 1.22.1.

520 *prātaryāvānā* [...] *pūrvabhājah* = ṚV 5.77.1; MS 4.12.6: 196.1-2.

521 *prātáryajadhvam* [...] *vānīyān* = ṚV 5.77.2.

522 *mádhv*- could be milk, honey, the *soma*, it is a sweets or a sweet drink, cf. EWAia: II 302-303

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.

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-*

Vedic Web:

∅

*svādoḥ svādīyasī bhava madhormadhutarā bhava* AVP.8.12.3. (referred to the *surā*).

IV.1.2.3. Derivatives that occur only in non-ṚV quotations

a) *vanuṣvat-*

The term *vanuṣvat-* is an *hapax* in Brāhmaṇas and Saṃhitās. The ṚV 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 Ṛgvedic text. Therefore, this occurrence should maybe be considered a wrong writing for *manuṣvat-*.

TB 2.7.12.6

2.7.12.6 *divī śrávo dadhire yajñīyāsaḥ / náktā ca cakrūr uśāsā vīrūpe / kṛṣṇám ca vārnamaruṇám ca sámdbhuh / tvám agna ādityāsa āsyām / tvám jihvám śucayaścakrire kave / tvám rātiśāco adbhvaréṣu saścire / tvé devā havír adanty ábutam // ní tvā yajñāsya sādhanam / ágne hótāramṛtvijam / vanuṣvāddeva dhīmahi prácetasam / jīrām dūtām ámartyam<sup>524</sup> //*

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 *hotṛ* sacrificing at proper time, o god *vanuṣvat*, you as attentive, quick and immortal messenger.

*vanuṣvát*: voc. masc. sing. of *vanuṣvat-*

Vedic Web:

Mantra: cf. ṚV 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. *Mantras* to be recited when sprinkling the sanctified fluid.

b) *vani-*

According to Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 1209] *váni-* “Heischen, Begehren, Wunsch” occurs

524 *ní tvā* [...] *ámartyam* = ṚV 1.44.11, ṚV *manuṣvat* instead of *vanuṣvat*.

only in these passages of the Atharvaveda Saṃhitās, while in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* it is present only within the compound *upamāti-vāni* etc.

AVŚ 5.7.2

5.7.2 *yám arāte purodhatsé púruṣam parirāpīnam / námas te tásmāi kṛṇmo má vanīm vyathayīr máma //*

The calumnious<sup>525</sup> man that you make the Purohita, o Arāti<sup>526</sup>, to this one of you we pay the homage, may you do not cause my desire/earnings to fall.

*vanīm*: acc. masc. sing. of *vaní-*  
WHITNEY 1905: 232 “winning”

Vedic Web:

Mantra: AVP 7.9.2

Rite

The verses are used in the *nirṭikarman* 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 devákṛtā dívā náktam ca kalpatām / árātim anuprémo vayám námo astu 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”

Vedic Web:

Mantra: AVP 7.9.4.

Rite

See above.

AVŚ 5.7.6

5.7.6 *má vanīm má vácam no vírtsīr ubhāv indrāgní á bharatām no vásūni /sárve no adyá dítsantó 'rātim práti haryata //*

525 As to the actual meaning of *parirāpīn-* 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 *parirāp-* and the verbal root *rap-* “to talk”.

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 *púramdhi-* “the cosmic power of present-giving”.

#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

Do not wish to vanish<sup>527</sup> 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.

*vanīm*: acc. masc. sing. of *vaní-*  
WHITNEY 1905: 233 “winning”

Vedic Web:  
Mantra: AVP 7.9.8.

Rite  
See above.

#### AVŚ 12.4.11

12.4.11 *yá enāṃ vanīm āyānti téṣāṃ devákṛtā vaśā́ / brahmajyéyaṃ tād abruvan yá enāṃ nipriyāyāte //*

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 Brahmins.

*vanīm*: acc. masc. sing. of *vaní-*  
WHITNEY 1905: 695 “winning”

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 \*parirāṇinam / namas te tasmai kṛṇmo mā vanim mama vivyathah //*

The calumnious<sup>528</sup> 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<sup>529</sup>.

*vanim*: acc. masc. sing. of *vaní-*  
GRIFFITHS 2009: 335 “earnings”

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.

527 *vírtsīr*, inj. -iṣ aor. of the desiderative form of *vi- ṛdh-*. The whole *pāda* is clearly not well preserved, see also AVP 7.9.8.

528 As to *parirāṇin-* and Arāti, see note on AVŚ 5.7.2.

529 *vivyathah*, red. subj. aor. with a causative meaning. See also GRIFFITHS 2009: 336.

AVP 7.9.4

7.9.4 *pra no vanir devakṛtā divā naktam ca sidhyatu / arātim anuṣremo vayaṃ namo ṣt,v arātaye //*

Let the appropriation/desire made by the gods be successful for us by day and night, we follow Arāti, homage be to Arāti.

*vanir*: nom. masc. sing. of *vaní-*  
GRIFFITHS 2009: 338 “earnings”

Vedic Web:

Mantra: AVŚ 5.7.3.

Rite

See above.

AVP 7.9.8

7.9.8 *mā vanim mā vācam no \*vṛtsīr ugrāv indrāgnī nā bhajatām vasūni /sarve no ṣdya ditsanto arātim prati baryata //*

Do not wish to vanish<sup>530</sup> our desire/appropriation, nor our speech, let the terrible Indra and Agni grant<sup>531</sup> us goods; all those who wants to give to us today, let them welcome Arāti.

*vanim*: acc. masc. sing. of *vaní-*  
GRIFFITHS 2009: 342 “earnings”

Vedic Web:

Mantra: AVŚ 5.7.6.

Rite

See above.

AVP(K.) 17.17.1

17.17.1 *ya enām vanim āyanti teṣām devakṛtā vaśā / vrahmajyeyam tad avruvan ya enām 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<sup>532</sup>, they call it oppression of Brahmans.

*vanim*: acc. masc. sing. of *vaní-*

Vedic Web:

AVŚ 12.4.11

530 *vṛtsīr*, inj. -iṣ aor. of the desiderative form of *vi- ṛdh-*. The whole *pāda* is clearly not well preserved, cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: 342-343.

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.

532 The second half of the *pāda* is not clear, after Barret edition, it can be speculated that *vrahmajyeyam* can be read as *brahma*<sup>0</sup> 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.

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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* this adjective occurs only once meaning "wooden" (RV 9.97.45 *sómaḥ sutó dhárayátyo ná hitvā síndhur ná nimnám abhí vājy àkṣāḥ / á yónim vānyam asadat punānāḥ sám índur góbbhir asarat sám adbhíḥ //*), characterising the vessel where the *soma* goes, here referred to as *yoni*.

TS 5.5.9.1-2f

5.5.9.1 *ágna udadhe yá ta íṣur yuvá náma táyā no mṛḍa tásyās te námas tásyās ta úpa jívanto bhūyāsama / ágne dudhra / gabhya / kimśila / vanya yá ta íṣur yuvá náma táyā no mṛḍa tásyās te námas tásyās ta úpa jívanto bhūyāsma / pañca vā etè 'gnāyo yác cītaya udadhír evá náma prathamó dudhrāḥ // [2f] dviṭīyo gáhyas tṛtīyah kimśilás caturthó vānyah pañcamás tébhyo yád áhutīr ná juhuyád adhvaryúṃ ca yájamānaṃ ca prá dahayur yád etá áhutīr juhóti bhāgadhéyenaiváināñ chamayati nārtim árchaty 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 *vānyah*: nom. masc. sing. of *ványa-*  
KEITH 1914: 448 "desirable"

Vedic Web:

Mantra: cf. MS 2.3.12: 162,6-8; KS 40.3: 237,10-11.

Rite

*Agnicayana*. Mantras and *brāhmaṇas* for the five oblations to the five Agnis.

TS 4.5.6.1i-k

4.5.6.1i-k *námo vānyāya ca kákṣyāya ca / námaḥ śravāya ca pratiśravāya ca //*

Homage to the one abiding in the wood, and to the one abiding in the shrubs, homage to the sound and to echo.

## IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

*ványāya*: dat. masc. sing. of *vānya-*  
KEITH 1914: 358 “him in the wood”

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*. Mantras of the *śatarudrīya* litany, for the offerings on the fire to Rudra.

### MS 2.9.6: 125.7

2.9.6 *nāmo vānyāya ca kākṣyāya ca nāmaḥ śravāya ca pratiśravāya ca //*

Homage to the one abiding in the wood, and to the one abiding in the shrubs, homage to the sound and to echo.

*vānyāya*: dat. masc. sing. of *vānya-*

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*. Mantras of the *śatarudrīya* litany, for the offerings on the fire to Rudra.

### MS 2.13.12: 162,6-8

2.13.12 *yāvā āyavā umā évā ābdaḥ sāgaraḥ sumékó ‘gne kabhyāgne kimśilāgne dudbrāgne vanyāgne kakṣyā yā tā īṣuryuvā nāma tāyā vidhema tāsyai te nāmas //*

Just like the first half of the moon, the dark half, the *umā*<sup>533</sup>, the year, o Agni, o unfathomable<sup>534</sup> 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.

*vanyāgne*: voc. masc. sing. of the compound *vanyāgni*

Vedic Web:

Mantra: cf. TS 5.5.9.1-2f; KS 40.3: 237,10-11.

### KS 17.14: 257,11-12

17.14 *nāmo vānyāya ca kākṣyāya ca nāmo 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).

*vānyāya*: dat. masc. sing. of *vānya-*

533 *umā-*, EWAia: I 225 “etwa: Flachs [...] Weiteres bleibt unklar”.

534 *kabhyāgni* = *gabhyāgni* one of the epithet of Agni, probably connected with *gāhana* EWAia: I 481 “Abgrund, Tiefe, Versteck” and *gāb-* EWAia: I 486 “eindringen, eintreten”, cf. also *durgāha*.



IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

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*. Mantras of the *śatarudrīya* litany, for the offerings on the fire to Rudra.

KS 40.3: 237,10-11

40.3 *agne dudhrāgne kabhyāgne kimśilāgne vanyāgne kakṣya yā ta iṣuryuvā nāma tasyai te vidhema tayā naḥ pāhi tasyai te svāhā ||*

O Agni, o violent Agni, o unfathomable<sup>535</sup> 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 *vanyāgni*

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 *vānya-*

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*. Mantras of the *śatarudrīya* litany, for the offerings on the fire to Rudra.

VS 16.34

16.34 *nāmo vānyāya ca kākṣyāya ca nāmaḥ śravāya ca pratiśravāya ca nāma āśuṣeṇāya cāsúrathāya ca nāmaḥ śūrāya cāvabhedīne 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.

*vānyāya*: dat. masc. sing. of *vānya-*

535 *kabhyāgni* = *gabhyāgni* one of the epithet of Agni, probably connected with *gāhana* EWAia: I 481 “Abgrund, Tiefe, Versteck” and *gāb-* EWAia: I 486 “eindringen, eintreten”, cf. also *durgāha*.

## IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

Griffith in ARYA 1999: 230 “him in the wood”

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*. Mantras of the *śatarudrīya* litany, for the offerings on the fire to Rudra.

### AVŚ 6.20.3

6.20.3 *ayām yó abhiśocayiṣṇúr víśvā rūpāṇi háritā kṛṇóṣi / tásmāi te 'ruṇāya babhrāve námaḥ kṛṇomi vānyāya takmāne //*

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.

*vānyāya*: dat. masc. sing. of *vānya*  
WHITNEY 1905: 295 “woody”

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 Ṛgvedic 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 Ṛgvedic 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 saṃbabbhūvuḥ / ślokavantaḥ saumanasasya vantavaḥ / apānakṣāso badhirā ahāsata- / -ṛtasya panthām na taranti duṣkṛtaḥ //*

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”

Vedic Web:

Mantra: cf. ṚV 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 Ṛgvedic 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 (*vānīyas-* and *vāniṣṭha-*) 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* 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-Ṛgvedic attestations, the first thing to be noticed is that some derivatives are to be found only in passages quoting the Ṛgvedic stanzas like the noun *vanas-*, the *nomen agentis vanṭṣ-* and also the term *vanīvan-*. As to the the adjective *vanús-*, though we find it only in Ṛgvedic quotations, yet we can spot its denominative *vanuṣya-* which is used also in a non Ṛgvedic *mantra* in Sāmavedic Samhitās, 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 Ṛgvedic quotations is *vānīyas-*: 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 Samhitā* (TS 3.5.5.3). Therefore, except for some doubtful cases, we may say that these derivatives are employed exactly as in the Ṛgvedic occurrences. With regard to the derivatives that are not to be found in the *Ṛgveda Samhitā*, 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 *vāna-* “wood”. The last derivative is *vāni-*: this noun is employed in four stanzas which are to be found identical in both Atharvaveda Samhitās. Though Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 1209] suggests for *vāni-* “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-* / *vāni-*. Finally, we may conclude that the sense of desire was 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*

Considering the few hints on the presence of the semantic field of desire within the primary derivatives of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*, we will analyse here the attestations of the verb within the Atharvaveda school. Indeed we find occurrences of it only 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 *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*. Both Saṃhitās are of considerable age, but the differences in certain *mantras* cannot be declared to be earlier or later in one or the other *śākhā*. Many studies have been carried on about this subject<sup>536</sup>, 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<sup>537</sup>.

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,<sup>538</sup> 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*, involving a different social and linguistic cross-section.

### IV.2.1 Atharvaveda Occurrences

Here follows the complete list of occurrences of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* in the Atharvaveda Saṃhitās, first those of the Śaunaka recension and after those of the Paippalāda. Within both groups the attestations are divided between *Ṛgvedic mantras* and non-*Ṛgvedic mantras* as in the paragraphs §III.2.1;2 entailing the post-*Ṛgvedic* attestations of the verbal root.

#### *ṚV mantras*

The text of the *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā*, Śaunaka recension (AVŚ), is after *Atharva Veda Sanhita*.

536 See BLOOMFIELD 1899; WHITNEY 1905 and more recently WITZEL 1997: 275-283. See also PARPOLA 1983, 2012 for the different waves of migrations.

537 See, among others, BHATTACARYA 1997 and 2008; ZEHNDER 1999; GRIFFITHS-SCHMIEDCHEN 2007 and GRIFFITHS 2009.

538 FALK 1986 and HEESTERMAN 1962. See also VASSILKOV 1995.

*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 Vishva Bandhu edition reads in 20.127.14.c *vanādadhidhvano*” this *pāda* seems corrupted. Bloomfield (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 bhareḥaṃ 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 vaneyam* 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 *sādam vanati*, this *pāda* seems corrupted. The Bhattacharya edition reads *śīram vahati*.

## Śaunaka occurrences

### AVŚ 20.22.2

20.22.2 *mā tvā mūrā aviṣyāvo mōpahāsvāna ā dabhan /  
mākīm brahmadviṣo vanah //*

May not trick you away<sup>539</sup> the vehement *mura*<sup>540</sup>, nor who laughs at you, never let enter in the circle of

539 *ā dabhan*, subj. aor. or inj. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl., cf. EWAia: I 694 and HOFFMANN 1967: 243; as to the different meanings of the root *dabh-*, and the form *dambhāyati*, we follow INSLER (1969). According to his work, there could be a verbal theme *dambhāya-* buid on the adjective *dabhrā-* (by analogy with *randhāyati : radhrā-*) 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.

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.

sacrifice<sup>541</sup> the brahma-haters<sup>542</sup>.

*vanah*: inj. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> 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: ṚV 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā*, 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 *prā te mahé vidáthe śamsiṣaṃ hári prā te vanve vanúšo haryatám mádam /  
ghṛtám ná yó háribhiścāru sécata á tvā viśantu hárivarpaṣaṃ gírah //*

May I invoke in the great meeting [rite]<sup>543</sup> 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<sup>544</sup>, pours out; the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold.

*prā vanve*: ind. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.

Sāyaṇa: “pra vanve prayāce”

GELDNER: III 304 “habe Gewinn”

*vanúśaḥ*: gen. masc. sing. from *vanús*

Sāyaṇa: “śatruhiṃsakasya yācyamānasya vā”

GELDNER: III 304 “Eifrigen”

Vedic Web

Mantra: ṚV 10.96.1; TB 2.4.3.10-(11); TB 3.7.9.6.

Rite

*Atirātra*, a form of Soma sacrifice mainly to Indra.

541 This binary structure *mākīm van – dviś* can be compared with the antinomy good-evil that can be traced all over the thought of Zarathustra as a *leitmotiv* of the Gāthas.

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.

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.

544 “The golden” are the drops of Soma.

AVŚ 20.35.15

20.35.15 *asmā idu tyādānu dāyyeṣām éko yád vavné bhúreriśānaḥ /  
praítaśam sūrye paśṛdhānām saúvaśvye súsvimāvad índraḥ //*

To this one may it be given back<sup>545</sup> that<sup>546</sup> what he, the lord of the abundant, the only one between them, has appropriated; Indra protected Etaśa<sup>547</sup>, the soma presser<sup>548</sup>, who fought in the horse race, Sūrya being present.

*vavné*: ind. perf. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.  
GELDNER: I 79 “errungen hat”  
RENOU: XVII 25 “a gagné”  
WITZEL-GOTŌ 2007: 115 “gewonnen hat”  
Sāyana: *yācitavān* “to ask”

Vedic Web

Mantra: RV 1.61.15.

Rite

*Mādyham̐dinasavana* (the middle pressing of the *soma*) in the *Aptoryāma* sacrifice, a development of *Agniṣṭoma*.

AVŚ 20.67.1

20.67.1 *vanóti hí sunván kṣáyam páriṇasaḥ sunvāno hí śmā yájaty áva dvíṣo devānām áva dvíṣaḥ /  
sunvāná ít siśāsati saháśrā vājy ávṛtaḥ /  
sunvānāyēndro dadāty ābhúvam rayīm 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<sup>549</sup> treasure, efficacious.

*vanóti*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. VIII cl.  
Sāyana:∅  
GELDNER: I 187 “gewinnt”  
RENOU: XVII 48 “gagne”  
WITZEL-GOTŌ 2007: 249 “gewinnt”

Vedic Web

545 *Dāyi*, from *dā-*, ind. aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. passive, without augment, conveying an injunctive aspect cf. MACDONELL 1916: §155 and WHITNEY 1888: §844.c.

546 *Tyād*, (acc. n. sing.) from *syá-*, the demonstrative pronoun here refers to what is peculiar to Indra: the *soma*.

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”).

548 *súsvi-*, indeed “pressing out”.

549 *ābhúvam* (acc. m. sing.) from *ābhú-* (m. f. n.) < root *bhū-*, “present”, PW: “tüchtig, wirksam”, as a continuous presence that comes every time in to existence and is efficacious.

Mantra: ṚV 1.133.7.

Rite

*Ṛṣṭhya sadaha*, a group of rites consisting of one *Agniṣṭoma*, two *Ukthya*, one *Ṣoḍaśin* and one more *Ukthya*.

AVŚ 20.75.3

20.75.3 *ād it te asyā vīryāsya carkīran mādeṣu vṛṣann uśījo yād āvitha sakhīyató yād āvitha /  
cakārtha kārām ebhyaḥ pṛtanāsu prāvantave /  
té anyāmanyām nadyām saniṣṇata śrāvasyāntaḥ saniṣṇata //*

Thereupon may they commemorate your heroic deed in exhilaration, o bull, when you protected the Uśij<sup>550</sup> 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.

*prāvantave*: inf. dat., cf. WHITNEY 1888: §982.a  
GELDNER: I 185 “den Sieg gewinnen”  
RENOU: XVII 46 “gagnent”  
WITZEL-GOTÓ 2007: 246 “gewinnen”  
Sāyaṇa:∅

\*The prefix *pra* is used only here and in ṚV 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: ṚV 1.131.5.

Rite

*Ṛṣṭhya sadaha*, a group of rites consisting of one *Agniṣṭoma*, two *Ukthya*, one *Ṣoḍaśin* and one more *Ukthya*.

AVŚ 20.143.2

20.143.2 *yuvām śrīyam aśvinā devātā tāṃ dívo napātā vanathaḥ śacībhiḥ /  
yuvór vāpur abhī pṛkṣaḥ sacante vāhanti yāt kakuhāso ráthe vām //*

You, o Áśvin, among gods, appropriate this beauty<sup>551</sup> with your powers, o sons of the sky, the nourishments follows your your form when the tall horses<sup>552</sup> pull your chariot.

550 The term is usually used as epithet of the sacrificer as well as of Agni (cf. EWAia: I 234-5), GELDNER (I 185) suggests it is the name of a priests family.

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 Áśvin.

552 *kakuhāsaḥ* (nom. m. sing.) *kakuhā-* (m. f. n.) “lofty, prominent, tall” from *kakúbh-* “peak”, cf. MACDONELL-KEITH [1912] 1995 : I 131.



#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

*vanatbhāḥ*: ind. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> du. I-VI cl.  
GELDNER: I 476 “habt Gewinn”  
WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 191 “liebt”  
Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web  
Mantra: ṚV 4.44.2.

Rite  
*Atirātra*.

#### AVŚ 6.126.1

6.126.1 *úpa śvāsaya pṛthivīmūtá dyám purutrā te vanvatām viṣṭhitam jágat /  
sá dundubhe sajurindreṇa devairdūrāddāvīyo 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.

*vanvatām*: impv. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 ṚV *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 śaṇa sambhaktau*

Vedic Web  
Mantra: ṚV 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 Áśvamedha *grantha* 6.1: III 174,5-6. All the *mantras* read *manutām* instead of *vanvatām*. In AVP Bhattacharya edition “tena sunutām”.

Rite  
To the drum: for success against the foe.

#### Non-ṚV *mantras*

#### Śaunaka occurrences

#### AVŚ 1.34.4

1.34.4 *mádhorasmi mádhutaro madúghānmádhumattarah /  
māmít kila tvám vānāḥ sákhāṃ mádhumatīmiva //*

I am sweeter than the sweet, possessing more sweet than the Madugha plant, may you desire me indeed as a branch full of sweet.

*vānāḥ*: subj. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. I-VI cl.

WHITNEY 1905: 35 “shalt thou be fond (?*van*)”

## IV.2 The Atharvaveda: Diastatic Evidences on van- / vani-

Sāyaṇa: *sambhajeḥ* “to share, to join in” and he regards the plant as also addressed in the final *pādas*.

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 *apāmagnīstanūbbiḥ samvidāno yá ośadhīnāmadhipā babhūva /  
sá no varśāṃ vanutām jātāvedāḥ prānām prajābhyo amṛtam 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<sup>553</sup> (*amṛta*) from the sky.

*vanutām*: impv. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *khaṇvakhā i khaimakhā i mādhye taduri /  
varśāṃ vanudhvam pitaro marūtām māna icchata //*

O Khaṇvakhā, o khaimakhā, in the middle o Taduri<sup>554</sup> appropriate (for yourselves) the rain, o fathers, seek the spirit<sup>555</sup> of the Marut!

*vanudhvam*: impv. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. Ā VIII cl.

WHITNEY 1905: 175 “won”

Sāyaṇa: “prayacchata”

Vedic Web

∅

Rite

553 Sāyaṇa paraphrases “*amṛtam*” with “*amṛtatvaprapakam*”, it is not the immortality but rather what leads to it; as to the connection between *amṛta*- and ambrosia, see LAZZERONI 1998: 65-80.

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).

555 *mānas*- 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.

This hymn is used to get abundant rain.

AVŚ 5.4.3-4

5.4.3 *ásvatthó devasádanastṛtīyasyāmitó diví /  
tátrāmṛtasya cákṣanam devāḥ kúṣṭhamavanvata //*  
[4] *hiranyáyī nairacaraddhíranýabandhanā diví /  
tátrāmṛtasya púṣyam devāḥ 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)<sup>556</sup> 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *saṃkrádanah pravadó dhṛṣṇúṣeṇah pravadakṛdbahudhá grāmaghoṣí /  
śríyo vanvanó vayúnāni vidvānkīrtim bahúbhyo ví hara divirājé //*

Roaring drum<sup>557</sup>, with bold army, making known in many directions, sounding among men, appropriating glory (power), knowing the ways<sup>558</sup>, do distribute<sup>559</sup> the glory to many in the battle of the two kings.

*vanvanáh*: 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

556 As to the meaning of *cákṣanam* in this context, see also RV 1.170.4 *tatrāmṛtasya cetanam*.

557 *pravadá-*, PW: "einen Laut von sich gebend: Trommel."

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.

559 *ví hara*, impv. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. is referred to the drum mentioned in the first part within a metonymy for the fighting armies.

into a hostile army and in Vāitāna Sūtra with beating of a drum in a *sattra* sacrifice.

### AVŚ 6.9.3

6.9.3 *yāsāṃ nābbir āréhaṇaṃ bṛdī samvānanaṃ kṛtām gāvo ghr̥tāsya mātáro 'mūṃ sám vānayaṃtu me ||*

Whose navel is a kissing<sup>560</sup>, in whose heart there is the subduing /charming (the mutual fondness), let the cows, mothers of the clarified butter, make her there love me.

*sám vānayaṃtu*: impv. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 āgatasya náma gṛhṇāmyāyatāḥ /  
índrasya vṛtraghno vanve vāsavāsya 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 Vṛtra-slayer, the one related to the Vasu, the one with hundred skills.

*vanve*: ind. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> 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 abhimataphalam 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 devasádanatr̥tīyasyāmitó diví /*

<sup>560</sup> *āréhaṇa*, Sāyaṇa explains it with *āsvādānīyam* “something to be enjoyed by tasting”, cf. *rib-* “to lick, to kiss”.

#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

*tātrāmṛtasya cākṣaṇaṃ devāḥ kuṣṭhamavanvata //*  
[2] *hiranyāyī nairacaraddhīranyabandhanā divī /*  
*tātrāmṛtasya puṣpaṃ devāḥ kuṣṭhamavanvata //*

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)<sup>561</sup> 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 *puṣpaṃ* instead of *puṣyam*, whereas both words mean “flower, blossom” and the Sanskrit writing in this case could be misleading (as also in 5.4.4, some manuscripts read *puṣpaṃ*). 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 asyá no druhó 'vadyávatyā únneṣyati kṣatríyo vásya ichán /*  
*kó yajñákāmaḥ ká u púrtikāmaḥ kó devéṣu vanute dīrghám āyuh //*

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. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 Brahmán seeking employment. *ātmadaiwatam* (worshipping one’s self – having one’s self as god?).

#### AVŚ 8.2.13

8.2.13 *agnéṣte prānāmamṛtādāyusmato vanve jātavedasaḥ /*  
*yātbā ná ríṣyā amṛtaḥ sajúrāsastátte kṛṇomi tádu te sámṛdhyatām //*

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

561 As to the meaning of *cākṣaṇaṃ* in this context, see also RV 1.170.4 *tatrāmṛtasya cetanam*.

behalf.

*vanve*: ind. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.

WHITNEY 1905: 478 “win”

Sāyaṇa: *yāce* (for Sāyaṇa is even not achieved, it is still asked). It is very clear here that the meaning of *van-* conveys an idea of passage, rather than a possessive, as it is also pointed out by the occurrences in the ṚV where Agni takes (*van-*) goods in order to hold 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* ceremony, and vss. 12-13 are specifically prescribed in case of family quarrel.

The hymn is a prayer against death and diseases in a very concrete way (food and drink as poisonless) but still connected with cosmological powers etc.

### AVŚ 9.1.14

9.1.14 *mādhu janiṣīya mādhu vaṃsiṣīya /  
pāyasvān agna āgamaṃ tāṃ mā sām sṛja vārcasā //*

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. 1<sup>st</sup> 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 kāsā*). In Vaitāna Sūtra it accompanies the mixing of *soma* in the Agniṣṭoma rite. It is reckoned to the *varcasya gaṇa*. The *madhumatī kāsā* is in ṚV 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 vādāmi mādhumat tād vadāmi yád íkṣe tād vananti mā /  
tviṣimān asmi jūtimān āvānyān 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 ceremony 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 kṛśáte yád vanute yác ca vasnéna vindáte /  
sárvaṃ mártasya tán násti kravýác 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 ceremony 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 *varsám vanuṣvāpi gacha devāmstvacó dbūmám páryút pātayāsi /  
viśvāvryacā ghr̥tāpṛṣṭho bhaviṣyántśáyonirlokámúpa yāhyetám //*

Appropriate the rain, also, reach the gods, make the smoke fly up from the hide; you who are going to embrace all<sup>562</sup>, to have the back shining with ghee, you of the same origin, go up to that world.

*vanuṣva*: impv. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.  
WHITNEY 1905: 692 “win”  
Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web

Mantra: cf. AVP(K.) 17.41.3

Rite

Cremation as sacrifice, *sava* ceremony. The hymn often refers to two people, Whitney suggests it might be the husband and the wife.

562 *viśvāvryacā* 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 *ghr̥tāpṛṣṭho*- and Aditi. He will go reach the other world and he is *sáyoniḥ*, that is he has the same origin.

AVŚ 16.9.4

16.9.4 *vasyobhūyāya vāsumān yajñó vāsu vaṃsiṣīya vāsumān bhūyāsaṃ vāsu máyi dbehi //*

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. 1<sup>st</sup> 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 *ugrām vāniṣádātataṃ //*

[7] *nā vāniṣádānātataṃ //*

May he desire it<sup>563</sup> powerful and stretched; may it not desire it un-stretched.

2x *vāniṣád*: subj. aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 nīsanam jaghanam madhumanmama /*

*māmit kila tvam vāvanaḥ śākhāṃ madhumatīmiva //*

Full of sweet is my bottom<sup>564</sup> full of sweet are my hips, may you have desired me indeed as a branch full of

563 Scil. *kulāya*, ‘nest’ which is mentioned in the preceding *pāda*: *kulāyam kṛṇavādīti*.

564 As to the interpretation of the word *nīsanam* as “the bottom”, it is a conjectural effort to explain this *hapax*. The conjectural hypothesis is the i.e. root *\*h<sub>1</sub>eh<sub>1</sub>s*, (see EWAia: I 181) plus the prefix *ni-* and the *kṛt-* 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) >



#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

sweet.

*vāvanah*: subj. perf. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. I-VI cl.

Vedic Web

Mantra: cf. AVŚ 1.34.4cd *vanāḥ* instead of *vāvanah* (K. *sām atikṛtvam* instead of *māmit kila tvam*).

Rite

A love-charm.

#### AVP 2.33.1

2.33.1 *ūdhnā vana hṛdā vana mukhena jihvayā vana /  
praṇīnā 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<sup>565</sup>.

4x *vana*: impv. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. I-VI cl.  
ZEHNDER 1999: 92 “liebe”

Vedic Web

∅

Rite

Hymn of love.

#### AVP 2.90.4

2.90.4 *yāsām nābhir ārehaṇam hṛdi saṃvananaṃ kṛtam gāvo ghṛtasya mātaro ‘mūṃ saṃ vānayanu me //*

Whose navel is a kissing<sup>566</sup>, in whose heart there is the subduing /charming (the mutual fondness), let the cows, mothers of the clarified butter, make her there love me.

*sām vānayanu*: 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.

*nīsana*, instead of the regular *nī.āsana* > *nyāsana*. I owe much of this hypothesis to Rainer Kimmig, who gave me important and decisive suggestions.

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.)”.

566 *ārehaṇa*, Sāyaṇa explains it with *āsvādaniyam* “something to be enjoyed by tasting”, cf. *rih*- “to lick, to kiss”.

AVP 5.7.8

5.7.8 *apāmagñistanūbhil̥ samvidāno ya ośadhīnāmadhipā babhūva /  
sā no varṣaṃ vanutām̐ jātavedāḥ prāṇaṃ prajābh̥yo amṛtaṃ 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<sup>567</sup> (*amṛta*) from the sky.

*vanutām̐*: impv. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.  
LUBOTSKY 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 devatābh̥yo anu manyantām̐ marutaḥ pṛśnimātarah̥ /  
garbhas tvā daśamāsyah̥ pra viśatu kumāraṃ jātaṃ pipṛtām̐<sup>568</sup> upasthe //*

“I appropriate for myself a son from the divinities, let the Marut, sons of Pṛśni, approve; let the embryo of ten months enter into you, let these two protect the child born in the lap.”

*vanve*: ind. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> 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 kṛṇute varma dakṣiṇām*

He appropriates for himself the 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 (*dakṣiṇā*) a shelter.

*vanute*: ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.  
GRIFFITHS 2009: 406 “gains”

567 Sāyaṇa paraphrases “amṛtam” with “amṛtatvaprāpakam”, it is not the immortality but rather what leads to it; as to the connection between *amṛta*- and ambrosia, see LAZZERONI 1998: 65-80.

568 *pipṛtām̐*, impv. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> du. (K. reads *pipṛtāt*) since *pṛ-* is always active, it may refer to Agni and Prajāpati or to Aditi and Prajāpati who are mentioned in the preceding verses.

Vedic Web

∅

AVP 9.27.9

9.27.9 *saṃkrandanah pravedo dhṛṣṇuṣeṇah pravedakṛdbahudhā grāmaghoṣī /  
śreyo vanvano vayunāni vidvānkīrtim bahubhyo vi bhaja dvirāje //*

Roaring drum<sup>569</sup>, with bold army, making known in many directions, sounding among men, appropriating the better position, knowing the ways<sup>570</sup>, do distribute<sup>571</sup> the glory to many in the battle of the two kings.

*vanvanah*: part. pres. nom. m. sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

Mantra: cf. AVŚ 5.20.9

AVP 16.4.3

16.4.3 *agneṣṭe prānamamṛtādāyushmato manave jātavedasah /  
yathā na riṣyā amṛtaḥ sajūrasastatte kṛṇomi tadu te samṛdhyatām //*

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 āgamam tam mā sam sṛja 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 *vamṣiṣīya* instead of *maṃsiṣīya*.

Vedic Web

Mantra: AVŚ 9.1.14

<sup>569</sup> *pravedo*, wrong reading for *pravadā-*, PW: "einen Laut von sich gebend: Trommel."

<sup>570</sup> For *vayunā-* 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.

<sup>571</sup> *vi bhaja*, impv. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. is referred to the drum mentioned in the first part within a metonymy for the fighting armies.

AVP(K.) 17.41.3

17.41.3 *varṣam vaniṣvāpi gaccha devāms tato dhūmaṃ pari utpātayāmi /  
viśvavyacā viśvakarma svargas sayoniṃ lokam upa yāby etam //*

Appropriate the rain, also, reach the gods, make the smoke fly up from here; you embracing all<sup>572</sup>, accomplishing everything, going to heaven, you of the same origin, go up to that world.

AVŚ reads *vanuṣva* (impv. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Ā VIIIcl.) instead of *vaniṣva*. Barret reads *vaniṣva* (ind. aor. 1<sup>st</sup> 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 tvam vṛhaspatāu / ghytena prajāṃ vanute ghytena rayim aṣnute //*

Appropriate among all the gods, appropriate among Bṛhaspati,<sup>573</sup> you, he appropriates the offspring through the clarified butter, he obtains the richness with the clarified butter.

2x *vanuṣva*: impv. pres. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.

*vanute*, ind. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

∅

AVP(K.) 19.26.6

19.26.6 *ghytenāyuṣyam varcasyam devebhyo vanute pari / parjanyaḥ pippalam tuṣyān nadyo garbham 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web

∅

AVP(K.) 19.26.10

19.26.10 *indrasya prathamam vaco devānām aparam vacaḥ / tṛtīyam 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.

572 *viśvavyacā* 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.

573 *vṛhaspatāu* wrong writing for *bṛhaspatāu*.

#### IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

*vānaya-* ind. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> 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 āyuh //*

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. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.

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Mantra: AVŚ 7.103.1

#### AVP(K.) 20.24.4

20.24.4 *indras tvāgre vānayat savitā tvā tato ‘paraḥ / ṛṭīyam aśvinā tvāgre vaṁsataḥ //*

Let Indra first make you desirous, then Savitṛ later, third the Aśvin may appropriate you.

*vānayat*: inj. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of the causative *vānaya-*

*vaṁsataḥ*, subj. root aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> du.

Vedic Web

∅

#### AVP(K.) 20.61.11

20.61.11 *śālālā tvam saṁvananam vanād vananam ādṛtam / yena gayo gandharvo ‘psarasām samavānayat / tenāham amūm iha vā nayāmy ā mṛtyor 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. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. I-VI cl.

*samavānayat*, ind. impf. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing of the causative *vānaya-*

*saṁvananam*, acc. sing. neu. of *saṁvanana-*, adj. “propitiating, causing mutual fondness” cf. *saṁ-vānaya-*

*vananam*, acc. neu. sing. of *vanana* n. (Nir. ..) there is *vananā* f. “wish, desire” (RV 9.86.40)

Vedic Web

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#### IV.2.2 Analysis of the Atharvaveda Occurrences

In the first place, we may notice that, unlike all other post-Ṛgvedic texts, there are few Ṛgvedic 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 Ṛgvedic attestations:

AVŚ 16.9.4 *vasyobhūyāya vāsumān yajñó vāsu vaṃsiṣīya vāsumān bhūyāsaṃ vāsu máyi dhebi //*

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-Ṛgvedic occurrences:

AVŚ 7.103.1 *kó asyá no druho 'vadyávatyā únneṣyati kṣatríyo vāsya ichán / kó yajñákāmaḥ ká u púrtikāmaḥ kó devéṣu vanute dīrghám āyuh //*

“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 āgatasya náma gr̥bhñāmyāyatáh / índrasya vṛtraghnó vanve vāsavāsya 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 Vṛtra-slayer, the one related to the Vasu, the one with hundred skills.

Here the verb takes 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 *nāma* 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 Vṛtra-slayer”. There is only one other occurrence where *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* takes the genitive, in AVŚ 6.126.1, but this stanza is a Ṛgvedic quotation and ṚV 6.47.29 reads *manutām* instead of *vanvatām*, 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 *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*<sup>574</sup>.

6.126.1 *úpa śvāsaya pṛthivīmutá dyāṃ purutrā te vanvatām viṣṭhitam jágat /  
sá dundubhe sajurindreṇa devairdūrāddāvīyo 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 *ūdbnā vana hṛdā vana mukhena jihvayā vana /  
praṇīnā 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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 tvam vāvanah śākbhām madhumatīmiva* “full of sweet are my hips, may you have desired me 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 tvam saṃvananam vanād vananam ādṛtam / yena gayo gandharvo ‘psarasām samavānayat /  
tenāham amūm iha vā nayāmy ā mṛtyor 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 *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* the verb occurs with the prefix *saṃ* 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 *samvānana-*.

6.9.3 *yāsām nābhīr āreḥaṇam hṛdī saṃvānanam kṛtām gāvo ghṛtāsya mātāro ‘mūm sām vānayat 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.

574 See GRIFFITHS 2009: 139.

Moreover, if we take into consideration the hymn AVŚ 6.9 (= AVP 2.90.2-4) we also find another derivative of *van-* / *van-* which is quite interesting, namely *vāñch-*, a verbal derivative whose meaning is clearly “to wish” “to desire”<sup>575</sup>. This verb occurs almost only in the texts of the Atharvaveda school, for we find it only once in ṚV 10.173.1, where the verb already conveys the same idea we will meet in the Atharvavedic passages:

10.173.1 *á tvābhārsam antār  
edhi dhruvās tiṣṭhāvicācaliḥ  
vísas tvā sárva vāñchantu  
mā tvād rāṣṭrām ādhi 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 *āyantū* 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 ṚV 10.173 are indeed used to establish one’s sovereignty.

We find the same royal context outlined above in the liturgical use of the Ṛgvedic stanza also in AVP 10.26.6-7:

AVP 10.2.6-7 *tubhyaṃ saṃ yantu valayastubhyaṃ śulkaḥ pra vīyatām / tubhyaṃ virāt payo duhām tvām  
vāñchantu viśo mahīḥ // 6  
vāñchatu tvā bṛhadrāṣṭram tviṣiste mukha ābitā / tvaṃ devānām bhava priyastuyai gāvo adhi śrītāḥ // 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 Ṛgvedic 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 *vatsachavīm 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<sup>576</sup>.

575 See PW: 901 “begehren, wünschen, lieben, mögen” as well as EWAia II 501.

576 Cf. AVP 2.90.2-4: *vāñcha me pādaū tanvaṃ vāñchākṣyau vāñcha sakthyau lakṣyau vṛṣaṇyantyāḥ keśā  
oṣṭhau mām te kāmēna śuṣyatām // 2 mayi tvā doṣaṇīśliṣaṃ kṛṇomi bṛdayaśliṣaṃ / yathā mama kratāvaso  
mamāścedasidapi // 3 yāsām nābhīrārehaṇaṃ bṛdi saṃvananaṃ kṛtam gāvo gḥṛtasya mātaro mūm saṃ*



IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

6.9 *vāñcha me tanvām pādau vāñchākṣyaū vāñcha sakthyaū lakṣyaū vṛṣaṇyāntyāḥ kēsā mām te kāmēna  
śuṣyantu // 1*  
*māma tvā doṣaṇīśriṣaṃ kṛṇōmi hṛdayaśriṣaṃ / yāthā māma krātāv āso māma cittām upāyasi // 2*  
*yāsām nābhīr ārēbaṇaṃ hṛdī samvānanaṃ kṛtām gāvo ghṛtāsya mātāro ‘mūṃ sām 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<sup>577</sup> for me<sup>578</sup> 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 *samvānana* 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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 hṛdā vana mukhena jihvayā vana / praṇīnā payasā vana // 1*  
*vāñcha pado vāñcha tvacaṃ / vāñchakṣyaū vāñcha sakthyaū /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<sup>579</sup> like the water in the hollow.

It is worth noting that in most of the occurrences this verb appears together with *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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-*<sup>580</sup>, we may go on to conjecture that the meaning of the verb *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* “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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*, 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-*, 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.

*vānayantu me // 4*

577 *vṛṣaṇy-* EWAia: II 577 “brünstig sein”.

578 *mām* can be also translated together with *kāmēna* “through loving me” cf. WHITNEY 1888: § 272.

579 Here the calf is the men speaking, as also confirmed by the parallel RV 10.145.6c-e *mām ānu prā te māno vatsām gaūr iva dhāvatu pathā vār iva dhāvatu*.

580 In this section all the occurrences of the verb *vāñch-* have been taken into account except for AVP(K.) 20.23.4 *ṣa te agne vatsa taṃ vāñcchas taṃ satyam agniṃ vrūmah*. Its meaning is quite unclear and does not seem to add any interesting information to the analysis.

## V. Conclusions

### V.1 Diachronic Analysis: A ritual Development

The research has focused on the uses of the verbal root *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* throughout the *Samhitās* 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 (*\*uēn* / *\*uēn-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 Ṛgvedic and post Ṛgvedic 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 Ṛgvedic attestations we charted two usages of the verb. In most of the occurrences of the *Ṛgveda Samhitā* *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* shows different nuances of a 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-Ṛgvedic *Samhitās* 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-ṚV 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* 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 Ṛgvedic and post Ṛgvedic passages present us with a different scenarios; in the *Ṛgveda Samhitā* the verb *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* is often used at the moment of evoking the gods and 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 *dhī* or *vipas*), and the *topos* of getting the inspiration, the “inspired chant”, can be reckoned as one of the central subjects of the first

Samhitā. 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-Ṛgvedic 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-* / *vanī-* loses the concrete ritual aspect and the functional meanings we detected in the *Ṛgvedasamhitā*, 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 Ṛgvedic 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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā* and the other one that is partially recorded in the Atharvavedic 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 *\*uen* / *\*uen-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-Ṛgvedic occurrences as well as in the *Ṛgvedasamhitā* 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.<sup>581</sup>

Within this broad picture, we can settle on an interpretation of the semantic differentiation following a pattern that could be “that which I have entered 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 *Ṛgveda 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-Ṛgvedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas the school where we find the highest number of occurrences of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* is the Atharvaveda one. Moreover, among the liturgical texts the Ṛgvedic 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 Ṛgvedic 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 Ṛgvedic one.

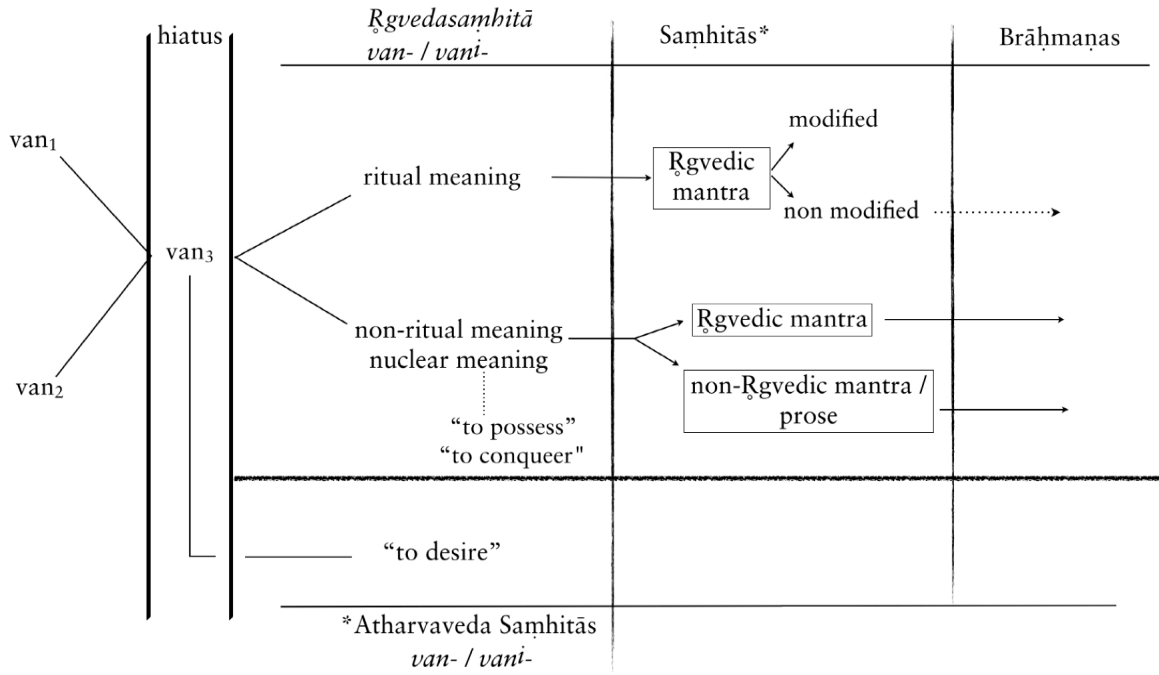
To sum up, we started, at the Indo-European level with two possible meanings “to desire” “to win” and we decided to replace this opposition with the nuclear meaning ‘to appropriate’- ‘to make one’s own’; besides this meaning we also detected a ritual meaning, and we followed its development within the 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-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* furnished us with a deeper understanding of the perception of ritual within the passages between the *Ṛgveda 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 *\* $\mu$ en-H*. In the Vedic corpus it’s not possible to detect a sharp semantic division between *van-* and *van<sup>i</sup>-*, 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 *\* $\mu$ en* and *\* $\mu$ en-H* at a earlier level of the language. With regard to the semantic shift we outlined for the ritual meaning, between the *Ṛgveda 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

581 As to the chronologically and socially variegated components of the Atharvaveda Saṃhitās, see above §IV.2.

V. Conclusions

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 *Ṛgveda Samhitā*

## a- Laryngeal

Verbal form	<i>pāda</i>	translation Geldner-Renou	I.E. root
<b>Indicative</b>			
<i>vananti</i> (ind. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> pl. I-VI cl.)	6.6.3d <i>vānā vananti dhṛṣatā</i> <i>rujāntaḥ</i>	überwinden trionphent	* $\text{u}^{\text{h}}$ en-H-e-
<i>vanate</i> (ind. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā I-VI cl.)	5.65.1d <i>mitró vā vānate gírah</i> 5.65.4b <i>kṣáyāya gātúm vanate</i> 6.38.1d <i>jánasya rātím vanate</i> <i>sudānuḥ</i> 10.53.11d ( <i>abhí</i> ) <i>siṣāsánir vanate</i> <i>kārā ij jítim</i> 5.41.17c <i>á devāso vanate mártiyo</i> <i>vaḥ</i> 6.15.6d-e <i>devó devéṣu vānate hí</i> <i>vāriyam</i> <i>devó devéṣu vānate hí no dúvaḥ</i> (- c <i>úpa vo gīrbhír amṛtaṃ</i> <i>vivāsata</i> ) 6 20.9a <i>sá īm spṛdho vanate</i> <i>ápratīto</i>	gut auf nehmen aimée gewinnt gagne begehert pflegt den Sieg zu erringen gagnera gewinnt gagner gewinnt gagne überwinden	* $\text{u}^{\text{h}}$ en-H-e-

VI. Appendix

	6.25.4a <i>śúro vā śúraṃ vanate śárīrais</i>	überwindet	
	3.19.1d <i>rāyē vājāya vanate maghāni</i>	erwirkt gagne	
<i>vanase</i> (ind. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. Ā I-VI cl.)	1.140.11d <i>ténāsmábhyaṃ vanase rátnam á tuvám</i>	gewinnst gagnes	* <sub>u</sub> en-H-e-
<i>vanāmahe</i> (ind. pres. 1 <sup>st</sup> pl. Ā I- VI cl.)	5.7.3a <i>sám yád iṣó vānāmahe</i> 8.95.6d <i>síśāsanto vanāmahe</i> 9.61.11c <i>síśāsanto vanāmahe</i> 1.15.8c <i>devéṣu tá vanāmahe</i>	zusammen bringen gagnons ensemble sind siegreich sind siegreich voulons gagner erwirken	* <sub>u</sub> en-H-e-
<i>vanathaḥ</i> (ind. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> du. I-VI cl.)	4.44.2b <i>dívo napātā vanathaḥ śácībhiḥ</i> 1.46.14c <i>ṛtā vanatho aktúbhiḥ</i> 7.2.7d <i>tā devéṣu vanatho váriyāṇi</i>	habt Gewinn gewinnet gagnez gewinnt gagnez	* <sub>u</sub> en-H-e-
<i>vāvāna</i> (ind. perf. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing.)	6.23.5a <i>ásmai vayám yád vāvāna tád viviṣma</i> 10.74.6a <i>yád vāvāna purutámam purāśāḷ</i>	verdient hat (guadagnare) gewonnen hat	* <sub>u</sub> e- uó n H / u <sub>n</sub> H-
<b>Subjunctive</b>			
<i>vanāti</i> (subj. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. I- VI cl.)	7.15.4c <i>vásvaḥ kuvíd vanāti naḥ</i>	erwinken gagnera-t-il	* <sub>u</sub> énH-
<i>vānāmahai</i> (subj. pres. 1 <sup>st</sup> pl. Ā I- VI cl.)	9.101.9d <i>rayiṃ yéna vānāmahai</i>	Sieger sein werden serons vainqueurs	* <sub>u</sub> énH-

VI.1 Tables

<i>vānāva</i> (subj. pres. 1 <sup>st</sup> du. I-VI cl.)	10.98.3c <i>yáyā vṛṣṭīm śāmtanave</i> <i>vānāva</i>	können gewinnen	* ʁénH-
<b>Imperative</b>			
<i>vānatam</i> (impv. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> du. I-VI cl.)	1.3.2c <i>dbiṣṇiyā vānataṃ gíraḥ</i> 7.94.2b <i>índrāgnī vānataṃ gíraḥ</i> 1.93.9b <i>sāhūtī vanataṃ gíraḥ</i>	nehmet gut auf  nehmet gut auf gagnez (a votre cause)  nehmet gut auf trouvez agréable	* ʁen-H
<i>vanata</i> (impv. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> pl. I-VI cl.)	8.7.9c ( <i>vanatā metri causa</i> ) <i>imám</i> <i>me vanatā hávam</i>	nehmet gut auf agréer	* ʁen-H
<i>vanatām</i> (impv. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā I-VI cl.)	1.162.22d <i>kṣatráṃ no áśvo</i> <i>vanatām haviṣmān</i>	soll erringen	* ʁen-H
<i>vāvandhi</i> (impv. perf. 2 <sup>nd</sup> sing.)	5.31.13c <i>vāvandhī yájyūṃr utá</i> <i>téṣu dhehi</i>	begünstige	* ʁe- ʁónH/ ʁnH- (?)
<b>Injunctive</b>			
<i>vanah</i> (inj. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. I-VI cl.)	8.45.23c <i>mākīm brahmadvišo</i> <i>vanah</i>	vorziehen n'attire pas à toi	* ʁen-H

b- Non-Laryngeal

Verbal form	<i>pāda</i>	translation Geldner-Renou	I.E. root
<b>Indicative</b>			
<i>vanve</i> (ind. pres. 1 <sup>st</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.)	10.96.1b <i>prá te vanve vanúšo</i> <i>haryatám mádam</i>	habe Gewinn	* ʁn -néʁ / nu-
<i>vanóṣi</i>	1.31.13d <i>kīrés cin mántram</i>	begehrt	* ʁn -néʁ /



VI. Appendix

(ind. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> s i n g . VIII cl.)	<i>mānasā vanóṣi tám</i>  1.31.14b <i>spārhám yád rékṇaḥ paramám vanóṣi tát</i>	gagne en ton cor  gewinnst gagne	nu-
<i>vanóti</i> (ind. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> s i n g . VIII cl.)	1.133.7a <i>vanóti hí sunván kṣáyam pārīṇasaḥ</i>  4.23.10a <i>ṛtám yemāná ṛtám íd vanoti</i>  10.105.5c <i>vanóti śíprābhyām śíprīñvān</i>	gewinnt gagne  hat Gewinn von der Wahrheit  verlangt	* <u>ṇ</u> -né <u>ṇ</u> / nu-
<i>vanutháḥ</i> (ind. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> du. VIII cl.)	2.30.6a <i>prá hí krátuṃ vṛhátḥo yám vanuthó</i>  10.61.3b <i>vípaḥ sáciyā vanuthó drávantā</i>	abgesehen habt auf  gut aufnehmet	* <u>ṇ</u> -né <u>ṇ</u> / nu-
<i>vanute</i> (ind. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.)	10.27.12d <i>svayám sá mitráṃ vanute jáne cit</i>  10.107.7c <i>dákṣiṇānam vanute yó na ātmā</i>	gewinnt  bringt ein	* <u>ṇ</u> -né <u>ṇ</u> / nu-
<i>avanvan</i> (ind. impf. 3 <sup>rd</sup> pl. VIII cl.)	1.51.2 <i>abhím avanvan suabhiṣṭím ūtáyo</i>	bevorzugten ont gagné à eux	* <u>ṇ</u> -né <u>ṇ</u> / nu-
<i>avanoḥ</i> (ind. impf. 2 <sup>nd</sup> s i n g . VIII cl.)	5.29.9d <i>kútsena devaír ávanor ha śúṣṇam</i>  6.18.3b <i>ékaḥ kṛṣṭír avanor áriyāya</i>  10.69.10d <i>ut á púrvaṃ avanor vrádhataś cit</i>	hattest überwunden  gewannst  hast überwunden as gagné à toi	* <u>ṇ</u> -né <u>ṇ</u> / nu-
<i>vavne</i> (ind. perf. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing Ā double)	1.36.17a <i>agnír vavne suvīriyam</i>  1.61.15b <i>éko yád vavné bhúrer</i>	gewann a gagné  errungen hat	* <u>ṇ</u>

## VI.1 Tables

stem)	<i>ísānaḥ</i>	a gagné	
	5.74.7b <i>á vavne mártiyānām</i>	hat gewonnen	
<i>vavanmá</i> (ind. perf. 1 pl. double stem)	7.37.5c <i>vavanmá nú te yújyābhir ūtī</i>	haben Gewinn gehabt avons gagné	* <u>ḡe</u> <u>ḡón</u> / <u>ḡn-</u>
<i>vāvántha</i> (ind. perf. 2 <sup>nd</sup> s i n g . double stem)	8.13.33 c <i>vāvántha hí prátīṣṭutim vṛśā hávaḥ</i>	hast Ausspruch	* <u>ḡe</u> <u>ḡón</u> / <u>ḡn-</u>
	8.66.5 a <i>yád vāvántha puruṣṭuta</i>	verdient hast	
<b>Subjunctive</b>			
<i>vanavat</i> (subj. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> s i n g . VIII cl.)	2.25.1a <i>índhāno agnīm vanavad vanuṣyatáḥ</i>	wird überwinden vaincra	* <u>ḡen</u>
	2.25.2a <i>vīrébhir vīrān vanavad vanuṣyató</i>	wird überwinden vaincra	
	2.26.1c <i>suprāvīr íd vanavat pṛtsú duṣṭāraṃ</i>	wird überwinden vaincra	
	5.3.5d <i>sá yajñéna vanavad deva mártān</i>	wird überbieten l'emportera sur	
	5.37.2a <i>sámiddhāgnir vanavat stīrṇábarhir</i>	den Vorrang gewinnen soll	
	5.44.7d <i>asmákam śárma vanavat suávasuḥ</i>	möge zuwenden assure nous	
	6.33.1c <i>sauvaśviyaṃ yó vanávat suáśvo</i>	gewinnt	
	9.77.4a <i>ayám no vidvān vanavad vanuṣyatá</i>	soll überbieten l'emporte	
	10.27.18d <i>drúanna íd vanavat sarpíranmaḥ</i>	wird gewinnen	
<i>vanavase</i>	6.16.18c <i>áthā dúvo vanavase</i>	wirst gewinnen	* <u>ḡen</u>

VI. Appendix

(subj. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.)		procureras	
<i>vanate</i> (subj. aor. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.)	5.3.10d <i>sumnám agnír vanate vāvṛdhānāḥ</i> 5.4.3d <i>sá devéṣu vanate váriyāṇi</i> 6.16.28c <i>agnír no vanate rayím</i> 8.72.1b <i>adhvaryúr vanate púnāḥ</i>	wird gewinnen gagnera erlangen gagne soll gewinnen gagne verlangt gagne	* $\text{u}en$
<i>vámsāma</i> (subj. aor. 1 <sup>st</sup> pl. )	6.19.8c <i>yéna vámsāma pṛtanāsu śátrūn</i> 8.60.12a <i>yéna vámsāma pṛtanāsu śárdhataś</i>	können überwinden überwinden puissions vaincre	* $\text{u}en$
<i>vámsat</i> (subj. aor. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing.)	6.68.5d <i>vámsad rayím rayivátaś ca jánān</i> 10.26.2c <i>vípra á vamsad dhītíbhíś</i>	soll gewinnen gagne möchte gewinnen souhaite gagner	* $\text{u}en$
<i>vāvānaḥ</i> (subj. perf. 2 <sup>nd</sup> s i n g . double stem)	4.11.2c <i>víśvebhír yád vāvānaḥ śúkra devaís</i>	aufnehmen wirst auras gagnée	* $\text{u}e-$ $\text{u}ón$ / $\text{u}n-$
<b>Optative</b>			
<i>vaneḥ</i> (opt. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> s i n g . I/VI cl.)	2.6.1b <i>imám upasádaṃ vaneḥ</i>	mögest du gern annehmen agréer	* $\text{u}en$ (thematic opt. from athematic aor.)
<i>vanemahi</i> ( opt. pres. 1 <sup>st</sup> p l. Ā I/VI cl.)	7.94.9 c <i>indrāgnī tát vanemahi</i>	möchten gewinnen gagner (pour soi)	* $\text{u}en$ (thematic opt. from athematic aor.)
<i>vanema</i> (opt. pres. 1 <sup>st</sup> pl. I/VI cl.)	8.92.31c <i>tuvá yujá vanema tát</i> 1.129.7a <i>vanéma tát dhótarayā</i>	wollen gewinnen möchten gewinnen	* $\text{u}en$ (thematic opt. from athematic

VI.1 Tables

	<i>citántiyā</i>	gagner	aor.)
	2.5.7d <i>vanémā rarimá vayám</i>	mögen Gewinn haben gagner	
	1.70.1a <i>vanéma pūrvīr aryó manīṣā</i>	überbieten souhaitons emporter	
	8.19.20 d <i>vanémā te abhiṣṭibhiḥ</i>	möchten gewinnen gagner (assoluto)	
	7 . 4 7 . 1 d <i>ghṛtaḥprūṣam mādhumantaṃ vanema</i>	gewinnen gagner	
	2.11.2b <i>dhīyaṃ vanema ṛtayā śápanaḥ</i>	wollen Gewinn haben gagner	
	10.105.8b <i>ṛcā vanema anṛcaḥ</i>	wollen überbieten	
<i>vanuyāmā</i> (opt. pres. 1 <sup>st</sup> pl. VIII cl.)	1.73.9b <i>vīraír vīrān vanuyāmā tuvótāḥ</i>	überbieten vaincre	* <sub>u</sub> en
	1.132.1c <i>vanuyāma vanuṣyatāḥ</i>	wollen übertrumpfen vaincre	
	5.3.6 a <i>vayám agne vanuyāma tuvótā</i>	wollen überbieten pouissions l'emporter	
	8.40.7e <i>vanuyāma vanuṣyató</i>	wollen überbieten vaincre	
	10.38.3 d <i>tváyā vayám tān vanuyāma saṃgamé</i>	wollen überwinden	
<i>vaṃsīmāhi</i> (opt. aor. 1 <sup>st</sup> pl. double stem)	6.19.10 b <i>vaṃsīmāhi vāmám śrómatebhiḥ</i>	möchten gewinnen	* <sub>u</sub> en
	9.72.8d <i>rayím piśāṅgam bahulám vasīmāhi</i>	möchten uns umgeben revêtir	
<b>Imperative</b>			

VI. Appendix

<i>vanuṣva</i> (imp. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.)	1.169.1d <i>sumnā vanuṣva tāva hī prāyīṣṭhā</i>	gewinn gagne	*uēn
<i>vanvāntu</i> (imp. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> pl. VIII cl.)	7.21.9c <i>vanvāntu smā te ávasā samiké</i> 10.32.2d <i>té sū vanvāntu vagvanāṁ arādhāsaḥ</i>	sollen überwinden  sollen überbieten	*uēn
<i>vāṁsua</i> (imp. aor. 2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. Ā double stem)	1.48.11 a <i>úṣo vājam hī vāṁsuva</i> 6.48.4d <i>rāsva vājotā vaṁsuva</i> 7.17.5a <i>vāṁsua vísvā vāriyāni pracetaḥ</i> 8.23.27a-b <i>vāṁsvā no vāriyā purú / vāṁsua rāyāḥ puruṣṣṭhaḥ</i> 8.60.14d <i>vāṁsvā no vāriyā purú</i>	gewinne gagne  erwirke gagne  erwerke gagne  erwirk / erwirke gagne  gewinn gagne	*uēn
<b>Injunctive</b>			
<i>vāṁsi</i> (inj. aor. 1 <sup>st</sup> sing. double stem)	5.70.1c <i>mitra vāṁsi vāṁ sumatīm</i>	möchte gewinnen je veux gagner	*uēn
<i>vanvan</i> (inj. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> pl. VIII cl.)	7.48.3b <i>vísvāṁ aryā uparātāti vanvan</i>	übertrumpfen vainquent	*uēn
<i>vanuṣanta</i> (inj. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> pl. double stem)	10.128.3c <i>daívyā hótāro vanuṣanta púrve</i>	sollen Partei nehmen	*uēn
<b>Infinite</b>			
<i>vāntave</i> (dative)	1.131.5e <i>pṛtanāsu právantave</i>	den Sieg gewinnen gagnent	*uēn
<b>Precative</b>			
<i>vaniṣṭa</i>	1.127.7g <i>á vaniṣṭa médhiraḥ</i>	möge überwinden	*uēn

## VI.1 Tables

(prec. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā )		puisse conqu�rir	
<b>Participle</b>			
<i>vanvn</i> (part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.)	1.121.9c <i>ktsya ytra puruhta</i> <i>vanvn</i> 6.12.4c <i>dranno vanvn krtuv</i> <i>n rv</i> 6.16.20c <i>vanvnn vto strth</i> 6.16.26 b <i>ady tv vanvn</i> <i>surknh</i> 6.18.1b <i>vanvnn vth</i> <i>puruht indrah</i> 8.31.3c <i>vsv vanvnn amitry</i> 9.89.7a <i>vanvnn vto abh</i> <i>devvtim</i> 9.96.8a <i>s matsarh pts</i> <i>vanvnn vth</i> 9.96.11c <i>vanvnn vth</i> <i>paridhmr pornu</i> 10.61.2a <i>s id dnya dbhiyya</i> <i>vanvn</i>	Partei nehmend gagnant la bataille der gewinnt gagnant Sieger qui vaine der [...] gewinnt gagnant Sieger �berwindend �berwinder qui gagnes �berwinder qui gagnes �berwinder qui gagnes sich bem�hte	*u -nu / nu-
<i>vanvnth</i> (part. pres. nom. m. pl. VIII cl.)	2.4.9b <i>gh vanvnta parm</i> <i>abh syh</i> 6.16.27d <i>vanvnto ary rth</i> 9.61.24b <i>syma vanvnta mrah</i>	�berbieten en gagnant die [...] �berwinden vainquant wollen �berwinden	*u -nu / nu-

VI. Appendix

		qui vainquent	
<i>vanvaté</i> (part. pres. dat. m. sing. VIII cl.)	2.21.2 a <i>abhībhúve</i> <i>abhībhāṅgāya vanvate</i>	gewinnenden vainqueur	* <u>u</u> ṅ -né <u>u</u> / nu-
<i>vanvántā</i> (part. pres. nom. m. du. VIII cl.)	7.83.4b <i>bhedāṃ vanvántā prá</i> <i>sudāsam āvatam</i>	überwandet vainquant	* <u>u</u> ṅ -né <u>u</u> / nu-
<i>vanvānāḥ</i> (part. pres. nom. m. sing. Ā VIII cl.)	3.8.2b <i>brāhma vanvānó ajāraṃ</i> <i>suvīraṃ</i> 5.29.9 c <i>vanvānó ātra sarāthaṃ</i> <i>yayātha + avanoḥ</i> cf.	gewinnst  der überwinder	* <u>u</u> ṅ -né <u>u</u> / nu-
<i>vanvānāḥ</i> (part. pres. nom. m. pl. Ā VIII cl.)	7.88.7c <i>ávo vanvānā áditer</i> <i>upāsthād</i>	gewinnend gagnant	* <u>u</u> ṅ -né <u>u</u> / nu-
<i>vavanvān</i> (part. perf. nom. m. sing.)	10.27.9d <i>átho áyuktaṃ yunajad</i> <i>vavanvān</i>	der Sieger	* <u>u</u> ṅ -né <u>u</u> / nu-
<i>vavanvāmsā</i> (part. perf. voc. m. du.)	10.61.4d <i>vavanvāmsā ná íṣam</i> <i>ásmṛtadhrū</i>	die Gewinner	* <u>u</u> ṅ -né <u>u</u> / nu-

VI.1.2 Laryngeal and non-laryngeal attestations of the verb in the post-Ṛgvedic Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and in the Atharvaveda (barring RV-quotations)

a-Laryngeal

Verbal form	occurrence	translation	I.E. root
<b>Indicative</b>			
<i>vananti</i> (ind. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> pl. I/VI cl.)	AVŚ 12.1.58 <i>yád vadāmi mádhumat</i> <i>tád vadāmi yád íkṣe tád vananti mā</i>	WHITNEY 1905: 671 “win”	* <u>u</u> en-H-e-
<b>Subjunctive</b>			
<i>vanāmahe</i> (subj. pres.)	TS 1.6.4.2-3o <i>émā agmann dóhakāmā</i> <i>índravantaḥ / vanāmahe dhukṣimāhi</i>	KEITH 1914: 87 “may we win”	* <u>u</u> en-H-e-

## VI.1 Tables

1 <sup>st</sup> p l. Ā I/VI cl.)	<i>prajā́m iṣam</i> TS 3.2.7.1-2h <i>indriyāvanto vanāmahe dbukṣimāhi prajā́m iṣam</i>	KEITH 1914: 247 “may we conquer”	
<i>vanāḥ</i> (subj. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. I/VI cl.)	AVŚ 1.34.4 <i>māmīt kīla tvám vānāḥ śākhāṃ mādhumatīmiva</i>	WHITNEY 1905: 35 “shalt thou be fond”	* <sub>u</sub> en-H-e-
<i>vanād</i> (subj. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> s i n g . I/VI cl.)	AVP 20.61.11 <i>śālālā tvam saṃvananam vanād vananam ādytam</i>		* <sub>u</sub> en-H-e-
<b>Imperative</b>			
<i>vanatam</i> (impv. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> du. I/VI cl.)	TB 2.4.3.4-5 <i>dikṣāpālébhyo vānatam hī śakrá</i>		* <sub>u</sub> en-H-e-
<i>vana</i> (impv. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> s i n g . I/VI cl.)	AVP 2.33.1 <i>ūdhnā vana hṛdā vana mukhena jihvayā vana / praṇīnā payasā vana</i>		* <sub>u</sub> en-H-e-

## b-Non-Laryngeal

Verbal form	occurrence	translation	I.E. root
<b>Indicative</b>			
<i>vanute</i> (ind. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.)	KS 10.3 (2x) <i>sātām sanim vanute</i> [...] <i>etad etasmai sanoti yad vanute</i> MS 2.1.2 (2x) <i>sātām sanim vanute</i> [...] <i>saṃvatsarā etāsmāi vanute</i> MS 3.6.9 <i>bhṛtiṃ vanute yajñasya</i> KS 23.6 (2x) <i>rāsate yadvanute [...]</i> <i>dikṣito bhṛtiṃ vanute</i> MS 4.1.10 <i>te parjanyaḍevā vṛṣṭim vanute</i> MS 4.1.14 <i>marúdbhya evā vṛṣṭim</i>		* <sub>u</sub> en-



VI. Appendix

	<p><i>vanute</i></p> <p>TS 2.6.9.8 <i>āhāgnír devébhyo vanuté</i></p> <p>ŚB 3.8.2.22 (2x) <i>agnirvṛṣṭim vanute sá etaí stokaíretántstokánvanute</i></p> <p>AVŚ 7.103.1 <i>kó yajñákāmaḥ ká u pūrtikāmaḥ kó devéṣu vanute dīrghám āyuh</i></p> <p>AVŚ 12.2.36 <i>yát kṛṣáte yád vanute yác ca vasnéna vindáte</i></p> <p>AVP 7.15.5 <i>annena prāṇam vanute tiro dhatte paridhānena yakṣmam</i></p> <p>AVP 19.26.5 <i>ghṛtena prajām vanute ghṛtena rayim aṣnute</i></p> <p>A V P 1 9 . 2 6 . 6 <i>ghṛtenāyuṣyam varcasyam devebhyo vanute pari</i></p> <p>AVP 20.3.5 <i>kaṣ pūrtikāmaṣ ko u yajñakāmaṣ ko deveṣu vanute dīrgham āyuh</i></p>	<p>KEITH 1914: 219 “wins”</p> <p>EGGELING 1 8 8 2 : II 1 9 6 “obtains”</p> <p>WHITNEY 1905: 462 “wins”</p> <p>WHITNEY 1905: “wins”</p> <p>GRIFFITHS 2009: 406 “gains”</p>	
<p><i>vanve</i> (ind. pres. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.)</p>	<p>AVŚ 6.82.1 <i>indrasya vṛtraghnó vanve vāsavāsya śatákratoḥ</i></p> <p>A V Ś 8 . 2 . 1 3 <i>agnéṣṭe prānāmamṛtādāy u ṣ m a t o v a n v e jātávedasaḥ</i></p> <p>AVP 5.37.8 <i>vanve te putram pari devatābhyo anu manyantām marutaḥ pṛśnimātarah</i></p>	<p>WHITNEY 1905: 342 “win”</p> <p>WHITNEY 1905: 478 “win”</p> <p>LUBOTSKY 2002: 133 “ask”</p>	<p>*uen-</p>
<p><i>avanvata</i> (ind. impf. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. Ā VIII cl.)</p>	<p>K S 1 0 . 6 <i>kurupañcāleṣu vatsatarānavanvata</i></p> <p>AVŚ 5.4.3 <i>tātrāmṛtasya cákṣaṇam devāḥ kúṣṭhamavanvata</i></p> <p>AVŚ 5.4.4 <i>tātrāmṛtasya púṣyam devāḥ kúṣṭhamavanvata</i></p> <p>AVŚ 6.95.1 <i>tātrāmṛtasya cákṣaṇam devāḥ kúṣṭhamavanvata</i></p>	<p>WHITNEY 1905: 227 “won”</p> <p>WHITNEY 1905: 227 “won”</p> <p>WHITNEY 1905: 350 “won”</p>	<p>*uen-</p>

## VI.1 Tables

	AVŚ 6.95.2 <i>tátrāmṛtasya púṣpaṃ devāḥ kúṣṭhamavanvata</i>	WHITNEY 1905: 350 “won”	
<i>vavnire</i> (ind. perf. 3 <sup>rd</sup> pl. Ā)	KS 30.8 <i>teṣāṃ yaṃ vavnire devāstaṅ svarāḍanumanyatām</i>		*u <sub>en</sub> -
<b>Optative</b>			
<i>vanvīta</i> (opt. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.)	MS 2.1.2 <i>yadā vanvīta</i> KS 23.6 <i>rātrīrdīkṣito bhṛtiṃ vanvīta</i>		*u <sub>en</sub> -
<i>vaṃsiṣīya</i> , (opt. aor. 1 <sup>st</sup> sing. Ā sigmatic aorist)	AVŚ 9.1.14 <i>mādhu janiṣīya mādhu vaṃsiṣīya</i> AVŚ 16.9.4 <i>vasyobhūyāya vāsumān yajñó vāsu vaṃsiṣīya vāsumān bhūyāsaṃ vāsu máyi dhebi</i>	WHITNEY 1905: 520 “may I win” WHITNEY 1905: 803 “may I win”	*u <sub>en</sub> -
<b>Subjunctive</b>			
<i>vanavāmah a i</i> (subj. pres. 1 <sup>st</sup> pl. Ā VIII cl.)	ŚB 1.9.1.19 <i>vayāmagnerādhyasmā etādvānavāmahā</i>	EGGELING 1882: I 253 “will solicit”	*u <sub>en</sub> -
<i>vanate</i> (subj. aor. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing.)	TS 2.6.9.8 <i>tād agnīr devó devébhyo vānate</i> TB 3.5.10.5 <i>tād agnīr devó devébhyo vānate</i>	KEITH 1914: 216 “shall win”	*u <sub>en</sub> -
<i>vaniṣád</i> (subj. aor. 3 <sup>rd</sup> s i n g . sigmatic aorist)	AVŚ 20.132.6 <i>ugrāṃ vaniṣádātātam</i> AVŚ 20.132.7 <i>ná vaniṣádánātātam</i>		*u <sub>en</sub> -
<i>vaṃsataḥ</i> (subj. aor. 3 <sup>rd</sup> du. root aorist)	AVP 20.24.4 <i>ṛṭīyam aśvinā tvāgre vaṃsataḥ</i>		*u <sub>en</sub> -
<i>vāvanat</i> (subj. perf. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing.)	KS 13.16 <i>sa naḥ pūrṇena vāvanat</i> TS 2.4.5.1 <i>sa naḥ pūrṇena vāvanat</i>	KEITH 1914: 179 “May favour us”	*u <sub>en</sub> -
<i>vāvanah</i> (subj. perf. 2 <sup>nd</sup> sing.)	AVP 1.55.4 <i>māmit kila tvaṃ vāvanah śākhāṃ madhumatīmiva</i>		*u <sub>en</sub> -

VI. Appendix

Participle			
<i>vanvānāḥ</i> (part. pres. nom. f. pl. Ā VIII cl.)	TS 1.8.12.1 <i>vārcaḥ kṣatṛíyāya vanvānās</i> MS 2.6.8 <i>kṣatṛám kṣatṛíyāya vanvānāḥ</i> MS 4.4.2 <i>kṣatṛám kṣatṛíyāya vanvānā</i> VS 10.4 <i>kṣatṛám kṣatṛíyāya vanvānāḥ</i> KS 15.6 <i>kṣatṛám kṣatṛíyāya vanvānāḥ</i> ŚB 5.3.4.27 <i>kṣatṛám kṣatṛíyāya vanvānā</i>	KEITH 1914: 123 “Winning” EGGELING 1882: III 80 “winning”	* <u>en-</u>
<i>vanvanāḥ</i> (part. pres. nom. m. sing. Ā VIII cl.)	AVŚ 5.20.9 <i>śríyo vanvanó vayúnāni vidvānkīrtim bahúbhyo ví hara divirāje</i> AVP 9.27.9 <i>śreyo vanvano vayunāni vidvānkīrtim bahubhyo vi bhaja divirāje</i>	WHITNEY 1905: 256 “winning”	* <u>en-</u>
<b>Imperative</b>			
<i>vanutām</i> (impv. pres. 3 <sup>rd</sup> sing. VIII cl.)	MS 4.13.9 <i>agnír devó devébhyo vanutām</i> ŚB 1.9.1.19 <i>agnírdevó devébhyo vanutām</i> AVŚ 4.15.10 <i>sá no varṣám vanutām jātavedāḥ prānām prajābhyo amṛtam divás pári</i> AVP 5.7.8 <i>sá no varṣam vanutām jātavedāḥ prānam prajābhyo amṛtam divas pari</i>	EGGELING 1882: I 253 “may solicit” WHITNEY 1905: 174 “win” LUBOTSKY 2002: 34 “let get”	* <u>en-</u>
<i>vanudhvaṃ</i> (impv. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> pl. Ā VIII cl.)	AVŚ 4.15.15 <i>varṣám vanudhvaṃ pitaro marútām mána icchata</i>	WHITNEY 1905: 175 “won”	* <u>en-</u>
<i>vanuṣva</i> (impv. pres. 2 <sup>nd</sup> sing. Ā VIII cl.)	AVŚ 12.3.53 <i>varṣám vanuṣvāpi gacha devám stva c ó dh ū m á m pá r y ú t pātayāsi</i>	WHITNEY 1905: 692 “win”	* <u>en-</u>

VI.1 Tables

	AVP 19.26.5 <i>vanuṣva viśvadeveṣu vanuṣva tvaṃ vṛhaspatāu</i>		
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VI.2 Data-base

VI.2.1 Objects of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>*- in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*

• = indicates that the subject/object is implied within the verse, when a pronoun referring to it is present, it is indicated.

∅ = the subject is the generic human side of the rite: “we”- “I” (all occ. are 1<sup>st</sup> person, except one, which is nonetheless referring to the priests of the sacrifice).

a- “goods”

object	Q.	occurrences	<i>van-</i> / <i>van<sup>i</sup></i> -	subject/ notes
<i>ánnam</i>	2	10.107.7 10.61.4	<i>vanute</i> <i>vavanváṃsa</i>	Dakṣina Aśvin
<i>áyuktam</i>	1	10.27.9	<i>vavanvān</i>	Indra• (horse•)
<i>kuvíd</i> ( <i>vásvaḥ</i> )	1	7.15.4	<i>vanāti (naḥ)</i>	Agni
<i>kṣáyam</i>	1	1.133.7	<i>vanoti</i>	<i>sunvan</i>
<i>gáyam</i>	1	5.44.7	<i>vanavat (asmākaṃ)</i>	Surya
<i>gātúm</i>	1	5.65.4	<i>vanate</i>	Mitra
<i>jítim</i>	1	10.53.11	<i>vanate</i>	<i>sáḥ</i>
<i>dúvas</i>	2	6.15.6 6.16.18	<i>vánate (náḥ)</i> <i>vanavase</i>	Agni Agni•(as metaphor for oblation)
<i>yásvaḥ</i>	1	8.103.9	<i>á vāṃsate</i>	Agni•
<i>rayím</i>	7	6.16.28 1.129.7 6.68.5 9.72.8 9.101.9	<i>vanate (náḥ)</i> <i>vanema</i> <i>vāṃsad</i> <i>vasīmahi</i> <i>vānāmahai</i>	Agni ∅ <i>sáḥ</i> ∅ ∅

VI. Appendix

		3.30.18 7.8.3	<i>vantāraḥ</i> ( <i>syāma</i> ) <i>vantāraḥ</i> ( <i>bhavema</i> )	∅ ∅
<i>vāsūni</i> <i>vāsu</i>	2	1.15.8 7.94.9	<i>vanāmahe</i> <i>vanemahi</i>	∅ ∅
<i>vāryāni</i>      <i>vāryam</i>	6	5.4.3 7.17.5 7.2.7 8.23.27 8.60.14 6.15.6	<i>vanate</i> <i>vāmsva</i> <i>vanathaḥ</i> <i>vamsvā</i> ( <i>náḥ</i> ) <i>vamsvā</i> ( <i>náḥ</i> ) <i>vānate</i>	Agni Agni• Agni (poet and Jataveda)• Agni• Agni Agni (+ <i>duvas</i> )
<i>vṛṣṭīm</i>	1	10.98.3	<i>vanāva</i>	∅
<i>suvīryam</i>	1	1.36.17	<i>vavne</i> ( <i>kānvāya</i> )	Agni
Soma• <i>yád</i> • <i>tád</i> •	3	1.61.15 6.23.5 10.105.5	<i>vavné</i> <i>vāvāna</i> <i>vanóti</i>	Indra Indra Indra•
<i>śríyam</i>	1	4.44.2	<i>vanathaḥ</i>	Aśvin

b- a conquest

object	Q.	occurrences	<i>van-</i> / <i>van-</i>	subject / notes
<i>amitríyā</i>	1	8.31.1	<i>vanván</i>	<i>ráthaḥ</i>
<i>arādhásaḥ</i>	1	10.32.2	<i>vanvantu</i>	<i>té</i> (Indra's horses•)
<i>aryáḥ</i>	1	7.48.3	<i>vanvan</i>	Ṛbhu•
* <i>manīṣā</i>	5	1.70.1	<i>vanema</i>	∅ ( <i>aryáḥ</i> -gen.)
<i>árātīḥ</i>		6.16.27	<i>vanvántaḥ</i>	<i>té</i> (men) ( <i>aryáḥ</i> -gen.)
<i>śárdhataḥ</i>		8.60.12	<i>vamsāma</i>	∅ ( <i>táranto aryá ádísaḥ</i> )
<i>dyumnāni</i>		9.61.11	<i>vanāmahe</i>	∅ ( <i>aryáḥ</i> -gen.)
<i>tān</i>		10.83.3	<i>vanuyāma</i>	<i>vayám</i> ( <i>yó no dása áryo vā</i> )
<i>āmúraḥ</i>	1	9.61.24	<i>vanvántaḥ</i>	∅
<i>kṛṣṭīḥ</i>	1	6.18.3	<i>avanoḥ</i>	Indra

## VI.2 Data-base

<i>purutámam</i>	1	10.74.6	<i>vavána</i>	Indra•
<i>púrvān</i>	1	1.69.10	<i>avanoḥ</i>	Agni
<i>brahmadviṣaḥ</i>	1	8.45.23	<i>vanaḥ</i>	Indra• <u>ritual action</u>
<i>bhedám</i>	1	7.83.4	<i>vanvántā</i>	Indra Varuṇa
<i>mártān</i>	2	5.3.5 5.3.6	<i>vanavad</i> <i>vanuyāma</i>	<i>sáḥ</i> <i>vayám</i>
<i>mitráam</i>	1	10.27.12	<i>vanute</i>	<i>sá</i>
<i>yám</i>	1	2.30.6	<i>vanuthaḥ</i>	Indra Soma
<i>vīrán</i>	1	1.73.9	<i>vanuyāmā</i>	Ø
<i>vṛtrá</i>	1	6.33.1	<i>vanávat</i>	<i>yáḥ</i> (Indra's <i>mádaḥ</i> )
<i>śúṣṇa</i>	2	1.121.9 5.29.9	<i>vanán</i> <i>avanoḥ</i>	Indra• Indra•
<i>sthirá</i>	1	8.19.20	<i>vanémā</i>	Ø
<i>spṛḍbaḥ</i>	1	6.20.9	<i>vanate</i>	Indra

## d2- “results” of the sacrifice or metaphor for oblation

object	Q.	occurrences	<i>van-</i> / <i>van<sup>i</sup>-</i>	subject / notes
<i>ávas</i>	1	7.88.7	<i>vanvānáḥ</i>	Ø
<i>tát</i>	1	8.92.31	<i>vanema</i>	Ø ( <i>tát</i> i.e. the absence of threat)
<i>*maghám</i> <i>magháni</i>	2	3.13.3 3.19.1	<i>vánitā</i> <i>vanate</i>	Agni (as oblation) Agni (for the man)
<i>mahitvám</i>	1	10.26.2	<i>á vamsad</i>	<i>jánaḥ</i>
<i>*rátanam</i>	1	1.140.11	<i>vanase</i>	Agni
<i>réknaḥ</i>	1	1.13.14	<i>vanóṣi</i> ( <i>vāgháte</i> )	Agni
<i>*vájam</i> <i>vájā</i>	2	1.48.11 6.48.4	<i>vámśva</i> <i>vamsva</i>	Uṣas Agni

VI. Appendix

<i>sumatím</i>	1	5.70.1	<i>váṃsi</i>	Ø
<i>sumnám</i>	2	5.3.10	<i>vanate</i>	Agni
<i>sumnā</i>		1.169.1	<i>vanuṣva</i>	Indra

d3- rite's element - components

object	Q.	occurrences	<i>van-</i> / <i>van<sup>i</sup>-</i>	subject / notes
<i>apidhín</i>	1	1.127.7	<i>vaniṣṣṭa</i>	<i>médhira</i> (2x, 2 <sup>nd</sup> : ā-)
<i>iláḥ(ūrmím)</i>	1	7.47.1	<i>vanema</i>	<i>vayam</i>
<i>iṣáḥ</i>	1	5.7.3	<i>vanāmahe</i>	Ø
<i>upasádam</i>	1	2.6.1	<i>vaneḥ</i>	Agni
<i>ṛtá</i>	2	4.23.10	<i>vanoti</i>	<i>yemānáḥ</i>
<i>ṛtá</i>		1.46.14	<i>vanthaḥ</i>	<i>Aśvin</i>
<i>gíraḥ</i>	5	1.3.2	<i>vánatam</i>	Aśvin
		1.93.9	<i>vanata,</i>	Agni Soma
		7.94.2	<i>vánatam</i>	Indra Agni
		5.65.1	<i>vánate</i>	Mitra
		8.7.9	<i>vanatā</i>	Marut (+ <i>hávam</i> )
<i>upasádam</i>	*6	*2.6.1	<i>vaneḥ</i>	Agni (* <i>śrudhī gíraḥ</i> )
<i>dhíyam</i>	1	2.11.2	<i>vanema</i>	Ø
<i>dhītím</i>	1	6.38.1	<i>vanate</i>	Agni•
<i>prátiṣṭutim</i>	1	8.13.33	<i>vāvantha</i>	Indra
<i>bráhma</i>	1	3.8.2	<i>vanvānáḥ</i>	Sacrificial Pillar•
<i>mádam</i>	1	10.96.1	<i>pra vavne</i>	Ø
<i>manīṣá</i>	1	1.70.1	<i>vanema (aryáḥ)</i>	Ø
<i>mántram</i>	1	1.31.13	<i>vanoṣi</i>	Agni
<i>mánma</i>	1	4.11.2	<i>vāvanaḥ</i>	Agni
<i>yajñám</i>	2	2.5.7	<i>vanema</i>	<i>vayám</i>

## VI.2 Data-base

<i>(yajñám)yát</i>		8.66.5*	<i>vāvántha</i>	Indra
<i>yájyūn</i>	1	5.31.13	<i>vāvandhi</i>	Indra•
<i>(ukhtám)yát</i>	1	8.66.5	<i>vāvántha</i>	Indra
<i>(vácaḥ)yát</i>	1	8.66.5	<i>vāvántha</i>	Indra
<i>vánā</i>	1	6.6.3	<i>vananti</i>	Agni ( <i>bhāmāsaḥ</i> of Agni)
<i>vípah</i>	1	10.61.3	<i>vanuthaḥ</i>	Aśvin•
<i>samídham</i>	1	2.6.1	<i>vaneḥ</i>	Agni
<i>stómam</i>	1	2.5.7	<i>vanema</i>	<i>vayám</i>
<i>hávam</i>	1	8.7.9	<i>vanatāḥ</i>	Marut
<i>havyá</i>	1	5.7.3	<i>vanāmahe</i>	Ø

e- the gods – ritual action

object	Q.	occur.	<i>van-</i> / <i>van<sup>i</sup>-</i>	instrument	subject- notes
<i>anṛcaḥ</i> RV <i>hapax</i>	1	10.105.8	<i>vanema</i>	<i>rcá</i>	Ø
<i>amṛtam</i>	1	6.15.6	<i>úpa vivāsata</i>	<i>gīrbhír</i>	Ø
Indra• ( <i>ím-índram</i> )	2	1.131.5 1.51.2	<i>právantave</i> <i>avanvan</i>		Uśij <i>ūtáyaḥ-ṛbhávaḥ</i>
<i>tvā</i>	1	6.16.26	<i>vanván</i>	<i>krátvá</i>	<i>dá</i>
<i>dévāsaḥ</i>	1	5.41.17	<i>vanate</i>		<i>mártyaḥ</i>
<i>vām</i> (Aśvin)	1	5.74.7	<i>á vavne</i>	<i>yajñaiḥ</i>	<i>káḥ</i>

## c/e- no object

“use of <i>van-</i> ”	Q.	occur.	<i>van-</i> / <i>van<sup>i</sup>-</i>	<i>instrument</i>	subject / notes
c- divine attribute	7	6.12.4 2.21.2.	<i>vanván</i> <i>vanván</i>		Agni Indra



VI. Appendix

		6.16.20	<i>vanván -ávātaḥ</i>		Agni•
		6.18.1	<i>vanván -ávātaḥ</i>		Indra
		9.89.7	<i>vanván -ávātaḥ</i>		Soma
		9.96.8	<i>vanván -ávātaḥ</i>		<i>sáh(índuḥ -of Soma)</i>
		9.96.11	<i>vanván -ávātaḥ</i>		Soma
<u>e- ritual action</u>	6	10.128.3	<i>vanuṣanta</i>		<i>hótāraḥ</i>
		10.27.18	<i>vanavat</i>		Agni•
		8.72.1	<i>vanate</i>		<i>adhvaryúḥ</i>
		5.37.2	<i>vanavat</i>		<i>sámiddhagniḥ</i>
		10.61.2	<i>vanván</i>		<i>sáh (Cyavana)</i>
		7.37.5	<i>vavanmá</i>	<i>yújyābhir ūtí (dhībhiḥ)</i>	Ø

It may be worth noticing some words on account of these criteria:

- those, which are object of *van-* meaning a ritual action
- out of quantity
- object involved in the ritual action

Excluding criteria:

- pronouns
- names of gods

- *devá-* (a)
- *amítam* (a)
- *brahmádiviṣ-* (a)
- *gír-* (b) (c)
- *várya-*(b)
- *raí-* (b)
- *dhí-* (c)
- *ṛcá-* (c)
- *yajná-* (c)

### VI.2.2 Objects of *van-* / *van<sup>i</sup>-* in the post-Ṛgvedic literature

ṚV occ. → all post-ṚV correspondences:

a- “goods”

object	Q.	ṚV occ.	post- ṚV correspondences	<i>van-</i> / <i>van<sup>i</sup>-</i>
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## VI.2 Data-base

<i>ánnam</i>	1	10.107.7c	ŚB 10.1.1.10	<i>vanute</i>
<i>kṣatrá</i>	2	1.162.22	TS 4.6.9.4l; VS 25.45; KSAśv 6.5	<i>vanatāṃ</i> <i>vanate</i>
<i>narya</i>	1	7.100.1	TB 2.4.3.5	<i>ā vivāsāt</i>
<i>mádam</i>	2	10.96.1	TB 3.7.9.6; TB 2.4.3.10-(11)	<i>pra vanve</i>
<i>raí</i>	5	6.16.28	MS 2.10.2; KpS 28.2; VS 17.16 KS 18.1; TS 4.6.1.5r	<i>vanate</i> <i>vaṃsate</i>
<i>vána</i>	2	6.6.3	TS 3.3.11.1-2e; ŚB 12.4.4.2	<i>vananti</i>
<i>vásu</i>	3	7.15.4 7.94.9	KS 40.14; TB 2.4.8.1 KS 4.15	<i>vanáti (kuvíd)</i> <i>vanemahi</i>

## b- a conquest

object	Q.	RV occ.	post- RV correspondences	<i>van- / vani-</i>
<i>sthirá</i>	1	8.19.20	VS 15.39-40	<i>vanéma</i>
<i>vanuṣya</i>	2	2.25.1	MS 4.14.10; TB 2.8.5.2-3	<i>vanavat</i>

## d3- rite's element - components

object	Q.	RV occ.	post- RV correspondences	<i>van- / vani-</i>
<i>bráhman</i>	3	3.8.2	MS 4.13.1; KS 15.12; AB 2.2; 3.6.1.1	<i>vanvānáḥ</i>
<i>gíra</i>	3	1.93.9	KS 4.16; MS 4.10.1; TS 2.3.14.1- 2; TB 3.5.7.2;	<i>vanatam</i>
<i>dúvas</i>	1	6.16.18	KS 20.14	<i>vanavase</i>
<i>vípa</i>	1	10.61.3	VS 7.17; ŚB 4.2.1.12;	<i>vanutháḥ</i>
<i>samidha</i>	1	2.6.1ab	AB 1.25.7	<i>vaneḥ</i>

e- the gods – ritual action

object	Q.	RV occ.	post- RV correspondences	<i>van- / vani-</i>
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VI. Appendix

Parjanya	1	5.83.1	TB 2.4.5.5	<i>vivāsa</i>
Viṣṇu	1	6.16.26	TB 2.4.6.2	<i>vanvānt</i>
Brahmanaspati	1	2.26.3	TB 2.8.5.3	<i>ā vívasati</i>

c/e- no object

“use of <i>van-</i> ”	Q.	RV occ.	post- RV correspondences	<i>van- / vani-</i>
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	<i>vanvān -āvātaḥ</i>
<u>e- ritual action</u>	2	10.128.3	KS 40.10; TS 4.7.14.1	<i>vaniṣan; vaniṣanta</i>

Non-Ṛgvedic occurrences:

a- “goods”

object	Q.	occurrences	<i>van- / vani-</i>	subject / notes
<i>kṣatra</i>	5	KS 15.6 VS 10.4 MS 2.6.8 MS 4.4.2 ŚB 5.3.4.27	<i>vanvānāḥ</i> <i>vanvānāḥ</i> <i>vanvānāḥ</i> <i>vanvānāḥ</i> <i>vanvānāḥ</i>	<i>devīrāpaḥ</i> <i>madhumatīr (devīrāpaḥ)</i> <i>devīrāpaḥ</i> <i>devīrāpaḥ</i> <i>madhumatīr (devīrāpaḥ)</i>
<i>bhṛti</i>	2	MS 3.6.9 KS 23.6	<i>vanute</i> <i>vanute</i>	• (the sacrificer) • (the sacrificer)
<i>tapas</i>	1	TB 2.4.3.4	<i>vanatam</i>	Agni and Viṣṇu
<i>vatsatara</i>	1	KS 10.6	<i>avanvata</i>	Naimiṣya
<i>varcas</i>	1	TS 1.8.12.1a-b	<i>vanvānāḥ</i>	<i>devīr āpaḥ</i>
<i>vṛṣṭi</i>	3	MS 4.1.14 MS 4.1.10	<i>vanute</i> <i>vanute</i>	• (the sacrificer) • (the sacrificer)

VI.2 Data-base

		ŚB 3.8.2.22	<i>vanute</i>	Agni (+ <i>stoka</i> )
<i>sani</i>	2	MS 2.1.2 KS 10.3	<i>vanute</i> <i>vanute</i>	• (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	<i>vanute; vanate</i> <i>vanutām</i> <i>vanate</i> <i>vanutām;</i> <i>vanavāmahai</i>	*Agni (for us): passage
•(this)	1	KS 30.8	<i>vavnire</i>	*Paśupati-Agni (for us): passage

e- no object

“use of <i>van-</i> ”	Q.	occurrences	<i>van-</i> / <i>van<sup>i</sup>-</i>	subject / notes
<u>e- ritual action</u>	2	TS 1.6.4.2 TS 3.2.7.1	<i>vanāmahe</i> <i>vanāmahe</i>	∅ ∅

“use of <i>van-</i> ”	Q.	occurrences	<i>van-</i> / <i>van<sup>i</sup>-</i>	subject / notes
god <i>van-</i> us	2	TS 2.4.5.1c KS 13.16	<i>vāvanat</i>	Dhātṛ

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## Index Locorum

Occurrences of the verbal root in the Vedic corpus (bar the *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā*, being already given in Grassmann 1875 [1996]).

III.2.1 Saṃhitā Occurrences.....	45
ṚV <i>mantras</i> .....	45
YV Saṃhitā occurrences.....	45
Taittirīya occurrences.....	45
TS 2.3.14.1g-2h .....	45
TS 2.6.12.1c-2c .....	46
TS 3.3.11.1-2e .....	46
TS 4.6.1.5r .....	47
TS 4.6.9.4l .....	47
TS 4.7.14.1c-2c .....	48
Maitrāyaṇī occurrences.....	48
MS 2.10.2: 132,16-17 .....	48
MS 4.10.1: 144,12-15 .....	49
MS 4.10.6: 156,8-9 .....	49
MS 4.13.1: 199,2-7 .....	50
MS 4.14.10: 230,15-16 .....	51
Kāṭha occurrences.....	51
KS 4.15: 40,13-14 .....	51
KS 4.16: 42,20-43,1-2 .....	52
KS 15.12: 218,12-17 .....	52
KS 18.1: 265,1-2 .....	53
KS 20.14: 34,8-13 .....	54
KS 21.14: 55,7-8 .....	54
KS 40.10: 144,1-2 .....	55
KS 40.14: 149,2-3 .....	55
KS Aśvamedha grantha (5).6.5: III 276,2-3.....	56
Kapiṣṭhala occurrences.....	57
KpS 28.2: 140. ....	57
Vājasaneyya occurrences (Mādhyam̐dina recension).....	57
VS 7.17 .....	57
VS 15. 39-40 .....	58
VS 17.16 .....	58
VS 19.53 .....	59
VS 25.45 .....	60
SV Saṃhitā occurrences.....	60
Jaiminīyasaṃhitā (17) and Kauthumasaṃhitā (13) .....	60
Non-ṚV <i>mantras</i> – Yajurveda prose.....	61
YV Saṃhitā occurrences.....	61
Taittirīya occurrences.....	61
TS 1.6.4.2o-3o .....	61
TS 1.8.12.1a-b .....	62
TS 2.4.5.1c .....	62
TS 2.6.9.8 .....	63
TS 3.2.7.1h-2i .....	63

Index Locorum

Maitrāyanī occurrences.....	64
MS 2.1.2: 2,5-15 .....	64
MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8 .....	65
MS 3.6.9: 73,1-4 .....	66
MS 4.1.10: 12,16; 13,1-3 .....	66
MS 4.1.14: 19,18-19; 20,1-3 .....	67
MS 4.4.2: 51,8-10 .....	67
MS 4.13.9: 212,10-13 .....	68
Kāṭha occurrences.....	69
KS 10.3: 127,1-13 .....	69
KS 10.6: 130,8-16 .....	69
KS 13.16: 200, 7-8 .....	70
KS 15.6: 213,9-10 .....	71
KS 23.6: 81,19-82,2 .....	72
KS 30.8: 189,20-21 .....	72
Vājasaneyā occurrences (Mādhyam̐dina recension) .....	73
VS 10.4 (t-u) .....	73
III.2.2 Brāhmaṇa Occurrences.....	74
ṚV <i>mantras</i> .....	74
ṚV Brāhmaṇa occurrences.....	74
Aitareya occurrences.....	74
AB 1.25.7.....	74
AB 2.2 .....	75
YV Brāhmaṇa occurrences.....	76
Taittirīya occurrences.....	76
TB 2.4.3.10-(11) .....	76
TB 2.4.5.5 .....	77
TB 2.4.6.2 .....	77
TB 2.4.8.1 .....	78
TB 2.8.5.2-3 .....	79
TB 2.8.5.[7]-8-[9] .....	80
TB 3.5.7.2 .....	81
TB 3.6.1.1-(2) .....	81
TB 3.7.9.6 .....	82
Śatapatha occurrences (Mādhyam̐dina recension).....	83
ŚB 4.2.1.12 .....	83
ŚB 10.1.1.10 .....	84
ŚB 12.4.4.2 .....	85
Non-ṚV <i>mantras</i> – Brāhmaṇa prose.....	86
YV Brāhmaṇa occurrences.....	86
Taittirīya occurrences.....	86
TB 2.4.3.4-5 non-ṚV <i>mantra</i> and ṚV <i>mantra</i> .....	86
TB 3.5.10.5 .....	87
Śatapatha occurrences (Mādhyam̐dina recension).....	88
ŚB 1.9.1.19 .....	88
ŚB 3.8.2.22 .....	88
ŚB 5.3.4.27 .....	89
IV.2.1 Atharvaveda Occurrences.....	144
ṚV <i>mantras</i> .....	144
Śaunaka occurrences.....	145

Index Locorum

AVŚ 20.22.2	145
AVŚ 20.30.1	146
AVŚ 20.35.15	146
AVŚ 20.67.1	147
AVŚ 20.75.3	148
AVŚ 20.143.2	148
AVŚ 6.126.1	149
Non-RV <i>mantras</i> .....	149
Śaunaka occurrences.....	149
AVŚ 1.34.4	149
AVŚ 4.15.10	150
AVŚ 4.15.15	150
AVŚ 5.4.3-4	150
AVŚ 5.20.9	151
AVŚ 6.9.3	151
AVŚ 6.82.1	152
AVŚ 6.95.1-2	152
AVŚ 7.103.1	153
AVŚ 8.2.13	153
AVŚ 9.1.14	154
AVŚ 12.1.58	154
AVŚ 12.2.36	155
AVŚ 12.3.53	155
AVŚ 16.9.4	155
AVŚ 20.132.6-7	156
Paippalāda occurrences.....	156
AVP 1.55.4	156
AVP 2.33.1	157
AVP 2.90.4	157
AVP 5.7.8	157
AVP 5.37.8	158
AVP 7.15.5	158
AVP 9.27.9	158
AVP 16.4.3	159
AVP 16.33.4	159
AVP(K.) 17.41.3	159
AVP(K.) 19.26.5	160
AVP(K.) 19.26.6	160
AVP(K.) 19.26.10	160
AVP(K.) 20.3.5	161
AVP(K.) 20.24.4	161
AVP(K.) 20.61.11	161